In an attempt to broaden the policy discourse on security and also to respond to the question – to what extent can there be equitable access to security? – it becomes evident that the sex of an individual becomes a crosscutting issue that influences how security is experienced.

**A Pilot Study on the Role of Women in Communities:**

**The Case of East Port of Spain**

**A Project of The Women’s Institute for Alternative Development (WINAD)**

**National Drug Council (NDC)**

**With Partial Funding from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)**

**March 2018**

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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>ATT</td>
<td>Arms Trade Treaty</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSP</td>
<td>Citizen Security Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration</td>
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<tr>
<td>IATF</td>
<td>Inter-Agency Task Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT+</td>
<td>Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, Transgender+</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>OAS</td>
<td>Organization of American States</td>
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<tr>
<td>RFTF</td>
<td>Returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters</td>
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<td>SALW</td>
<td>Small Arms and Light Weapons</td>
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<td>SAS</td>
<td>Small Arms Survey</td>
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<td>SAC</td>
<td>Station Action Council</td>
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<td>SSA</td>
<td>Strategic Services Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDG</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>TTPS</td>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago Police Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNODC</td>
<td>United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNPOA</td>
<td>United Nations Programme of Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNSCR</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council Resolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSG</td>
<td>United Nations Secretary General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPS</td>
<td>Women, Peace and Security</td>
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</table>
Project Steering Committee

Ministry of National Security
   (Information Technology)
Ministry of Social Development and Family Services
   (Policy Unit)
National Drug Council
   (NDC)
Strategic Services Agency
   (SSA)
TTPS Crime and Problem Analysis Unit
   (CAPA)
TTPS Criminal Gang Intelligence Unit
   (CGIU)
TTPS Inter-Agency Task Force
   (IATF)
TTPS Organized Crime, Narcotics and Firearms Unit
Women’s Institute for Alternative Development
   (WINAD)

About WINAD: We advance the rights of women and girls through thought-leadership, mentoring, quality service delivery and stakeholder engagement. Our programmatic themes are: gender and security; leadership; governance.
Acknowledgements

WINAD was motivated to conduct this study following many years of policy work, research and grassroots activism in the communities in this study and other communities. In all our efforts to understand the triggers for and the impact of gun violence in communities in East Port of Spain, WINAD has always benefitted from the experiences of practitioners such as Wayne Jordan from the Beetham Gardens community and the expert knowledge of violence interrupters like Marlon Thomas of Project REASON.

Our work has always been guided by a collaborative strategy which allows us to work with many state agencies, including the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS). The design and implementation of this study would not have been possible without the tireless support provided by the Inter-Agency Task Force of the TTPS specifically the leader of the Hearts and Minds project Inspector Oswain Subero with unwavering support from Inspector Elvin Reid and tactical support from Inspector Charles in the Beetham Gardens community and Corporal Frederick of the John John Police Youth Club.

Ms Esther Best, Director of the National Drug Council provided strategic leadership for the project and ensured that its design and implementation met the needs of the key stakeholders.

We extend our gratitude to Councillor Akil Audain, Mr Everton Martin, and Ms Allison Simmons for their introduction to women in the Unemployment Relief Programme (URP). The former Deputy Mayor of the City of Port of Spain, Alderman Aasha Permanand offered the project her unrelenting support particularly in its outreach to the women of the John John community. Mr Marlon Anatol, Manager of Project REASON, committed human resources to assist the project in the communities which proved an invaluable partnership. Thanks to our NGO partner Population Services International (PSI) Caribbean for sponsoring the refreshments for the mentoring workshop and to Deloitte for providing the venue for this workshop.

We are grateful for the support from gatekeepers who embraced the Research Assistants and the project in their communities and facilitated interviews at various hours of the day and night. Thank you: Judith Boyce (Beverly Hills), Charmin (Levi) Sylvester and Denyse Gibbs (Block 8), Ann Thomas and Natalie (Dixie-Ann) Boney (Dan Kelly), Venus Smith and Gail Samuel (John John), Kemba Antoine-Richards (Pump Trace). Thank you to Sherma Wilson and Stephenson Westfield.

We also wish to express our thanks to the Research Assistants for offering this study the enthusiasm of their youth and investing their trust in the gatekeepers to shepherd their entry into the communities.

Ms Sheliza Ramji warrants a special mention for her administrative support and trust in the process.
Executive Summary

In an attempt to broaden the policy discourse on security and also to respond to the question- to what extent can there be equitable access to security?- it becomes evident that the sex of an individual becomes a crosscutting issue that influences how security is experienced.

Making sense of how men and women, and different groups of men and women access security and or how they are able to live with very high levels of insecurity is core to realizing the goals and ideals of human security and development. How our biological sex, works out in the social context of our lived realities produces our gender systems and relations.

Against the backdrop of increased violence in Trinidad and Tobago, this study was commissioned to examine armed violence and leadership in relation to women’s security, community safety, and national development and make specific recommendations for amplifying women’s voices, protecting women and girls in communities plagued by violence, as well as give suggestions on how to increase and enhance women’s participation in the full spectrum of decision making around community safety and arms control.

The study also sought to interrogate the relationship between illicit drugs and armed violence to determine the extent to which illicit drugs contribute to armed violence against women.

The study on women is deliberate and introduces for the first time an inquiry into the role of women in reducing, facilitating or preventing armed violence in communities in East Port of Spain. It prioritizes women's leadership roles and women's well-being in violent spaces as it seeks to understand how women experience violence in these communities and what the adequate public policy response should be.

In October 2017 the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace, and Security and the Peace Research Institute of Oslo launched the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Index in which Trinidad and Tobago's ranking is 44 of the 153 countries ranked. The index is structured around three basic dimensions of women's well-being:

- inclusion (economic, social and political)
- justice (formal laws and informal discrimination)
- security (at the family, community and social levels)

It is the first index to capture women's inclusion, security, and access to justice in the context of the UN Sustainable Development Agenda and offers a useful approach to policy design in Trinidad and Tobago.
In consultation with the TTPS two communities in East Port of Spain were selected to pilot the research because of their high incidence of armed violence and community gatekeepers facilitated face-to-face structured interviews with one hundred and fifty one (151) women. The study engaged women leaders in the participating communities to provide social context for understanding the triggers for the violence, effectiveness of state intervention strategies, impact on women and girls, men and boys, and community strategies for navigating a violent space.

The survey measured self-reported participation in criminal offending and victimization, neighbourhood disorder, the presence of gangs, perceptions of safety and fear of crime, youth violence and delinquency, and collective efficacy. Community opinions about the factors that facilitate the incidence of armed violence and the role that women play in the various aspects of violence was also measured. The primary means of data collection was the use of structured interviews. A questionnaire which collected data on the aforementioned variables was administered to a random sample of one hundred and fifty one (151) women in the communities of interest.

Predictor variables were identified at the individual, family, school and community levels and were regressed to determine which predictors explained the greatest variance and which explained a significant amount of variance across the range of outcome measures. Analyses were conducted at both the community and aggregate levels. The findings from this analysis along with an examination of relevant qualitative data guided the selection of variables to be targeted for the development of intervention strategies.

Findings with respect to female leadership and involvement in crime, suggest that women who self-reported as having assumed leadership roles within their communities were less likely to be accused of being involved in criminal activities when in reality they may be exploiting their positions of trust to involve themselves in or to support the execution of criminal and other concomitant illegal activities. Given the weak and or insignificant relationships between variables the conclusion is that the glaring contradictions in some of the findings necessarily speaks to the need for more targeted research.

The recommendations are intended to strengthen implementation of Trinidad and Tobago's Vision 2030 development plan as well as the United Nations 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, more
particularly goals 5 and 16. This study also advances the international women, peace and security agenda whilst affirming the resource-based strategies led by women leaders in East Port of Spain.

The recommendations are organised as public policy prescriptions taking care to specifically identify research and monitoring and evaluation as policy tools. Additionally, the report offers project partners a set of strategic interventions consistent with their individual mandates.

Some of the major research recommendations include:

- Establish a model drugs and violence free space and collect data on behavior change, community impact, and more.
- Develop a database of children affected by armed violence and design a comprehensive response to meet their needs.
- Conduct a study on the situation of women in prison to determine how incarceration impacts children and other dependents.
- The Ministry of National Security in partnership with key ministries should undertake research to determine the impact which the intersectionality of socio-economic status, age, ethnicity, geography, and gender has on VAW, women's leadership of community safety initiatives, and women's empowerment.

Recommendations for monitoring and evaluation include:

- Use WINAD’s mentoring project, Women Supporting Women, to test indicators of a participatory monitoring and evaluation process for development projects
- Use gender sensitive tools and indicators to evaluate existing programmes such as the Police Youth Club, drug intervention programmes/projects, and social delivery programmes such as the Sowing Entrepreneurial Empowerment Development (SEED), and Regional Micro-Project Fund (RMPF) both located in the Ministry of Social Development and Family Services
- Use gender sensitive tools and indicators in the study on women in prison

The strategic intervention recommendations include:

**Ministry of National Security** - Establish a Council of Women Leaders in the community of East Port of Spain to represent the voice of women in the crime and security discourse in the community and nationally;

**TTPS** - Present reports at the weekly TTPS press briefing on the number of reports of GBV and the number of arrests;
Ministry of Social Development and Family Services - Provide women secondary victims of gun violence with social support and capacity strengthening to engage in entrepreneurship and innovation;

UNDP - Promote discussions on the synergies between gender aspects of small arms control and Goal 16 of the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda;

- Do all that is possible to ensure that Vision 2030, and the related national action plan, benefits from gender analysis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept/ Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Basic biological dichotomy between male and female</td>
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</table>
| Gender | A system with two principle dimensions: one ideological and one material:  
  ■ The **ideological dimension** of gender indicates how, notions of femininity and masculinity are constructed and maintained within a given society  
  ■ Out of these notions of masculinity and femininity, men and women (*different groups of men and women*) gain different access to, and are unequally allocated status, power and resources within a society, thereby bringing to life the **material dimension** of the social relations of gender (Barritteau, 2003) |
| Gender Relations | The social relationships between men and women that reflect and reproduce gender differences constructed in a particular context, society and time. They express differentiated power, rights, responsibilities and values, as well as mutuality; gender relations intersect with other social relations based on age, class, ethnicity, race, sexuality and disability. |
| Types of gendered policy | **Gender-blind**: ignores the different socially determined roles, responsibilities and capabilities of men and women. It is based on information derived from men’s activities and / or assumes those affected by the policy have the same (assumed male) needs and interests (Citation).  
  **Gender – neutral**: is not specifically aimed at either men or women and is assumed to affect both sexes equally. However many times these policies are in fact gender blind.  
  **Gender – specific**: recognises gender differences and targets either men or women, within existing roles and responsibilities.  
  **Gender – redistributive**: seeks to change the distribution of power and resources in the interest of gender equality. |
| Gender balance | Equal or fair distribution of women and men within an institution or group, giving equality of representation. |
| Gender equality and equity | These concepts are not the same, although they tend to be used interchangeably.  
  Equality is rights-based. Women and men have equal rights enshrined in international standards and treaties and should have the same entitlements and opportunities.  
  Equity means justice so that resources are fairly distributed; taking into account the different needs of women and men, girls and boys. It is best used linked clearly to rights as an outcome of gender equality. |
| Gender Division of Labour | The work and responsibilities assigned to women and men on the basis of gender identity. In most societies, men’s work is more highly valued than women’s work. Much of women’s work is unpaid and un- recognized. |
| Women’s Triple Role | Caroline Moser identified three categories assigned to women’s work:  
  Reproductive (care and maintenance of the household and all its members);  
  Productive (production of goods and services for consumption and trade) and; |
Community based (organization and management of collective events, services and politics). Men generally share the last two roles but rarely the first, which in many societies is not considered as work.

### Practical and Strategic Gender Needs

**Practical gender needs** arise from the different material conditions of women and men: they reflect women’s subordinate position in society but do not include challenging it.

Strategic gender needs of women and men arise from their position, status and power. Womens’ strategic gender needs may include ownership, rights to land and challenging the gender balance of power and control to achieve gender equality.

The concept of practical and strategic gender needs as planning tools was developed by Moser (year) as a way of expressing the different experiences and expectations of women and men. In practice, the distinction between practical and strategic is not always clear-cut. A practical gender need for women may be a water source nearer to their home. The use of this water source may result in additional free time for women to access skills training – a strategic interest.

### Condition and position

Used to differentiate between material conditions in which women and men live, and position or status they hold in society.

### Development Approaches WID/GAD

Women in Development (WID), and Gender and Development (GAD) refer to two essentially different approaches to development. WID is based on the assumption that women are ‘left out’ of development, and need special projects to integrate them into the development process. Gender relations and power inequalities are not addressed, and women’s participation is often passive.

GAD is based on gender analysis and sees gender equality as a fundamental goal, in which women’s empowerment and agency are key features of development strategy.

### Gender mainstreaming

A strategy first articulated by ? in 1997 with GAD goals and a commitment to gender equality in all aspects of policy and programme design and implementation. Its aim is to transform the ‘mainstream’ at all levels to end gender discrimination. When transformation of gender relations is not on the agenda, mainstreaming can be a WID strategy in disguise, in which gender issues are mainstreamed to the point of invisibility.

### Frameworks

There are a number of frameworks for gender analysis and planning that are commonly used in gender training and throughout the planning cycle of projects and programmes. Four of the most widely used are the Moser framework, Harvard framework, Longwe Empowerment framework and the IDS Social Relations framework.

The Capacities and Vulnerabilities framework (CVA) and the People Oriented Planning framework (POP) also contain tools useful for gender mainstreaming, as does the Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM) developed by UNIFEM.

### Sex disaggregation

Identifying and highlighting the differences for women and men in all aspects of life. It is particularly important for understanding gender differences within
<table>
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<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Gender analysis</td>
<td>Based on sex disaggregated data and accounts of women and men, it goes further to examine why the observed differences exist. It explores history, mechanisms, dynamics and effects of gender relations. It examines the structural causes of gender inequalities from the household to the nation state, making links between these levels and uncovering resulting sex discrimination in the assertion of rights and power and access to resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access and Control</td>
<td>Access to resources means being able to use them; control over resources means deciding who may use them, and how. This forms part of the Harvard gender analysis framework.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Based Violence</td>
<td>Violence against women and children is often referred to as gender-based because it is rooted in unequal relations of power between men and women in relationships and in society at large. GBV is an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetuated against a person's will and that is based on socially ascribed gender differences between males and females.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Violence</td>
<td>Sexual violence is defined as a sexual act committed against someone without that person's freely given consent. Sexual violence can be divided into the following types:</td>
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|                                 | - Completed or attempted forced penetration of a victim  
|                                 | - Completed or attempted alcohol/drug-facilitated penetration of a victim  
|                                 | - Completed or attempted forced acts in which a victim is made to penetrate a perpetrator or someone else  
|                                 | - Completed or attempted alcohol/drug-facilitated acts in which a victim is made to penetrate a perpetrator or someone else  
|                                 | - Non-physically forced penetration which occurs after a person is pressured verbally or through intimidation or misuse of authority to consent or acquiesce  
|                                 | - Unwanted sexual contact  
|                                 | - Non-contact unwanted sexual experiences |
| Domestic Violence               | Domestic violence is a complex pattern of behaviours that may include, in addition to physical acts of violence, sexual abuse and emotional abuse occurring in the home. Although men are victims at times, women experience ( at far greater rates than men do, and women and children often live in fear as a result of the abuse that is used by men to maintain control over their partners. |
| Intimate Partner Violence       | The term "intimate partner violence" describes physical violence, sexual violence, stalking and psychological aggression (including coercive acts) by a current or former intimate partner. |
| Intersectionality               | Referred to as a tool for analysis, advocacy and policy development that addresses multiple discriminations and helps us understand how different sets of identities impact access to rights and opportunities. |
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Introduction

Now more than ever before in the history of Trinidad and Tobago, our framing of security challenges must actively seek to reflect on the utility of human security as a central pillar of our security response.

The concept of human security is critical to bringing a nuanced understanding to the complex processes involved in securing individuals as distinct from protecting states. Human security is a product of a post-Cold-war policy and theoretical dilemma, to shift meaning and the practice of security, beyond a narrowly defined military based construct of national security. The concept is seen as both an approach to the practice of security, and a component of a larger academic and policy discourse, which seeks to make the individual the referent object of security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2010; Hoogensen & Rottem, 2004)

Protection of all citizens is a modern day challenge for any state. There are complex push and pull factors which frame how protection is accessed by citizens and how it is also dispensed by the state. A basic challenge of modern-day public policy in the area of security is the fact that not all citizens have equitable access to security. Additionally, human security as an emerging paradigm has complicated how security is understood. Human security has prioritized new dimensions of security, focusing on the multifaceted improving the peoples’ lives, beyond the securing of borders, thereby creating new parameters around the public policy and security (Munck, 2009).

The idea of human security has been constructed as many things in the practice of public policy. These include, a fusion of development and security, the way in which the world deals with more diffused forms of violence, freedom from want, and freedom from fear (Newman, 2001; UNDP, 1994; Duffield & Waddell, 2009). In an attempt to broaden the policy discourse on security and also to respond to the question- to what extent can there be equitable access to security? It becomes evident, that the sex of an individual becomes a crosscutting issue that influences how security is experienced. Making sense of how men and women, and different groups of men and women access security and or how they are able to live with very high levels of insecurity is core to realizing the goals and ideals of human security and development. How our biological sex, works out in the social context of our lived realities produces our gender systems and relations.

Gender refers to a complex system of personal and social relations of power through which women and men are socially created and maintained. Through these relations, people gain access to or are allocated: status, power and material resources within a society. Gender relations encode and sometimes mask unequal power relations between women and men, and between women and the state (Barritteau, 2003). In applying gender to this work we are guided by the following:
— the study of women is not abandoned
— gender studies does not necessarily include men
— the subject can be men alone
— the subject can be women alone
The integration of analysis based on gender into the conceptualization of human security and development is an increasingly necessary facet of our Caribbean reality (Liotta, 2004; Suhrke, 2004; Newman, 2004). In the context of Trinidad and Tobago, increasing levels of violence has produced an ever complicating development challenge. If we understand development as a multi-faceted people oriented undertaking (Girvan 1997), the need for a security response that is more closely aligned to the goals of human security will become apparent. Development constructed as solely economic growth, or as structural and transformative change, as a long term challenge will not effectively address the current security challenges.

The context in which violence is experienced in Trinidad, the fact that the country is not, nor has ever been at war, the regularity of violence is not an intermittent experience. Violence has become embedded in the everyday-ness of our existence. It is the context of this regularity that we require a public policy response that is not limited to a model rooted in a state-centred, militarist intervention, far removed from the historical and social moorings that is pivotal to the violence we live with. Our historical and current patterns of politics, economic development, gender relations and socio-cultural ordering of ourselves have established our current norm. Within such a framing of our challenge, central to our response must be that this is not a development issue, to be addressed as a singular technical problem, neither is it a state of being, as a result of the economic poverty of some (Parpart 1993).

Increasingly, relevant public policy will require us to revisit how we understand and advance the idea of development. Development must be understood as a complex, reciprocal, ongoing process that pays attention to local knowledge, accumulated knowledge (Ibid) and multidimensional measuring of wellbeing. Fundamentally, this is relational, and based on respectful partnership, and participatory approaches that allow people to identify their own development goals and solutions. The convergence of women, gender, security and human security is just one aspect of the critical interplay between entrenched and emerging issues that shape how women and men currently experience security and insecurity in Trinidad and Tobago.

Issues related to gender and security brings to the fore the problematic relationships that exist between women's agency, identities, and women's relationships with traditional institutions such as the family, community, and the state. Exploring this construct however makes visible the power relations which women are forced to negotiate, on an ongoing basis, in the private and public spheres. Such exploration lays bare the intersectionality of gender, race, and social class for women living in communities of East Port of Spain.

Although communities such as East Port of Spain are often identified as vulnerable, with high levels of community violence, violence within the family remains a major challenge for women. The family socializes its members to accept gender inequality, which finds expression in the unequal division of labour and power over resources. A potent weapon in this socialization process is the use of violence
against women, (Clarke, 1997) which is endemic in Caribbean society, including Trinidad and Tobago. In the context of building a necessary security response to community-based violence, law enforcement is often compelled to weigh the cost of addressing community-based violence with family-based violence. This is a tradeoff that often results in an inadequate focus on preventing family-based violence.

Violence against women is demonstrable of gender inequality since such violence is not restricted to women’s private lives, and their homes, but is quite evident in public spaces, and the media. Violence is a culmination and manifestation of the status of women in society (DFAT, 2015) notwithstanding women’s achievements in non-traditional careers and women’s excellence in traditional roles. Although women in the Caribbean have been known to historically experience high levels of independence[1], significant levels of violence continue to challenge how women are able to express autonomy[2]. This tension between autonomy and independence, and proliferation of gender based violence can be explored by the growth of the Life in Leggings Movement.

Life in Leggings: Caribbean Alliance Against Gender Based Violence is a registered charity in Barbados, founded to tackle the rape culture and gender-based violence in the Caribbean region. The movement began with a hashtag that was created as a safe space for women who had experienced sexual harassment and sexual assault. This hashtag went viral - making an appearance in countries all around the globe.

In March 2017, this movement was able to mobilize hundreds of women and men in six Caribbean countries to participate in public marches calling for protection under legislation, awareness-raising, and programmatic interventions. This movement confronts the insidious reality of a rape culture which normalizes oppressive acts against women, particularly in public spaces, and renders, almost invisible, women’s rights to equal access to public spaces.

In analyzing women’s relationships with the state, it is in the sphere of education that some lessons on gender and education can be learned as (Drayton, 1995) notes that the changes affecting the status of women in society are suspiciously watched by men, and no more so than in the education sector. A theory of male marginalization has been constructed which rests largely on the assumption that the improving social status of women has been gained at the expense of men and has been the result of an unconscious conspiracy between women and some men. However, for the vast majority of Caribbean women, their lived reality is in direct opposition to the theory of male marginalization.

It is in the context of the incongruity of women’s gender roles in Trinidad and Tobago's increasingly violent space that this project was conceptualized to:
• identify women that provide leadership in communities so as to analyze their strategies;
• determine the needs of women and girls in the target areas;
• identify the role women play in reducing armed violence in the target areas; and
• build a network of women leaders to promote peace-building in East Port of Spain.
National Context

Socio-Economic Overview of Trinidad and Tobago

The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago is situated at the southern-most tip of the Caribbean archipelago, between latitude 10° N of the equator and longitude 60° to 62° W. The state comprises two islands: Trinidad, the larger, and Tobago, the smaller. The islands are located 11 km east of the coast of the South American continent, at the closest point, with a combined area of 5,128 km². The capital city is Port of Spain and is located in northwest Trinidad. The country has a temperature that varies between 22° and 32°C. The official language of Trinidad and Tobago is English with Spanish designated as the second official language.

The estimated population in 2011 was 1,324,699. Women and men comprise almost equal numbers of the population, 50.17% Men and 49.83% Women, 27.9% of whom are estimated to be below 15 years of age and 8% are estimated to be 65 years and over. According to the UNDP Human Development Report 2013, Trinidad and Tobago's annual population growth rate stands at 0.3%. Life expectancy at birth was recorded as 70.3 years and the Total Fertility Rate was 1.6 (births per woman) (UNDP, 2013).

Like most of the countries in the Anglophone Caribbean, since independence in the 1960s, Trinidad and Tobago has enjoyed marked increases in life expectancy along with a marked decline in infant mortality. There has been a virtual revolution in access to education. Secondary education is almost universal, and there is much greater access to tertiary education with provisions such as Government Assistance for Tertiary Expenses (GATE) funding. There have been tremendous advances in reducing the levels of poverty and improving the standard of living of the majority. These advances are reflected in the Human Development Index (HDI) scores and rankings (Trinidad & Tobago HDI ranking-50th out of 173 countries, 59th in 2010 and 64 out of 187 countries in 2013. There have also been advances in political development and democratic governance. Caribbean countries are stable democracies with high levels of participation and low and declining levels of political violence, which is in the main, associated with electoral cycles. Democratic stability is evidenced by the repeated uneventful changes in the political administrations in the countries of the region since independence.

Trinidad and Tobago is a society that is noted for its ethnic, religious and cultural diversity within the region, already posing a challenge to those navigating change in the context of post-colonial politics. As recorded in the Trinidad and Tobago 2011 Population and Housing Census Demographic Report, East Indians and Africans remain the two largest ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago. East Indians accounted for 35.4% of the total population while Africans accounted for 34.2%. In the 2000 census, the respective percentages were 40% and 37.5%. The difference between the groups narrowed from 2.5% in 2000 to 1.2% in 2011. The next largest group was described as ‘Mixed’ representing 22.8% of the population and disaggregated into the ‘African/East Indian’ 7.7% and ‘Mixed/Other’ 15.1%. This group increased from 20.5% in 2000. All other ethnic groups totalled 1.4% although there was a relatively large ‘not stated’ category consisting of 6.2%. Trinidad and
Tobago also has a rich religious composition. The largest religious groups include Roman Catholic 21.6%, Hinduism 18.2%, Pentecostal/ Evangelical/ Full Gospel 12%, Spiritual Shouter Baptist 5.7% and Islam 5%.

The Trinidad and Tobago economy is based primarily on the export of crude oil, natural gas and petrochemicals. It has shown remarkable resilience during the current global economic crisis. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita stood at US$15,511.70 in 2011, which was estimated to have fallen by 1.4%, following declines of 0.02% and 3.3% in the previous two years. Both the energy and the non-energy sectors declined. In 2012, the Central Bank reported real GDP growth as 0.2%. Although this was well below the bank’s 1% forecast, the second half of 2012 saw the economy return to growth of nearly 1.5%. GDP growth expanded further to 1.7% in 2013. Based on estimates of the Central Statistical Office, the economy is expected to expand in real terms by 1.9% in 2014.

According to Central Bank data centre statistics, the unemployment rate decreased from 10.5% in 2003 to 4.9% in 2012. There was a slight increase in the unemployment rate from 5.3% to 5.9% in 2009-2010 during the time of the global economic crisis. However, in 2011, the rate continued on its downward trend as the economy recovered. In 2013, the Central Bank recorded the lowest unemployment rate in the history of Trinidad and Tobago. The rate fell from 4.7% at the end of 2012 to 3.7% at the start of 2013. The Central Statistical Office recorded at the end of the first quarter of 2013, that 635,100 persons were registered as part of the labour force. This represented an increase of 5,400 or 0.8% when compared to the fourth quarter of 2012. From a gender perspective, this increase in the labour force was reflected among males which rose by 0.1%, and women which increased by 1.9% when compared with the previous quarter. As regards the number of persons employed, in the first quarter of 2013, it was recorded that the number of employed males increased by 4000 or 1.1% while the females increased by 7,500 or 3%.

Although the advancement in life cycle indicators and development-related indices that identify and map advancement in the life experience of most of the population has improved over the years, one persistent challenge has been crime and criminality. High rates of violent crime and troubling levels of non-criminalized forms of social violence, typically directed at the members of vulnerable groups or residents of hotspot areas is a fundamental development challenge.

In the case of Trinidad and Tobago crime and criminality remain a fundamental development challenge as economic development is usually impeded by the insecurities associated with high levels of violence (Harriott, A, 2002).

[1] Independence is a quality based on having one’s own source of economic support- from employment, other income generating activities, and where possible, savings- while at the same time organizing and utilizing support from others.
[2] Autonomy implies exercising options while making decisions for oneself and having control over one’s destiny with no strings attached.
Situational Analysis

Armed violence affects women, men, girls, and boys in different ways—as both perpetrators and targets of armed violence. Across cultures, most acts of violence are committed by men, and men and boys also account for the majority of firearm-related deaths and injuries (Geneva Declaration, 2008).

There is a general understanding that the majority of victims of armed violence in Trinidad and Tobago are men. The conditions under which women become victims and are impacted by armed violence are different. Indirect consequences of armed violence against women include taking on the role of head of household when a partner is killed, taking care of injured family members, and the inability to access work, education, and health care due to the threat of armed violence (SAS, 2014) in affected communities.

Under-served communities with high levels of armed violence are constructed in the policy space as being security risks as it pertains to the level of armed violence, most often articulated as a measure of the murder rate (WINAD, 2009; Mutota & McFee, 2016). Conversely, what remains silenced in this single variable construction of insecurity within such communities is a broadly located vulnerability to armed sexual violence experienced by women, girls and other less powerful members of these communities. Such insecurity has been compared to the gendered insecurity experienced in zones of armed conflict and post conflict reconciliation. An experience attended to by the international community with the passage of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820.

In addition to the UNSC there has been the introduction of legislation and programming in several countries worldwide in an ongoing effort to protect women and girls from armed sexual violence, gender based violence and emerging forms and combinations of such activity. Core to creating meaning around the violence experienced within often marginalized communities in countries such as Trinidad and Tobago is recognizing that the presence and lethal nature of guns exacerbate power differences and facilitates gender based violence (Reaching Critical Will, April 2016) making women unwilling victims of direct and indirect violence.

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1 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820, adopted on June 19th 2008 identifies rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity..............
In Trinidad and Tobago, any attempt at analyzing the extent of the problem of armed sexual violence using police data would require a request for disaggregated data, as police statistics tally this crime along with all other crimes considered ‘serious crimes’.

Historically, women are the caregivers, peace-makers, and resource mobilisers because these attributes are expected of women’s gender roles and consequently not valued as key leadership roles which strategically prevent and reduce violence; facilitate productivity; make women the trustee of the community brand; and attracts stakeholder confidence in the community. The perceived incongruity between female gender role and leadership roles leads to prejudicial appraisals of women leaders (Lau Chin, 2011), particularly at the community level.

It is imperative therefore that an examination of women’s leadership in peace-building efforts, community safety and cohesion be examined through the lens of intersectionality as they may identify not only as leaders, but also as women, as racial/ethnic individuals, as mothers, etc., all of which intersect with one another. These include the challenges of work-family balance, caretaking responsibilities, gender role expectations, connectedness and affiliation with multiple communities while exercising their leadership (Ibid).

Women embrace a resource-based view of strategy in which they identify and utilize the core competences of the community given their limitations in determining the constant turbulence in the external environment (Kakabadse et al 2008). The resource-based approach is the core of women-led projects in underserved communities such as East Port of Spain.

The study set out to analyze women’s peace-building efforts and determine the extent to which women provide leadership in communities affected by armed violence.

East Port of Spain was selected to pilot the research given the area’s disproportionate burden of armed violence which is defined by the (WHO, 2002) as, the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.
The area has historically been at the centre of violence in the City of Port of Spain, the capital of the country. Scholars and activists alike have argued that the combined ills of poverty, and social marginalization have birthed community violence which manifests as gang violence requiring a comprehensive response of increase financing for small and micro businesses as a social responsibility of the State (Kernahan in The Silent Sufferer, May/June 2008), which can be applied in the short, medium, and long term.

Earlier incarnations of violent behavior among youth were quelled with the introduction of the cultural institution known as the steelband and it is argued that in the fight to eliminate poverty in the Laventille community, the steelband played the greatest role. It provided the fundamental tools necessary to liberate any oppressed people from the shackles of poverty. These ‘tools’ consisted of awareness, consciousness, courage, determination, self-confidence and independence (Neil, 1987).

East Port of Spain\(^2\) has a long and rich history. Some of the earliest residential settlements in Port of Spain are located in the area which extends from Charlotte Street and Sea Lots in the west to include the communities immediately north and east, of the Lady Young Road. The southern boundary is the landfill and swamp south of the Beetham Highway. The Central Statistical Office identified sixteen (16) communities that comprise East Port of Spain. The area comprises approximately 2,700 ha (6,700 acres).

East Port-of-Spain is a network of diverse communities in terms of physical size, population, layout and appearance. Some communities have developed a reputation for poverty, crime and violence and their residents do not benefit from the economic growth experienced nationally.

Discrimination in employment and social stigmatisation exist on the basis of address and further disadvantage residents of these communities. Conditions in the area today are likely a result of these physical, social and economic factors.

East of the Dry River (St. Ann’s River) lies the cultural capital of Trinidad and Tobago – the birthplace of the steelpan, calypso and carnival. East Port of Spain has produced icons in the fields of culture, education, law, business, sport and the arts. The area is rich in history and cultural traditions and boasts of a number of sites of national significance.

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East Port of Spain is also home to two forts (Fort Picton and Fort Chacon). Several slave cemeteries have been recorded in the area, although some have since been built upon. Freed slaves settled in the area after emancipation in 1838.

In consultation with the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS), the communities of Beetham Gardens, with a population of 3508 persons, and John John, with an estimated population of over 4000 persons, were selected because of the influence of the two major criminal gangs in the country i.e. Rasta City, and Muslims. TTPS statistics for the period 2011 – 2015 reveal at least 537 reported cases of serious crimes committed in the Beetham community, and at least 77 reported cases of serious crimes committed in the John John community.

In the Beetham community, 11 sexual offences against females were reported and 3 against males. There was also one reported sexual touching of a female and 3 reported ‘sexual penetration of a child’ who is a female. John John recorded 1 case of sexual touching of a female and 1 of a male.

In relation to murders, the community of John John registered 53 men and 4 women for the period 2011 -2015. In the Beetham community, 26 men were murdered for the same period. The motive for at least 90% of these murders was reported as ‘Gang related’ by the TTPS.

But to perceive a community accurately, it is important to see it as more than the sum of its parts. You cannot separate the sidewalks and roads of a community from its children or its values, its recreation from its businesses (Hallsmith, 2007). Therefore the pathology of crime and violence evident in these communities provide insufficient insight into the socio-cultural construct for the purpose of critical analysis and effective responses. It is in the best interest of policy makers and researchers to examine key issues such as gender if proposals for meaningful change are to be effective.

Thus, the research sought to analyze the situation of women as facilitators and leaders of armed violence given the existence of women ‘gang leaders’ in the past in these communities, and anecdotal information of women’s role as couriers of illicit arms and drugs which was collected from state

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3 http://www.eposdctt.com/default.asp?id=22
4 Serious crimes – possession of firearms & ammo; wounding/shooting; larceny; robbery; malicious damage; arson; sexual offence; kidnapping
officials. Women providing support for gangs in situations where the physical movement of gang members is restricted has been the subject of conspiracy theory for well over a decade in Trinidad and Tobago thus requiring some examination in this study.
Project Overview

The study engaged a participatory methodology which characterized its successful efforts at resource mobilization, stakeholder management, community engagement, and project design. Based on its key organizational value of ‘collaboration’ WINAD invited the National Drug Council (NDC), a unit of the Ministry of National Security, to partner in the co-design and co-management of the project in the selected communities. WINAD further requested the NDC to invite onto a Steering Committee to co-manage the project, agencies with mandates to provide security and social services to the communities in the study.

The NDC provided the financial support for the conduct of the study. As Chair of the Steering Committee, the NDC received monthly status reports from WINAD. WINAD also engaged the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to provide partial funding and advice to the project given the UN’s mandate for oversight of implementation of two important initiatives which the study sought to establish synergies between i.e. the 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development, specifically goals 5 and 16, as well as the Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons.

A key stakeholder in facilitating community engagement was the Inter-Agency Task Force (IATF) of the TTPS which made available its human resources in the communities to facilitate introductions to gatekeepers.

The Project REASON\(^5\) initiative facilitated introductions to gatekeepers also and accompanied the researchers to the interviews. Project REASON is the product of a collaboration between the Citizen Security Programme which is a programme in the Ministry of National Security, and Chicago’s CureViolence which employs a public health approach to violence reduction. Although not a partner on the Steering Committee, Project REASON made an invaluable contribution to gaining access to the communities and securing the trust of gatekeepers and respondents. Its insertion into the study was evidence of the success of participatory approaches to meet the mandates of researchers, activists, Government, community organizations, and collaborators.

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\(^5\) The Cure Violence project, known as Project REASON, commenced in November 2014 in East Port of Spain and is being implemented by The Anatol Institute for Research and Social Sciences
Methodology

The study set out to analyze women’s peace-building efforts and determine the extent to which women provide leadership in communities affected by armed violence. The methodology used was influenced by the women, peace, and security policy framework; along with frameworks for preventing and reducing drug abuse. The project is designed to deepen the understanding of the multiple roles that women play in preventing, reducing, and or facilitating armed violence in the East Port of Spain community. Consequently, the study engaged stakeholders in the participating communities to:

- identify women that provide leadership in communities and analyze their strategies;
- determine the needs of women and girls in the target areas;
- agree on the role women play in reducing armed violence in the target areas;
- build a network of women leaders to promote peace-building in East Port of Spain.

The study collected and analyzed data to determine which risk factors explain a relatively greater proportion of variance in the outcome measures of interest to the National Drug Council (NDC), and other partners, in order to inform the basis for intervention strategies aimed at reducing crime and insecurity in the target communities.

Two principal sets of variables are of interest. The outcome measures of interest represent the key variables related to the level of crime and insecurity in the communities under consideration. The measures include, but are not limited to, self-reported measures of criminal offending and victimization, neighbourhood disorder, the presence of gangs, perceptions of safety and fear of crime, youth violence and delinquency, and collective efficacy.

To contextualize the nature of the outcome measures, crime and insecurity within the various communities must be understood within the context of the demographic profile of both the perpetrators and the victims, and other relevant factors such as the spatial and temporal distributions. These represent additional variables which will be assessed.
In addition, community opinions about the factors which facilitate the incidence of armed violence and the role that women play in the various aspects of violence was measured. It is important to gauge community opinions, since while the analyses of the aforementioned variables will suggest intervention strategies, such strategies must be implemented within communities, and the degree of acceptance or non-acceptance of certain intervention strategies will signal where preliminary work must be done to develop community acceptance of these strategies.

The primary means of data collection was the use of structured interviews. A questionnaire which collected data on the aforementioned variables was administered to a random sample of one hundred and fifty one (151) women in the communities of interest.

Data analysis assessed the dimensionality of the criterion variables of interest at the community level. An assessment of the factor structure of the criterion variables aided in clarifying at an empirical level, the outcome variables which are targeted for intervention.

The predictor variables identified at the individual, family, school and community levels was regressed on the various outcome measures of interest to determine firstly which predictors explain the greatest variance in each of the outcome measures, and secondly, which predictors consistently explain a significant amount of variance across the range of outcome measures.

This analysis was done at the community level, as well as with the aggregate dataset. The findings from this analysis along with an examination of relevant qualitative data guided the selection of variables to be targeted for the development of intervention strategies.

The integrated survey represents a combination of tables and matrices that are used in traditional survey instruments alongside more open-ended questions that provide an opportunity for respondents to provide qualitative responses to the questions asked. The majority of questions were framed in a manner that allowed for easy quantification. Quantitative data was analyzed using the SPSS software.

The main advantages of this research method include the following:
• The use of a standardized instrument to facilitate comparative analyses;
• The method can be replicated across all participating communities;
• The survey instrument captures quantitative data that can be used to generate statistical models that will allow for generalizations across the country;
• The inclusion of questions will provide rich contextual qualitative data that can be used to accurately describe the peculiarities and complexities of individual communities;
• The survey instrument is a cost-effective method of gathering data from various target groups and can be adapted as required.

The methodology was enhanced by the reflections provided by the community leaders who participated in the information gathering as well as the analysis of the findings when the team returned to the community to present the findings.

Women responded to the findings on the use of threats/force by stating that, “women defend their homes. The nature of the violence is not intentional”. There was particular interest in the role that women play in the involvement and facilitation of crime with one woman leader noting, “persons who helped move drugs is either their man, their brother or some close relatives”. The leadership question attracted the following response, “a woman has to become a leader. Men are built for that”. This statement was preceded by several personal accounts of gun violence against these women which forced them into assuming leadership roles in the community to protect themselves and their families and prevent, as far as is possible, a similar fate for other residents.

Limitations:

1. Participants may not self-report the full extent of their involvement in illegal activities
2. The different interviewing styles of the various field interviewers could elicit a different quality of response

**Conceptual Pillars of the Research**

**Gender and Security**

Women are not only perpetrators and victims of small arms violence, but also have proven to be key players in preventing it. From lobbying at the United Nations, to initiating local youth programmes,
women have been at the forefront of many international and national initiatives to remove small arms from their communities (SAS, 2014).

There is widespread evidence that if women are not at the negotiating table, then women’s interests will not be served. East Timor’s constitution, for example, is evidence of the degree of women’s advocacy and political participation in the drafting process (Spees, 2004) and consequently there is a less hostile environment for promoting women’s rights.

Any strategy aimed at influencing the possession and use of small arms must first evaluate why people want them (Jackson et al, 2005) and this information cannot be accurately determined without further interrogation of what gun possession and misuse mean to women as women are also victims of gender-specific violence caused by men's misuse of small arms.

The critical relationship between men and weapons, and its close links with violent notions of masculinity is a key aspect of the small arms crisis. Guns are a causal factor in the formation of violent masculinities, and reversibly, patterns of violent masculinity, and not masculinity itself, are central to armed violence (Ibid). The challenge is to see men, and men's behaviours, through gender lens. It is necessary to explore the effects of social norms and structures that shape men's propensity toward violence and how a re-shaping can positively impact men's ability to make and sustain peace.

For example, men's gender roles have traditionally been aligned to the financial stability and security of the family. The consequence is often that men turn to violent activities that can bring income and a feeling of strengthened masculinity (PRIO6 2016) when they feel insufficient in this role.

The proliferation of small arms, ammunition, and criminal gangs facilitate this expansion of violent masculinity in a labour market driven by power, enterprise, and death where men from communities such as Beetham Gardens and John John become commodities as they trade their physical bodies for an escape from poverty and marginalization. Equally contending opportunities exist in the complex interplay of individual agency and structural inefficiencies. It is true that education, beliefs, perceptions, capacity for self-control, and other personality traits can lead an individual toward crime. However, physical and social realms, incentives provided by the existence of illegal markets

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and the credibility and efficiency of the criminal justice system are also important. All those elements determine the opportunities for committing crime (CAF, 2014 June bulletin) and all those elements exist in the communities in this study.

Trinidad and Tobago's inquiry into the possession and misuse of small arms and light weapons (SALW), and their ammunition, has been significantly resourced and the TTPS targets illegal firearms and ammunition retrieval in its strategic operations. However, the key variable is not the quantity of guns and ammunition. Instead, access to small arms, and social norms and regulations concerning gun use, are much more important (Jackson et al., 2005) and critical analysis is not achievable without women's input and gender analysis.

Modern-day Public Policy making must open spaces of traditional invisibilities

Modern-day public policy making must commit to actively seeking to engage with the lived realities of the populations it is in the business of serving. Historically, Trinidad and Tobago has been a space of competing, diverse and complex narratives (Brereton, 2010). Public policy formulation has been traditionally a flattening, essentializing process, seeking to locate itself in the objective, quantitative and measurable indicators of people's lives (Haq and Zia, 2008). The need for timely data sets on which to base public policy, is an ongoing challenge for national development and its need cannot be overstated.

Social science research has required a combining of most of our data frames, which fail to capture the messiness of people's lived realities, and a more nuanced understanding of how the personal, becomes a public policy issue. Such activity includes the use of qualitative inquiry and Civil Society and Non-Governmental Organizations as research hubs to influence our understanding of relevant data for development. It is in the need to expand our engagement with more qualitative data sets that an accumulation of narratives become necessary. These narratives are a means of engaging with women's development issues beyond the conceptual and methodological terminology of economics towards more layered understanding of well-being (Massiah 1990).

The content of the narratives and the incorporation of qualitative dimensions of how people live are critical to framing an in-depth understanding of people's lived realities and providing evidence based
grounding of social change. Effective use of qualitative data needs to be guided by specific ethical and methodological considerations. It is based on this, the qualitative data collection is guided by the following:

- The voice and life stories of women traditionally left out of mainstream approaches to research and policy making are valuable forms of knowledge
- Gender as the material and ideological
- Locating the researcher in relation to the researched there is no hierarchy
- Postcolonial and postmodernist in orientation, the centre shifts and allows for multiple interpretations
- Ownership is as much owned by the researcher as the researched:
  1. There is no bottom neither is there a top in the relationship between the researched and the researcher. The relationship of the research process is the fact that the researcher is privileged to have people share
  2. The individual experience is paramount. The voices of participants are being represented in as non-exploitative manner as possible
  3. Data collection and analysis is conducted in a manner that is informed by a need to protect the identity of participants
  4. Constantly questioning the generalizable truth is critical to the research process. Truth is recognized as being individual and experiential.

By using gender as a tool of analysis in this research project, the analysis must constantly question entrenched gendered inequalities that have become central to the public policy process.

Caribbean Women Organizing

The feminism of Caribbean women's lives cannot be exclusively written in stories of the triumphant feminine hero of the European and American tales of defeating injustice. Germaine to unpacking Caribbean women's identities are the wide cross-section of mechanisms and structures employed by regional women as a means of fashioning personal and collective adaptive responses to entrenched systems of social, economic marginality and poverty (Barrow, 1996; Mintz, 1996; Shepherd, 1996). These systems include the long history of groups and female led activism in the areas of social justice, all of which needs to be understood and located within a very specific
Caribbean context of feminist organizing. At the level of the personal, Caribbean women have been known to establish kinship networks and norms of engagement that facilitates their abilities to defy the structural and macro level limitations placed on their fulfilling their immediate and generational potential.

Caribbean feminist organizing stands in direct contrast to US and Anglo organizing. Women in the Anglophone Caribbean have always worked outside the home, the activism of women was nurtured alongside the activism of men, and women’s subordination has historically not been seen as an isolated entity, but subordination heavily reliant on other systems of subordination. It has always been unpacked within a context of a complex interplay of sex, with attendant issues, such as race, nations, colour and class and activism around these issues have been undertaken in several territories and across the region concurrently (Cain 2000;Mohammed 2016). The earliest and most consistent efforts to organize women in the Anglophone Caribbean took place within churches. Dating back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, religious-based women’s organizing has been taking place in the various denominations of the Christian Church (Reddock 1994, Reddock 1998). Most importantly, the labour movement where women held leadership positions until ‘responsible unionism’ was introduced by the colonial power which came as a direct response to the pan-Caribbean labour crises of the 1930s. Later, the new women’s movement of the 70s founded on deep roots in political parties (Reddock 1998). The product is an interplay of national, global and pan-Caribbean forces that produces a product in pursuit of indigeneity, without compelling a right to indigeneity, for it represents positions produced by a plethora of settler colonizers.

Dating back to the 1930s women members of socialist and anti-imperialist organizations challenged the lack of internal democracy within the region, while sharing the struggle against imperialism these organizations engaged in activities such as Social Work and other work to improve the life of populations across the regions.

- 1936- First Conference of British West Indies and British Guyanese Women Social Workers was hosted by the Coterie of Social Workers
- 1957- Caribbean Women's Association was formed
- 1977- a number of nation-specific groups came together- These groups were able to take a position on the UN Decade for Women
- 1985- Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA) was formed. CAFRA became an umbrella organization for progressive groups. Other groups followed, such as Women Working for Social Progress (Workingwomen)
At the close of the 20th century regional women’s organizing remained heavily informed by the 1970s into the 80s structures. Areas of activism included, Gender Based Violence, Sexual and Reproductive Health, and Women and Work. Women’s insecurity is a comparatively new area of focus. Similar to those areas of activism and concern that predates its emergence, how women position themselves as activists within such systems needs to be read in a nuanced manner. Projects such as this one, affords an opportunity to construct women’s activism not only as a force situated externally seeking to bring about change. More importantly, it affords a lens into the internal ebbs and flows of relationships and structures formed by women from within communities, as they seek to work out their own social justice-informed leadership responses to their intimately experienced security challenges. It is in this context that according to Merle Hodge we all become activists (Balutansky, 1989).

The Structural Geopolitics of Crime in the Caribbean Region

Analyses of the old and emerging insecurities of women in communities in the Caribbean must be situated in understanding of broader regional geopolitical challenges. Within the context of work such as this, it is increasingly important to deliberate on the ways in which micro experiences are juxtaposed against a regional and international framing of security. Speaking beyond the silos is required for culturally and geopolitically contextual change. Located between the major suppliers and consumers of illegal drugs globally, the Caribbean is a transshipment point, grappling with the development challenges that converge with growing insecurity, heightened levels of criminality and cutting edge technologies that make traditional crime fighting obsolete across and within borders. The Caribbean is not a major producer, consumer nor exporter of illegal firearms, yet it can boast of 8.5 percent of the world’s population 27 percent of the world’s homicides 42 percent of all firearms related deaths worldwide 2005- 2006 and between 2004 and 2006, only 3 percent of global arms trade transfers involved the Caribbean.

According to a 2008 Organization of American States (OAS) / United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC) report, Latin America and the Caribbean represent the area of the world with the highest rates of criminal violence (OAS/UNODC 2008:3). Central to the problem of crime in this region is the fact that South America produces all the world’s cocaine and North America consumes half of it, while most of the rest goes to Europe (Ibid). This 2008 Report estimated that the Americas produces more than half of the world’s cannabis herb and at least ten percent of North Americans
smoke cannabis at least once a year. Central America and the Caribbean connect producers of drugs to its largest consumer markets. This trade in illicit drugs brings in illicit firearms into its various trans-shipment points\textsuperscript{7}. Consequently, Venezuela, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Jamaica are among the countries with the highest rates of murder globally, while rates are nearly as high in countries such as Colombia, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, and Trinidad and Tobago. It must be recognized that although there has always been incidents of violent crimes in the region, the movement of drugs, and the proliferation of SALW created different criminal modalities and have heavily influenced all aspects of development regionally.

Crime

It is no secret that combating the illicit trade and misuse of SALW has been a Caribbean nightmare for at least two decades. Relevant to the Caribbean context are UN resolutions 2117 (2013); and 2220 (2015) which specifically address the issue of SALW and reference women’s full and effective participation in decision making.

Women’s participation in crime has long been ignored by criminologists. Criminologists are now asking new questions about women’s involvement in criminal behaviour and its relationship to gender relations (Nichols, 1993) because women are not only victims of guns; some also play a variety of roles in supporting gun cultures and the assertion of masculine identity through gun ownership (IANSA Women’s Network, 2012). Consequently, women bring essential perspectives and insights to the problems of armed violence.

This study attempts to provide some insight into any role which women may play in facilitating the commission of crime in the selected communities without making any assertions about women’s actual complicity.

From a feminist perspective, female crime and deviance must be seen within the context of gender, race/ethnicity, and class relations; otherwise, any account of crime that is produced is liable to be

\textsuperscript{7} In the movement of illicit drugs from South America through the Caribbean, payment for facilitating this process is often in a combination of drugs, cash and guns. It is in the internal selling of the drugs in territories regionally there was a fundamental shift in the nature, the manifestation and the consequences of crime. Gangs became organized around the internal redistribution of illicit drugs, particularly cocaine. Economically vulnerable communities became particularly predisposed to becoming integral to the internal redistribution of cocaine regionally. Multiple factors which included high levels of unemployment, low levels of commitment to the completion of school, low academic achievement and relatively high numbers of unsupervised youth all contributed to these communities assuming a prolific role in the violence that became part of the drug/ gang/violent crime dynamic that became part of the social fabric of some Caribbean territories (Katz 2010:188)
misleading….moreover, feminist perspectives on crime and deviance are also beginning to see the influence of gender relations on men’s criminal and deviant behavior (Nichols, 1993). It is in the context of gender relations and gender identity that this study attempts to situate the role of women in communities experiencing high levels of armed violence.

Reporting the actual responses to the questions about personal involvement in crime is incomplete without reporting also that the majority of women recoiled when asked if they had engaged in criminal acts. Many questioned why researchers would contemplate that women engage in criminality such as selling illicit drugs, housebreaking, and larceny for example.

The inquiry has its basis in a range of studies, locally and internationally, which document women’s involvement in illegal activities. For example, in its 2015 report on *Women in Prison*, the National Drug Council and the Women’s Prison advised that, “Forty-six percent of the women were incarcerated for drug related offences of which trafficking was the most notable charge (56% all drug offences) compared to possession (44% of all drug offences). The next most prevalent charge reported was related to violent offences of which murder/manslaughter made up 82% of these offences. About 14% of the women were incarcerated for property offences of which larceny/theft, fraud and burglary made up most of these offences. Most nationals however were incarcerated for violent offences (41%) followed by drug offences (34%) and property offences (22%). The illegal source most often indicated was drug dealing (14.4%).

The report also presented further clarity on how sexual violence, and other acts of violence committed against women and girls, contribute to women’s offending. WINAD (2015) also captured this narrative when the Women’s Conversations project interviewed women inmates at the Golden Grove Prison. Many women in the prison said they were in jail because they retaliated against their partner after years of abuse but the system does not allow them to plead innocent. Consequently, a discussion of gender and crime is incomplete without an inquiry about women as victims of crime and in need of direct targeting as the documented relationship between crime and a high risk lifestyle (drug use, sexual activity) also renders the inmate population in need of comprehensive services from both a health and social perspective (NDC, 2015).

Another contending issue is human trafficking which is addressed in the Trafficking in Persons Act 14 of 2011 and the establishment of the Counter Trafficking Unit in the Ministry of National Security
which developed a national action plan in 2015 and which was subsequently laid in the Parliament of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago by the Minister of National Security.

According to the United States Government, Trinidad and Tobago is a destination, transit, and source country for adults and children subjected to sex trafficking and forced labor. Women and girls from the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Venezuela, and Colombia are subjected to sex trafficking in brothels and clubs, often lured by offers of legitimate employment, with young women from Venezuela especially vulnerable.

The increased inquiry into women’s roles as perpetrators of violent crime has laid bare the fact that social perceptions and expectations often result in more exacting standards for women (Lau Chin, 2011) who consequently experience victimization because gender plays a large role in societal responses to women who are alleged to have practiced criminal behaviour (Network of NGOs for Women, 2015).

Evidence suggests that women and girls experience more severe social sanctions following DDR, than men and boys for example. In situations of armed violence, issues of femininity and women’s nurturing role dominates the public discourse about the severity of the crime, and potential penalties for women accused of homicide. For example, in a 2017 murder case in Trinidad and Tobago in which a man and a woman were both accused of the killing of a woman, the social media commentators on the role of the woman accused were notably more horrified that “a WOMAN assisted in the brutal murder” or that “a woman joined with another person to kill a woman”. This helps explain why when a woman is defined as deviant, stricter sanctions may be brought against her because she has greatly violated her gender role (Haft, 1980 p 252) and social perceptions and expectations deliver exacting standards for women.

Security and Law

These are areas that are difficult to separate in analyzing how communities connect with the interlocking complex dimensions of being that give life to how secure we feel. This was made

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8 https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/258882.pdf
apparent in the work conducted by WINAD through the Women’s Conversations Project in 2015, and the issues were reiterated in the current study. Ultimately, the legal frameworks and wider institutional responses are integral pillars in making Trinidad and Tobago a more secure space. This project based, deep research provided the basis for us to challenge a number of presuppositions that shape how public policy reacts to crime. These include:

- The public private demarcations of serious crimes and petty crimes
- The gendered assumptions inherent in policy responses related to gun violence which constructs young urban males as the main victims and perpetrators of this kind of crime
- A response to gun crime that is steeped in the following reality of Latin America and the Caribbean
  - 8.5 percent of the world’s population
  - 27 percent of the world’s homicides
  - 42 percent of all firearms related deaths worldwide 2005-2006
  - Between 2004 and 2006, only 3 percent of global arms trade transfers involved the Caribbean.

Emerging from the Women’s Conversations Project, the need to treat with a more organic understanding of the ways in which intimate partner and domestic violence becomes public in many forms and through various hands, is the critical issue around law and security. The intricate relationships between our largely unattended cases of child sexual abuse, intimate partner violence, and other forms of violence, and the crimes that take up the largest component of our national budget, need to be attended to in a more nuanced manner.

Women and men experience violence differently and therefore public policy prescriptions must take into account the differences. For example, women are more likely to experience gender based violence in their homes as well as in public whilst men are victims of interpersonal violence on a larger scale than women.

Addressing the issue of gender-based violence in the Post 2015 Development Agenda, UNFPA and UN Women argued that women’s definition of security is often different from traditional notions of security in that it considers the importance of security in both private and public spaces.

In Trinidad and Tobago Domestic Violence and Intimate Partner Violence is a persistent challenge presented in most communities. Domestic violence was a common theme in the Women’s Conversations Project but women’s concerns for their safety in public spaces was equally problematic. Women also regretted the dismal response of the state to protecting and housing
girls in the penal system thus treating girls as inferior which is in direct contravention to government’s obligations under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the UN Beijing Platform for Action. The historical problem of insufficient and or inadequate rescue shelters for women and their families was also considered a threat to women’s security.

Regionally, there is growing cause for concern about levels of violence against women and girls. According to a recent UNODC/World Bank Study on Crime and Violence in the Caribbean, sexual assault, sexual violence and domestic violence appear to be on the rise across the Caribbean. Sexual violence against women is particularly problematic for the region, with all CARICOM countries showing higher than the global average per capita rates. In fact, the Caribbean has become increasingly noted for its culture of coerced sex, with one PAHO study finding that almost fifty (50) per cent of the region’s adolescent girls’ first sexual experiences was forced or coerced (Sealey-Burke, 2014).

In addition to the direct costs of gender based violence, in terms of health care, judicial and social services for survivors and the prosecution of perpetrators, gender based violence has indirect costs as well, namely, lower productivity and earnings of survivors with a negative impact on the economies of developing and developed countries alike (Ban Ki Moon, 2006)9.

Gender Based Violence

Violence in the public sphere is typically an extension of the violence committed in the private sphere such as domestic violence and intimate partner violence. In Trinidad and Tobago, high levels of gender based violence has attracted the attention of women’s rights activists, other civil society actors, and governments for decades. Government has invested significant financial aid and human resources in research and interventions toward violence reduction but the gender related killing of women and girls is a phenomenon to be confronted by the state collaboratively with civil society to consider designing, implementing and evaluating comprehensive programmes aimed at preventing all forms of violence against women and girls and reducing related vulnerabilities of victims, as well as those risks unique to perpetrators of gender-related killing of women and girls, including by

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9 United Nations Secretary-General’s Report, ‘In-depth study on all forms of violence against women’, UN Doc. Good A/61/122/Add.1, 6 July 2006, note 6 above, para. 107, 1771-177
conducting research focused on public education and interventions that target those vulnerabilities and risks (UNGA 68/191 of 2013).

Little is known about the extent of sexual violence against women by armed perpetrators, particularly in communities known as havens for accessing illegal firearms and ammunition. This study hopes to influence further interrogation of this issue to enable relevant and timely interventions that would best utilize the resources of the state. The study suggests that state agencies such as the National Domestic Violence Hotline can cooperate with NGOs to develop a data collection instrument to record such data and add to the body of knowledge on this matter.

An important focus of this inquiry is on how women experience violence since this remains the missing link to the national development plans for reducing and preventing armed violence.

The historically antagonistic relationship between the police and communities in East Port of Spain, particularly with men and boys, also requires critical examination in the context of arms control. At a tender age, many of the youth are voicing their dislike for the police, some of them go into hiding whenever they spot a police vehicle, and every one of them possess a passion for holding and using a gun (The Silent Sufferer, May/June 2008). This matter is reflected in the questionnaire and analyzed accordingly.

Leadership

The challenges associated with women’s full and equal participation in the full spectrum of decision making for the design, implementation, and evaluation of public policies and programmes intended to reduce and prevent armed violence highlights the gendered understandings of security, and leadership. In the Trinidad and Tobago context, there is no explicit challenge to unequal power relations or questioning of assumptions about gender identities and roles in public policy or state funded programmes. Instead, gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation focuses more generally on describing gender roles, responsibilities and relations.

Globally, advances in securing women’s active participation in policy roundtables and programme design to prevent conflict or disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) processes have
been painstakingly slow at best as leaders come to terms with the fact that it is important to recognize that women have a great deal of expertise to share and their perspective and input should actively be sought (Gerome, 2016). Women at the negotiating table make a difference, especially by promoting the use of language on the important provisions of meaningful and inclusive participation (Australian Government, 2014). The impact of women negotiators and activists in securing sustainable peace benefits all actors by taking into account the vulnerabilities and needs of all as also negotiable. It can be argued that women’s inclusion in critical decision making is more likely to secure sustainable peace because leadership is a choice, it is not a rank (Sinek in TEDEd, 2014)\(^{10}\) and it can be further argued that women’s inclusion in decision making is a requirement of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, more particularly Goal 5 on gender equality.

Women’s organizations and other civil society groups have led the charge to increase women’s participation as subject matter experts on security through lobbying efforts at the United Nations and in countries around the world, including Trinidad and Tobago.

Promoting the rights of women to full and equal participation in decision making has been bolstered by critical milestones in the United Nations System. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) promotes gender equality in peace processes, disarmament, and arms control. Several subsequent resolutions in the UNSC, 1889(2009); 2122 (2013); 2242 (2015) expanded the women, peace and security agenda within the UN, all intended to mainstream gender, particularly in situations of armed conflict.

In 2010, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago introduced the resolution on Women, disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation at the UN General Assembly (UNGA 65/69). This resolution is widely considered a turning point for integrating women’s inclusion in decision making on disarmament and arms control affairs. It facilitated introduction of UNGA resolutions 67/48 (2012); 68/33 (2013); and 69/61(2014).

Governments have been challenged to demonstrate their commitment to women’s participation by, for example, including or increasing the number of women on state delegations attending UN meetings. Since 2002, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has included a women’s NGO on its

national delegation participating in all meetings associated with the UN Programme of Action on SALW, and the Arms Trade Treaty. The national delegation attending the UN POA on SALW was also led by a woman from 2002 to 2007. In the preparatory meetings and negotiations for the United Nations ATT, Trinidad and Tobago’s national delegation comprised 80% women.

It is women’s leadership at the community level that is the subject of this study following on from previous research and community partnerships which WINAD has engaged in and which suggests that women leaders are under-resourced and over-extended but have critical leadership qualities such as a sense of feeling for people, sense of presence, vision, effective engagement, staying power, and the ability to embrace diversity, but they need support to build and grow organizations and develop talent (Kakabadse et al 2008).

How women practice leadership and experience power are direct consequences of gender relations which value differently the roles that men and women play in community development, and typically disadvantage women. Understanding and positioning women’s leadership role in communities requires engagement with the intersecting forms of inequalities and discrimination that are common to women’s lived experience and the masculinized norms which characterize leadership in communities such as East Port of Spain. Meeting women’s strategic gender needs is a start.

The issue of bringing women into roles of community leadership (and the barriers that exist to prevent them from assuming the leadership roles available to them) can be addressed via a discussion of empowerment and agency, framing empowerment as a multi-layered process which can be mitigated at various stages. According to Grabe 2011:235-237, the first element affecting empowerment is the presence of structural inequities, which manifest as resources and ideologies.

The second element is agency, presented by Grabe as the capacity of actors to define their own goals, and take action via individual and structural opportunities (2011:236). Agency must be understood on both social and individual levels—both material resources and individual empowerment are required in order for agency to be present.

The third element affecting empowerment is outcome, as individuals’ beliefs in their own self-efficacy are significantly linked to achievements, and experiences of self-worth. The empowerment framework must be supported by legislation, policy, and the practice of full and equal participation
in the full spectrum of decision making that affect people’s lives and more specifically the lives of women and girls.

Leadership is a gendered concept at play in any and all scenarios ranging from business to politics and for the purpose of this study, arms control. Its gendered moorings determine how critical decisions are made and who makes those decisions. The hierarchy of value applied to decisions on security disadvantages women and makes possible women’s exclusion. More importantly, leadership and decision making on matters related to armed conflict, armed violence, disarmament, and arms control reinforce stereotypes of men as perpetrators of violence, hence the importance of men leading negotiations and decisions on peace-building; whilst perpetuating the notion of women as victims only, and thus unable to lead negotiations or design sustainable peace interventions. Women’s full and equal participation in decision making reorients the security debate and facilitates more comprehensive approaches to saving lives whether in communities such as East Port of Spain or in war ravished areas in other parts of the world.

Research Findings

Table 1: Female Leadership in Community and Involvement in Crime

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>create an atmosphere of trust (Rho)</th>
<th>demonstrate honest ethical behaviour in all my actions (Rho)</th>
<th>lead by example as I am more willing to “do what I ask others to do” (Rho)</th>
<th>have you ever been accused of being involved in criminal activities (Rho)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman’s rho</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.424</td>
<td>0.338</td>
<td>-0.181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

With respect to female leadership in the community and involvement in crime, descriptive analyses showed that more than half of the women (64.2%) believed that they demonstrated honest and ethical behaviours in all their actions. Likewise, most women (84.1%) agreed that they created an
atmosphere of trust and lead by example (77.5%). Crosstab analyses of these variables with respect to the women self reporting as ever being involved in criminal activities revealed that only 19 women (23%) across each variable reported such. It should also be noted that only 19 women (23%) out of the 151 respondents reported that they had ever been accused of being involved in criminal activities.

A Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient analysis was used to assess the relationship between the leadership roles of women in their community and their being accused of involvement in criminal activity. Leadership roles were measured using 3 variables, (1) creating an atmosphere of trust, (2) demonstrating honest and ethical behavior in all my actions and (3) leading by example in doing what others are asked to do. The results revealed that there was a weak, negative correlation between creating an atmosphere of trust and being accused of involvement in criminal activities (Spearman’s r= -.181 - significant at the 0.05 level on a two-tailed test). Similarly, a weak negative correlation was seen to exist between leading by example in doing what others are asked to do and being accused of involvement in criminal activities (Spearman’s r= -.205 - significant at the 0.05 level on a two-tailed test).

These findings suggest that women who assumed leadership roles within their communities were less likely to be accused of being involved in criminal activities. However, the weakness of the correlations may suggest the presence of other community or individual level variables with which these variable may be interacting.

Not surprisingly, a stronger relationship was found to exist between:

(1) creating an atmosphere of trust and demonstrating honest, ethical behavior in all my actions (Spearman’s r=.424);

(2) leading by example in doing what others are asked to do and demonstrating honest, ethical behavior in all my actions (Spearman’s r=.308);

(3) creating an atmosphere of trust and leading by example in doing what others are asked to do.

All of these were significant at the .01 level on a two-tailed test. The relationships between these variables point to a key elements of female leadership in the respective communities - women who lead by example also tended to inculcate a sense of trust and display honest and ethical behavior in their actions. Notwithstanding the fact that the relationships existed, it was expected that these relationships would have been stronger. As with the previous correlations, these variables may also be interacting with other community or individual level variables that could be impacting the relationships between the variables.
Table 2: Female Leadership in Community and Family Involvement in Crime

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>create an atmosphere of trust</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>demonstrate honest, ethical behaviour in all my actions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lead by example as if more than willing to “do what I ask others to do”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spearman’s rho</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-.424</td>
<td>.336</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.108</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.105</td>
<td></td>
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<td>N 151</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td>N 151</td>
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<td>N 151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td></td>
<td>N 151</td>
<td>151</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

Descriptive analyses of the data as it related to female leadership in the community and family involvement in crime revealed that 83 women (55%) have reported that they have family members or close friends who have been involved in criminal activity. On the other hand, 67 of the women stated that they had no friends or family who have ever been accused of being involved in criminal activity. This accounted for a little over 44% of the participants. Fifty-four women who reported that they felt that they created an atmosphere of trust in the community reported having relatives or friends involved in criminal activity, whereas 44 women reported that they did not have any such associations. In a similar light, 67 of the women who believe that they demonstrate honest and ethical behaviour, had family or friends who have been accused of breaking the law. By comparison, 59 women reported that they did not have any such associations. With respect to leading by example, 63 of the women reported having family or peers who committed crimes and 53 did not.

Based on the results of the Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient in Table 2, there was no statistically significant relationship between women with leadership qualities in their community and their having friends and/ or family members who have been accused of being involved in crime. On the one hand, the women who display leadership qualities may have chosen not to associate with any family members or peers who may have been accused of being involved in crime. Alternatively, the association may not have been strong enough to be picked up by the correlation.
Table 3: Female Leadership in Community and Involvement in Property Crime

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>create an atmosphere of trust</th>
<th>demonstrate honest ethical behavior in all my actions</th>
<th>lead by example as I'm more than willing to &quot;do what task others do&quot;</th>
<th>have you ever stolen a motor vehicle like a car, truck or motorcycle ever</th>
<th>have you ever broken into a home or business to steal something ever</th>
<th>have you ever stolen money or other items from a stranger or from somebody that you know ever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman’s rho</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.900</td>
<td>.500</td>
<td>.300</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of female leadership in the community and their involvement in property crime revealed that the vast majority of women reported never having broken into a home or business to steal something (95%), never having stolen money from a stranger or someone they knew (91%), and never having broken into a car to steal something (96%) or stolen a car, truck or motorcycle (96%).

Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient analyses were also conducted to measure the associations between female leadership and involvement in property crimes. Unexpectedly, there were weak, positive associations between three of the principal leadership variables and stealing money or other items from either a stranger or someone known: (1) creating an atmosphere of trust (Spearman’s r=.203), (2) demonstrating honest, ethical behavior in all my actions (Spearman’s r=.173) and (3) leading by example in doing what others are asked to do (Spearman’s r=.248).

The first 2 correlations were significant at the 0.05 level while the other was significant at the 0.01 level. While this result was surprising, there is a possible noteworthy explanation. Women in leadership roles may be exploiting their positions of trust to steal cash or other valuable items from others. These behaviors would contradict their roles in the community and could have been driven by others reasons, such as poverty or low socio-economic status. Thus, the weak correlations may indicate that these unknown factors are mediating the relationships identified in the above-mentioned correlations.
In a similar thread, 94% of the women stated that they had never facilitated anyone stealing a vehicle while 96% reported that they had never facilitated someone breaking into a car or truck to steal something. Similarly, 95% reported they had never facilitated someone breaking into a home or business to steal something and 90% reported that they had never facilitated another person breaking into a store or business to steal. Interestingly in the last case, 2.6% of the respondents stated that they had facilitated breaking into a store or business for theft once. Furthermore, 1.3% of the women stated that they had done this twice and 10 or more times.

Further to the previously mentioned findings on property crime, women who stated that they created an atmosphere of trust in their communities were more likely to act as a lookout for another person who is breaking into a store or business to steal (Spearman’s $r = .210$ - significant at the 0.05 level). It can be cautiously assumed that these women, as in the case above, are motivated to adopt the lookout roles in such scenarios for socio-economic gain or other, undisclosed reasons. Again, the weak relationships may signal the existence of unknown mediating factors.
Table 5: Female Leadership in Community and Violent Behaviour

With respect to female leadership in the community and violent behavior, approximately 37% of the women reported that they had never been in a physical fight with another person. Roughly 18% stated that they had been in a fight once, while 21% reported having been in a physical fight between 2 and 4 times. Only 16% reported involvement in physical altercations 5 to 10 or more times. Most of the women (83%) said that they had never punched or kicked someone when they were not fighting back. Only 9% of them reported doing so between 1 and 3 times whereas 3.3% stated that they had done so 5 to 10 or more times. In a similar thread, 80% and 91% of the respondents stated that they had never attacked someone with a weapon to seriously hurt them or carried a gun in public respectively. Those women who stated that they had attacked someone with a weapon 1 to 3 times accounted for 8% while 6% said that they had done this 5 to 10 or more times.
Based on the results of the Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient analyses above, three unexpected findings were noted. Firstly, there was a weak but positive association between creating an atmosphere of trust and two measures of violent behavior, (1) punching or kicking someone when they were not fighting back (Spearman’s $r=.166$ - significant at the 0.05 level), as well as (2) attacking someone with a weapon with the intention of seriously hurting them (Spearman’s $r=.218$ - significant at the 0.01 level). Secondly, a weak correlation was observed between demonstrating honest and ethical behaviour in all my actions and being involved in a physical fight with others (Spearman’s $r=.230$ - significant at the 0.01 level). Finally, a weak relationship was seen to exist between leading by example in doing what others are asked to do and attacking someone with the intention of seriously hurting them (Spearman’s $r=.197$ - significant at the 0.05 level).

According to these findings, women who held leadership roles in their communities were also more likely to exhibit some form of violent behavior. One possible explanation for these results could be an already existing sub-culture of violence within the communities within which these women reside. Women in leadership positions may also have to occasionally subscribe to the behavioural norms of this sub-culture in order to exert control or reinforce their positions when it was threatened by others. Alternatively, their roles may have put them in direct conflict with others, resulting in physical altercations. It should be noted that while the expressions of violence did include weapons and/or intentions to seriously hurt another person, it did not involve the use of firearms. This suggests that although the women may have been willing to use violence to resolve conflicts, they were less willing to use lethal methods, such as methods involving the use of a firearm. These situations would also mediate the observed relationships, accounting for the weak associations.

Table 6: Female Leadership in Community and Involvement in Drug Trade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>create an atmosphere of trust</th>
<th>demonstrate honest and ethical behaviour in all my actions</th>
<th>lead by example as I am more than willing to do what I ask others to do</th>
<th>have you ever sold illegal drugs - ever</th>
<th>have you ever sold illegal drugs for someone else - ever</th>
<th>have you ever carried drugs in a gun for someone else - ever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman's rho</td>
<td>create an atmosphere of trust</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.724</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.424</td>
<td>0.000</td>
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<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.338</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>-0.050</td>
<td>0.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.51</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>-0.089</td>
<td>0.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>0.092</td>
<td>0.199</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
Analysis of female leadership in the community and involvement in the drug trade, revealed that the majority of the women (81%) said that they had never sold illegal drugs and 83% stated that they had never sold illegal drugs for someone else. For both situations, around 5% of the women reported involvement in those activities 10 or more times. Likewise, 81% of the women said that they had never carried drugs or guns for someone else. Seven percent reported having done it at least once, while 3.3% admitted to having done so 5 to 10 or more times.

Findings indicated a were weak, positive correlations between demonstrating honest, ethical behavior in all my actions and two variables measuring involvement in the drug trade; (1) sold illegal drugs for someone else (Spearman’s r=.183); and (2) carried drugs/ guns for someone else (Spearman’s r=.190). Both of these results were significant at the 0.05 level. Therefore, it can be argued that women who self-reported that they are honest and ethical were more likely to sell drugs or carry drugs and/or guns for another person. Two plausible explanations for this action could be that (1) these woman are utilizing their positions of trust and leadership to become involved in the drug trade for economic gain or other reasons, as was the case with stealing items or money seen in an earlier analysis, and (2) these women may perceive that being involved in these activities is not a serious breach of the social and cultural norms and values of their communities. This would also speak directly to the sub-culture of violence present in some communities. Again, the weakness in the relationships suggests that there may be interactions with other variables not measured in the present analysis.
With respect to female leadership in the community and facilitation of the drug trade, a little over 93% of the respondents stated that they have never facilitated someone to carry a gun in public or facilitated someone to use a gun on another person. Around 82% of the women also stated that they never facilitated another person to sell drugs and 89% said they never helped someone carry drugs and/or guns for another person. Six women reported facilitating other persons in the sale of illegal drugs 10 or more times, accounting for 4% of the women surveyed. Six women also admitted to facilitating a person to carry drugs/guns for someone else 5 to 10 or more times, which amounted to 4% of all the women.

Findings also indicate that women who self-reported as holding leadership roles in their communities were also found to be more likely to facilitate another person carrying a gun in public (Spearman’s r=0.205) as well as to facilitate someone selling illegal drugs (Spearman’s r=0.230). Both results were significant at the 0.05 level. Likewise, a weak, positive correlation was found to exist between leading by example in doing what others are asked to do and facilitating someone using a gun on another person (Spearman’s r=0.192 - significant at the 0.05 level). Similar to the findings on women’s involvement in the drug trade, women in leadership roles may be using their positions of trust in the community to assist others who are actively

---

**Table 7: Female Leadership in Community and Facilitation of Drug Trade**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>create an atmosphere of trust</th>
<th>demonstrate honest ethical behaviour in all interactions</th>
<th>lead by example as i am more than willing to “do what others to do”</th>
<th>have ever facilitated someone carrying a gun in public over</th>
<th>have ever facilitated someone using a gun on another person over</th>
<th>have ever facilitated someone selling illegal drugs in any way over</th>
<th>have you ever facilitated in some way someone carrying drugs/guns for someone else over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman’s r</td>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>create an atmosphere of trust</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrate honest ethical behaviour in all interactions</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.224</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.308</td>
<td>.205</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lead by example as i am more than willing to “do what others to do”</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.338</td>
<td>.338</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever facilitated someone carrying a gun in public over</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever facilitated someone using a gun on another person over</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.192</td>
<td>.146</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever facilitated someone selling illegal drugs in any way over</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td>.231</td>
<td>.055</td>
<td>.360</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever facilitated in some way someone carrying drugs/guns for someone else over</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>.374</td>
<td>.429</td>
<td>.517</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Correlations**

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

**Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).**
involved in these illicit activities in various ways, such as hiding drugs/guns or passing of information about targeted persons. This again strongly points to a possible subscription to a community sub-culture of violence where the value system does not view these activities as inherently unacceptable but instead, as activities based on situational and social network affiliations. Nonetheless, the strength of the associations point to interactions with other variables that were not directly addressed. For example, economic gain or unreported family ties to persons involved in drug/firearm trade could be mediating the relationships observed.

Table 8: Female Leadership in Community and Drug/Alcohol Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Spearman’s rho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>create an atmosphere of trust</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrate honest/ethical behavior in all my actions</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lead by example as much more than telling to do what I want others to do</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resolve conflict with the group of my win-win situation</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever consumed alcohol in the past twelve months? how often?</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you used marijuana in the past twelve months? how often?</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you used cocaine or crack in the past twelve months? how often?</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you used any other illegal drugs in the past year?</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptive analyses of female leadership in the community and their involvement in drug/alcohol use showed that most of the women reported not having used cocaine (95.4%), or any other illegal drug (86.1%), in the last year. On the other hand, only 16% stated that they have never consumed alcohol in the past 12 months. Almost 40% of the women reported having consumed alcohol on a minimal basis, a few times to about once per month, with only 4.6% reporting being daily drinkers. Approximately 54% of the women reported that they had never used marijuana during the past year. Twenty-six women (17.2%) stated that they used marijuana daily with a mere 9.2% used it between once and a few times per month.

Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient analyses were used to assess the relationship between female leadership in the community and drug use. A weak relationship was found to exist between demonstrating honest and ethical behaviour in all my actions and using marijuana in the last 12 months (Spearman’s r = .190 - significant at the 0.05 level). This finding substantiates the widely held view that while marijuana is illegal, its use is not perceived as a serious violation of the value system of many citizens. In this case, women would still view themselves as honest and ethical leaders in their community despite
using the drug. However, the weakness of the relationship may suggest that there are other factors influencing marijuana use among this group of women.

Table 9: Female Leadership in Community and Being a Victim of Crime

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>Have you ever been a victim of crime?</th>
<th>Expecting community to be accountable and other support</th>
<th>Resolving conflict with the goal of creating a win-win situation</th>
<th>Have excellent relationships with community members regardless of their position in the community</th>
<th>Create an atmosphere of trust</th>
<th>Demonstrating honest, ethical behavior in all my actions</th>
<th>Lead by example as I am more willing to &quot;do what asks others to do&quot;.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sperman’s rho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever been a victim of crime?</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>-0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expecting community to be accountable and other support</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resolving conflict with the goal of creating a win-win situation</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>having excellent relationships with community members regardless of their position in the community</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>-0.41</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>create an atmosphere of trust</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrating honesty and ethical behavior in all my actions</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lead by example as I am more willing to &quot;do what asks others to do&quot;.</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

With respect to female leadership in the community and being a victim of crime results showed almost equal reporting between never having been the victim of a crime whereas (49%) and having been a victim of a crime (51%). Forty-two women (28%) stated that the incident had occurred within their community and 30 (20%) said that the incident occurred outside of the community. It is interesting to note that more than half of the respondents (52.3%) did not respond to this question, despite all of the women having responded to the question of whether or not they had been the victim of a crime. Of those who reported the type of crime, all were serious crimes, ranging from murder, shootings, robbery, larceny and burglary. Thirty women who reported having been crime victims expected their community to be accountable and supportive while 27 did not expect any such support or accountability. On the other hand, 47 of the women who reported never having been crime victims expected community support and accountability while 17 of them did not.

The relationship between being a victim of crime and female leadership in the community was measured above. In this case, female leadership was measured using variables that would evaluate the extent and type of relationship between the women and their communities namely (1) expect community to be accountable, (2) resolve conflict to create win-win situations and (3) have excellent relationships with persons in the community regardless of their positions. No statistically
significant association was found between being a victim of crime and female leadership in the community.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

Table 10: Correlation between Being Accused of Involvement in Criminal Activity and Family Members/Close Friends Being Accused of Involvement on Criminal Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>have you ever been accused of being involved in criminal activities</th>
<th>do you have any family members or close friends who have been accused of being involved in criminal activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman's rho have you ever been accused of being involved in criminal activities</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do you have any family members or close friends who have been accused of being involved in criminal activity</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.262*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

A Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient analysis was used to assess the relationship between women being accused of being involved in criminal activity and their family members or close friends being involved in criminal activities. There was a positive, but weak correlation (Spearman’s r=.262) between women being accused of being involved in criminal activity and having close friends or family members being accused of the same, which was significant at the 0.01 level on a two-tailed test (p<.01). This result suggests that women who were more involved in criminal activity were more likely to have family members or friends involved in crime as well. However, given the lack of strength of the relationship between these two variables, it may indicate that the relationship may be mediated by other factors. Nonetheless, one probable explanation for this finding could be that women involved in crime are simply more likely to have close relatives or peers who do the same by association. Another possibility could be that women do not participate in criminal activities independently but only with close friends and/or family.
Table 11: Correlation between Being Accused of Involvement in Criminal Activities and Use of Threats/Physical Force among Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>have you ever been accused of being involved in criminal activities</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever used force or the threat of force to get money or other items from another person - ever</td>
<td>-.237</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever been in a physical fight with another person - ever</td>
<td>-.336</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever punched or kicked someone when they were not fighting back - ever</td>
<td>-.318</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever used a gun on another person - ever</td>
<td>-.322</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

An analysis of the relationship between being accused of being involved in criminal activity and using threats/physical force was measured using the Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient. Use of threats/physical force was evaluated with 4 variables namely; (1) use of force or threat of force to get money or other items from others, (2) being in a physical fight with others, (3) punching or kicking others and (4) using a gun on another person. Each of these variables were found to have a weak to moderate, negative correlation with being accused of being involved in criminal activities and was significant at the 0.05 level (p<0.05) on a two-tailed test. Notably, women who were more likely to be accused of being involved in crime were less likely to be engaged in punching or kicking someone who was not retaliating (Spearman’s r= -.358) and using a gun on someone (Spearman’s r = -.322). Additionally, such women were also not likely to participate in physical fights (Spearman’s r= -.238) or to use threats or force to obtain money or items from others (Spearman’s r= -.237). Collectively, these findings may suggest that women commit crimes that do not tend to involve physical force or serious threats. Nonetheless, these relationships were not strong, which may imply that women may not self-report the full extent of their involvement in physically violent incidents when they have been accused of being involved in crime. On the other hand,
their involvement in such physically violent occurrences may not be captured in official crime statistics or deemed serious enough by peers/family to accuse them of participating in crime.

Interestingly, the results revealed a weak to moderate, positive correlation between using threats or physical force to get money or other items from others and using other types of physical force on others. Women who were more inclined to employ threats of force or actual force were more likely to use a gun on another person (Spearman’s r= .378), be involved in a physical fight with others (Spearman’s r= .366) and were also more likely to punch or kick someone when they were not hitting back (Spearman’s r= .266). These were all significant at the 0.01 level on a two-tailed test. Furthermore, being involved in a physical fight was found to be positively correlated with punching or kicking someone who was not retaliating (Spearman’s r= .318) and using a gun on others (Spearman’s r= .284). These were also significant at the 0.01 level on a two-tailed test (p<0.01). These findings suggest that women in leadership position in their communities who were more likely to be in actual physical fights were more willing to utilize greater physical force in these encounters, such as hitting a person who was not striking back, or using a gun.

Physical fights may have required the women to use more extreme force or a weapon for self-defense, defending other family members/ friends or to escape a dangerous situation. Again, the strength of these relationships point to the likelihood of unknown factors or situations influencing the involvement of these women in these forms of violence. It is worth noting that a moderate, positive relationship was seen to exist between the use of a gun on another person and the use of force or threat of force to get money or other items from another person (Spearman’s r = .378), also significant at the 0.01 level (p<0.01). This may indicate that women who tended to use guns may have used these in offences where cash or valuables were taken from other persons, perhaps under specific, unknown circumstances that are not recorded in official crime statistics.
A Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient analysis was conducted to assess the relationship between being accused of involvement in criminal activities and selling and carrying illegal drugs. Selling and carrying illegal drugs was measured using 3 variables; (1) selling illegal drugs, (2) selling illegal drugs for someone else and (3) carried drugs/ guns for someone else. Each of these variables was found to have a weak, negative but statistically significant relationship with being accused of involvement in criminal activities at the 0.05 level on a two-tailed test. Although these correlations are considered very weak, given the size of the sample (n=150), the relationships were unlikely to have occurred by chance. Based on these results, it can be cautiously stated that women who were more involved in crime were not likely to sell drugs on their own, sell drugs for someone else or carry guns or drugs for someone else. Nonetheless, there were other significant relationships observed. There was a strong, positive association between selling drugs and selling drugs for someone else (Spearman’s r= .877) - significant at the 0.01 level on a two-tailed test (p<0.01). Thus, it can be argued that women who were more likely to sell illicit drugs were more likely to sell illegal drugs on behalf of another party. Likewise, there was a strong, positive relationship between selling illegal drugs and carrying drugs or guns for someone else (Spearman’s r = .639) - significant at the 0.01 level (p<0.01). This finding strongly suggests that women who were more likely to sell illegal narcotics were also more

### Table 12: Correlation between Being Accused of Involvement in Criminal Activities and Selling/ Carrying Drugs and Guns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Have you ever been accused of being involved in criminal activities</th>
<th>Have you ever sold illegal drugs for someone else</th>
<th>Have you ever carried drugs/guns for someone else</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-196**</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
inclined to carry illegal drugs or firearms for someone else. Furthermore, there was a strong and positive relationship between selling illegal drugs for someone else and carrying illegal drugs or guns for someone else (Spearman’s r = .648) - significant at the 0.01 level on a two-tailed test (p<0.01). Combined, these findings indicate women may adopt more secondary roles in the illegal drug trade since they were more likely to sell drugs or hold firearms for another person than they were to do so for their own use. Although these findings may seem to contradict the observed relationships between being accused of involvement in crime and selling/ carrying illegal firearms or drugs, they strongly imply that women may play more active secondary/ supportive roles in the illicit drug or firearm trade. Even though these women may not have official criminal records or have been accused of being involved in serious crimes, these women may have sold, hid or stored drugs or guns for persons more directly involved in the illicit drug trade. In addition, women may have been used to sell or carry drugs and guns since they were less prone to attract attention from law enforcement officers.

Table 13: Correlation between Family Income and Selling/ Carrying Illegal Drugs and Guns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>what is your family income?</th>
<th>have you ever sold illegal drugs ever</th>
<th>have you ever sold illegal drugs for someone else ever</th>
<th>have you ever carried drugs/guns for someone else ever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman’s rho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Income</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>.059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Given the potential secondary/ supportive roles women may play in the illegal drug trade, Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient tests were used to assess if any relationship existed between family income and selling/carrying illegal guns or drugs. The results showed that there was no statistically significant relationship between family income and selling/ carrying
illegal guns or drugs. Thus, it can be concluded that the families of the women who sell or carry these illicit items do not necessarily benefit economically from these activities. Alternatively, family income levels may not necessarily reflect earnings from selling/ carrying illegal drugs or guns as the women may be unwilling to self-report any additional income from these sources.

Table 14: Correlation between Being Accused of Involvement in Crime and Facilitation of Crime

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>have you ever facilitated in some way breaking into a car or truck to steal something ( Cockpit- ever)</th>
<th>have you ever facilitated in some way someone selling illegal drugs for someone else- ever</th>
<th>have you ever facilitated someone carrying illegal drugs/ guns for someone else- ever</th>
<th>have you ever facilitated in some way someone being attached with a weapon with the intention of seriously hurting them- ever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman's rs</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever been accused of being involved in criminal activities</td>
<td>-2.49*</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>-.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever facilitated in some way the stealing of a motor vehicle like a car, truck or motorcycle (eg: kickstand- ever)</td>
<td>-2.13*</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>-.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have you ever facilitated in some way the stealing of a motor vehicle like a car, truck or motorcycle (eg: kickstand- ever)</td>
<td>-2.13*</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>-.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Table 14: Correlation Coefficient analyses were conducted to determine the relationship between being accused of involvement in crime and facilitating different types of crimes among women. Six measures were used for facilitating different types of crimes; (1) facilitating the stealing of a motor vehicle, (2) facilitating someone breaking into a car or truck to steal something, (3) facilitating someone breaking into a house or business to steal something, (4) facilitating someone selling illegal drugs, (5) facilitating someone carrying drug/ guns for someone else and (6) facilitating someone attacking another person with a weapon with the intention of seriously hurting them. The results revealed that facilitating the stealing of a motor vehicle
(Spearman’s r = .249), facilitating someone breaking into a car or truck to steal something (Spearman’s r = .229), facilitating someone selling illegal drugs (Spearman’s r = .212) and facilitating someone carrying drug/ guns for someone else were all negatively correlated with being accused of involvement in criminal activities (Spearman’s r = .246). Additionally, these relationships were weak but statistically significant at both the 0.05 and 0.01 levels on a two-tailed test. Despite the weakness of the correlations, it can be contended, albeit cautiously, that women who are more likely to be accused of or involved in criminal activities were less inclined to assist in vehicular theft or helping someone to sell or carry drugs/ guns for someone else.

On the other hand, a moderate, positive relationship was seen to exist between facilitating someone breaking into a car or truck to steal something and facilitating someone breaking into a home or business to steal something (Spearman’s r = .573) - significant at the 0.01 level on a two tailed test. This suggests that women who were more likely to act as lookouts for someone breaking into a car or truck to steal something also tended to act as lookouts for someone breaking into a house or business to steal something. More importantly, this finding supports the view that women often function in supportive rather than direct roles in the commission of crimes. Another positive correlation was observed between facilitating someone selling illegal drugs and facilitating someone carrying drug/ guns for someone else (Spearman’s r = .513) - significant at the 0.01 level on a two-tailed test. This finding can be interpreted to show that women who were likely to assist another person in selling drugs were also more prone to aiding someone in carrying drugs/ guns. This relationship is not surprising given that these two activities, that is carrying and selling drugs, are closely related in illicit drug trade networks. However, this is significant as it sheds some light on the roles that women may be assuming in the illicit narcotic and firearm trade. Similarly, there was a positive yet moderate relationship between facilitating someone selling illegal drugs and facilitating the stealing of a motor vehicle (Spearman’s r = .409) - significant on the 0.01 level on a two tailed test. There are two important implications to this finding. The first is that persons who may be participating in illicit drug and firearm crimes or networks may also expand criminal activities to include other types of offences. Secondly, it points to women having key functions in criminal networks, assisting in the commission of serious crimes, even though they may not have been accused of being involved in such.
Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient analyses were further conducted to assess the relationship between family income and facilitating different types of crimes among women. Six measures were used for facilitating different types of crimes: (1) facilitating the stealing of a motor vehicle, (2) facilitating someone breaking into a car or truck to steal something, (3) facilitating someone breaking into a house or business to steal something, (4) facilitating someone selling illegal drugs, (5) facilitating someone carrying drug/guns for someone else and (6) facilitating having someone attacked with a weapon with the intention of seriously hurting them. No statistically significant relationship was seen to exist between family income and facilitating different types of crimes. Therefore, similar to the relationship between family income and selling/carrying illegal drugs or guns, it can be concluded that facilitating different types of crimes is not lucrative for the families of the women who are so involved. On the other hand, self-reported
family income levels may not reflect earnings from assisting in these activities as the women may be unwilling openly admit to gaining money from these sources.

**Table 16: Correlation between Age and Being Accused of Involvement in Criminal Activity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>how old were you on your last birthday</th>
<th>how many of your dependants live in your household?</th>
<th>have you ever been accused of being involved in criminal activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman’s rho</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.015</td>
<td>0.100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>181</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>how many of your dependants live in your household?</td>
<td>-0.015</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.862</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>143</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>have you ever been accused of being involved in criminal activities</td>
<td>.150</td>
<td>.103</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>.221</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

A Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient was done to measure the relationship between age and being accused of involvement in criminal activities. The results revealed that there was a weak, negative correlation between age and being accused of involvement in crime (Spearman’s r = -.180) - significant at the 0.05 level (p<0.05). Therefore, given the size of the sample, it can be cautiously concluded that older women were less likely to be perceived as being involved in criminal activities. However, since the relationship was weak, other factors, such as type or level of employment, education or natural reduction in offending behavior may have made it difficult to assess the true relationship between these two variables.
In order to evaluate the association between age and participation in selling/carrying illegal drugs or guns among women, Spearman’s Rank Order Correlations were done. No statistically significant relationships were found to exist between age, selling illegal drugs and carrying drugs or guns.

**Table 17: Correlation between Age and Involvement in Selling/Carrying Illegal Drugs and Guns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>have you ever sold illegal drugs ever</th>
<th>have you ever sold illegal drugs for someone else ever</th>
<th>have you ever carried drugs/gun for someone else ever</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman’s rho</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 18: Correlation between Being a Victim of Crime and Age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations</th>
<th>have you ever been a victim of crime?</th>
<th>how old were you on your last birthday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spearman’s rho</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient test was used to evaluate the relationship between age and being a victim of crime. It was found that there was a negative, weak association (Spearman’s r = -0.177) - significant at the 0.05 level on a two tailed test. This suggests that the
older a woman is, the less likely she is to be a victim of crime. However, the strength of the relationship may also point to other factors influencing the likelihood of victimization over time for a woman. One such factor may have been type of housing; low income, medium income or high income. However, no statistically significant relation was seen to exist between type of housing and victimization.

**Table 19: Correlation between Type of Housing and Being a Victim of Crime**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spearman's rho</th>
<th>have you ever been a victim of crime?</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
<th>have you ever been a victim of crime?</th>
<th>what type of housing would you say you live in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Correlation Coefficient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.039</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>-0.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>151</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 20: Correlation between Being a Victim of Crime and High-Risk Activities**

In order to measure the extent of victimization among women and activities that would be considered high-risk, Spearman’s Rank Order Correlation Coefficient analyses were employed to determine the relationship between being a victim of crime and high-risk activities. Four measures were used to measure high-risk activities; (1) having sex with someone for money, (2) selling...
drugs, (3) selling drugs for someone and (4) carrying drugs/ guns for someone. These activities were chosen as they involve activities that include a greater likelihood of harm for women in particular. The results revealed that there was no statistically significant relationship between victimization and high-risk activities. Nonetheless, this should be interpreted with caution since women may not have wanted to self-report being involved in these activities for fear of stigmatization.

Recommendations

The study sought to examine leadership in relation to women’s security, community safety, and national development. The recommendations are intended to impact public policy whilst affirming the resource-based strategies employed by women leaders in East Port of Spain as a potential good practice to be adopted locally and internationally.

The following policy and strategic interventions are recommended to meet the needs of women and girls in underserved communities as well as men and boys. Further, to advance Trinidad and Tobago’s successful implementation of Vision 2030 and the UN 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development. The recommendations are also intended to advance the international women, peace and security agenda whilst affirming the resource-based strategies led by women leaders in East Port of Spain.

The recommendations more granularly targets the agencies of the Steering Committee to promote and protect the rights of women generally, and specifically in underserved communities.

Research as a policy tool

- Police special units operating in these communities, should become data collection hubs.
- Make the reduction of crime the focus of protection, not simply the lessening of the murder rate.
  - Seek to streamline systems to collect all complaints. There is a need for a more comprehensive crime profile for these communities as a means of tracking the way in
which life cycle and critical junctures influence the type of crime persons may fall into. This also opens up the discussion around the possibility of early interventions.

- Map the borderlines, carve out the service delivery profile within and across the borderlines.
- Identify those services populations must cross the borderlines to access. Make these services spaces where protection is offered to ensure access. Work with communities and service providers to make these places areas of peace.
- Data collection on GBV specific to East Port of Spain should be used to determine the extent to which armed-GBV in these communities exist compared to other parts of the country.
- Establish a model drugs and violence free space and collect data on behavior change, community impact, and more.
- Develop a database of children affected by armed violence and design a comprehensive response to meet their needs.
- Conduct a study on the situation of women in prison to determine how incarceration impacts children and other dependents.
- The Ministry of National Security in partnership with key ministries should undertake research to determine the impact which the intersectionality of socio-economic status, age, ethnicity, geography, and gender has on VAW, women's leadership of community safety initiatives, and women's empowerment
- All public policy, including Vision 2030, to prioritize women's full and equal participation in decision making
- Gender analysis to be included in all needs assessments, strategic development plans, and development of all national action plans
- Develop a data collection instrument to document armed violence acts against women through a collaborative approach among ministries and NGOs

Monitoring and Evaluation as a policy tool

- Link analysis, planning, monitoring and evaluation more closely to each other
- Ensure that gender and power relations guides a participatory process
- Develop gender sensitive tools and indicators to capture the complexity of gender and power relations
● Create opportunities for reflection

● Use WINAD’s mentoring project, Women Supporting Women, to test indicators of a participatory monitoring and evaluation process for development projects

● Use gender sensitive tools and indicators to evaluate existing programmes such as the Police Youth Club, drug intervention programmes/projects, and social delivery programmes such as the Sowing Entrepreneurial Empowerment Development (SEED), and Regional Micro-Project Fund (RMPF) both located in the Ministry of Social Development and Family Services

● Use gender sensitive tools and indicators in the study on women in prison

● All public policy, including Vision 2030, to prioritize women’s full and equal participation in decision making

● Gender analysis to be included in all needs assessments, strategic development plans, and development of all national action plans

Strategic Interventions

● The Ministry of National Security should:
  - establish a Council of Women Leaders in the community of East Port of Spain to represent the voice of women in the crime and security discourse in the community and nationally
  - implement a women’s leadership mentoring programme and women’s empowerment curriculum for women leaders in the selected communities through partnerships with professional women to provide mentoring and coaching so as to facilitate a cross-fertilization of ideas on leadership and empowerment
  - include women’s organizations in the National Committee to monitor implementation of the UN Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects
  - key departments and units to engage women’s organizations in policy analysis, programme planning, and monitoring and evaluation of programmes
  - include gender analysis in its strategy and national action plan to prevent and reduce the threat of Returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters and ensure women’s full and equal participation in the design and implementation of strategies and programmes
- partner with one of the communities that participated in this study to establish a drugs/gun violence free community on a phased basis
- provide adequate housing for girls on remand or conviction in the prison system

• The TTPS to take a number of actions to partner with women’s organizations in the implementation of its strategic plan (2017-2019) more specifically strategic goal 3 *Strengthen Community Engagements, Citizen - Centered Service and Stakeholder Partnerships*
- include women led organizations in the SAC to *increase and enhance SACs* and ensure community safety and security
- present reports at the weekly TTPS press briefing on the number of reports of GBV and the number of arrests
- include training on how to properly serve victims of GBV, minority, and vulnerable groups such as the LGBT+ community
- engage women’s organizations in the review of the Hearts and Minds programme

• The Ministry of Social Development and Family Services can take action to:
- provide women secondary victims of gun violence with social support and capacity strengthening to engage in entrepreneurship and innovation
- support the work of women’s NGOs that target women secondary victims of gun violence by partnering to design and implement social services for women secondary victims of gun violence
- develop a database of immediate and/or dependent family members of victims of gun violence to inform the legislative, policy, and programming for effective response in the short to medium term

• The UNDP should take steps to:
- partner with the relevant ministries to conduct a study on how organized violence, intimate partner violence and community safety impact women’s well-being
- promote discussions on the synergies between the gender aspects of small arms control and Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development
- encourage implementation of the recommendations contained in S/2015/716 which calls on states to invest in gender sensitive research and data collection on identifying the drivers that lead individuals to join violent extremist groups and the impacts of comprehensive
counter-terrorism strategies on women's human rights, in order to develop targeted and evidence-based policy and programming responses
- do all that is possible to ensure that Vision 2030, and the related national action plan, benefits from gender analysis
- support women's organizations that target women secondary victims of gun violence and women community leaders for programme planning and capacity strengthening
- provide strategic support for implementation of the recommendations of this study

Conclusion

Leadership

The ways women lead, particularly at the community level, and specifically in under-served communities warrants further inquiry and a comprehensive response utilizing the Women's Empowerment Framework\(^\text{11}\). Eagly (2007) describes the pathway to leadership today for women as a labyrinth through which women must navigate and find their way. Supportive of Eagly's view, Lau Chin (2011) asserts that there is the need for multiple models of leadership, and recognition that a woman leader might do it differently. Navigating the labyrinth will be easier if women examine their strengths and the advantages they bring.

In March 2017, the UN Commission on the Status of Women completed its annual review of the status of women and urged Governments to take measures to ensure women's full, equal and effective participation and access to leadership and high level positions. The Outcome Document (E/CN.6/2017/L.5) further recognizes that the empowerment of and investment in women and girls, which is critical for economic growth and the achievement of all Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including the eradication of poverty and extreme poverty, as well as the meaningful participation of women in decision-making, are key in breaking the cycle of discrimination and violence and in promoting and protecting the full and effective enjoyment of their human rights.

\(^{11}\) a way to conceptualize the process of empowerment through a sequence of measurable actions (Longwe, 1995)
This study identified at least ten women leaders who engage in violence prevention projects such as managing home-work centres; joint leadership of Police Youth Clubs; and mobilizing and organizing children and youth to engage in recreational and educational activities. Their violence reduction initiatives include community mobilization for recreational activities, and targeted social interventions with relatives of men known to be involved in criminal gangs. These women also partner with the IATF Hearts and Minds programme to maintain peace in the community.

The transactional nature of their relationships with stakeholders suggest a fairly evolved understanding of the impact of extrinsic motivation and contingent reward. Transactional leadership emphasizes the transaction or exchange that takes place (Avolio and Bass, 2002) when leaders get agreement on what needs to be done and rewards delivery. It concerns maintenance and monitoring of a pre-existing service, having an operational rather than a strategic focus (Cragg and Sturgeon, 2007). In underserved communities plagued by armed violence, the reduction in community violence meets the needs of all stakeholders and offers a life-saving reward to both community and police.

These women leaders continue the long history of female led activism and leadership which have built Caribbean society and Trinidad and Tobago’s socio-political landscape.

Some women work within organized community based organizations whilst others are private service providers. Despite their delivery of high quality service, it is evident that they are under-resourced and over-extended. Consequently, the study introduced them to professional women in order to provide some degree of mentoring to increase their capacity to lead and to serve by identifying gaps in their organizational practices and supporting their efforts to take corrective measures. The mentorship strategy was also intended to strengthen capacity to meet objective four of this study which is the establishment of a network of women leaders.

The Mentorship contemplated by WINAD is a relationship in which a person with particular Knowledge, Skills and Abilities (KSAs) shares with and guides another person who does not have those same KSAs and who wants to learn and who feels she can benefit from the sharing.

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12 The Police Youth Club is a social mechanism introduced by the TTPS to improve relations with residents.
The study anticipates that if government adopts a mentoring programme as a capacity strengthening strategy in the short term and supplements with academic and/or practical leadership training in stakeholder and resource management; human rights; gender analysis; project management; financial record keeping, and other related matters that transformative change will occur in these communities.

Gender Based Violence

The research was unable to unearth sufficient information on the extent of armed sexual violence against women however, anecdotal information suggest that this matter requires specific and extensive inquiry at the earliest possible opportunity in order to influence public policy on ending gender based violence.

Although no reported cases of sexual violence in the communities are included in this study, WINAD’s earlier work with women incarcerated for serious crimes did uncover the intersectional nature of gender based violence and criminality resulting from multiple complaints from inmates that they were victims of physical and/or sexual violence and consequently retaliated, in fatal ways, or engaged in drug trafficking through coercion or as a means of securing financial independence and escaping violent relationships.

Policy

Representative public policy is born out of the relationship between state and community (Yeatman, 1994). Both community and state are contested variables. The communities in this study complicate the idea of community. Based on the research, it is undeniable, the communities are heterogenous and their needs, security and otherwise are multifaceted and complex in their interplay with the political, social and economic macro-level structures that shape life in Trinidad and Tobago.

In the midst of such complication, the policy challenge to be undertaken is one that ensures visibility and representation of these communities in each phase of public policy development. These communities are not simply poor communities, or violent communities. Therefore the public policy engagement cannot be one of simply providing social welfare or police protection. Thinking through public policy around these communities require a more nuanced reading of underserved
communities and a deep appreciation for the multifaceted and heightened difficulty experienced by persons residing in particular geographies, as they attempt to access services. State response must take into account the following declaration by one woman community leader who reviewed the findings of this study, “we don’t need handouts…we need discipline”.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Trinidad and Tobago generally lacks a strong culture of assessment and consequently monitoring and evaluation are treated as an add-on which is under-resourced and de-emphasised. But societies exposed to sustained turbulence may become inured to, or even accepting of, violence (Muggah & Aguirre, 2017) making it imperative that targeted policies and programmes must be adequately monitored and evaluated.

More specifically, gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation\(^\text{13}\) is a good starting point for meeting the needs of women and girls, men and boys, communities, and the state.

A more robust approach must be employed to understand more deeply how unequal power relations affect the ability of both women and men to contribute fully to community development and nation building. The case of the women leaders of East Port of Spain challenges stakeholders such as government, international funding organizations, non-governmental organizations, researchers, practitioners, activists, to question assumptions about gender identity and gender roles in crime prevention and peace-building and document lessons learned about how women can move beyond single dimensions of identity and reject masculinized norms as the default position for conflict resolution.

Given the resource commitment of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to enable law enforcement and provide social services in these communities, it becomes a policy imperative to apply robust monitoring and evaluation processes to existing programmes and future initiatives.

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\(^\text{13}\) describing gender roles, responsibilities and relations; being as objective and neutral as possible; Oxfam, 2017
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