Indo-Caribbean Immigrants Perceptions of Dating Abuse

By

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

In

The Faculty of Social Science and Humanities

Criminology

University of Ontario, Institute of Technology

April 2016

Abstract

Diverse cultures as well as social and political conditions work in various ways to alter the experiences of dating abuse among divergent populations. Utilizing an Intersectionality paradigm, I have attempted to understand the perceptions of dating and dating abuse among members of the Indo-Caribbean community living in Canada. Contemporary research has done little to examine this population. In order to delve deeper into the perceptions of dating abuse among this community, I conducted 11 qualitative interviews which looked at intersection of factors such as immigration, family background, home life and their role in the perceptions of dating, dating pressure, shame / dishonor and community-specific dating behaviours. I purport that the confluence of these factors help to shape perceptions of dating and dating abuse among members of the Indo-Caribbean community.

Key words: Indo-Caribbean, Guyana; Trinidad; dating abuse; intersectionality

Dedication

I would like to express the deepest appreciation to my loving and supportive parents, Mike and Rona. You both have helped me through this process, answering my phone calls at strange hours and just being an ear to listen and help me whenever I needed it.

To my grandfather, Nana, I would like to thank you for all the prayers you have said for me and the support you have given me throughout the years. All the chocolate bars that you gave me have helped provide energy and keep a smile on my face.

To my loving fiancé, Dean, I want to thank you for always encouraging me to keep moving forward. You are my rock and I am truly thankful for your support as I pursue my academic dreams.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my supervisor and role model Dr. Ammar. Your support, expertise, and direction have been invaluable. I am extremely grateful for all the pushing you have done to help make this thesis possible. Your guidance has made it possible for me to reach the milestones that I have and will resonate with me in my future.

Thank you Dr. Zaidi for helping me get the ball rolling, you have helped me push my boundaries and have forced me to think critically about social science issues. Your belief in my abilities has helped to shape my confidence as I move forth with my career.

Dr. Alvi, thank you for not only your help reviewing this thesis, but also for all your advice during Criminological Theory class. Your expertise and guidance for this research has been immeasurable.

Dr. Cesaroni, thank you for always being there, not only for me, but also for all the grad students. You have been a great support from year one. I am truly grateful for all your guidance and advice.

Dr. Sasha Bagley, thank you for your time and effort in reviewing this thesis.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to the 11 participants who made this study possible. Thank you for taking time out of your day to share your thoughts and perceptions with me.

To my fellow grad students, thank you for your friendship and most importantly, all the laughs. I will always remember all of the fun times we spent in the office, like our lunch picnics. You have all made this MA experience an extremely memorable one.

Lastly, I would like to express my appreciation for my dear friend Zara. Thank you for always being a listening ear and offering your most honest and sincere advice. I will always remember our late nights grading papers together and drinking hot chocolate. Your support and friendship is irreplaceable.

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1. Introduction and Purpose

Dating, or courtship violence is a pervasive social problem that requires attention (Perry & Fromuth, 2005). Dating abuse in the post-secondary student population is profound; with some research showing abuse rates ranging from 16% to 90%, depending on the type of abuse (Gover, Kaukinen & Fox, 2008; Kaura &Lohman, 2007; Marquart, Nannini, Edwards, Stanley & Wayman, 2007). However, according to Silverman, Decker and Raj (2007), the prevalence of dating violence is higher among immigrant women as they are at an increased risk for victimization by male perpetrators. Although there has been literature on certain immigrant populations such as South Asian immigrants (see Bhanot & Senn, 2007; Raj & Silverman, 2003; Shankar, Das & Atwal, 2013; Zaidi, Couture-Carron, Maticka-Tyndale, & Arif, 2014), my extensive literature review shows that there currently exists no literature on dating abuse among the Indo-Caribbean students. Therefore, research on factors surrounding dating abuse including strategies for prevention and response among the Indo-Caribbean population is necessary. This thesis will explore the issue of dating abuse in the Indo-Caribbean population among individuals residing in the Greater Toronto Area, specifically the perceptions of students who attend or have attended the University of Ontario Institute of Technology in Oshawa, Ontario, Canada.

In order to understand the experiences of Indo-Caribbean people, it is important to provide insight into the intersecting factors that shape their experiences such as culture, race, gender, and family. These intersecting factors can shed light on the complexity of the Indo-Caribbean's experiences. By utilizing Intersectionality, I am able to assess the various ways that multiple factors interact, and not focus on simply culture as the

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essential factor (Jiwani, 2005). According to Crenshaw (1991), not everyone experiences abuse in similar ways. For instance, women of colour are not confined within the traditional boundaries of race or gender discrimination as they are understood for majority groups (Crenshaw, 1991). Women of colour, according to Crenshaw (1991), are likely to experience issues such as domestic violence, partner abuse, and rape much differently then white women. Therefore, it is important to ensure that we do not make generalizations based on one type of person or experience when evaluating our social world.

In order to delve deeper into the intersectionalities that distinguish individual experiences, I conducted a qualitative interviews with eleven Indo-Caribbean participants asking them various questions regarding dating violence.

This thesis is organized into four chapters, in Chapter 2, I will provide a holistic analysis of the contemporary literature surrounding dating, abuse, the Indo-Caribbean community, relationships within the Indo-Caribbean community as well as the Intersectional paradigm that I will utilize throughout this thesis.

In chapter 3, I will discuss the methodology utilized for this research. I will provide the basis for the interview questions, recruitment methods and summary of the demographics of the sample.

In chapter 4, I will present the results of the interviews. This will include a description of how I conducted the analysis as well as the analysis of the data from the participant's interviews.

In chapter 5, I will present culturally sensitive methods for prevention of intimate partner violence and response and provided by the participants.

In chapter 6, I will provide a summary of the results and will include a discussion and conclusion for future directions.

2. Examining Current Literature

2.1 Dating Relationships and Abuse

Dating relationships, similar to friendships, are traditionally recognized as on-going voluntary interactions between two individuals that are mutually acknowledged (Collins, 2003). According to Brown, Furman and Feiring (1999) as well as Reis and Shaver (1988), these romantic relationships have a particular intensity that can be shown through displays of affection such as physical and emotional expressions (as cited in Collins, 2003). Couples who are dating generally either terminate their relationship or choose to get married (Straus, 2004). Often, the nature of dating relationships changes along one's life course; for instance, adolescent dating typically involves a gathering of a small group of friends (Jouriles, Platt & McDonald, 2009). During early adulthood, these relationships often progress into single-dating relationships, which are typically more serious, exclusive, and longer lasting (Jouriles, Platt & McDonald, 2009).

Within dating relationships, abuse often occurs (Bartholomew, Schmitt, Yang & Regan, 2013). Dating abuse, a form of intimate partner violence (IPV), is multilateral, multi-dimensional, and encompasses a wide range of types (Ilknur, Ozge, Durdane & Dilek, 2014). According to the World Health Organization (2012), dating abuse is any behavior that is able to elicit physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship and can also include controlling behaviors such as isolation from family and friends and restriction to financial resources, employment or medical care (World Health Organization, 2012). One of the types of abuse, physical abuse, is the use of force as a

means of enforcement, intimidation as well as belittlement. Physical abuse can include, but is not limited to, actions such as pushing, slapping, biting, punching, throwing objects, threats with tools and torture (Ilknur et al., 2014). Emotional or psychological abuse refers to the exploitation of an individuals emotions and psychological wellbeing for a variety of purposes such as humiliating, punishing or causing anger and tension (Ilknur et al., 2014). Sexual abuse includes both unwanted sexual behaviors such as groping or molestation as well as sexually explicit words (Ilknur et al., 2014). A common type of controlling behavior, economic abuse, can involve such as such as the denial of funds or the restriction of needs pertinent to ones wellbeing such as food and healthcare (Ilknur et al., 2014).

2.2 Prevalence and Scope

A major concern for university students is the high level of violence occurring in dating or cohabitating relationships (Straus & Ramirez, 2004). Globally, the most common form of violence that women experience is intimate partner violence (IPV) (Devries, Mak, Garcia-Moreno, Petzold, Child, Falder, Lim, Bacchus, Engell, Rosenfeld, Pallitto, Vos, Abrahams & Watts, 2013). The World Health Organization estimates that one in four women will experience some form of violence in their lifetime (World Health Organization, 2005). According to a national Canadian survey, 13.7 percent of the men who participated in the survey stated that they physically assaulted their university or college dating partners during the prior year (DeKeseredy, 2011). Moreover, 22.3% of the female respondents reported that they had been physically victimized by their dating partners within the past year (DeKeseredy, 2011). According to Perry & Fromuth (2005), up to 60% of postsecondary-age dating relationships have had some form of physical

violence. These findings are also supported by Miller (2011), who found that dating violence among undergraduate students is not uncommon; 58.2% of male respondents were identified as perpetrators of physical violence. The discrepancies in the rates of dating violence may be a result of incongruences in individual definitions of abuse, methodological variances as well as the types of behaviors that are regarded as abusive (Miller, 2011). For instance, those individuals who regard emotional and psychological abuse as a form of dating violence have been shown to report higher levels of abuse compared with those who consider dating abuse to be primarily physical (Jouriles et al., 2009).

2.3 Historical Background of Indians Living in the Caribbean

East Indians were the last wave of emigrants brought to the Caribbean region, particularly in Guyana and Trinidad, to fill a labour shortage following the emancipation of African slaves during the nineteenth century (Roopnarine, 2006). East Indians were brought to the Caribbean under the indenture system where they were required to provide contract labour for the planter class who were the owners of production. The indentured system was manipulated and abused; the planters were concerned primarily about profits as opposed to the general welfare of the labourers (Roopnarine, 2006). However, by the 1870's, the colonial government offered East Indian emigrants land to settle in lieu of return passages to India. As a result, many East Indians accepted this offer and stayed in the Caribbean (Roopnarine, 2006). The largest concentration of persons of Indian origin is in Guyana (43.5%), which is then followed by Trinidad (41%) and Surinam (35%) (Bureau of Statistics, 2002; CIA World Fact Book 2002).

For those that stayed, many maintained certain aspects of their ancestral home, such as their religion, strong family ties, marriage customs and the unequal status between men and women (Roopnarine, 2006). However, as time progressed the experiences of Indo- Caribbean's changed, some of the customs did not survive such as the role of extended families and an emphasis on the caste system. A majority of East Indians living in Guyana and Trinidad still retain a substantial portion of their Indian identity. However, this identity is a hybrid of two different ways of life (Roopnarine, 2006). A fusion of the various prominent religions in India such as Hinduism and Islam has produced a great popularity of both Hindu and Muslim devotional chants in Guyana and Trinidad. These chants and religious speeches are often available through Indo-Caribbean radio and television stations in Guyana and Trinidad (Tanikella, 2009). In addition, television stations often display news broadcasts from India. However, Indo-Caribbeans have maintained a divide in terms of support for sports such as cricket, some Indo-Caribbean's maintain allegiance to the Indian cricket team while others support the West Indian cricket team (Tanikella, 2009). Indo- Caribbeans have been steeped in both Indian and Afro-Caribbean culture; different Indo-Caribbean individuals maintain varying balances of these two cultures. The term 'creolization' refers to a process through which Caribbean people now maintain a distinct life that is different than India. This process involved the formation of new forms of identity and involved a reshaping of old traditions, both Afro-Caribbean and Indian (Munasinghe, 2001).

2.4 Intimate Relationships within the Indo-Caribbean Community

In regards to familial dynamics, many Indo-Guyanese describe their families as nuclear (Samuel & Wilson, 2009). The family unit includes a very close band of

extended lineage, and often involves relationships between many generations (Samuel & Wilson, 2009). Modern Indo-Caribbean families have been exposed to both the colonial nuclear family as well as Afro-Caribbean concubinage; as a result, Indo-Carribean families often embody elements of both Indian and Afro-Caribbean family dynamics (Samuel & Wilson, 2009). Among Indo-Caribbeans, the nuclear family is most common. This nuclear family is based on a patrilineal family that extends to all Indian communities around the globe; it is premised on group identity and cohesiveness (Samuel & Wilson, 2009). Moreover, conservative and compliant behavior, especially for female members of the family, is highly regarded.

Marriages within the Indo-Caribbean community are considered unions among two families, rather than a union of two individuals (Medora, Larson & Dave, 2000). Marriage is a predominant component of Indian life; it is a result of combined family efforts (Medora et al., 2000). The process of arranging a marriage is considered an important responsibility for parents or elders of the Indian family, and is still common among various socio-economic classes (Medora et al., 2000). Most marriages in India as well as the Caribbean are arranged by parents; however, the young couple entering the relationship often have varying degrees of choice (Samuel & Wilson, 2009). For instance, in some families the elders, most commonly the parents, will choose the spouse for their son or daughter with minimal feedback; while others offer more input into the decision. There is also varying levels of interaction among the perspective couple prior to an arranged marriage. For example, some couples may be allowed to date either chaperoned or un-chaperoned, while others may not be allowed to date prior to marriage.

2.5 Understanding Patriarchy

The confluence of a variety of factors can aid in the perpetration of intimate partner violence, this can include factors such as gender imbalances, socioeconomic inequalities and social norms. Patriarchy refers to social systems that facilitate the oppression and exploitation of women (Shankar & Northcott, 2009). Classic patriarchy is usually found within the family as well as extended family structures, where men generally have authority over women and senior men have authority over all family members (Shankar & Northcott, 2009). Within this structure, females are generally married at a young age into households headed by their father-in-law (Shankar & Northcott, 2009). Upon marriage, these females are considered subordinate to all men and senior women in the household (Shankar & Northcott, 2009). Moreover, the female in a traditional patricharcal household can solidify her place in the patriliny by producing male offspring (Shankar & Northcott, 2009). The young female may eventually gain authority and control over her future daughter-in-law. There is a growing acceptance and independence of daughters-in-law within traditional boundaries. There is, however, variances in the degree that patriarchal societies differ in regards to male dominance (Garcia & McManimon, 2011). In any given society, at any time, males may have total power and control over women or their dominance may be minimal, mirroring a more egalitarian framework. Within any type of patriarchal society, gender inequalities and imbalances persist (Garcia & McManimon, 2011). The extent to which that occurs within a Indo-Caribbean household has yet to be assessed.

As a result of a hybridity of cultures present in Guyana and Trinidad; Indo-Caribbeans share a balance between Indian and African ways of life. The Indian social

customs include practice such as the rarity of divorce, marriage customs and unequal status between men and women. Indian social traditions, such as the caste system, also reinforce the unequal status of women. For example, it is customary for an Indian woman to assume the caste of her husband (Kumar & Das, 2014). A woman's social fate is contingent initially upon her father, however her husband ultimately determines her social fate for the rest of her life (Kumar & Das, 2014). An Indian woman's social mobility is related to the men in her life, emphasizing her inferior status. From early childhood, Indian parents teach their daughters that the greatest harm she could inflict upon the family would be the shame they would experience if she were a bad wife, or if her marriage were to fail (Midlarsky. Venkataramani-Kothari & Plante, 2006). Therefore, women often stay in unhealthy situations in order to preserve the family name (Goel, 2005; Midlarsky et al., 2006). A married woman is encouraged to stay in a relationship where her husband mistreats her for the sake of her family name. In essence, male domination and rule is a large component of Indian marriage practices and inevitably affects the experiences of Indian women. Young women growing in Indo-Carribean families in Canada are exposed to these values to varying degrees, yet there is a large number of them who have to follow these values and traditions as they live in the larger Canadian society.

2.6 Socioeconomic Climate

The economy and intimate partner violence are interconnected both at the macro and micro level. At the macro level, financial costs are associated with intimate partner violence for things such as shelters and courts (Hattery, 2009). The state of the economy can play a major role in intimate partner violence. The contemporary system in the

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Caribbean is one that is contingent both upon capitalism and patriarchy. Due to a lack of opportunity, Guyanese and Trinidadian middle class men often find work in factories, while men with less skills find work as farmers in the sugar cane or rice fields, both of these occupations benefit the capitalist system by providing cheap labour to the owners of production (Gaffar, 1996). Conversely, women's role remains in the household where they are expected to take care of their children and husband. The combination of capitalism and patriarchy can create a very detrimental position for women as those who wish to leave abusive situations must choose between their own economic stability or safety (Resko, 2010). From a political standpoint, there is minimal representation or advocacy for women. It was only until 1996 that Guyana enacted the Domestic Violence Act as a result of the work of the National Women's Right's Campaign (Trotz, 2004). Similarly, in Trinidad, domestic violence law was not present until 1991. It is evident that there is little place for women in the patriarchal and capitalist systems of Guyana and Trinidad.

As a result of racially segmented political turmoil, structural inequality is present due to the racial divide between Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese political leaders. This places Indo-Guyanese women at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Violence against Indo-Guyanese women by more powerful Afro-Guyanese men has been relatively common. For example, in 1998 a young Indian woman was stripped and had her hair cut off by Afro- Guyanese mobs in Georgetown. According to the Guyana Indian Foundation Trust (GIFT), "women in Guyana are twice victims, As Indians they are victims, and as women they are victims" (Trotz, 2004, p.3). Violence against Indian women in Guyana not only occurs at the interpersonal level, women are also affected as a result of macro-

political conflicts. The subordinate position of Indo-Caribbean women in society as well as within their households can potentially aid in internalizations of inferiority as Indo-Caribbean women feel powerless from multiple positions.

At the micro level, the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy may transpire into interpersonal relationships, as finances become an issue of contention. The patriarchal notion that 'real men' are breadwinners of the family can aid in intimate partner violence (Hattery, 2009). For example, a man may feel threatened when his wife highlights his ability to provide for his family (Hattery, 2009). Furthermore, a woman's access to funds may contribute in her ability to leave the relationship, those who are from less affluent situations may struggle to find the means to leave her abusive partner (Resko, 2010). Women in abusive situations may not leave as a result of financial constraints such as their inability to find alternative housing. The contemporary poor economic performance and macroeconomic instabilities in Guyana and Trinidad may contribute in the abuse of women, however this relationship is complex and subject to a variety of factors such as social class, individual factors such as childhood abuse, and strain (Resko, 2010). When immigrants from developing countries such as Guyana and Trinidad migrate to Canada, their desires and practices upon arrival are deeply connected to the individual and family as they try to maintain affiliation to their home country (Leach, 2013). Moreover, many Indo-Caribbean immigrants refuse to submit to new migration realities. Although there is minimal research on acculturation and assimilation practices among the Indo-Caribbean population living in Canada, literature on South Asian immigration points to strong ties to the country of origin (Gupta, 2006; Liao, 2006). Therefore, it can be deduced that acculturation and assimilation pressure plays a

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noteworthy role in lives of Indo-Caribbean immigrants to Canada and may contribute in a significant manner to their lived experiences. In essence, there may be similarities in the lives of Indians in the Caribbean and those who have immigrated to Canada.

2.7 Balancing Identity

The balancing of multiple cultures, or biculturalism, is the ability for a person to function effectively in more than one culture, as well as the ability to switch between multiple roles in various cultural worlds (Sodhi, 2008). Individuals who are balancing multiple cultures are particularly important given the growing number of transnational social networks worldwide (Chand & Tung, 2014). As a result of the increasingly large percentage of ethnic minorities and biracial people living in Canada, it is an area that requires much attention, given that there are approximately 1 million Indo-Canadian (Chand & Tung, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2006). Since the 1980's the vast majority of immigrants to Canada have originated from various parts of the world including Asia, Africa, South America and the Caribbean (Bhuyan, Tarshis, Osborne, Zahraei, Migrant Mothers Project, 2014). Approximately one in five people living in Canada were immigrants and approximately 19% of people in Canada have identified themselves as a visible minority (Bhuyan et al., 2014). Maintaining a bicultural identity is not a dichotomy, there are second-generation Indo-Canadian individuals that embody a situational ethnicity (Sodhi, 2008). For instance, individuals with a situational identity have the option of selecting and discarding certain values and traditions as individuals begin to assume different identities according to the situation (Sodhi, 2008). Furthermore, individuals may embody multicultural or hybrid identities where they balance multiple cultures simultaneously (Sodhi, 2008). The tension arising from

balancing identities can transpire in many forms, for instance, there may be variances in paternal expectations regarding academic choices, professional success and dating as well as marriage (Sodhi, 2008).

According to Uskul, Lalonde and Konanur (2011), generational differences also accounted for discrepancies in Indo-Canadian beliefs. For instance, younger participants are more likely to give greater support to the young adult, less support to parent and generally held more positive general attitudes towards interfaith dating. These findings are supported by Sano, Kaida and Tenkorang (2015), who found that one's ethnic identity plays an extremely important role in the many choices that one makes throughout the life course including marriage, home ownership and employment. The impact of family socialization on individual ethnic and value formation has had profound impact on ethnic identity attainment (Sano et al., 2015). In addition, a strong sense of belonging to family contributes to strong ethnic identity attainment (Sano et al., 2015). For instance, speaking the heritage language fosters cultural solidarity as the language used at home contributes to strong ethnic identity (Sano et al., 2015). In essence, the confluence of many factors such as heritage language, generational differences and family socialization can have a tremendous impact on an individuals ethnic identity.

2.8 Analytical Framework

Intimate partner violence, notwithstanding the background, race, religion, economic status or age, are factors that profoundly impact human identity and are detrimental to all women (DeKeseredy, 2011). However, ethno-racial minority women face distinct circumstances that are distinct from mainstream women and ethno-racial minority men (Krane, Oxman- Martinez, Ducey, 2000). The notion that discrimination is

a universal experience for all women and all minorities regardless of gender has been questioned by a number of scholars (Crenshaw, 1991; Richie, 2000; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). In feminist theory, intersectionality is a way of conceptualizing the relationship between systems of oppression which construct our multiple identities and our social locations embedded within hierarchies of power and privilege (Carastathis, 2014). Identity, from the intersectionist perspective, are those categories which an individual claims membership and has personal meaning associated with those categories (Shields, 2008). Intersectionality has roots in Black feminism as well as critical race theory. Intersectionality moves beyond univariate categories such as class or gender which are present in classical sociology and includes other categories such as ethnicity, ability, age, immigration, sexual orientation and religion (Walby, Armstrong & Strid, 2012). This conceptualization recognizes the theoretical importance of multiple inequalities. According to Crenshaw (1991), women of colour are not immersed within traditional boundaries, the introduction of racism and sexism factors into coloured women's lives and cannot be looked at separately. Crenshaw's work has significantly developed the field of intersectionality as she highlighted the invisibility of black women at the intersection of gender and race (1989,1991). She identified the lack of focus on women of colour in the broader political sphere, particularly domestic violence, where the experiences of African-American women are made invisible by activists (Crenshaw, 1991). Drawing from the work of Crenshaw, McCall (2005), postulates that many groups, particularly small groups of people, have not been analyzed. Furthermore, these groups of people are at a serious disadvantage given the larger social processes and structures present that may be causing the inequalities (McCall, 2005).

In addition to race and sex, structural intersectionality emphasizes differences in economic, social and political worlds that women of colour face (Crenshaw, 1991). This is highlighted by the decreased likelihood for women of colour to have their needs met than women who are racially privileged (Crenshaw, 1991). For example, neighborhoods with a high density of ethno-racial minority groups often lack funding for public services relative to white-middle class neighborhoods (Crenshaw, 1991). It is a useful tool to address the marginalization of coloured women in society including the advocacy of violence against women for women of colour, particularly those from immigrant and socially disadvantaged communities (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays & Tomlinson, 2013). Moreover, the law has narrowly defined the contours of sex and race through the use of prototypical representations such as white women and African American women (Carbado et al., 2013). The current approach to addressing discrimination from a legal standpoint is narrow in terms of scope and the understanding of racism and patriarchy (Carbado et al., 2013). Intersectionality is aimed at bringing forth hidden dynamics in order to transform them and elicit social change (Carbado et al., 2013). This is achieved by unfolding the contrasting ways in which social structures utilize power and marginalization and help to influence politics and public knowledge (Carbado et al., 2013).

The analytical benefits of intersectionality, according to Carastathis (2014), is its ability to simultaneously look at oppressive institutions, it also takes into account the fact that a woman can concurrently be a member of the working class as well as an ethno-racial minority. In addition, intersectionality can be used to theorize the convergence of systems of oppression; for example, it makes visible the experiences of people who face

multiple forms of oppression without fragmenting their experiences (Carastathis, 2014; Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005). Intersectionality can also be used to account for structural complexities; it focuses on the intricacies of relationships, the intricacies of social groups, and various axes of oppression (Carastathis, 2014). This political and social inequality is discussed by Collins (2000), who posits that ethnic minority women are placed at a disadvantage politically and socially given a longstanding history of the social oppression of ethnic minorities. Collins (2000), also highlights the ability for social oppression to affect the daily lives of ethnic minority women; she discusses an interconnectedness between social and political suppression and individual lives. Lastly, it does not simplify social relationships and subjective experiences (Carastathis, 2014). According to Sokoloff & Pearce (2011), the interlocking nature of intimate partner violence is important to recognize; they posit that intimate partner violence is often apart of a larger set of historically related social systems. In essence, this feminist theory postulates that oppression is produced through the interaction of multiple, interacting and complex factors and purports that each form of oppression should not be looked at independently.

3. Methods

This is qualitative research that used one-on-one structured interviews. Interviewing is defined as simply a conversation with a purpose (Berg & Lune, 2012). For the purposes of this research, the purpose of the interview was to uncover information pertaining to the interviewee's personal and family background, home life and perceptions of abuse within the community. These structured interviews allowed me to explore the narratives of the interviewee's to better understand their perspective on

dating abuse within the Indo-Caribbean community. The interview guide included a variety of questions such as:

- Background information (i.e. country of origin, age, gender identity, level of education, marital status).

- Family structure (i.e. the number of siblings, the marital status of their siblings).

- Information regarding Immigration (i.e. the reason behind the families immigration to Canada, the people who accompanied the immigration, and the length of stay in Canada).

- Parental characteristics (i.e. the highest level of education that parents have obtained, their language and proficiency in speaking it, as well as the age the parents got married).

- Home life questions (i.e. the types of food eaten at home, the preferred types of movies watched as a family, news/media from the country of origin at home as well as relatives living within the home).

- The interviewee's were asked the perceptions of the Indo-communities acceptance of dating violence.

- Interviewee's were questioned about their perceptions of the pressure to date within the Indo-Caribbean community as well as their personal acceptance of dating.

- Shame and honour within the community was also examined (i.e., the difference between male and female dating).

- Interviewee's were questioned on their perceptions of dating behaviors specific to Indo-Caribbean people.

- The interview concluded with a question pertaining to prevention and response to dating abuse, with particular focus to the Indo-Caribbean community.

Participants often elaborated on the questions asked to them. This was useful as it allowed me to elaborate on previously covered content. In addition, it allowed the interview to flow more fluidly and fostered a more informal conversation.

I specifically selected first and second-generation self-identified Indo-Caribbean individuals (i.e. with families originating from Guyana and Trinidad) University of Ontario students or graduates from the ages 18-29. However, the eleven participants that I interviewed ranged from the ages 22-25. The participants were recruited utilizing a combination of snowball sampling and posters that I spread throughout the North and South campuses of the University of Ontario Institute of Technology. There was no financial or academic incentive for individuals to participate. Interested people were asked to contact me through a specific email designed for research purposes. Once I received the email, I would confirm their eligibility for the study and then provide them with a letter of invitation to equip the participants with more detailed information on what to expect during the interview. I would then schedule a meeting with the participants at a time and location of their choosing to ensure that they felt comfortable in their surroundings.

The interviews took place in a variety of locations such as coffee shops, private offices, residential homes or empty classrooms. I read each participant a verbal consent form and also had them read and sign a written consent form pertaining to the guidelines of the Research Ethics Board. Before I began, I asked each participant if I could audio recode the interview. All of the participants allowed me to audio recode

them, however, I made all of my detailed notes during the interview process as well as transcribed each interview. The interviews ranged from 10 minutes to 45 minutes. The median interview was approximately 30 minutes in length, the shorter interviews were a result of respondents who did not have any have anything to elaborate on and had a few one word responses.

   After conducting the interviews, I reviewed my notes and identified themes from the interviews that were then utilized during the analysis of my data. By sorting the data thematically, I was able to make connections to information from the various participants. The primary objective was to analyze the intersection between the participant's background, their perceptions associated with dating as well as their recommendations for response and prevention. Figure 1 is a representation of various intersecting factors that help shed light on dating violence within the Indo-Caribbean community.

Figure 1

Background	Perceptions	Reaction
• Individual • Family • Culture	• Community's Acceptance of Violence • Dating • Association between Dating and Shame/ Honour	• Response • Prevention
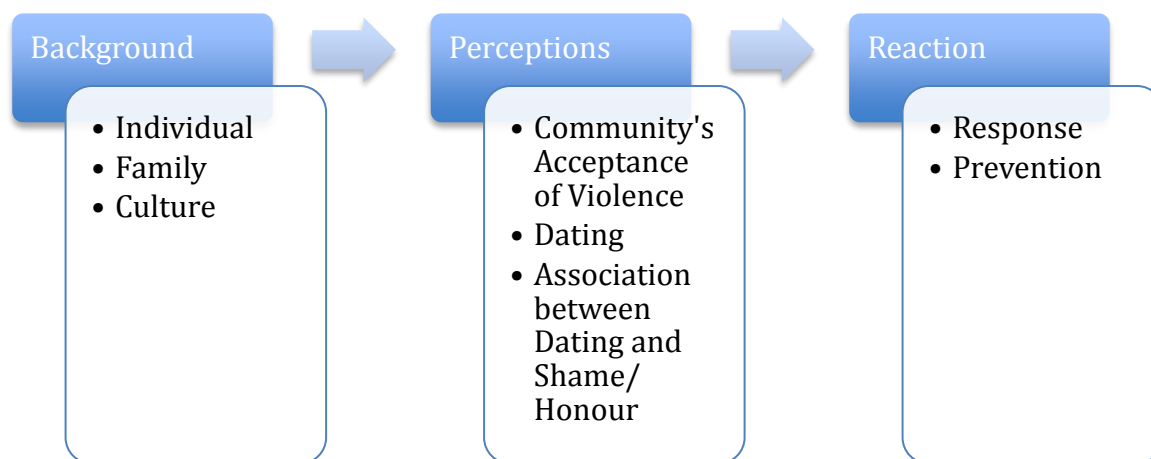
To clarify the intersectional analysis to commence, I will explore the data further to provide an overview of the participants. An analysis of the confluence of background, perceptions and recommendations will highlight the data and attempt to provide further insight into the topic of dating abuse among the Indo-Caribbean community.

The first group of factors that was assessed, background characteristics, included not only individual attributes, but family details as well. The influence of culture, such as the association to one's home country and use of heritage language was also included in the analysis. From the intersectionist perspective, it is impossible to assess an issue such as dating abuse without assessing various intersecting factors. By dissecting these background characteristics we are then able to shed light on various perceptions relating to violence, dating and shame/honour.

In addition to assessing the intersections involved in shaping perceptions, it is also noteworthy to examine necessary response and prevention measures that should be implemented, specifically within the Indo-Caribbean community. It is not only important to assess the perceptions within the community, prevention and response processes that could be useful for members of the Indo-Caribbean community.

4. Data Analysis

I begin the data analysis with a comprehensive description of each participant. I then analyze the various intersecting characteristics that include: the participants background (i.e. individual characteristics, family background and attachment to heritage culture); perceptions (i.e. on the communities acceptance of dating violence, dating, and the association between dating and shame/honour); and reaction (i.e. response and prevention process).

4.1 Profile of the Participants

I interviewed 11 self-identified participants, nine self identified as Indo-Caribbean heritage and 2 who identified as part Indo-Caribbean. Table 1 provides a breakdown of country of origin by gender. Four were male and seven were female. The average age of the participants was 23 years of age. The participants were both first and second-generation immigrants, most of the participants were born in Canada (82%, n=9), two participants were born in another country (12%, n=2). For the two immigrants who were born outside of Canada, one female came when she was 6 months old, and one male came when he was seven years old.

Table 1: Country of Origin by Gender

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Country of Origin	Guyana	1	1	2
	❖ Half Guyanese	1	1	2
	Trinidad	1	4	5
	Mixed (Guyanese/Trinidadian)	1	1	2
Total		4	7	11

4.2 Overview of the Participants

In order to provide a more nuanced understanding of each participant. I will provide information regarding their background. This will set the context for a more in-depth analysis of the participants perceptions of violence, dating, and shame/honour. The names of the participants are pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

Justin is an unmarried 24-year old Trinidadian born male. Both of his parents are from Trinidad and Tobago. His family immigrated to Canada in 1998 when he was seven years old. He has two younger brothers who are aged 23 and 13, neither are married. He is currently in his third year of university.

Kapil is an unmarried 25-year old half-Guyanese male. His mom is from Guyana and his dad is Middle Eastern. He was born in Canada. He has two siblings, a brother who is 26 and a sister who is 19, neither are married. He currently holds a bachelors degree.

Shaun is an unmarried 23-year old Guyanese male. Both of his parents as well as his step-dad are from Guyana. He was born in Canada. He has two siblings, a step-brother who is 27 and a step-sister who is 23, neither are married. He currently holds a bachelors degree.

Aliya is an unmarried 25-year old Trinidadian female. Her parents were both born in Trinidad and Tobago. She was born in Canada. She has one unmarried sister who is 23 years old. She is currently in her fourth year of University.

Anita is an unmarried 22-year old mixed Guyanese and Trinidadian female. Her mom was born in Trinidad and Tobago and her dad was born in Guyana. She was born in Canada. She has one unmarried brother who is 23 years old. She holds an undergraduate degree.

Asha is an unmarried 22-year old Guyanese female. Both of her parents were born in Guyana. She was born in Canada. She is an only child. She currently holds undergraduate degree and is in her first year of a postgraduate degree.

Navin is an unmarried 23-year old Guyanese and Trinidadian male. His mom was born in Trinidad and Tobago and his dad was born in Guyana. He was born in Canada. He has one unmarried sister who is 22 years old. He currently holds an undergraduate degree.

Nalanie is an unmarried 22-year old Trinidadian female. Both her parents were born in Trinidad and Tobago. She was born in Canada. She has three unmarried brothers, one of whom was born in Trinidad and Tobago. She currently holds an undergraduate degree and is in her first year of a postgraduate program.

Shanice is an unmarried 23-year old half-Guyanese female. Her dad was born in Guyana and her mom was born in Canada. She was born in Canada. She has one unmarried brother who is 28 years old. She currently holds an undergraduate degree and is in the second year of a postgraduate program.

Shamila is an unmarried 22-year old Trinidadian female. Both of her parents are from Trinidad and Tobago She was born in Trinidad and Tobago and came to Canada when she was 6 months old. She has one unmarried sister who is 20 years old. She currently holds an undergraduate degree.

Victoria is an unmarried 24-year old Trinidadian female. Both her parents are both from Trinidad and Tobago. She was born in Canada. She has two siblings, one sister who is 28 and a brother who is 22. Her older sister is married, and her younger brother is unmarried. She currently holds an undergraduate degree and is in the second year of a graduate degree.

4.3 Delving Deeper: Family Immigration and History

After each participant described a little about themselves, I asked them questions about their immigration as well as family history. Although most of the participants were born in Canada, they had a lot of knowledge about their family's immigration, as well as their family history. By delving deeper into the participant's life history, I was able to provide a context of their perceptions and beliefs pertaining to dating abuse within the

Indo-Caribbean community. As elucidated through intersectionality theory, the convergence of multiple factors shape lived realities (Crenshaw, 1991). In regards to family immigration, there were common themes such as: Canada as a better life, as well as reliance on family. In terms of family background, other themes such as lack of education and proficiency in Patwa emerged. I discuss these themes in more details in the following sections.

       4.3.1 Immigration: Canada as A Better Life. Most of the participants discussed their reason, or their families' reason for immigrating to Canada as a way of having a better life. Some participants highlighted more personal reasons, such as complications with a pregnancy. However, most participants discussed more macro-factors such as general opportunity or increasing crime in their whole country.

       4.3.2 Prevalence of Crime. Some of the participants with Trinidadian heritage discussed crime as a major factor for coming to Canada. For instance, Shamila stated:

> *At the time Trinidad, from what my parents have told me, the state of the country wasn't in a good state, there is a lot of crime going on, fears that the economy would go down.*

Similar statements came from Victoria who also highlighted the abundance of crime in Trinidad during the time her parents were living there. She stated the following reason for her parents immigration to Canada:

> *They came for a better life, there was a lot of crime going on, they actually met here (her parents), they had separate reasons, essentially the crime was high, and they wanted to move for better life and more opportunities here.*

In addition to crime, Victoria also mentioned the move for a better life and more opportunity. Her explanation included multiple reasons for immigrating to Canada, which highlights the negative position her family was in living in Trinidad and Tobago.

4.3.3 Lack of Opportunity. The perceived lack of opportunity was a common theme mentioned by many of the participants. For instance, Justin stated:

Uhh,, they wanted (his parents)… I guess Canada had better opportunities, other countries in the Caribbean they are still developing, Canada is already developed.

Justin honed in on the general lack of opportunities for developing countries in the Caribbean. Not only was Trinidad in a state of difficulty, so were other Caribbean countries such as Guyana. For instance, Navin also identified opportunities as a reason for his parents immigration:

For a better of life, to live the land of the free.

Navin's mention of living in the land of the free is relevant to Guyana's history at the time of his parents residency in Guyana in the mid 70's and early 80's. At the time there was conflict between two political leaders Forbes Burnham and Cheddi Jagan, that heightened tensions within the country (Smith, 1991). A lot of people in Guyana wanted to leave as a result of this conflict.

4.3.4 Immigration: Reliance on Family to Immigrate and Adjust. A majority of the participants' parents who immigrated to Canada relied on family in some form or another. The immigration process, for many of the participants was done individually. For instance, Shaun stated the following about his mom:

Came on a babysitter contract, she was going to babysit for her aunt's sister.

Ashley also noted a similar reliance on family, for instance:

My dad came when he was 12 with his family, my mom came at 18 to visit her sister.

Those participants who stated that their parents came on their own, substantially discussed their parents help sponsor siblings, parents, or their significant other. For instance, Shamila stated:

My dad came first, he lived with his mom and his brother... my mom came a couple of years later with me.

The reliance on family in terms of immigration is noteworthy, both in terms of sponsoring and in regards to members they came with. There was a great emphasis on the importance of family throughout the narratives of many of the participants.

4.4 Shedding Light on Family Background

4.4.1 Parents Levels of Formal Education. A majority of the participants had parents who did not attend university. A majority of the participants had at least one parent has attained high- school education. For instance, in regards to his parents education, Kapil stated:

Both of my parents obtained a high school education.

Similarly, Victoria stated the following about her parents education:

My dad has elementary school education and my mom finished highschool as well as some college courses here (in Canada).

Although most of the participants had parents without post secondary education, there were some participants who's parents had more extensive formal education such as

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Shanice's dad who has a university degree as well as Amit's mom who attended university in Trinidad.

4.4.2 Language Proficiency. People living in Guyana and Trinidad speak a deviation of English entitled "patwa" or "creole". Patwa is a form of English that does not maintain a synchronic distinction between older grammar (McWhorter, 2001). It utilizes a confluence of unknown older language grammar which is synchronically identifiable (McWhorter, 2001). In Guyana and Trinidad, Indo-Caribbean's use a version of patwa that is predominantly English but with both Indian and Caribbean influence. For example, Shaun used the word "mousie" to refer to his aunt; similar vernacular is used in India.

All of the participants stated that their Indo-Caribbean parents were proficient or very proficient in their usage of patwa except for Anita who stated that her dad was not that proficient in patwa.

It is interesting to note that a few participants discussed their parents ability to switch back and forth between their use of patwa and English. For instance, Justin stated:

Yes they can switch it up, like most people in the Caribbean, like my friends parents, you hear them on the phone at work and its proper English then it switches.

The notion of switching back and forth between English and patwa, according to Justin is widespread. Shanice stated a similar finding on a micro-level with her dad:

My dad speaks Guyanese English when he is around his brothers and sisters.

It appears that a majority of the participants have parents who are very fluent in patwa, or at least speak it on occasion. There also appears to be an on-demand switch to

Canadian English that some participants stated their parents were able to do. The overall use of patwa appears to be widespread within the community.

4.4.3 Paternal Age of Marriage. The paternal age of marriage for all of the participants ranged between 20-46. Many of the participant's parents got married at the same age, the widest gap in age between a husband and wife for a first marriage was 6 years and the largest gap including second marriages stands at 11 years. The following chart gives a detailed breakdown of the age of marriage each participant's parent.

Table 2: Age of the Participant's Parents at the Time of Marriage

Participant	Age of Marriage (Mother)	Age of Marriage (Father)
Justin	25	25
Kapil	25	25
Shaun	First Marriage: 26 Second Marriage: 35	26 Step Father: 46
Aliya	26	26
Anita	26	26
Asha	21	23
Navin	25	25
Nalanie	21	22
Shanice	25	26
Shamila	30	26
Victoria	24	30
Average:	**25.75**	**27.20**

As shown in the above table, the average age of marriage for the mother of the participant was 25.75, and the average age of the father was 27.20. Therefore, there is an average of 1.45 years between the age of mother and the father of the participants at marriage. The above information shows that generally, the parents of the participants got married at around the same age. This occurred approximately in the mid-20s age range.

4.5 Home Life: A Cultural Analysis.

In an effort to find information pertaining to closeness to one's culture, I asked the participants a series of questions pertaining to cuisine, movies, media and relatives. There were many similarities among the participants across the spectrum of topics covered.

4.5.1 Cuisine. The participants were asked the type of cuisine most commonly consumed within their household. The types of cuisines discussed included Indo-Caribbean food, such as various curries and roti. West Indian cuisine is similar in some regards to South Asian cuisine; however there is generally use of different spices. The participants also discussed eating South Asian and Canadian foods. They defined Canadian foods to include such things as hamburgers, pizza and pasta. A majority of the participants indicated that they consumed a mix of the aforementioned foods. For instance, Shamila stated:

> *We mostly eat Caribbean food like curry and stuff, but we also eat like Canadian food, like one day we will have like hamburgers, but mostly Caribbean food.*

Other participants stated that they simply ate a mix of everything; not indicating which one was more frequently consumed. It is evident that in regards to cuisine, participants often consumed a range of foods.

4.5.2 Movies. Following the discussion on the types of food eaten as a family, participants were asked the types of movies commonly watched in their household. I received a variety of responses such as comedy, thriller, horror/action, drama, romantic comedies, animated films and Disney films.

4.5.3 Decline in viewing Bollywood Movies. A few of the participants indicated a decline in viewing Bollywood movies within their household. For instance, Victoria stated the following about her family's cinematic preferences:

> *We like anything, I mean me and my dad prefer more action, like thriller, horror that kind of stuff. I really don't watch movies with my mom because she likes girly sappy stuff, and I really don't like that... I watch Indian movies sometimes, but I haven't really watched them in a few years because they take a long time and I don't have that time to watch.*

Victoria's decline in viewing Bollywood movies because of the time it takes to watch they take to watch. Often, Bollywood movies can extend past three hours. Justin also discussed a declining interest in Bollywood movies:

> *Bollywood movies as a family…Grew up on Bollywood movies pretty much, but as Bollywood movies got worse we started to watch more Disney or Pixar movies like Finding Nemo or Shrek.*

Justin stated that his family stopped watching Bollywood movies as a family due to their decreasing appeal. Anita also commented on her families reduced consumption of Bollywood movies.

> *No more Bollywood movies, if I watch them its on my own time now.*

The decrease in the consumption of Bollywood movies, according to the participants occur for a variety of reasons such as it's length, quality and appeal. The increase in other types of movies such as comedies and thrillers was stated by the participants.

4.5.4. News/Media From The Country of Origin. To determine the degree of association the participant and their families have to their country of origin, I asked them questions about the type of news media they watch or read and it's frequency. Some

participants claimed frequent usage, others occasional and some stated no news media use. The methods of retrieval also varied, for instance, some participants stated that their parents read newspapers, others watched television and some listened to the radio. There was no consistent pattern that could be identified in terms of news media.

When I asked about the frequency of media usage from the country of origin, some participants elaborated on frequent usage from multiple mediums. For instance, Victoria stated:

Yes, mostly we get it online… the Guardian, the Trinidad Guardian is the website, some stuff on Saturday mornings that we watch on TV, and the radio, we listen to the Trinidad news radio a lot.

This participant stated that not only her parents but she also watched, listened and read news media from her heritage country. However, others such as Justin stated that his parents were the only ones who frequently watched, listened and read news from their country of origin. Shaun also discussed his parent's use of news and media by stating:

Yes, my parents check this Guyana website, I don't know what the website is.

Shaun's statement shows that although frequent, it is his parents who use news media. He was unaware of the website, however was aware of his parent's usage.

Moderate use of news and media from the country of origin was reported by some of the participants. For instance, Anita stated:

Well you know those newspapers you get at the restaurants? We get those when we go out.

Anita referred to a single type of media coverage, and indicated that their

consumption of this was situational. Her family sought news coverage when it was

readily available to them. Similar findings were found with Aliya who stated:

My dad reads newspapers from Trinidad sometimes.

Aliya noted that the consumption was limited to one parent, her mother was not a

frequent reader of any type of news media from Trinidad. The more limited consumption

of news and media stated by the participants either involved a reduced number of

mediums used to retrieve the coverage as well as use from one parent.

Some participants claimed that they or their parents do not consumption news or

media in any form. For instance, Shanice whose dad is Guyanese, stated that she has no

form of media in her home nor does her dad use any online methods of retrieval.

4.5.5 Relatives In The Home Aside from the immediate family, none of the

participants indicated that any extended family resided within their household.

4.6 Unraveling Perceptions of Dating, Violence and Shame/Honour

The participants were asked various questions pertaining to topics surrounding

dating and violence within the community. For some topics, I found similarities in the

perceptions of the participants; however, for others the participants perceptions varied

greatly. For example, some of the participants believed that community members are

intolerant of violence, while others believed that the community in general was very

accepting; some participants were in the middle and believed that the community is

accepts certain types of violence to a moderate extent. The following analysis will shed

light on the spectrum of perceptions held by the participants.

4.6.1 Ranges of Attitude: From Acceptance to Un-acceptance

4.6.1.1 Un-acceptance. Some of the participants in the study believe that there is

a lack of acceptance of dating violence within the community. Many agree that dating

violence is a terrible thing and members of the community do not accept such

behaviour's. For instance, Kapil stated:

> *I don't think it's right, in any community… don't think that it's accepted. I have not seen it in my friends or family, especially the younger generations. Personally I don't see it, and I don't agree with it occurring.*

It is important to note that Kapil differentiated between generations, and believes

that their behaviors of younger generations may be different from the older generations.

Similar to Kapil, Victoria also discussed the lack of acceptance within the community.

She stated:

> *I don't think we are accepting of dating violence. I think it's a big thing, if you hear there is violence within a relationship people try to help each other. It's not a nice thing to go through.*

Victoria believes that members within the community attempt to help each other

out, and purports that there is a lack of tolerance for violence within a relationship. She

went on to discuss that she does not accept dating violence and would do what she could

to help someone who was in an abusive situation.

4.6.1.2 A middle ground: Accepted to An Extent. According to some of the

participants, the Indo-Caribbean community's acceptance of dating violence is only

partially acknowledged. These participants have a situational outlook and also believe

that the degree of assimilation to North American culture plays an important role in acceptance. According to Navin,

> *I think I am in the middle just because there are some extreme cases where they accept it and other cases where they don't… it can be pretty scary at times, especially people from the bush.*

Navin stands in the middle regarding his perceptions of dating violence within the Indo-Caribbean community. He refers to extreme cases where people are accepting of it, and states that there are times when people don't. His reference to people 'from the bush', alludes to individuals who are from the rural parts of Guyana and Trinidad. These types of people are perceived to embody extremely stringent values and behave in manners not acceptable to people living in the more densely populated areas. These perceptions are also held by other participants such as Nalanie who stated:

> *I am on middle ground, there are some serious cases and not so serious cases.*

Nalanie believes that some people are accepting of dating violence while others are not. Her remarks give reference to a spectrum of beliefs, and allude to the fact that some cases fall on either end of the spectrum. However, Justin believes this spectrum of believes is influenced by an individuals degree of assimilation:

> *It depends how assimilated you are, It has to do with education, the people who are more assimilated to Western civilization. They understand how a relationship is supposed to work, for Indo-Caribbean's it's a natural normal thing… the guys to be in charge of their girls. It's in chutney music like the song you don't have a man you have a manager, back in the day you have a song about sticking to one guy. As ladies become more educated, they are less ignorant about how relationships are going on, they are changing.*

Justin's comments highlight the importance of assimilation and education in shaping perceptions of violence within a relationship. He equated a lack of attachment to Indo-Caribbean values and assimilation to Canadian values to a decreased acceptance of dating abuse. He also elaborated on an overall change in perception that is occur within the community and used examples of a contemporary song entitled Manager by Nadia Batson that highlight some of that change. The lyrics from the song allude to women who have men that manage and control them, the song encourages women in general to breakaway from that type of situation.

In essence, some of the participants believe that there remains a spectrum of beliefs in regards to intimate partner violence and highlight the role that education and assimilation play in shaping beliefs.

4.6.1.3 Acceptance. An outright acceptance of dating violence was noted by some of the participants. These interviewees believed that this acceptance is not only widespread, it is prevalent particularly within the Indo-Caribbean community. The following statement was made by Anita when questioned about the acceptance of dating violence:

> *I think they think its ok for a man to be in control of the relationship, man to hit a woman, but this is more back home in a sense.*

Anita's statements draw attention to the belief that acceptance of dating violence more commonly occurs among people who live in Guyana and Trinidad. However, according to Asha, this acceptance also occurs within the community in Canada. She states:

In Canada, we may accept it more in our community than the rest of Canadians.

Her sentiments allude to a widespread acceptance of dating violence among members of the Indo-Caribbean community. However, although it is accepted, Shamila believes this issue is not commonly discussed. She notes:

I don't think (dating violence) is something that's really talked about, relatives and friends don't really bring it up. It's swept under the rug, if we don't talk about it we cant address it. I don't know the prevalence because we try to hide it. If there is an issue in general you swipe it under the rug, just like mental illness and Indian families.

Shamila's mention of a lack of discussion highlights a major issue, the inability to address dating abuse. It highlights a blind acceptance of violence without drawing any attention to prevention and response.

4.6.2 Dating Pressure

The perceived pressure from the community to engage in dating varied among the participants. Some of the participants believed there to be pressure, especially as they got older, while others believed the opposite to be true and believed that there was more o a pressure to get married.

4.6.2.1 The Perceived Pressure to Date. For one male participant, Shaun, he perceived there to be a great deal of pressure on him to date. When questioned about this pressure he stated:

Yes, Oh my god, Everyone is asking me why I don't have a gyalfriend (girlfriend). Maybe I should have one, but I don't.

The perceived pressure to date was also found by Shanice, the half-Guyanese participant who also felt a pressure to date. It is interesting to note that they only two participants who felt pressure to date were either male, or who were mixed (half Guyanese/half French Canadian).

4.6.2.2 No Perceived Dating Pressure. For a majority of the participants, no perceived pressure to date was found. On the contrary, many of the participants found a pressure not to date, especially at a younger age. For instance, Kapil stated:

> *There is more pressure to get married, no real pressure to date. You should not be dating at 18 or 19, but by 27 you should be married. And it's also looked down upon if you are not married by a certain age.*

Shamila also stated similar findings in regards to the pressure to date.

> *I find it's the opposite, parents and cousins try to make you wait longer before you start dating. When the time does come later on then its an issue, when your older and not married its also an issue.*

Moreover, the belief that dating should follow academics was highlighted by Victoria who stated:

> *It's more the opposite, academics come first, only date once you are done or almost done type of thing.*

In essence, there was a spectrum of sentiments on the perceived pressure to date, with some participants feeling more pressure than others.

4.6.2.3 Acceptability of Dating. When questioned about their personal beliefs about the acceptability of dating, all of the participants stated that they personally believe that dating is acceptable. Although accepting of dating, Aliya was the only participant to mention a personal belief that dating should occur at the age of at least nineteen.

4.6.3 The Impact of Shame and Honour on Dating

In order to assess the impact of shame and honour on dating behaviours of Indo-Caribbean young adults, various contributing factors were assessed. The participants divulged a range of factors such as age, family approval, gender and purity as contributors to heighted shame and dishonor. The following is a breakdown of each contributing factor mentioned by the participants.

4.6.3.1 Age. For some participants, the age of the individual dating can have a large impact on perceived shame, especially for young females. There was no specific mention of shame related to a male dating at an early age, however age in general was stated as a contributing factor. For instance, Shamila noted:

> *Defiantly different (males and females), a male can date at a young age and his parents have less of an issue than a female dating.*

Her comments allude to an issue with age and dating, however also highlight a discrepancy in gender given various ages. The variances in male and female dating at a young age was also noted by Victoria who stated:

> *A little bit (males and females), older generations will see a girl dating that's not so good, if it was a male that's fine, even if they are the same age.*

Victoria highlights the inequalities, specifically ageism, surrounding males and females who are dating, and notes a difference with the older generation and their perceptions of female's dating.

4.6.3.2 Family Approval. For some of the participants, family approval was greatly linked to highlighted levels of shame and dishonor, particularly for females. According to both Shaun and Shanice, it is important for a young adult who is dating to

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stick to their culture when choosing a partner. This decision, according to Shaun is greatly impacted by racism. For instance, Shaun stated:

> *There is a big impact (shame and dishonor), if you are Indo-Guyanese, you don't want them dating a black person. There is racism involved- acceptable of white people but not black.*

His statements underline a reason that could cause shame and honour for an Indo-Guyanese person. As discussed previously, the political turmoil in Guyana between Indians and Afro-Caribbean people elicited hyper-racism, which contributed greatly to a need to maintain cultural boundaries. Shanice also drew attention to the preference to maintain cultural boundaries in order to maintain family approval. She noted:

> *Before more than now (impact of shame and honour), so many different interracial marriages now, find it better to stick within the same culture. Most of my dad's older brothers and sisters married Indo-Caribbean.*

Shanice's statements allude to a difference in generational thought, she went on to discuss the younger generations difference in viewpoint and their acceptability of interracial marriages. According to her, the shame and dishonor associated with an interracial marriage is more common amongst older individuals.

Shamila also discusses the need for the family to approve of the dating relationship. She notes the following about the influence of shame and honour:

> *Has to do with the type of person you date, do they have their head on straight, a good career, someone your family approves of.*

According to Shamila, shame and dishonor can be a result of the family's disapproval of one's potential partner. According to many of the participants, there is a

link between family approval and the level of shame and dishonor displaced on the dating couple.

4.6.3.3 Variance in Acceptability By Gender. Many of the interviewee's discussed a variance in the acceptability of dating by gender. For all of the participants, young male adults have more leniency in terms of dating and much less emphasis on honour and shame. For instance, Anita stated:

> *If someone see's something, if a daughter is sneaking with a guy, according to the girls family she doesn't have any honour. Guys have more leniency, its not fair, they get away with anything.*

For Anita, young male adults have the ability to date much more freely than female's. She states that they are in a superior position and will be less likely to face repercussions for any dating behaviors. The belief that males have more leniency than females was also discussed by both Asha and Kapil. They stated:

> *It's more acceptable for boys, boys can be more open about it.* -Asha

> *More leniency for males, guys have more flexibility with dating, especially but with girls it's more looked down upon. They should focus on their studies.* -Kapil

Both of these participants share similar views, and note that young adult males are ridiculed less for their dating behaviors and choices. They note the increased flexibility in dating for males, compared to females.

4.6.3.4 Emphasis on Purity. According to Ortner (1978), purity of a woman reflects the honour and status of ones families, and is enforced by systemic control of a woman's social and sexual behavior. Some of the participants underlined an association between a female's perceived purity as well as the degree of shame and dishonor to her family. Navin honed in on this perception with the following sentiment:

Women have to stay pure, its frowned on them to date. It's ok for males to go out and get notches on their belt.

Navin's sentiments allude to patriarchal ideologies maintained by some Indo-Caribbean people. For instance, the idea that it is ok for men to engage in whatever sexual behavior they choose while restricting the behavior of women. Nalanie also discussed the notion of purity of women, she stated:

It's a big impact (shame and honour), for girls because they have to be pure, guys can do whatever they want.

Nalanie's sentiments mirror Navin as she also believes that the community places the purity of women in high regard. In essence, the participants believe that the community accepts male to promiscuity and places emphasis on a females maintenance of her virginity and honour.

4.7 Dating Behaviors Specific To The Indo-Caribbean Community

When questioned about their perceptions about dating behaviors specific to Indo-Caribbean persons, participants produced a wide spectrum of answers. For some participants, there is nothing specific about Indo-Caribbean dating behaviour, others believe patriarchy, sticking within the culture or even cheating was specific to dating within the community.

4.7.1 Nothing Specific. According to Shanice, Shaun and Asha, there is nothing particularly specific about dating that occurs within the Indo-Caribbean community.

4.7.2 Patriarchy. Falling under the realm of patriarchy, behaviors such as male dominance, control, and female abuse have been noted by some participants. These

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participants believe that male dominance is an intricate part of dating within the Indo-Caribbean community. For instance, Navin stated the following about Indo-Caribbean specific dating:

> *Controlling, and abusive from time to time. I have heard horror stories from friends who say they are controlled.*

Navin believes that Indo-Caribbean people are commonly controlling, however he believes that abuse (physical) only occurs from time to time. His statements indicate a disassociation between control and abuse. To him, being controlled doesn't always mean that you are being abused. Nalanie also mentioned strictness as a behaviour specific to Indo-Caribbean, he believes that members of the Indo Caribbean community are generally more restricted in their ability to date.

4.7.3 Preserving the Culture. The maintenance and preservation of the culture have been highlighted by some of the participants. These interviewee's believe that Indo-Caribbean people wish to stick within their culture, keep family involved, and maintain religious traditions. They also believe that attending 'fetes' with one's partner, or parties that play soca and Caribbean music are exclusive to Indo-Caribbean. For instance, Anita stated the following about Indo-Caribbean dating:

> *We go for our own kind. Try to keep our traditions alive.*

 Anita noted a desire to date and marry other individuals who are also Indo-Caribbean, She also highlighted a tendency to maintain and preserve traditions by dating someone with a similar background. According to Kapil, this is evident when looking at religion, for instance the types of traditions surrounding a wedding vary according to

your background. According to these individuals, they believe that Indo Caribbean

people wish to maintain their own culture in order to preserve traditions and religion.

Another way of maintaining culture, according to Justin, is by attending fetes. He

believes that couples go to these types of parities where music that originated in the

Caribbean is played works to preserve Caribbean traditions.

Preserving and maintaining strong family relationships is an integral part of Indo-

Caribbean culture. According to Shamila, family involvement is extremely important.

She believes:

> *The family gets to know the person earlier on, family is so important. We don't
> rush things as quickly as other cultures.*

According to Shamila, the involvement of the family is extremely important. She

believes that Indo-Caribbean people do not rush into marriage as quickly as other cultures

do, as the immediate families of the individuals dating take time to get to know each

other.

In essence, some of the participants believe that maintain culture such as

attending fetes, getting the family involved and preserving culture and religious traditions

are behaviors more exclusive to Indo-Caribbean people.

4.7.4 Love Affairs Engaging in an alternate relationship outside of a

monogamous relationship is a behavior that Aliya believes is specific to Indo-Caribbean

people. Her believe is that Indo-Caribbean people have a common tendency to engage in

such affairs, as they are more likely to be overt in their displays of sexuality and sexual

relations.

5. Moving Forward: Prevention and Response

In an effort to minimize the damage caused by dating abuse, I asked the participants about methods to prevent and respond to dating abuse, particularly within the Indo-Caribbean community. The participants identified a variety of recommendations for prevention including awareness, education, caregiver guidance, assimilation and the promotion of positive self-esteem. In regards to response, some participants discussed accountability as well as access to resources.

5.1 Prevention

5.1.1 Awareness Many of the participants believe that awareness is an integral part of the prevention of dating abuse among indo-Caribbean people. The following statements highlight the participants beliefs surrounding awareness:

> *People just need to be aware of how things are perceived modernly and how things should be done.* – Kapil
>
> *People need to open their eyes, girls need to become more aware. It's a larger sociological problem.* – Justin
>
> *It needs to be talked about. The biggest issue is we don't talk about it and we frown upon it. We need awareness.* – Shamila
>
> *Awareness is needed. Times are changing, it cycles out.* - Shanice
>
> *More awareness, it's pretty much if you can bring awareness to any sort of problem like this and push people who are doing this, it will stop.* – Shaun
> *More open dialogue, there would be change if people felt more comfortable talking about it.* – Asha

These participant statements highlight the need for widespread awareness and discussion surrounding dating abuse. In essence, by recognizing that there is an issue, it provides the platform for change.

5.1.2 Education Another mechanism for the prevention of dating abuse, according to the participants, is education, particularly at a young age. These individuals believe that by educating young minds you are helping to prevent dating abuse before it is most likely to occur. The following sentiments hone in on participants perceptions surrounding education:

> *Post secondary schools have a lot of influence. If it is happening in high school it could be different, they may not be as ready to talk about these things. They don't know about these things and what's available.* – Victoria

> *Education is needed.* – Anita

> *Education is a big one, it's needed in schools and stuff. I didn't start hearing about it until university. It's better if its done at a younger age.* – Shamila

> *Implement programs, such as the race against drugs in elementary school.* – Justin

According to the above participants, education is crucial, particularly at a young age in order to provide awareness to dating abuse. It is possible that if kids are made aware from an early age issues surrounding dating violence, they can be able to make more educated decisions in their future.

5.1.3 Caregiver Guidance. For some of the participants, they believe that education and guidance should begin at home. The following sentiments showcase the perceptions of the interviewees in regards to caregiver guidance:

> *You should talk and be more open with your children. West Indian people don't talk to their children about that.* – Nalanie

> *It starts at home, how the parents treat each other. It all stems from that… Parents need to realize its important about how they behave and interact with their kids.* – Justin

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These participants highlight the importance of discussing issues with children and acting as a role model for positive behaviour. However, this can only be possible if parents are made aware of positive behaviors are knowledgeable about positive behaviors in a dating relationship.

5.1.4 Assimilation. Some of the participants believe that assimilating to the host country is a mechanism for change. They believe that by adapting to the host country (i.e. Canada), they will shed their patriarchal values and embody a more egalitarian viewpoint. The following statements display the perceptions of some of the participants:

> *When you are in Guyana and Trinidad, things are different. They must adapt to the society that they are in*. - Kapil
>
> *People need to get with the times, a lot of people have a different mindset.* – Anita

The aforementioned participants maintain the belief that the values of the host society, or Canada, are different from Guyana and Trinidad. They believe that the beliefs of those in Guyana and Trinidad are more likely to elicit violence than Canadian beliefs. As a result, adapting to the Canadian way of life will reduce the amount of abuse that occurs within a dating relationship.

5.1.5 Promotion of Positive Self-Esteem. According to Aliya, a mechanism to prevent dating abuse is to have a high self esteem. She states:

> *Having a high self-esteem is important. Most girls who get beat think they deserve it.*

According to Aliya, females in an abusive situation should have a higher self esteem. She believes that by having a high self-esteem young females in dating relationships will be able to leave given their heighted sense of self worth.

5.2 Response

5.2.1 Accountability. According to Shaun, a retributive approach to handling dating abuse will act as a deterrent for dating abuse. He believes:

.....if you punish people who are doing this, it will stop.

A retributive approach, according to Shaun, will act as a deterrent. According to him, this along with awareness will deter those who wish to engage in abusive practices.

5.2.2 Access to Resources. Victoria believes that reactive resources should be available to victims of dating abuse. In order for that to happen, she believes that people should be made to know of resources available to them such as helplines. She believes that this is particularly important if individuals are not comfortable discussing issues with their parents or family members.

Table 3: Summary Chart of Participant Beliefs to Prevent and Respond to Dating Abuse

Prevention	Response
Awareness	Accountability
Education	Access to Resources
Caregiver Guidance	
Assimilation	
Promotion of Positive Self-Esteem	

6. Discussion & Conclusion

Dating abuse, and violence against women in general, is a prevailing issue that touches the lives of many different women (DeKeseredy, 2011). However, the degree to

which woman are affected by dating abuse is not uniform (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991). This research intends to evaluate the perceptions of dating abuse from members of the Indo-Caribbean community, specifically those with linage from Guyana and Trinidad. The incidence of violence has been documented in the Caribbean as far back as the history of Indian indenture, which spanned from the mid 18th century into contemporary society (Sukhu, 2013). Therefore, the objective of this research has been to assess the meanings that immigrant Indo-Caribbean young adults give to intimate partner violence and dating. In order to divulge deeper into these issues, I have assessed the intersection of various characteristics, including: (1) Individual identities; (2) family immigration and history; (3) family background; (4) cuisine at home; (5) commonly watched movies; (6) use of news and media from the country of origin; (7) relatives living in the home; (8) the perceived acceptance of dating violence within the community; (9) perceived dating pressure; (10) perceptions on the acceptability of dating; (11) the impact of shame and honour on dating; (12) dating behaviours specific to the Indo-Caribbean community; (13) tools to prevent dating abuse; (14) tools to respond to dating abuse. This section will provide an analysis of the previous findings and discuss their significance to current literature. I will then highlight the strengths and weaknesses of this research as well as implications for future studies.

6.1 Individual Identities: Examining Participant Characteristics.

According to research on immigration, immigrants are those individuals who are socially embedded within an experiential world (Deaux, 2006). It is an experience that begins before people move away from their country or origin and after they arrive to their new country (Deaux, 2006). It continues to have relevance in years and generations to

come (Deaux, 2006). Therefore, assessing the attributes and experiences of both first and second-generation Indo-Caribbean persons is salient. In line with intersectionality theory, different people embody various intersecting identities that shape their realities. The intersecting factors that were questioned pertaining to individual identity included the participant's age, marital status (themselves and their siblings), country of origin and education.

The participants ranged in age from twenty-two to twenty-five. All of the participants were unmarried. All but one of the participants stated having at least one sibling. Victoria was the only participant who stated she had a married sister, all of the other participants had siblings who were unmarried. Although some of the participant's siblings were older, such as 28 years of age, they were all unmarried. This may suggest many things such as decreasing pressure to marry or increasing age of marriage. It is important to note that they only married sibling of a participant was an elder sister.

Only two of the eleven participants, in the study, Justin and Shamila, identified as first generation Indo-Caribbean's; the remaining nine identified as children of parents who immigrated to Canada. When questioned about their country or origin, those participants who were born in Canada, stated either Guyana or Trinidad or a combination of either. They claimed an affiliation to their parental country regardless of the country that they were born in. There was a relatively even mix of Guyanese and Trinidadian participants. Of the interviewee's, four stated they had Guyanese heritage, five stated that they had Trinidadian heritage, and two of the participants claimed that they were mixed Guyanese and Trinidadian. There appeared to be a mix of identities, including two participants who were half Guyanese; one female stated she was half French-Canadian

while another male claimed he was half Middle Eastern. Although many of the participants were born in Canada, their association to the home country of their parent's shows highlights the interconnectedness and multi-faceted nature of their cultural identity.

6.2 Family Immigration and History.

Many of the participants in the study stated similar macro-level reasons for their immigration to Canada such as a lack of opportunity as well as increasing rates of crime. These findings are consistent with Ricketts (1987), who notes that a vast amount of migration to North American from the Caribbean occurred as a result of poor economic conditions as well as social and political conflict in the home country.

A reliance on family members, especially at the time of migration, was noted by many of the participants. These finding suggests a collectivist culture, with their insistence on social conformance, work by placing the family over the individual (Uppalury & Racherla, 2014). The culture in India has been regarded as collectivist, where the responsibility for the cohesion of the family lies predominantly in the hands of the female head of the household (Uppalury & Racherla, 2014). It is therefore unremarkable that the Indo-Caribbean migrant family maintain conformance at the time of immigration. According to this research, the Indo-Caribbean family maintains similar conformity to that of their Indian counterpart.

6.3 Family Background

In regards to family background, it is interesting to note that many of the participant's parent's did not receive extensive formal education. Furthermore, there was a relatively even split in regards to the parent with the higher amount of formal education.

There were five instances where the mother received more formal education than the father, four instances where the father received more formal education than the mother and two instances where both parents received the same amount of formal education. These findings highlight a lack of gender bias in regards to formal education. It appears that Indo-Caribbean women and men are educated similarly.

In regards to the vernacular spoken by the parents of the participants, a majority of them stated that their parents were either proficient or very proficient in patwa. During the interview with Shaun, there were instances where he also spoke in patwa, by using terms such as "gyalfriend" (girlfriend), as well as "bruk up" (broken up). A majority of the participants also indicated that their parents were able to switch between patwa and Canadian- English. This ability to switch on a situational basis suggests a degree of assimilation to the country of immigration. Conversely, the use of patwa by the participants suggests some degree of association with both Guyana and Trinidad. In essence, the proficiency in the use of English and patwa signify a degree of assimilation to the country of immigration, however also signifies a connection to the country of origin.

For the parents of the participants, the average age of marriage for the mother was approximately 25.75, while the average age of the father at the time of marriage was 27.20. According to the 2004 consensus, the average age of marriage in Canada for females is approximately 32.4 years of age, while the average age for males is 34.9 (Statistics Canada, 2004). Comparatively, the average age of marriage in Guyana, including all races and ethnicities was 26.5 for males and 21.4 for females (Statistics Guyana, 2002). According to Central Statistical office of Trinidad and Tobago, the

average age of marriage for males was approximately 31.4 years of age and for females an estimated 28.1 years of age (Central Statistical Office of Trinidad and Tobago, 2000). According to the India human development survey, in 2005, was 17.39 years of age for women and 18 for men (Desai, Dubey, Joshi, Sen, Shariff, Vanneman, 2009). These results are summarized in the following table:

Table 4: Median Age of Marriage by Country

	Men	Women
Canada	34.9	32.4
India	18.2	17.4
Guyana	26.5	21.4
Trinidad	31.4	28.1

Average age of participant father: 27.20, Average age of participant Mother: 25.75

Therefore, it appears the Indo-Caribbean parents age at marriage in the study lower than the national Canadian average, yet higher than the average age of marriage in India. The average age of marriage for the participant's parents fell higher than the national average of Guyana, but lower than the average in Trinidad. This suggests that the age of marriage for the participants were more similar to national averages in Guyana and Trinidad than they were to averages in India.

6.4 Home Life: A Cultural Analysis.

All of the participants in the study discussed consuming a fusion of different types of cuisine at home, including Indo-Caribbean, Canadian, South Asian and Italian. The consumption of a wide range of foods suggests an assimilation to the country of immigration. However, they also stated that they commonly consumed Indo-Caribbean food, which is a deviation from Indian food. This also suggests a fusion of both the Caribbean and Indian cultures. In essence, there appears be an amalgamation of cuisines

that Indo-Caribbean individuals consume that combine facets of many different cultures associated to them.

All of the participants in the study stated that they consumed some genre of North American film such as dramas, thrillers or Disney movies. As a family, not many of the participants still watch Bollywood or Indian films. Many stated reasons such as it's length, quality, and appeal as reasons for their decreased consumption. The declining consumption of Bollywood films suggests an increasing acculturation into North American culture, as many of the participants stated they used to watch Bollywood films, especially when they were younger, or as they or when their parents were more recent immigrants to Canada.

According to the participants, the types of news and media that were consumed varied from household to household, with some utilizing primarily online methods of retrieval, some listening to the radio, and others reading newspapers. However, not all of the participants stated that their parents used news media from their country of origin in the same frequency. For instance, some participants stated that their parents used news media frequently, others stated they used it occasionally and a few stated their parents don't use any form of news media. This suggests a varying level of attachment to the country of origin, with some of the participant's families more interested in their country of origin than others. In addition, I purport the participants whose parents frequently consumed news media from their country of origin, feel more of an association or connection to their home country.

In North America, nuclear family households, which include members of the immediate family have generally been regarded as standard, extended family households

are not as common but are particularly prevalent among minorities and immigrants (Kamo, 2000). Although all of the participants in the study came from immigrant households, none of them stated that they currently live in an extended family household. However, a few did mention their families residing within extended family households when they had newly immigrated to Canada. For example, Shaun stated that when his mom first came to Canada she came to babysit for his aunts sister, so she resided with them during that timeframe. This is in line with Kamo (2000), who note that individuals who live in extended family households usually do so for a short period of time. Extended family households are also common when there is a lack of resources, such as elderly parents who lack extensive financial assets, or a single mother who lacks support from the father of her child (Kamo, 2000). All of the participants in the study either immigrated to Canada or had parents immigrate to Canada at least 18 years ago. This suggests that the participants and their families have had a substantial amount of time in Canada to build an economic foundation. Therefore, they are less likely to require the assistance that comes with living in an extended family household.

6.5 Unraveling Perceptions of Dating, Violence and Shame/Honour.

When questioned about the Indo-Caribbean community's acceptance of dating violence, participants gave a wide range of responses including a lack of acceptance, moderate acceptance and widespread acceptance. For the participants who stated that there is a general lack of acceptance, they believed that there isn't acceptance in any community and also believed that people are always willing to help each other, especially when they are in an abusive situation. Those that stated they believe there is a moderate acceptance of dating violence note a difference between urban and rural perceptions and

also believe that those who are more accepting are less assimilated to Canada. And lastly, there were some participants who believed that there is an outright acceptance of dating abuse within the Indo-Caribbean community and believe that a lack of attention exacerbates the problem. The variance in perceptions of the communities acceptance of dating violence was also found by Zaidi, Couture-Carron, Maticka- Tyndale & Arif (2014), who examined second-generation South Asian youth in the Greater Toronto Area and found that variances in one's identity alters perceptions of acceptance and experience with intimate heterosexual relationships. Variances in perceptions of abuse in dating relationships was also found by Bartholomew, Schmitt, Yang & Regan (2013), who found variances in perceptions based on gender. In line with intersectionality theorists, it appears that various intersections in factors such as gender, individual characteristics and cultural factors influence individual perceptions.

The pressure to date was absent for many of the participants in the study. On the contrary, many of the participants discussed a pressure to get married by a certain age over a pressure to date. These findings are similar to Samuel (2010), who note that second-generation South Asian individuals feel pressure to comply with traditions surrounding marriage and mate selection. Samuel (2010), notes that his pressure makes it challenging for young adults to find a balance between the wishes of their parents and their desires. For instance, Kapil stated that he believes there is more of a pressure to get married by a certain age, then there is a pressure to date. However, he found this contradictory because he believed that there needs to be time for you to date someone before you are able to get married. There were some participants such as Shaun who perceived a pressure date because he had finished school and was working full time. He

stated that he was constantly asked about when he plans on having or bringing a girlfriend home to the family. He was the only participant to state personal experiences with dating pressure. Although the pressure to date was relatively uncommon among the participants, I purport that the pressure to date likely only occurs with Indo-Caribbean males, Many of the female participants that I interviewed instead highlighted a pressure to stay in school and be married by their late 20s.

In regards to the general acceptability of dating, all of the participants in the study stated that they personal believe that dating is acceptable. These findings are similar to Taylor, Rappleyea, Fang and Cannon (2013), who surveyed youth aged 18-25 and found that most youth, regardless of gender or religiosity, find dating behaviors such as 'hanging out' acceptable. However, Zaidi et al. (2014), interviewed undergraduate South Asian students and found variances in the acceptability of dating; they found that religious Muslim participants were not acceptable of dating regardless of gender. Overall, Zaidi et al. (2014), found that the acceptability of dating varies, depending on the participant, but was more common among percipients who did not identify as religious. These findings differ from the current study, where I found that all participants, regardless of their families association to their culture, found dating acceptable. These findings differ from Zaidi et al. (2014), study of South Asian young adults who found variances in the acceptability of dating. It can be suggested that members of the Indo-Caribbean community have different perceptions than South Asian students, but more similar to the general North American population as found with Taylor et al. (2013).

When questioned about the impact of shame and honour on dating, the participants discussed many factors such as age, family approval, gender and purity as

contributors to higher levels of shame and dishonor. For instance, they believed that the older someone was, the more less shameful dating became; however they perceived this as less of an issue for males who they stated generally do not have issues with dating even if they are younger. Similarly, Manohar (2008), found that second-generation Patel Indians are more accepting of men dating a younger age; most of the male participants in her study began dating in high school while the women began dating in university. However, not all of the dating behaviours were made aware to parents (Manohar, 2008). Similarly, Samuel (2010), found for South Asian immigrants to Canada, arranged introductions for second-generation females generally occur at an age closer to 26 or 27. These findings are similar to the current study as they suggest an age requirement on dating, that many of the participants believe occurs within the Indo-Caribbean community.

In order to minimize shame and dishonor when dating, some of the participants discussed the need for family approval when choosing a partner; participants noted a preference to preserve relationships by sticking within the culture and also highlighted some racist ideologies such as a preference for Caucasian over Black partners. However, the participants also highlighted the fact that older generations generally maintain specific cultural and religious preferences, and noted that younger generations generally do not reinforce such ideologies. The need for a partner that the family approves is also discussed in previous studies (e.g. Manohar, 2008; Samuel, 2010 & Uskul et al., 2011), who all note a preference for South Asian immigrants in North America to maintain marriage and relationship ties within the community and culture.

The ability for males to date more freely than females was noted by many of the participants. They believe that shame and dishonor disproportionately affect females over males. The ability for males to date more freely was also discussed by Manohar (2008), who purports that double standards restrict second-generation Indian women from dating more severely than it does their brothers. Manohar (2008), also discusses the female as acting as a picture of the family, and states that parents often warn their daughters away from activity that could threaten their reputation. On the other hand, Indian men have the freedom to date freely and are unburdened by the reasonability of maintaining the family's respect and reputation (Manohar, 2008). These findings are in line with the current study as they highlight a discrepancy in shame and dishonor elicited by dating based off of an individual's gender.

The interviewee's in the current study honed in on a need for females in the community to remain virgins, or 'pure' and stated that males have the ability to be sexually promiscuous without stigmatization. Therefore, there is an association with female chastity and the perceived honour of the girl and her family. The association between purity and status is also noted in previous studies (i.e. Abraham, 1999; Bhatt, 2008; Goel, 2005) that note an association between a young adult female's purity and her perceived status within the community; furthermore, these studies make a positive correlation between a female's purity and her marriageability. Therefore, the current study which focuses on Indo-Caribbean young adults mirrors previous work on the South Asian population as it demonstrates a relationship between female purity and shame and dishonor within the family and community.

The interviewee's yielded a range of responses when questioned about their perceptions regarding dating behaviors specific to the Indo-Caribbean community. For some of the participants, they believed that nothing was specific to the Indo-Caribbean community while others believed that male dominance, preserving the culture, or love affairs were culturally distinct. Currently, there exists minimal academic research on dating within the Indo-Caribbean community. However, there appears to be some similarities with South Asian Immigrants such as patriarchal beliefs and a desire to preserve the culture. However, the preservation of the culture is slightly different for Indo-Caribbean young adults. For instance, attending 'fete's', or establishments where soca music is played and women and men dance in overtly sexualized manners is an aspect of Indo-Caribbean culture that is different from South Asian culture. It is important to note that traditional soca is a type of music very common in Trinidad and Tobago, and was largely prevalent among the Black population in Trinidad; however, a new form of soca has emerged in 1980s that includes a mix of soca by Trinidadians of East Indian decent and includes Indian precession styles (Pinto, 2009). The overt sexual display of the female body, which is common in soca dance styles, is remarkably different from South Asian dance forms. According to Justin, it is common practice for Indo-Caribbean couples to attend parties where this type of music and sexualized dance is prevalent. In essence, there are slight differences in the degree of sexualized performance when compared with South Asian counterparts.

6.6 Moving Forward: Steps towards Prevention.

According to the participants, culturally appropriate prevention strategies would include awareness, education, caregiver guidance, assimilation and the promotion of

positive self-esteem. In regards to awareness, the interviewees believed that knowledge about dating violence should be made known on a larger scale, particularly within the Indo-Caribbean community. These participants believed that awareness was the first step to action. In addition to awareness, education was also touched upon by many of the interviewee's. For those that discussed education, many believed that education should occur at a young age, especially at the elementary school age. They purported that in elementary school, children are impressionable and therefore likely to influenced by education on dating abuse. Furthermore, some of the participants equated assimilation to Canada with a decrease in violence. They believed that those who were more assimilated to "Western values" were least likely to be involved in abusive situations. Therefore, these participants were encouraging of adopting Canadian values and beliefs. Lastly, in regards to prevention, some participants believed that promoting positive self-esteem in females would help them exit abusive situations. These participants believed that those females who are being abused, likely feel negatively about themselves and would therefore benefit from an increase in self-worth.

6.7 Reacting Appropriately: Culturally Sensitive Response Methods.

The participants in the current study elaborated less on potential response to dating violence strategies. They emphasized more on the prevention of abuse than on it's response. The two response strategies that were touched upon included accountability as well as access to resources. In regards to accountability, some of the respondents believed that a retributive approach would help deter dating abuse. For others, having access to resources, particularly outside the family home was stressed by some of the participants.

For these participants, access to resources outside of the family is important as they can help to avoid ridicule and stigmatization.

6.8 Strengths, Limitations and Future Directions.

The current study sheds light on a very pervasive issue, dating abuse. It focuses particularly on members of a community that have had minimal attention both academically and socially. There currently exists some literature on the South Asian immigrant population, and the general North American population. However, there has been no research on dating abuse among the Indo-Caribbean community in North America. The Indo-Caribbean community meets at the intersection of South Asian values and Afro-Caribbean influence. By questioning the participants on factors such as home life, culture, and perceptions regarding dating, abuse, and shame I was able to shed light on the experiences of people within the Indo-Caribbean community.

In an effort to broaden the scope of analysis, I focused on individuals of both Guyanese and Trinidadian background. By doing this, I meshed together the experiences of Indo-Caribbean's with origins from two different countries. As a result, subtle differences in culture between people from these two countries were meshed together. Furthermore, two of the participants were either half-Guyanese or half-Trinidadian; their perspectives may have been slightly influenced by the culture of their non-Indo-Caribbean parent. Furthermore, the current study utilized a mixed of convenience and snowball sampling. This mixture of multiple forms of sampling increases the amount of bias within the sample.

As mentioned earlier, there is minimal research on intimate partner violence among the Indo-Caribbean community. The current study assesses the perceptions of

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members of the Indo-Caribbean community. It would be beneficial if future research were to provide an analysis of the types of dating violence more prevalent in the Indo-Caribbean community (i.e. physical, sexual, financial or psychological abuse). Furthermore, it would be beneficial to have an analysis of the correlation between Indo-Caribbean individuals who consume alcohol and the prevalence of dating violence. Moreover, an assessment of the perceptions of members of the Indo-Caribbean community through control groups would provide much insight. For example, assess those who have experienced dating abuse and compare them with those who have not experienced abuse. Lastly, a culturally comparative analysis of the Indo-Caribbean perpetrators of dating abuse and compare them to perpetrators in the general population.

6.9 The Research Process.

Overall, I found this research rather challenging due to the very small sample population I was dealing with. In an effort to keep my sample as random as possible, I used posters around the school in an attempt to gather Indo-Caribbean participants, however, I was only able to recruit a few students. If I were to do it all over again, I would create a more colourful poster utilizing the flags of both Guyana and Trinidad to catch the attention of passerby's. As a result of my lack of success with posters, I was forced to reach out to as many Indo-Caribbean students I went to school with, these individuals were also able to lead me to other people that I could interview; however, this method of sampling is not preferred as it is not completely randomized.

During the interview's, some of my participants did not elaborate extensively on their responses. If I could do it again, I would create many more sub questions to give participants an opportunity to elaborate further.

Lastly, I believe that my sample size of eleven participants was rather modest as my initial goal was to interview approximately fifteen students. Despite these incongruences, it was a pleasure dealing with the eleven participants, they all were extremely friendly and helpful.

6.10 Concluding Remarks.

Intimate partner violence is an ever-pervasive issue that touches the lives of many different people. However, not everyone who experiences intimate partner violence does so in similar ways. According to Intersectionality theorists, the daily experiences of ethnic minority women are particularly challenging as they involve multiple oppressions such as race, culture and gender (see Carastathis, 2014; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Shields, 2008; Sokoloff, 2008). When I talk about Intersectionality, a large part of my sample was born in Canada and much more integrated in the mainstream than first generation Indo-Caribbean's. Therefore, if there was a different sample with different experiences with immigration and integration, the range of emphasis on dating and responses to dating violence will be different. According to my extensive literature review, there is currently no literature on dating violence among members of the Indo-Caribbean community. Therefore, an analysis of multiple intersections affecting the lives of Indo-Caribbean people is useful for this analysis. The results of this research has indicated that Indo-Caribbean people have some similarities to their South Asian counterparts, but have their own unique experiences which have been influenced by other factors such as Afro-Caribbean culture. In relation to the mainstream population, the Indo-Caribbean community appears to differ in regards to their attachment to culture as well as the community. Many of the participants elaborated on the collectivist nature of Indo-

Caribbean people living in North America, and thus highlighted the preference to place family and interpersonal relationships over individual wants and needs. Also, many of the participants discussed the shame and dishonor of women engaging in promiscuous sexual behaviour; therefore, it can be deduced that women in intimate relationships are less likely to want to leave and find a new relationship given the perceived stigma coming from the community for having multiple relationships. This stigma is different from the mainstream society; a series of multiple monogamous relationships is not dishonored in the same way as it among members of the Indo-Caribbean community. For many of the participants, they believed that assimilation to the host country, such as Canada, is the way to shed patriarchal values and embody a more egalitarian view. They believe that the best way to change perceptions is to assimilate to mainstream Canadian values. Although the sample of my population was small, I believe that this research is one step in the right direction; it draws attention to the issue of intimate partner violence within the Indo-Caribbean community and allows for future analysis into the experiences of Indo-Caribbean people living in Canada.

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Appendix A: Consent Form

You are being invited to participate in a study that aims to assess the perceptions of intimate partner violence among immigrant young adults of the Indo- Caribbean community. The findings of this research will be documented in written form for a graduate thesis in criminology. As a participant, you will be asked questions pertaining to perceptions of dating in general, as well as your perceptions of violence within the community. This interview should take approximately one hour to complete. There are no foreseeable risks or discomfort stemming from this research, nor are there any individual benefits to the participant.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of your relationship with the University of Ontario Institute of Technology either now, or in the future.

You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Ontario Institute of Technology. Not having had any dating violence experience is one of the selection criteria. Does this apply to you? If it does not, then I want to caution you that this interview may cause you some psychological or social discomfort. Please let me know if you want to proceed. In the event that you withdraw from the study, we will seek your permission for use of the information in the answers to the questions you have provided.

This interview will also be recoded, however, the researcher will not ask you any identifying information nor will any identifying information be published. All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence. Your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. The data from the auto recording will be transcribed into written form, and the researcher will also take notes. This information will be stored safely in a locked facility in the researchers office where only the researcher is able to access this information. All data will be encrypted and will include no identifying information. The data will be stored for approximately 5 years before it is destroyed. Confidently will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

You are free to terminate this interview at any time during the interview. If you decide that you do not want to participate in this research after completing the interview please contact me at researchdatingabuse@gmail.com indicating that you wish to withdraw from the research completely. I will in turn, confirm that I have expunged all of your responses and they will not be included in this research.
If you have any questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me by email at (researchdatingabuse@gmail.com) or my graduate supervisor Dr. Nawal Ammar by telephone at (905) 721- 8668. Please contact the UOIT Ethics and Compliance Officer (905.721.8668 x 3693 or compliance@uoit.ca if you have any questions or concerns about the ethics of this study." Contacting the Ethics and Compliance Officer occurs if the participants have any questions or concerns about the ethics of the study which includes also the rights of the participants.

This study has been approved by the University of Ontario Institute of Technology Research Ethics Board (REB # 14-137on October 6th, 2015).

I_____, consent to participate in the research conducted by Nelesh Singh. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature_____   **Date**_____

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Background Questions
1) What is your country of origin?
2) How old are you?
3) What is your gender identity? (i.e. do you self identity as male or female?)
4) What is your current level of education?
5) What is your marital status?
6) Do you have any siblings?
   - How old are they?
   - What is their marital status?
7) When did you or your family members immigrate to Canada?
   - Who did you or your family members come with?
   - Why did you immigrate to Canada?
   - How long have you lived in Canada?
8) What is the highest level of education that your parents have obtained?
9) What language do your parents speak? (i.e. creole?)
   - How proficient are your parents with their language?
10) How old were your parents when they got married?

Home Life Questions
11) What types of foods do you eat at home? (i.e. Caribbean, Indian, Canadian)
12) What are your preferred types of movies you watch as a family?
13) Do you have news/media from your country of origin at home?
14) Do you have relatives living in your home?
   - What is their relationship to you?

Abuse/ Dating
15) What are your perceptions of the Indo-Caribbean communities' acceptance of dating violence?
16) Do you believe Indo-Caribbean persons feel pressured to date?
17) Do you believe dating is acceptable?
18) What impact do you believe shame and honour have on dating within this community?
19) What dating behaviors do you believe are specific to Indo-Caribbean persons?
20) What do you think can be done to prevent and respond to dating abuse?