COMMUNITY ACTIVISM IN DE-SILENCING THE VOICES OF YOUNG PEOPLE AFFECTED BY SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN JAMAICA

by

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Abstract

Systems of patriarchy and colonialism impose socio-cultural and structural constructs of gender and sexuality to maintain power and control in Global South countries, creating highly volatile states where women's and children's rights need urgent attention. As a result, activists and researchers have called for an immediate response. Among Global South countries, Jamaica reports that increasing sexual violence against young people is an epidemic perpetuated by a culture of silence. Sexual violence is the leading cause of the high rate of sexually transmitted infections among children as young as 10 years old. This study explores grassroots peacebuilding and community activism initiatives in Jamaica that promote awareness of the issue, encourage the importance of reporting incidents, and support survivors in the communities they serve— understood as de-silencing. This research seeks to understand the experiences of community activists and advocates who work to address sexual violence against young people in Jamaica.

Grounded in Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS), this research examines the concept of the everyday and its intersection with sexual violence, education, and change. This study uses a narrative approach and semi-structured interviews with 25 participants from various communities and organizations across the island. Data analysis identifies sexual violence as everyday violence, where informal learning and storytelling play a significant role in perpetuating social indifference and denial that silences victims and survivors.

Analyses also reveal that individuals' motivations to become sexual violence activists or advocates depend on three key factors: early influence of role models, learning, and critical awareness. First, the motivations of activists and advocates are linked to the early influence of role models who challenged or were perpetrators of gender or sexual violence. Second, informal, and formal adult learning spaces can nurture individual awareness and understanding of sexual violence against young people and ignite social action to prevent it. Third, critical self-awareness is an essential tool in evaluating one's perspective on sexual violence and understanding the impact of working with victims, survivors, and perpetrators of sexual violence.

Findings indicate the need for more informal and formal mental health supports, education, and resources for local peacebuilders who address sexual violence against young people. Findings also identify the necessity for further examination of the duality of informal learning in motivating social change and contributing to the continuity of sexual violence against youth within Jamaica.

Content Warning

This dissertation includes reports and participants' experiences of sexual violence. I acknowledge that it may be difficult to engage with this content. I also encourage you to prepare yourself emotionally before proceeding and to care for your safety and well-being.

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I am deeply thankful to the men, women, and 2SLGBTQ+ peoples who chose to take time from their busy schedules to meet with me in varied settings to share their experiences about a difficult topic. I recognize and am deeply grateful to each of you for trusting me with your stories about your journeys as advocates and activists, to locate and make visible the everydayness of the atrocities, social indifference, trivialization, denial, and disavowal of sexual violence at all levels within Jamaican society. Your work is not easy. Thank you for being a shield and safer space for so many victims and survivors of sexual violence, at the risk of your own personal safety. Thank you.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the men, women, and 2SLGBTQ+ peoples, grassroots advocates, and activists who continue to fight to make visible the everydayness of sexual violence.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

I think sexual violence against young people, against children, and women too, the act of sexual violence, to me, is a violent act against the spirit—in the sense that it kicks at your core, the core of your existence and what holds you together as a human being. It shatters that completely. So, because it is just such a violent act that you really— if you want to see the motivation behind sexual violence, [it] is really to break that person, to completely dominate them. That is what it is to me—an act against spirit.

Because the spirit is there to strive, really, in the body that we are in. So, when it does that, it is not just the vessel that gets torn, but the spirit itself. So, I think if life is challenging in and of itself, without sexual violence to go through, what it does to a woman or a girl child that has been raped or who has gone through years of incest, it is really to hit at the core of her existence and how to make sense of herself. And I have to make the distinction between one act of rape and incest. For instance, incest, it goes deeper because it is a family member. And it really fucks you up. Sorry, I might curse, just letting you know.

It can fuck you up because it is not something that you can explain as a violation even though in your spirit you may have recognized that you don't feel good, and that something is wrong. The spirit of a child, in that way, they are too young to process what it really means. So, the violation goes even deeper because the spirit is still growing.

— (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Introduction

In 2012, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) "headlined" three children in Jamaica, between the ages of 18 months old and 9 years old who were raped by authorities of trust, a pastor and uncles. The 18-month-old boy, after medical attention, died of internal damage. The little girl was infected with gonorrhea, syphilis, herpes, and HIV (Hahn, 2012). According to Hahn (2012), the headline created an "uproar in the Eastern Caribbean" (para. 1) and led to a call for attention and action to address the historical, cultural, and structural silence and shame around sexual violence within Jamaica.

In response to this call to action, many local advocates in Jamaica strive to prevent sexual violence. This research draws on the narrative inquiry methodology and explores the everyday experiences of Jamaican advocates and activists who work to address sexual violence against young people. This study is significant because it makes visible the everydayness of sexual violence against young people, the power of informal learning through storytelling in perpetuating this atrocity, and the creative ways Jamaican advocates and activists engage and walk alongside communities to encourage de-silencing. In addition, it explores the participants' experiences of secondary trauma and how they cope with limited access to formal support.

Sexual violence affects individuals at the very core of their being. The trauma of sexual assault or rape often leaves victims with continuing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Scott et al., 2018). According to the American Psychiatric Association (2013), the diagnostic criterion for PTSD involves exposure to a traumatic event (i.e., sexual violence). Further, victims of sexual assault or rape may exhibit symptoms including, but not limited to, dreams or flashbacks; avoidance of anything that may trigger memories; angry outbursts or self-destructive behaviours; memory loss; or negative thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about themselves (APA, 2013). In a qualitative study examining the prevalence of Axis I disorders and associated risk factors in a sample of 62 participants who were more than 16 years old (male and female) in Jamaica, Yohann White et al. (2010) found that victims of sexual assault often experience major depression and substance use disorders with cannabis and alcohol. In a cross-sectional study investigating the association between physical intimate partner violence victimization (IPV) and/or sexual violence victimization and various health risk behaviours and mental health in university students in 25 countries (including Jamaica), Supa Pengpid and Karl Peltzer (2020) found that physical IPV and/or sexual violence victimization is associated with sexual risk behaviours (multiple sexual partners, alcohol use in the context of sex, being diagnosed with HIV, and unwanted pregnancy) among both men and women. Physical IPV and/or sexual violence is also associated with violence-related behaviour (when in a physical fight and carrying a weapon), poor mental health (depression, loneliness, post-traumatic stress disorder, sleeping problems, and short sleeps), addictive behaviour (binge drinking, tobacco, and drug use), and other health risk behaviours (skipping breakfast and frequent salt intake) (Pengpid & Peltzer, 2020). Unfortunately, structural and social constructs

of gender and sexuality continue to obstruct changes in laws to protect women, young people, and persons with disabilities from sexual violence in Jamaica.

Recognizing the lived trauma of one in four girls and women who experience sexual violence under the age of 18 years old and the persistence of sexual acts of violence against the most vulnerable, the Jamaican Minister of Culture, Gender, Entertainment and Sport, the Honourable Olivia Grange, recommended stricter amendments to the Sexual Offences Act (2009) (Linton, 2019). On Tuesday, November 5, 2019, the House of Representatives in Jamaica approved a report drafted by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament, a group appointed to review the Sexual Offences Act (2009), the Offences Against the Person Act, the Domestic Violence Act, and the Child Care and Protection Act. This committee recommended stronger laws to deter the continued perpetuation of sexual violence, including amendments to the Sexual Offences Act (2009), and naming "Predatory Sexual Assault" and "Seduction of Children under Sixteen" as offences (Linton, 2019). The recommendation also included life imprisonment for "any adult who engages in sexual intercourse (vaginal or anal penetration) or anything amounting to grievous sexual assault with a vulnerable victim such as a child under the age of 12, or someone with a mental disorder" (Smith, 2020, para. 2). The House of Representatives also approved additional recommendations under the Sexual Offences Act (2009), including mandating that sexual offenders who relocated to Jamaica report to relevant authorities (The Joint Select Committee, 2018).

Since Parliament approved the amendments to the Sexual Offences Act (2009) in 2019, the Jamaican media have reported several cases of rape of minors/young people occurring between January 2020 and May 2020:

Tuesday, February 18, 2020

> "One Man, Many Victims-Mob Beats Accused After Alleged Sexual Assault Of 6-Y-O;" His Sister (who was 12 years old at the time of rape) and Daughter (who was under 10 years old at the time of molestation) also Claim Having Been Molested (Williams, 2020).

Thursday, February 27, 2020

> School Bus Operator Charged with Rape, Grievous Sexual Assault: A St. Elizabeth school bus operator accused of forcibly having sexual intercourse with a 13-year-old girl while he was transporting her home has been charged (News Brief, 2020).

Thursday, February 27, 2020

News Briefs: Two men charged with sexual offences breaches. One of the victims was 13 years old (News Brief, 2020).

Tuesday, March 10, 2020

Hunt for Pastor-Police seek help from the US to extradite a man accused of sodomizing 13-year-old boy: The police have sought assistance from their partners in the United States to have the former Seventh-day Adventist pastor accused of sodomizing a teenage boy in St. Ann returned to Jamaica to face charges (Hall, 2020).

Monday, March 16, 2020

"St. Andrew Man Charged for Having Sexual Intercourse with Minor [under 16 years old] in his community" ("St. Andrew Man Charged," 2020).

Tuesday, April 21, 2020

Woman Allegedly Raped in Front of Mom and Sister, Man Charged ("Woman Allegedly Raped," 2020).

Tuesday, April 21, 2020

Principal Charged with Sexual Assault of Daughter: Principal of an eastern St. Andrew school is now on bail after he was charged recently for the alleged sexual abuse of his teenage daughter. There were approximately 15,000 cases of sexual and other abuse referred to the CPFSA in 2018 alone. This represented an 8.5 percent rise on the 13,820 reports made in 2017 (Williams, 2020).

Wednesday, May 13, 2020

Manchester Mother Charged for Enabling Sexual Abuse of Daughter: A Manchester mother accused of facilitating the sexual abuse of her 11-year-old daughter has been arrested and charged by the police. The police say on several occasions, the child's stepbrother had sexual intercourse with her as well as other sexual activities ("Manchester Mother Charged," 2020).

Wednesday, May 20, 2020

Sexual savagery! High number of children fall victim to sex crimes since COVID-19 restrictions started in March: Head of the Ministry of Justice's Victim Services Division Osbourne Bailey, reported sexual violence against young people rivals adults for the month of April, children under 11 years of age accounted for 45 sexual cases

> reported to his division, while children 12 to 17 years of age accounted for 114 cases. Those in the over-18 category (legally adults) factored in 186 cases. Overall, Bailey said 291 females and 88 males fell victim (Dunkley-Willis, 2020).

The persistence of sexual violence, despite more stringent laws, suggests that the root causes of this epidemic still require urgent attention.

These headlines indicate a growing body of work acknowledging sexual violence as a crime in Jamaica. In fact, there is a wide body of literature capturing the stories of victims and survivors of sexual violence. Despite the plethora of information on victims of sexual violence in Jamaica, there is very little literature focused on the local activists and advocates who work with young people affected by sexual violence. In addition, there is little information regarding how activists and advocates are impacted by direct or indirect violence and/or secondary trauma while doing their work. There is also a gap in the local and global literature focusing on the experiences of practitioners, advocates, and activists in Caribbean post-slave colonies. Frederick Hickling (2020) explains that post-slave colonies' trauma has been long ignored by the West. My hope is to introduce and situate the experiences of Jamaican sexual violence activists into Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) scholarship so that they may be acknowledged as "cuspies," upstarts, rebels, troublemakers, and everyday peacebuilders who use creative and innovative measures to address an issue that continues to plague the post-colonial experiences of all Jamaicans, at home and abroad.

Researcher Background

I am a member of the Jamaican diaspora living in Canada, with early experiences of the educational, political, social, cultural, and economic disparities between Canada and post-slave colonies. My seemingly inescapable and imposed socially constructed identity and conflicting sense of self in post-colonial Canada stands at the intersection of gender, race, class, and immigrant status. For almost my entire working life, I have utilized my socially constructed identities to help marginalized groups access much needed resources. I am strongly connected to the location of this research because of family, friendships, and my involvement in ongoing projects that creatively work to address some of the causes of sexual violence against young people in Jamaica.

My experiences as a PACS scholar and my commitment to social justice and human rights have greatly influenced this research topic. In many ways, this research process was personal. Generally, traditional researchers and academics fail to acknowledge the past and ongoing trauma experienced by those living in post-slave colonies. Further, traditional scholars display indifference to the community-based work done by everyday people within these contexts, who find innovative and creative ways to address different forms of violence, including sexual violence.

While I believe that this research is very significant given the global directive that sexual violence is a crime against humanity (UN Security Council, 2008) and the #metoo movement that continues to uproot and expose the everydayness of sexual violence, I am aware that this research topic is still taboo. As such, participants can never be identified due to risks of potential harm. As a result of this taboo status, I struggled with my use of language throughout the writing process and was conscious of the potential impact of language on both the participants and the reader.

For example, I struggled with using specific terms such as “prostitution” to describe a mother exploiting her daughter by forcing her to sell sex for money or in exchange for basic needs. Sexual exploitation, regardless of the reason (i.e., poverty, human trafficking), alienates and stigmatizes the victim. The child is shamed and often ostracized. I was very cognizant of the impact of the specific term “prostitution” and used it to describe the act of sexual exchange for needs, not to shame or stigmatize or victim blame the child, but to draw attention to and challenge the normalization of sexual violence against young people within their homes. I used “prostitution” to challenge the generalization of “home” and “family” as safe spaces for young people. I also use the term to further draw attention to the impact of poverty on families as a form of structural violence and everyday violence within most Jamaican communities.

To maintain authenticity, I deliberately included what may be considered abrasive terms within the stories shared by my participants, as these terms reflect the anger associated with sexual violence, calling attention to the truth so that it cannot be ignored. It has been important for me to step back as a researcher, allowing the participants’ voices and storied experiences to determine the direction of the present work.

Research Purpose and Questions

Together, the increasing number of reports of sexual violence, the high rate of sexually transmitted infections among young people caused by sexual violence, and the culture of silence surrounding sexual violence in Jamaica demand the attention of human rights activists, children's rights activists, and peacebuilders, both nationwide and globally. Researchers argue that Jamaica's ongoing experience with violence is linked to the nation's history of slavery and 500 years of British colonialism (Hickling, 2020; Lemonius, 2017). For black Jamaicans, this violence lives at the intersection of "poverty, sexism, racism, and gendering, sometimes hidden in the ordinariness of everyday life" (Lemonius, 2017, p. 94). As a result, Jamaicans experience PTSD-related trauma, including but not limited to powerlessness and hopelessness that "breeds" further violence (Hickling, 2020). African Caribbean psychiatrist Frederick Hickling (2020) argues that to address the trauma of violence, it is imperative for postcolonial slave states to acknowledge the impact of their past, and "own [their] madness" (Hickling, 2020, p. 28). Thus, the overall purpose of this thesis is to explore the experiences of community activists as they work to de-silence the voices of young people affected by sexual violence in Jamaica.

To investigate community activism in relation to sexual violence in Jamaica, I ask this primary question: What are the experiences of the people who work to address the topic of sexual violence against young people in Jamaica? Sub-research questions include: Who are the people, agencies, and groups that address this topic? What types of work or creative solutions are used to address this topic? How do they define success in addressing this topic? What kind of relationships do they have with the communities in which they work? How do they build these relationships? How does their work within this context shape their sense of self and perception of community? What is their understanding or perception of the historical, cultural, and structural framings of sexual violence within the social, economic, and political context of Jamaica?

I employ a narrative approach with semi-structured or open-ended interview questions to allow participants to tell their stories (see Appendix C). This method of narrative inquiry encourages critical reflection, meaning, and meaning making of participants' experiences (Andrews et al., 2008; Byrne, 2015; Clandinin & Roseik, 2007; Wells, 2011). The present

work draws on PACS theories to highlight the need for creativity when working peacefully to promote change in a context condemned as one of the most violent countries in the world.

Significance of This Research

This study aims to motivate continued activism and bring awareness of the work being done by various individuals, groups, and governmental bodies within the Jamaican context. It highlights their strengths and creativity in influencing community and policy changes regarding sexual violence against young people. Further, this study responds to the call for formal, ethically driven qualitative research about sexual violence in Jamaica. The present work has the potential to influence structural and policy changes within Jamaican organizations and the nation more broadly. Finally, this research roots PACS theories and practice within the Caribbean context, advocating for understanding of the root causes of sexual violence and its continued perpetuation against young people in Jamaica. The present work highlights the importance of continued spaces for dialogue about healing from the colonial past and preventing sexual violence in the future through intervention and/or peacebuilding.

Overview of Chapters

This study explores the experiences of community activists who address the issue of sexual violence against young people in Jamaica. In Chapter 1, I introduce the problem and research questions. Chapter 2 includes a review of relevant literature, social movements, and activism on sexual violence, both globally and within Jamaica. In Chapter 3, I review the concept of the everyday, adult education, and social movements. Chapter 4 describes the qualitative methodology and methods used to engage participants and explore their experiences of community activism. Before the discussion of main themes that emerged from the study, I pause to introduce the reader to an uninterrupted narrative (Meet Gladiolus) by one of the participants in this study. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present the identified themes from the data. Chapter 8, the conclusion, summarizes the overall key findings from the study and the significance of the findings to PACS.

This first Chapter has introduced both the issue of sexual violence that continues to affect young people in Jamaica and the global call for attention and assistance from scholars, practitioners, and researchers. Further, this chapter explored my own background and

understanding of the issue as the primary researcher. As an introductory chapter, Chapter 1 outlined the research purpose, primary and supplementary research questions, and significance of the present study. This chapter closes with an overview of the remaining chapters and brief chapter summaries.

Chapter 2 contextualizes sexual violence in Jamaica as both a linguistic term and an act that continues to be framed and reframed over time. This chapter first explores and problematizes global definitions and understandings of sexual violence. Second, it presents sexual violence against young people as a global pandemic that is rooted in economic and political pursuits, resulting in the social construction and normalization of sexual violence as a part of everyday ways of being. In addition, this chapter discusses gender politics as they relate to sexual violence before situating the study in the Jamaican context. Chapter 2 introduces the reader to the issue and impact of sexual violence over the course of Jamaica's history as a post-slave colony. This chapter highlights the challenges of current consent policies and calls for change, as well as local grassroots movements and social activism through campaigns, social media, and organized protests and marches that bring awareness to the issue and demand action.

Chapter 3 outlines the conceptual framework of the present work. The findings unearth consistent themes of everyday learning, peace, and peacebuilding. Further, the participants' experiences demonstrate that sexual violence is seemingly an everyday occurrence that spans generations, embedded within structural and cultural norms not easily uprooted and destroyed. Hence, this chapter explores the concept of the everyday with a focus on everyday violence and peacebuilding and the roles of formal and informal everyday adult education as guides toward understanding the transmission of both violence and peacebuilding interventions. This chapter also explores the intersections between these concepts, as guides to understanding participants' experiences.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology and the methods utilized in the field research. This chapter discusses narrative inquiry as a methodology and why it was the most appropriate choice for this study. This chapter also details methods used to recruit participants, as well as collect and analyze data. In addition, the chapter offers some insight into what methodology to use and what procedures to follow for researchers who may wish to replicate this study. The chapter closes with a discussion of ethical considerations.

After Chapter 4, there is a story narrated by one of the participants titled “Meet Gladiolus.” This story allows the reader pause and marks an end to the literature review. This narrative, “Meet Gladiolus,” also serves as an introduction to the participants’ narratives. Meet Gladiolus tells a young woman’s story as she learns of sexual violence against four young girls, a “monster,” and an advocate’s relentless fight for justice. The story is in her own words and language: patois and “broken English.” The story is intended to recalibrate the reader’s mind, allowing the reader to focus as they embark on a journey of anti–sexual violence advocacy within the unique cultural and political context of Jamaican communities.

Chapter 5 discusses learning sexual violence in Jamaica. This chapter introduces sexual violence against young people as an everyday, pre-political, and political phenomena that is nurtured in private (i.e., homes), and private-public (i.e., community, organizations, movements) spaces. In addition, the chapter brings the concept of denial and disavowal, understood as the denial of harm, a taught and learned behaviour that perpetuates sexual violence, to the forefront. Chapter 5 highlights the systemic and organizational barriers that hinder change. This chapter ends with a summary of findings and a request for further inquiry into denial and sexual violence, as well as sexual violence as everyday violence.

Chapter 6 explores places of learning social activism and presents the second major theme identified in the study. This chapter focuses on the factors that influenced participants to become advocates and/or activists addressing the issue of sexual violence. Three main factors of influence were identified: (1) role models’ contributions to the participants’ awareness of gender violence in their early years; (2) informal learning (i.e., classroom discussions, workshops, and workplace) and/or formal learning (curriculum specific) about gender violence and human rights; (3) critical self-reflection and awareness after exposure to or interacting with victims of sexual violence. The participants in the study presented the three factors as a sequence of events that guided them toward anti-sexual violence activism. This chapter also highlights the power of narratives and storytelling in motivating and mobilizing action for change.

Chapter 7 discusses fostering peace in Jamaica, exploring peace as a lifelong practice toward managing secondary trauma. This chapter discusses participants’ pursuits of everyday normalcy through menial tasks and activities and their efforts to maintain balance between their work and personal lives by creating clear boundaries. In addition, the chapter highlights

the importance of a decolonized holistic approach to maintaining healthy mental and physical well-being, which includes accessing formal, informal, and spiritual supports that are context and culturally specific. The chapter discusses how participants fostered peace through practice by engaging the community in understanding the impact of gender/sexual violence and paths to peace. In reflection, this chapter captures the ongoing work (both within the self and external) that is done to ensure everyday positive peace in a post-slave colony.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion to the present work. This final chapter includes an overview of the key research findings and the implications of these findings. Findings from the present study demand greater attention to the everyday violence that is informally taught and learned in the homes and local communities of a post-slave colony. This chapter discusses the everyday peacebuilding strategies that local community advocates and activists employ to combat sexual violence. Chapter 8 also highlights the researcher's hope that the study motivates continued activism and awareness of the work being done to address sexual violence against the most vulnerable in Jamaica.

Conclusion

Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer (2013) state that violence of any form is rooted in harmful cultural ideologies, including but not limited to social and political attitudes, beliefs, and values. This study asks, what are the structural and cultural ideologies that perpetuate sexual violence in Jamaica? Thus, using narrative inquiry as a methodology, the present study explores the experiences of individuals who work to address the issue of sexual violence against young people within Jamaican society.

The findings indicate that sexual violence is often perpetuated through everyday, informal learning processes. Thus, the present work posits that everyday tools such as silence, denial, and disavowal within homes and communities are often used to reinforce everyday acts of sexual violence against young people. Further, to ensure safety and security within their homes and communities, young people are continuously negotiating methods of interaction within an environment where sexual violence is commonplace.

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXTUALIZING SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Introduction

No society or era is free from sexual violence. The continued global migration of cultures across borders requires an understanding of sexual violence within each cultural context. As a result, sexual violence has received increased exploration among PACS scholars who suggest that sexual violence is influenced by economic, social, and political attitudes, beliefs, and values (Byrne & Senehi, 2012).

Across academic disciplines, from PACS to the medical sciences, scholars have documented that sexual violence is often embedded and normalized in everyday relationships within families, including, but not limited to, intimate partner relationships and incest (e.g., Abuelaish & Godoy-Ruiz, 2020). Across cultures, scholars argue that the perpetuation of sexual violence is rooted in "how sexual violence is measured, the definitions used, the stigma and shame associated with the act, the extent to which disclosure of abuse and assault is encouraged, and cultural beliefs and the role of women and children in society" (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013, p. 11). Elizabeth Dartnall and Rachel Jewkes (2013) also argue that more attention must be paid to various types of sexual violence in order to understand sexual violence and strengthen the tools and methodologies used to prevent sexual violence against young people.

Hence, in order to explore the experiences of the people who work to address the topic of sexual violence against young people in Jamaica, this chapter provides an in-depth literature review on sexual violence against young people and local grassroots activism that addresses this atrocity. First, this chapter explores a global definition and understanding of sexual violence. Second, this chapter presents sexual violence against young people as a global pandemic that is rooted in economic and political pursuits, leading to the social construction and normalization of sexual violence as part of the everyday way of being. Next, this chapter situates the present study in the Jamaican context, connecting this global definition of sexual violence to local understandings of the issue within Jamaica. This chapter also provides an overview of Jamaica's social, economic, and political landscape. Finally, this chapter discusses Jamaican social movements that address sexual violence.

Defining Sexual Violence

It is important that we begin with a definition of sexual violence to facilitate shared understanding. Throughout the literature, sexual violence is described as a "slippery" (Fahs, 2016, p. 213; Stern, 2019, p. 1245) and "taboo" (Brand-Winterstein et al., 2019, p.113; Görgen & Fangerau, 2018, p. 982) subject. While the literature fails to capture a universal definition of sexual violence, the term is commonly understood as an umbrella term that describes unwanted and harmful sexual acts against all persons (Krause, 2015; World Health Organization, 2014). Attempting to universalize an understanding of sexual violence, the World Health Organization (2014) defines sexual violence as

> […] any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments, or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting including but not limited to home and work. (p.74)

Violent sexual acts commonly involve unwanted contact that may cause physical or psychological harm, such as rape or unwanted touching. Forms of sexual violence that do not involve contact often threaten psychological or physical harm, such as "exhibitionism and verbal sexual harassment" (World Health Organization, 2014, p. 84).

Authors also describe sexual violence as a "continuum" of unwanted and harmful sexual acts. Liz Kelly (1988) proposes that sexual violence is best understood on a continuum of choice, pressure, and force. As a result, sexual violence is immersed in everyday living (Lira et al., 2017). In an issue brief commissioned by the Federal Provincial Territorial Senior Officials for the Status of Women in Canada, Cecilia Benoit et al. (2015) argue that there is a hierarchy of severity to sexual violence:

> Sexual violence thus exists on a continuum from obscene name-calling to rape and/or homicide, and includes on-line forms of sexual violence (e.g., Internet threats and harassment) and sexual exploitation (usually thought of with regard to minors but can include adults with particular vulnerabilities – e.g., social, physical, or cognitive disabilities). (p. 4)

These authors describe sexual violence as a continuum that begins with seemingly minor offences that may eventually escalate to physical or deathly harm. Ulrike Krause (2015) explored the continuum of violence within settings of war or armed conflict and refugee camps, revealing a "continued prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence during conflict, flight and encampment" (p. 15). Krause (2015) posits that the continuum of sexual and gender-based violence is complex and influenced by the "spaces" (p. 8) the survivors occupy. The diverse and wide spectrum of meaning carried by the term sexual violence can both clarify and complicate one's understanding of the phenomenon.

While scholars and international bodies have presented their definitions of sexual violence, it is the responsibility of each state to ensure the protection of the physical and psychological integrity of their citizens (Amnesty International, 2011). As a result, each country has constructed varied definitions of sexual violence under their criminal codes of conduct (Amnesty International, 2011). These definitions are often influenced by people's attitudes and beliefs about power and violence within society. Hence, legal professionals, theorists, and scholars have long debated definitions of sexual violence in the international sphere under human rights law. For example, many countries worldwide have accepted the definition of sexual violence given by the World Health Organization and have since changed their polices and laws to reflect this human rights violation.

Definitions of "sexual" and "sexual violence" arguably date back to the works of Sigmund Freud's (1905a, 1905b, 1905d, 1906, 1908a) Seduction Theory, which acknowledges the pervasiveness of sexual abuse (incest in particular); Michel Foucault's (1976) argument of rape as an act of violence and not of sexuality; Frantz Fanon's (1963) concept of sexual violence in the colonial experience (inclusive of race and gender) as an act of power and control that dehumanizes, objectifies, and traumatizes both black and white bodies; and Paulo Freire's (1992) argument that people's knowledge, actions, and views of the world are influenced by their experiences. These arguments produced critical scholarly debates and empirical studies across various cultural contexts that sought out common understandings of sex, sexual desire, sexuality, and the connections among power, control, violence, and sexual violence. The next section of the present work discusses sexual violence as a global issue.

Sexual Violence as a Global Issue

Despite decades of women's activism, movements, and research, the taboo of sexual violence persists, continuing to silence victims (Butchart & Mikton, 2014; United Nations Children's Fund, 2014). Researchers argue that sexual violence is trivialized, entrenched, and normalized in policies that treat genders unequally, re-victimize victims, and reinforce lack of trust in authorities (United Nations Children's Fund, 2014). According to the United Nations Children's Fund (2014), in 2014 approximately 120 million cases of sexual violence against girls were reported worldwide, with very little data on sexual violence against boys due to the lack of comparable data in most countries. The World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) state that between November 2012 and June 2014, 1 in 5 women and 1 in 13 men reported sexual abuse as a child. However, less than half of the countries that participated in these analyses collected data on sexual violence against young people (Butchart & Mikton, 2014). Researchers attest that despite high numbers of sexual violence reported globally, it is challenging to accurately measure the extent of sexual violence because of socio-cultural stigmas or taboos that promote fear of reprisal from perpetrators, along with the public shaming of victims of sexual violence (Demant & Lorenz, 2020; Weiss, 2010). An increasing body of research has linked sexual violence to increased global health risks among vulnerable groups, including HIV, STIs, suicide, mental health challenges, and death (Butchart & Mikton, 2014; Krug et al., 2002; UNICEF, 2016), especially in low-income countries like Jamaica (Hahn, 2012).

Feminist researchers posit that sexual violence is fundamentally a crime of power, often driven by economic motives (Wilson & Butler, 2014). Sexual violence has moved beyond nation states into the global market. Scholars argue that globalization is a main facilitator that increases the flow of profits between nation-state borders by way of free trade, free flow of capital, and easy access to cheaper foreign labour markets (Cowling et al., 2018; Wheaton et al., 2010). In the globalized economy, commercial sex trafficking is a growing industry with estimated profits of 99 billion USD per year (UNODC, 2014). According to a report by the International Labour Organization (ILO), profit per victim of sexual exploitation is estimated at 21,800 USD annually (de Cock & Woode, 2014). In addition, compared to other sectors, including construction, manufacturing, mining and utilities, agriculture, and

domestic work, sexual exploitation is the most profitable industry per capita because of its high demand, high cost paid per client, low capital investment, and low operating cost (de Cock & Woode, 2014).

The 2020 Global Report on Trafficking in Persons found that trafficking arises in families and communities that face extreme poverty or economic need (United Nations, 2021). At any given time, there are over 4.8 million vulnerable women and children (3.8 million adults and 1.0 million children) forced into commercial sexual exploitation worldwide (International Labour Organization, 2017). Adults and children are used for prostitution or pornography. Over recent decades, the internet has become the conduit for promoting and selling sexual violence in every form. In 2019, the *New York Times* article "The Internet is Overrun with Images of Child Sexual Abuse. What Went Wrong?" outlined the rapid growth of child sexual imagery on the internet, from 3,000 images in 1998 to 45 million in 2018 (Keller & Dance, 2019). Michaëlle de Cock and Maame Woode (2014) highlight that sexual exploitation as an industry, although highly profitable, is illegal and bypasses national tax collection systems in each country. Therefore, it is "bad for its victims, it's bad for business and development as well" (de Cock & Woode, 2014, p. 1). The way forward, according to the ILO (2014) report, is to standardize data collection measuring trends and risks, strengthen laws and policies in areas of high risk, and strengthen preventative measures (including migration governance) (de Cock & Woode, 2014).

Sexual exploitation through human trafficking has become a widespread crisis. According to the UNODC (2020), sexual exploitation through human trafficking has "overwhelmed social and public services, impacted the work of law enforcement and criminal justice systems, and made it harder for victims to seek help" (para. 3). Thus, continued global awareness of the issue is paramount to preventing it. The UNODC (2021) highlights:

> For example, the Blue Heart Campaign against Human Trafficking
> works to raise awareness of the plight of victims and to build political support to fight the criminals behind trafficking. The Blue Heart Campaign, supported by several countries all over the world, seeks to encourage involvement and inspire action to combat human trafficking. (para. 1)

Still, there is a need for more public awareness campaigns at the local level. Campaigns should be implemented in schools to target a younger audience and should provide education and training to individuals who work with persons affected by or experiencing sexual exploitation (Chrismas, 2017). Since it is evident that sexual exploitation due to human trafficking transcends global economic boundaries, it is not surprising that both the United Nations and PACS researchers and practitioners have highlighted the role of political systems in perpetuating and preventing sexual violence.

The understanding of sexual violence as a political act was prompted by a plethora of global feminist activists demanding that women's rights should be politically strategized. History demonstrates that sexual violence affects the most vulnerable groups during colonialism, slavery, armed conflict, natural disasters, and other humanitarian emergencies (Lemonius, 2017). Peace scholar Janie Leatherman (2011) posits that sexual violence in conflict situations "is a runaway norm" (p. 33). Norms are the rules, principles, and expectations that guide our behaviours within systems. Leatherman (2011) adds that during armed conflicts, sexual violence is a norm and is used as "a weapon and strategy of war aimed at domination, humiliation, expulsion and extermination of the targeted group" (p. 33). This destructive form of violence against humanity, though repulsive, is pervasive due to its effectiveness as a means of controlling individuals for economic, political, and social gain.

Despite increased international attention to gender inequality and its worldwide consequences, sexual violence did not appear on the UN Security Council agenda until 2000. Then, the resolution requested member states to include more women in peacebuilding processes and abide by the international laws that protect the rights of civilian women and girls (United Nations Security Council, 2000). The resolution also requested that member states incorporate policies and procedures to protect civilians from gender-based crimes, such as sexual violence (United Nations Security Council, 2000). The resolution came after the 1994 Rwandan genocide, where sexual violence was used as an organized, strategic tool to humiliate, dominate, and instill fear in the nation through public rape and the display of mutilated bodies (Leatherman, 2011). It also followed the Bosnia and Herzegovina war in 1992, in which Bosnian Muslim women and girls were publicly raped while men and boys experienced genital mutilation, castration, and rape as a part of the "ethnic cleansing" (Bastick et al., 2007, p. 41). Finally, the resolution reflected learnings from the Congo wars, where war rape was used as a

means of ethnic cleansing as well as a method of environmental and community destruction to displace ethnic groups and gain access to natural resources, specifically Colton (Leatherman, 2011).

Staggering statistics surfaced, showing that since 1994, an estimated 550,000 women were raped in ethnic conflicts in many nations, including Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the former Yugoslavia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, resulting in unwanted pregnancies, suicides, death, sterility, sexually transmitted infections, and stigmatization (United Nations, 2015). Both local and global activists testify that sexual violence as a tactic of war has devastating physical and psychological consequences and has sadistically exploited women, children, and men for political gains and economic profits globally (Ahram, 2011; Carey et al., 2015; Leatherman, 2011; Mitchell et al., 2014). Further research shows that in developing countries, governments and elitists strategically sanction armed conflicts to obtain resources for economic profit and political power (Carey et al., 2015). Sabine Carey et al. (2015) argue that governments use militias to avoid accountability and to provide deniability for their involvement in violence committed against civilians during the extraction of resources.

In 2008, for the first time in history, the UN Security Council Resolution 1820 addressed sexual violence in armed conflicts, noting that it is a tactic of war and a threat to international peace and security. Further, Resolution 1820 requested that UN-led security programs, including refugee camps, once again allow more women to participate in peacebuilding processes. In the following year, 2009, the UN Security Council Resolution 1888 stated that despite repeated condemnation of sexual violence in conflict situations as a blatant violation of human rights, it continues, and has become more widespread in some areas. The document outlined its twofold intervention strategy: the appointment of a representative to manage the UN's work on the issue and the assembly of a team of experts to investigate the potential of UN peacekeepers to protect victims. Resolution 1888 led to the UN Security Council Resolution 1960, which requested that the Secretary General list suspected perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict situations and develop a process to document and analyze violence in conflict situations.

The issue of sexual violence appeared on the UN Security Council agenda again in 2013, in Resolution 2106, which called for strengthening the monitoring and prevention of sexual violence in conflict situations. The issue also held space in Resolution 2122, which

stressed the importance of women's inclusion and participation in peacebuilding processes. The UN's request for nation states to prevent the sexual assaults of women and children came after numerous reports of ISIS atrocities in Syria and Iraq. The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) estimated that 1,500 women and girls may have been forced into sexual slavery (United Nations, 2014). Further, studies show that approximately 70 percent of women and girls who survived ISIS captivity in Iraq were raped (United Nations, 2014). In addition, as recently as March 2021, Iraqi civilians were reported to have been abducted by ISIL and subjected to sexual slavery, despite numerous directives from the United Nations Security Council.

According to the United Nations (2021b), conflict related to sexual violence continues to be under-reported. Under-reporting is often linked to profiles of the perpetrators and victims. The perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence are often "affiliated with […] State or non-State armed groups" (United Nations Secretary General, 2021, p. 4). However, the United Nations Secretary General (2021) highlights:

> [Victims are] frequently an actual or perceived member of a persecuted political, ethnic, or religious minority, or targeted on the basis of actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity; the climate of impunity, which is generally associated with State collapse; cross-border consequences, such as displacement or trafficking; and/or violations of the provisions of a ceasefire agreement. (p. 4)

This evident power dynamic between perpetrator and victim creates fear of reprisal and lack of trust in governments and the justice system (United Nations, 2021b). In addition, the economic desperation of families during conflict situations can lead to higher rates of child marriage (United Nations Secretary General, 2021). Conflict-related displacement of families increases required "social safety nets" (i.e., protection) for vulnerable women and children in armed conflict milieus. The United Nations Secretary General (2021) describes conflict-related sexual violence as a "'hidden' crime that requires dedicated human and financial resources" (p. 5) to eradicate.

Experts consider state sanctioned sexual violence during armed conflict a human rights violation with serious repercussions. Recent research in PACS characterizes sexual violence enacted by government-trained militia as a form of socialization (group cohesion)

and practice (Cohen, 2013; Cohen & Nordas, 2015). Scholars argue that there is a lack of research related to government involvement in sexual violence within conflict zones. Still, scholars consider governments to be powerful actors with crucial roles to play in preventing sexual violence during armed conflict, including supporting access to and distribution of resources, and defining the gendered division of labor (Leatherman, 2011). Further, research highlights that the perpetuation of violence is embedded in policies and laws that fail to appropriately define sexual violence and/or support accountability and responsibility for such violence (United Nations, 2021b). According to Maja Korac (2018), while UN resolutions that address sexual violence may be seen as victories, survivors of sexual violence during armed conflict within their nation-states are faced with re-victimization:

> They are further victimized in courtrooms, during court hearings that mute women's voices, because these spaces are structured around and underpinned by gendered meta-narratives or war. They are also further victimized in post-war settings of their communities and families, in which women survivors who testified have been stigmatised, rejected, harassed, and left with no prospect to rebuild their lives. (p. 2)

Gendered politics and socially constructed prescribed roles for women, children, and men perpetuate acts of sexual violence during and after conflict situations. Sexual violence in conflict situations remains an ongoing issue, despite the work of the UN, affiliated agencies, and feminist social movements. Gender inequality is entrenched within nations and is highlighted by restrictions to education and employment, along with the ongoing negotiation, discussion, definition, and politicization of women's rights and bodily autonomy within international communities such as the UN.

Gender Politics and Everyday Norms

There is extensive literature on the theoretical evolution of gender and gender politics in the social sciences. Sally Engle Merry (2009), along with Anna M. Agathanelou and L. H. M. Ling (2009) describe gender as a set of prescribed social expectations defining how men and women are supposed to act within their respective social and cultural locations. According to scholars, gender is a fundamental dimension of a power relationship. Janie Leatherman (2011) explains that gender can serve as a measure of structural, hidden,

embedded violence, and that gender equality indicates social progress, while gender inequality indicates harm.

Johan Galtung (1971, 1990) argues that cultural practices of inequality lead to structural violence both within and between nations and that inequality manifests in religion, law, political ideologies, science, and medicine. Examples include Sierra Leone's laws that were discriminatory against women as well as religious Islamic law, which suggested a sense of male ownership over women's reproductive and productive capabilities. These gender identity-related roles are so entrenched within human psychology and social and cultural structures that shifting or changing them can cause internal and external conflict (Leatherman, 2011; Merry, 2009). An example of internal conflict is illustrated in a 2002 population-based assessment on sexual violence in Sierra Leone in which 50 percent of women reported being forced to have sex with their husbands even if they did not want to, justifying to themselves that it was their husbands' right (Physicians for Humanity, 2002). Galtung and Fischer (2013) identify this type of justification as a subtle paradox, wherein the cultural context results in direct or structural violence feeling right or acceptable. As such, they refer to it as cultural violence (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). External conflict is evident in the high levels of sexual violence that women face during armed conflict.

Research demonstrates that traditional colonial cultures report high levels of gender-based inequality and exploitation of women, including the belief by women that forced sex is a husband's right (Leatherman, 2011). For example, the belief that it is a husband's right to have sex with his wife was evident in British common law that was transferred to all British colonies through the colonization process, including Jamaica. A recent mixed methods study on forced sex and early marriage in the Democratic Republic of Congo found that it is considered normal within the culture for girls (13 to 14 years of age) who are sexually assaulted to marry their rapists (Seff et al., 2020). In Ghana, Zimbabwe, Malawi, India, Chad, and Mozambique, girls are minorities in secondary schools, which maintain a male-dominated structure that makes it challenging for girls to assert themselves (Leatherman, 2011). A 2001 report by Physicians for Humanity highlights that Taliban members in Afghanistan characterize Islamic laws as rooted in their Afghan history, tradition, and culture (Physicians for Humanity, 2001). In Taliban-controlled areas of Afghanistan, gender inequalities are evident in educational and social structures: girls are home-schooled and restricted from

receiving some medical care (Physicians for Humanity, 2001). In 2012, the Taliban shot Malala Yousafzai because she dared to advocate for young girls' rights to go to school. This incident happened after the United States waged war against Al Qaeda and ISIS in Afghanistan in the name of "a fight for the rights and dignity of women" (Mourad, para. 7). In her article, "'We're All Handcuffed in This Country.' Why Afghanistan Is Still the Worst Place in the World to Be a Woman," Lauren Bohn (2018) states:

> Despite Afghan government and international donor efforts since 2001 to educate girls, an estimated two-thirds of Afghan girls do not attend school. Eighty-seven percent of Afghan women are illiterate, while 70-80 percent face forced marriage, many before the age of 16. (para. 10)

Bohn (2018) further explains that the government has failed women and girls within Afghanistan, where sexual violence is an everyday norm for many girls under 16 years of age.

Sexual violence is rooted in gender inequities and colonialism. Gender inequalities have led to cultural violence, the normalization of direct and structural violence and the characterization of men's and women's bodies as the property of their states and globalized property (Agathangelou & Ling, 2009; Chun & Skjelbaek, 2010; Leatherman, 2011). The next section describes the magnitude of sexual violence against young people in Jamaica; and what researchers and peacebuilding organizations have noted as the contributing factors of the perpetuation of this epidemic and the current interventions addressing the issue.

Sexual Violence in Jamaica

Jamaica is the third largest island in the Caribbean, home to approximately 2.7 million people (Statistics Institute of Jamaica, 2016). Researchers describe an increasingly high rate of violence (Geary et al., 2006; Pan American Health Organization, 2010) in Jamaica, where sexual violence against young people is considered a "silent emergency" (Hahn, 2012, Section 2). For example, the Office of the Children's Registry (2021) in Jamaica reports 27,420 cases of sexual violence against young people between 2007 and 2017 (24,945 girls, 2,390 males and 85 unknown gender), with reports increasing each year. According to the Pan American Health Organization Country Cooperation Strategy 2010-15 report, Jamaica has the highest infection rate of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Sexually Transmitted Infections

(STIs) in the Caribbean, with the infection rate among girls (10-19 years of age) three times higher than for boys (15-24 years of age) (Pan American Health Organization, 2010). These startling numbers result from high rates of sexual violence against young people, mostly occurring in urban areas (Pan American Health Organization, 2010). Studies show that young people from rural communities may choose to trade sex for money to attend school in urban settings, or to escape family abuse, reflecting complex relationships between poverty, sexual violence, and exploitation (Amnesty International, 2006). According to the Caribbean UN Women Report (2016), deficiencies in the criminal justice system delay trials, prosecution, and further deter reporting of sexual violence. Jamaican child protection organizations affirm that unequal gender norms, lack of access to education, lack of information about rights and health, along with social tolerance of sexual violence and a pervasive culture of silence work together, contributing to the perpetuation and under-reporting of sexual violence against young people (Office of the Children's Registry, 2016; UNICEF, 2016). However, researchers argue that sexual violence is tied to Jamaica's history of slavery and colonialism, which created a legacy of intergenerational trauma and a social environment of inequity, inequality, and self-destruction (Haynes-Robinson, 2012; Hickling, 1994; Matthies et al., 2012).

Legacy of Colonialism and Slavery

Jamaica is built on a legacy of over 300 years of Spanish and British colonialism and slavery of African Indigenous people. The Spanish period in Jamaica lasted 150 years, ending in 1655 after they were conquered by the British naval forces (Wilson, 2011). Britain's conquest of Jamaica led to a new colonial model of oppression to rule and accumulate wealth. Jamaica, like other British colonies, was subjected to colonial systemic divisive constructs, including but not limited to race, gender, sexuality, class, religion, land, language, and education to maintain complete sovereignty of the land, people and commodities (Lemonius, 2017). Further, the enslavement of African Indigenous peoples as labourers was integral to the cultivation of the sugar cane plantation, making Jamaica one of the wealthiest colonies in the British Empire (Wilson, 2011). However, the British Empire's desire for complete sovereignty and wealth through slavery and colonialism led to the death of millions of African Indigenous people.

Orlando Patterson (1982) describes slavery as "one of the most extreme forms of the relation of domination, approaching the limits of total power from the viewpoint of the master, and of total powerlessness from the viewpoint of the slave" (p. 1). This power, according to Patterson (1982), includes three critical facets in the master-slave relationship: the threat of violence to control the slave, the use of coercion to change the slave's perception of self and the world around them, and the use of "force into right and obedience into duty" (p. 2). These fundamental tenets required severing the enslaved natal ties, preventing their sense of belonging, and ensuring the enslaved person had no existence outside their master (Morgan & O'Garo, 2012). All three facets share violence as one common trait. Peace and Conflict Studies scholars posit that structural, cultural and direct violence are all embedded in creating and maintaining systems of oppression (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

The creation and maintenance of the master-slave relationship required the use of direct violence. For example, whipping the enslaved person was a form of punishment, social control, subservience, and motivation to do work (Morgan & O'Garo, 2012). Thomas Thistlewood, a manager and later owner of a Jamaican plantation (from 1750 to 1786), details in his diaries the rape of enslaved women as a rite of passage after capture to instil their role as breeder and provider of sexual services at her master's demand (Haynes-Robison, 2012). The history of the enslaved person accounts for the unspeakable terror of raw violence on the flesh of African Indigenous bodies. According to Morgan and O'Garo (2012), the enslaved experienced endless and painful assaults on their bodies to destroy their humanity, memories, and voice. Thus, transforming the enslaved into a productive and reproductive body, a tool, instrument, or thing, devoid of social life and an extension of their master (Patterson, 1982). Patterson (1982) offers Henri Wallon's account of the enslaved person to illustrate his point:

> The slave was a dominated thing, an animated instrument, a body with natural movements, but without its own reason, an existence entirely absorbed in another. The proprietor of this thing, the mover of this instrument, the soul and the reason of this body, the source of this life, was the master. The master was everything for him: his father and his god, which is to say, his authority and his duty ... Thus, god, fatherland, family, existence, are all, for the slave, identified with the same being; there was nothing which made for the social person, nothing which made for the

> moral person, that was not the same as his personality and his individuality. (Wallon, 1879, p. 408).

Thus, the everyday direct violence, brute force, or physical violence allowed the master to move closer to absolute power over the enslaved person and the enslaved person to become completely powerless and subservient to their master.

According to Kai Morgan and Keisha-Gaye O'Garo (2012), the complete dominance of enslaved people also required destroying their identity. For example, the enslaved person was alienated from all ties to their ancestors (birth rights and social order), land, symbols, and practices that embodied their culture and humanity or human identity (Anderson, 1982). Anderson (1982) added that enslaved people had no claim to parents or descendants. This cultural deconstruction of enslaved people was pure evil (Fergus, 2013).

> They were not allowed freely to integrate the experience of their ancestors into their lives, to inform their understanding of social reality with the inherited meanings of their natural forebears, or to anchor the living present in any conscious community of memory. (Anderson, 1982, p. 5)

Further, the psychological deconstruction of the enslaved person created a new understanding of how they saw themselves and the world around them. Ultimately, the enslaved person became an extension of their master.

Colonialism accompanied by slavery and disguised as progress is a destructive force of domination and submission; mistrust, and violence (Byrne, 2017; Cesaire, 2000). Colonialism and slavery have worked together to dehumanize (Freire, 1970) and traumatize the oppressed and oppressor (Fanon, 1963). During slavery, violence toward slaves, including sexual violence, was a norm, a rite of passage (Douglas, 1999). Slavery in Jamaica ended in 1834; however, for the people of the Caribbean, colonialism and slavery created an enduring culture of sexual expression, an explosion of demonstrative sexuality (Haynes-Robinson, 2012), riddled with violence and covered up with silence (Matthies et al., 2012).

Post-slavery colonialism in Jamaica led to a new construction of the emancipated African Indigenous fractured body and psyche. The emancipated enslaved, now a "human being" under the umbrella of heteropatriarchy, remained in servitude within the social,

economic and political landscape of British colonialism in Jamaica. As human beings, the once enslaved, were inserted into a place of subservience within the British colonial hierarchy of race, gender, and sexuality. According to Hall (1999), racial hierarchy—whiteness over blackness and the sexual objectification of black bodies continued. Michele Lemonius (2017) posits that British colonialism post-slavery imposed structural gender ("masculinity over femininity: the domination of powerful men over other men, men over women," evident in family law) and sex ("heterosexuality over homosexuality," evident in the anti-sodomy law) identities upon the freed African Indigenous peoples (p. 19). Lemonius adds that these identities created otherness, fear and violence among African Indigenous peoples. Critical race theorists argue that to eliminate these constructions of race, gender, and sexual inequities and inequalities that continue to persist decades after slavery and colonialism, we should focus on the policies and laws perpetuating and normalizing these constructs (Crenshaw et al., 1996).

Post-colonial constructs of masculinity and heterosexuality embedded in Jamaican culture define and teach cultural normativity—a set of norms. Empirical studies suggest that young men's experiences of learned masculinity and aggression (i.e., towards girls), heteronormativity (i.e., anti-gay sentiment), and dominance are influenced by patriarchal notions of gender from role models within households as well as external social expectations (Ferguson & Iturbide, 2013; James & Davis, 2014). Learned attitudes and beliefs make acts of sexual violence, whether direct or structural, what Johan Galtung would describe as "feel right, or at least not wrong" (Galtung & Fischer, 2013, p. 70).

Critical race theory recognizes that the legacy of slavery continues to permeate the socio-economic and political fabric of post-slave colonial states, which is evident at the intersection of race, gender, and sexuality (Crenshaw, 2009). According to Danielle Roper and Traci-Ann Wint (2020), patriarchal notions of race, gender, and sexuality are held captive in the Jamaican memory and narrative:

> Black Caribbean women are expected to be simultaneously hypersexual, sexually available, and pious, and sex is to be utilitarian and only in "service of men, procreation, and the nation." The sexualization of black women extends to black girlhood and black girls. Black girls […] are constructed as inherently hypersexual

> and sexually available. When they are victimized, they are commonly accused of being "force-ripe." Since heteropatriarchy deems black women and girls as always sexually available, they can never truly be victims. (p. 39)

Memory retells or references narratives of patriarchal notions that define what is right and wrong. According to Maziki Thame and Dhanaraj Thakur (2014), "patriarchal sentiments ultimately find a way of imposing the burden of responsibility for male misbehavior on women" (p. 11). Thus, silencing in public and private spaces, along with histories of trauma related to sexual violence experienced by black women and girls are connected to patriarchy. Amidst this silence and shame are the stories of black male slaves who were continually raped, forced into coupling for reproduction, and castrated as punishment—dehumanized (Hall, 1999). The rape of male slaves is rarely mentioned and has been omitted from British and Jamaican history but has been captured in the accounts of Thomas Thistlewood, who mentions the slave owner's "relationship" with their male slaves (Hall, 1999). Yet, the body, with each generation, remembers victimization, retold and enacted. Galtung and Fischer (2013) state, "violence breeds violence" (p. 932). Silence, shame, forgiveness, and forgetfulness become cultural norms and pacify resistance so that most research on sexual violence in Jamaica stresses the need for public education. Critical race theorists argue that to deconstruct the social constructions of race, gender, and sexual inequities and inequalities that continue to persist decades after slavery and colonialism, we should focus our attention on the policies and laws that continue to perpetuate and normalize these constructs.

Local Understandings of Sexual Violence

Despite efforts to identify common understandings of sexual violence across cultural contexts, the literature on understanding sexual violence within the post-slave colonies of the Caribbean remains dated and limited to colonial atrocities of dominance and control through the public rape of black bodies (male-on-male, male-on-female, and violence against children). Hence, it is important that the present study explores participants' own unique understandings and the language they use to describe and define sexual violence within the Jamaican context.

To properly highlight understandings of sexual violence within Jamaica, this section is informed by participants in the present study. Participants identified several major themes that

are crucial to understanding or defining sexual violence within Jamaican society. All participants identified consent and power as important aspects of understanding sexual violence. One participant, Carnation, explained:

> Sexual violence is about people who can give consent or who cannot give consent. When people without your consent seek to force themselves on you. In other words, [sexual violence] is forced intercourse—either for vulnerable people who cannot give consent, or who can but did not choose to. And you force yourself [on someone] because you think you have male privilege, and you have the power to do it and you do it.
>
> And basically, it includes verbal harassment, [from] unwanted, uninvited sexual comments about how you look up to assault. In other words, a person's right to choose is basically ignored and then we ignore those who are not of the age and maturity to engage in sexual activity. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

She added:

> Young people based on, you know, maybe up to 24 years old, maybe 13 to 24 could be a very vulnerable group. When you talk to the little girls, they can't walk on the road without some idiot male person trying to force themselves on them, starting with verbal situations. And a lot of kids, some even younger, are being sexually violated. It is probably uncomfortably prevalent. And it is just not about girls; it is about [any] gender. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

Consent is about power and vulnerability. Consent allows for the creation of boundaries that protect individuals when they are vulnerable, especially young girls.

Another important aspect of understanding sexual violence within Jamaica is rooted in legal and cultural attitudes toward 2SLGBTQ+ peoples. In Jamaica, homosexuality is illegal and opposed by most religious groups. Yet advocates and activists clearly name this legal and cultural stance as structural and direct violence towards the 2SLGBTQ+ population. The exclusion and criminalization of one's identity based on sexual attraction is sexual violence. Lotus, a clergyman participant, stated that biblical stories are often used to justify the condemnation and criminalization of homosexuality:

> One of the things I learned is that sexual violence receives strong systemic support from a patriarchal tradition that has been nurtured by unfortunate, misleading religious positions. Because when you think that there are people who hold some views just because their pastor says it, or their church says, or they believe the Bible says it. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

Lotus added that the Biblical story of Lot and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is often used to remind people that one's sexual identity is predetermined by a higher power or God. The narrative that God's rejection of homosexuality caused the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is a common reminder that maintains and reinforces a culture of sexual violence, taboo, and silence surrounding those who identify as 2SLGBTQ+. However, Lotus argued that the story of Lot is often misunderstood. He explained:

> We don't talk about the Lot story—the Sodom and Gomorrah story is not about sexual orientation. People use that to condemn homosexuality. There is something about the text that clearly is [used], whether through [deliberate] hyperbole, or [the text is] misread, because according to the text, entire men from the city of Israel came to Lot's house. So, a lot of unlearning has to be done. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

Lot's story told and retold, according to Lotus, has not only nurtured a culture of sexual violence against 2SLGBTQ+ individuals but has also encouraged direct violence against this marginalized group. Lotus argued that denying an individual their identity is violence. In addition, Lotus explained the occurrence of "corrective" rape: the act of raping an individual who identifies as 2SLGBTQ+ in order to "correct" or change how they identify themselves, as direct sexual violence. Lotus explained:

> People today who advocate for same gender intimacy are not asking for persons to be raped. It's two different contexts. Because to deny persons their identity is a form of violence. If you are female, you have an added level of vulnerability. Because the chances of your being a victim of corrective rape, if you are perceived to be lesbian, the chances of being raped is very, very strong. And being raped by a family member. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

In Jamaica, religious teachings have played a considerable role in skewing understandings of sexual violence and have influenced how sexual violence is defined, embedded within, or omitted from the law (i.e., the anti-buggery act). Thus, some religious teachings have perpetuated cultural, structural, and direct violence against individuals who identify as 2SLGBTQ+ in Jamaica. Later in the present work, Chapter 5 will focus on how sexual violence is learned within the Jamaican context through the lenses of study participants. The following section showcases Jamaica's sexual violence-related policies and laws and their limitations.

Sexual Violence Policy

Sexual violence policies are essential to define and describe sexual offences and the associated penalties intended to educate, deter, or prevent sex crimes and improve public health and safety. Evelyne de Leeuw, Carole Clavier, and Eric Breton (2014) note that a "policy is not an intervention but drives intervention development and implementation" (p. 2). However, limitations in policies that address sexual violence and intend to protect people from harmful socio-cultural attitudes and beliefs can also contribute to the perpetuation of sexual violence.

The Sexual Offences Act (2009, 2011) and the Child Care and Protection Act in Jamaica state that a child under 16 years old cannot give legal consent to any form of sexual activity. However, with the continued increase in sexual violence against children in Jamaica, the age of legal consent has been contested by some children's advocates. In an appearance in front of the Jamaican parliamentary committee in 2017, Children's Advocate of Jamaica, Diahann Gordon Harrison, argued that the age of consent should be raised to 18 years. In her argument she noted that 16 years old is not "intellectually or otherwise mature enough to make certain independent decisions such as who should govern their country for a five-year term, yet they are given the legal authority to engage in sexual activity" (Johnson, 2017, p. 3).

According to Jamaican law, at 18 years old Jamaican citizens can vote, if they are not deemed mentally unwell, serving a death sentence, imprisoned for 6 months or more, convicted of electoral fraud, or holding an office connected with elections. The parliamentary committee did not support the proposal to raise the age of consent to 18 years but recommended that more focus be placed on increasing public education on sexual violence to minimize its perpetuation. Some argue that denying the proposal perpetuates cultural norms

that facilitate the sexual involvement of older men with children (Jamaica in Good Company, 2019).

In Jamaica, stringent sodomy laws dictate gender and sexual expression, teach and promote inequality, impede consciousness-formation and mobilization, and validate "cultural" intolerance towards homosexual people. The sodomy law, a relic of British colonialism, refers to homosexuality as a criminal act that is punishable by up to 10 years in prison (Amnesty International, 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2014). The Jamaica Constabulary Force Statistics and Information Management Unit and the Office of the Director of Public Prosecution report that between 2011 and 2015, "25 of the 39 prosecuted [sodomy law] cases where the victims were boys, were incidents between adult male perpetrators and boys," while "18 of the 25 prosecuted cases where the victims were girls, were incidents between adult male perpetrators and girls" (Murray & Harper, 2017, p. 6).

Glenroy Murray and Christopher Harper (2017) further note that based on reported cases of sexual violence against boys, "boys – who cannot be considered victims of rape under the law – are the most affected population" (p. 6). As the sexual atrocities against male slaves have been conveniently omitted from Jamaican history, sexual violence against boys continues to be underreported, arguably because of the legal implications of the anti-buggery/sodomy law that imposes silence on victims and gives power to perpetrators.

Local actors play an intrinsic role in resisting changes to colonial laws that were imposed as moral fragments of culture through informal education. For example, colonial religious teachings of heteronormativity and masculinity create and promote a culture of prejudice and sexual violence (Roper & Wint, 2020). The Jamaica Forum for Lesbians, All-Sexuals and Gays (J-Flag), launched in 1998, advocates for the legal rights of 2SLGBTQ+ peoples in Jamaica. J-Flag stresses the importance of discarding the anti-sodomy law that continues to silence victims and promote violence, including sexual violence against 2SLGBTQ+ peoples in Jamaica.

In a study exploring Jamaican attitudes and perceptions toward same sex relationships, data revealed that over 80 percent of participants support the current anti-sodomy law and deem same sex relationships to be morally wrong (Boxill et al., 2011). Later, in 2016, a cross-sectional mixed methods study explored the experiences of 2SLGBTQ+ persons and how their negative experiences reflect shortcomings of Jamaica's human, social, and economic

development. This study found that 2SLGBTQ+ individuals experience various forms of discrimination (i.e., denial of health services) and threats, including sexual violence (i.e., sexual assault). Research shows that violence against young people who identify as 2SLGBTQ+ is commonplace in Jamaica. For example, young 2SLGBTQ+ people often face homelessness, corrective rape, and struggle with trauma-related mental health issues (Smith, 2018). Moral laws and attitudes embedded in hetero-patriarchal ideals prohibit the freedom of gender and gender expression, while encouraging public and private "margins" (i.e., outcast status) toward those who do not fit the defined status quo.

In sum, sexual violence policies and laws (i.e., anti-sodomy law) may cause harm. In the following section, I will review different social movements in Jamaica addressing sexual violence against young people. I will also review how collective social action and activism challenge gender norms and laws that perpetuate sexual violence against young people using different forms of storytelling.

Social Movements in Jamaica

Collective social action and activism have opposed and challenged the socio-political norms that perpetuate sexual violence against young people in Jamaica. Over the past five years, the Jamaican government, in collaboration with international agencies, has launched national public awareness campaigns to share youth stories of sexual violence and to condemn sexual violence against young people as a crime. For example, the Break the Silence campaign, a collaboration among the Office of the Children's Registry (now the National Children's Registry), the Office of the Children's Advocate, and the Child Development Agency, sought to "denounce the stigma of shame related to sexual violence, and encourage individuals to report any sexual violence against children and young people" (Linton, 2017, para. 3). The campaign was developed after the 2013 report from the Office of the Children's Registry (OCR), now named the National Children's Registry (NCR), and UNICEF. Within this report, titled "The Knowledge, Attitude and Practices Regarding Child Maltreatment in Jamaica: Baseline Survey," the NCR and UNICEF highlight that there is some confusion or lack of understanding surrounding what constitutes physical and sexual abuse against young people. Sexual violence against young people continues "to be cloaked under tradition and secrecy and remains grossly under-reported" (Office of the Children's Registry, 2013, p. 63).

The report further revealed that for every 10 adults that admitted to having knowledge of cases of child abuse, only one chose to report.

The Break the Silence campaign strategically engaged local celebrities, business leaders, and media—radio and television—to strengthen and expand public awareness of sexual violence against children and young people. In addition, the campaign contributed to the mobilization of grassroots individuals, groups, and human rights activists across the island who shared a similar vision, utilizing social media, theatre, and protests to challenge the justice system, social stigma, and norms that perpetuate sexual violence against young people. They advocated for swift justice for sexual offenders, victim protection, and equality for the 2SLGBTQ+ population that are ignored under current law.

Some local grassroots movements played a significant role in engaging participation through storytelling to break the silence surrounding sexual violence. For example, the controversial Tambourine Army emerged from the frustrations caused by the continued perpetuation of sexual violence against children and young people in Jamaica:

> Early one Sunday in January, a group of women arrived at a church in the rolling, green hills of rural Jamaica. They were not there to worship, but to show support for a young victim of sexual abuse: a 15-year-old girl, who had allegedly been raped by the church's pastor a few weeks earlier. The 14 activists entered the church and sat in silence, but angry words broke out when they were approached by a different pastor; the confrontation culminated with him being struck in the head by a tambourine. The incident marked the beginnings of the Tambourine Army, a new organization to fight gender-based violence in Jamaica. (Chappell, 2017, para. 1-2)

The story of the young girl was a significant motivator toward collective action in Jamaica, with the tambourine representing both action and resistance. The story ignited informal conversations in informal spaces. Danielle Roper and Traci-Ann Wint (2020) note that the story stimulated conversations (on various social media platforms) among women who were abused by their pastors and church leaders. The conversations were "online chatter, grumbles, and gossips" that "function[ed] as meaning-making systems, as feminist practices of knowledge production and exchange in informal spheres" (Roper & Wint, 2020, p. 37). Social media platforms such as Facebook, hashtags, and newspaper accounts facilitated the

local storytelling of shared experiences of sexual violence and served as a call to action for social change. Arguably, social media can be a powerful tool for framing events and social conflicts (Surzhko-Harned & Zahuranec, 2017).

Local youth theatre groups have also used social media as a platform to spread awareness and spark conversations about the harsh realities of varied types of sexual violence experienced by young people within their homes and communities. The Jamaican Youth Theatre (JYT), founded in 2004, uses indigenous forms of theatre and popular culture to engage their audience, creating cutting edge popular theatre, targeting young people as a means of social change. The JYT works to recruit participants from across Jamaica at the annual Secondary Schools' Drama Festival. The JYT showcases powerful storytelling through plays on social media platforms, such as YouTube and Facebook, to "educate, recommend solutions and spread awareness of the issues they face as youth living in the Jamaican context" (Lemonius & Strachan, 2018, p. 41-42). For example, a young playwright (Matthew Murrell) told the story of a mother grooming and prostituting her teenage daughter in the play, *Pretty Daughta*, which was performed by members of JYT and posted on YouTube on March 4, 2013. The video has yielded 8,456 views to date, 68 likes, and eight comments. Some of the comments describe the play as "lowkey haunting" (Han, 2019), and sad (Brown, 2019; YouthQuake Jamaica, 2014). Other comments display a strong dislike of the play. "I hate this" EgWuna Brown (2019) commented, demanding "what is this on the internet" (Brown, 2019). In similar fashion, Jesus Saves (2019) commented "I hate this play!! It's harsh reality I can't stand to watch it!!" It is unclear if storytelling focused on sexual violence against young people in Jamaica through theatre arts on social media has influenced participation in social change movements in the Jamaican context.

Public protests as storied spaces for collective action are a powerful tool to increase dialogue about social conflict and denounce rape culture. In 2016, the Caribbean Women Break the Silence for #16Days protests sought to "break [the] silence to expose daily experiences of street harassment and sexual violence" (UN Women, 2016, para. 1). Jamaica headlined two main events in support of the #16Days protests: The Clothesline Project and the International Day to Eliminate Violence against Women-in the context of HIV (IDEVAW) silent march (UN Women, 2016). The Clothesline Project was hosted by the University of the West Indies, Mona campus. UN Women created a space for individuals to tell their stories of

sexual violence by painting a statement on a t-shirt and hanging it on the clothesline. According to UN Women (2016), this act of resistance "symbolises the hanging of our 'dirty laundry' in public" (UN Women, 2016, para. 5) and serves to denounce shame and the feeling of being held hostage in victimhood. The IDEVAW silent march, organized by Jamaica Aids Support for Life (JASL), WE-Change, Eve for Life, and Women's Media Watch (WMW), among others, brought over 300 individuals to the streets (UN Women, 2016). Some individuals covered their mouths, symbolizing the culture of silence that surrounds sexual violence (UN Women, 2016). Others shared spoken stories, poetry, and music about sexual violence to protest the everyday political and socio-cultural inequalities and injustices that perpetuate sexual violence within the context (UN Women, 2016). While they made powerful statements, it remains unclear how effective The Clothesline Project and the silent march were in mobilizing mass participation and social change as it relates to the perpetuation of sexual violence against young people.

Sometimes, social change can only be achieved through Gene Sharps' idea of pragmatic nonviolent direct action. On March 11, 2017, The Tambourine Army, along with thousands of supporters, marched in a radical, "disrespectful" street protest in Kingston, Jamaica, calling for resistance to the hetero-patriarchal prescribed identity of black women and girls as hypersexual and sexually available, never victims (Paul, 2017; Roper & Wint, 2020). The march mobilized and represented the marginalized and the oppressed, the grassroots of Jamaican society. The Tambourine Army deliberately excluded politicians and used popular rhetoric along with the informal everyday language (patois) created by their enslaved ancestors to reject the politics of respectability that silence victims of sexual violence (Paul, 2017; Roper & Wint, 2020). Some protest signage read "*Fiyah bun pon rapists*" or "*Bun out rape culture*" (Roper & Wint, 2020). "The terms *fiyah bun* and *bun out* signify a rejection of something, yet they are also the language of retribution affirming the Tambourine Army's insistence on accountability" (Roper & Wint, 2020, p. 48). The everyday language of the Jamaican people (patios), often used by the "uneducated" and rejected in formal gatherings and institutions, was given space in these resistance settings.

The theme song for the march, "*Nah Mek Dem Win*" by singer Keisha Firmm, details the singer's own experiences of overcoming incest, framing the march as an expression of resistance, solidarity, and resilience. The protest also strategically incorporated the use of

obscene language, violence, and antagonism toward the Christian religious ethos that promoted inaction in the face of oppression and sexual violence against young people (Roper & Wint, 2020). In opposition, they displayed their ancestors varied African religious practices as modes of healing and revival for survivors. The march made space for the storytelling of victims through song, dance, chants, signs, and survivor stories.

Annie Paul (2017) recalls lyrics from a truck, "telling an all-too-familiar Jamaican story. Young girl being abused by her father, tries in vain to bring it to the attention of her family, yet:

> Mama neva listen
> Aunty neva listen
> Mi try tell mi sista, but ... she neva
> listen But this is healing time ...
> An you don't have to do it on your own
> Just Stan Firm.
> Nah mek dem win
> Nah mek dem win ..." (para. 3)

The different forms of storytelling echoed trauma, the sexualization of black bodies through slavery to the present, intergenerational trauma, resilience, resistance to silence, and the demand for justice. According to Roper and Wint (2020), "the march affirmed and enabled public recognition for survivors and brought into being a public oppositional space to the epidemic of sexual violence" (p. 44). However, the radical and militant approach to protest was criticized by some feminist factions who believe that nonviolent conservative dialogue is more effective in creating social change. On the other hand, the radicalism incited further *chisme* (gossip) and questions in both formal and informal spaces, predicting a kind of reckoning for perpetrators of sexual violence.

The hashtag culture movement created a local-to-global alternative platform of reckoning for sexual violence perpetrators. To further support survivors of sexual violence, the Tambourine Army used their social media platforms and the power of hashtags to challenge the Jamaican justice system's failure to prosecute perpetrators (Roper & Wint, 2020). The

#SayTheirNames campaign "sought to empower survivors to name their abusers either privately or publicly and to challenge structures of impunity that protect perpetrators" (Roper & Wint, 2020, p. 50). According to Roper and Wint (2020), those who participated in the hashtag movement named "pastors, police officers, teachers, and other prominent members of society as perpetrators. Members of the press condemned #SayTheirNames, casting the participants as vengeful social actors seeking to ruin the reputations of defenseless men" (Roper & Wint, 2020, p. 50). While this method of nonviolent direct activism and alternative justice represents an avenue for retribution and social justice, key members of the Tambourine Army were held accountable for character defamation under law and the Tambourine Army was suspended in late 2017. However, the Tambourine Army continues to create spaces for the stories of survivors in both informal and formal places. Words of encouragement remain present on the Tambourine Army's Facebook page. For example, on November 30, 2017, the Tambourine Army posted,

> Dear Survivor,
> 'Women need to learn to talk
> Women need to remember that they will find no comfort or solace in silence
> So, speak sister, let words roll off your lips and when you are done Babylon should be flat
>
> Your words can bun dung Babylon
> So, bun it dung flat
> Offer no apologies when you are done
>
> Women need to break the silence
> We need to let them know that when we speak, we change creation and pestilence and floods will follow
> We need to sit under trees, sit by the roadside and sit in buses and
> talk We need to share our stories with each other
> Women should just talk; we should raise our voices in defense of us
>
> Women should talk at work and in church
> We should talk when we take the babies to the clinic, and we need to talk in the market
> We need to talk when we are in meetings

> Send each other messages and tell the truth, our truth, to everyone who will listen
> Talk, hold no one's secret
>
> When we are done talking, we should hug each other
> Hold hands and offer solace on our shoulders
> Then we shouldn't have to talk because the women who offer us their shoulders will know why
> Then we would have run out of words
> Then we would no longer need words
> Then we would love from a place of knowing
> So, talk, just talk, when you are done
> We will be here'
> #WeAreWithYOU #IDEVAW2017 #16Days (Tambourine Army, 2017).

Roper and Wint (2020) wrote their article about these grassroots movements "to resist erasure, to combat intimidation, and to hopefully animate future acts of resistance" (p. 52). The symbol of the tambourine continues to spark stories of resistance against sexual violence within Jamaica and the Caribbean (#ForSurvivors #NahMekDemWin #WeAreWithYOU).

Jamaica's calls for action to address sexual violence against young people have resulted in violent as well as nonviolent collective action. The key purpose of collective movements is to change attitudes and policies through political action. According to Louise Diamond and John McDonald (1996), social activism is value-and-justice-driven. The collective movement depends greatly on local and international networking. Diamond and McDonald (1996) argue that while collective movements are empowering, effective actions in change processes, movements can also generate inter-and intra-group conflict and "lock people into positions rather than foster communication and synthesis" (p. 92). The aforementioned modes of collective action are created every day in informal storied spaces, where individuals share their stories of sexual violence as well as a restlessness and impatience for justice that fuels action. The present study seeks to understand how these spaces that adults occupy, understood as storied spaces, nurture awareness and understanding of sexual violence against young people, motivating social action. While storied spaces for

social action can be empowering in addressing sexual violence, they can also be a space of conflict, because sexual violence affects everyone.

Conclusion

This study is a timely addition to the academic literature on post-slave colonies' continued struggles with learned sexual violence that is societally entrenched, as well as the costs of unaddressed intergenerational trauma. While this study focuses on the post-slave colony, Jamaica, it is important to note that sexual violence is an historic global issue that continues to demand attention for prevention and eradication within each cultural context. There is a plethora of data on sexual violence globally. Data indicates that sexual violence is a global issue that is driven by socioeconomic, political, and cultural norms. While there is insurmountable data on the everydayness of sexual violence, to address and eradicate this epidemic, we must explore each cultural context and make visible, de-silence, and collectively condemn what is normalized. To address violence, the cause must be pursued at various levels, including the individual level (Lederach, 1997). Violence is traumatizing. We must begin with healing the spirit to minimize the potential of violence breeding violence, grief, loss, anger, and intense trauma.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This study focuses on the experiences of individuals who work to address sexual violence against young Jamaican people. This study's data reveals that sexual violence is an everyday occurrence, spanning generations, and is embedded within structural and cultural norms that are not easily uprooted and destroyed. Hence, Chapter 3 explores the concept of the everyday with a focus on everyday violence and everyday peacebuilding. Next, this chapter explores the roles of formal and informal everyday adult education in understanding the transmission of violence and peacebuilding interventions, and their intersections, as guides to understanding participants' experiences. Finally, this chapter discusses the role of everyday storytelling in transmitting and understanding socio-cultural norms and inciting social action that challenges structural and cultural violence.

The Concept of the Everyday

For the purposes of this study, the concept of the everyday is used to disrupt, make visible, and challenge the deliberate social construction and normalization of sexual violence within the post-slave colony, Jamaica. The lens of the everyday focuses on social events as the ultimate object of inquiry. Piotr Sztompka (2008) explains:

> [We understand] human action in collective contexts, constrained on the one hand by the agential endowment of participants and on the other hand by structural and cultural environments of action. […] The idea of social existence focuses on what really occurs in human society, at the level between structures and actions, where the constraints of structures and the dynamics of actions produce the real, experienced, and observable social events, the social-individual praxis making up everyday life, in fact the only life that people have, which is neither completely determined nor completely free. In the notion of social event the agential (personal) input of acting individuals and the structural (situational) context within which they act are brought together in one, undivided phenomenon. (p. 26)

The concept of the everyday is used as a guide to show the connectedness between often overlooked everyday factors that promote sexual violence. In addition, the concept of the everyday is used to understand how the meaning of sexual violence is negotiated through the "taken for granted" interactions between individuals, between individuals and community, and between individuals and the Jamaican state—everyday violence. Further, the everyday is used to understand the variety of ways in which "exceptional" practices of advocates and activists within the Jamaican society construct, reproduce, reconstruct, and deconstruct the perpetuation of sexual violence within local communities—everyday peacebuilding.

Everyday Violence

Over recent decades, PACS scholars have paid increased attention to everyday local grassroots activism and local peacebuilding efforts to identify and/or address different forms of violence that continue to persist (Donais, 2012; Dueck-Read, 2019; Kroeker, 2019; Lee, 2019; Lee & Özerdem, 2015; McLean, 2019; Neustaeter, 2019; Westlund, 2010), especially violence against young people (Chrismas, 2017). This study focuses on how local activists and advocates address the issue of sexual violence within their local communities in Jamaica. Hence, it is fitting to begin with a definition of everyday violence. The previous chapter included an overview of the global and Jamaica-local issue of sexual violence, its causes, and its impacts. It is clear from the review of the literature that sexual violence is one form of everyday violence against young people.

Everyday violence was first coined by Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1996) in her article, "Small Wars, and Invisible Genocides," where she calls attention to the everyday:

> […] forms and spaces of hitherto unrecognized, gratuitous and useless social suffering by referring to them as invisible genocides and small holocausts. The paradox is that they are not invisible because they are secreted away and hidden from view, but quite the reverse. As Wittgenstein noted, the things that are hardest to perceive are often those which are right before our eyes and therefore simply taken for granted. (p. 889)

Thus, everyday violence is the persisting social indifference to everyday suffering by members of society. Scheper-Hughes (1996) refers to the methods used to treat patients in

psychiatric institutions as comparable to concentration camps, where "violence, torture and terror that masqueraded as therapy […] contributed to the premature deaths" (p. 890). Scheper-Hughes (1996) highlights that this treatment represented a form of everyday violence. She also identifies Catholic rituals (i.e., celebration of death), medical indifference (i.e., undiagnosed deaths of children), and the bureaucratic indifference of political leaders who were financing coffins for the burial of children who died from illness or malnourishment (that is "angel babies"), as examples of everyday violence.

Over the years, researchers and practitioners have built on Scheper-Hughes' (1996) concept of everyday social suffering as everyday violence. Everyday violence destroys the lives of more people than any other form of violence and has a particularly destructive impact on those who experience poverty and live in slum-like conditions (Haugen & Boutros, 2015). Using case stories, Gary Haugen and Victor Boutros (2015) identify daily atrocities, including sexual violence towards young people and systemic indifference toward preventing it. Further, the authors highlight systemic indifference toward investigating sexual violence and seeking justice for the global poor, especially those who live in slum environments who are the most susceptible to everyday violence. The authors present social indifference to human suffering as everyday violence.

Researchers also argue that violence as a singular or dramatic encounter "becomes trivialized as it replays and unfolds over time, turning critical events" (Henriksen & Bengtsson, 2018, p. 100) into a "critical continuity" (Vigh, 2011, p. 95). In a study of 43 marginalized Danish young people, Ann-Karina Henriksen and Tea Bengtsson (2018) sought to demonstrate how violence is trivialized in young people's lives. Henriksen and Bengtsson (2018) describe the concept of trivialized violence as "the product of social processes wherein diverse forms of violence inform, transform, and minimize each other across social spaces" (p. 100). Data revealed that accumulated violence experienced by the participants contributed to the process of trivialization:

> First, violence, in different forms, was embedded in the young people's everyday experiences, both at home [i.e., domestic violence] and on the street [i.e., bullying]. Second, repeated exposure to violence circumscribed the meanings of violence to denote only severe violence. Third, adults and professionals contributed to the

> trivialization of violence by not responding to reports of victimization at home or among peers. (Henriksen & Bengtsson, 2018, p.107)

Participants in the study also expressed how they were impacted by the everyday violence they experienced: after being beaten, "feeling like shit," and feeling hungry, they reported "becoming cold as ice" in order to cope or to have some control over the violence they experienced (Henriksen & Bengtsson, 2018, p. 108-9). Henriksen and Bengtsson (2018) further explain that participant experiences of everyday violence (i.e., abuse) are "embodied in ways that contribute to the trivialization of such experiences" (p. 109). The study's third finding, rooted in the temporal and spatial entanglement of violence, details how participants' "experiences and social meanings of violence entangle across social spaces, producing new modes of resistance to, acceptance of, and trivialization of everyday violence" (p. 111). The concept of trivialized violence will contribute to understanding the everyday experiences of young people affected by sexual violence and local peacebuilding.

Cultural norms are ongoing social practices that are a derivative of people's lived experiences. Cultural norms may be flexible, fluid, and direct and rationalize how people behave and determine societal rules (i.e., laws, legislation, and principles). These societal rules are embodied in what Galtung and Fischer (2013) describe as a "web of social interaction[s]" (p. 242), or a web of meaning, a structure wherein individuals and groups are steered and guided by good and bad feelings. It is within these webs that individuals, communities, and structures rationalize to deny responsibility and minimize victims' pain or suffering, trivializing violence (Henriksen & Bengtsson, 2018).

PACS scholars argue that everyday violence is embedded in structural and cultural norms, often invisible, that "deny people economic opportunity, fulfilment, social equality, human rights and dignity" (Byrne & Senehi, 2012, p. 35) and promote or perpetuate direct violence, including sexual violence, against the most vulnerable in society (Galtung, 1996). Cultural factors are often cited as the most common reasons that sexual violence is perpetuated by adults against children within Jamaican society. This study draws on the idea of the everyday, as people are continually negotiating meaning and making decisions based on their external environments, the spaces in which they live, how they see themselves in relation to the world around them, and how they see themselves as individuals. While cultural

violence broadly describes possible cultural factors that perpetuate violence, everyday violence identifies how people respond to the violence they encounter in the moment and why they respond in those ways. Everyday violence identifies and makes visible issues that are often overlooked, holding individuals and structures accountable for violence. As a result, everyday violence clearly identifies where peacebuilding should begin.

Feminist researchers and activists highlight that everyday violence experienced by women is tied to imposed gender roles and patriarchal power imbalances (Boesten, 2018; Mookherjee, 2015). As a result, women's movements herald peacebuilding efforts that politicize women's rights, allowing for the inclusion of women's voices in decisions that impact their well-being across the globe. For decades, feminist perspectives have maintained one undisputed position—that there is a connection between the influence of hegemonic structures of power, in particular, hegemonic masculinities and sexual violence (Namy et al., 2017). This understanding has been affirmed in international declarations, including the 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, which was the first international instrument to define violence against women

> as any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. (United Nations General Assembly Resolution 48/104, 1993, article 1)

Later, in 2013, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) adopted recommendations on the elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls. The CSW included a strong recommendation:

> [States are] to strongly condemn all forms of violence against women and girls and to refrain from invoking any custom, tradition or religious consideration to avoid their obligations with respect to its elimination as set out in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. (United Nations, 2013, p. 4)

This recommendation recognizes everyday cultural beliefs and practices that encourage and ignore violence against women and girls as everyday violence.

While most feminist perspectives on sexual violence focus on male-on-female violence that reflects a gender binary, some feminist scholars have created space to discuss

sexual violence against people with varied gender identities. In a study focused on sexual violence against men, specifically male rape and male assault in the UK, Aliraza Javaid (2018) highlights that male rape is a way to unleash homophobia and serves as a method of exercising power and control over victims.

Hegemonic structures of power that perpetuate sexual violence in peace times and exacerbate sexual violence in war times are caused by the silencing of victims of sexual violence, upheld in "economic, social, cultural and political power structures of patriarchy" (Leatherman, 2011, p. 13). Feminist perspectives also challenge everyday hegemonic power norms and provide guidance on how to approach and conduct research on sexual violence in conflict (Boesten, 2018), community engagement (McCauley et al., 2019), and personal narratives (Bitsch, 2017; Chubin, 2014; Mookherjee, 2015). Scholars have also researched jurisprudence on types of sexual violence, related harm, and punishment (Mookherjee, 2015). While feminist perspectives account for the intersections of gender, sexuality, and violence, they often fail to account for how deviant behaviour, such as sexual violence, is perpetuated or learned. This study draws on concepts related to everyday violence, including social indifference, trivialization, and denial to understand the ongoing prevalence and pervasive nature of sexual violence towards young people.

Everyday Peacebuilding

Everyday peacebuilding is often referred to as bottom-up peacebuilding, the pre-political milieu that focuses on "the mundane, embodied, emergent character of everyday practice; the fluid, organic and creative tactics individuals deploy to get along with complex socio-cultural milieux" (Millar, 2020, p. 311). Roger Mac Ginty (2019) adds that everyday peace is a coping mechanism that cannot be formally taught. Coping mechanisms are context, location, and time-specific, and are used to survive amidst everyday tensions: avoidance, ambiguity, ritualized politeness, telling, and blame-deferring (Mac Ginty, 2019). These coping mechanisms are not formally taught, rather they are driven by daily social interactions, recognitions, and responses (Mac Ginty, 2019). Everyday peacebuilding involves simple everyday activities or tools individuals use to navigate their daily lives. While these practices may not outwardly challenge dominant power relations that promote and perpetuate violence, they help people cope and bring some predictability to their everyday lives.

For example, women in rural Manitoba challenge traditional, dominant patriarchal gender roles every day. Robin Neustaeter (2015a, 2015b) describes women's everyday practices of community involvement as routine and crucial to maintaining community peace or well-being in rural Manitoba. Neustaeter (2015b) identifies volunteering as a crucial everyday practice for rural women whereby they are "building social cohesion, solidarity and trust—factors fundamental to sustainable development and peace" (p. i). Volunteering involves women helping, as needed, within their communities. This everyday helping, or "filling the gaps," subsidizes local economies. Women work to provide play structures and organize recreational programs for children, or volunteer in their churches or local group homes. Women also teach values and beliefs about "service and responsibility; and […] actions such as fitting-in, advocacy, activism, and connecting" (Neustaeter, 2015b, p. 26). Neustaeter (2015a) adds that women often find traditional gender roles frustrating, explaining that women are "not respected as they should be because they are women" (p. 205). However, for these rural Manitoba women, "volunteering is a coping strategy and a source of encouragement [that] challenges sociocultural norms and values" and promotes community well-being (Neustaeter, 2015b, p. 204).

Sometimes, everyday peacebuilding requires subtle creative strategies, or resistance that challenges oppressive systems. Resistance as an everyday strategy to combat oppression or violence is often present in everyday peacebuilding. James Scott (1985) describes everyday resistance as often invisible, sometimes unorganized, and informal, with individuals employing covert strategies that are deceptive, yet lead to change over time. Examining peasant and slave communities, Scott (1985) found that the oppressed engaged in "foot-dragging," "evasion," "false compliance," "pilfering," "feigned ignorance," "slander," and "sabotage" (p. 29). These strategies were performed by the "powerless" as forms of resistance and "individual self-help" (p. 29) both to survive and to preserve dignity and self-respect.

In a study on Jamaican female data entry operators, Beverly Mullings (1999) found that participants exercised overt and covert everyday resistance practices to challenge the international information industry's exploitive labour policies. For example, overt strategies of everyday resistance included irregular attendance, refusing to work overtime, and strictly working within job descriptions (Mullings, 1999). Covert strategies included what Mullings (1999) called finger-dragging, "keying data at a slow rate" (p. 302), which affected the overall

productivity of the company, impacting their ability to meet deadlines. The result of this everyday resistance was two-fold: the data entry operators preserved their dignity and the international information industry in Jamaica had limited success (Mullings, 1999). The success of these documented everyday resistance strategies relied heavily on the subsidized financial support the women received from their households (Mullings, 1999). Hence, with support within the homespace, vulnerable groups can use everyday strategies to challenge and resist dominant power relations that promote and perpetuate violence. The home or homespace, an intimate and private space, plays a vital role in everyday violence, resistance, and peacebuilding.

Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) scholars (Byrne et al., 2020) posit that long-term engagement and collaboration with local communities are essential in creating and sustaining social change to address everyday violence. PACS literature highlights the complexity of such a relationship (Chrismas & Byrne, 2017). However, local peacebuilders must find ways of embracing the complexities and find sustainable ways to collaborate or work with key individuals and leadership to reduce and or eliminate violence in their communities (Lederach, 1997; Lederach & Appleby, 2010).

Feminist peace literature identifies that everyday peacebuilding practices construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct patriarchal and hegemonic power relations in homes, families, and communities (Flaherty et al., 2015). As a result, cultural norms that deny individual human rights and dignity can either be perpetuated, minimized, or eradicated. Linnéa Blomqvist, Elisabeth Olivius, and Jenny Hedström (2021) found that women use care and silence as forms of resilience and survival. They describe silence (avoidance and ambiguity) as a coping mechanism used to minimize threat and to survive. In their research, women participants also characterized gendered care duties as everyday peacebuilding during conflict situations, explaining that they can diffuse tensions and avoid direct violence by caring for enemy soldiers who arrive in their homes and communities (Blomqvist et al., 2021). Thus, we recognize that the everyday is a gendered space, "necessary for rendering visible these nuances and ambiguities of everyday peace, and for gaining a better understanding of how peace is manifested, experienced and sustained in the everyday" (Blomqvist et al., 2021, p. 14). The authors suggest that future research should explore and tease out when everyday

peacebuilding practices can move beyond coping strategies and begin to challenge the status quo.

Gender violence is a political act. Women and children experience the social, economic, cultural, and political impacts of gender violence every day, in homes, families, and communities. There is a wide body of feminist and peace literature that confirms this position (hooks, 2020; O'Toole et al., 2020). Everyday peacebuilding, while it is pre-political because of its organic everyday nature, has the potential to challenge everyday violence. Everyday violence, including sexual violence that is entrenched and experienced in the everyday, needs to be challenged and exposed through disruptive, everyday peacebuilding strategies. Thus, the everyday can act as a political space where both violence (i.e., gender violence, sexual violence) and peacebuilding are negotiated.

Theory of Adult Education

The need to know begins in childhood and continues throughout our entire lives as humans. This section explores how adults learn in order to better understand the experiences of community advocates and activists in Jamaica. Educators argue that there is a distinction between how children and adults learn, such that the approach to education for children and adults should be different: pedagogy versus andragogy. While pedagogy focuses on how children learn, andragogy seeks to understand how adults learn. Michael Knowles (1968) initially conceptualized andragogy, proposing six assumptions or principles regarding the adult learning process: self-directed learning, relevance or interest in a topic, personal growth, supportive and respectful environments, spirit of mutuality between teachers and adult learners, and adult learners as joint inquirers. Knowles' (1968) approach focuses on process rather than content. This section will explore two main forms of adult learning: formal education and informal education.

Formal Education and Training

Education and literacy are key sustainable development goals thought to be instrumental in ending gender disparity, which has been identified as a key contributor to gender violence, including sexual violence. Poverty has also been identified as a key factor in everyday violence (Haugen & Boutros, 2015). Education is widely accepted as a saviour,

with the potential to reshape the future, to avert economic crises (poverty and war), and to create and maintain sustainable economic systems. The United Nations Global Sustainable Development Goal 4 specifies the need to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all" (United Nations, 2017). Thus, education has been grouped in two main categories: formal and informal; where formal education is defined:

> Institutionalized, intentional and planned [opportunities] through public organizations and recognized private bodies [that] in their totality, make up the formal education system of a country. Formal education programmes are thus recognized as such by the relevant national educational authorities or equivalent, e.g., any other institution in co-operation with the national or sub-national educational authorities. Formal education consists mostly of initial education. Vocational education, special needs education and some parts of adult education are often recognized as being part of the formal education system. (UNESCO, 2012, p. 11)

The formal approach to education, as outlined within Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), is a structured process that is administered using the laws and norms of each nation. Within nation states, formal education is "highly institutionalized, bureaucratic, curriculum driven, and formally recognized with grades, diplomas or certificates," (Merriam & Baumgartner, 2020, p. 55) from preschool to graduate studies. Adult learners enter formal settings to gain additional knowledge. Adult education scholars have discovered that adult learners in formal settings require content-specific instruction along with useful resources (Merriam & Baumgartner, 2020).

Participants in the present study also identified the importance of standardized and content-specific resources for practitioners. For example, Lily, a health professional participant in the present study, recognized inconsistencies in best practices when treating or working with victims of sexual violence in Jamaica. Lily explained that formal education can provide a common frame of reference for practitioners and ultimately minimize further psychological and physical harm to victims and their families. Further, formal education allows the adult learner to explore theory and develop an "analytical lens to counter injustice and shape social action" (Gouthro, 2019, p. 60). Participants in the present study stressed the

importance of practitioners' understanding the societal impacts of gender violence, including sexual violence. For example, Magnolia, a participant, acknowledged that formal education helped her understand women's issues and their development and application in the Caribbean. However, the present study also revealed that the current goal—that is, formal education for all—may not be accessible for members of marginalized groups, who may be excluded by cost-prohibitive formal education, where access depends on formal assessments. Despite the goals of the ESD process to use formal education to change and address societal inequities, systems of formal education within many societies continue to preserve the status quo rather than transform inequity.

PACS is one of many fields where "people who are concerned about violence are turning to [formal] education as a means to heighten awareness about the causes of violence and to promote nonviolence" (Webel & Khaydari, 2015, p.154) as a means of conflict resolution. PACS educators and practitioners Christa Yeates and Laura Reimer (2020) note that "trauma has had a profound impact on the way our students learn and perceive their identity as learners, and it takes a similar toll on us as teachers" (p. 93). They add that there is little research in this area. The present research highlights the transference of trauma between practitioner and victim, perpetrator, community, and system. The present work also identifies the importance of using a trauma-informed model and holding space for practitioners who use both formal and informal education to spread awareness about sexual violence. Central to peace education is creating and delivering courses that include resources and tools designed to address everyday issues plaguing our societies. For example, the University of Manitoba's PACS program is an interdisciplinary program that offers courses on understanding violence, conflict analysis and resolution, gender, and peacebuilding, among other topics.

In addition, the PACS approach to self-directed education and learning is intended to foster transformational learning and provide learners with strategies to guide their areas of interest, including, but not limited to, reflective practice (Byrne et al., 2020; Rothman, 2014)). One key outcome of the self-directed approach in PACS is a generation of advocates and activist-led practitioners who are engaged in emancipatory peacebuilding and social action (Chrismas, 2017; Chrismas & Byrne, 2017). Self-directed education and learning involve visible elements of informal learning, where learners plan, carry out, and evaluate their own learning experiences.

Adult education embraces both formal teaching and learning in higher education settings, as well as informal teaching and learning in community, including collaborations between community members and professionals. English (2012) details a collaborative process where community members and health professionals work together to create new knowledge about environmental factors that influence health. English (2012) stresses that informal learning happens during every human interaction, including during adult education. English (2012) further argues that adult education in the informal sphere has the greatest potential to reach the grassroots. Hence, adult education addressing sexual violence, when delivered in informal spaces, has the potential to reach and positively impact families and communities affected by sexual violence.

Everyday Informal Education

According to Coombs (1985), informal learning, unlike formal learning, is "spontaneous, unstructured learning that goes on daily in the home and neighbourhood, behind the school and on the playing field, in the workplace, marketplace, library and museum, and through the various mass media" (p. 92). Hence, informal education happens every day without an imposed curriculum and is sometimes difficult to recognize because it is embedded in our everyday activities (Illeris, 2004). Schugurensky (2000) proposes three forms of informal education and learning: self-directed learning, incidental learning, and socialization or tacit learning. Self-directed learning is a contested term yet is the most visible and intentional (Merriam & Baumgartner, 2020), taking up space in formal, informal, and everyday settings. For example, most adults learn in their own homes using a wide variety of technology (Hague & Logan, 2009). Incidental learning is unconscious, everyday learning (Marsick & Watkins, 2015), while socialization or social learning theory is widely used as a guide for human deviant behaviour (Akers, 2009). Marsick et al. (2017) purport that informal learning is incidental and highly contextual and happens when individuals interact with others and/or perform workplace activities. In social learning theory, Ronald Akers (2009) proposes four theoretical concepts: (1) differential association (frequency of a particular behaviour); (2) definitions (perception of right and wrong); (3) differential reinforcement (reinforcing behaviour); (4) and imitation (engaging through doing). While some critics argue that social learning theory is simplistic given the complexity of human behaviour, the foundational

concept is that learning is shaped by the continuous interactions that are constantly occurring between environment and behaviour.

What adults learn is determined by the spaces they occupy. According to the literature, adult learning mostly happens in informal, everyday spaces (Merriam & Baumgartner, 2020). Adult learning occurs in spaces where adults feel a sense of safety and trust, fostering critical engagement within the world around them (Merriam & Baumgartner, 2020). How adults learn is an intensely meaningful and personal activity. Adult learning is dependent on perceptions of what they need to know, while the demonstration of new skillset and/or knowledge is evidence of learning (Boileau, 2011). Tim Boileau (2018) describes adult informal learning as the acquisition of new knowledge and skills through meaningful interactions with one's environment. Feminist peacemakers posit that an individual's beliefs, including their perceptions of crime and justice, are mostly informally shaped by the socio-political environment in which they live (Knopp, 1991). Since the spatial turn in the 1980s, scholars have turned their attention to "postcolonial lived spaces and experiences" (Teverson & Upstone, 2011). Space and place have become "active participants in social change" (Bieger & Maruo-Schröder, 2016, p. 3).

Participants in the present study identified how and where they learned about the spatial segregation of gender and social class, how this learning influenced their journey to social action, and in some cases, their participation in collective action to affect social change. Martina Löw (2016) states that "there is no social phenomenon free of space" (p. x). The present study will also examine space as an outcome of human action and space as a construct.

Role of Everyday Storytelling

According to Arthur Frank (2010), "stories breathe life into individuals and groups, animating and instigating relations/actions" (p. 12). Lewis (2011) argues that "story is central to human understanding–it makes life liveable, because without a story, there is no identity, no self, no other" (p. 505). Jean Clandinin (2013) describes a story as a "portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful" (p. 12). Every day, people live in familial intergenerational stories,

cultural temporal stories, institutional stories, and personal stories (Clandinin, 2013). Stories speak truth. Stories speak truth against power (Zipes, 2018).

In the 1980s, scholarly literature expanded the definition of stories. Stories moved from things people told to one another to a method of communicating people's lived experiences, understood as narratives (Polletta et al., 2011). In their article, "The Sociology of Storytelling," Francesca Polletta et al. (2011) call this the "narrative turn," where conceiving stories as narratives was recognized by academics. A narrative became a formal, structured medium of communicating "forms of discourse, vehicles of ideology, and elements of collective action frames" (Polletta et al., 2011, p. 112). Thus, across disciplines, a great majority of scholars describe narratives as a sequence of events that are historically particular, located in a particular time or place. Storytelling is a spatial practice, having human or humanlike characteristics, and elicits emotion (Clandinin, 2013; Hyvärinen, 2010; Senehi, 2002, 2016, 2020). The politicization of stories as narratives placed informal, everyday stories at the periphery, labelling everyday stories as fragmented and unstructured (Polletta et al., 2011). Thus, informal stories told by everyday people were vulnerable, powerless, and silenced in the face of the greater, academic narrative.

Telling Stories

According to Jessica Senehi (2002), the way we tell stories can create constructive or destructive experiences—that is conflict or peace. As a result, "constructive storytelling" is "build[ing] understanding and awareness, and foster[ing] voice" (Senehi, 2002, p. 45). For example, the participants in the present study used storytelling in constructive ways, as methods of both informal adult education and everyday peacebuilding to counter everyday structural violence. In this way, too, storytelling is discreetly linked to thought and action. "Destructive storytelling," Senehi (2002) argues, is the "antithesis" of constructive storytelling, and "sustains mistrust and denial," (p. 45) creating and perpetuating conflict or violence. This study explores unstructured, everyday stories told in informal spaces, that influence people's understandings of sexual violence and social action.

Telling Stories and Social Action

Social action begins with "stories" and the "telling of stories" that inspire insight and individual meaning-making. The concept of social action is rooted in the work of Max Weber (1968) who believed that all human action is determined by meaning and driven by four main categories: goal rational or means-end rational, that is, motivated by the desire to meet your goal in the most efficient way; value rational, social action that is value-oriented; affective social action, that is, motivated by the emotional state of the actor; or finally, the individual may engage in traditional action, that is, motivated by habit (Weber, 1968 cited in Jones, & Bradbury, 2018, pp. 54-57). Weber (1968) further explains that power of authority is a key component that is necessary for engaging participation in any social action. Individuals are influenced to participate when they feel drawn to a charismatic authority or actor that promises to transform their way of life (e.g., civil right activist, Martin Luther King Jr.); traditional authority or an actor who shares similar beliefs (e.g., church leaders); or rational legal authority or actors who are appointed by society (e.g., an official—police officer) (Weber, 1968 cited in Jones & Bradbury 2018, pp. 54-55). Weber's (1968) motivators to social action laid the foundation for future work focused on what influences individuals to participate in collective social action.

Scholars commonly describe collective social action as any individual action taken as part of a group effort to improve, promote, or implement specific change in societies (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). Social psychologists focus on what motivates individuals to take part in collective action (Klandermans, 2013). Empirical results reveal four core motivators for collective action: identity (the stronger the individual identity markers are with the group, the more likely the individual will feel a sense of belonging and join the group), morality, emotion (these strengthen the cognitive perception of attaining a desired goal), and efficacy (the belief that the group can attain success through unified action) (Blackwood, Livingstone, & Leach, 2013; Blackwood, Terry, & Duck, 2015; van Zomeren, 2013; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). These four core motivators are context sensitive. For example, in contexts where gender inequality is seen as a societal issue, gender may serve as a mobilizer toward action.

However, in contexts where gender inequality is accepted as legitimate, gender identification may work to create harmony (van Zomeren, 2019). Thus, van Zomeren (2019) posits that culture, shared values and ideas about the world, along with context are key determinants of when and how individuals will form, join, or participate in collective action. van Zomeren (2019) encourages social psychologists to do further research that bridges cultural psychology with the four core motivators of collective action. The connection between context specific cultural values and motivation for participating in collective social action is an ongoing theme within the present work.

Storytelling plays a vital role in transmitting context-specific cultural values and sensitivities that motivate social and collective action. Stories have power (Mayer, 2014; Senehi, 2002, 2016). According to political scientist Frederick Mayer (2014):

> [Stories are] perhaps the essential human tool for collective action, a tool of enormous power and flexibility for constructing shared purposes, making participation in collective action an affirmation of personal identity, providing assurance that others will join us in the cause, and choreographing coordinated acts of meaning. (p. 49)

Everyone has a personal story. Sometimes an individual's personal story can align with a context-sensitive collective narrative. For example, many African Americans experienced social injustice within the United States (U.S.) and aligned themselves with the nonviolent civil rights movement that fought for equal rights. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s speech, "I Have a Dream," tells a story where listeners can see themselves as a part of the narrative—as actors (Mayer, 2014).

To present a space in academia for narrative theory, Mayer (2014) problematizes the three commonly accepted motivators towards collective action: rational choice, institutionalism, and social constructivism. Mayer (2014) articulates that rational choice scholars' primary focus has been on the "free-rider problem," and less on the "genesis of interests" (p. 31). Mayer (2014) further explains that the institutional approach enables "cooperation in social dilemmas, assurance in stag hunts, or coordination when there is more than one cooperative solution" (p. 36). Unfortunately, neither approach accounts for why people care about the impact of an issue on society, nor do they account for how identities are formed, or how identities change across time and contexts (Mayer, 2014).

Social constructivism infers that an individual's knowledge is shaped by their social interaction with others and the world around them (Mayer, 2014). Despite the various underlying causes of human motivation presented in literature regarding collective action, social constructivism does not fully "explain how frames are constructed, how they are transmitted and shared, and most important, how they stir our passions, engage our identity, and move us towards collective action" (Mayer, 2014, p. 49). Mayer (2014) argues that what is missing from the rational, institutional, and social constructivist approaches to individual motivation toward collective social action is the narrative.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the definitions and assumptions of the everyday framework, adult learning theory, and the role of storytelling. The everyday focuses on everyday violence and peacebuilding to discover how ordinary people engage with their environment to challenge violence and shape their peace. Further, the concept of the everyday makes visible ordinary people's daily accounts of what Branka Marijan (2016) describes as "inclusionary, exclusionary and ambivalent practices" that propel local peacebuilding (p. 67). The concept of the everyday also emphasizes how people learn.

The theories of adult learning suggest that learning is a lifelong process. While formal adult education is structured and classroom-focused, informal education is unstructured and happens as we go about our daily activities. The emphasis placed on these theories is different, but they have a shared a connection involving the interactions among learning, space and place, storytelling, and human action.

Further, this chapter explored the role of everyday storytelling, focusing on social action. Storytelling is a powerful tool that builds awareness and incites human action and change. Stories occupy informal and formal spaces and places in the past, present, and future. The intersections of each framework emphasize everyday learning, storytelling, and action. These frameworks offer a guide to better understand the experiences of advocates and activists in Jamaican communities. The next chapter discusses narrative inquiry as the most appropriate methodological approach for the present study.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

Over the past two decades, sexual violence researchers have noted the need for more qualitative research that explores survivors' human rights and safety, as well as equitable access (Logie et al., 2016), gender bias (Le Franc et al., 2008), and program development and evaluation (Wilson-Mitchell, Bennett & Stenneth, 2014) within the Jamaican context. Chapter four provides a rationale for employing a qualitative methodology to better understand the experiences of the people who work to address sexual violence against young Jamaican people. This approach allowed for an in-depth understanding of how these individuals make sense of their experiences and the world around them. First, the present chapter describes qualitative narrative inquiry and the study's research design. The second part of the chapter describes the data collection process, challenges encountered while conducting the field research, analysis methods, and steps taken to demonstrate trustworthiness, credibility, and validity. Finally, this chapter closes with the ethical considerations and limitations related to the field research.

A Qualitative Approach

The intent of the present study is to understand the experiences of people who work to address sexual violence in Jamaica. Sharan B. Merriam and Elizabeth J. Tisdell (2016) contend that research seeking to understand individuals' experiences and meaning making within the everyday natural environment necessitates a qualitative design. Qualitative research accepts and celebrates the diverse experiences and knowledges of the world. In addition, qualitative research posits that there is no single truth, as multiple truths interact to shape our lifeworld, based on our beliefs and cultural values (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Many peace scholars have found qualitative research effective in peacebuilding research (Chrismas, 2017; Hunte, 2012; Neustaeter, 2015b; Westlund, 2012). For example, Robert Chrismas (2017) explored the intersectional challenges that women and youth face in the sex industry in Manitoba. He noted his overall satisfaction with the decision to use a qualitative design for his study:

> I interviewed people with unique knowledge in the world that cannot be found any other way, other than through qualitative interviews. […] The complexity of the social phenomena involved around sex trafficking and exploitation are illuminated through the rich language of participants describing their own experiences, telling their stories from the heart. (p. 99)

Qualitative methodologies can be effective in examining the complexities of human agency in post-colonial contexts.

There are several major qualitative research methodologies, each sharing the need for a flexible inductive investigative approach to research that demands critical thinking and inquiry, ethics, and rigor. These methodologies include critical ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory, narrative inquiry, participatory action research, Indigenous research methods, the case study, and the generic. After thoroughly investigating the methodological possibilities, narrative inquiry emerged as the most appropriate research methodology for the present study, as it is the study of experience as story (Clandinin, 2013).

Narrative Inquiry

Narratives are stories and are impactful because people live in familial, intergenerational stories every day, including cultural temporal stories, institutional stories, and personal stories (Clandinin, 2013). The stories that live in us shape our sense of self and how we see the world around us. Stories are how we create meaning and relate to the world around us (Clandinin, 2013). Hence, narratives are relational and complex. Narrative inquiry allows the researcher to engage deeply with participants to understand their complex experiences. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) explain:

> Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience. It is collaboration between researcher and participants. Over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus. An inquirer enters the matrix in the midst and progresses in the same spirit, concluding the inquiry still in the midst of living and telling, reliving and retelling, the stories of the experiences that made up people's lives, both individual and social. (p. 20)

Narrative inquiry may be considered part of the realm of constructivism, or social constructivism. Presenting how one's reality is socially constructed, narrative inquiry is rooted in the idea that stories can capture our complex and nuanced experiences holistically (Ntinda, 2018).

Thus, social constructivism as a worldview informs qualitative research. Creswell (2007) explains:

> In this worldview, individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences—meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These meaning are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrow the meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of research, then, is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation. Often these subjective meanings are negotiated socially and often historically. In other words, they are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism) and through historical, and cultural norms that operate in individual's lives. (p. 20-21)

By design, narrative inquiry as a methodology allows us to understand participant experiences—storied phenomenon. In other words, it allows for understanding of how participants' social, cultural, familial, linguistic, and institutional narratives shape their understanding of self and the world around them (Clandinin, 2013). Clandinin (2013) describes storied phenomena as people both living out their stories and telling their stories. In narrative research, storied phenomena are collected as a means of understanding how people construct their experiences as lived, told, and retold (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007). In the present study, I chose to collect participant stories using semi-structured interviews. Through this methodology, participant experiences can enrich and transform the lives of others.

This study uses narrative approach and semi-structured interviewing to understand the experiences—storied phenomena—of community activists who work to address sexual violence within Jamaica. Semi-structured interviews are widely used in qualitative research, allowing participants to tell their stories, thereby encouraging critical reflection, meaning, and

meaning making of their experiences (Andrews, Squire & Tambokou, 2008; Byrne, 2015; Clandinin & Roseik, 2007; Wells, 2011). Some researchers believe that in-depth interviewing or using a semi-structured interviewing technique is particularly suitable for collecting stories from those belonging to marginalized groups (including vulnerable groups). Further, it is the most common method used to investigate sensitive topics (Liamputtong, 2007). Liamputtong (2007) adds that this interviewing technique "permits researchers to make sense of the multiple meanings and interpretations of a specific action, occasion, location or cultural practice" (p. 129).

Narrative inquiry and semi-structured interviewing methods have been characterized as closely related to feminist research (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2005; Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005; Weston, 2004) or more specifically, the standpoint of women (Harding, 1998). This standpoint perspective suggests that "all knowledge is constructed in a specific matrix of physical location, history, culture, and interests, and that these matrices change in configuration from one location to another" (Harding, 1998 cited in Sprague, 2005, p. 41). Thus, these methods provide a first-person account of participant experiences within their own cultural contexts. Within the present work, these methods allow participants to describe their experiences and understandings of sexual violence within the Jamaican context. Further, these methods give depth and insight to their perceptions of the historical context of the issue, as well as their understandings of the cultural and structural factors that continue to perpetuate sexual violence. The interview process requires trust building, so it is important to spend some time in the introductory stage of the interview (Liamputtong, 2007). In a narrative study with young people who experienced sexual violence, Waszak Geary et al. (2013) followed a sequence where interview questions first built a relationship of trust before inquiring about the participants' sexual experiences. Reflecting on practitioners as research participants, Connelly and Clandinin (1990) report:

> in researcher-practitioner relationships where practitioners have long been silenced through being used as objects for study, we are faced with a dilemma. Practitioners have experienced themselves as without voice in the research process and may find it difficult to feel empowered to tell their stories. (p. 4)

The authors note the importance of time, relationship, space, and voice to build rapport and trust between the researcher and the interviewees. To avoid swaying responses of interviewees, Mikecz (2012) encourages researchers to be transparent and clear about the research study at the very beginning, and to use open-ended questions to begin. Researchers suggest that transparency and open-ended questioning allow more time for rapport-building between the interviewer and interviewee. Winsome Brayda and Travis Boyce (2014) suggest that when conducting semi-structured interviews, the researcher must practice balance (not talk too much or too little) and be ethically sensitive.

In semi-structured interviews, questions should include introductory, follow-up, probing, specifying, direct, indirect, structuring, and interpreting questions, with moments of silence to provide the interviewee opportunity to reflect and expand on their responses (Bryman, 2001). Most important, the questions should address the defined topic of study, allowing the participant to respond in their own terms and allowing relevant themes to develop throughout each interview (Choak, 2011). Clare Choak (2011) explains that the interview should resemble a flowing conversation. Finally, some authors note that conducting interviews with members of vulnerable groups may lead to intense emotions experienced by interviewees. In these situations, researchers may choose to employ alternative means of gathering information, such as electronic communication, photography, drawing, art, or reflective journaling (Liamputtong, 2007).

Methods

This study sought to accomplish two main goals. First, it sought to identify the different forms of grassroots peacebuilding and community activism in Jamaica that promote awareness of sexual violence against young people by bringing attention to the importance of reporting incidents and providing support services for survivors. Second, the present study sought to explore the experiences and perspectives of intervenors, educators, and advocates who influence communities' understandings of sexual violence against young people.

Scope, Reflection, and Recruitment

It was important to intentionally seek out participants who work to address the issue of sexual violence against young people in Jamaica. In the development of the present study, I recognized that participants could include front-line workers, individuals in government or

non-governmental agencies, and grassroots peacebuilding groups who work to address sexual violence against young people. At first glance, the scope of potential participants seemed large and unmanageable. However, the topic of sexual violence is a "taboo" subject in most cultures, resulting in a smaller potential participant pool. In Jamaica, the topic of sexual violence is silenced and broken silence can lead to violence. Thus, I anticipated that recruiting participants might be a challenge.

To ensure there was diversity in the participant sample, I chose to do purposeful sampling. This method of recruitment allows the researcher to "intentionally select (or recruit) participants who have experienced the central phenomenon of the key concept being explored in the study" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 173). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) explain that this sampling method facilitates the inclusion of different perspectives and allows for the formation of a complex picture of the phenomenon. As a result, I placed no restrictions on gender, educational background, or work experiences during the sampling process. However, to fulfill ethical considerations—credibility and validity—all participants were professionals aged between 18 and 80 years of age, who were legally able to consent to participate in the study. These wide sampling criteria served to capture varied experiences, perspectives, and sociocultural/structural understandings of sexual violence against young people. This sampling strategy was chosen to ensure in-depth information gathering about the topic. However, the study was voluntary, and there are few agencies and groups that address sexual violence against young people within the Jamaican context. I set an ambitious recruitment goal of between 35 to 45 participants to increase the potential of having a diverse study sample.

I started the recruitment process in March 2019, immediately after I received ethics approval from the University of Manitoba's research ethics board. As the researcher, I was acutely aware of my insider/outsider status and how this status may affect recruitment, data collection, and data analysis. I identify myself as an insider because I am a Jamaican who has done some community development work addressing sexual violence against young people in Jamaica. However, I also recognize myself as an outsider. At the time of recruitment, I did not have significant community involvement to engage a wide range of individuals who work to address sexual violence. A researcher's insider/outsider status "can affect whether one has access to participants, as well as to the kinds of stories they will tell the researcher" (Merriam

& Tisdell, 2016, p. 63). Hence, my first step in the recruitment process was to connect with individual sexual violence community activists and advocates with whom I am familiar and have established rapport.

I reached out to the individuals that I had worked with in Jamaica, including the Political Ombudsman, and informed them of my research study. I emailed a letter of introduction to the study, asking them to forward the research information and my contact information to individuals who work to address sexual violence against young people. This way, people who were interested in participating could contact me directly. I have worked closely with the Ombudsman on sexual violence within Jamaica. While working together on the Girls Incredible Football Team (G.I.F.T.) community-based project, I received her assistance in identifying others with the same interest. The G.I.F.T. project is a sport-for-peace project in Jamaica that creates safe spaces for girls to play, learn, and discuss issues that affect their daily lives. I also used public sources, including public websites, Google, and Jamaican media, to obtain the email addresses of individuals, organizations, and grassroots groups that work to address sexual violence against Jamaican youth. I sent them emails describing the research study and requesting that they contact me if they wished to participate in the study. I received confirmation from each contact that they had passed the information onto others.

Over the course of six months, 20 individuals agreed to participate in the study. I arrived in Jamaica in August 2019 and, over the course of a month, conducted 18 interviews. Two participants were unable to make face-to-face interviews due to their busy schedules. I left Jamaica at the end of the first week in September 2019 and returned to Manitoba. In mid-September, I had another confirmed interview scheduled for October 2019. I returned to Jamaica in October 2019 and conducted the interview. Some of the individuals who were interested in participating preferred to meet in person and were not available during the times I was in Jamaica. I kept reaching out to individuals from different organizations and groups working to end youth sexual violence to further diversify the research sample. This outreach yielded two more participants. I completed the final two interviews over the phone in mid-January 2020. After eleven months of recruiting and interviewing, I closed the field research component of the present study with 21 participants.

The individuals who chose to participate in this study included five men and sixteen women, between the ages of 18 and 80 years old, who work to address sexual violence against

young people in communities across Jamaica. Participants represent various professional backgrounds. Most individuals who chose to participate in the study did so based on the trusting relationships that we developed together. I was informed by some participants that the only reason they chose to participate in the study was because they trusted the person who shared information about the study with them. A few of the participants were public figures who identified themselves as advocates and activists addressing an epidemic. They were comfortable sharing their names, yet for consistency and ethical considerations, their anonymity is maintained throughout the present work. Table 1 shows participants' pseudonyms, biological sex, and a general scope of the work that they do. I informed participants that I would use the names of flowers as pseudonyms, in place of their names throughout the study.

Table 1

Research Study Participants

Name	Biological sex	Work
Carnation	female	retired law enforcement officer; gender advocate and activist
Chrysanthemum	male	child protection
Coneflower	female	lawyer
Daffodil	female	child protection
Gladiolus	female	entrepreneur and sexual violence activist
Hibiscus	male	clergyman and child advocate
Iris	female	child counsellor
Lily	female	health professional
Lotus	male	2SLGBTQ+ activist and clergyman
Magnolia	female	gender violence advocate and activist
Marigold	female	child protection
Nasturtium	male	military
Olive	female	child protection
Orchid	female	law enforcement

Poppy	female	gender advocate
Protea	female	community advocate
Rose	male	child protection
Stargazer	female	gender violence activist and advocate
Sunflower	female	child protection
Tulip	female	law enforcement
Violet	female	counsellor

During the recruitment process, it was apparent that individuals who address sexual violence in Jamaica are constantly negotiating their everyday spaces within their homes, families, community, and in their workplaces. Participants were keen to know how the everydayness of sexual violence would be represented in the study. Some participants referenced the importance of framing issues within the context of the historical trauma of slavery and colonialism that has gone ignored by Jamaican governmental institutions for so long.

Data Collection

I interviewed each participant once. Consent and confidentiality forms were emailed to each participant for review before a meeting time and place was negotiated. Individuals were informed that if they had any questions after reading the consent and confidentiality agreement, they could contact me directly via phone or through email. Individuals were apprised that they also had the option of asking questions at the interview. They were also informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time, subject to certain conditions (see Appendix A).

Researchers have emphasized that the atmosphere or location of each interview is equally as important as the questions posed by the researcher (Brown & Danaher, 2017; Mikecz, 2012). Hence, it is important to negotiate the time and location of the interview to build rapport and trust between the researcher and the participant (Mikecz, 2012). In addition, this process of negotiation encourages participants to feel more at ease, allowing them to be more descriptive as they share their experiences and perceptions with the researcher (Brown & Danaher, 2017; Mikecz, 2012). Hence, this research design allowed the participants to

choose the location and time of the interview sessions based on their availability. Further, I was cognizant of the fact that all participants were employed full time, and that the majority had families. As such, it was important for me to be as flexible as possible during the scheduling process.

Conducting the Field Research

Interviews were conducted between August 8, 2019, and January 18, 2020. Most interview sessions were conducted face-to-face. Two were done over the phone or video chat, while one participant chose to respond to the guiding questions through password-protected emails. Carter et al. (2021) argue that online environments create privacy risks, from the researcher seeing personal information on the participant's online profile to participants not having private access to technology. I was mindful of these risks and proposed to conduct one-on-one in-person interviews with the participants to ensure privacy and confidentiality (see Appendix A, B & C). I spoke with each participant about privacy and confidentiality before getting their consent to proceed with data collection.

Further, because of the sensitive nature of this research study, I provided a list of local support services to all participants in the study once they signed the consent form (see Appendix B). Because of extenuating circumstances, two participants chose to be interviewed by phone and asked to use the video chat function. One interviewee, Magnolia, stated, "I just want to see the face of the person I was speaking with." As the interviewer, I noted that the phone or video chat interviews did not discourage the ease and depth with which participants shared their stories. The interview length for both phone/video chat participants averaged two hours.

At the beginning of each interview session, most participants chose to have a "getting to know you" session with me. These introductory sessions lasted between 15 to 20 minutes, with each individual conversation including, but not limited to, my background and my motivation to conduct this research. After each initial conversation, we reviewed the study together, providing an opportunity for the participant to pose further questions. Finally, participants would sign the consent and confidentiality forms. A copy of each form was provided to each person for their records.

Initially, I was not prepared to be questioned about my background and motivations for pursuing this research topic and felt discomfort with this line of questioning. However, the introductory conversations allowed for shared storytelling between me and participants, creating a sense of ease and "trust-building" that lasted throughout each interview. I believe that those first few moments of connection facilitated an environment of engagement that encouraged participants to share rich, in-depth details of their experiences and perceptions of the research area, followed by stories that they experienced related to the topic.

On average, interview sessions lasted between one to two hours, except for two interviews that extended over two hours, and another that lasted for over three hours. Most interview questions were open-ended and were followed with probing questions, allowing participants to share their stories in rich detail. The interview questions served as a guide that encouraged informal conversation between the participant and the researcher. In addition, the open-ended framing of interview questions allowed participants flexibility to reflect on their experiences in relation to the research topic. It also encouraged them to share their in-depth understandings of how they derived meaning and understanding of sexual violence against young people within their cultural context in a way that felt comfortable for them. Qualitative researchers argue that this informal and flexible questioning approach allows the researcher to build trust and rapport with the participant (Brown & Danaher, 2017; Silverman, 2013).

With the permission of each participant, all but one interview was audio recorded using a password protected digital voice recorder to allow for accuracy of data. One participant chose to respond to the guided questions through a password protected email. As a result, the data collected from this participant was focused on everyday dynamics of their work, rather than making a connection between their personal work experience and public perceptions. I informed participants that I would take notes as they responded to the questions, explaining that the notes allowed me to keep track of information that required further clarification or exploration through probing questions. Bryman (2001) states that "the frailties of human memory" (p. 304) require researchers to jot down notes quickly to "jog one's memory" (p. 305). I ensured that all participants were comfortable with my note-taking.

I downloaded all the audio recordings within one hour of each interview to a password-protected file on my computer. I deleted recordings from the audio recorder immediately after download, to ensure privacy and confidentiality. The interviews were then

transcribed and emailed to the respective participants for review and editing. Only one participant returned a revised transcript. This process is in-keeping with qualitative research methodology that ensures an inclusive, authentic, and transparent process, giving participants power and agency over the information they share. I also informed the participants that they could withdraw from the study at any time without penalty or prejudice; however, withdrawal from the process did not necessarily mean that anonymized data collected up to that point would not be used in the study.

Reflections on Process and Methodology

Narrative inquiry as a methodology seemed to befit a research study exploring participants' lived experiences. According to Hunter (2010), the narrative approach can unveil one's beliefs, actions, and choices. Further, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) regard narrative inquiry as relational: between the researcher and the participant, and between the researcher and their environment. Clandinin (2013) positions narrative as the participant's past, present, and future. Individuals who experience sexual violence in any form are vulnerable. Given this reality, I was concerned about how much the participants would unveil about their identity and how they position themselves within the socio-political landscape of a post-colonial slave state.

I prepared the interview questions as a guide, beginning with an "icebreaker" to unveil the participant's past, present, and possible future. My first question for the participants was, "Tell me a bit about yourself." Instead, most of the participants wanted to get to know me. Who am I? Where am I from? What is my name? Did they recognize the name? Why this research topic? Again, who am I? I was vulnerable. "Tell me a bit about yourself." This question alone taught me that context matters, and the phenomenon being studied matters. I learned that building rapport begins with my story. It meant we (the participant and researcher) were both unveiled. Thus, narrative inquiry begins with relationship-building between researcher and participant.

Data Analysis

There are various approaches to conducting narrative analysis. This study used aspects of Connelly and Clandinin's (2006) three-dimensional framework and Donald Polkinghorne's (1995) narrative analysis and analysis of narratives to analyze the data. Connelly and

Clandinin's (2006) three-dimensional framework involves an analysis of the participants' personal experiences, location, and interaction with the world around them. This three-dimensional framework explores the continuity of time, where the participants reflect on their past and present, remembering actions, feelings, and perspectives about an event and possible future actions or directions (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006).

The participants' stories of their lived experiences included the origins of their understandings of sexual violence and activism. Their storytelling unearthed what Branka Marijan (2016) described as "inclusionary, exclusionary and ambivalent practices" (p. 67) embedded in the participants' social and personal interactions with family, community, adult learning spaces, and workplaces that helped to develop their understandings of sexual violence against young people. The participants' stories included experiencing sexual violence and addressing different forms of sexual violence through activism over their lifetime. Participant stories presented a pattern of relationality between past experiences of sexual violence and current beliefs, choices, and actions. As a result, I could identify common themes that played a significant role in understanding participants' experiences as advocates and activists in their communities: everyday violence, everyday peacebuilding, learning and education, storytelling, and social action.

Narrative inquiry has two approaches to data analysis: narrative analysis and analysis of narratives (Polkinghorne, 1995). According to Donald Polkinghorne (1995) analysis of narratives relies on paradigmatic cognition, which is commonly used in qualitative research. This form of analysis involves finding common themes throughout the storied data and organizing them into categories. This study utilized the two types of paradigmatic analysis of narratives suggested by Polkinghorne (1995). The first type involves the application of previous theory or logical possibilities to the present data—a deductive approach, while the second involves an inductive approach (Polkinghorne, 1995). Narrative analysis reveals the constructed stories of participants. This process of analysis follows four main stages: "(1) preparing the data, (2) identifying basic units of data, (3) organizing data, and (4) interpretation of data" (Ntinda, 2018, p. 7).

Concepts are Derived from Previous Frameworks

During the present study, I conducted data collection, transcription, and analysis simultaneously. Drawing on Polkinghorne's (1995) deductive analysis of narratives process, I first attempted to apply concepts from previous theory and logical possibilities to the data. In order to do so, I re-read the initial theoretical frameworks that informed the present work. I began with Johan Galtung's (2013) violence framework, paying special attention to the disorienting dilemma highlighted in Jack Mezirow's (2018) transformative learning theory.

To explore how well the data fit with theoretical concepts, I employed what Polkinghorne (1995) described as narrative analysis. I examined my data to determine if there were any words, definitions, examples, or stories that connected to the arguments presented in the theoretical frameworks. Once identified, I coded them for future reference. I repeated this process for all transcripts. I then cross-referenced transcripts to find similarities in codes. This method was effective. I found that participants spoke about direct violence, cultural violence, and structural (systemic) violence experienced by victims and, in some cases, practitioners. I also found that when speaking about their experiences with sexual violence, most participants referenced situations in which they felt disorientation, anger, and/or frustration that made them critical of the system, broader cultural understandings, and their own frames of reference. This aligned with Mezirow's (2018) transformative learning theory and the concept of the disorienting dilemma and critical reflection. While the goal of the present study was not to test theories or conceptual frameworks, I found that this process of deriving concepts or knowledge from previous theory or evidence (Kim, Sefcik & Bradway, 2016) allowed for better understanding of the data. Additionally, this process furthered my understanding of how stories carry meaning within the specific contexts (social, cultural, political, and economic) from which they are derived (Ntinda, 2018).

This process also revealed the idea or concept of the everyday as a common theme throughout the data. It revealed how individuals who experience sexual violence, along with participants in the present study, negotiate their unique spaces to survive and/or challenge the status quo. In addition, the process revealed informal learning as a powerful mode of learning for the participants throughout their entire lives and the most used method of spreading awareness of sexual violence to local communities across the island. These frameworks led me to explore the literature on "the everyday" and "informal learning" to facilitate further

understanding of the data. While a deductive approach allowed me to identify and understand common themes throughout the data, it was also important for me to apply an inductive approach to draw themes directly from the data.

An Inductive Process

Polkinghorne (1995) explains that inductive approaches to analysis focus on identifying themes from within the data. Open-ended interview questions guide the flow of conversation, yet also allow for other relevant themes to develop throughout the interview process. I followed the four-stage process of narrative analysis: data preparation, identifying basic themes, organizing data, and interpreting data (Polkinghorne, 1995). After deriving concepts from prior theory using a deductive approach, I coded the data inductively, using themes that emerged directly from the interviews.

My first round of coding reflected the key themes in my guided questions: the participant's background, the role they play in addressing sexual violence, how they influence community, their understanding of sexual violence, where and how they learned about the topic, challenges, values, personal beliefs, and how they take care of themselves. The data was rich, descriptive, and overwhelming. I re-read my questions and replayed every meeting, every conversation in my head, re-reading each transcript. Their strength, the complexity of their *justice, the tears, the pauses, the sighs, the silence, and the storm* in their stories inspired me. I asked myself, "how can I frame their stories?"

In my second coding round, I reflected on Connelly and Clandinin's (2006) three-dimensional framework with a focus on the participants' past and present experiences. I asked how the participants' pasts influenced their decisions to become sexual violence advocates and activists. The data revealed that all participants identified significant people, places, and critical moments in their childhood and/or adult lives that gave them an awareness of gender or sexual violence. These significant people, places, and moments played a role in the decision to become advocates and activists.

I continued coding, drawing on the three-dimensional framework as a guide to explore the participants' understandings or perceptions of the historical, cultural, and structural frames of sexual violence in Jamaica and how these understandings were captured in the data. The participants' stories revealed that their experiences in their home, work, and community

environments influenced their perception of sexual violence against young people. The data showed that various factors, including youth, parenting, economic status, limited resources, education, unaddressed history of trauma, and governance structure all framed participants' unique understandings of sexual violence.

Further coding focused on the relationships that participants developed with the communities they support, creative solutions that are used to address sexual violence against young people, and the personal and social impact of sexual violence. Data revealed that the work affected participants both physically and psychologically. I coded the impact of vicarious experiences of sexual violence on participants as secondary trauma. Participants also described the different methods of self-care (coded as informal and formal supports) they utilize to address this secondary trauma. After reviewing several themes, I found that the participants' experiences as community activists and advocates were grounded in three main themes: (1) learning sexual violence within Jamaica; (2) storied spaces that influence community activism; and (3) moments of peace that allow for focus on coping strategies amidst everyday exposure to sexual violence. Finally, I conducted a thematic analysis for each theme, leading to several key findings (see Chapters 5, 6, and 7).

As noted, western culture has formalized storytelling, arguing that stories must have a beginning, a middle, and an end. However, this study has retained the authentic language and presentation of research participants' stories in their original forms, regardless of adherence to the formal story structure. I have preserved the authentic languages used by participants, both patios and a mixture of broken English. The nature of the language is key, as it asserts a post-slave colony's resistance to the colonial construct of perfect English syntax. Stories within the present work are often told with much repetition and detail, a style that intentionally communicates emphasis within the Jamaican context, facilitating understanding and engagement.

Ethics

I secured ethics approval for this study from the University of Manitoba's Research Ethics Board before participant recruitment began (see Appendix G, H & I). All potential participants were emailed or handed a Letter of Introduction (see Appendix A) as an invitation to the study. The Letter of Introduction (see Appendix A) informed potential participants

about the study's purpose, the terms of their involvement, and their rights as participants. I reviewed the contents of the introductory letter and answered the potential participants' questions as they arose. Once potential participants agreed to participate in the study, I read and discussed the Consent (see Appendix B) and Confidentiality (see Appendix C) agreements. The Consent Form detailed the purpose of the study, description of procedure, the use of a digital audio recorder, benefits of the study, potential risks, the voluntary withdrawal process, the opportunity to give end of interview feedback, dissemination and distribution of results, as well as data handling. In anticipation that some participants may become emotionally stressed when telling their stories of anti-sexual violence activism and advocacy, each participant was provided with a current list of local supports after they signed the Consent Form. Most participants had questions regarding my background, the purpose of the study, confidentiality, and why I chose to do this study. All participants signed the agreements and provided me with a signed copy by email or in person before any data collection began. Most participants met with me for face-to-face interviews; however, two chose to be interviewed by phone or video chat (WhatsApp video). One participant responded to the interview questions (see Appendix D) by email.

Limitations of the Study

Recruitment, Trust, and Confidentiality

Trust and rapport played a large role in the process of recruiting participants for the present study. Because I work with activists and advocates in Jamaica, I was able to share the intent of the study verbally and through email, requesting my contacts to pass along my consent form and contact information. My contacts always provided a brief introduction, including information about myself and why I was involved with the study, as well as the purpose and significance of the research before participants chose to engage. Some participants stated that they chose to participate because the study was introduced to them by someone they trusted. After 11 months of recruitment, 21 individuals chose to participate in interviews. Most participants within the present study work in the major cities across the island. This minimal diversity in participant location limits the perspectives and experiences of participants in relation to various types of activism and advocacy in different communities.

One of my greatest concerns with presenting this study's findings was ensuring the confidentiality of the participants. The participants in this study shared sensitive and personal details about their experiences with sexual violence and their work as grassroots activists addressing sexual violence within their local communities. The participants also used their insider knowledge to share intimate details about the experiences of young people they worked with who are victims of sexual violence in their homes and communities. Carolyn Ellis (1995) notes that breaches of confidentiality or the potential of a participant being identified by their community can humiliate and destroy the researcher-participant relationship and public trust in researchers. Hence, the participants agreed to be identified by pseudonyms, gender and the general field of work, so they were easily identified. Some participants were concerned that individuals could identify their stories in their family, communities and or place of work. As a result, I removed as many identifiers as possible, including specific locations related to incidents and common knowledge that may compromise confidentiality. Further removal of possible identifiers added limitations to the study, including in reporting the findings, the participants' voices appear as a homogenous narrative. However, it is important to note that most participants had similar experiences even though they were from different communities.

I anticipated that there may be concerns with trust because of the sensitivity of the topic. Hence, I chose to use a narrative inquiry approach, which has two main assumptions: (1) As human beings, we often communicate (informally and formally) through storytelling; (2) In telling one's own story, individuals tend to be reflective and give meaning to their experiences (Andrews et al., 2008; Byrne, 2015; Clandinin & Roseik, 2007; Wells, 2011). How much each person chooses to share about their unique journey or story depends on trust. Trust takes time. As mentioned before, sexual violence is a taboo topic, and sharing one's experiences can be very personal and risky. For example, a small number of the 21 participants chose to focus on their contributions as advocates without speaking of how the work has challenged and influenced their perspectives and understandings of sexual violence in Jamaica. The present study highlights the importance of building rapport within the community you intend to conduct research in.

A very limited body of research focuses specifically on grassroots community activism that addresses sexual violence against young people in Jamaica. However, participants in the

present study shared experiences that include historical, cultural, political, and socio-economic accounts that can be easily referenced through local statistics, media, policy, and laws. It is also important to note that this study and its findings are specific to certain local communities in Jamaica and may not be reflective of other national contexts.

Conclusion

Chapter four presented narrative inquiry as an approach that acknowledges the nuances and complexities of the lived human experience. The storytelling approach to data collection and semi-structured interviewing in narrative inquiry allow for participant dialogue and critical reflection. Together, these approaches provide depth and insight into participants' perceptions and understandings of the everyday and historical concerns that silence the voices of young people affected by sexual violence and motivate social action.

The chapter presented data analysis in the present work as a combination of aspects from Connelly and Clandinin's (2006) three-dimensional framework and Polkinghorne's (1995) analysis of narratives and narrative analysis. Though Polkinghorne's (1995) referenced work is dated, I found his presentation and application of these two analytical tools well suited for this research process. Both authors' approaches guided the identification of three dominant themes from the data: (1) learning sexual violence within Jamaica; (2) storied spaces that influence community activism; and (3) moments of peace that allow for focus on coping strategies amidst everyday exposure to sexual violence.

MEET GLADIOLUS

Gladiolus's story: There was a 'monster' on the loose and he had to be dealt it

Introduction

Meet Gladiolus is a journey from silence to voice. It tells a story of sexual violence and a participant's uncompromising fight for justice. Gladiolus, an interview participant, shares her narrative in her own words: patois and broken English. Join me as Gladiolus uses an uninterrupted narrative to make sense of sexual violence in a family, community, and justice system.

Background

He was an adult. It wasn't one girl. There were four little girls. When we found out, the youngest was eight, and the oldest was probably 14. And he had started four years earlier. And the way they described what happened, and how they had described it, it was aggressive assault. So, it was wrong. So, if there was no other motive, at that time, you just knew that there was a monster on the loose, and he had to be dealt it. There was a recognition of right, wrong, and this was wrong, and this man was a danger to society.

This monster was family. He lived in the same house with the girls, at the time. And he was over 20 years old. I had a daughter at the time, and I trusted him. I trusted him in as much he stayed at my home. I trusted him in as much as I would have left my daughter with him. Because I knew him.

This monster was hardworking. He appeared honorable, hardworking, reliable, and helpful. He would do anything for you. So, if somebody said he was devious, you would not have believed he did that. And I think of that experience. I have come to learn that most of them [sexual predators], not all of them, because some of them are heartless, but most of them tend to be friendly enough to draw the children in.

Monsters are not alone. Others support them. And together they try to define terms like consent and rape, while creating a narrative of blame. These others were implying that it was consensual on the part of the young lady, but she would have been 14. So even if it was consensual, he was a big man.

The Story

We heard about the rape of two of the little girls through a family member. When I went and got the girls, and I asked the other young girl if it had happened to her. And she had the look like, *thank God, somebody asked me*. It may have been through the questioning of the girl that we found out that the other little girls were also involved.

Well, the first thing we wanted to do when we found out what happened was to take them to the doctor. So, we took them to a private doctor who was not very helpful. His thing was, if it was a family member, why would you want to "sink" him, why would you want to implicate him. Because he asked that question,

> "Is he family?"
> I answered, "Yes."
> He said, "So why do you want to do that."
> *Red flag.*

And I'm glad that he did say he can't get involved. Because he would be interfering with the police's work. So, he directed us to the police, who then directed us to their doctor. And the girls were examined.

The police were clearly disturbed. Because the truth is also, we are in a context where people will lie to get back at somebody. They may say that you did something like that and it's not true. So, the doctors are aware that sometimes people "trump up" cases and it doesn't go that way. But I think when he examined the girls, he knew that something had taken place. And so, his concern immediately was, will the man be given bail? So, in my mind, he was thinking, *this man should not be given bail*. So that started a long process.

So, we found out [that] night, and we were off to the station with them. They stayed by us the same night we carried them back. The questioning didn't take place that night. It took place the following morning. And I was there as they interviewed them individually. And the way they were able to describe it, the things were being corroborated.

When it came down to questioning, they questioned each child individually. But I was in there so I could hear the way he operated was similar with each child. And they would not have had the opportunity to prevent what happened. At that time, the youngest was eight and

the eldest would have been 14, at the time of questioning. When asked how he started, he didn't start with penetration with the penis. Basically, I suppose he worked with them over time.

They were forced to watch him have sex with older women. The women are from the community. They didn't call the names of the women. And the truth is they may not necessarily know the names of the young ladies. And they would have been probably older teenagers or adult women, but not their age group. But far as I know, they were adult women. But these girls saw, and he was violent to the girls, and he threatened their lives.
He told them, "If you talk, I will slit your throat." And that threat was made with a knife at the throat.

Shame was one thing. And those were the two prison wards to keep those little girls from speaking—shame and fear. It was not unfounded fear. This was fear that was legitimate. They had good reason to think that he meant what he would do. The way he operated, the boldness in which he operated, the means in which he did it, using knives on those little girls. *No, you must go to prison. God was not going to allow you to get away. You must go.*

And truth be told, probably if the allegation was coming from somebody else, I would have stood by him. Because he was somebody that I trusted. So, if probably, somebody had said, "He did it." I would say, "No, they are lying, they are setting him up." But with the evidence and the way those girls describe what had happened, unless they had been watching X-rated movies for extended periods, they could not have described it in the details that they did. And the fact that everything happened quickly.

For me, something must have gone wrong with his "wiring." As I said, the support from the community was not there. When this thing came to light, I was not surprised that [community support] was not there. Two things, it is something that had been practiced in the community for a "lo-o-ong" time. You'll have instances of teenage pregnancies with respectable adult men. So, this then does not seem strange. Apart from it being a cultural norm in the community, [the perpetrator] himself, in my estimation, would have been somebody that most people would have respected.

So, it is those two things that we had to work against. The fact that in the community it seems to have been acceptable and the fact that he himself was a respectable person in the

community. I, too, would not have believed it if I never heard it and have the evidence from the medical examinations to support it.

I think [the perpetrator] may have been confronted the same night. If I'm remembering correctly. But I think he realized that action was about to be taken. So, we could not find him. He ran away from the community. I think, for four-and-a-half to five years.

I wrote to the police commissioner at the time, to explain the situation to him more.

I don't think we were being helped by the police in the way that we expected to be helped. So, when we went to the community station that evening, a man was there and when I saw how the girls were reacting to him—. Like, they said, "Mr. Davis, Mr. Davis."
That wasn't his name. But, you know, they were excited to see him. And I said, "He lives up there."

So anyway, I started to tell [the police officer] that we're trying to find [the perpetrator]. But I didn't realize that [the police officer] knew [the perpetrator]. And I suppose at the same time, just like I must put it in a very real context, I would not have believed that he would have done it.

And I suppose for the man as well, he didn't believe. So, his response, I think he was a person who basically—. Given the information that we had, we headed to find [the perpetrator]. But we didn't find him. I think we heard over time that he may have gone down to Negril to work as a laborer. But we couldn't find him.

I wrote the police and the police commissioner at the time, and he wrote back. I wrote the police commissioner because I told the Constables who were responsible for the case, and I don't think they were moving on it. So, he wrote back and said that if I see the man, I must call the station and they will deal with it. I'm thinking, *if I see him, I wouldn't write to you*. We left it at that. But I can tell you, I think—.

So, when this whole thing started, I was not a believer in Jesus. And I honestly think it was Jesus' hand that allowed us to find him.

So, the day when we finally caught him, we were having a family dinner and my husband was late coming back. And I was practicing the "cursing" that I was going to give my husband.

But it was like I heard God say, "No, you are going to him respectfully. Tell him, you disappoint me, but don't be disrespectful." My husband came home, and I said, "You took so

long." Anyway, we left. We went and picked up a friend and headed out. And as we are driving on the road, there was the man [the perpetrator] walking up the road, in the community, casually, walking near the house.

And I said, "See him [the perpetrator] there. I am going to the police."

And somebody said, "It doesn't make any sense."

And I said, "I am going to call them."

When I called, [the police] said they didn't have a vehicle. I said, "No problem. But I wrote the Commissioner, I just need to know who's on duty now, because the Commissioner said that once I see him, I am to call the station and am going to call him [the Commissioner] to call the station." So, they said, "you are the lady who wrote the Commissioner?"
And the vehicle came.

And I am telling you, we prayed. And I said, "Lord, [the perpetrator] knows the area. We don't want him going into the bush. If he goes into the bush, we are going to have a hard time." And I said to her, one of the young ladies who was sexually assaulted was there, and I said, "You pray." And she prayed. And she said, "Lord, I'm asking—. Me asking you to help me to forgive [the perpetrator]. I'm asking you to make them catch him so that he won't hurt anybody else the way he hurt me." She was the second in my line. She prayed. She was 14-15 years old when they caught [the perpetrator]. And we finally caught him that day. And that started a back-and-forth thing in court.

So, the first day we went to court, [the perpetrator] relatives were on duty in the court. So, they were "taking a set" (harassing) on my husband: "Sit up straight, fix your back, you can't do that in the courthouse." I think they had to pick on us because we brought it forward. But it was a journey.

It came to a point where witchcraft was involved. They attempted witchcraft. A family member called and said they put broken bottles, some candles in the yard and stuff. And I said, "Pray." They've been doing it in the yard of the children because the court case had started. It was a mess.

The neighbors and their families were not cooperative. They did not come to go to court "one time." So, they were neighbors. You know, as neighbors, you move back and forth. But what had happened was that they did not get any support from their family at the time.

Two of them moved out of the community and went to [live with other] family [members]. But the neighbors (the other two girls), they stayed because their grandfather didn't see [the situation] as a big deal. And [the grandfather] said, "Why will you do this to him?"

So, two of the girls lived in one home, and those two were cousins, and the two siblings lived in the other. The siblings' family did not take any action against the perpetrator. So even though we encourage them and say, "Go to, come, we are going to the station." They never went.

So, we, my husband and I, took them to the station. We needed to follow up, like with a guidance counsel. So, I'm trying to remember, I know one of them definitely went through the guidance counsel, she went through that whole process of the guidance counselling. I know the other two never did it because their family just never supported the whole idea of this "thing" going to court or trying to lock up the [the perpetrator].

The court case took probably two years after he was arrested. Now seven years had passed, and the girls are all teenagers. One of the times I did not go to court, and that was the morning when the girl's mother called me. That is the girl who went through the counselling. And I told [the mother] to pray and go. And she said while she was going, her prayer was to let [the perpetrator] lawyer stop representing him. And she said, when she went into the courtroom the morning, "his lawyer got up and said, 'Your Honor, I can no longer represent this [the perpetrator].'" She said that was what she was praying, and she never expected it. And so, what that allowed for is that the accused had to represent himself in court that morning.

I see the goodness of God in that because the defendant, rather, the defendant, had to represent himself, so the young lady was able to talk to [the perpetrator] directly. So, [the perpetrator] said to the judge, she told me, he said, "The little girl is lying." And so, [the little girl] was able to say, she is not lying. And she was able to speak to [the perpetrator] because he no longer had a lawyer. She spoke to him directly. And I thought that allowed her closure to say [the perpetrator] did it. Because [the mother] said, "[the daughter] said, 'You are the one who is lying.'"

And I think what also empowered her was the fact that the mother said, "the judge, based on the questioning, going back and forth, said, 'I believe you. Your testimony is consistent with what was given to the police how many years.'" And even, I think, one of the

things that we have feared is that because, very often, sometimes, when these cases are in small communities and there are family members who work in the courthouse, that work in the police system, documents go missing. But the goodness of God, the policeman who had taken the statement five years before, he said when he saw the kids; he locked [the evidence] in his briefcase. And he said, "Whenever this case comes to court, I want to make sure that the papers can be found."

And they were. Because he had secured them. So just like, I mean, everything just started—. So even though it was hard going to court, going back and forth. It worked out.

The oldest didn't come to court. You must understand the girls. Only one girl came to court and the second in the line, second or third, second. All right. But you must understand the eldest did not go. I remember just from the police questioning she couldn't, she just broke down. She said, "My head hurts, and me, I can't." It was stressful. It was, really. I only watched it.

I was there when he [the police officer] was questioning it [the assault]. I went to work the following day and had to leave. Because the stress of listening, just listening, just to hear it described—. She said, "Do I have to talk, do I have to talk about it?" It was too much.

The youngest went into her own world. She was eight at the time. And she just started, while they were questioning her—. It was as though she had an imaginary friend; she was just gone. So, it was difficult to get the information out of her.

The one who went to court. I remember I said to her, I said, "tell the truth. Tell them the truth. Do not make up anything." She said, "If I talk, the truth, would they lock him [the perpetrator] up?" And I said, "Yes, just talk." That was our only thing. If I talk the truth, and I said, "Yes."

And I'm so grateful that the Lord honored her speaking the truth because that lock up did not come until seven years later. Because when we started, she was 10 just in primary school. When we finish, she was in high school.

Then the 10-year-old, who's the one who went through counseling, went through the court system. And the other one who was eight. The 14 and the 10-year-old lived in one home as cousins and the 14 and eight-year-old lived in one home as siblings. The others did not go to court, because they did not get any family support.

And I think this over the years and observation and meeting more people who have had this experience. I think very often the mothers themselves have been abused. And I think, because in their generation, it just was not said. So, they don't understand. For them, they know, it happened to you, it happened to the sister, and all of them are quiet. And we move on, and we are ok. It is not okay, but we moved on, we get married we have children. We okay.

So why you must talk? Why do you have to stir up? Why do you have to bring this up in the family? You don't have to say nothing. Everybody goes through it, and we get over it. So why make all this stink now? You don't have to do that?

So, I find it is a generational break. I just think this is something that has been perpetrated from slavery. But the whole thing is you're locked down and you don't talk, you know. But there's that generation I know that is saying, "I won't take this. You can't just jump on top of me like a trampoline. This can't continue." You know.

So, I think it's just a generational break. But I believe, based on how I see mothers respond, grandmothers, and how they talk around the issues, I think a lot of mothers have gone through it. Even among my age group. I don't remember what came up the other day, and the response of the women in my group, I know that most of them would have been molested. The paranoia.

Well, what they're doing is making sure that their daughters are protected. So, some go overboard, and you can't even go overboard because you knew how it came to you. So, it may look to me as, you are going overboard, but you have to say, "I know why I have to "lock down" on my daughter like this," you know. Because I know where it came from in my family. *I knew it was daddy. I knew it was grandpa. I knew it was uncle.* So, I have to corner off my daughters.

But I believe that [the 10-year old's mother] too, just based on how her upbringing, that she too has had that in her past. It is just that it is the elephant in the room that nobody talks about. But there is a way sometimes people do not want to get their hands dirty. But the truth is you won't have no real change until the hands get dirty. For example, if you think about even delivering a child vaginally, their hands get dirty. There is no life until those hands get dirty. And we just must make a stand.

I am one of those parents. Because it just gets so messy. You see, it would be good if you could get this child out of the situation and bring that child into my home. But then that child could 'trouble' (abuse) your child. And you can't sleep in the room. And you can't play 24 hours security. And I think that's a real, real, real challenge. You want to help, but out of selfishness you don't. At least that would be what it is for me. I think, *I don't want my children to be exposed to this.* And I know that you don't have to necessarily bring them into your home, you know.

So, there are children or young ladies that have been sexually abused and they are working on forgiving the perpetrator (tears and change in voice). They didn't do anything wrong. So why are you carrying the guilt? Someone wronged you. And you think the man who has done it is free, but they're not. They do carry guilt. But the problem is, very often, girls tend to bear the guilt and shame and they didn't do anything wrong. You understand?

So, I haven't done anything. I think—. I don't know. Back then, the police officer asked me, "You are a social worker?" Because when they couldn't get the girls to answer, I would talk to them to get them to answer. But I can tell you, it stressed me, it stressed me out. It was stressful. Because it was wrong.

Maybe it was a God thing. I need you to step in right here and do this thing. Because as I said, we started and then there was that break. And in that break, I came to know God. I came to know about praying and came to know about trusting Him.

I just know that the first day—. After the first day, I didn't go to work. I didn't go to work that day of the questioning. And I know the following day I didn't go to work. When I went to work, I just went to my supervisor, my manager at the time, and said, "I cannot focus. I had to do something very stressful yesterday. I cannot manage." I shared with her some of the details and she said, "okay."

But the effect on the girls, I see it. The robbery of the identity, the feeling of worthlessness. That's imperative. Because if somebody could treat me like trash, I must be trash. So that walks with me.

Because I have seen the eldest one. She has had it very hard. She teaches, but she's not healed, nowhere near healed. I think she has now four children. And I don't think it is for the same man.

The other one I hear she is married. I hear she is now a believer. She's doing well. I have not seen her recently.

I know one of them was using cocaine at one point. I think that may have been the younger.

So, I think one who is now married actually ended up doing prostitution, at one point, but all that is behind her now. As I said, she is now married.

And the other one, the third one studied, started training, works but still, you can—. You know, there is no peace.

It is literally the demons that walk with you that remind you, and you try to numb the pain. But this is a thing that I know, God in his time will deliver. But I know that there is a real pain. It is like you have a real nasty sore that can't get better, not just like that. Because what I recognize, you know, is to confront it.

You know when you go through something difficult; you don't go back there. Why would you deliberately go back through that? You went through a field, and you were clobbered. And every time you go through this, you get beaten up. Why would you go back there?

So, the mental visiting of that past is very hard. Because even talking to you, tears come up and they go back down. Just for me to remember. And I don't go back. It is like I set up barriers around the day of questioning. So, for me, as the person who only heard the evidence, I think the reason why it's easier for me to go through this is the fact that God brought me to a place where I can pray, trust him and I've seen victory.

He went, he went prison. He's released. But he went to prison. He can't deny. He may deny. But he knows he'd be lying to say he didn't do it. He'd have had to.

And my concern was for his son. Because the girls will tell you that he forced them to watch him have sex with other people. So, it wasn't just the fact that he physically went on them. But these were adult women that he allowed the little children—.

No man, that case is hard.

Conclusion

Gladiolus' story, shared during her interview, is about people who address and respond to sexual violence. The story presents the overt and covert methods used by the perpetrator,

family, community members, and practitioners, including individuals within the justice system, to silence the voices of four young girls who experienced sexual violence. Further, the story highlights what Scheper-Hughes (1996) describes as social indifference towards violence and Henriksen and Bengtsson (2018) explain as "trivialization by which violence is both normalized and disregarded as "nothing special" (p. 112), understood in the present work as everyday violence. Gladiolus describes the impact of sexual violence, silencing, and de-silencing. For example, she tells us of one child's disassociation from reality and another girl's relief after being believed when asked to tell her story. I inserted this narrative to introduce the reader to a participant's journey for social justice in a society where sexual violence against young people is normalized.

CHAPTER 5: LEARNING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN JAMAICA

Introduction

Learning happens every day, mostly in informal spaces as individuals interact with their environment, whether individuals are at home, at work, or in their community. Educators argue that what we learn is not only shaped by the context in which we live but also determines or affects how we interact within the spaces we occupy (Merriam & Baumgartner, 2020). Chapter five outlines results from the present study, describing how participants developed their own understandings of sexual violence within Jamaican society. This chapter also highlights the everyday violence that some children and young people experience in their homes. In addition, the participants explain how children and young people attempt to negotiate safety in their everyday spaces, while being threatened by adults who demand their silence whilst they are violated; and how recognition and acknowledgement of harm and ensuing trauma are denied by those who are meant to protect them. This chapter describes the complexities involved in changing a system where everyday sexual violence intersects with power, poverty, and youth/age. Finally, chapter five concludes with a summary of key findings surrounding these themes.

To some degree, the overall themes presented within the present chapter are consistent with previous research. For example, research demonstrates that sexual violence often begins within homes, where perpetrators are family members or close friends (Amnesty International, 2006; Smith, McLean Cooke & Morrison, 2020; UNICEF, 2014). However, the concepts of denial and disavowal, understood as taught and learned behaviours related to sexual violence, have not been fully explored in PACS. In the context of sexual violence, denial and disavowal refer to social indifference and the trivialization of violence, as well as direct denial of harm. In addition, this chapter reveals how structural barriers perpetuates sexual violence, silence victims and prevents healing. Finally, this chapter highlights what critical race theorists argue as intersectionalities of race, gender and sexuality are embedded in systems, limiting

Hence, I present these themes that emerged from the data to name and recognize them as points for further inquiry.

The intent of chapter five is to make visible the everydayness, the pre-political, and the political nature of different forms of sexual violence at all levels of Jamaican society. This

chapter explores how sexual violence is learned and continues to be perpetuated by individuals, communities, and institutions. In the context of sexual violence, it is crucial to spark critical conversations surrounding sexual violence and the impact on global migration. While it is not conclusive, this chapter is an introduction to the importance of dialogue to disrupt the silence that many survivors of sexual violence carry in Jamaica and its diaspora. This chapter aims to make visible stories that, for some, may be unbelievable.

Family First

Sexual violence against young people often begins in spaces where there is trust. All participants in the present work identified that sexual violence often starts in "families first." Participants identified several examples of sexual violence that occurs within families, including incest, rape, sexual grooming of victims and perpetrators, and the practice of parents encouraging children to engage in underage sex for money. Interview participant Gladiolus' story of her family's experience with incest, rape, and sexual grooming details how different forms of sexual violence are taught and reinforced in some Jamaican families. Gladiolus began her story with a warning her mother told her when she was a child about "being careful of family":

> My mother always said, "They start with their family first, because their family will trust them. They will not start with outsiders."
>
> For years, she said this. It meant absolutely nothing [to me] until my grandfather died. When my grandfather died, everybody started coming out of the woodwork. (Gladiolus, Interview Participant)

Perpetrators of sexual violence are often trusted family members. This finding supports previous studies about perpetrators of sexual violence against young people (Murray, Nguyen & Cohen, 2014). Initially, Gladiolus did not fully understand the warning from her mother because the story of sexual violence within her family was not fully disclosed.

After her grandfather's death, Gladiolus heard that her grandfather had raped many daughters in the family. She shared:

> My cousin—my mother's cousin—said that my grandfather raped her when she was 14. Before he died, she would visit Jamaica every year because she lives overseas. And I think she just wanted the closure. So, she said—she said to him, "You remember what you did to me."
>
> And his response was, "Did it kill you?" She said, "No." He said, "Then what do you want me to do about it?" That was it. (Gladiolus, Interview Participant)

In this story, Gladiolus' grandfather's acknowledgement of a harmful sexual act does not equate admitting to a wrong. Further, by denying the harm done, the grandfather trivializes the situation, failing to acknowledge incest or sex with a minor as violence.

To make sense of her grandfather's actions, including his seeming lack of remorse, Gladiolus assumed her grandfather's heavy drinking was partly because he felt guilt over what he had done. She explained:

> He used to drink, and I'm sure that was that part of what he was trying to drink away. You cannot feel good knowing that you have robbed little children. The fear that is on a young lady when you are doing this to her [and she says], "Don't do it." How do you sleep with that playing in your mind? (Gladiolus, Interview Participant)

Gladiolus presented her grandfather's acts of sexual violence as a sign of mental instability; or maybe he was a sociopath or psychopath, a sadist who liked to inflict pain on children. Psychiatrists have identified some correlation between sexual violence and mental health concerns (Sorrentino et al., 2018). In this case, the grandfather's behaviour may also be connected to the oppressive colonial paradigm that positions men as the masters of their own homes, while they are treated as objects outside the home (hooks, 2015). Gladiolus concluded that her grandfather's drinking allowed him mental escape from the harm he inflicted on the girls in his family. Practitioners working with sexual offenders urgently need access to continued and advanced research, training, and knowledge focused on sexual offending behaviour to better understand and develop strategies to reduce the risk of re-offending behaviour.

"Consent through silence" plays an important role in understanding the perpetuation of sexual violence within families. Gladiolus explained:

> So last year, I said to my sister, "But Mommy always say that they start with their family first. [Grandfather] raped her cousins, that means Mommy—, Mommy must have been." So, my sister said she suspected, because one night she was in the car with my grandfather. She said my mommy came in such a rage to the car and, [imitating her sister's talking] "Mommy said, 'what are you doing here with her? What are you doing with her?'"
>
> And she said to my sister, "Get out the car! Get out the car!" Because apparently, as a young adult, as well for my mother, it was only girls in that home, her stepsister plus her other sisters. And my grandfather apparently had a field day with the consent of his girlfriend at the time. (Gladiolus, Interview Participant)

Consent achieved through silencing gives implicit permission to perpetrators, teaching and reinforcing acts of sexual violence. However, Gladiolus' story tells us about a mother's efforts to protect her children, through silence and through a display of rage that served as a warning. Gladiolus further explained the truth of protecting perpetrators in families so that they are not held accountable. She described:

> So, it's also I think people have a sense of right and wrong, and the truth is it can be perpetuated and very often it's perpetuated by personal experience. If you're coming up in a family and you have a father and a grandfather who you respect, but he's raping every female member in the family. And Grandma says, "Shhhh, we know but—." And Mommy knows, but Mommy says, "Shhhh."
>
> And the boys are allowed to do it. I have a friend whose older brother did it to her, and the mother knew, you understand. And there are so many cases of people. (Gladiolus, Interview Participant)

Sexual violence is learned and continually reinforced when families consent to and/or ignore harmful sexual acts against children, such as sexual grooming and rape. People's sense of

right and wrong can be skewed by the very people they trust (parents, grandparents, uncles, brothers) through positive or negative reinforcement.

Gladiolus believed the boys in her home and other homes (her friend's) were allowed to enact sexual violence against their sisters or cousins. This behaviour was tolerated or reinforced through silence, which passed on this form of violence and trauma to the next generation, creating a new generation of victims and perpetrators of sexual violence. Gladiolus called this outcome "generational curses." She explained:

> So, the girls are victims. And I believe the men are victims in another sense, in that they are not corrected when they were growing old. Not even by their mother, or grandmother, to say, "Look, your Daddy did this." You know, as a believer, the Bible talks about generational curses. You see certain patterns in families being repeated. So, I know when I see it in one cycle, I say, "Oh yes, I need to look out for this. This happened before, this didn't just start." (Gladiolus, Interview Participant)

Victims can learn to perpetuate sexual violence, leading to an intergenerational cycle of harming youth in families.

Gladiolus recognized that because her family experienced sexual violence, they were at risk of perpetuating the cycle by being silent. She reported:

> And I can perpetuate it by being quiet. Or I can say, "You know, this happened, and it will not happen in here again. This has to stop. Hmph. Do not try this around here. I'm not afraid to send you to prison. You are my son. You are my brother. I'm not afraid." (Gladiolus, Interview Participant)

Gladiolus argued that silence is a choice. Further, recognizing sexual violence as a cycle, a generational curse that begins in families, allowed Gladiolus to make a conscious effort not to let it happen in her family. She chose not to be silent. Instead of fear, Gladiolus decided to seek justice for victims.

Gladiolus' story describes the learning process across generations of victims and perpetrators of sexual violence within a family. Within the home, the family was taught silence, denial, and disavowal of sexual violence. Soon, these became everyday tools used to

reinforce and reproduce harmful sexual acts, which skewed young people's understanding of right and wrong. These are processes that reinforce everyday violence. Gladiolus recalled how "silence" gave "consent" to her experience of molestation at the hands of her aunt as a child, and how her resulting anger fueled her to protect and seek justice for young people who have experienced sexual violence.

Another way that sexual violence shows up within families is through the sexual exploitation of children. Parents sometimes encourage their daughters to engage in "underage sex" for money. Carnation, a participant in the present study, explained that there were "mothers who believed in getting financial support, or gain, or benefit from their daughters having underage sex." Carnation further explained that in her youth summer program, some of the girls talk about the attitudes of their mothers towards underage sex. In her interview, Carnation described:

> We run a summer program for kids in school between the ages of 12-17. Some of them tell us some horrendous stories of what they go through with sexual abuse. And some of them tell us about the attitude of mothers. When girls reach puberty or menstruation, after the parent buys the first sanitary napkins, basically now you are on your own. They have to find man to buy it for you. So, some of the early sexual activities of our children is because of what adults do and say to them. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

Young people's bodies are objectified as commodities, and prostitution begins at home, encouraged by parents.

The commodification of young people's bodies is not limited to Jamaican communities. Researchers Ciann Wilson and Sarah Flicker (2017) caution against simply relating the motivation toward transactional sex to economic need because it reaffirms negative stereotypes of black women as "promiscuous" (p. 111). Rather, the authors argue that transactional sex should be understood within each context, accounting for the impact of embedded historical underpinnings of colonialism, patriarchy, and global capitalism (Wilson & Flicker, 2017).

Some parents believe that they have the right to engage in sexual acts with their children.

Some communities in Jamaica support this belief. For example, Carnation recalled how unpopular she became as a law enforcement officer in her community after the arrest and conviction of a father who attempted to rape his daughter: "The community sentiment was, nothing was wrong with his daughter, the father attempted, he did not rape her." Carnation added that to understand this form of violence, one must understand the beliefs that people hold. She explained:

> There is a Jamaican saying that says 'you are not supposed to fatten fowl for mongoose.' So, in other words, 'since I was the one who raised you till you are 'ripe,' I am the one who must reap that ripeness.' (Carnation, Interview Participant)

By this logic, a parent that raises a child to puberty (when young female children develop breasts and begin menstruation) has the "right" to engage in sexual acts with that child.

Carnation continued:

> Incest is a problem. Because you keep getting those situations. And even when older men prey on young girls, you will find some sections of society justifies it or blame the child. As I said, all kinds of things happen [in Jamaica]. It is not all of [sexual violence]. And it is not all sensible and aware behaviour when you are trying to hold a perpetrator accountable and to tell them it is wrong to fool around with children. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

Participants acknowledged that sexual violence is tied to beliefs and attitudes that are often taught or learned within the home. These results demonstrate that people's understandings of parenting roles and responsibilities are skewed within the Jamaican context. Caribbean literature describes the parent-child relationship as an authoritative power dynamic that is violent and has been shaped by the complexities of the socio-economic and cultural influences of slavery and colonialism (Hickling, 2012).

Community Denial or Disavowal

Communities' refusal to recognize the reality of sexual violence against young people, as well as their own roles in perpetuating such violence, serves as an example of denial.

Freud's description of denial "involves the complex activity of an ego that has undergone considerable development. Perception is accurate and unimpaired, but there is defensive failure to appreciate fully the implications of that perception" (Trunnell & Holt, 1974, p. 783). Most participants in the present study identified and acknowledged denial regarding sexual violence against young people in each of their communities, or the communities in which they work. For example, through her work with young people affected by sexual violence, Tulip learned that there is a "culture" within some communities that expects and accepts that young people engage in harmful sexual acts. Further, she noted that to oppose the "culture" can be very harmful to young people and their families. In her interview, Tulip explained:

> But then, you know, some places you have a culture—where this is how the community is—when you reach a certain age, you must start [to have sex]. It's not right, but it is the culture. And for persons to break away—. You have persons who are living in the inner cities where they don't know anywhere apart from right there. So even though it probably takes one to break the culture to report, they can't, because if they make that report, then they don't have anywhere to go. And the possibility of the Don or whoever finding out that they made that report would put their lives and their family member's lives at risk, basically. So that's the culture. So sometimes persons, they don't report. So that's the reason why. Without a complainant, you don't have a case. (Tulip, Interview Participant)

Tulip realized that decisions to oppose certain practices (i.e., early sexual debut) or report sex crimes are accompanied by a risk to both the victims and their families. She also recognized that some communities refuse to acknowledge the definition of sexual violence under the Jamaican Sexual Offences Act, holding attitudes and beliefs that oppose common understandings of the harms of sexual violence. These attitudes and beliefs cause understandings of victim and perpetrator, of right and wrong, to be skewed.

Carnation remembered her first exposure to sexual violence and the community's response toward both the victim and perpetrator. She explained that while there was the outrage over the rape of a young girl, some community members made excuses for the rape. Carnation described:

> One of the first case[s] of sexual violence I was aware of, even though I didn't understand what it was—.
>
> There was a girl when I was growing up, an older girl. To tell you the truth, I don't know if she was a teen. She was a tall girl. And we just loved her. She used to play with us as smaller kids; we were just under 10.
>
> But somebody raped her. And I heard the older people talking about it, and they were outraged. I was outraged on her behalf, too, because somebody hurt her.
>
> There were some people trying to make excuses for it. But I remember my mother—and you know my mother was a champion when it comes to things like that—she is not putting up with it.
>
> They claimed that it was a particular fellow who did it. I remember I disliked him right up until I was an adult. Because we all loved her. Whether he did it or not, I don't know. But he was the one that they claimed did it.
>
> I never realized that my dislike of him was so bad. He was not somebody that I saw throughout, but I remembered when my mother died, he came to the wake, and I saw him and the whole incident came back. There was something about it, that he did something, and he got away with it. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

Although Carnation (as a child) did not understand the term rape, she associated "hurt" with harm and therefore understood the term "rape" as harmful. Carnation was greatly influenced by her mother, remembering her as a "champion" who showed outrage at her friend's rape. Thus, Carnation associated rape with outrage. She also realized that rape, although harmful to the survivor, can be excused by members of a community. As a result, she saw that there are often no consequences for the perpetrator and victims are silenced through fear of exposing the rapist.

Rape is excused by a process of conditioning that involves instilling certain beliefs that are meant to silence victims. In her interview, Carnation explained this phenomenon:

> So, the thing that I recognize, one, that people tend to pressure victims. And have more sympathy for victims over certain crimes, like family violence and intimate partner violence over sexual violence. Where they tell victims reasons why they shouldn't prosecute these persons because they talk to them about shame and disgrace, people

> who are employed will lose their work. And to go back to some of the nonsense views around colorism where people will say, "Oh, he's a nice brown man." Or "that nice brown man." [*pause*] And how he is in the church. All kinds of reasons.
>
> And the idea of going to court, people see it as disgraceful. That something is wrong to go to the courthouse. One of the places that teaches this is the church. I don't know if they still do it nowadays. But it's like people must come in a huddle and keep it in secret. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

Carnation recognized the influence community has on victims by instilling or imposing fear, shame, disgrace, and distrust of the system, deterring them from reporting sex crimes. For example, victims that report rape may lose their jobs, or be ridiculed by their church and community. Carnation also realized that perpetrators are protected by attitudes, beliefs, and values that are connected to colonialism and slavery within communities. She identified colorism, the idea that being closer to whiteness is good and pure, and the influence of the church's ordinance of forgiveness. Carnation added, "So [people use] all kinds of indices to determine who should be forgiven." Thus, the prosecution and forgiveness of perpetrators are determined by the community, while victims are pressured into silence.

Lotus, a participant who is a member of the clergy, posited that Jamaica's patriarchal traditions, inherited from colonialism, also contribute to the perpetuation of sexual violence against young people. He explained:

> One of the things I learned is that sexual violence receives strong systemic support from a patriarchal tradition that has been nurtured by unfortunate, misleading, religious positions. Because when you think that there are people who hold some views just because their pastor says it, or their church says, or they believe the Bible says it. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

Some church leaders play a large role in instilling and nurturing community beliefs and attitudes that accept and facilitate sexual violence against young people.

Another example of denial or disavowal lies in the simultaneous rejection and acceptance of the reality of sexual violence. We see the notion of simultaneous rejection and acceptance of sex crimes reflected in the negotiation of forgiveness. For example, victims of

sexual violence are often expected to "forgive" their perpetrators. The concept of "forgiveness" often translates to an expectation that victims do not report sex crimes, do not speak out about the harmful sexual act, and most importantly, that survivors forget the harmful sexual act they experienced.

Perpetrators are often "forgiven" when payment, reputation, affiliation with the church, colorism, or family ties are involved. Interview participant Carnation learned that some people accept money if they agree not to report incidents of sexual violence against their children: "People will take money. People's kids get sexual abuse, and people settle it by taking money." Carnation recognized that perpetrators make payment to ensure the silence of survivors. She added that schools will also choose not to report incidents of sexual violence, denying children their rights and justice, to maintain a good reputation in the community:

> You go to school and things happen to kids there by other kids—like sexual violence. And they say they are saving the reputation of the school over justice for the victim.
>
> So, you find all kinds of problems that are part and parcel [of] why you can't get anywhere with this thing. Again, so those are some of the attitudes and beliefs. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

Here, Carnation outlined some common attitudes and beliefs that excuse perpetrators and silence victims. According to Carnation, these are the reasons why sexual violence is continually perpetuated against children and youth within communities.

Some people resort to victim-blaming and, in some cases, direct violence, to protect perpetrators of sexual violence from the truth exposed by young people. Carnation recalled a story of a 13-year-old girl whose rape almost "caused" a riot. She explained:

> Like I was saying about a 13-year-old girl, I remember a community nearly erupted in a riot because "big men" were having sex with her. And the police found out about one of them and arrested him.
>
> And trust me, the community was totally up in arms against the arrest of the man. They were ready to come out and demonstrate and create mayhem. Because in their view, the little girl was promiscuous. She was approaching and offering sex to "big men," even married men, according to [community members]. It never dawned

> on them that at 13, she was not able to give consent for sex. These are some of the things that come out of the sexual violence issues. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

A community's shared belief system determines how individuals within the community view issues of sexual abuse, including when a child is considered sexually mature, the accepted definition of consent in relation to sexual maturity, and what constitutes sexual violence. Further, the community may act against law enforcement to protect their beliefs, even if they are misguided. In Carnation's story, the community viewed the 13-year-old victim as the perpetrator and aggressor, while the older men were considered victims. Thus, a local community is akin to a socio-political system, in which shared ideologies exercise control and power over members.

Victims are also blamed for being victims. Jamaica is not the only country that exhibits blame-the-victim tendencies. Marigold, a participant in the present study, learned that there is a global issue regarding the understanding of human rights and freedoms, as blaming the victim is not limited to one geographical location or cultural context. She reported:

> It was last week I read an article, in India, a girl was raped. Then they parade[d] her through the community and blamed her for being raped. Society on a whole has a tendency of blaming the victim for being a victim. (Marigold, Interview Participant)

In her example, Marigold noted that not only does the victim experience sexual violence from a perpetrator, but she also experiences violence—public shaming—from her community for being a victim.

Marigold added that "we," society, talk about protecting the rights of children and youth, yet societal actions toward victims do not demonstrate that understanding:

> We talk about protecting the rights of a child, a woman, or anybody. Once something happens, society attacks their character.
>
> "How were they in this situation in the first place?"
>
> "You too friendly, etc." (Marigold, Interview Participant)

Marigold made it clear that attacking a victim's character by attributing blame to them is not a protection of their rights. It is shaming, blaming, and shunning people who have already been harmed and have survived a violent encounter. These words and actions also deny victims the freedom to be themselves. She noted that it is wrongful persecution:

> So, you can't be in a situation where you were trying to protect somebody and you're telling the child, "We have the rights of the child." And you're telling them that, "alright, you have the freedom to be whoever you want to be. You have the freedom to be you."
>
> Yet still, when you are you, you get persecuted for being you. And whatever happens to you because of someone else's action or ill thoughts, you get blamed for whatever happens to you in the process. (Marigold, Interview Participant)

Marigold noted that society cannot protect children from what it does not understand. Simply telling someone that they have rights and are free to choose does not mean that they are able to do so in practice. Hence, it is important that victims and their family members have access to resources that can help them understand their experiences, both internally and externally, to cope or reduce the negative impacts of trauma.

Victim-blaming can lead to denial of service for victims. In her effort to seek justice for four young girls who were raped by a male family friend, Gladiolus learned that a community chooses sides, often taking the side of the perpetrator. Further, there are consequences when victims break the "code" of silence. She explained:

> I suppose what I want to describe is the things that I learned for the first time coming out of that particular experience or experienced for the first time. I saw a community lock down and attempt to make the girls bear the guilt of what happened to them, in as much as—. Did you know that there were some taxi men who would not want to take them. Because they talked. (Gladiolus, Interview Participant)

Gladiolus realized that if one did not conform to the beliefs and attitudes within the community, they may be denied services. Gladiolus added:

> It's not every man who came into agreement with [the taxi driver]. It is not every man who felt like it was okay. So, for instance, the policeman who secured the documents, because he didn't want them to be stolen, was a man who said this is wrong.
>
> On the other hand, you have the [first] doctor I went to with the girls who said, "Is your relative, then why are you going to talk." But the second doctor who the police referred me to said, "This is wrong, and this man should not get bail." So, I learned that people choose sides, I believe, based on what they consider what is acceptable and okay. (Gladiolus, Interview Participant)

People who are there to provide services, support victims, and uphold the law do not always follow the processes outlined in their policies. Instead, they will choose sides based on their personal beliefs and those of their community.

Institutional Barriers

Many participants in the present work identified that most of their learning about sexual violence happened while working with an organization that supported and protected victims of sexual violence. Participants identified that sexual violence against Jamaican young people is often related to lack of accessibility to resources for young people and their families.

Participants identified that it is often challenging for victims of sexual violence to access resources that can help with understanding their experiences and how to cope with the physical and psychological harm caused by sexual violence. For example, as a support worker for children and young people who experience sexual violence, Marigold recognized that the systems in place to address sexual violence are limited and overburdened. In her interview, Marigold explained that there are few cost-free resources for victims and those that do exist are often located in the cities.

This location barrier limits access for individuals from rural and suburban areas across the island who require supports and resources. Marigold explained:

> Our resources are overburdened. There's not that many resources. And then there are a lot of people flocking to the few resources. There are two free clinics that address

> some of the needs for victims of sexual violence. So, the child guidance clinic Glenvincent and Comprehensive in Kingston are free.
>
> A lot of parents cannot afford to pay. At the University Hospital, it's $2,500 Jamaican dollars for the initial visit, and then visits after that goes down to $1,200 Jamaican dollars. So, you will have the parent who can barely find the means to afford all of this. And then it's going to be like, "Alright, you and your brothers need to go to school tomorrow so I can't afford to send you to the clinic, so we have to make do." And that's just it. (Marigold, Interview Participant)

Issues of economic class also factor into the sexual abuse of children and youth. A family's economic status can impact their access to resources, as some families are forced to choose between health care and education for their children.

While sharing her story, Marigold added:

> We can always refer to the resources, but the resources can [only] hold so much and do so much and no more. With cases once they are reported to CISOCA, usually there is a mandatory referral for the Victim Support Unit (VSU). And by right when it comes to the younger children, and whenever they're supposed to be going to court, whoever their counsellor is at the VSU, they have to accompany the child to court to have that additional support there. So, we try to help as best as we can. But sometimes the system is just overburdened. I mean, there is [only] so much that we can do in that aspect. (Marigold, Interview Participant)

There are not enough resources to accommodate individual demand for support/protection services. The poorer the survivor is, the less likely it becomes that they will be able to access the support services needed.

There are not enough practitioners to assist the families and victims who have experienced sexual violence. Orchid, another participant, added that support workers are overburdened with the number of cases that they must process. She explained that there are often not enough resources, including human resources, to properly investigate cases of sexual violence. She shared:

> Some of the challenges that we face right now are resources. Sometimes we are stretched with the amount of reports that are here. And the same person working in office today is the same person working in office tomorrow. So, you get nine cases today. And you get another nine cases tomorrow. That is 18 cases in two days.
>
> And you are working in the night and think you are getting away, but you don't. People are coming just the same. You have persons here who have over 100 cases in court. And it is not funny. I am not joking.
>
> Sometimes when you want to go on the road to do the investigation, we do not have enough vehicles. We want to go and do something. Another set of people have to go and do something. And then you have to go and do the Q & A. And we have to be waiting on one person to come back with a vehicle to go and do a Q & A.
>
> And you have to try and get somebody to go with you, because one person would have to ask the questions and one person write the question and answer. So sometimes we don't have enough people to do these things. (Orchid, Interview Participant)

Case workers try hard to cope with the number of cases that seem to burgeon each day, as sexual assaults continue to spike.

Similarly, interview participant Magnolia acknowledged the lack of consistent resources that address the impact of sexual violence against young people across the island. She explained:

> The support system is not consistent. The support services provided by the state are far too infrequent and ad hoc because it doesn't have the kind of financial investment that it need[s]. It is not widespread across the island. So, if you are not centered in Montego Bay or Kingston, you will have challenges to access resources. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

This shortage of resources contributes to the perpetuation of sexual violence against young people in families and communities and stunts the healing of people who have experienced sexual violence.

Barriers to healing are not only caused by insufficient and inaccessible resources and supports. The enslavement and colonization of Indigenous African people in Jamaica resulted in a loss of connection to traditional ways of knowing and healing. To control the people and sustain slavery, the British colonial model rejected and forbade the Indigenous African people's traditional ways of worshiping and healing. As a result, Magnolia noted, Jamaican institutions do not embrace cultural or healing practices outside of westernized, clinical models. In her story, Magnolia explained:

> Healing justice and healing practice, they pretty much subscribe to the clinical psychology model. I'm not knocking it, but it is not complete unless you pay attention to the spirit. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Throughout her interview, Magnolia presented healing as a holistic process that involves mind, body, and spirit. She noted that traditional cultural healing practices can equip survivors to better deal with trauma.

Marigold also noted that she had to make changes in her referral process to ensure that victims and their parents or guardians follow-up on referrals. She shared:

> One of the challenges is that sometimes after you provide families with their referrals, it stops right there. So, after work, I would personally drive to drop off the referrals at the office. Now, we do an electronic referral for all of them. So, we just send them off, knowing someone will follow up with them. But that is for referrals within our agency. Outside referrals, you have some parents that follow-up. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Families' refusals to follow up on referrals continues to be problematic for agencies. However, Marigold acknowledged that her agency continues to explore creative ways to connect victims and families to the resources they require.

Coneflower, another research participant, recognized that within Jamaican society, as well as within specific agencies and organizations, there are many policies intended to prevent sexual violence and to assist victims and their families. However, the policies are not always enforced. She explained:

> I've discovered that we have a lot of policies. And to my dismay, most of them are not being enacted. So, it's there. And based on that, some of us have been given the red light to just run. And I think that is where the problem starts from. Because to me, I don't see the situation changing in a positive way. If it is that, we're not enforcing the policies that are to be enforced.
>
> It's just like what is happening with our murder rate now. We used to have murders committed mainly under the cover of night. Now, nothing like that.
>
> If you have the right opportunity, you see the person, broad day, sunshine, it doesn't matter. And you know that even though we have a policy about that, you are going to get locked up, whatever, but it is if you catch me.
>
> So, I think the biggest obstacle to preventing the problem of sexual violence or any violence, or anything else, for that matter, that is unlawful is if our policies really work. Presently, it is just there [and not working]. (Coneflower, Interview Participant)

It is the responsibility of individuals and practitioners within agencies and organizations that address sexual violence against young people to enforce laws and policies that protect children's rights. Failure to enforce these policies and laws reinforces direct violence against Jamaica's young people.

Like Coneflower, Marigold acknowledged that there are laws to prevent and protect persons from sexual violence, "but unless the law is really enforced in its entirety, nothing will change." Marigold recalled examples of delayed justice and insufficient justice:

> Someone goes to the police station to report a case of underage sex, and it's a case between a child with an adult, and the adult is between the ages of 18 to 21. When the matter goes to court, in some cases, that gentleman gets probation instead of being sentenced to jail.
>
> And then you have situations where nothing comes out of the reported sexual violence against a young person more than the man gets locked up, or the case is lost in the system for months.
>
> I have seen cases six years after reporting just coming to bat in court. So, you get to the point where a person's parents are going to be frustrated, children are going

> to feel frustrated, because the parents bring them to say that alright, this happened to my child was offended and for years it's drawn out. Everybody now knows in the community what happens to this child and sometimes that person is still in community with this child. And it's just frustration left, right, and center. (Marigold, Interview Participant)

The impact of delayed justice and insufficient justice for sex crimes is frustrating for victims, their families, and practitioners.

Knowing that any sexual act with a minor is rape and is punishable under the law, some perpetrators of sexual violence will threaten victims to ensure they give a false report that excuses the perpetrator. One participant, Tulip, recognized this process of false reporting as a manipulation of the system that causes more trauma and violence for rape survivors. She highlighted:

> Most times, because older men get the younger girls pregnant, the girls will tell you that it is a 16-year-old boy. This is because the perpetrators groom the girls, and the perpetrators know how the system works. So, they know that, if the girls report that they had sex with a younger boy, probably it would be less legal consequences. But for an older man, because he doesn't want to go to jail, he will get the girls to lie.
>
> There is this system called the diversion program where the government is trying to keep young persons out of the criminal justice system. If I am 15 and my boyfriend is 15, and for some reason I get pregnant, there is the diversion program. So, the older men will coerce or try to, based on the fear the girls may feel compelled to lie. For example, the older man says, "you better go to the station and say this or else."
>
> So, the girls will go to the station and report an incorrect name and age of the perpetrator. And sometimes there is no way of proving otherwise. (Tulip, Interview Participant)

Sometimes, survivors' fears of experiencing further violence at the hands of their rapists result in their agreement to file false reports with the police. False reporting can delay or prevent the prosecution of sex crimes and contribute to the continued perpetuation of sexual violence against minors.

Manipulation into silence often shows up differently, more covertly, for boys and young men who are raped. The social constructs of masculinity and heterosexuality are embedded within policies and often contribute to the silencing of boys and young men who experience rape. For example, Lotus, a clergyman participant, noted that boys who are victims of rape often choose not to report because of the societal stigma associated with homosexuality. He reported:

> For starters, boys who are raped feel even further violated if they have to go and open up to the authorities that they were raped, especially if it was same-gender rape. Because same-gender rape—there is a cultural or sub-cultural belief that same-gender rape automatically changes the boy into a girl.
>
> So, it is automatically stigmatizing. Then there is the matter of a boy being raped by a woman or girl. Often when it takes place, there is more than one perpetrator of the violence. So, two or three girls rape a boy. He dares not report that because he is supposed to like it. To report it again brings his sexuality into question. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

Embedded in this narrative are social constructions of gender that promote and maintain hegemonic masculinity, stigmatizing and rejecting any sexual act perceived as homosexual.

Lotus noted that rape is an abuse of power over a minor and that pedophiles must be held accountable for their behaviour under Jamaican law:

> The thing that we need to understand is that rape is rape. It is not determined by sexual orientation. Rape is rape. It is largely about power and the politics of power. And to understand too that pedophilia is not determined by sexual orientation. Pedophilia is pedophilia. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

The politicization of masculinity and heterosexuality imposes social gender norms that bind physical strength to masculinity and morality to heterosexuality. Thus, boys and young men who experience sexual violence are seen as weak and/or immoral, and are silenced, whether the perpetrator is male or female.

Children's dependency on adults to protect their human rights often leaves them vulnerable to violence enacted by these very same adults. Reflecting on her informal everyday learning and post-secondary learning, interview participant Magnolia recognized the intersectional vulnerabilities of children, including the idea that children are property. Taken alongside intersecting factors of gender, sex, and class, children become vulnerable to all forms of violence. She explained that children and youth are vulnerable because of their dependence on adults in their communities:

> Children are far more vulnerable in different ways than adults when it comes to sexual violence or any kind of violence. And their vulnerability still comes because parents still think that they own children. So, children still fall victim because adults don't protect them adequately.
>
> Adults just still see them as less than adults, less than a citizen so, therefore, somehow don't deserve the protection. So, this whole fuckery about, "I believe the children are the future"—lies, lies, foolishness. You know, children are not the future. Children are here with us right now. So that is what I learned. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Despite international recognition of children's rights, the everyday experiences of children and young people are determined by society's hierarchical structures that often define children as less than citizens, powerless, and voiceless. Unfortunately, this understanding of children's place in the world extends far beyond Jamaica, to many other parts of the world.

Some parents do not understand what sexual violence means. For example, working in the community, interview participant Orchid had opportunities to sit and speak with families after her presentations and found that most individuals do not understand what sexual violence is. This is what she had to say on the issue:

> Well, most of the communities that we go to when we do our presentations—you have persons there who are always saying that "But I didn't know this. I didn't know that this was wrong."

> One woman said to us one day that her child said somebody put their finger in their vagina. But she was only happy that it was only a finger that was used and not a penis. And I said, "But no, even if a finger was used, you have to report this."
>
> And when we talked to her, she said she didn't know that. She said, "I didn't know."
>
> A lot of them said they did not know some of the things that we were saying. And so, before we leave, we always say, "Ask us any question or ask us to
>
> expound on anything you want to clarify. Or if you don't understand it, tell me now, don't wait until I am gone." And so sometimes we have to stay there an hour, two hours, three hours after the presentation is finished. Just to explain certain things.
>
> And you have a little group here waiting on you. You have a group over here waiting on you, and you have people waiting. Some people stand at the gate because they don't want people hear what they are asking you. (Orchid, Interview Participant)

Some parents do not have adequate knowledge of sexuality, or sexual violence and its risk to their children. This lack of understanding is a barrier to parenting children and young people, especially during their years of self-exploration. Participants in the present study acknowledged that some parents would like to protect their children from violence; however, their lack of formal and informal education about how to parent, including lack of knowledge surrounding the dynamics of sexuality and sexual violence, are barriers to their children's safety.

Barriers Within Movements

Findings demonstrate that within collective social movements that address sexual violence against children and youth, there is often a lack of cohesion in understandings of human rights and gender violence that causes dissent within the group. In her interview, Magnolia reflected on her experience in a collective action addressing sexual violence:

> I got introduced to this whole concept of corrective rape, where women who presented to themselves as lesbian or queer were raped to straighten them out, so to speak.

And that's when I got exposed to the 2SLGBTQ+ community because I started having conversations.

And so, my work began to widen from women, children, then 2SLGBTQ+. And that still remains my focus, those three groups. And then I came upon another challenge, which was how the women's movement did not wish to engage with 2SLGBTQ+ issues because of the heteronormative lens in which the women's movement has tended to operate.

And then 2SLGBTQ+ women who I was meeting with and engaging with didn't have sufficient understanding of the women's issues from my gender perspective, outside of the lens of sexuality, for instance. So, when things like rape occurred, it put you smack in the middle of both.

So, it became a new space that I had to learn, not just the issues, but learn how to navigate. Because the older women, in particular in the women's movement, were not into the lesbian thing at all. They were very resistant to it.

And then while some women in the 2SLGBTQ+ community began to have interest in it because they were experiencing *gaytriarchy*—the fact that men in the LGBT movement were dominating the space too much. They was more on their issues, and they were still piggybacking on things like HIV, right. So, they crowded the space for 2SLGBTQ+ women.

So, LGBT women began to look to the women's movement for not just support, but in how to then carve out a space for LGBT women within the women's movement. And then there was a lot of resistance.

And there I was smack in the middle.

And all of a sudden, I was getting opposition and resistance because of their inability or unwillingness to engage with sexuality and sexual orientation. And there were young people who were less willing to play the heteronormative game. They were far more willing to be bold and declare who they were. It really became problematic. And I had to leave a couple of places because they were not willing to deal with intersectionality stuff.

And we were looking to the women's movement for guidance and buck up on [*found*] resistance and opposition instead of guidance. It really wasn't a nourishing

> space for them. And myself and a couple of other women which they call *cuspies*—women in our 40s, we are not young, and we are not old. But we're on the cusp of both generations. We're the ones that kind of held space and straddled between the two movements, so to speak.
>
> The bridge is not as muddy as before as time has passed on, and quarrels have been resolved. But it's still problematic in some of the older spaces because you buck upon the older feminist and women's rights activists who are also deeply Christian. And once you buck up on them, there are two issues you cannot work with them on—abortion and anything to do with 2SLGBTQ+.
>
> After a while, I said, "You are full of shit. You can't be saying you are doing human rights and you are not willing to pass these two barriers. You are not serious. You are not serious at all."
>
> So, I stopped "break bread" with some of them. I found it to be very hypocritical. You cannot say you are a long-standing human rights activist and then when you buck up on abortion and 2SLGBTQ+ issues, you cannot budge. If you are going to take up human rights activist, you have to take on all of humanity. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Magnolia's experience demonstrates the limitations and barriers to addressing sexual violence against 2SLGBTQ+ peoples because of the dominant heteronormative lens that is embedded in the socio-political and cultural landscape of Jamaican society.

Key Findings

The following key findings emerged from the thematic analysis of participant stories centered around their experiences and understandings of sexual violence in Jamaica.

1. Informal learning in home settings is the main contributor to the prevalence and perpetuation of sexual violence

This study presents sexual violence as everyday violence that begins in homes. The participants identified informal learning as a major conduit through which daily acts of silence and silencing are taught, reinforced, and reproduced to perpetuate sexual violence against young people in homes. In early child development, adults and parents play a significant role

in educating and guiding young people in their mental, physical, and psychological development. Thus, home-spaces provide positive and negative social interactions that may be visible or invisible, direct or indirect, that influence behaviour and understandings of sexual violence.

Silence is a powerful tool that is easily taught and learned in informal settings such as homes. The present study describes silence as the refusal to confront and speak about sexual violence or hold perpetrators accountable, despite knowledge of the harm caused by sexual violence. Silence can be self-imposed or forced on victims to protect perpetrators of sexual violence from being held accountable for their actions, promoting the re-occurrence of violence against young people. Thus, silence of adult family members in this context can be translated to implied consent and gives consent to harm.

Individuals have a choice to be silent or take action to address sexual violence against young people. Some participants remembered being silenced or censored by adult family members when they witnessed, heard, or experienced sexual violence in their homes. However, many participants chose to condemn and speak out against sexual violence. For example, Gladiolus recognized the trauma that sexual violence caused her mother, her aunt, and herself and chose to hold perpetrators accountable, even if they were family members.

When adults and parents choose to maintain silence surrounding sexual violence occurring within their homes, they promote ignorance, give children and youth a false sense of security, and increase the risk of harm to young people. For example, Gladiolus stated that she was unable to understand her mother's warnings to be careful around family members until she heard stories, witnessed, and experienced sexual violence in her family home. When adults and parents choose to be silent, there is an increased risk of sexual violence occurring in the home. For adult survivors, silence in the home affects mental and emotional health, increasing anxiety and stress. For example, Gladiolus remembered her mother's display of anger towards her grandfather upon finding Gladiolus' sister alone with him.

Silence is a visible and invisible force that is present in everyday environments (i.e., homes) where perpetrators and victims of sexual violence co-exist. Thus, the presence of silence causes on-going indirect violence, including ignoring the actions of perpetrators and not holding perpetrators accountable, increasing the risk of sexual violence. Silence also results in direct violence toward young people and other victims, including incest, rape, and

sexual grooming of victims. The present study presents silence as a learned behaviour, passed down in families from victim to victim through generations.

2. There is a learned normativity that positions parents as the owners of their children, disregarding the rights of children and perpetuating sexual violence against young people

The dependency of children on adults to protect their human rights often leaves them vulnerable to sexual violence. Participants identified that there is a learned normativity in homes, where parents assume "ownership" of their children. This norm stands in contrast to the legal constructs of parental authority and obligations, as well as the rights of the child. As a result, parents possess, commodify, or "thingify" (Césaire, 2000, p. 42) children's bodies, exploiting them sexually for financial benefit. Poverty and financial hardship are major factors contributing to the prevalence of sexual violence against young children. Many participants recounted stories of girls who were sexually exploited, or forced into prostitution, by their parents because of poverty. Thus, families who face poverty are vulnerable to the objectification of their bodies.

Children are particularly vulnerable to objectification and commodification. While most participants did not directly mention any physical health-related concerns arising from sexual violence against young people, they recounted horrific and unbelievable experiences of sexual abuse from young people that resulted in their own experiences of secondary or vicarious trauma.

The objectification of children as parental possessions is normalized through informal familial social interactions that occur within the home, reinforcing attitudes and beliefs that thingify children and young people. Many children learn about and experience objectification by their parents as witnesses or victims of some form sexual violence (i.e., sexual grooming, sexual exploitation and/or incest). Participants in this study have witnessed and have been victims of direct violence from family and community members who disregard the human rights of children. As a result, the home becomes one of the most unsafe places for children in Jamaica. The home is where they are most vulnerable and where they learn about and experience all forms of sexual violence, as both witnesses and victims.

3. De-silencing has everyday consequences in local community

All participants informally learned about sexual violence and the consequences of de-silencing in the communities in which they live and provide support to others. During their everyday and through their work, participants witnessed or heard stories of community members pressuring victims of sexual violence to refrain from reporting. Some participants recognized that community members did so using a variety of tactics, including shaming victims of sexual violence, providing financial compensation for silence, threatening loss of jobs, or creating distrust toward the legal system. In simpler terms, community members silence victims with fear.

Further, participants recounted stories of community members appealing to victims' empathy or morality, encouraging victims to do good and to see good in everyone, despite the harm they have experienced. The perpetrator is often presented as a "favorable" person (i.e., churchgoing, nice, or privileged) who is incapable of harm or should be forgiven. Thus, coerced forgiveness is used to silence victims.

When victims do not remain silent, participants explained that community members resort to direct or indirect forms of violence, including victim-blaming, denial of services and/or harming family members. Not only do these beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours prevent victims from reporting sexual violence, but they also establish a system of governance within communities that perpetuates everyday sexual violence against young people.

4. Denial reinforces and perpetuates sexual violence against young people

Through their personal experiences and their work, participants learned that denial and disavowal of sexual violence both reinforce and perpetuate sexual violence against young people in homes and communities. Results also demonstrate that denial of sexual violence is a harmful tool that trivializes the trauma experienced by victims. In the context of the present work, denial means refusal to recognize and acknowledge harm done, the role one plays in the harm, and the impact or implications of such behaviour. When sexual violence is denied by family members who are perpetrators, they demonstrate a lack of remorse, indicating that they feel absolution from guilt for the harm done. When perpetrators admit what they have done but refuse to acknowledge the ensuing harm, children and young people often experience confusion and their subsequent understandings of sexual violence are skewed. Parents and

adults play a large role informal learning in homes. The quality of information that parents provide children through informal learning helps to determine their future knowledge and understandings of sexual violence. Hence, witnessing denial of sexual violence in homes from parents and other adults can skew children's understandings of right and wrong, based on human and child rights.

Denial of sexual violence is not limited to the home but extends to the local community. Participants detailed witnessing victim-blaming, or directly experiencing threats of violence from community members when they chose to act or hold perpetrators accountable. According to participants, these actions serve as an example of denial within communities. In one case, participants described hearing community members defend a father who attempted to rape his daughter, stating that he had done nothing wrong. Participants witnessed community members blaming young people who were victims of sexual violence. In some cases, participants witnessed community members openly challenge the human rights of children, demonstrating a complete lack of understanding of both sexual violence and their own roles in affecting further physical, mental, and emotional harm on both victims and bystanders.

5. Victims of sexual violence and their families have limited access to healing resources

While working in their respective organizations, participants learned that victims of sexual violence and their families have limited access to resources, including education, counselling or therapy, and other supports intended to help them cope with trauma. Access to resources remains limited due to the scarcity of resources. There are just not enough resources to provide for each victim and their family. Participants identified that resources are overburdened. Further, within the scarce body of resources, few are without cost, meaning that individuals and families who experience financial hardship are often unable to access these resources. Families who experience economic hardship may choose to allocate funds towards their children accessing education (i.e., transportation, lunch, school fees) rather than physical or mental health care. In addition, most of the resources available are in the major cities. As such, victims and families from rural and suburban communities may have little to no access to counselling, therapy, and other supports. Further, some victims and their families do not follow up on referrals for supports. Families who have little or no access to support

and resources are often left with limited understandings of sexual violence, including how to cope with resulting trauma.

Finally, participants recognized that all supportive resources (i.e., therapy, counselling) offered to victims of sexual violence fit into the formal western psychological model. This model does not use holistic healing methods, nor does it address Indigenous African ways of knowing and healing. In particular, the western clinical model fails to recognize, or honour the harm done to the spirit when young people are victims of sexual violence. Hence, participants in the present work identified a need for a holistic, culturally relevant model of care that addresses the ongoing impacts of slavery and colonialism. Supports should acknowledge the intergenerational trauma experienced by Jamaicans of African descent, to facilitate healing processes for families and communities.

6. Policies that protect child and human rights are not always enforced by practitioners or systems and may promote false reporting

Some participants noted that while working in the field, they have observed practitioners failing to enforce their agency's policies related to young people affected by sexual violence. According to participants, practitioners may choose to ignore perpetrators of sexual violence in the communities they serve. While participants did not clearly state why children's rights are not consistently enforced by practitioners, it was evident throughout the present study that practitioners have been threatened with direct violence when they enter a community to arrest a perpetrator or investigate sexual violence against young people. In "Meet Gladiolus," she described witnessing practitioners (i.e., police officers and court employees) make it difficult for the perpetrator to be convicted. According to her story, police reports may go missing, police may be unresponsive when called to arrest a perpetrator, and if a perpetrator has family working within the court, victims are often treated inappropriately. Most participants within the present study explained that often, perpetrators of sexual violence receive a lighter sentence of probation rather than incarceration. Further, participants reported that perpetrators often walk free, or cases go missing in the system. When these situations occur, the perpetrator returns to the community, or the family home where the victim lives. Hence, victims, their families, and advocates become frustrated with the system. Delayed or insufficient justice for young people who have experienced sexual violence can result in

further silencing of victims and their families, distrust for the system, and misunderstandings of children's rights related to sexual violence.

Further, systemic demands or policies that require parents to report underage sexual violence may result in false reporting. In this context, false reporting refers to the manipulation of the policy that defines sexual consent by age, where young people who were raped by an adult will report that they were raped by someone close to their age in order to protect adult male perpetrators. Some participants reported observing many false reports of sexual violence, filed by victims due to fear of retaliation and further harm. In cases of false reporting, young boys who are accused of sexual violence will receive lesser legal consequences (i.e., court diversion) than those received by adult men (i.e., incarceration).

7. Policies that reflect social constructs of masculinity and heterosexuality silence boys and young men who experience sexual violence

Many boys and young men who experience sexual violence do not report because of heteronormative policies (i.e., the anti-buggery law) and their basis in social constructs of masculinity and heterosexuality. Homosexuality is stigmatized. Boys who are raped experience further violence from authorities. Interview participant Lotus noted that in his experience, hearing the stories of sexual violence from the 2SLGBTQ+ community, boys who are raped are stripped of their "masculinity," and are now considered girls in the eyes of the community. However, if a woman rapes a boy, he is considered a man and expected to enjoy the experience. Hence, a boy who reports sexual violence has his sexuality questioned, regardless of the gender of the perpetrator. Therefore, boys and young men who experience rape often refuse to report, due to their fear of being stigmatized by community members, including the practitioners or authorities who are supposed to protect them. Thus, masculinity and heterosexuality are everyday legal and social constructs that are politicized within Jamaica, maintaining a culture of structural violence and resulting in the perpetuation of sexual violence against young people across the island. Further, politicization imposes gender norms that dictate both sex roles and sexual choice.

8. 2SLGBTQ+ issues are ignored by women's movements because of the heteronormative lens utilized within social and political spheres

While many women's movements address the issue of sexual violence against young people in Jamaica, some participants reported a lack of cohesion in women's approaches toward human rights within these movements. Interview participant Magnolia noted that within various women's movements in Jamaica, there is a lack of sufficient understanding of women's issues, in particular sexual violence, experienced by members of the 2SLGBTQ+ community. Often, older Christian women involved in women's movements oppose 2SLGBTQ+ sexual identities and are unwilling to engage in conversations about sexuality and sexual orientation, refusing to understand the trauma and violence that is directed toward 2SLGBTQ+ girls and young women in Jamaican homes and communities. For example, girls or young women who are perceived as lesbian or queer often become victims of corrective rape. Corrective rape refers to rape inflicted by male members of the family or community, whose goal is to rape girls or women until they are "corrected" into heterosexuality. Corrective rape is often ignored yet impacts victims greatly. Magnolia learned that there was no space or guidance for 2SLGBTQ+ girls and young women in the broader women's movement. Hence, many women's movements within Jamaica are steeped in patriarchal Christian values that utilize a heteronormative lens. Women's movements are assumed to create space for the voiceless. However, the everyday nuances of gender and politicization of sexuality and sexual orientation within the Jamaican landscape exclude and silence. 2SLGBTQ+ peoples.

9. Children are often conceptualized as property, and live at the everyday intersection of gender, sex, age, and class, making them vulnerable to sexual violence

Children are always vulnerable because of the everyday spaces they occupy. Participants explained that parents often view their children as property, or "less than citizens," leaving them unprotected and at risk of sexual violence within the everyday spaces that they occupy, including their homes and broader communities. Hence, children are seen as powerless and voiceless, and live at the intersection of various imposed identities, facing class, sex, age, and gender discrimination. While it was explained by participants, this social narrative conflicts with child and human rights legislation policies within Jamaica.

Despite these discouraging findings, participants did report receiving requests from parents wanting to know more about how to protect their children from sexual violence. This indicates that some parents would like to protect their children from violence, but they lack education and knowledge surrounding how to parent, children's rights, and sexual violence.

Conclusion

Chapter five explored how individuals who work to address the issue of sexual violence against young people have developed their own understandings of sexual violence within Jamaican society. Participants identified that their own understandings of sexual violence were mainly learned informally, through their experiences hearing personal stories from victims of sexual violence, or through their work supporting victims and their families. Participants also reported learning from experiences of direct violence from community members upset about reports made by victims, as well as navigating systems and movements that attempt to address sexual violence. Participants identified that sexual violence is everyday violence within Jamaican homes, communities, women's movements, legal systems, and national policies, where young people experience direct and indirect forms of violence every day.

CHAPTER 6: STORIED PLACES OF LEARNING SOCIAL ACTIVISM

Introduction

Social action is one of the roots and driving forces of peace practice used to overcome destructive modes of violence. However, social action that challenges dominant, culturally sensitive issues such as gender-based violence is often faced with external criticism and internal conflict. Chapter six contributes to the body of PACS literature through the exploration of how individuals' lived experiences have propelled their social justice advocacy and activism related to sexual violence prevention in Jamaica.

Through the participants' shared stories, chapter six explores the storied spaces that nurtured participants' individual awareness and understanding of sexual violence against young people, igniting social action that is focused on prevention. After extensive data analysis, the findings reveal that social justice advocacy and activism are propelled by three main themes or factors: the importance of role models; adult education (community-based learning, formal learning, and everyday learning); and critical self-awareness that allows for understanding and addressing the issue of violence. This chapter concludes with an in-depth outline of the key findings related to these three main themes.

Early Influence

The contributions of role models to the participants' awareness of gender violence became evident in their early years. These contributions seemed to fit within three main themes: identifying and rejecting male dominance in the home, teaching sex education, and grassroots gender violence activism. Some participants identified being influenced by role models who rejected male dominance in home settings, leading to their conscious understanding of gender roles and their development of confidence. For example, during her interview, Magnolia, a gender violence social advocate and activist, stated:

> It's important to note that my consciousness in gender came very early because my aunt is a longstanding gender and development practitioner. So, I grew up being sensitized to it in different ways.

> I grew up around strong women who held their own who didn't necessarily take shit from men, you know. So, I grew up fairly confident I would say, and in a Rastafarian setting at that. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Magnolia recognized that the women in her family opposed structures (e.g., Rastafarian, societal) that perpetuated a gendered power imbalance. She also noted that her observations of these women and the teachings they provided led her to later enroll in a gender studies course at the University of the West Indies.

Interview participants Orchid and Nasturtium, who both work in child protection, recognized that their mothers' teachings about sexual choice at an early age informed them of their rights and responsibilities as children. Examples of teaching sexuality included teaching about sexual choice as a human right, teaching about sexual health (HIV/AIDS), and highlighting how silence relates to sexual violence. These teachings also facilitated personal understandings of justice for participants. For example, Orchid shared:

> My values really come from my childhood, and so I was not involved in certain things as a child. But even though I grew up with a single mother. She tells you everything. She explained everything to you as a child, as a girl.
>
> So, after all these teachings, you must know whether you want to say yes or no. If you don't, you just say no. If you want to say yes, you must know when you say yes, you must accept the responsibilities that comes with that yes.
>
> And so, when you learn certain things as a child you don't really deviate much. Even though, some things when you become an adult you may do. So, you don't deviate. I mean if you deviate and don't deviate much.
>
> I was born differently. My mother struggled with me. I have two sisters, and a brother and we struggled together. And we know what love is, we know what friendship is, we know what commitment is…
>
> We know what trust is. If I cannot trust you, I can't be with you. So now, you can't control me because I'm not into foolishness. And nobody can drive fear in me. No, I'm not in that. I'm not in that. (Orchid, Interview Participant)

Orchid's understandings of healthy sexuality and children's rights were taught to her by her mother at a young age. She explained that she was taught how to make good choices, being cognizant that they come with consequences and responsibilities.

Lotus is a 2SLGBTQ+ activist and clergyman. While sharing his story in the interview, he recalled conversations with his mother surrounding sexual health that influenced his decision to work with individuals affected by HIV/AIDS. While the behaviour of some role models may have a positive influence on development, some participants witnessed role models exhibiting negative behaviours toward them as children. In some cases, these negative experiences fueled their actions, encouraging them to overcome destructive modes of violence. For example, Gladiolus, an entrepreneur and sexual violence activist, recalled both her mother's silence in the face of familial sexual violence and her own experience of sexual molestation at the hands of her aunt as negative influences that propelled her into social activism focused on sexual violence prevention.

Sometimes, role models teach grassroots gender violence activism through doing. For example, Carnation, a retired law enforcement officer who is now a gender advocate and activist, realized years after working in law enforcement that observing her mother's fight against gender violence influenced her own sense of justice and orientation toward social action. In her interview she explained:

> It never dawned on me that I would have been influenced by my mother to not take injustice, especially at the hand of a man. For years I did not pay much significance that my Mom would be a rescuer of women who were being physically abused by men. That people would run to her for help, and she would hide them in her house and face down an aggressor who came to her gate with a machete. She was not taller than I am. She was 5ft 5. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

A role model's behaviour can also teach a young person to take a "stance," (e.g., act of agency) despite the difficulties associated with overcoming destructive modes of violence (e.g., gender-based violence).

For these participants, the storied spaces they occupied in their early years exposed them to either positive or negative role model(s) whose behaviours (identifying and rejecting male dominance in the home, teaching sex education, and grassroots gender violence

activism) influenced their understandings of and values related to gender roles and gender violence. Common evident values include the belief that men and women both enact gender violence against minors, the importance of teaching sexual rights and responsibilities, and that everyone has agency to act.

Adult Learning Spaces

Adult learning spaces fostering social activism and peacebuilding were evident in most participants' reflections. Participants identified that their knowledge of social activism surrounding sexual violence was mainly influenced by informal adult learning spaces, including homes, classrooms, not-for-profit organizations, conferences, workshops, workplaces, hospital practicums, and women's movements. Some participants stressed the importance of informal spaces within formal learning spaces, such as volunteerism and practical learning opportunities, that further influenced their understanding of grassroots collective social action related to sexual and gender violence. For example, Magnolia acknowledged that while her classroom experience helped her to develop an understanding of women's issues and development within the Caribbean context, it was listening to the collective and individual stories of women who were affected by sexual violence while volunteering at a non-profit organization (NGO) that influenced her decision to become an activist. She shared:

> I would go to workshops. And I was responsible for registering people at the workshops or little conferences that they were having. But the plus side was when people settled into the event, I would sit down, you just have to, and I would listen, you know.
>
> I also started hearing other stories and then they were not just arbitrary stories, like women we met in workshops, or who we worked with over a period of time on projects, but also with the women who I was working with in the NGO and the women's movement in Jamaica. You know, so many of us had different stories of being violated, young old, Christian, non-Christian, rural, urban, there really was no category that was not touched, so to speak.
>
> That's one of the things that really motivated me to do the work, was when I started [hearing] more and more stories, because what became clear to me after a while

> were, two things, one that the trauma caused by sexual violence was multi-generational. And the other thing that I realized [was] that as a result of it being multi-generation coming out of a history of slavery, was that the trauma was normalized. Coming to that realization motivated me to do the work more. Because one of the things that became abundantly clear that a lot of women, me included, had bought the narrative that it was so commonplace there was no recourse. Once I realized that we can't do that, we have to raise consciousness, we have to raise awareness, we have to talk about it, we have to get legislation changed, we have to get more social interventions, we have to get shelters, we have to get support. So, it is those kinds of things that, you know, that was when the have to this and do that began, so from volunteer to activist. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Volunteering experiences in Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) expose individuals to local understandings of sexual and gender violence and collective social action. Hence, within nonformal learning spaces, informal conversations offer individuals the opportunity to heal through the power of local storytelling.

Magnolia added that while working as a civil servant, she watched the people around her who were working to improve the lives of the most vulnerable. Through her observation, she learned that most people want the vulnerable to be free from fear and violence. She reported:

> But what I recognized while working in the space as a civil servant, was that you had so many well-meaning dedicated technocrats and civil servants working to improve the lives of citizens, of women, children, persons [with] disabilities, of old people. Dedicated, plodding away, pushing against the system, same way, working late anyway with limited human resources anyway. So that was humbling for me. And made me learn how to work with them towards certain things.
>
> That is when I became really an advocate for the policy development process, having an appreciation for the kinds of interventions, the kind of changes that could be made at a policy level, particularly with the language that we use to deal with people.
>
> I guess you could see I learned a certain amount of fluidity with my voice. But I also learned how to negotiate spaces that could be contentious. Because what I

> realize[d] after a while, was that in government and in some of the NGOs, people wanted the same thing, you know, people wanted; people wanted women's lives to be improved. People wanted children to not live in fear and violence. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

One must understand the art of negotiating the contentious spaces of policy development. Civil servants are working positively to create policy changes, often going against the grain of the hierarchical bureaucratic and intransigent political system.

Interview participant Lotus recognized that despite his formal learning about human rights, it was the informal conversations he had during his practicum at the hospital that humanized victims and inspired his advocacy and activism surrounding sexual violence against sex workers and 2SLGBTQ+ peoples. He noted in his story:

> I got much deeper into human rights work because of my involvement with, at that time, many persons would consider this very scary, not now.
>
> My first day was quite a baptism.
>
> Psychologically, I didn't bargain for this. Well, I had to dig deep within me and had a conversation with myself, I remind myself 'this is what you preach all the time,' so you had to practice what you preach. And so that got me into having to relate to the humanity of persons who lived under the stigma and the shame of HIV and AIDS. And as I got deeper into relating with these persons and being by their bedsides while they were dying and so forth. It then moved me to another level. Before this I didn't know I would minister to LGBT persons. But these relationships opened up an opportunity for me to relate not just to LGBT persons, [but] also to sex workers. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

The intimacy of personal, informal spaces and places, "being by their bedside while they were dying," allowed Lotus, as a clergyman, to listen to and learn from the stories of shame and pain shared by 2SLGBTQ+ persons with HIV and AIDS. Their experiences within a context that criminalized their very existence led to his shared sense of understanding and meaning making of gender and sexual violence through story. Through this process, the story becomes the experiences—cultural and structural violence—of the tellers. The story becomes the place

and space—the hospital—where the stories were told. It becomes the impact—pain and death, and the story becomes the relationship formed between the pastor and the dying. Thus, the informal learning space can promote storytelling that humanizes, emancipates, and propels individuals to challenge the status quo that promotes gender and sexual violence against 2SLGBTQ+ peoples.

The home also represents an informal space where adult learning takes place. In the "safety" of her home, Gladiolus listened to four young girls describe being raped by her closest and most trusted family friend. In response, she took action to seek justice for them (see pp. 74-84). Informal learning spaces can be spaces of both comfort and fear—where sexual violence is both taught and perpetuated. They are also places where stories of sexual violence are shared and heard, motivating justice.

Some participants acknowledged that formal learning spaces provided evidence-based research and a structured learning format, to better understand children's rights and development, and to better serve at-risk children and their families. Participants Marigold, Violet, and Iris stressed the importance of structured, well researched, and evidence-based formal education surrounding how to support the mental health and well-being of children who experience sexual trauma. For example, Iris recognized that working with children who experience sexual trauma requires professional "competence" to minimize further harm:

> My training in psychology [with a focus in] child and adolescent therapy [including] play therapy, taught me about sexual violence, trauma, and sexual abuse. [And] helped me to work better with children and their families. (Iris, Interview Participant)

Formal learning spaces can provide specialized "models" for supporting children and families affected by sexual violence.

Lily recognized that it was the inconsistencies in best practices related to understanding and addressing sexual violence against young people that influenced her commitment to implement international best practices in formal education spaces. She stated the following in her story:

> I recognized that there was an issue with standardization of treatment. And that really and truly it's not something that is taught in medical school, how to deal with victims

> of sexual violence. And so, I sought my training [of] my own volition and it was compounded by a younger relative of mine being sexually assaulted.
>
> [Today], I am one of those who sets the standard on what is done [formally and informally], and it is based on international best practice. (Lily, Interview Participant)

Formal education can provide a basis of mutual understanding, or a common frame of reference from which to understand the causes of youth sexual abuse and how to work with victims of sexual violence across professions. Thus, through standardized frames of reference, educational institutions can help minimize further psychological harm to victims and their families.

Other participants stressed the significance of learning evidence-based research for social change. For example, Magnolia stated, "I learned the importance of data collection and analysis, having this aggregated data, having the qualitative research, to support any push for legislation changes or designing social interventions that support women and children." Thus, formal learning spaces teach activists about methodologies and methods (e.g., quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis) that reflect institutional values of empiricism and can assist in preparing and presenting issues of gender and sexual violence to justify changes to legislation that support gender development and children's rights.

Critical Self-Awareness

Participants described how critical self-awareness also contributed to their understanding of and motivation toward addressing sexual violence against young people. Participants experienced critical self-awareness during four key moments: experiencing secondary trauma; struggling to believe victims; sensing the normalcy surrounding sexual violence that erodes trust in caregivers; and/or recognizing the need for anchoring self-work in spirituality.

Some participants described experiencing shock, physical revulsion, empathy, and recognizing the need for justice when listening to or examining young people who experienced rape. For example, interview participant Lily described walking out of an examining room "to gather" herself when she saw the physical damage done to a young girl who was raped. Following this experience, she was left with a determination to help heal and seek justice for young people affected by sexual violence. Another participant, Orchid, chose

to access therapy after sitting in a room with two young girls while they recounted being raped:

> But after recording the first two statements from two different […] students, I didn't want to be here now, based on what they have gone through—their ordeals. It's not easy to sit there, and to record statements from these young persons who tell you what happened to them—what they went through.
>
> And if you have children, which at the time my daughter was their age. It does something to your mind. It really does. I didn't want to do it. I couldn't do anymore for that day.
>
> On that day I vomited in the bathroom over there. I could not—. And then—. Now I start having some weird thinking, because suppose something should happen to my child.
>
> I applied to move to the medical services branch for counselling. I did not know that these things happen in Jamaica.
>
> And so, these things I don't know. But I start to harden my head, my heart, my everything.
>
> I am more empathetic, sympathetic to these persons who have undergone these ordeals and I would try to help in any way to find the perpetrators. (Orchid, Interview Participant)

Orchid noted that sharing the physical and emotional storied space with two victims of sexual violence triggered what Mezirow (2018) describes as a disorienting dilemma, and what Power (2013) outlines as believing the unbelievable. Within the storied space, Orchid faced the uncomfortable truth of sexual violence against the most vulnerable—children. She also experienced an arousal of fear—an instinctive need to protect her own children. Olive, another participant, cried after each interaction with a victim. She explained:

> If I'm being honest, I don't think the work has shaped my values. I think, I still have the same values I came into this job with, right. If nothing, the work helped me to hold on to my values. But what I am because of this work is more aware.

> The truth is, I was grown up sheltered. So even though my Mom would tell me, about good touch, bad touch, I never heard of all these horrible things happening to children. Until you get to college, and you start learning stuff and you did your case study and you're like, here was all along when I was a child. So, I think this work has made me more aware.
>
> My challenge happens after the interaction with the victim. I have a tendency, for lack of a better word, I am going to use "obsess." I "obsess" over the situation after I've dealt with it. I've helped as best as I can. I now empathize to the point that I "obsess."
>
> So, if I was in this position, what would I do and then, I start thinking about my daughter and then I start crying. And then like, that's what this is for me. And then after I've cried, and then I've prayed and be like, "Ok, let's just leave it there."
>
> But then I probably dream about it when I am in bed or something. So, my challenge is separating, sometimes, my life from the victim's life. And it's something that I've been working on. (Olive, Interview Participant)

Continual exposure to stories of primary trauma can cause on-going secondary re-traumatization for some practitioners. In addition, Olive noted that negotiating strategies to process secondary trauma is challenging without support.

On the other hand, continued exposure to stories of different forms of sexual violence can lead to a sense of normalcy around the violence. For example, interview participant Tulip expressed her initial disbelief and experience of secondary trauma when confronted with primary accounts of sexual violence against young people. However, over time, as she continued her work to bring awareness and justice to victims of sexual violence, Tulip expressed a sense of normalcy, where she came to understand that some forms of sexual violence are a part of life:

> During the eight years, I would have interacted with people from different […] backgrounds who have faced different challenges as it relates to sexual offences and child abuse. Some cases honestly are too traumatic to even recount.
>
> When I just came out it affected me some ways because trust me, me coming from my country, I never imagined that you would have that type of sexual

> perversions and some things that I saw since I have been here, you wonder. I said, "Jesus, there was a world like that out there!"
>
> But now, because I've been here so long, it's like it's now the norm. So, once you do something for a period of time it is now like a habit. (Tulip, Interview Participant)

The outrage over sexual violence may diminish over time based on exposure. Or rather, long term exposure to different forms of sexual violence can lead to indifference, even among practitioners.

Most participants expressed that navigating the complexities of working with victims of sexual violence requires critical awareness practices, including self-believing, stepping away, stepping in, and speaking up. Marigold explained steps she takes to negotiate emotional responses and action while working with victims of sexual violence: (1) admitting that working with victims of sexual violence can be "scary;" (2) stepping away to work through emotional responses to parental violence and sexual violence, taking care of oneself in the moment; and (3) taking action. She explained:

> So honestly, I can say that doing what we do on a daily basis, at some points—it scares me. Some of the things you actually hear or even sit down and listen to!
>
> I remember when I started, my manager told me that, "If you hear something that will make you cry, do not cry in front of the people. Go out and cry, and then go back."
>
> So, you deal with certain things some days. You hear about the "good touch" and the "bad touch." And you hear "Nobody is supposed to touch you there" and this and that. And you live through your life, you live and nothing like that happening to you. And you think that is the most that can happen [to] somebody—touch you some place, and you tell your parents, and they deal with it and everything.
>
> But then you sit, and you listen to a child, and you listen to them re-count certain situations. And you listen to this little boy or this little girl and they say some things. And then you wonder.

When you speak to the parent you hear the parents say, “It is not true.” But where could this child learn these things? She's not watching a movie. Or even if they are watching a movie, there are certain things that are not portrayed in the movie.

This child is—. And this child is suffering. And the same person who is supposed to be protecting them, they're not protecting them. Or they are blaming them on top of that.

So, in some way I [am] always a little head strong, and I always speak up. Doing this, it helps me find my voice. *[unclear]* I know these people and doing this. It killed me. *[pause]*

Because sometimes you have to be passive, and you have to get the situation before you go in guns blazing and everything. But sometimes you have to be guns blazing first, and they react to everything after.

Because sometimes when you're doing this, not everybody will understand. Not everybody will look at the child and say to the child that “Alright, it’s going to be okay.” And, you know, “Just work with us and we can make it better for you.”

And then sometimes, as much as a child is hurting, the parent is hurting as well. And they themselves, they don't know what to do. They don’t know what to do.

And the same outside pressure confuses them. Because what we're talking about—what else we can do, educating parents and letting them know.

If one parent from a community goes to another parent and says, “You know that my child says this happened,” the first thing the other parent will say is “The police is going to lock you up, because you make this happen to your child.” They are going to tell you everything that’s bad is going to happen to you, that is going to take you away from the child that you are still trying to help. So, you in turn hide away and say, “maybe, maybe if I deal with it on this level, it won't affect me so much.” And then your child is there deteriorating, and you don't know.

You see everything, the acting up and they say, “Miss I can't deal with this.” And then there is the basic causes that they don't deal with.

So, this job, it has helped me to find another voice in a sense. And helped me to be a lot more active, I speak up and bring a lot more to the forefront. It still scares me,

> but I still have to do something about it, no matter what. (Marigold, Interview Participant)

Critical awareness of self involves negotiating meaning—what to believe, and if, how, or when to act. Continuously listening to traumatic stories is traumatizing for child advocates and activists, who experience secondary trauma.

Some participants expressed the erosion of their trust in caregivers and the system. For example, Gladiolus reflected on her self-doubt, loss of trust, and anger when four young girls accused a close trusted family friend of rape (see pp. 74-84). Similarly, Hibiscus recognized that he had to re-evaluate his values related to trusting the words of adults. He explained:

> Usually, the matter of trust was had loosely, I would say, in my own leadership over the years. There was a time when I believe you come and say something to me, and I honor your word and I trust you and you can take up whatever, go with it. I don't need to call the child because you are the adult and you told me that and I trust you.
>
> Working with children, particularly abused children, my trust in people, seriously eroded. (Hibiscus, Interview Participant)

He added that despite the recognition that adults lie and are deceitful, he is reluctant to voice his concern because it could undermine his role as a clergyman.

> And I wouldn't say this in my church circles that I have to compartmentalize, that I don't trust the word of any adult […]. So, probably something I need to work on. But the flip side of it is that I usually strongly believe the platitude which says children[‘s] time will come. So, they are to, they can be seen, but not to be heard, and I have grown out of that.
>
> So, because of my experience and that led to my inability to fully trust people, I have now developed the sense of equality. Whether you're a child or an adult, everyone must have a voice and I am going to listen to everyone. And I believe that each situation must be weighed whether it is a negative or not.

> I believe that the changes that have taken place in my own value system has caused me to pay more attention to children. And I believe in many areas, children that have been saved or protected because I've learned to listen to them and to value their voices. (Hibiscus, Interview Participant)

Hibiscus acknowledged that he had to question his own biases and grow beyond the cultural belief that a child's voice should not be heard while an adult's voice holds the truth.

Another participant, Violet, experienced frustration in working with parents of young people affected by sexual violence. Ultimately, her frustration led her to walk away from her practice. She noted the following in her narrative:

> It's hand-tying. I sometimes feel tied up, because I can't help you without talking, dealing with the parents. They get me angry, and I can't relax.
>
> The culture here is "fix the child." So, I bring my child to counselling, fix them. They [parents] don't want to get involved in the process. They are not responsible. I had a parent tell me, "I am not the issue, she is." And I was like, even if she is the issue, and I help her with whatever issue she has, she is going back home to you. So don't you want to know how to be able to work with her.
>
> So, if you have that kind of culture towards children, no matter what work I do with you, I think it is futile, because I'm putting her back with you. So, it's hard, it's hard.
>
> Last year and the year before, I didn't want to see a child at all. Don't give me any children, I didn't want to see anybody's children. I don't want to deal with this. It got so bad that I almost didn't want to have kids. (Violet, Interview Participant)

Violet added that taking the time to do self-care allowed her to critically assess her own values and why she chose to work with young people affected by sexual violence:

> [This work] has made me more self-aware. So being able to be aware in the moment. And so, in the moment, being able to self-talk. Which is something I don't think I had before.

> But it has made me more empathetic to children. And then, also more of a fighter. Because they need somebody to advocate for them.
>
> It forces me to be brave. And to be fair. I don't feel scared when I am out there. But I know persons tell me to be more aware because of where I am. So being brave and being able to be a voice for the person and being somebody who listens more as opposed to pushing my own views on people, that was a journey. (Violet, Interview Participant)

Violet is now more empathetic to the plight of children, as she advocates strongly for them. She is also fully aware that her work is dangerous, as she confronts angry perpetrators who may be violent to her. The continual re-assessment of values in the moment that Violet practices can minimize secondary trauma experienced by practitioners.

Some participants expressed their frustration with the system's inability to hold perpetrators of sexual violence against young people accountable. For example, Hibiscus expressed his moments of helplessness, desire for retribution, and his need for support:

> My number one challenge is just the system not delivering. Sometimes the delay leads to a miscarriage of justice and sometimes just technicalities in the system. And earlier we spoke about the powerful nature of perpetrators, cases die. And you are working with a victim, and you are absolutely sure of what takes place and what might still be taking place. And there is nothing more you can do.
>
> It is placed before the courts properly. And depending on how powerful the perpetrator's lawyer may be, you see the perpetrator walk free and sometimes return to the same community. And a child who was abused is living in fear every day. And you have to now, say it yourself. "There is nothing more I can do".
>
> So, what it does personally, it challenges that very important point that I have in my life. It is the principle of forgiveness. It really does because I don't support vigilante justice. I'm a priest. I can't support that.
>
> But you don't want to go home and be thinking that kind of thing as probably the only kind of solution to certain cases. Because you're talking about infants. You're talking about infants who are relatives sometimes.

> And technically and the man just walk. So those are the times I need external support, you know, because I want somebody to counsel me and tell me, “No father. You can't be thinking that.” (Hibiscus, Interview Participant)

Those who work to support victims of sexual violence need support themselves as they struggle to process the horrendous ongoing violence against young people taking place around them every day.

In the present study, spiritual values act as a moral foundation from which participants draw a sense of comfort and peace. For example, Gladiolus was once an atheist, who chose to believe in a higher power after supporting four young girls to seek justice after they were raped by a very close and trusted family friend. Further, a spiritual foundation allowed Magnolia the space and nourishment she needed to heal from her own experience of rape. She explained it as follows:

> I didn't have a spiritual anchor that would direct me in the ways in which I was living and the decisions I was making. I was a hot mess when I think about it.
>
> I began to explore Ifa, the Yoruba traditions. Intellectually first, reading anything I could find, and it just began to resonate with me more and more and more that My God, is not male, my God is not white, My God is not male, My God does not be western. My God is fully African.
>
> So, I would be curious about revival, curious about Kumina, curious about myal, delving into all of those things that we know are there in Jamaica, but we're not necessarily exposed to.
>
> I sought them out because I really needed it at the time. Couldn't dig up all the answers at the time, but it resonated with my spirit. So, I just followed my spirit. And the more I got involved, the more I saw my values changing and shifting towards the role of spiritual sovereignty and spiritual confidence, if you want to call it that. In how women heal from sexual violence. That you have to deal with the spirit.
>
> And what I found in the religious environment, or with the Christian domination in a way that is not positive, happens in Jamaica. It does not nourish the spirit. It is really more about sexual control and the oppression of women. So, when rape would happen the spirit is already crushed. So, there is that spiritual attention that

> is needed for victims that would not be attended to by the Christian establishment, so to speak. But I found the answer to that in African derived, the spiritual traditions. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Many advocates and activists turn to a traditional Indigenous spirituality to process the sexual violence directed against minors, as it is overwhelming. Spirituality can provide a frame of reference for critical self-awareness that promotes healing.

Violet expressed that with permission from her clients she uses her religious values as a form of healing. She reflected:

> And learning how to balance my faith and my practice, because you have different views on how to do that. And learning to be OK with understanding that my sessions aren't a time to evangelize. And being okay with that, I don't believe that my savior would use a time that [a] person is vulnerable to force something.
>
> If they bring it [faith/spirituality] up, honestly, I go with it. Because Jamaica is a pretty Christian culture. So even if you don't necessarily adhere to a particular religion, they are very open. So, let's say they bring up something like that, of course I will go with it, and being okay with that. (Violet, Interview Participant)

Sometimes, spirituality becomes a part of the advocate's or activist's practice, as it is a significant way for them to connect with children and youth.

Iris considered how her values, shaped by her experiences, influence how she understands sexuality and interacts with victims of sexual violence. She noted the following in her narrative:

> Maybe my values have shaped my work. Yes, you know. I believe in the holistic approach, and I was blessed to get a lot of information when I was growing up. You know, it was not at home, but it was like in the Girls Club and going to camps and attitude to sexuality was wholesome. It was not something you go into a corner and talk about, but you were able to talk freely.
>
> I remember camp, they said, okay, it's time for LACM, love, courtship and marriage. So, I got a lot of that which helped me to shape my values with regards to sexual issues. And that is why I say it's difficult if you only have one or two sessions

> with young people. You need to be over time, not overemphasizing and but when appropriate, talk about these things.
>
> So that it becomes natural, you know, and you don't feel ashamed. You realize this a part of life. This is my body. What I need to do is to respect my body. And if somebody comes and does something to me that violates my person, I should talk about it. So maybe that's how it went. (Iris, Interview Participant)

Iris had a positive experience when she was young. She had the freedom to explore her own sexuality, which provided her with knowledge that assists in her work with young survivors of sexual violence today. This was a recurrent theme among practitioners, whose life experiences influence their beliefs and how they interact with victims of sexual violence.

Key Findings

Participants in the present study shared powerful stories of how their lived experiences propelled their social justice advocacy and activism related to sexual violence in Jamaica. The following key findings emerged from the themes identified from participants' stories. The participants identified that commitments to advocacy and activism were influenced by three major themes: the influence of early role models, adult learning spaces, and critical self-reflection. These three areas were intrinsic to their experiences and can help to explain the development of their respective identities as advocates and activists who work to prevent sexual violence and/or gender violence.

1. Role models, commonly women, influence sensitization to gender roles and resistance to gender norms in early childhood

As children, participants mostly learned values and/or norms through the informal process of witnessing day-to-day interactions between adult men and women in their homes. All participants identified that the women in their families played a significant role in shaping their understandings of gender roles and norms; in particular, their understandings of male dominance in early childhood. Some of these influential women were advocates or resisted gender roles in their homes and communities. In other cases, religious ideology was conveyed through everyday practices in their homes, teaching traditional, patriarchal gender roles, including male dominance and female submission. Although Rastafarianism was practiced in

her home, Magnolia observed the women in her family, in particular her aunt, challenging the ideology of male hierarchy, both within the home and broader society. Magnolia referred to her aunt as a longstanding advocate for gender equity and development. Witnessing role models' resistance to male dominance in the home and community left a positive, lasting impact on participants, who learned in their formative years that the status quo can be challenged and yield positive results.

2. Parent roles as sexual health educators de-silences sexual violence and promote children's rights

Some participants identified their parents', most commonly their mothers', teachings surrounding sexual choice and sexual health as a major source of information regarding their rights and responsibilities as children. Parents who take the time to have everyday conversations and respond to children's questions in a clear, detailed manner allow children to understand sexual health, providing them with the tools they need to make informed decisions. Thus, quality information helps children develop understandings of healthy relationships, child rights, empathy, and the importance of expressing their voices. For example, Orchid stated that as a child, conversations with her mother helped her to understand sexual choice and consequences. They shaped her understandings of love, friendship, commitment, and trust. Orchid added that the knowledge her mother imparted through everyday conversations gave her a strong sense of self, a confidence and fearlessness that continues to guide her decision-making, even in adulthood. Similarly, Lotus spoke of his mother's work as a matron at the hospital. The conversations she had with him about her work with people living with HIV/AIDS gave him an early understanding of gender norms and gender bias toward 2SLGBTQ+ individuals in Jamaica. Lotus believes that his mother's early influence through conversation guided his decision to minster to individuals diagnosed with HIV.

While some role models' informal teachings (i.e., conversations and actions) surrounding healthy sex education (including sexuality) as well as child rights and responsibilities had a positive influence on children's development, some role models who exhibit negative behaviours toward children can motivate children to challenge these destructive modes of violence. Parents who choose to be silent and demand silence from

children who witness sexual violence or who are sexually violated may force children to advocate for themselves to demand justice. Everyday informal spaces (i.e., home and homespace) do not always foster trust and safety. The stories told by participants demonstrate that role models can foster a sense of agency or can demand resistance toward sexual violence.

3. Sometimes role models teach gender violence activism through doing

The participants in this study learned about gender activism by watching their parents, commonly women, fight for the rights of other women in their communities. By witnessing her mother hide women in her home and take up arms (i.e., machete) to protect women from their physically abusive partners, Carnation learned that advocacy for victims of gender violence could save lives. At a young age, Carnation learned that the power to take action to defend what you believe in is not determined by one's size (i.e., she described her mother as 5'5), but by one's decision to do so. Her mother's actions influenced her understandings of justice and identity as a gender violence activist.

4. Informal adult learning spaces foster social activism and peacebuilding

The present study found that participants' knowledge of social activism related to sexual violence was mainly influenced by local informal adult learning spaces. Volunteering at not-for-profit organizations, as well as attending workshops and conferences that focus on women's issues, allow advocates and activists to learn about and discuss local understandings of sexual and gender violence, as well as collective social action. They also provide safe places for individuals to hear collective and individual storytelling from women of all backgrounds, who share their truths about their experiences of sexual violence. Through these stories, Magnolia stated that she learned about the intergenerational trauma caused by sexual violence, that this trauma is normalized in Jamaica, and most important, that this form of violence can be prevented. Thus, conversations and storytelling manifest learning, action, and advocacy.

Individual and collective storytelling of sexual violence elicits strong emotions for those who listen and witness the telling. It allows the listener to challenge their individual understanding of sexual violence in relation to the world around them. Those who are victims find strength, a sense of belonging, and a common understanding that sexual violence is everyday violence in Jamaica. The conversations and stories told inspire individual and

collective peacebuilding interventions and action. For example, raising awareness of sexual violence, de-silencing, talking about sexual violence, advocating for changes to legislation that perpetuates sexual violence, and creating more social interventions for victims and/or survivors. Thus, informal adult learning spaces that encourage storytelling also inspire action for change.

This study also identified the power of space and place in transformative peacebuilding. Transformative peacebuilding is about the relational, spiritual, and emotional growth experienced by an individual, leading to the development of a new understanding of self through reflective practice, promoting creative methods of change. For example, Lotus shared his initial fear when working with individuals who had HIV and AIDS. However, after being in close spaces and listening to the stories of people living with HIV/AIDS, Lotus engaged in self-reflective practice that made him aware of the stigma he carried (i.e., his fear). This stigma reflected the same stigma the patients faced from family and society, as well as the physical, emotional, and psychological pain and trauma they were experiencing everyday of their existence within the Jamaican community that criminalized them. After deep reflection, Lotus stated that he had to revisit his spiritual understanding of human kindness. He was able to empathize and build relationships with patients, leading to a new understanding of gender and sexual violence, as well as social activism.

This study found that personal stories surrounding sexual and gender violence embody the tellers' experiences of cultural and structural violence. Further, findings highlight the intimacy of informal spaces within formal places (i.e., hospitals, organizations). This intimacy produces powerful interactions, including informal conversations and storytelling, fostering in-depth understanding of gender and sexual violence, and promoting social activism and peacebuilding.

5. Most practitioners are peacebuilders

Practitioners want vulnerable people to be free from violence. For example, Magnolia shared that she worked alongside peers in the civil service who advocate for system change and challenge systemic barriers to ensure vulnerable citizens have access to services. Witnessing these lived experiences inspires and motivates individuals to work toward change. To create change, in particular legislative change, one must understand how to intervene.

Magnolia observed her peers using interpersonal skills focused on negotiation and conflict resolution as they worked to create change in existing policies and/or develop new policy. Thus, the learning and application of interpersonal skills, conflict resolution skills, and/or negotiation skills are critical to change processes in policy development.

6. Formal learning is important and impactful in shaping the universal understanding of sexual violence

Some participants identified that formal learning spaces provided a more structured, evidence-based format of learning about children's rights and gender violence, including sexual violence. This formal space allows for a better understanding of gender and sexual violence and increases the competence of practitioners who address trauma related to sexual violence. Some participants argued that formal learning spaces provide specific models for supporting children and families affected by sexual violence. These trauma informed models, such as play therapy, allow practitioners to minimize further emotional and psychological harm experienced by victims and survivors.

Some practitioners identified that there are inconsistencies in the care and care quality provided to victims and their families. As a result, they recommend that all practitioners have a formal education in gender violence and sexual violence to ensure best practices in the field. While interventions may differ, best practices ensure that practitioners have the same understandings of the issue and implement a standard of care for young people affected by sexual violence. Some participants who identified a lack of appropriate trauma care chose to seek out formal learning programs to inform their practices. Thus, participants present formal education as a mode of providing a common frame of reference for understanding factors that contribute to sexual violence, as well as how to work with victims of sexual violence across professions.

Learning evidence-based research and applying it to social change requires an understanding of research and data analysis. Magnolia identified that the work of policy change requires evidence-based research on sexual violence that demonstrates both causes and implications of sexual violence. Further, formal research can assist professionals in developing intervention designs that support children and women. Thus, formal learning spaces can teach

practitioners how to prepare and present issues of gender and sexual violence to justify changes in legislation that support gender development and children's rights.

7. Participants experience secondary trauma when working with victims of sexual violence

Some participants described experiencing feelings of shock and physical revulsion when listening to or examining young people who experienced rape. Some participants spoke about how difficult it was to listen to victims as they told their stories. The trauma experienced by victims forced professionals to re-evaluate why they do the work they do, the world they live in, and the safety of their children. After hearing victims' stories, some participants experienced both physical and psychological disorientation. For example, Orchid experienced both physical illness and psychological anxiety. Olive cried after each interaction with a victim. She found it very challenging to stop thinking about the stories she heard. Like Orchid, Olive worried about her daughter's safety and described a sense of hopelessness. Thus, stories of sexual violence can cause on-going, secondary trauma for practitioners.

8. Participants recognized that they felt a sense of normalcy about sexual violence

The present study found that on-going exposure to sexual violence can somewhat normalize the occurrence of sexual violence and may result in feelings of indifference to violence on the part of practitioners. Some participants expressed that after prolonged exposure to stories of sexual violence against young people, they began to accept violence as a part of everyday life. For example, Tulip shared that while she is aware of the trauma that victims experience, she became indifferent to these experiences after hearing countless stories of violence. Thus, the shock and revulsion experienced by practitioners who hear stories of sexual violence diminishes over time after continued exposure.

9. The complexities involved with working with victims requires on-going, critical awareness of self

Most participants expressed that navigating the complexities of working with victims of sexual violence requires critical awareness of self. Critical self-awareness requires believing the unbelievable, stepping away to do self-care, stepping in to address the harm, and speaking up. It requires negotiating emotional responses and action while working with victims of sexual violence. For example, Marigold admits that working with victims of sexual

violence is scary. She steps away when she is overwhelmed to work through her emotional responses and decide how to move forward. Most participants identified that for them to carry out the work, it is crucial to be critically self-reflective about their own motivations and experiences.

Sometimes, the stories of incest and other forms of sexual violence experienced by young people erode practitioners' trust for caregivers and the system. This can create self-doubt. For example, Gladiolus' story describes her own self-doubt, loss of trust, and anger toward caregivers and the system. Additionally, Hibiscus realized that he had to re-evaluate his values surrounding the trust he put in the words and actions of adults. This study recognizes that practitioners must continually reflect on their own biases and where they originate. Further, practitioners must consciously question their own values and acceptance of norms surrounding the role of children within the Jamaican context. For example, Hibiscus stated that he had to re-evaluate his attitude and belief that children should be seen and not heard.

Sometimes, being critically aware means taking a step back to take care of oneself. Violet expressed her frustration with many parents' indifference toward sexual violence and trauma experienced by their children. As a result, Violet chose to walk away from the work to take care of herself. Taking time away allowed her to become more self-aware, engage in healthy self-talk, and question her own values. After these self-care practices, Violet felt brave enough to continue her advocacy.

Conclusion

Sexual violence against young people is an epidemic that is sustained by a culture of silence worldwide. PACS scholars advocate for consistency in peacebuilding practices and approaches that address violence (Byrne & Senehi, 2012). Over the past five years, there has been a movement to prevent sexual violence against young Jamaican people occurring at all levels in the system. Chapter six explored how individuals' experiences facilitated their involvement in social justice advocacy and activism related to sexual violence in Jamaica. Chapter six found that informal spaces play a vital role in supporting the telling of culturally sensitive stories that may influence individuals to participate in social action. As a result, informal spaces may serve as both environments of learning and environments where harm occurs. Sexual violence often occurs in informal spaces and is "sealed" in by the silencing of

the survivors by the community. Yet, informal spaces are also environments that support and nurture voice and promote justice, influencing local participation in collective action to end sexual violence against minors. The findings from chapter six point to the necessity for further examination of the duality of informal space as both a conduit for violence and a motivating factor for social change surrounding sexual violence.

CHAPTER 7: FOSTERING PEACE

Introduction

The construct of peace is well established in the PACS literature (Byrne et al., 2018; Byrne et al., 2020; Galtung & Fischer, 2013; King & Jackson, 2000). Galtung and Fischer's (2013) construct of peace notes the importance of development and building healthy relationships. Further, this notion of peace also demands attention to the dichotomy of peace, where peace can be negative or positive (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). My identity as a PACS scholar forces me to continually use caution to avoid oversimplifying or abusing the word peace. Many people live every day in fear of violence; and peace, for these many people, is the freedom of life itself. However, as I sat and spoke with study participants, I heard their descriptions of peace as moments that seemed fleeting. They described moments of harmony with self and others; and dare I say, the pursuit of respite as a necessary ritual for their everyday lives.

My thoughts again turned to Galtung's idea of peace as a lifelong practice. After many readings and many hours reflecting on each participant's story, I noticed an intersection of relationships between self and support systems (friends, family, and work); self and perceptions of everyday life (a sense of normalcy); and self and identities (of parent; guardian; work-activist, advocate; victim, survivor, and spiritualist). Results explored in chapter seven focus on fostering peace, capturing the everyday intentional practices of the participants wishing to maintain clarity and perspective in managing their perceived realities. This chapter focuses on the pursuit of "normalcy," amidst continued activism addressing sexual violence against young people in the post-colonial nation-state of Jamaica. Chapter seven concludes with a presentation of key findings that emerged from participant stories.

Pursuit of Everyday Normalcy

Participants' different health practices, wellness exercises, and habits contribute to their pursuit of everyday normalcy. Most participants expressed the need for solitude to attain some semblance of everyday normality. For example, Marigold described finding solitude in "reading something that has nothing to do with whatever I do daily, just not work. I mean, anything that, you know, takes my mind, not work." Tulip noted solitude as just "staying by

myself sometimes because I love my quiet time. Sometimes I just don't want to talk to anybody."

On the other hand, some participants enjoy the freedom and normalcy that technology brings to their individual spaces. For example, time alone for Tulip also means treating herself to shopping online and the movies. She explained, "I love going on Amazon to shop. So that's one of my favourite things to do. So, I'm looking forward to going on my vacation leave. So that's another thing just to be away from work." Another participant, Hibiscus, described watching television and going to the movies on the weekends, but he explained, "it has to be comedy, or cartoon. And if I look on the TV guide, and I watched everything already, then I pull down everything in the house and I fix it up back." While Hibiscus seemingly seeks innocent humour while creating everyday activities, Lily's everyday depicts two extremes—what she described as an enjoyment of dark humour and violent films: "I watch TV, re-watch TV. I like, I like violent films. And I like hallmark, you know. It's like really ridiculously romantic and happily ever after. So, I am at two ends of the spectrum." As a health care professional, Lily sees the physical violence young people affected by sexual violence experience from those closest to them. Sometimes, the pursuit for normalcy is trying to find a balance between two extremes.

Some participants noted that they strive to find a balance between their work and personal lives to maintain a healthy lifestyle. Lotus realized that working with individuals who face different forms of violence demands an intentional lifestyle to stay healthy to continue doing the work:

> I do some basic things. I go on some health walks at least three times a week. I tried to include, not just try, I do include a lot of fresh fruits and vegetables in my diet. And also, deliberately make time for rest. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

Lotus acknowledged the importance of exercise, rest, and a healthy diet as key components of a healthy lifestyle.

Some participants described feeling fatigued or being too overwhelmed to have the energy to do regular exercise. For example, Lily identified her lack of time as a barrier to exercising to keep fit and healthy: "When I have more energy, I tend to be more on the athletic side. I swim, play badminton, and do other things. But I don't always have the time or

the energy to do that." Most participants acknowledged that they have large caseloads, which leaves them with little time for self-care as they are exhausted at the end of the day.

There are consequences when participants are not intentional about balancing work and self-care. For example, Orchid described being so overwhelmed with work that she could become sick:

> When we are overwhelmed, we take short leave, vacation leave, sick leave, and we go to the doctor. And so, when all these things are happening, sometimes we are sick. When you are at home, you have to try and relax. (Orchid, Interview Participant)

Thus, practitioners' health and well-being often suffer without an intentional approach to balance work and personal health. Setting clear boundaries is necessary for practitioners' physical and mental health.

Setting Clear Boundaries/Finding Balance

Most participants described having large caseloads to attend to and being understaffed in the office. There is not enough training or capacity within their workplaces to address their day-to-day advocacy and activism while addressing sexual violence against young people. To maintain a balance between work and personal life, some participants described setting clear boundaries by making small yet achievable goals. Lotus noted that he must set clear boundaries when working with young people who face all forms of trauma, including sexual violence. For example, his personal phone number is not accessible to his clients during evenings and weekends:

> I tell people when they ask for my telephone number to avoid calling me outside of work hours. I will tell people upfront when they message me, let's say it's a Sunday evening, Saturday evening, Friday evening, "How are you?" I'm talking about a complete stranger now. And they will launch off into some challenging situation that they're have.
>
> Maybe they need help with some financial situation. Maybe help to fill a prescription, whatever it is. And I will tell them nicely, you know, I listen to these stories, and I respond to these situations every day. But, at this time of the evening, I

> take a break from this. I will listen to your situation. I will engage in conversation, but I would prefer if when I am in office, or you call this number to get an appointment through my secretary. It doesn't matter if you say something to me and I'm not comfortable with it, I will let you know right here. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

It is important when setting boundaries to clearly describe what the boundaries are and why each boundary is created. There are always individuals who need some form of assistance. However, practitioners who listen to the stories of individuals who experience trauma need to learn to disengage to prevent themselves from being overwhelmed.

For example, Marigold noted that sometimes it is taking small steps or decisions not to answer the work phone after hours that is critical in maintaining some balance. She reported:

> So, what I realized, I've been doing this for two years and I can tell you, in two years, so I'm just new to everything that has been happening. And for me coming in, it is so overwhelming. I can only think about everybody who has been here for longer than I have and what it is to them. Because it is a scary job.
>
> Like I said, sometimes I hear this [work phone] ringing, and I know it's not ringing. Sometimes your mind is just conditioned to have something to happen. Somebody is calling from work and saying that—. But the days that I don't have work, unless it's an emergency, I do not have this phone. I try my best to not look at it. (Marigold, Interview Participant)

Creating balance must be intentional and achievable. Practitioners having a work and personal phone helps create boundaries and work-life balance. Marigold admitted that the stories she hears while working with young people affected by sexual violence can be frightening and overwhelming, so she needs to find balance in her life.

Coneflower lives in the same community in which she works, so creating day-to-day boundaries with community members who face all types of challenges is difficult for her. She explained:

> Even though I'm not at work, in my community, my neighbours and the others know that I work with [an organization that addresses violence against young people]. So therefore, I am a problem solver for everything. And then I am a lawyer. So, it does

> not matter whether I am there on a Saturday or a day in the week. They are coming. (Coneflower, Interview Participant)

Separating work from one's personal life is challenging for some practitioners. Sometimes, creating balance requires removing oneself from a physical space or leaving one's community. Coneflower noted in her story:

> But the good thing is, for me, over the years, I've learned to sort of "divorce off" certain things. Like my work from my personal life, you know. But that doesn't mean that I just hold my head straight and nothing like that. But I have learned to balance. So, I've worked on a lot of balancing. So, when I'm not there. Good luck. That is why I travel. (Coneflower, Interview Participant)

Creating balance can include taking a vacation to get away from the traumatic stories to replenish and nurture the soul.

Informal Supports

Informal and formal supports both play an essential role in participants' pursuits of normalcy, health, well-being, and ultimately, peace. Some participants identified informal supports, such as friends and family members, playing an important role in their health and well-being. Marigold described family time as an opportunity to take her mind off work:

> And then last night with my spouse and his family, we started this little domino thing. And I realized that we started at 8pm. And then sometime after 11pm, I think, I have to stop playing dominos now. I need to stop. That is a new tradition. Just something to just take your mind off everything that's going on around you. I know it is not that I am hiding from it, but sometimes—. Sometimes you have to take a break for yourself. (Marigold, Interview Participant)

When an advocate or activist is spending quality time with family, they often experience a sense of safety and stress relief through play.

Protea added that while her family is supportive, her friends provide a safe space to talk about the challenges at work:

> I spend time with my family and just talking to like-minded persons: my business partners and friends. We will talk on the phone for hours. We do not talk about problems but possible solutions. We work as a team. (Protea, Interview Participant)

Similarly, Carnation added that friends who are activists or advocates addressing human rights concerns provide a safe space to air frustrations and promote self-reflection on why they do what they do. She noted in her story:

> I am not the only one who does this work [laughter]. I have my friends where we sit and talk. One of the easiest things to do is vent. I've always from day one as a police officer recognized that I am not responsible for other people's behavior. So, I don't own and wear it like a shirt. I am more focused on how I can help and look around for partners to work with, people of like mind. And that makes it easier. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

Supportive friends and/or colleagues can help with providing safe spaces to vent and provide guidance and perspective about how to address concerns during periods of overwhelm.

Participants also described informal support as spending time with friends who are not associated with their field of work, with whom they can just play. For example, Tulip's description of play reflects a momentary amnesia that allows her to forget some of the horror stories that she hears:

> Then I have my friends who are not [in law enforcement]. I don't hear anything like, "That man got shot around there," you know. I know my friends are oblivious to what is happening in [my work]. More than what they hear on the news, which is a good thing. Because I [do not want to be] bombarded at work with police stuff and home with police stuff. They talk about foolishness.
>
> Like, "Let's go to the beach," or some concert or whatever. So that is how I cope. (Tulip, Interview Participant)

Tulip spends quality time with her friends, seeking out entertainment that they enjoy. Like other participants, Tulip reported that this assists with her health and well-being.

On the other hand, Lily explained that while it is helpful to speak with friends and family when overwhelmed, sometimes it is difficult for these supports to comprehend what she is going through. As a result, she may choose to hold it in instead. She explained:

> Hmmmm, sometimes I don't know. Sometimes I talk about it with family members. But on a day-to-day basis, you have to build a shell. You have to build a shell. You cannot sympathize with every case.
>
> You have to be as a [health care professional]. You must be objective. You must be clinical, surgical; you name it. Because it is important, especially in the extraction of evidence, for you to get the details. The details are not always nice. And also, part of that training is that you're not under any obligation to believe what is being said to you. And you have to learn to sift through the verbiage and get that the truth. Because the truth is going to help you in getting you to collect what you need to collect.
>
> So, you have to build a shell. (Lily, Interview Participant)

Sometimes, informal support is not enough. Sometimes a practitioner's feelings and responses to a victim's trauma are too sensitive to share with others who will not fully grasp the nuances of each situation.

Lily added, “If you walk around with every case on your head, you go mad. But there are some that have caused me to cry. There are some that I had to step outside of the room.” Further, the expectation of maintaining client privacy and confidentiality limits how much practitioners share with their informal support networks.

Formal Support

Practitioners described formal counselling as a resource that assists them in normalizing the impact of the secondary trauma experienced during their work with victims and perpetrators of sexual violence. Orchid sought formal support when an individual shared her story of sexual violence. She described her experience as follows:

> I couldn't record another statement. I could not. On that day, I vomited in the bathroom over there. I could not.

> And then now, I start having some weird thinking. Because suppose something should happen to my child.
>
> I applied to move to the medical services branch for counselling. And so, I was being counselled. So, I went on more than one occasion. (Orchid, Interview Participant)

Formal supports can help explain why one has an emotional reaction to an event or traumatic situation. In addition, counselling provides supportive methods of coping in high stress or traumatic situations. For example, after a few sessions of counselling, Orchid found the courage to work with victims and perpetrators of sexual violence:

> And I start to get hardened. Because this is something that is happening every single day. I did not know, even though I was in [law enforcement]—I did not know that these things happen in Jamaica. But I start to harden my head, my heart, my everything.
>
> I am more empathetic and sympathetic to these persons who have undergone these ordeals and I would try to help in any way to find the perpetrators. (Orchid, Interview Participant)

Formal supports can effectively assist practitioners in better expressing and managing their emotions when in traumatic situations. Counselling provides a shelter or space that is bound by confidentiality and privacy that allows practitioners to share details of their experiences and develop coping skills. Orchid expressed the following in her story about the value of counselling:

> Sometimes we don't even know ourselves because we too have to go for counselling. Because when we are overwhelmed, we just need someone to talk to. And so, you find that team—. If a team is working on their own inquiries, they'll go to the medical services branch. And do their talk. And do their counselling. And then on their way back, they will probably stop at [work].
>
> So, we try as best as we can. (Orchid, Interview Participant)

Some practitioners use formal support networks to cope when working with victims every day.

Some participants identified that formal counselling on its own was not enough. For example, Orchid stated, “Sometimes we have a little cook out. We go to the beach. Sometimes, if it is too stressful, we must go somewhere. And we go and enjoy yourself and come back to work. It's not enough.” Participants often use both formal and informal supports to cope with the stress.

Participants also identified their lack of access to formal counselling because the high costs of therapy are prohibitive. Violet noted that she would like to have formal counselling to help her with addressing the trauma and stress caused by her field of work. However, she is unable to afford it:

> I want to, but I can't afford it. The organizations I work with do not have EAP. It's usually for people in the private sector, not many companies have that. I don't even have insurance at my job.
>
> I got into going into cafes because they're quiet. And so that's my new thing now. I go get a coffee and sit there quietly.
>
> You know, I pray. I hang out with friends to de-stress, or I pick up my phone and play a video game. I mean, I have also dropped as much involvement as I had with kids and restrict specific things, so I don't become overwhelmed and burdened by their issues. Because I was in the youth group at church, and I worked with youth at work. After I leave here, I see commercial sex workers. So, it was hard for me. So, I pulled back on some of the jobs I was doing. (Violet, Interview Participant)

Violet finds alternative ways to cope, like going to cafés to cope with the stress, as counselling is costly. Cost can deter individuals from accessing formal support. Lack of access to the tools necessary to process workplace stress can affect the overall well-being of practitioners.

While cost is a factor in accessing formal support for some practitioners, others in private practice utilize workplace peer supports. For example, Iris stated:

> I have in the past gone to see somebody who is a clinical psychologist because I need—I felt that I needed to deal with certain things. But it's almost dependent on you if you are in private practice. With this group practice, we do. I will go sit with one of

> my colleagues or one of my colleagues would come and say, I need to discuss this with you. (Iris, Interview Participant)

Peer support allows for work-related conversations to take place. However, as stated earlier, peer support may not provide all the emotional support practitioners need.

While formal counselling and informal support can help practitioners mitigate and process the secondary trauma experience, a few participants choose not to confide in others how victims' stories impact them. Lily explained:

> Not formal support. I go and lie on somebody's coach and talk about—. No. Not formal support. I can't bombard my family all the time, so I will give them bits. Everybody else is going through the same thing now and deal with it in different ways. There is cynicism. There is over empathizers and sympathizing. And there is just—. Everybody deals with it in a different way. (Lily, Interview Participant)

Some practitioners (i.e., health care practitioners) are reluctant to seek formal support.

Jamaica's legacy of slavery and colonialism has framed mental health issues akin to stigmatized insanity, using images of Victorian asylums (Hickling, 2020). Historically, enslaved people with mental illness were placed in plantation dungeons. Post-slavery, the colonial government constructed the Kingston asylum for individuals with mental illness. During the post-colonial landscape of mental health and psychiatry, counsellors and other practitioners focused on deinstitutionalizing understandings of mental health and structural harm (i.e., dismantling mental hospitals and changing policies). Frederick Hickling (2019) states that colonial states like Jamaica need to address the historical context in developing a post-colonial global mental health.

> As we descendants of Africans enslaved in the New World continue to challenge the colonial paradigms that lock us into dependency and the psychosocial straitjackets of the Western dominated global mental health movement, we would be wise to remember that “cockroach doan' biziniz ina fowl fight” as we attempt to contribute to the decolonization of global mental health. (Hickling, 2019, p. 28)

Despite the formal and informal education efforts to reduce the colonial stigma of mental health, some practitioners are reluctant to utilize the western model of counselling/therapy as a resource (i.e., Lily's perception of “lying on someone's couch”).

The Importance of Spiritual Anchors – A Paradox

Participants identified how spirituality played a major role in their sense of peace. Some participants noted that spirituality is an anchor to reality. Protea noted the following in her narrative:

> Well, my spirituality probably is what keeps me grounded. I always say that if the Lord brings me to this, He will bring me through it. And so, for me, it's a matter of having some outcome. It cannot remain the way it is if you want it to change. And changes will come. (Protea, Interview Participant)

The idea that there is something or someone greater than us gives some participants hope for the future.

Some participants described believing in spirituality as a promise of accountability and justice. For example, reflecting on her experience working with four young girls who were victims of four years of rape by her close friend, Gladiolus believed their justice was granted because of divine intervention (see pp. 70-80). Spirituality gives practitioners hope that there will be future justice, which Gladiolus described as “righting the wrong.” In addition, spirituality can give individuals a sense of peace.

Magnolia articulated that spirituality provides individuals with the values and principles they need to help them understand and cope with the world around them. She averred that values and principles anchor people in morality:

> You need something else to anchor you. You need values and spiritual principles to anchor you. So even though I had certain values and principles that I learned through Rastafari shaped me, and influenced me, I continue to stand by those, you know. The things about being anti-establishment and critiquing the system from outside and within, all of those I got through Rastafari. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Spirituality is a tangible resource. Its teachings provide a peace framework that helps shape one's understanding of systems of power and how to address them. These spirituality frameworks also inform practitioners about the importance of meditation and self-reflection.

As she reflected on how spiritualism helped her to cope with the trauma of what she was experiencing in the workplace, Magnolia added:

> I am now anchored spiritually. I am no longer adrift. Then that helps me being in a better position to cope. So, because of that, I was able to quit smoking. I used to smoke cigarettes, and I smoked ganja. So, I had left those dysfunctional ways of coping behind once I had gone through the ritual.
>
> Once I found [spirituality]. Because the journey to [spirituality] forces you to deal with your afflictions and your addictions. Because why are you are addicted? What are you escaping? That is what it forced you to answer. It gets to the core of yourself. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Spirituality is a guide to understanding how to take care of oneself. It requires self-reflection and trusting the divine for signs of intervention accompanied by tangible tools, the do's and don'ts (i.e., marijuana versus cigarette), for healing to happen. Magnolia noted that yoga, distance running, and swimming help her heal her physical body. When done in solitude, these activities also act as a space to communicate, or channel communication with her higher power: “The swimming gave me a spiritual meditation, so to speak. It became my conversation with God. It became a place where I washed all of my sorrows.”

The participants all described moments of secondary trauma that impacted them physically and, in some cases, spiritually. For example, Orchid and Lily described being physically sick while acquiring evidence from young people who experienced sexual violence. Magnolia's experience as an advocate left her spiritually adrift and spiritually broken. While spirituality may provide an important support/tool for self-care for some individuals, it was evident that a more holistic approach is needed to address the everyday trauma experienced and re-experienced by practitioners who work to address sexual violence against young Jamaican people.

The pursuit of everyday normalcy for individuals who work to address sexual violence against young people involves an intentional approach toward learning how to cope with

trauma. Trauma care requires many layers of connections with self, others, and the divine. First, according to Magnolia, the individual must acknowledge the conflict caused by the trauma experienced in what she called “honoring the difficult.” For the practitioner, it is:

> Doing the work to focus on your own healing. Especially for a lot of those who were survivors of sexual violence. To focus on the impact of your own trauma in the work that you do because it is there. The relationship between doing human rights work and self-work in a way that it does not negatively affect the people that you're working with. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

“Honoring the difficult” recognizes a gap in human rights practitioners' self-work.

She noted that it was important to get to the root cause of the conflict so that people can problem solve good solutions:

> Working through difficult issues, in our conversation and in spaces that we don't want to address. But we have to honor those conversations. We have to honor what is difficult in order to really get the results that we want. Because if you spend too much time quarrelling over the things that we want to talk about, we don't get to solve the problem.
>
> So, my insistence has always been on where do we find resolution. If we cannot find resolutions here, what mechanisms are we going to develop to still get the problem solved or address? How do we still satisfy or meet the needs of the people we serve if we are going to quarrel all the time? So, the intergenerational tensions that existed to me, those conversations needed to be honored so that we could focus more on the work and getting to work done. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

It is imperative to create safe spaces to have difficult conversations to develop processes that focus on individual and community healing. In addition, these conversations need to include the history of the structural and cultural harm done to the Indigenous enslaved Africans and their Jamaican descendants. Recognizing the history of harm or violence sets a tone for a shared history of colonial wrongs never addressed. PACS argues that to address a conflict, one must begin with the cause of the conflict; only then can the genuine work toward a

peaceful resolution begin. Furthermore, only then can a sustainable process of healing that is specific to these practitioners and community members begin.

Fostering Everyday Peace Through Education

Betty Reardon is a peace scholar that avowed that peace is a social environment that fosters healthy development (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2014). The participants in this study all played an intentional and dynamic role in fostering everyday peace. Fostering a peaceful resolution or way of addressing the impact of sexual violence is dependent on creating spaces where difficult conversations can be had. I found it notable that the practitioners in this study, while seeking ways to cope with the emotional, psychological, and even physical impacts of secondary trauma, felt it of utmost importance to continually find ways to create safe environments to teach and support families, communities, and organizations about healthy practices. For example, Magnolia shared that she believes in sharing the tools she has developed by guiding members of human rights organizations to address internal conflicts within their organizations and take care of each other. She spoke on this issue in the following manner:

> So as a cuspie straddling both [sides]. [And] who had the fortune of being able to see it from both sides—. Now it is to make sure that there are internal mechanisms that when tensions arise [or] when there are difficulties, it is part of the structure of the NGO to do the self-work. And under the difficulties to have the conversations that need to be had because you find there are quite a few NGOs that shut down because the leadership transition is not sorted out. They can't get anybody to take over when they leave, or they get people vexed and the young people do not want to stay. I think that cycle of operating within the women's movement has to end.
>
> So, my contribution to the space is to really prepare the younger generation of women activists coming up, and 2SLGBTQ+ activists coming up, to accept responsibility for honoring the difficult and doing the self-work. And part of the self-work is self-care.
>
> I help by supporting women's NGOs who want to set up healing practices as part of how they operate. So, I help in that technical sense. I help set up the mechanisms. I help to shift operation in terms of how they organize meetings or to have retreats and

> how they practice mindfulness. How they get yoga as part of the way they live and diet.
>
> It is all through guidance. Working with other practitioners, we develop a package, so to speak, that has a network of healing practitioners that they use as a resource person for the healing circle that they still run. What I do is help [the organizations] to design that so that they can implement it. That is how I can help now. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Key local community networks are critical for each practitioner's well-being. For women's organizations, Magnolia suggests healing circles of care—"a circle of women who are in the care profession from different professional backgrounds that support each other. Somebody that has a grocery store, a dietician, a clinical psychologist, etc." The network of care, or the healing circle, is dependent on the needs of the practitioners within each organization. In addition, the network members are from local communities. Magnolia added that, as a practitioner, she can utilize her healing circle of care:

> Each full moon and we support each other. And that's pretty much where I am now. So, it is also interestingly a very good space in terms of a coping mechanism when things come up. That is a space that I am comfortable enough to shed tears, or get stuff off my chest, if I feel the need to, in addition to my spiritual mentor. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Addressing the impacts of both lived experiences and the retelling of sexual violence requires tailored local interventions that involve all community levels.

Most of the participants in this study used different modes of education at the local or grassroots level to promote a socially healthy environment, free from sexual violence. For example, Magnolia asserted the importance of leaders educating younger generations about being feminist activists:

> My influence within this community space has been one, especially with the younger folks. It has all been one of encouragement. Helping them to find their own way to do their own journeys. And in a sense, making sure that this generation of young folks, at

> least the ones coming up behind me, does not repeat the errors of the feminists who were above me. (Magnolia, Interview Participant)

Effective leaders in human rights must understand and recognize challenges to advocacy and activism and learn from the past errors of local movements so that they can continue to encourage change.

It was a recurring theme among the participants that many local, everyday people do not fully understand the long-term impacts of sexual violence, or how to prevent sexual violence toward young people. In my interview with Orchid, she noted that she is often invited to various locations and events to inform community members about their rights and responsibilities related to sexual violence. Speaking about this issue, she explained:

> Yes, we are invited, but I think they are doing something at the community center. Sometimes, I think they are in the organizing mode now, so I will be going there to speak. And sometimes there is a thing called widely publicized meeting we are there also. And that is on the street side or the roadside. They just choose a community, and we just go to community. And we speak. (Orchid, Interview Participant)

To educate a wide spectrum of local people about the travesty and consequences of sexual violence against minors, practitioners must meet people in their everyday spaces and places.

Coneflower expressed the importance of having one-on-one conversations with young people in one's community, where the community knows the person so that there is some time to build trust:

> Yeah, lots of them that really don't know all these things, you know: the age of consent, all those in transition and so on. And so, from time to time, myself, and a few others, what we've tried to do is try to, you know, get information together and try to disseminate them to the young people. (Coneflower, Interview Participant)

Coneflower stressed the importance of leaving information or resources (i.e., handouts) with every connection that she makes. In addition, with every new relationship, practitioners should get to know the young person. Coneflower added, “And we ask them questions, regular questions. 'So, you know what you plan to do?, school you attend?, etc.' We try to keep

a check on them." Following up with each connection is key to educating local people. It shows commitment and allows time to effect change. Coneflower noted that educating local people can lead to social change at the local level:

> So, I believe, and I've seen where especially one person I am thinking about now, how much they have changed. Because you find that from time to time, you will find one and two who seem to have a sense of direction, you understand. And with little individual work, most times you see a change.
>
> So, I believe that if we can get information out there, you know, and sort of give the young people what is expected of them, you know, —protocols: how to behave, what not to do, on the age of consent and so on. I believe it can help. We can at least start there. That's a starting point. Right. (Coneflower, Interview Participant)

Fostering everyday peace through informal education is most effective when human rights workers are connected to a community. Coneflower noted that human rights workers should intentionally engage with their communities by preparing resources to hand out after each conversation. Additionally, workers should get to know people in the community by asking questions about who they are, what they do, and following up with them. This informal approach to education may be effective; however, there are not enough trained practitioners to rely on this method of educating local communities.

Recognizing this dilemma, some participants chose to train young people in their communities to informally educate their peers and families about how to address sexual violence. For example, Chrysanthemum stressed that sexual violence in local communities could not be ignored because the impact on young people is too great, and local communities must participate in attaining and disseminating knowledge of sexual violence among each other. She explained:

> What I also do, when I get the time, is to train peer counsellors who will in turn will go out and educate and sensitize others of the issues. I'm also involved in [varied community groups and committees] for the last four or five years. I use that opportunity to educate persons right as to how to treat issues like this and where to report, how to report and who to report to.

> So, we can all use our little space, right, to inform, [and] to educate. Because education is the way forward. No. Right.
>
> And there is a school of thought that says that if you think that education is expensive, wait until you get the bill for ignorance. All right. So, are we all just have to be agents of change? (Chrysanthemum, Interview Participant)

The notion that we are all in this together encourages young people to become peer mentors who focus on sexual violence awareness in their communities.

Similarly, Carnation shared her belief that youth mentors are crucial to ensuring everyday peace within communities and families, where violence, including sexual violence, has been normalized. She reported that educating young people provides them with new skill sets, so they are empowered to deal with tough situations:

> Youth [need] empowerment and mentorship programs with kids to help them develop core life skills and resilience to provide them with ways and means of dealing with their own abuse and other challenging situations.
>
> It is about the community violence they are likely to experience. So, when we talk to kids it is about helping them to navigate adverse childhood experiences because inevitably, they come from homes and communities where there's there are problems with abuse and violence, substance abuse and all of that, kids who run away and run into those problems. Those are the things we are doing. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

Thus, training young people to become mentors in their communities requires practitioners to develop local conflict management tools/life skills that teach resilience and how to manage or deal with challenging situations at home and in communities.

In contrast, Carnation expressed that to change young people's attitudes and beliefs and re-imagine a landscape free from sexual violence, youth need to be removed from their local environments that teach the norm of sexual violence. Carnation named this form of teaching mentorship the “residential” process. She reported:

> While we can do the mentorship during the school year, we found that doing the residential process to detoxified some of the things that happened. We have found that it has done wonders for these kids. Some of them were insipient gang members, starting to set up school-based gangs. Some have done well academically, and some have represented Jamaica in sports locally and internationally. Because they had these talents and potential, but things were getting in their way, and they attested how they have benefited from the mentorship program. (Carnation, Interview Participant)

Removing young people from their local environments allows them the space and opportunity to recognize and process sexual violence for what it is, the impact it has on everyone in their communities, and what a healthy lifestyle looks like.

Carnation added that key factors for the success of their residential mentorship program include parent visits and parenting education; and the influence of different organizations' messages on issues faced by youth within Jamaican communities (including sexual violence). She explained:

> We get different people to speak to them. We bring in the parents and try to get the parents to recognize some of the disconnect that is happening between them and their kids and really try to get them to say that we need our kids to be a lot more attached to us. (Carnation, Participant Interview)

There is a need for parenting education and training. The goal is for parents to understand their role as caregivers within families and communities under the law. In addition, Carnation stated that parents could “really see themselves and their issues from a different point of view. To see how harmful these beliefs and values are and how it translates into these kinds of behaviors that cause harm.”

Like Carnation, Hibiscus shared the strong belief that preparing and maintaining a safe space for vulnerable children in need is crucial to “their good and development.” However, Hibiscus pointed out that in a culture where adults do not respect children's rights, “safe spaces” or residential facilities might become places of harm. He highlighted that “one of the things that is very challenging is that you are protecting them from particular situations.

And they are now in the facilities that may present the very challenges that you are seeking to protect them from."

Fostering everyday peace requires addressing social inequalities, which takes time and commitment. Lotus recognized that addressing violence against young people, including sexual violence, involves many intersections and that change will take time. He noted the following in his story:

> I see myself as sowing seeds and as a long-distance runner.
> So, it's not going to be accomplished overnight. It's not a hundred meters. It's a cross-country race, which includes hills and valleys and streams, that kind of thing.
>
> I have been part of protests and stance in the public arena, around what we call the Break with Silence Campaign. I am part of the annual Observance International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, November 25 each year. I have been a part of the Mothers' Union, a group within the Anglican church, a women's group which focuses on the family life and support and protecting families. And I have been in Halfway Tree with them promoting, "Break the Silence, tell what you know." (Lotus, Interview Participant)

Change requires the recognition of some local realities that contribute to sexual violence against vulnerable groups: power imbalances, silence, gender inequality, family life, class disparities, lack of understanding, or knowledge of the law. Lotus stated that he believes that his advocacy work on street corners has an impact. He shared:

> And I will never forget, on one occasion when a bus driver signalled to me, and I went across to him, and he said, "I know a 13-year-old girl who is pregnant right now, and she's being molested and raped. What can I do?" And then I was able to have a conversation with him and give information. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

Advocacy requires being visible in local everyday spaces and places to share information with hard-to-reach population groups. Lotus added that it is important to take an intersectional approach to understand sexual violence against young people:

> I say that to mean, at that point, that I really believe that these campaigns have a place to spread the message. I also increasingly invite members of the church to join me in those spaces. I also had one a year at our International Human Rights Day observance, which we observe here [location]. One year we had about at least 15 women, each speaking briefly as a survivor of rape. I don't know if a dry eye was left inside the church, because some of the things that came out of those presentations were one. Sexual violence happens across the society, across class, across color; it's pervasive; and that a high number of persons, in particular women, have been victims of sexual violence.
>
> That year I got the most number of calls from women who wanted to say that they had similar experiences. And a significant number of them, I would say, based on what they said to me, were breaking the silence for the first time in 35 to 40 years. Not 20 years, not 25 years, not 30 years, I'm talking 35 to 40 years. (Lotus, Interview Participant)

Sexual violence thrives within the intersectionality of social inequalities. Only by acknowledging and making visible the actions that cause and perpetuate such violence can we prevent and eradicate it.

Informal education is a powerful medium to impart knowledge and information about everyday sexual violence through the media. Iris reflected on why she chose to use the radio as a medium to do outreach about sexual violence and the messages she wants to share with the Jamaican community:

> Well, I wish we had more people trained to work with parents, teachers, children. Because the teachers themselves don't understand it. And when you have a society where a high percentage of people have experienced some amount of sexual violence. And for me, sexual violence is sometimes things that are said, it's not just what's done.
>
> You know, the way how men talk to women on the street and call to them and the things they say to them. As far as I'm concerned, that's sexual violence.
>
> And I tell another personal story of our daughter. She must have been about 14 in high school and she and her friends would go across to the mall. And these fellows were always saying things to them that were sexual. And so, one day they decided, okay,

> we are going to respond. And they responded to the fellows, and the fellows were so shocked they couldn't say anything, you know, because you harassed the girls, but when the girls turn out on and start to say things to you and now, you didn't expect it. And so, they were really shocked. And that's the thing about it. Males have been taught to say violent things and to do violent things. (Iris, Interview Participant)

Sexual violence is informally learned and often not addressed, yet it is normalized in communities. Male-on-female sexual violence often goes unchallenged. Iris believes that ignorance and misunderstandings about sexuality and about how boys and girls should behave when they are being intimate are common. She explained:

> My husband and I, when we did some research years ago in some schools, and this was a well-known boys' school, talking about sexual activity. They felt that it was to be agony for the woman. And they said it, you know. And we were shocked. And my husband put his arm around me and said, “this is my wife. I would not do anything to hurt her. Why should it be agony?”
>
> So, part of the issue is how you have learned about sexuality, sexual activity, and how you live it out. So, if you think that you need to be violent because of how you've learned, then that's what you do. And that makes me very sad. (Iris, Interview Participant)

Patriarchal masculinity or maleness requires boys to dominate and be violent. Betty Reardon (2014) describes this action of conscious and unconscious male violence toward women and girls as derived from distorted value schemas ingrained through cultural socialization. This violence is meant to oppress and dominate the most vulnerable in society. Reardon (2014) defines this action as patriarchy.

Addressing patriarchy and its deep-rooted values requires re-education at the most local level. Iris uses the radio to inform everyday people across the island about healthy family life. She reported:

> And I don't know if I've influenced my community enough when it comes to things like those, you know. But when we get opportunities, we do speak. And we used to be very

> active on radio for nearly 20 years. And we talk about, it is generally family, parenting, everything you can think of. And we do get feedback where people say, “Oh, I used to listen to you on radio and it helped me.” But it's very intangible. You cannot say this is how we have influenced people. So, it really is, we hoped you do the best. (Iris, Interview Participant)

Advocates and activists spend time educating the public about gender and sexual violence against young people so that the public may learn and be aware of the consequences for Jamaican youth.

Key Findings

Participants in this study presented their work in community activism to de-silence voices of young people affected by sexual violence as both traumatizing and healing for practitioners. This chapter presents fostering everyday peace as a key theme that describes the participants' everyday personal and social care practices. As I analyzed the participants' stories, the following key findings emerged:

1. Practitioners need solitude to attain some semblance of everyday normality and peace

In pursuit of normalcy, participants in this study reported experiencing a need for solitude, to be away from their everyday efforts to address sexual violence against youth. Most participants described solitude as time spent by themselves, embracing quietness, or doing everyday, mundane, ordinary things. For example, some participants spoke about reading, shopping online, or watching television from the comfort of their homes. Other participants reported taking regular vacations to get away from the secondary violence experienced at work and in their communities. For participants, time alone serves as a reward for their work, relieving them from their everyday exposure to violence. Hence, solitude is an essential component of participants sense of order, or ordinariness, in their daily lives, allowing them to feel in control.

While participants identified their efforts to normalize daily life away from the topic of sexual violence, some participants described enjoying television with dark humour and violence. Other participants prefer romantic, happily-ever-after films. Generally, participants described the need to engage in everyday repetition of normal activities, acknowledging that

their exposure to violence through their work permeates their everyday. For study participants, mental well-being is inseparable from their work.

2. Practitioners need balance between work and personal life

To maintain a healthy lifestyle, individuals need to find a balance between work and personal life. Most participants in the present study identified that to foster this balance they must be intentional in their healthy habits, such as exercise, rest, and a healthy diet. However, some participants described that this is difficult to achieve because they are often fatigued and overwhelmed with work demands (i.e., large caseloads) and have no remaining energy to exercise. There are consequences when participants are not intentional about balancing work and self-care, including illness. Practitioners whose work involves listening to victims' stories must practice healthy disengagement from their work lives to prevent themselves from being overwhelmed. Thus, without an intentional approach that allows for balance between both work and personal health, practitioners' health and well-being suffer.

Participants also identified the importance of setting clear boundaries to achieve balance in their daily lives. To do so requires intentionally focusing on one's physical and mental well-being through the creation of small, achievable goals. Marigold explained that her decision not to answer the work phone after hours represents a small step that she took toward setting healthy boundaries outside of work. Some participants live in the communities that they support, making it difficult to set clear boundaries. In these cases, participants often reported having to remove themselves from their communities (i.e., take a vacation) to prioritize their own health and well-being.

3. Informal support networks provide a sense of safety and stress relief

Informal supports can provide a sense of safety and stress relief through interpersonal engagement, including play, guidance, and sharing perspectives about how to address concerns. Informal support networks can offer direction when practitioners become overwhelmed or experience momentary amnesia or forgetfulness in attempts to disengage from the horror of their work. Informal supports include friends and family members who play important roles in individuals' health and well-being.

Marigold explained that getting together with friends and family to play games allows her to take her mind off the everyday violence young people experience. Examples of play include playing games (i.e., dominos), going to the beach, or attending a concert with friends or family. Participants described experiencing a sense of safety and peace when they share time with friends and family. Sometimes, friends who are human rights activists or advocates themselves play a particularly important role, providing a safe space for participants to air frustrations and engage in self-reflection on their practice. Supportive friends and colleagues can help with providing safe spaces to vent, offer advice, guidance, and provide perspective when practitioners are feeling overwhelmed.

However, it was evident from participants' stories that informal support alone does not provide enough care to adequately address the secondary trauma experienced by practitioners. Some practitioners expressed that they are unable to share their experiences of secondary trauma with their friends, family, or colleagues because of the confidentiality of cases. While informal supports can provide a sense of peace, some practitioners expressed that these informal networks have limitations.

4. Formal support networks serve a unique and important purpose

Formal supports were identified as an important resource by some participants. Formal supports can normalize the impact of secondary trauma that is experienced by practitioners who work daily with victims and perpetrators of sexual violence. The most common formal support identified by participants was counselling services. Some practitioners acknowledged that counselling supports can provide an understanding of how and why individuals behave or respond in particular ways when faced with a traumatic situation. Counselling also assists with the development of coping skills in high stress situations. For example, after a few counselling sessions, Orchid was able to continue working with victims and perpetrators every day. She expressed that she was more empathetic toward victims after speaking with a counsellor. Thus, formal support networks such as counselling can be effective in assisting practitioners to better express and manage their emotions in traumatic situations. Counselling provides a safe space that is bound by confidentiality and privacy, allowing practitioners to openly share details of the trauma they experience and providing the opportunity to work on trauma-related

coping skills. Unfortunately, access to formal counselling can be costly. Some participants shared that there is a need for more organizations to provide access to counselling services.

Fortunately, few participants expressed reluctance to seek formal support. Jamaica's legacy of colonialism and slavery has constructed a harmful association between mental health and the stigmatized notion of insanity. Historically, enslaved people with mental health illnesses were placed in plantation dungeons. Later, they were placed in institutional asylums that were orchestrated and operated by the colonial government. The mentally ill were considered insane or "mad." Despite both formal and informal education efforts to reduce the colonial stigma of mental health issues, some practitioners remain reluctant to utilize western models of formal support, including counselling or therapy. Some Jamaican scholars argue that post-colonial and enslaved-person states should develop their own culturally bound models of care to address trauma and mental health, rather than simply embracing western clinical support systems, which may not adequately address the needs of those surviving intergenerational colonial trauma (Hickling, 2019).

5. Practitioners formed a sense of peace or justice through spirituality

Some participants expressed that spirituality provides hope, serving as "a divine intervention." For these participants, spirituality provides hope that perpetrators of sexual violence will be held accountable and that survivors of sexual violence will see justice. Gladiolus expressed that she waited seven years to see the perpetrator who sexually violated four young girls held accountable for his actions. Gladiolus' belief in something or someone greater than herself gave her hope that the young girls would have their justice. Most participants identified that spirituality provides both tangible and intangible coping mechanisms, helping them to confront the everyday trauma and stress experienced from working with victims and perpetrators of sexual violence. Magnolia stated that spirituality gives individuals tools, such as values and principles, which help them to understand, interact, and cope with the world around them. These tools include healthy coping processes, such as meditation and self-reflection, which can provide an anchor for individuals. For example, Magnolia's connection to spirituality helped her develop and maintain healthy habits to deal with stress. These healthy habits include swimming, yoga, and running, among others. Thus,

spirituality is a tangible and intangible resource that provides a framework for peace, helping shape one's understanding of systems of power and how to address them.

In the pursuit of everyday normalcy, individuals who work to address sexual violence against young people must intentionally commit to self-care while learning how to cope with trauma. This type of self-care requires many layers of connection: with self, with others, and at times, with the divine. According to Magnolia, this process must begin with practitioners actively addressing their own histories of harm and working through their own trauma. Magnolia called this process of self-work "honoring the difficult." "Honoring the difficult" recognizes a common gap, where human rights practitioners' fail to do their own self-work and emotional processing. Hence, it is imperative to create safe spaces for practitioners to engage in difficult conversations to promote individual and community healing. Alternate methods of healing, specifically, African Indigenous healing methods, were proposed by participants as an area for further exploration. According to some participants, traditional African Indigenous methods of healing may assist activists and advocates with their own self-care. Finally, it is important to note that conversations surrounding healing and spirituality in the Jamaican context need to include the history of both structural and cultural colonial harm to Indigenous enslaved Africans and their Jamaican descendants. Recognizing this history of harm and violence allows for the acknowledgement of a shared history of colonial wrongs that continue to influence Jamaican people. PACS scholars argue that to address a conflict, one must begin with the cause of the conflict. Only when the cause is determined and acknowledged can the genuine work toward peaceful resolution begin. Only then can these practitioners and community members begin a sustainable process of healing.

6. Organizations should include traditional healing circles of care

Practitioners will use the traditional practice of healing circles to facilitate difficult conversations about the impacts of their work. Healing circles are safe spaces where individuals gather within a circle to teach or share and to support healthy practices. These practices include the processes of caring for one another and addressing and making peace with any internal conflicts within the organization or group. Circles may be comprised of friends, family, community members, or colleagues, among other groups. For example, Magnolia shared that she uses healing circles as a tool when supporting women in NGOs as

they operationalize organizational healing practices. These practices include mindfulness, self-work, and self-care.

The people and practices involved in the network of care, or the healing circle, depends on the practitioners' unique needs within each organization. Though traditional healing practices often do not replace counselling or other formal supports, they are context-specific and easily integrated into organizations. They may also be more accessible to practitioners and more cost-effective than more formal supports. Addressing the impact of lived experiences and stories of sexual violence requires tailored, local interventions that involve all levels of society.

7. It is important to educate young people about sexual violence to promote de-silencing

Most participants in this study asserted the importance of educating young people in their local communities about sexual violence and its impact. According to practitioners, this education allows young people to challenge the longstanding attitudes and beliefs held by their parents and other adults in their communities and move toward prevention. Participants argued that if more local people fully understood the long-term impacts of sexual violence and its preventable nature, they would make changes or advocate for change. For example, Orchid conducts community-based workshops focused on sexual violence awareness and often leaves behind information packages for attendees. These workshops allow community members to learn about the rights of children and ask questions about their own rights and responsibilities. Coneflower explained that every connection made during these workshops is an opportunity to build trust.

Further, each connection demonstrates an opportunity for community members to learn about the power of their own voices and the potential they hold to prevent silencing and challenge attitudes and beliefs that perpetuate sexual violence against young people. While participants reported that this informal approach to education is highly effective, there are not enough trained practitioners to consistently apply this method in local communities. Recognizing this dilemma, some participants have trained local young people to become mentors.

8. Communities would benefit from peer-to-peer mentorship to raise awareness about sexual violence in their communities

Some participants in this study shared their belief that youth mentors are key to ensuring everyday peace within communities and families where violence, including sexual violence, has been normalized. Practitioners teach youth mentors life skills that include lessons in resilience and how to deal with difficult situations, including sexual abuse. For example, Carnation and Chrysanthemum argued that youth mentorship programs help young people to address the everyday violence they face in their homes and communities, including but not limited to, sexual violence and substance abuse.

While Chrysanthemum, another participant, shared the belief that working with and training young people as mentors is effective in creating long-term change, he argued the importance of training and supporting peer-to-peer youth mentorship programs in communities. In contrast, Carnation identified that for young people to re-imagine a landscape of peace, they must leave their local environments, their homes, and communities. Carnation named this form of teaching mentorship the "residential" process. Removing young people from their local environments allows them the space and opportunity to recognize and process the negative impacts of violence, including sexual violence. This process also allows youth to observe and understand what a healthy lifestyle looks like.

The residential process includes parent visits, parenting education, and messages from different organizations focused on issues faced by youth within Jamaican communities, including sexual violence. Participants argued that parenting education and training are required to prevent the perpetuation of violence within families. This education aims to support parents to understand their legal roles as caregivers within families and communities. Further, parents will be able to recognize their own harmful attitudes and beliefs that perpetuate sexual violence. Most participants shared that preparing and maintaining a safe space for vulnerable children is crucial for their healthy development.

Some participants identified that in most spaces and places, those in power do not acknowledge children's rights, and safe spaces (such as the home) can become places of harm. This study identified that violence experienced in residential settings could present challenges for young people.

9. Advocacy requires being visible in local everyday spaces and places to share information with hard-to-reach population groups

All participants identified that changing the beliefs and attitudes that foster and perpetuate sexual violence takes time. Many of these attitudes and beliefs stem from patriarchal and colonial ideologies, such as gender inequality, harmful ideas about sexuality, classism, poverty, and religious ideologies. Fostering everyday peace requires addressing the ideologies that promote social inequalities and sexual violence. This process will take time and commitment. In his interview, Lotus recognized that his ongoing work to prevent sexual violence against young people in Jamaica will take time as a peacebuilder, advocate, and activist. This knowledge fuels his continued work and his resolve to make a change. He plans to participate in all anti-sexual violence campaigns in Jamaica a year in advance, including the Break the Silence Campaign and the annual observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. All participants in the present study agreed that advocacy at the grassroots level has a significant impact because it allows practitioners the opportunity to connect with hard-to-reach communities and individuals. Thus, effective advocacy requires advocates to be visible in local everyday spaces and places to share information with hard-to-reach population groups. Sexual violence thrives within contexts where multiple social inequalities intersect. Only by acknowledging and making visible the actions that cause and perpetuate such violence can leaders work toward prevention and eradication.

Informal education through the media is also a powerful medium utilized by advocates to impart knowledge and information about everyday sexual violence. All communities in Jamaica have access to some form of media technology. Most commonly, communities have access to the radio or cell phones. Some participants have used the media as a medium to raise national awareness about sexual violence, especially in hard-to-reach communities. For example, Iris chose to use the radio to inform everyday people about what healthy family life looks like. She reported that she received positive feedback from community members who said the information on family and parenting was very helpful. Sexual violence is informally learned and is often not addressed, yet it is normalized in communities. Male-on-female sexual violence often goes unchallenged. Iris shared that community members remain unaware of healthy sexuality and intimacy. Patriarchal masculinity or maleness requires boys

to dominate and to be violent. Addressing patriarchy and its deep colonial roots requires re-education at the most local level. Advocates and activists spend time educating the public about gender and sexual violence against young people so that they are aware of the incredibly detrimental consequences for Jamaican youth.

Conclusion

Chapter seven presented how individuals who work to address sexual violence against young people cope with primary and secondary trauma they experience. This chapter presented their coping strategies for fostering everyday peace as a critical theme in this study. Fostering everyday peace describes how the participants engage with themselves and their environment to challenge sexual violence and shape their daily peace through everyday personal and social care practices. Participants described solace, informal and formal supports, and spirituality as essential self-care practices to deal with the day-to-day trauma they experience. Participants also identified the importance of fostering peace within their communities by spreading sexual violence awareness, hoping to minimize violence against young people. This chapter presented peace as relational. As such, personal peace depends on social peace.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Introduction

Sexual violence is terrifying. The World Health Organization (WHO) describes sexual violence as an epidemic. Yet sexual violence and its impact continue to occupy everyday spaces globally. Among the many countries impacted by this issue, Jamaica placed a call for activism and research to address the sexual violence epidemic within the country. My introduction detailed the atrocities and silencing experienced by victims of sexual violence within the Jamaican context. As a descendant of the African Indigenous enslaved peoples in Jamaica, I felt compelled to respond by doing this research. My response is grounded in PACS because of its interdisciplinary approach.

> Interdependence, nonviolence, problem solving, people's agency and resilience, and social justice are at the very core of PACS and the foundation of its commitment to work through the complexity of conflict with innovative and creative processes to promote human rights, human security, and peacebuilding. (Byrne et al., 2020, p. 38)

This study explored the everyday experiences of Jamaican advocates and activists who work to address sexual violence against young people. The narrative inquiry drew on the concepts and theories of everyday violence and peacebuilding, formal and everyday informal education, and everyday storytelling to explore the experiences of 21 community activists who address sexual violence within Jamaica. Results revealed that the participants' experiences as community activists were grounded in three key themes: (1) learning sexual violence within Jamaica; (2) storied spaces that influenced community activism and (3) how participants in this study fostered everyday peace amidst their everyday exposure to sexual violence.

Overview of Key Findings

As noted above, the study highlighted three major themes: (1) participants experience learning sexual violence within Jamaica; (2) storied spaces that influenced the participants' community activism and (3) how participants in this study fostered everyday peace amidst their everyday exposure to sexual violence. This section summarizes the overall key research findings discussed in Chapters five, six, and seven.

Learning Sexual Violence

The participants in this study identified informal learning as the primary conduit through which daily acts of silence and denial are experienced, reinforced, and reproduced to perpetuate sexual violence against young people in homes and communities. Participants identified that their understandings of sexual violence were mainly learned informally, through their experiences hearing personal stories from victims of sexual violence, or through their work supporting victims and their families. Victoria Marsick, Karen Watkins, Ellen Scully-Russ, and Ali Nicolaides (2017) posit that "learning from and through experience – typically in interaction with others – is at the heart of how people learn informally" (p. 28). Participants also reported learning from navigating systems meant to address sexual violence, as well as their own experiences of direct violence from community members upset about reports made by victims. According to Marsick et al. (2017), informal learning is context-specific and is "tied to tasks, processes, roles and settings" (p. 28). Participants identified that sexual violence against young people is everyday violence within Jamaican homes, communities, workplaces, women's movements, legal systems, and national policies.

Some behaviours that influenced participants' understandings of sexual violence included the behaviours of their family members who witnessed or were victims of sexual violence. For example, some family members would issue vague, angry, and subtle warnings to be careful around family members, while keeping silent about abuse in order to protect perpetrators in the family. As a result, participants expressed that the relationship between parent and child stands at the intersection of power, control, violence, and peacebuilding, where there is an ongoing negotiation and navigation of peace, either through silence, avoidance, or acceptance. Participants also believe that sexual violence is a learned behaviour, a generational curse. For example, Gladiolus noted the predominance of sexual violence within her family for at least two generations.

While everyday literature speaks to the social indifference and trivialization of violence as a major factor in its perpetuation, the participants' stories show that refusal to recognize the reality of sexual violence is denial. Communities will simultaneously reject or deny harm caused by sexual violence and accept this violence as an everyday norm. For example, findings highlighted a community that chose not to recognize the legal definition of age of consent or consent itself. Thus, this community was refusing to pursue justice for

survivors or hold perpetrators accountable; silencing victims/survivors with fear, shame, refusal of services, loss of employment; and using the Christian concept of forgiveness to negotiate a false everyday peace. Sally Engle Merry (2009) describes these factors as gender violence, which includes "both harm and an interpretation of the meaning of the harm" (p.183). She highlighted that measuring gender violence is subjective and based on cultural norms.

Participants identified several systemic failures that perpetuate sexual violence against young people in Jamaica: (1) lack of enough consistent resources for victims and their families to cope with physical and psychological harm; (2) rejection of alternate ways of healing outside of western clinical models; (3) poverty that limits follow-up care and reporting; (4) delayed justice and perceived insufficient justice for sex crimes; (5) lack of systemic recourse for false reporting; (6) colonial social constructs of masculinity and heterosexuality embedded in law; (7) prescribed powerlessness of children; and (7) lack of access to formal and informal education about sexual violence for the most vulnerable, high-risk communities. These identified systemic barriers minimize reporting and further silence young people affected by sexual violence within Jamaica. While Galtung's (1969) structural violence theory identifies these barriers as evidence of structural and cultural violence against victims and survivors of sexual violence, everyday violence theory (Haughen & Boutros, 2015; Scheper-Hughes, 1996) identifies persisting social and systemic indifference towards sexual violence as everyday violence. Participants described how these barriers force citizens to navigate or negotiate their agency and peace in their everyday spaces (i.e., homes and community) where they also experience violence.

Finally, participants identified that collective movements that address sexual violence lack a common understanding of gender violence and its impact. Participants identified informal learning as a key limitation to grassroots movements or activism. While informal adult learning has the potential to reach most grassroots communities and the people most affected by sexual violence, participants indicated that within Jamaican communities, informal learning predominantly teaches and reinforces post-colonial patriarchal gender ideologies. For example, Magnolia argued that these gendered ideological constructs divide women's movements because gender, ageism, sexuality, and sexual orientation become points of contention among members.

Storied Spaces of Learning Activism

Participants identified that three main factors influenced or motivated their interest in social activism that addresses sexual violence against young people: the early influence of role models, adult learning spaces, and critical self-awareness. Most participants identified women role models who challenged the "colonially constructed" gender roles widely accepted within Jamaica. However, a few participants identified that negative role modelling in one's early years can lead to resistance and build a foundation for social action.

Participants also identified that adult learning spaces, such as formal education spaces (i.e., university) and informal education spaces (community groups), played a role in their further understanding of gender roles, violence, and social justice within Jamaican society. However, participants presented informal learning spaces as places where they can have meaningful conversations and share stories, including their lived experiences of sexual violence. Danielle Roper and Traci-Ann Wint (2020) noted that the Tambourine Army emerged from "the online chatter, grumbles, and gossip" on social media about an incident of sexual violence against a minor in Jamaica (p. 36). These informal spaces capture the local-everyday nuances that can create a sense of comradery and safety, inspiring advocacy and activism.

Most participants identified critical self-awareness as an ongoing or everyday practice that aids in maintaining perspective and motivation to continue working with young people affected by sexual violence. Participants experienced critical self-awareness during five key moments: experiencing secondary trauma; struggling to believe victims; sensing normalcy about sexual violence, noticing an erosion of trust for caregivers; and/or recognizing the need for anchoring self-work in spirituality. Participants recognized that the postcolonial gendered context in which they live and work has influenced how they see the world around them. Hence, it is critical to use a holistic approach to foster positive peace or social justice.

Fostering Peace

Fostering peace was a critical finding in this study. Participants described their everyday intentional practices to maintain clarity and perspective in managing their perceived realities and their continued activism. The participants identified that fostering peace while doing their work requires a holistic approach with the following intentions: pursuit of

everyday normalcy; and fostering everyday peace through education. Participants explained that the pursuit of everyday normalcy includes: (1) setting clear boundaries/finding balance between their work and personal lives; (2) recognizing the importance of formal and informal support systems to help cope with secondary trauma; and (3) recognizing the importance of having a spiritual anchor to provide a sense of hope and divine promise of accountability or justice. While the participants identified the importance of utilizing a wide variety of supports to address secondary trauma, some participants noted that formal and alternative ways of healing can be inaccessible.

The participants in this study play an intrinsic role in addressing everyday sexual violence and fostering everyday peace through education within their communities. For example, Magnolia asserted that the role of advocates and activists is to educate the younger generation about gender and human rights: "That this generation of young folks, at least the ones coming up behind me, do not repeat the errors of the feminists who were above me." A common theme in each participant's story was that the most vulnerable population affected by sexual violence live in small, local communities. Participants noted that local, grassroots people do not understand the long-term impact of sexual violence and do not have access to knowledge or resources to address the issue. Participants stressed the importance of taking the time to build trust through mentorship to provide informal community education on children's rights and sexual violence. Participants recognized that to prevent sexual violence against young people, grassroots communities must be aware of the power dynamics between perpetrator and victim, gender inequalities, the dangers of silencing victims, and the law.

Significance of Findings

For Theory

There is very little PACS literature that examines or explores community activism, in particular the experiences of advocates and activists who work with individuals who experience sexual violence in post-slave colonies. This study will add to the existing PACS literature (Dueck-Read, 2019; Kroeker, 2019; McLean, 2019; Neustaeter, 2019; Song Lee, 2019; Westlund, 2010) on the concept of everyday violence and everyday peacebuilding, where sexual violence is everyday violence in the post-slave colony, Jamaica. This study makes visible the everyday complexities of the inseparability of the pre-political and political

in a post-colonial slave state. For example, participants identified how sexual violence presents in all aspects of everyday life in Jamaica; where,

1) home and community are simultaneously safe and unsafe.
2) poverty/economic status are barriers to health resources and education.
3) victims and practitioners have limited access to trauma care.
4) law prohibits sexual choice.

Thus, the everyday is that point of inquiry where individuals negotiate the meaning of sexual violence in "taken for granted" interactions between individuals, between individuals and community, and between individuals and state.

This study contributes to literature demonstrating the power of informal learning and storytelling and their connection to violence and peacebuilding. Participants present both informal learning and storytelling as powerful tools that have influenced their journeys as human rights advocates and activists. Yet, the study demonstrates that informal learning also contributes to what some scholars describe as the critical continuity of social indifference and trivialization of everyday violence (Henrickson & Bengtsson, 2018; Vigh, 2011). Further, this study shows a connection between sexual violence and the critical continuity of denied and disavowed sexual harm that simultaneously rejects and accepts the act itself; confusing or blurring understandings of sexual violence.

Further, this study reveals the impact of the legacy of slavery and colonialism in maintaining heteronormative policies, and the constructed narrative of "black bodies inherently hypersexual and sexually available… and never victims" (Roper & Wint, 2020, p. 39). PACS and critical race scholarships illuminates gender, race, and sexuality as patriarchal structures that create and perpetuate inequalities among people of color. Thus, this study will add to the existing critical race theories and intersectionality, and PACS theories focused on structural, cultural and direct violence.

For Research

There is a large body of literature on the victims of sexual violence. However, there is very little interdisciplinary literature on varied forms of local community activism that addresses sexual violence against young people in the Caribbean. While this narrative inquiry presents the experiences of community activists and advocates who work to de-silence the

voices of young people affected by sexual violence in Jamaica, there are limitations to the scope of the study. Hence, further research exploring local actor peacebuilding in the Caribbean would add to PACS literature and provide an opportunity to compare both lived experience and peacebuilding approaches to prevent sexual violence in post-slave colonies. Findings demonstrated that denial and disavowal are consistent themes in the perpetuation of sexual violence. Future research should further examine the relationship between denial and disavowal and everyday sexual violence and peacebuilding.

Participants identified informal learning and storytelling as key contributors to the perpetuation of sexual violence. Jessica Senehi (2002, 2016) refers to storytelling that creates and perpetuates conflict and violence as destructive storytelling, the antithesis of constructive storytelling. Yet, participants strategically used informal learning and storytelling to promote social action and activism, develop trust in local communities, and build peer-to-peer mentorship to promote sexual violence awareness. Thus, participants identified the power of constructive and destructive storytelling about sexual violence simultaneously occurring everyday at the grassroots. Future research might explore the effectiveness of informal learning and storytelling as tools to prevent sexual violence in grassroots communities.

Roger Mac Ginty (2019) argues the importance of local people working together to solve their own issues. However, sexual violence is a global issue that connects the local to the global. For example, the 202 Global Report of Trafficking in Persons reported that the human trafficking of women and children within and across borders is caused by poverty (United Nations, 2021). Further, the internet has also facilitated the sexual exploitation and commercialization of women and children (Keller & Dance, 2019). While this study's participants did not identify a local-global link regarding sexual violence, future research might explore how the local people in Jamaica address the issue.

For Practice

I felt it important that the participants in this study contribute to recommendations for practice across Jamaican communities and other global communities that share similar histories and experiences of sexual violence. Participants presented what they felt were advantages to practitioners and suggested interventions that had yielded positive outcomes in their work. They shared the following:

1) It is important for local actors to lead grassroots interventions on taboo issues, such as sexual violence. There is a lot of shame and fear around sexual violence. In most communities in Jamaica, sexual violence is a private and sensitive topic. Hence, context matters.
2) Informal and formal education about policies preventing sexual violence is imperative in sexual violence awareness training.
3) Peer-to-peer mentorship works well among young people, especially in grassroot, high-risk communities. Trust plays a large role in closed communities' engagement.
4) Some practitioners suggest residency programs for young people in high-risk communities.
5) Practitioners should all have standardized education on sexual violence. The goal is to ensure practitioners are delivering the same message and have the same understanding. Even if the approach to social action is different, the understanding of the issues should be similar.
6) Fostering peace as a holistic approach for practitioners should be mandatory in all organizations. Practitioners experience secondary trauma and, in some cases, live in fear of reprisal from community members because of the work they do.
7) It is important for practitioners in post-colonial slave colonies to practice their traditional Indigenous African ways of healing without rejection.
8) Practitioners should continually practice critical self-awareness to maintain perspective and to remain motivated.

Feminist peace researchers have echoed some common themes surrounding community solutions to sexual violence (Caringella-Macdonald & Humphries, 1991; Knopp, 1991;). For example, victim and/or survivor prevention should include advocacy, education, and support services (Knopp, 1991). Further, informal approaches to education or consciousness-raising within communities have deterred and minimized sexual violence against young people (Caringella-Macdonald & Humphries, 1991). This study's participants' diverse approaches to addressing sexual violence include recognizing and acknowledging the impact of secondary exposure to sexual violence. Thus, this study's participants presented "practice," noting that advocacy and activism should be holistic, where self-care and support systems for the

practitioner are essential components when organizing to prevent sexual violence against young people.

This study's findings show that grassroots activists have diverse understandings of gendered ideological constructs (such as gender, ageism, sexuality, and sexual orientation), creating dividing lines among Jamaican grassroots activists. These dividing lines limit the ability of local activists to work effectively together to find ways to collectively address and prevent the perpetuation of sexual violence against young people. PACS scholars and researchers posit that at the core of peacebuilding is the "nurtur[ing] of constructive human relationships" (Lederach & Appleby, 2010, p. 22). Jean-Paul Lederach and R. Scott Appleby (2010) describe the constructive relationship and its fundamental importance in ensuring social change as including

> the cultivation of independence as a social-political context for the effective pursuit of human rights, …; the promotion of transparent communication across sectors and levels of society in service of including as many voices and actors as possible in the reform of institutions and the repair or creation of partnerships conducive to the common good; and the increasing coordination and integration of resources, programs, practices and processes. (p. 22-23)

Thus, it is imperative that local peacebuilders repair divisive lines and establish collaboration and interdependence to reduce and prevent violence.

Further, this study reveals that grassroots indifference and denial of sexual violence silences victims and survivors, preventing social justice and change. This study also highlights the limitations of grassroots activists' efforts to access mental health support for survivors of sexual violence and their families because of economic barriers and systemic challenges. Finally, the findings reveal knowledge about the everydayness of sexual violence in the post-slave colony of Jamaica and local grassroots activists' efforts to bring awareness of the issue to their local communities, as well as the social constructed and structural norms that plague post-slave colonies and continue to be barriers in their fight for social justice and change in Jamaica.

Conclusion

This study explored the experiences of community activists and advocates who address sexual violence against young people. Through narrative inquiry and a peacebuilding lens, the participants presented their journeys to sexual violence activism and social justice. This study presented an introduction to some of the atrocities of sexual violence against young people that advocates and activists face every day. It also presented the participants' narratives in their own words and language—patios. Patois represents resistance and resilience. It is a language of pride for the post-slave colony. So, this language of resistance situates this study of community activism against sexual violence in Jamaica. All participants represented and presented resistance. Hence, all their quotes are in patois.

Participants presented three key themes that assisted in developing the conceptual framework for this study. They presented sexual violence as everyday violence. They described the informal learning of sexual violence beginning at home, in homespace, and in community. Participants described how silence, shame, and fear are learned and manipulated, becoming aspects of everyday culture and creating a critical continuity of sexual violence as an everyday occurrence. Participants articulated that sexual violence is an everyday occurrence that spans generations, is embedded within structural norms reinforced by policy, and is not easily uprooted and destroyed. The participants presented informal learning and storytelling as key instruments in their decisions to become community activists to promote sexual violence awareness locally within the grassroots. This study also represents the power of a personal story to motivate social action. Each participant reflected on the critical moments and people in their lives that contributed to their personal decision to be an activist for change. Jamaica's history of colonial patriarchy, violence, and trauma emerged through these stories. I could see these local peacebuilders as very much influenced by their context and asked what made them different from the mainstream. How did their narrative change from the norm? They rose to the occasion and said, "To want peace, you must foster peace." The third theme identified by participants is fostering peace while doing the work. Participants showed that fostering peace must be an intentional, holistic practice when doing the work. This reinforces Galtung's idea of peace as a lifelong practice.

This final chapter highlighted everyday violence and informal learning and its connection to violence and peacebuilding as two key contributions to PACS conversations.

Further, it identified local actor peacebuilding in the Caribbean, denial and disavowal and everyday violence, and informal learning and violence as future research areas. This chapter closed with different interventions, highlighted by study participants, that challenge social norms and policies that perpetuate sexual violence within Jamaica.

And the fight continues.

> Tambourine Army
>
> December 3, 2017
> Dear Survivor,
> 'There is nothing wrong with you
> Can you trust me on that
> That man who tried to break you will disintegrate into nothingness and they will find him at that place perhaps at a crossroads and nothing will be left of him
> You will look at him and pity him
> He will have no voice and his eyes will blacken until he loses vision and sight
> That man who hurt you will not find solace in sleep
> Your hurt will visit him and he will find peace nowhere and when he dies, as he must, he will find no comfort in the after life
> He will spend eternity in anguish tortured by your screams and the pain he visited on you
> He will die a final and complete death
> And those who knew and said nothing and told you to keep silent
> They will know no mercy
> Misery will be their company
> But do not celebrate their misery, and when they ask you for forgiveness, forgive them and let them go
> Do not have their demise on your conscience
> They will be destroyed but by their own action
> You will go on to heal
> You will teach other women how to survive

You will reassure them that they will become more than they imagined You can't be stopped

You will survive all of them

And you my dear will thrive'

#WeAreWithYOU #IDEVAW2017 #16Days

(Tambourine Army, 2017)

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Letter of Introduction

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Ph.D. Program in Peace and Conflict Studies

Arthur V. Mauro Centre
for Peace and Justice
at St. Paul's College
252-70 Dysart Road
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2
Telephone: (204) 474-6052
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Letter of Introduction

Dear Sir/Madam:

Invitation to Participate

My name is Michele Lemonius and I am a PhD Candidate in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada. I was born and raised in Jamaica and am devoted to improving the quality of life for our youth. I would like to invite you to participate in a research project entitled, *Community Activism in De-silencing the Voices of Young People Affected by Sexual Violence in Jamaica.* This research project is being conducted as part of the requirements for a postgraduate doctoral degree in the Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Purpose and Description of Study

This study seeks to explore the different forms of grassroot peacebuilding and community activism in Jamaica that promote awareness of sexual violence against young people, encourage the importance of reporting incidents, and provide support services for survivors in the communities they service. In particular, I am interested in the experiences and perspectives of intervenors, educators, and advocates in influencing community understanding of sexual violence against young people. Throughout this process, I am inviting front-line workers or individuals in government, non-governmental agencies, and grassroots peacebuilding groups who work/address the issue of sexual violence against young people in Jamaica. Participants will vary in gender, educational background, and work experiences with ages ranging from 18 to 80 years.

What will be Required of the Participant

If you choose to participate, I would like to meet with you to give you an overview of the research project and answer any questions you may have followed by a one on one (in person) interview. This meeting will be held at a location of your choice and a time that is best for you. The interview will be about one (1) to two (2) hours and I will be asking you to share your understanding of sexual violence against young people, what role you play in addressing the issue, how do you believe you have and will continue to influence change within your community on the subject and issue of sexual violence against young people. In addition, you

will be asked to share your story of what motivated you to work in the field. The interview will be audio-recorded so that I can transcribe answers accurately. However, if you are uncomfortable with being audio-recorded, I will write your responses to each question and review your answers with you. If allowed to proceed with voice recording, I will be transcribing the interviews from the audio recorder, after which I will give you a copy to review and edit. I will request the reviewed copy within 72 hours or as soon as possible. I may also take notes during the interview process. They may entail points for clarification, setting, and other observations. You will be privy to my notes and give feedback as well. If necessary, a second interview may be arranged.

Participation is Voluntary

Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to participate in the study. You have the right to discontinue participation at any time during the study without any negative consequences by telling me your wish to stop in person, by phone or by email. However, it is important to note that withdrawal from the process does not necessarily mean that data collected up to that point will not be used in the study. If you choose to participate, and you are asked questions during the interview and if you choose not to answer, you can still participate. If you initially choose to have the interview recorded and changed your mind during the process, the audio recording will be stopped. If you choose to withdraw at this time, you may ask to erase the recordings of your interview.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

The information from the interview(s) will be kept confidential. Your name and identity will not be used in the recordings or transcripts, reports, dissertation, presentations, or publications; a pseudonym (a fictitious name) will be used instead. I will be the only transcriber of the recordings; and I am bounded by the principle of confidentiality. The recordings and transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet and on a password-protected computer.

Results and Release of Data

Within one year after the interview process, I will provide you with a summary (1-3 pages) of the findings of the study, if you so choose. Agreement to participate means that you give permission for the release of the data to the public domain within the confidentiality guidelines outlined above, including the use of information in a final dissertation, in presentations at conferences, and in articles for publication. Your name will not appear in any report, presentations, or publications of this study. The data collected during this study will be stored for 5 years after which it will be destroyed. At your request, I will also notify you about any publications that arise from this study.

Risks and Benefits

This study is being conducted in an effort to motivate continued activism in bringing awareness of the work being done by varied individuals, groups and governmental bodies within the Jamaican context to combat sexual violence against young people. It will highlight your strengths, and creativity as activists and peacebuilders in influencing community and policy changes regarding sexual violence against young people. I am aware that as you, the participants, share your experiences and perspectives of sexual violence directed against young people you may experience some emotional stress. Hence, I will strongly recommend that you

access your support services (counselling) that is provided by your employer. If you do not have access to supports (counselling) I will provide contact information for support or free counselling services in your community. If you find at any time that participation in the study is too difficult, you may withdraw your participation. I will support you in this decision and there will be no negative consequences for withdrawing.

Contact information

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board of the University of Manitoba; you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact them at +1(204) 474-7122 or Email at Pinar Eskicioglu at humanethics@umanitoba.ca

You could also contact my research supervisor: Dr. Jessica Senehi, Associate Professor, Peace and Conflict Studies, Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice, St. Paul's College, 70 Dysart Road, University of Manitoba, R3T 2N2, phone: [redacted], Email: [redacted]

Primary researcher: Michele Lemonius, PhD Candidate, Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice, University of Manitoba, Telephone: [redacted] (Canada), Email: [redacted]

Appendix B: Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Ph.D. Program in Peace and Conflict Studies

Arthur V. Mauro Centre
for Peace and Justice
at St. Paul's College
252-70 Dysart Road
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2
Telephone: (204) 474-6052
Fax: (204) 474-8828

Consent Form

Research Project Title: Community activism in de-silencing the voices of young people affected by sexual violence.

Principal Investigator and contact information: Michele Lemonius, PhD Candidate, Peace and Conflict Studies, 70 Dysart Road, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB Canada R3T 2M6

Research Supervisor (if applicable) and contact information: Dr. Jessica Senehi, Associate Professor, Peace and Conflict Studies, 70 Dysart Road, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB Canada R3T 2M6 Phone: [redacted]; Email: [redacted]

Sponsor (if applicable): N/A

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

1. Purpose of the Research.

This study seeks to explore the different forms of grassroot peacebuilding and community activism in Jamaica that promote awareness of sexual violence against young people, encourage the importance of reporting incidents, and provide support services for survivors in the communities they service. In particular, I am interested in the experiences and perspectives of intervenors, educators, and advocates in influencing community understanding of sexual violence against young people. Throughout this process, I am inviting front-line workers or individuals in government, non-governmental agencies, and grassroots peacebuilding groups who work/address the issue of sexual violence against young people in Jamaica. Participants will vary in gender, educational background, and work experiences with ages ranging from 18 to 80 years. There will be approximately 45 participants in this study.

2. A Description of the Procedures

As a part of your participation in this study, you are requested to participate in one to two interviews of approximately one to two hours each. Most information will be covered in the first interview and a second will only be requested if the researcher has other questions that were not covered in the first meeting. The interview will be like an informal conversation that is built on a few basic questions about your experiences and perspectives addressing the issue of sexual violence against young people within Jamaica. All interviews are encouraged to be 'face to face' and 'one on one' and will be audio recorded so that the researcher can transcribe answers accurately. However, if you are uncomfortable with being audio recorded, the researcher will write your responses to each question and review your answers with you. If allowed to proceed with voice recording, the researcher will be transcribing the interviews from the audio recorder. The researcher may also take notes during the interview process. These notes will jog my memory regarding information that you shared with me during the interview that needs further clarification or exploration through probing questions. Following the interview, a transcription of your interview will be sent to you for review and feedback within 72 hours by email. Please note that your quotes will be used in the final analysis. You are required to send your revised copy to me within 72 hours. If no revision is required, please inform accordingly by email or phone, whichever works best for you within 72 hours. Please note that the researcher will be living in Jamaica during the research study (from February 1, 2019, to April 30, 2019).

3. A Description of any Recording Devices to be Used.

Participant one on one interview sessions will be recorded using an audio recorder for accuracy. A digital audio recording device will be used for in-person interviews. If the participant chooses not to be audio recorded, the researcher will write the participant's responses and review them with the participant for accuracy.

4. Benefits

This project is intended to be a positive experience for those participating. It is an opportunity to speak about the work you have done, as well as successes and challenges your community has experienced. Your knowledge will be used to help the researcher, and others who read the final report, learn about your continued activism in bringing awareness of the work being done in a different context, as well as, your strengths, and creativity in influencing community and policy changes regarding sexual violence against young people in Jamaica.

5. Potential risk

The researcher is aware that as you, the participants, share your experiences and perspectives of sexual violence directed against young people you may experience some emotional stress. Hence, the researcher will strongly recommend that you access your support services (counselling) that is provided by your employer. If you do not have access to supports (counselling) the researcher will provide contact information for support or free counselling services in your community. This contact information will be provided separately from this document, and you may contact these services if you need. If you find at any time that participation in the study is too difficult, you may withdraw your participation. The researcher will support you in this decision and there will be no negative consequences for withdrawing.

6. Confidentiality
Please note that every possibility will be taken to ensure confidentiality. To protect the confidentiality of all participants, your name and identity will not be used in the recordings or transcripts, reports, dissertation, presentations, or publications; a pseudonym (a fictitious name) will be used instead. Your name, email and phone number will be kept on my computer in a locked password protected file. All audio recorded information will be kept in a locked drawer for up to 72 hours then will be deleted immediately, following its transcription. I will be the only transcriber of the recordings; and I am bounded by the principle of confidentiality. All written information relating to the study, including consent and confidentiality form will be kept in locked drawer in an office desk only the researcher has access to. All electronic documents relating to the study will be in a locked password protected folder on my computer. All electronic correspondence, including emails will be deleted once read. All recorded and hard copy information will be destroyed five (5) years after completion of the study.
Your confidentiality will further be maintained as you will have an opportunity while reviewing your transcribed interviews to decide which quotes you would want included in the final analysis. This should allow you to feel comfortable sharing your experiences without worrying that the information you provide could be attributed to you or could negatively impact you in the future.

7. Remuneration
No financial compensation will be provided for participation in the study.

8. Voluntary withdrawal
Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to participate in the study. You also have the right to discontinue participation at any time during the research process or by September 30, 2019 by telling me your wish to stop in person, by phone or by email. There will be no negative consequences for withdrawing from the study. Once informed of your wish to withdraw, I will destroy all audio recorded interviews (delete), transcripts (delete or shred), and signed forms (shred). If you choose to participate, and you are asked questions during the interview and if you choose not to answer, you can still participate. If you initially choose to have the interview recorded and changed your mind during the process, the audio recording will be stopped. If you choose to withdraw at this time, you may ask to erase the recordings of your interview.

9. Feedback/Debriefing
At the end of the interview, we will have a brief conversation about your thoughts about the interview and you can ask any questions about the interview or the study. Also, researcher will meet with each participant within one year of this conversation and provide a summary of results and an opportunity for feedback, if you so choose.

10. Dissemination
The information gathered during the course of these interviews, including, with your permission quotes from our conversations, will be used for the researcher's PhD thesis. A final report will be written for the participants. Further publications of the results may be made in peer reviewed academic publications. All publications of the results will maintain your confidentiality.

11. Distribution of Summary of Results
Within one year of this conversation, the researcher will provide you with a brief on the project (at your request), indicating my general findings. The data collection for the research study will be completed by August 31, 2019, after which I will be analyzing the data and providing the participants with a 1-3 page summary of the results by October 31, 2019. Participants will be given one week to review the summary (1-3 pages) of results and provide feedback by November 8, 2019 that will be reflected in a final report. Results from this study will be described in my final written dissertation, and in journal publications, policy briefings, and conferences. At your request, the researcher will also notify you about any publications that arise from this study. My dissertation will eventually appear in MSpace. You will find the link at https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/ Participants and participating organizations (management) will be contacted individually asking how they would like to receive the summary of results.

12. Confidential data
All audio recordings will be deleted within 24 of transcription. Transcriptions, field notes and other information from and pertaining to participants will be destroyed (computer files deleted, and paper files will be shredded) 5 years after the date of completion of the study.

Please indicate if you wish to receive a summary of the findings? Yes ( ) No ( )
If YES, please provide an e-mail address or instructions how you would like to receive the notifications: _____

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project, you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____
Researcher and/or Delegate's Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix C: Confidentiality Agreement

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Ph.D. Program in Peace and Conflict Studies

Arthur V. Mauro Centre
for Peace and Justice
at St. Paul's College
252-70 Dysart Road
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2
Telephone: (204) 474-6052
Fax: (204) 474-8828

Confidentiality Agreement

Research Project: Community activism in de-silencing the voices of young people affected by sexual violence
Researcher: Michele Lemonius

I understand that in signing this form I agree to respect and keep confidential and private all information shared with me by other participants in this study. I understand that my own information will be held in the same strict confidence. This includes information about the identity of the other participants, unless they specifically agree otherwise.

The purpose of this agreement is to facilitate free and open discussion with each other in our individual and group sessions associated with this study. I understand that I am free to talk about my own involvement in the study with whomever I please.

Participant's Signature Date

Researcher's Signature Date

Appendix D: Semi-structured Interview Guide

Semi structured interview guide

1. Tell me a bit about yourself? Your work and role within your organization, Background?
2. What is your understanding of sexual violence against young people?
3. What motivated you to work within or focus on this field?
4. How long have you worked in the field?
5. What have you learned doing this work?
6. What are some of the challenges you have noticed young people face in reporting sexual abuse?
    a. How do they cope?
    b. Who are their supports?
7. How do you see yourself influencing your community?
8. How has this work shaped your values and self?
9. What are some of the challenges you face?
    a. How do you cope?
    b. Who are your supports?
10. How do you take care of yourself/What do you do for relaxation?
11. Is there anything else you would like to share about yourself, work, community, in relation to sexual violence against young people?

Appendix E: List of Free Counselling Services

List of Free Counselling Services

1) Family Life
Ministries 1 Cecelio
Avenue, Kingston 10
Jamaica
(876) 926-8101.
(876) 929-4360.

117 Cecile Avenue,
Portmore,
St Catherine Jamaica
(876) 939-7917
(876) 920-1034
Email: flmjamaica@gmail.com
Website: www.familylifeministriesjamaica.com

(2) Women's Crisis Centre 24 hours
hotline (876) 929-2997/926-9398

(3) Andrea Diane
Prendergast Counsellor
[redacted]

Appendix F: Consent for Contacting Counselling Services

Letter 1: Andrea Prendergast

CONSENT FOR CONTACT INFORMATION FOR
ANDREA D. PRENDERGAST
SUPPORT LETTER TO THE ETHICS DEPARTMENT

This serves to confirm that I give my consent to Ms Michele Lemonius, to distribute my contact information to the participants in the study.

My contact information is as follows:

Name: Miss Andrea D. Prendergast

Telephone number: [redacted]

email: [redacted]

Andrea D. Prendergast

.....

January 10, 2019

Letter 2: Family Life Ministries

Business Office & Counselling Centre: 1 Cecelio Avenue, Kingston 10, Jamaica, W1.
Telephone: (876) 926 8101, 929-4360, 920-1034, Fax: (876) 960-8614 Digicel: (876) 469-4608
Email: flmjamaica@gmail.com

Portmore Counselling Centre: 117 Cecile Avenue, Portmore, St. Catherine
Telephone: (876) 939-7917

January 9, 2019

Ethics Committee
University of Manitoba
66 Chancellors Cir, Winnipeg
MB R3T 2N2
Canada

RE: Michele Lemonius
PhD Candidate
Peace and Conflict Studies

This serves to confirm that we have given Ms. Michele Lemonius authorization to distribute your contact information to the participants in her study.

We do appreciate the fact that Ms. Lemonius has chosen our institution as a point of reference for her participants.

If you have any further queries, please feel free to contact us.

Yours truly,

[redacted]

Janice Radway
Operations

Letter 3: Woman Inc.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS **HUMAN RIGHTS** **SOCIAL JUSTICE**
4 Ellesmere Road Kingston 10, Jamaica, W.I. **Telephone – 929-9038** **e-mail:** wicrisiscentre@yahoo.com

December 31, 2018

Michele Lemonius, PhD Candidate
Peace and Conflict Studies -University of Manitoba
St Paul's College, 70 Dysart RD
Winnipeg, MB R3T 2M6
Re: Letter of Support

Dear Michele

This letter serves to indicate that Woman Inc. is most definitely interested and also willing to support your studies and research work in Jamaica, as indicated in the abbreviation herein, particularly since this research is an area where most of our work relates.

Purpose and Description of Study

This study seeks to explore the different forms of grassroot peace-building and community activism in Jamaica that promote awareness of sexual violence against young people, encourage the importance of reporting incidents, and provide support services for survivors in the communities they service.....

We understand that this activity will relate to the experiences and Perspectives of interveners, educators, and advocates in influencing community understanding of sexual violence against young people.

Having addressed sexual violence since the inception [1984], the Crisis Center stands ready to provide counselling, as this is the most relevant to all advocacy efforts.

Looking forward.- - *on behalf of:* **Woman Inc.**

[redacted]

Joyce Hewett, Past President - [*Gender Specialist]* *Executive Director (acting)*

Appendix G: Research Ethics and Compliance (2019-2020)

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Research Ethics and Compliance

Human Ethics
208-194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB
Canada R3T 2N2
Phone +204-474-7122
Email: humanethics@umanitoba.ca

PROTOCOL APPROVAL

TO: **Michele Lemonius** **(Advisor: Jessica Senehi)**

Principal Investigator

FROM: **Julia Witt, Chair**
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

[redacted]

Re: **Protocol J2018:089 (HS22385)**
Community Activism in De-silencing the Voices of Young People affected by Sexual Violence in Jamaica

---

Effective: March 12, 2019 **Expiry:** March 12, 2020

Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB) has reviewed and approved the above research. JFREB is constituted and operates in accordance with the current *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans.*

This approval is subject to the following conditions:

1. Approval is granted for the research and purposes described in the application only.
2. Any modification to the research or research materials must be submitted to JFREB for approval before implementation.
3. Any deviations to the research or adverse events must be submitted to JFREB as soon as possible.
4. This approval is valid for one year only and a Renewal Request must be submitted and approved by the above expiry date.
5. A Study Closure form must be submitted to JFREB when the research is complete or terminated.

6. The University of Manitoba may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

Funded Protocols:

- **Please mail/e-mail a copy of this Approval, identifying the related UM Project Number, to the Research Grants Officer in ORS.**

Appendix H: Research Ethics and Compliance Renewal Approval (2020-2021)

University of Manitoba | Research Ethics and Compliance

Human Ethics - Fort Garry
208-194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2
T: 204 474 8872
humanethics@umanitoba.ca

RENEWAL APPROVAL

Date: March 11, 2020 **New Expiry: March 12, 2021**

TO: **Michele Lemonius** **(Advisor: Jessica Senehi)**
Principal Investigator

FROM: **Julia Witt, Chair**
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB) [redacted]

Re: **Protocol J2018:089 (HS22385)**
Community Activism in De-silencing the Voices of Young People affected by Sexual Violence in Jamaica

---

Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB) has reviewed and renewed the above research. JFREB is constituted and operates in accordance with the current *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans.*

This approval is subject to the following conditions:

1. Any modification to the research must be submitted to JFREB for approval before implementation.
2. Any deviations to the research or adverse events must be submitted to JFREB as soon as possible.
3. This renewal is valid for one year only and a Renewal Request must be submitted and approved by the above expiry date.
4. A Study Closure form must be submitted to JFREB when the research is complete or terminated.

Appendix I: Research Ethics and Compliance Renewal Approval (2021-2022)

University of Manitoba | Research Ethics and Compliance

Human Ethics - Fort Garry
208-194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2
T: 204 474 8872
humanethics@umanitoba.ca

RENEWAL APPROVAL

Date: **March 2, 2021** **New Expiry: March 12, 2022**

To: **Michele Lemonius** **(Advisor: Jessica Senehi)**
Principal Investigator

[redacted]

From: **Andrea Szwajcer, Chair**
Research Ethics Board 2 (REB 2)

Re: **Protocol # J2018:089 (HS22385)**
Community activism in de-silencing the voices of young people affected by sexual violence in Jamaica

---

Research Ethics Board 2 (REB 2) has reviewed and renewed the above research.

REB 2 is constituted and operates in accordance with the current *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans – TCPS2 (2018)*.

This approval is subject to the following conditions:

i. Any changes to this research must be approved by the Human Ethics Office (HEO) before implementation.

ii. Any deviations to the research or adverse events must be reported to the HEO immediately.

iii. This renewal is valid for one year only. A Renewal Request Form must be submitted and approved prior to the above expiry date.

iv. A Study Closure Form must be submitted to the HEO when the research is complete prior to the above expiry date, or if the research is terminated.