

Introduction: Crime, Gender and Sexuality in the Anglophone Caribbean

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Anglophone Caribbean countries have rates of gender-based violence (GBV) higher than the global average (DeShong and Haynes 2016: 82–3), and reports and surveys produced by NGOs and governmental organisations indicate that “sexual assault and domestic violence are prevalent regionwide” (UNDP 2012: 31). Statistics for femicide in Jamaica are “among the highest in the world” (UNDP 2016: 63) and, in Guyana, domestic murder was the second most prevalent murder category in 2017 (Ifill, this special issue). Homophobic and transphobic violence is also regarded as a significant human rights issue in the Caribbean. A 2014 Human Rights Watch report documented an “intolerable level of violence, physical and sexual” towards the LGBTQI community in Jamaica and in Guyana, activists have recently campaigned against legislation which, by criminalising cross-dressing, sanctioned violence against the LGBTQI community (see Matthews and Robinson, this special issue). Bearing in mind the prevalence of gender-based violence (GBV), as well as the gender bias and homophobia encoded in Anglophone Caribbean countries’ legislation and law enforcement practices (Robinson 2000; Tambiah 2011), it follows that gender and sexuality should be central to the study of crime and criminal justice in the region. There is a clear need for research which explores the forms, causes and effects of gender-based violence; the relationship between masculinities and crime; LGBTQI people’s experience of crime and criminal justice; and the gendered ways in which the police and courts operate.

While gendered analysis of crime may be particularly important and necessary in a Caribbean context, feminist criminologists make the case that gender and sexuality should be key concerns of criminological research in any context. Kimberly J. Cook reflects on criminology’s long-standing emphasis on social class inequality, proposing that criminology needs to “expand [its] scope of concern [to] gender inequalities, racialized

inequalities, and inequalities based on sexual orientation” (Cook 2016: 335). Gender power dynamics need to be considered alongside the structural inequalities of race and social class if we are to fully appreciate the cultural and socio-economic contexts of crime. Although the existence of a distinct subfield of feminist criminology might suggest that gender is now, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, a “central topic in criminology and studies of criminal justice” (Heidensohn and Silvestri 2012: 336), the extent to which feminist perspectives have become integrated into mainstream criminology and transformed the field remains the topic of debate (Renzetti 2013: 87, 75).

There is not yet an established tradition of Caribbean feminist criminology. Research on the Anglophone Caribbean has begun to emerge over the last two decades in areas relevant to the concerns of feminist criminology. These areas include intimate partner violence (IPV) (DeShong 2016; Sukhu 2012; Gibbison 2007), sexual violence and rape (Morgan and Youssef 2006; Trott 2004), child sexual abuse (the current Break the Silence project at UWI St. Augustine, led by Rhoda Reddock), masculinities and violence (Hope 2006; Hutton 2014; Beckles 2000), gender and the justice system (Robinson 2000; Lazarus-Black 2003; Pargass and Clarke 2003), and LGBTQI people’s involvement in crime and their experiences of criminal justice (King 2008; Sheller 2012; Wahab 2012; Smith 2018). This body of research, while valuable, is limited both in terms of its size and its disciplinary scope; as DeShong points out, much of it has a sociological or legal focus (2016: 83). More work is required across a wider range of disciplines to add historical and cultural depth to understandings of how gender and sexuality, alongside race and social class, impact on crime and crime control. By publishing this special issue we seek to contribute to the growing body of research on crime, gender and sexuality in the Anglophone Caribbean, extend its disciplinary reach, and connect it to a longer tradition of Caribbean feminist scholarship and activism.

The interdisciplinary range of the articles collected here is integral to our aim of advancing research on the gendered dimensions of crime and justice in the region. In 1976, Ken Pryce identified the need for “a Caribbean Criminology grounded in the bedrock of conditions peculiar to the region that attempts to illuminate the nature and causation of crime and deviancy within a totality of our historical and contemporary

experiences” (1976: 4–5). This call for a holistic approach to criminological inquiry informed the work of other scholars in the 1990s who argued that the study of crime in the region should be informed by detailed knowledge of the social, cultural and historical specificity of Caribbean societies (Cain 1996; Bennett and Lynch 1996). In doing so they pushed against what Maureen Cain called the “universalising pretensions of western theorising” (1996: viii), exposing the limited applicability of much criminological theory to the Caribbean. Attention to gender dynamics – although not sexual orientation – was part of this vision for Caribbean criminology, at least as articulated in Cain’s work. As will be discussed in more detail in the next section, the model of Caribbean criminology proposed by Pryce, Cain and others lost momentum as a result of various transformations including the later psychological turn in the field, which involved a movement away from sociological analysis and an erasure of social, cultural, economic and historical context.

With this special issue we revive Pryce’s original vision of a “Caribbean Criminology grounded in the bedrock of conditions peculiar to the region” while foregrounding the gender dynamics of those conditions. Feminist scholarship has presented Caribbean cultures, societies and histories as deeply gendered. Describing the ‘imperial enterprise’ as a ‘patriarchal undertaking’ which was “bound up with gender and ethnic ideologies”, Paula Morgan explores the connection between “a history of sexual violence and its contemporary manifestations” (Morgan and Youssef 2006: 173, 182). Similarly, Faith Smith draws attention to the “the intersection of race, sexuality, and colonial and imperial domination” which continues to inform “the structures of feeling of the region’s people” (Smith 2011: 7, 2). Robinson’s and Alexander’s work illuminates the colonial and heteropatriarchal foundations of contemporary Caribbean legal discourse, while Faye Harrison highlights ethnographically how the violence of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s was implicitly and explicitly gendered – including “violence-legitimizing constructions of masculinity” (Harrison 1997: 193). Attention to the gendered dimensions of crime and justice is therefore essential to the kind of regional specificity which criminologists such as Pryce, Cain, and Bennett and Lynch called for. As Cain recognised, the “bursting of disciplinary boundaries” can enhance the specificity of criminological research (1996: v).

While Cain made this point with reference to insights from political science, this special issue aims to initiate dialogue across the arts, humanities and social sciences. The articles included here offer perspectives and methodologies from various disciplinary backgrounds including law, sociology, gender studies, cultural anthropology and literary criticism. Additionally, disciplinary boundaries are broken down within individual articles. By publishing these articles together in the *Caribbean Journal of Criminology*, we seek to open up the field of Caribbean criminology – generally accepted to be the domain of the behavioural and social sciences – to arts and humanities researchers working in relevant areas. Broadening the scope of criminological inquiry in this way allows for analysis of not just data but also historical contexts; lived experiences; legal, media and popular discourses; and literary, oral and visual expression. Critical exchange between disciplines and methodologies has the potential to deepen understandings of the ‘multiplicative’ and ‘interlocking systems of oppression’ – including those based on gender and sexual orientation – which affect victimisation, involvement in crime, and experiences of criminal justice systems (Burman and Gelsthorpe 2017: 216; Volcano and Rogue 2012: 2).

As well as raising the profile of gendered analysis within Caribbean criminology, this collection highlights the limitations of the well-established tradition of feminist criminology which, centred in North America, sidelines the Caribbean despite recent attempts to globalise the field. The journal, *Feminist Criminology*, which has been running for nearly 13 years, contains only one article about crime in a Caribbean country (Bailey 2013), and Southern theory has shown how much of feminist criminology still tends to be based on the experiences of the global North (Barberet and Carrington 2018: 821). Redressing this bias, the articles in this special issue contribute to feminist criminology’s current shift towards intersectionality while also building on a strong tradition of (intersectional) Caribbean feminist scholarship and activism which has engaged with issues of crime and justice and which prefigures the entrance of intersectionality into mainstream academia via US-based critical race theories (Reddock 2014). The following sections of this introduction situate the special issue in relation to, first, the field of Caribbean criminology and, second, that of feminist criminology.

The scholarly work in this special issue both reflects on and intervenes in broader public debates. We are seeing a period of unprecedented activism around sexual offences and domestic violence legislation in the Anglophone Caribbean. Colonial-era legislation is being challenged on multiple fronts. In Trinidad and Tobago, a High Court ruling in April 2018 declared parts of the Sexual Offences Act unconstitutional, thereby decriminalising same-sex sexual relations (Kerrigan 2018). Following the conviction of seven people for cross-dressing in Guyana in 2009, the Caribbean Court of Justice ruled in November 2018 that “the cross-dressing offence was unconstitutionally vague” (Matthews and Robinson, this special issue). This case was supported by the NGO SASOD (Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination) and litigated by two of the contributors to this special issue, Tracy Robinson and Janeille Zorina Matthews, both members of U-RAP (The University of the West Indies Rights Advocacy Project). Alongside U-RAP, Jamaica-based NGOs, J-Flag and Woman Inc., are also in the process of reviewing Jamaica’s Domestic Violence Act, which does not cover sexual abuse, and the Sexual Offences Act, which defines rape narrowly and recognises marital rape as rape only in specific circumstances (UNHRC 2016: 4). In different ways, the articles included here illuminate the potential for academic researchers across the disciplines to work with activists and lawyers towards shifts in public attitudes, legislative and policy changes, and changes in law enforcement practice.¹

This special issue is a collaborative endeavour and an outcome of a research networking project, “Crime and its Representation in the Anglophone Caribbean, 1834–2018” (2016–2019), led by Dr. Lucy Evans (University of Leicester) and Professor Anthony Harriott (The University of the West Indies), and funded by the British Academy. Bringing together scholars from Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana and the UK, the project aimed to expand interdisciplinary debate on the causes, consequences, control and representation of crime in Anglophone Caribbean societies, and to facilitate more cross-Caribbean comparative work in this area. Through a series of workshops, conference panels and other networking activities in the UK, Trinidad, Jamaica and Guyana, the project initiated interdisciplinary, intra-regional, and international collaboration between established scholars, early career researchers and postgraduate

students. The workshops also explored links between academia, activism and the public sector by involving participants working in relevant government departments and NGOs. All six special issue contributors are network participants. Gender and sexuality were dominant themes at all of the project's events, explored across a range of papers from various disciplinary perspectives and discussed during cross-sector roundtable sessions. We chose "Crime, Gender and Sexuality" as the theme of this special issue because we felt that the high level of engagement with this area of research at the workshops highlighted its emergence as a key area of investigation in Caribbean criminology where important work is being done and more is needed.

Caribbean Criminology and Interdisciplinarity

The era of radical Caribbean thought from the 1950s to 1970s (Craig 1982; Henry 2001; Meeks et al. 2010; Reddock 2014), exemplified by the call for increased bottom-up context and historically accurate visions of the Caribbean, found in the work of scholars like Aimé Césaire (1955), Elsa Goveia (1956), Frantz Fanon (1965), and Walter Rodney (1972), included the declaration that slavery and colonialism were state-led criminal acts of white-collar crime. While not speaking to a definition of Caribbean criminology per se, but rather the history of the Caribbean region itself, much Caribbean sociology, Caribbean Marxism, and radical Caribbean thought in the 1960s and 1970s also recognised this 'social fact' in their analyses of the present, and such ideas might be said to have preceded Ken Pryce's vision of a context-driven, critical Caribbean criminology during the 1970s (Pryce 1976).

One thread of this 1970s anti-colonial recognition (Agozino and Pfohl 2003; Fanon 1965; Friedrichs 1997) in Pryce's early vision for the academic study of criminology in the Caribbean was an implicit "challenge to Anglo-European conceptual ordering" and to Western logic of universalism and development (Cain 2000: 268). Writing about a Caribbean Crime Conference held at UWI, Mona in 1975, Pryce noted:

All participants at the conference underscored a singular lack of material on the historical and sociological aspects of crime in Caribbean societies and the need to study and evaluate the problems

associated with the incidents of crime from a Caribbean perspective (Pryce 1976: 5).

Well in advance of Southern theory (Connell 2007), Pryce explained that the simple importation of Western theories and methodologies of crime, criminality, and lawlessness in the context of developing policy in and for the Caribbean was socially regressive without a proper empirical understanding of the historical, sociological, cultural, and economic processes done to and experienced by the Caribbean. He wanted a Caribbean criminology that was specific to the region and “pan-Caribbean in scope”. It also, amongst many other considerations, needed to be grounded in the “context of the region’s history of capitalist repression and exploitation” (Pryce 1976: 5).

Maureen Cain trained in the UK and was head of Sociology at The UWI, St. Augustine, during the 1980s and 1990s. Writing during the late ’80s and ’90s, and today widely considered to be another central figure in early Caribbean criminology, Cain suggested developing an “original Caribbean scholarship” around criminology which meant Caribbean criminologists would engage with Western criminology as something of a springboard to explore the concrete reality of Caribbean experiences while also “challenging it, transgressing it, and replacing it” (1996: i). Like Pryce, Cain illustrated how Western theories focussed on the USA, Europe and the global North were “often of limited theoretical utility when applied to the Caribbean” (Cain 1996: iv) and “may be irrelevant or even harmful when exported, unless critically and selectively” (Cain 2000: 269). For Cain, global economic and political influences were also a central consideration when trying to understand and analyse crime and security in the Caribbean. This is because during the 1980s era of structural adjustment and neoliberal reforms in the Caribbean, the social context of criminality was reordered as the region suffered economic decline and recolonisation enforced by the policies and programmes of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and successive administrations of the United States government (Cain 2004; Harrison 1997: 179).

The writings of Cain and Pryce call for a holistic approach to crime in the Caribbean, where cultural, historical, and socio-economic factors are considered. Yet, while the call was there in the late twentieth century, the inclusion of historians, cultural studies researchers and literary critics

as well as social scientists in the study of Caribbean crime did not go far enough. While Pryce stressed the way forms of popular culture such as calypso and reggae expressed an “ideology of resistance against the imperialist power structure” (1976: 17), and while Cain suggested the borrowing of methodology from oral history to enable people to tell their own stories (1996: iv), it was not until the first decade of the twenty-first century that the contributions of scholars in the field of culture began to re-enter criminological debates. The work of Donna Hope (2006), Sonjah Stanley Niaah (2010), Carolyn Cooper (2004), Deborah Thomas (2011, 2016), and Rivke Jaffe (2012b, 2012a) illustrates how understandings of crime and criminality in the Caribbean are enhanced through an analysis of popular culture. These studies might be said to follow on from works by Caribbean historians and social commentators like Brereton (1979), Ottley (1964), Mahabir (1988), Rohlehr (1985, 1990) and others on dances, carnivals and noise in the context of criminalisation in the Caribbean, and from works by cultural critics and anthropologists such as Rex Nettleford and Barry Chevannes on youth and crime in the 1970s (Nettleford 1970; Chevannes 1981). The potential for interdisciplinary methodologies envisaged in Pryce’s and Cain’s work is therefore still to be fully realised.

A Psychological Turn in Caribbean Criminology and Feminist Resistance

As various scholars have noted, from the 1960s forward, with the slow and long-winded triumph of capital over labour under neoliberalism and the retreat of social democracy across polities, the social and economic structures of the world changed, bringing austerity and the violence of structural adjustment to the global South, including the Caribbean (Harrison 1997; Harvey 2005; Scharff 2016). One ideological consequence of these social and economic changes, alongside Grenada and the fall of the Caribbean Left in the 1980s, was that there was a commensurate decline in the dominant form of imagining society at that time – Caribbean sociology and the sociological imagination. For example, sociological explanations of how structural adjustment policies presupposed a “gender ideology that is fundamentally exploitative of women’s time, labour and sexuality” were now challenged by more individualist explanations of human behaviour, which would focus on workers’ poor attitudes, laziness and individual

psychology rather than their miserly wages and exploitation in analysing the decisions of female hustlers in the informal economy (Harrison 1997: 188–90). Thus, as the Caribbean was remade by the violence of neoliberal structural adjustment, so the concerns of Caribbean criminology began to shift away from Pryce's and Cain's sociological vision towards other concerns.

Into the 1990s there was a splintering of different positions around what exactly Caribbean criminology should be (for example, Agozino and Pfohl 2003; Bennett and Lynch 1996; Birkbeck 1999; Cain 1996; Deosaran and Chadee 1997; Friedrichs 1997; Gopaul and Cain 1996; Harriott 1996). Under regional economic strains, there was also a high level of emigration of local researchers. A significant new direction in the field at this time was what could be described as a psychological turn. One way to understand the impact of what happens to governments and populations forced to endure structural adjustment and deal with its effects and contradictions, is that contextual explanations of social reality and social action come to be replaced by individualist analyses and methodologies (Nehring and Kerrigan 2018). This involves the erasure of accounts which take historical backstory, sociological context, cultural narratives, personal biography and social relations seriously (Bhambra 2007). In the sociological literature this process – which reflects the ahistorical and depoliticising rhetoric of Western neoliberalism – has been described as 'psychologisation' or a 'psychological turn' towards the need for individualist explanations from supposedly politically-neutral social science disciplines (Illouz 2008; Madsen 2018; Nehring et al. 2016; Singham and Singham 1973).

This end of the century 'structure of feeling' (Williams 1977) can be seen clearly in the transformations implemented at The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine campus during the 1990s where, under the flow of private research funding from Ansa McCal, one of the Caribbean's biggest conglomerates, proponents of the sociological imagination from The UWI such as Maureen Cain, Susan Craig and Rhoda Reddock emigrated, retired, moved to others departments, or concentrated on other subjects. This was the era where sociologists of crime at The UWI, St. Augustine, were slowly replaced by social psychologists of crime, and a criminology with more of a psychological flavour and less of a sociological one was developed on campus. The production of sociological knowledge for structural

change and understanding was replaced by individualist solutions and models focussed on behaviour modification and resilience training, such as mediation, procedural justice, fear of crime, happiness indexes, and problematic culturalist explanations of everyday life in terms of cultures of lawlessness and poverty. There was also a curtailment in analysis of conflict and social inequalities, and social location and social hierarchies, in favour of a focus on individual pathologies and bad people.

This transformation from a sociology of crime to a social psychology of crime led to a de-emphasis on historical context and on the structural contexts of race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality in the evolving field of Caribbean criminology. The movement towards the integrated interdisciplinarity of Pryce's critical Caribbean criminology therefore stalled. This is not to say that there was not an effort at the time to have gaps in the field of study rectified. For example, during this same era, after ten years of intense lobbying by feminists in the Caribbean, the Institute for Gender and Development Studies (IGDS), formerly the Centre for Gender and Development Studies, was established at The UWI in 1993 (Reddock 2003). As a result, gender-related research on the Caribbean had a home and the need for the inclusion of gender across all disciplines, including Caribbean criminology, was formalised. During the same period Cain furthered her own publications on crime and gender, although not sexuality (Cain 1986, 1990; Gopaul and Cain 1996), and there was also a growing sense that the field needed to build upon the work of feminist historians and sociologists of crime like Mair (1987), Dadzie (1990), and Binda (1980).

However, the concerns around gender and sexuality were not taken up as central disciplinary concerns in criminology and instead played out in the work of individual researchers. These included feminist sociologists like Reddock (1985) and Mohammed (1994), and also new criminologists like Hagley (1996) and Ramoutar (1996). Cain argued:

in order to give really sound advice [criminologists] have also to take account of regional historical and feminist studies, and the global as well as the local political economy; secondly, we have to develop a regional understanding of the processes of criminalization, criminal behaviour and victimisation, criminal justice, and penal practice as those processes work today (1996: ix).

This was of particular importance in the 1990s as the impacts of structural adjustment were being felt all over the region and those most heavily burdened were women “who served as the major ‘shock absorbers’” (Harrison 1997: 180). As Caribbean criminology entered the twenty-first century, gender and sexuality were still not a central focus of the discipline, although individual researchers continued to connect bodies of knowledge and debates around gender and sexuality to their research (Grant, Gibson, and Edward 2010; Jones 2002, 2003; Mars 2002).

The points made by Cain, Pryce and others illustrate that the foundations of Caribbean criminology, as it emerged organically out of the terrain of Caribbean relations and global intersections in the 1960s to the 1990s, emphasised the need for criminology to acknowledge not just the processes, structures and outcomes of the region’s political economy from the Enlightenment to the neoliberal now; it should also acknowledge the social and cultural specificity of these processes, and place more emphasis on lived experiences as well as on the political contexts of crime and criminality in the Caribbean. Despite the influence of the psychological turn and its methodological underpinnings, which placed the onus on behaviour modification over structural change, Pryce’s and Cain’s original vision for Caribbean criminology still holds. Cain’s call for the “bursting of disciplinary boundaries” has, for a variety of reasons, never fully flourished. Nevertheless, a space was created for a cross-disciplinary Caribbean criminology. By bringing together the work of researchers from various disciplinary backgrounds across the arts, humanities, and social sciences, and by featuring articles which make connections across disciplines, this special issue renews Pryce’s and Cain’s vision of a holistic and, in practice, interdisciplinary Caribbean criminology specific to and grounded in the region, while amplifying the gendered dimensions of that vision. Building on the pioneering work of Cain, Reddock, Mohammed and others, and acknowledging the growing body of research on crime, gender and sexuality in the Anglophone Caribbean, we make the case here that gendered analysis should be a central concern of contemporary Caribbean criminology.

Feminist Criminology and Intersectionality

Feminist criminology is a well-established tradition in scholarship of the global North, dating from the 1970s (Chesney-Lind 2006: 6; Burgess-

Proctor 2006: 27). The fact that the journal *Feminist Criminology* is now in its thirteenth year attests to the field's increasing significance within the broader discipline. Claire Renzetti defines it as "a paradigm that studies and explains criminal offending and victimization, as well as institutional responses to these problems, as fundamentally gendered" (Renzetti 2013: 13) while also, along with others, acknowledging that feminist criminology takes many forms and encompasses a diversity of methods and approaches (Renzetti 2013: 13; Burman and Gelsthorpe 2017: 214). Feminist criminology emerged as a corrective to the limitations of a discipline focussed on the study of male crime while presenting its findings as universally applicable (Chesney-Lind 2006: 7; Burgess-Proctor 2006: 30). Critical criminology, a field which situates crime in the context of broader power dynamics and structural inequalities, also initially prioritised a concern with class and socio-economic status over race and gender relations (Burgess-Proctor 2006: 30).

Early phases of feminist criminology addressed the relative lack of research on female victims and offenders and, where women were the focus of studies, their misrepresentation due to a reliance on gender stereotypes (Heidensohn and Silvestri 2012: 336; Chesney-Lind 2006: 7; Burman and Gelsthorpe: 214). In addition, these feminist criminologists analysed "gendered [...] patterns of criminal offending" (Cook 2016: 336). Instead of only considering gender as a variable, they examined and theorised the 'gender/crime nexus' (Chesney-Lind 2006: 60). As such, they worked towards making gender a key concern of criminological inquiry.

There appears to be a consensus around the significance of intersectionality as a relatively new focus in feminist criminology with the potential to expand and, in doing so, further transform or even revolutionise the discipline (Burman and Gelsthorpe 2017; Naegler and Salman 2016; Potter 2013; Cook 2016; Burgess-Proctor 2006; Chesney-Lind 2006). Amanda Burgess-Proctor argues that "the future of feminist criminology lies in our willingness to embrace a theoretical framework that recognizes multiple, intersecting inequalities" (2006: 28). She makes a call for an 'inclusive feminism' that "simultaneously attends to issues of race, class, gender, sexuality, age, nationality, religion, physical ability, and other locations of inequality as they relate to crime and deviance" (2006: 28). Meda Chesney-Lind similarly asserts the necessity for feminist

criminologists to “engage in exploration of the interface between systems of oppression based on gender, race, and class” (2006: 21). More recent research indicates that this vision of a more inclusive, intersectional feminist criminology has yet to be fully realised and has still not entered mainstream criminology (Burman and Gelsthorpe 2017: 216; Cook 2016: 346; Potter 2013: 315).

An important way in which intersectional feminist criminology is being advanced in current scholarship, and could be pushed further, is through an engagement with LGBTQI people’s involvement in crime and experience of criminal justice systems. Jordan Blair Woods considers how gender identity and sexual orientation combine with other differences, such as race/ethnicity, class, and religion in influencing victimisation and offending (2014: 31). He draws attention to the lack of data on LGBTQI people’s experiences of crime and the narrow focus of existing research in this area which looks mainly at bullying and IPV (2014: 16). Woods also draws attention to two phases in the history of criminology’s treatment of LGBTQI people: the criminalisation of LGBTQI identities prior to the 1970s, and the subsequent near invisibility of LGBTQI populations in criminological research from the 1980s onwards, following the decriminalisation of homosexuality in Western countries (2014: 17–18). Woods’ call for a queering of criminology is one of several published in the last few years (Buist and Lenning 2016; Knight and Wilson 2016; Peterson and Panfil 2014).

Another way in which the contemporary phase of intersectional feminist criminology could be developed is through engagement with a wider range of contexts, data and perspectives globally. Renzetti argues for the continuing need, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, to globalise feminist criminology. While Western feminist criminology explores the relationship between social class and crime, a global feminist criminology would address “socioeconomic development and inequality among countries”. Equally, a fully global feminist criminology would broaden intersectionality beyond a concern with racial and ethnic differences to consider how “gendered experiences of colonization” impact on women’s experiences of crime and criminal justice. In addition, it would involve a gendered analysis of not only institutions such as police services and criminal courts in specific countries, but also bodies such as

the United Nations and the International Criminal Court (Renzetti 2013: 96). Although some work has been done to expand the international scope of feminist criminology (Rafter and Heidensohn 1995; Cain and Howe 2008), more comparative research needs to be done for the field to be effectively globalised in the way that Renzetti envisages.

Although the Caribbean is virtually invisible within feminist criminology of the global North, Caribbean-based work in this area and a proto-intersectional feminist criminology can be dated back to Cain's research in the 1990s, and further back through several decades of Caribbean feminist research and activism which addressed issues such as domestic violence, sexual violence including marital rape, and child abuse (Binda 1980; Cain 1990; Danna and Parsad 1989; Gopaul and Cain 1996; Mohammed 1994; Reddock 1990). Cain draws attention to the long-standing tradition of "indigenous-yet-globally-aware" feminist theory and organisation in the Anglophone Caribbean, arguing that second wave feminism has impacted on, but "not defined in any absolute way", the concerns and approaches of Caribbean feminists (2000: 251, 252). Emphasising the ways in which Caribbean feminism is grounded in the region's history, culture, and political struggles, she makes a case for a global feminist criminology that would both acknowledge and develop dynamic and complex relations between scholarship and activism across national and regional boundaries (2000: 258).

Cain's research, along with that of prominent Caribbean feminists whose work has similarly addressed issues such as gender-based violence, does not fit the dominant narrative of feminist criminology's origins, evolution and future directions. Whereas criminologists' engagement with intersectionality is generally perceived in the global North to be a relatively recent development, influenced by US-based critical race theories, Reddock locates the origins of intersectionality in an early to mid-twentieth-century tradition of radical Caribbean social thought, including feminism (2014: 2). She presents this as a precursor to both the US-based critical race theories of the 1980s and the contemporary discourse of intersectionality (2014: 2). Reddock thus reframes the history of Caribbean – and global – intellectual traditions in a way that decentres the USA and foregrounds the Caribbean. Taking our cue from Reddock and Cain, this special issue connects contemporary scholarship

on crime, gender and sexuality in Anglophone Caribbean countries to the region's strong local – although globally engaged – tradition of feminist scholarship and activism.

Towards a Caribbean Feminist Criminology

The articles in this special issue contribute to the repositioning of gendered analysis as central to both Caribbean criminology and the broader discipline of criminology. They also extend feminist criminology's global reach. Michele Burman and Loraine Gelsthorpe identify research on violence against women as “one of the most significant and influential contributions of feminist scholarship to criminology” (2017: 218). They observe, too, that research on gender bias in the criminal justice system has “formed the bedrock of much feminist criminological scholarship” (2017: 226). Frances Heidensohn and Marisa Silvestri draw attention to research on the relationship between masculinity and crime as a key area in feminist criminology, beginning with James W. Messerschmidt's work on ‘doing gender’ in the 1990s, which was followed by a psychosocial approach to masculinity in the early 2000s (2012: 349). Others have presented research on LGBTQI identities in relation to victimisation, offending, and criminal justice as a relatively recent concern in this field (Cook 2016; Woods 2014). These strands of feminist criminology are all covered in the articles collected here, which connect scholarly debates in this field to the specifics of crime and criminal justice in the Anglophone Caribbean.

Dylan Kerrigan's article explores the connection between the micro realities of localised violent crime in Trinidad and Tobago and the macro realities of transnational organised crime. Focussing on the micro level of young men's experiences of gender and gender roles, and the connection between local forms of masculinity and violence, Kerrigan considers the endurance of colonial gender stereotypes in Trinidad and Tobago. The article also comments on the high rates of GBV and the connection of this to gender inequality and power imbalance between men and women. This discussion serves to frame the article's analysis of a series of spoken word workshops with young people, undertaken as part of an AHRC/ESRC-funded research project. The analysis looks at what the participants'

language-in-use reveals about their ideas of what it is to be a man, their views on gender roles, norms and attributes, and their attitudes to GBV. The article also reflects on the participants' involvement in, and level of awareness of, global processes.

Paula Morgan's article outlines the problem of child sexual abuse as a major public health issue in the Caribbean region, considering some of the reasons for its prevalence. The article also engages with scholarship on trauma while commenting on the limited applicability of universalising trauma theories. Morgan contends that the criminalisation of child sexual abuse, and new policy initiatives and programmes, have not done enough to reduce its incidence. The article makes the point that the search for corrective and preventative interventions into child sexual abuse requires a consideration of a continuum of power relations so that sexual abuse and incest are not seen as separate from other (gendered and racial/ethnic) power dynamics in Caribbean societies. Literary texts, she suggests, illuminate the "cultural underpinnings of societal attitudes" and the 'historical violations' which frame and facilitate these power dynamics. Morgan offers an account of incest's connection to historical violations as represented in Lawrence Scott's and Shani Mootoo's fiction, before moving on to a more in-depth analysis of Nalo Hopkinson's use of the fantasy genre as a means of interrogating cultural norms and values which facilitate child sexual abuse.

As women in the Caribbean have succeeded in the realms of work, education, politics and more, they have also witnessed a backlash in terms of masculinist and misogynist assertions of male power in relation to this social change. This has taken place within a supposed context and popularisation of the myth of male marginalisation (Miller 1991) across media, state institutions, in education and many other places. Gabrielle Hosein's article provides a revised conceptual framework for understanding the relationship between masculinist assertions of power and misogyny, the containment of women's empowerment and equality, and the implications of such for IPV in the Anglophone Caribbean. The article also provides a broad review of the field of gender studies in the Caribbean as well as elements of quantitative and qualitative data to illustrate the resilience of patriarchal gender roles, while offering an innovative frame to build on in the analysis of IPV in the region.

How minor laws police gender norms and by implication suppress queerness in the Caribbean is at the heart of another article. Using the case study method and the arrest of seven members of the transgender community in Guyana, Janeille Zorina Matthews' and Tracy Robinson's article provides insight into how minor laws stretching back to colonial times – specifically vagrancy laws – can be used to target certain groups in ways in which other persons are not targeted. Supported by a strong overview of legalistic information and history to provide context, the authors build a sensitive account of how different persons are not equal before the law, are denied rights, and suffer inequalities in treatment by officers and magistrates who seek to support and defend hegemonic cultural norms. As such, we see how laws can be used as a regendering process invested heavily in heterosexuality as normative sexuality. In summary, the article illustrates the nexus between law, personhood and state, and how minor laws from colonial times are still used today to limit the breadth of human diversity and difference.

Another article asks what constitutes the genre of domestic noir in the Caribbean. How does its definition hold or not hold within a late twentieth-century Caribbean context that reflects the region's long histories of sexual and intimate partner violence? Lucy Evans' article reads Elizabeth Nunez' *Bruised Hibiscus* (2000) as domestic noir re-conceived for Caribbean realities. The article explores the nuances of consent, coercion and rape both in and outside the home and across ethnicities, genders and sexualities. Through her analysis of Nunez' novel, Evans considers how public attitudes in the present are closely tied to moral frameworks rooted in the past, looking at how such frameworks extend via the law, media and popular culture into the present to shape the intersection of socio-cultural values and gender-based violence. In reading *Bruised Hibiscus* as domestic noir, the article recognises the genre's potential in global, rather than global North terms.

Addressing the academic literature on vulnerability, positional difference and structural violence, Melissa Ifill's paper connects the invisibility of data on crime and violence, and gender and sexuality in Guyana, to the generally high levels of victimisation women in Guyana experience. As such, the paper fills a long-standing gap in Caribbean knowledge by collecting and providing a comprehensive overview of

the data available on crime and violence in Guyana from a variety of sources including the Guyana Police Force, the Guyana National Bureau of Statistics, the UNDP, UNICEF, foreign and local universities, public opinion surveys, and more. At the same time, using a structural-gendered analytical lens, the paper highlights the many absences and silences in this data and suggests how these absences minimise and obscure the scale and impact of women's victimisation in relation to crime and violence in Guyana. In further discussion, the paper suggests how these absences contribute to women's more general marginalisation socially, economically and politically in the local society.

With editors and contributors working across the arts, humanities and social sciences, this special issue breaks down disciplinary boundaries. The individual articles also make interdisciplinary connections in their methodologies and reference points. Kerrigan's anthropological study engages with spoken word, a contemporary manifestation of Trinidad and Tobago's oral culture, as a means of working with young people and challenging the culture of acceptance of gender-based violence. In order to explore the colonial and heteropatriarchal roots of vagrancy laws in the Anglophone Caribbean, Matthews and Robinson combine legal, historical and sociological perspectives. In both of these articles, the research builds on direct involvement in activism or advocacy on the part of the authors. Both Morgan's and Evans' articles look beyond the interpretive frameworks of literary and cultural studies in their readings of contemporary Caribbean fiction; Morgan's article considers perspectives from psychology and sociology in its examination of the socio-cultural norms which enable and normalise child sexual abuse in Caribbean societies, and Evans' article draws on the work of feminist legal scholars and sociologists in its reading of a novel's critical engagement with media, oral and legislative discourses. The interdisciplinary scope of both the individual articles and the special issue as a whole enables new insights into the relationship between the various gendered narratives and discourses surrounding crime and crime control in the Anglophone Caribbean, and their wider historical, cultural and socio-economic contexts.

The articles included here also expand the intersectionality of contemporary feminist criminology. Kerrigan's and Hosein's articles

advance research on the relationship between masculinities and crime by positioning local discourses of masculinity in Trinidad and Tobago in relation to national, regional and transnational contexts and power dynamics. Morgan's, Ifill's and Evans' articles connect gender-based violence not only to the structural inequalities of gender, race and social class – the focus of much current intersectional feminist criminology – but also to the deeply gendered historical contexts of colonialism, slavery and indenture. While new research in queer criminology focusses on countries in the global North, where the decriminalisation of homosexuality occurred several decades ago, Matthews' and Robinson's article locates LGBTQI people's experience of criminal justice systems in the context of current and ongoing public debate over sexual offences legislation in the Anglophone Caribbean. Together, the articles contribute to the revolutionising of criminology which Potter (2013) calls for.

The six essays included here do not cover all areas relevant to the special issue's theme. For example, an important subject which has not been considered here is disability, both in terms of its relationship to sexual abuse and in terms of the experience of people with disabilities and criminal justice systems, and law enforcement in the Anglophone Caribbean. A fully intersectional feminist criminology – in the Caribbean and beyond – needs to consider gender and sexuality alongside many other forms of structural inequality. Another area in need of investigation from multiple angles is human trafficking. The genesis of many of these articles in a Trinidad-based workshop has led to a focus on Trinidad and Tobago in some of the contributions and, to some extent, this perpetuates the Trinidad and Jamaica focus of much existing research on crime, gender, and sexuality in the region. As Ifill's article demonstrates, there is a need for more research on gender-based violence and other areas of feminist criminological inquiry in other parts of the region. Finally, while the disciplinary variety of this special issue allows for productive dialogue across the arts, humanities, and social sciences, its contents do not reflect the full range of disciplinary perspectives offered at the four workshops, which also involved researchers with backgrounds in the behavioural sciences, history, geography, sociolinguistics, cultural studies, and art history. There is, therefore, scope for interdisciplinary dialogue on this subject to be extended and developed in future research.

This special issue asserts the importance of Caribbean feminist criminology as a branch of Caribbean criminology and Caribbean studies more generally, and as a significant dimension of a fully globalised and intersectional feminist criminology. We propose that alongside data-driven research and structural critique, analysis of the various narratives, representations and discourses, past and present, which mediate crime and crime control, and which encode gendered and racialised assumptions and biases, there needs to be a core element of Caribbean feminist criminological inquiry. We see an interdisciplinary and intersectional approach to the study of crime and criminal justice systems as an essential component of this emerging field of research which, in conjunction with activism around gender-based violence and LGBTQI people's experiences of criminal justice, can contribute to the processes of social, economic, legislative and policy change.

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Note

- 1 Other Caribbean-based NGOs tackling LGBTQI rights are CAISO in Trinidad, J-Flag in Jamaica and Guybow in Guyana. Other NGOs tackling gender-based violence include Red Thread in Guyana, We-change in Jamaica and the Roots Foundation in Trinidad (see Kerrigan, this special issue).

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