

A SURVEY OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN HAITI: BREAKING THE SILENCE

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by

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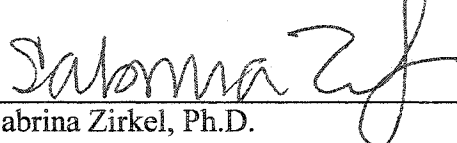
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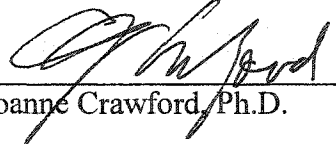
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Abstract

A SURVEY OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN HAITI: BREAKING THE SILENCE

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This dissertation reports on an examination that was conducted to determine the prevalence and incidence of domestic violence in Haiti. The researcher used the revised Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS2) developed by Strauss and Gelles in 1986 to sample 150 women residing in Port-au-Prince in the city of Pétion-Ville in subsections of Berthe, Delmas, Bossier, and Peguy-Ville. The CTS2 was used to measure the prevalence and incidence of 5 levels of partner abuse: physical aggression, psychological aggression, sexual coercion, injury, and negotiation. A second questionnaire developed by the researcher was used to determine how Haitian women view domestic violence. The participants were between the ages of 18 and 49 and had been or were in a relationship with a partner in the 12 months preceding the study.

The descriptive results show that 54.8% of the women experienced physical abuse, 57.2% reported psychological aggression, 56.2% dealt with sexual coercion, 53.1% reported injury, and 79.9% were able to use negotiation in their relationship. Further analysis of the data revealed that men also experienced violence to a lesser degree.

Qualitative results indicated that 53% believe that violence has no place in society; it is shameful and abnormal. An additional 15% agree that a man has the right to correct his wife. The study addresses the implications of the findings and summarizes recommendations for future research.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Michel Fonrose, who recognized my worth and encouraged my upward struggle at an early age. Thank you for your hard labor so that I may enjoy the fruits. I hope that this paper, in some way, shows that your confidence was well placed and appreciated.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

For years, women's organizations worldwide have worked against gender-based violence through the establishment of shelters, advocacy, and education. As a result of their efforts, violence against women has been recognized as a legitimate human rights issue by many countries. Yet there is no empirical data to substantiate the extent of domestic violence in Haiti. Domestic violence is a major cause of fear, distress, injury, oppression, and even death for women in every country (Levinson & Malone, 1980, p. 5). Violence persistently crosses the lines of ethnicity, economic status, education, culture, and age (Koss, et al., 1994, p. 7). It discriminates against no one.

Many Haitian women face abuse daily. Having grown up in Haiti for the first 12 years of my life, I witnessed many violent acts against women at the hands of their husbands. According to the Swedish Minister for Equality Affairs, "The most dangerous place for a woman in Latin America and the Caribbean may be her own home" (Morrison & Biehl, 1999, p. 108). We are finally aware that women are more likely to be attacked, raped, injured, or killed by current or former male partners than any other type of assailant (Browne & Williams, 1989, 1993; Finkelhor & Yllo, 1985; Langan & Innes, 1986; Lentzner & DeBerry, 1980; Russell, 1982). In conversation about the issue of domestic abuse, it is saddening that many Haitian women believe that their husbands or boyfriends have the right to hit them, at least sometimes. It was common in Haiti to hear an older woman tell a younger one that if she keeps her mouth shut, she will have fewer bruises on her body, "*Fam ki frekan soufri anpil*" (women who are bold suffer more). In many countries, especially third world countries, being a woman means having no voice.

To illustrate this point, while a Korean woman was getting ready to go meet her groom, her father said to her, "A woman's life is very hard. She must pretend that she does not see the things that are to be seen, that she does not hear the words spoken around her, and she must speak as little as possible" (Song, 1996, p. 54).

Although many theorists have shed some light upon domestic violence in Haiti, this dissertation will provide data, which will expand on the existing body of literature. It will also examine the way in which Haitian women define domestic violence and the nature of their coping mechanism.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to determine the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence against women in the Haitian household. Such data will be useful to women's organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the United Nations (UN), and others as a starting point in establishing a plan of action to combat this epidemic. Second, this study will be the first to attempt to use the Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS2) scale with the Haitian population. The results of this study will enrich the understanding of the effects of domestic violence on the experiences of women in Haiti.

Statement of the Problem

The world is finally recognizing that violence against women deserves international concern and action. This issue was brought to the platform during the UN Decade for Women (1975 to 1985). In November 1985, the UN General Assembly passed its first resolution on violence against women. Since then, the UN has sponsored

and hired several expert groups to pursue the issue. In addition, new international instruments have been put forward that recognize all gender-based violence as an abuse of human rights.

Despite these efforts to eradicate violence against women, domestic violence continues to be a serious problem in every country where studies have been conducted (Heise, 1993). Where statistics are recorded, it is estimated that the rate of women beaten by their partners ranges from 40 to 80% (Bunch, 1991, p. 2).

The National Family Violence Survey and the National Victimization Survey estimate that at least two million women are beaten by their partners each year (Kantor & Jasinski, 1998, p. 3).

Haiti has ratified most of the human rights treaties, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1981, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women, known as the *Belem do Para Convention* in 1996.

Despite its participation and collaboration, domestic violence continues to be a serious human rights problem in Haiti. The Minister for Social Affairs and Labor estimated that 90% of Haitian women are victims of violence (United Nations, 2000, p. 3).

She also believes that the situation is exacerbated by the still prevailing machismo culture. Yet there is little data on the extent of the problem.

Rationale

Eradication of violence against women requires challenging the way that society articulates culture and gender relations. On a collaborative note, this study draws together existing data on violence against women worldwide and reviews the literature on gender, theories, the women's movement, history, and human rights abuses in Haiti. This study is the first step in establishing baseline data on providing ways to free women physically, emotionally, and socially from the harm and injuries that they face. The study will put Haiti on the map by providing the first piece of empirical data from the homes of Haitian women. Previous studies have not looked at the rate at which violence occurred in the home. In addition, prior research has been mostly qualitative with the highest sample being 30 participants. The only large-scale study conducted by CHREPROF using 1705 participants lacked scholarship and failed to address how the study was conducted, the methodology, and no demographic was addressed. Many assumptions were made in analyzing the data. In this study, the researcher will pioneer a method of using a combination of a survey questionnaire (CTS2) that has been used mostly in the United States and Canada, and a culture-specific questionnaire developed by the researcher in an attempt to understand how the women define domestic violence in a culture such as Haiti.

General Research Question

The main research questions that this study will address are: What is the incidence and prevalence of domestic violence in the home? How do Haitian women define domestic abuse?

The researcher will examine three types of domestic violence: physical, psychological, and sexual. The study will look for correlations between the levels and types of violence suffered by women and the following variables: income, educational level, age, marital status, job status and unemployment, number of children, religion, and access to basic services.

Definition of Terms

This study will consider the UN definition of domestic violence. Article 1 of the declaration defines “violence against women” as any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life (Economic and Social Council, 1992, p. 3).

According to Article 2 of the declaration, the definition should encompass but not be limited to physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring in the family and in the community, including battering, sexual abuse of female children, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation, and other traditional practices harmful to women; nonspousal violence; violence related to exploitation, sexual harassment, and intimidation at work, in educational institutions, and elsewhere; trafficking in women; forced prostitution; and violence perpetrated or condoned by the state (Economic and Social Council, 1992, p. 3).

Although the paper will consider the UN definition throughout, it bears mention that the study will not address in depth all the forms of violence mentioned above,

including forced prostitution, sexual harassment, trafficking in women, or violence perpetrated by the state. The omission in no way affects the importance of these issues.

In a culture like Haiti, the notion that violence is abusive is not pandemic. Many people will agree that violence at the hands of a spouse is abusive. While some people will see it as necessary as long as the perpetrator does not do great harm to the victim. The terms abuse and violence are employed almost synonymously in much of the literature. Violence in this study, however, will refer to acts that cause physical harm, sexual or psychological harm that do not necessitate medical attention, and abuse will refer to acts that at once cause injury where medical attention is needed and are therefore more severe.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

The information in this chapter is organized so as to present first the historical background and cultural context of women and violence in Haiti and second to develop an understanding of domestic violence as a phenomenon in general and subsequently as it occurs in the context of Haitian society and culture.

There is a wealth of scientific research on domestic violence in the United States and Canada. However, on the topic of violence in Haiti, an initial search discovered very few well-documented studies. To date, there is one prevalence study conducted in Haiti by the Haitian Center for Research and Action for Women in November of 1996 (CHREPROF). Research on domestic violence in Latin America and the Caribbean commenced in the 1980s, roughly a decade later than in the United States, Canada, and

Europe (Morrison & Biehl, 1999, p. 106). Most of these studies were conducted by NGOs. To date, more than 100 studies from various countries have been published. These studies, however, are often difficult to analyze and compare because of the various methodologies used to conduct them. There are many countries for which it would be difficult or impossible to even begin to explore the theories because of a lack of reporting, documenting, and researching. Haiti is one of those countries.

The following pages provide an examination of the available studies and evaluate their contribution to the understanding of domestic violence in Haiti. This section presents the studies dichotomized into two groupings: historical (including the women's movement) and sociological, which focuses on social forces, theories, and circumstances.

Historical Background

Haiti, the first Black Republic, is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. However, in the second half of the eighteenth century, it was one of the richest colonies in the world. At that time, 50% of France's transatlantic commerce involved Haiti, and almost 20% of the French population depended on trade with Haiti for its livelihood (Bellegarde-Smith, 1990). The island country thrived on a \$140 million annual trade in sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton. The colony was known as "*La Perle des Antilles*" (the Pearl of the Antilles).

Haiti means "mountainous land" in the *Arawak* language of the original *Taino* inhabitants, and mountains cover 80% of the nation's territory. The land area in Haiti is approximately 27,749 square kilometers (10,714 square miles). The Republic of Haiti shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic to the east, which has a territory almost twice the size of Haiti. Located between Latin America and the Caribbean, Haiti is unique in many ways. With an estimated population of eight million, the average annual per capita income was approximately \$270 in the 1980s and \$400 in 1999 (U.S. Dept. of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2000). It is one of the most densely populated countries in the world with 250 inhabitants per square kilometer (about 640 per square mile; Bellegarde-Smith, 1990). More than 80% of the population has an average income of less than \$100 per year. Wealth and power is concentrated in the hands of three small groups of elitists known as *Mulattoes*, *Creole whites*, and a small percentage of Blacks who work for the government. This fraction of the population is supported by the military establishment and resides mostly in the capital of Port-au-Prince. The population of Haiti is cleaved by social class and power, race,

language, religion, and culture, which separate the mass of rural, poor, illiterate peasants from the urban, educated, and affluent elites (Charles, 1995). The official languages of Haiti are French and Creole. The majority of the population speaks only Creole and a small percentage speak both French and Creole. The majority of Haitian working women and men compose the lower stratum of the Haitian class system. This group is composed of poor peasants, workers, and a portion of the middle class (Heinl & Heinl, 1978).

Women's participation in the work force is very significant. In general, women make up 48% of the work force in both urban and rural Haiti. Women also tend to perform all household tasks and have the primary responsibility for selling food crops at the market. In addition, they serve as the link between the small rural gardens and the urban consumers, whereas men serve as the main commercial agents for export crops (Charles, 1995).

The ratio between males and females in the Haitian population is of critical importance. Statistics from the United Nations International Labor Organization show a predominance of Haitian males through the age of 29 and a smaller predominance of males through age 54, which suggests a high maternal mortality rate (Bellegarde-Smith, 1990). However, women outnumber men in all urban centers, especially in Port-au-Prince, and infant mortality rates are higher in slum areas. These findings may indicate that women in Haiti have less access to resources, medical care, and nutrition and suggest class- and gender-based inequities in Haitian social organization in the distribution of goods and services (p. 6).

Women's participation in the paid labor force has risen as a result of the emergence in the 1970s of new industries that import its raw materials, manufacture

goods in Haiti, and export finished products to the United States (Ehrenreich, 1995). Young women in Haiti contribute greatly to the cheap labor industry. For example, in 1994, all U.S. baseballs were stitched together by Haitian women for wages of 5 to 10 cents an hour (Ehrenreich, 1995). According to Charles (1995), the rate of participation for Haitian women in the manufacturing sector varies from 40 to 70%. Most workers are young females between the ages of 15 and 30.

General Condition of Women in Haiti

Haitian women are viewed as the *potomitan* or the center post of the Haitian economy and as playing a critical role in Haiti's struggle for democracy (Steady, 1981). Women make up 48% of the work force. In addition, 70% of the workers in the assembly and industries sector are women and 49% of the agricultural workers are women. Though Haitian women are not respected for their contribution, without women Haitian commerce would collapse (Steady, 1981).

In Haiti, 70% of the households are headed by women alone (Structural Adjustment and Haitian Women, n.d.). Haitian women are very industrious and often support five or more people on one income (p. 1). Yet they are paid less than men for the same work and are often forced to work in unhealthy conditions (p. 2). They bear the responsibilities for their children's health and education (U.S. Department of State, 2000). The life expectancy for women in Haiti is 57 years (p. 13).

In addition to the above conditions, a report by the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (2000) states that Haitian women face rape and abuse conditions both within and outside of marriage. The report also found that

these acts of abuse are not documented because of fear, shame, or lack of confidence in the judicial system. To date, there are no government-sponsored programs for victims of violence (Fonrose-Jean-Pierre, 2001). There remains a need to revise the entire system whereby victims can lodge complaints with the police, and to improve the follow-up to reporting a crime, including violence against women. In Haiti, just over seven percent of police officers are females. Some countries have introduced police units that are specially trained for dealing with spousal assault. In Brazil, for example, specific police stations have been designated to deal with women's issues, including domestic violence (Maran, 1999). These police stations are staffed entirely by women.

In May of 1998, some 20 women's organizations took matters into their own hands. They met parliamentarians and proposed changes to laws that they considered discriminatory (e.g., decriminalization of adultery, classification of rape as a crime, extension of the Labor Code to cover domestic work; see U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2000). Currently, none of these changes have been implemented. In the United States, changes are proposed and people are hired to oversee the implementation of the changes. In Haiti, there is no effective governmental mechanism to administer or enforce these provisions.

With very few resources, the Ministry of Women's Affairs, a governmental institution that is charged with promoting and defending the rights of women and ensuring that they attain an equal status in society, has been unable to defend the rights of women and ensure equality (U.S. Department of State, 1999). Women's roles are limited; they do not enjoy the same social or economic status as men (p. 13). Female employees, in both private and public sector, are seldom promoted to managerial or supervisory

positions. Law reform must be accompanied by new judicial institution as that is the only way to change the system on a more sustainable basis.

Historical Perspectives of Haiti's Women's Movement

The role of women in politics. A critical issue among feminists in Latin America and the Caribbean has been the relation of state and gender. In his analysis, Charles (1995) enumerated the questions that feminists sought to answer, including, how does the state define the parameters of politics? This question refers to the direct impact of authoritarian regimes on the life of women, regimes that often use motherhood to keep women from participating in political life. How does it reinforce female subordination? Does it aggravate, elaborate, or displace forms of gender oppression? The author posited that gender regimes in liberal states of advanced industrial societies tend to operate through a discourse marked by a "neutral" definition of citizenship and individual rights. In societies like the U.S, everyone is considered an important individual in the decision-making process. One does not need to be a male to have a voice in the political process. However, such features tend to be absent in cultures of an authoritarian state. According to Charles (1990), "In societies like Haiti with weakly developed civil society, women are barely recognized as equal citizens and political actors but are legally defined as dependent wives and daughters" (p. 3). Although women have gained the right to vote, there are no changes in legal and political status (Neptune-Anglade, 1990). Haitian women continue to be viewed as U.S. women were viewed in 1918—emotionally unstable.

Haiti has always operated through discrimination and the exclusion of women. Despite women's help in the creation of a new Haiti through the slave revolution during the early nineteenth century, women continue to be excluded from the political arena in Haiti. On February 7, 1794 women started to protest, demanding equal pay for equal work. Women were receiving only two-thirds of the pay that men were receiving although they were subject to the same regulations (i.e., hours worked, type of work performed) as the males (Charles, 1990).

The main role of gender in the formation of state became crystallized in the many constitutions promulgated in Haiti between 1801 and 1950. "A systematic politics of exclusion became the hallmark of the charters of Haitian society where, until 1979, married women were defined as legally minors" (Moise, 1988, p. 4). One result of this view is that it left women, children, and the aged out of the State violence. Because they were defined as political innocents, they were not subjected to state violence. This view also depoliticized women, ensuring they had no voice in politics.

The arrival of Duvalier marked the beginning of a "new world" in Haiti for Haitian women. All political and social organizations were outlawed. Women were viewed as equal to men, which meant they were subjected to torture, violence, rape, exile, and execution, as were the men (Trouillot, 1980). Many refugees and exiles testify that women were not only held accountable for their actions, but for the actions of their relatives as well (e.g., sons and spouses; Heintz, Heintz, & Trouillot, 1988). Duvalier declared, "My only enemies are those of my country." Ironically, Duvalier's view served to not only increase politicization, but to raise the consciousness of women and speed their transformation into political agents of social change (Charles, 1995).

Under Duvalier's leadership, people developed anxieties about demonstrating. There was not any room for the women's movement. However, women redefined their identities within the political context and were able to position themselves within a political structure of the struggle for democracy (Charles, 1995). This became possible through the massive emigration of Haitians and creation of many Haitian Diasporas in Europe and the Americas (Trouillot, 1980).

Women who were abroad were able to continue the struggle to organize their movement and feminist struggles (Charles, 1990). These female activists, according to Charles (1995), felt empowered that they could participate in the struggle against the dictatorship. This was a beginning for many feminist groups.

The traditional status of women in Haiti. Like many women in the world, Haitian women are poorer, more illiterate, and less powerful than their male counterparts. They are oppressed by the same patterns of sex discrimination that oppress women in other parts of the world, and the oppression, according to Bellegarde-Smith (1990), has intensified since Haiti has been dominated by the Western world. Bellegarde-Smith (1990) remarked that the condition of Haitian women reflects the condition of Haiti itself; it provides insight into the process of marginalization and patterns of domestic-power relationships.

According to Magalie Marcelin, a representative of Kay Fanm, a Haitian women's association, Haitian women live in a situation of generalized repression. "Whether it was before, during, or after the military regime, gender-violence is something that is very prominent, male domination stems from the very roots of the

society. Discrimination against girls and women continues to hinder our progress” (cited in Rosen and Conly, 1998, p. 3).

- Discrimination against girls often begins before birth in the preference for sons, and in too many places continues with denial of medical care and education and with forced teen or even preteen marriage, sex, and pregnancy.
- Women may be restricted to the home, sexually and physically abused without remedy, and denied rights to own or inherit property, to receive training or credit, or to take part in political and social discourse.
- Girls may be prepared by their societies only to be mothers, restricted in education and employment. Boys may be prepared only to be providers and heads of families, restricted in emotional, communications and caring skills.

There have always been insurmountable burdens and responsibilities placed on Haitian peasant women (Bellegarde-Smith, 1990). A woman’s place is still defined in relation to home and domesticity. Even in homes in which women contribute economically to the household, the authority resides largely with the male. A Haitian proverb reveals that *Chak fanm fet ak yon kawo te lan mitan janm ni* (“Each woman is born with an acre of land between her legs”). Lowenthal concluded that “female sexuality is revealed to be a woman’s most important economic resource” (Foster and Valdman, 1984, p. 20). Mireille Neptune-Anglade argues that the gender division of labor in Haiti leaves women with the majority of the responsibility for creating and reproducing wealth (i.e., marketing, etc.); however, men are in charge of distributing the wealth unequally. Poor and a certain number of middle-class women face this kind of injustice continuously.

The emergence and development of Haitian women's consciousness and the inception of various women's organizations can be seen as a triumph. In Haiti, a woman is defined by gender roles, household relations, and conjugal mating patterns (Charles, 1995). The women's organizations have allowed society to view women differently by highlighting their strengths. These strengths and talents were always there, but the focus has always been on gender rather than seeing the woman as a self-sufficient individual. Bird (1869, cited in Sylvain-Bouchereau, 1975) described women in some districts who were responsible for cultivating coffee, Haiti's major export crop. The women monopolized retail trade in the villages and accumulated resources independently from their partners: "One can truly say that the Haitian woman has an aptitude for commerce, a fact that has more to do with the particularities of Haitian civilization than would otherwise be the case (p. 24)." Madeleine Sylvain-Bouchereau commented that Haitian women inherited this talent from their African ancestors (p. 25). Unlike other women in more developed societies, Haitian women are survivors. They create ways to support their families without governmental assistance. If they were to receive half of the resources that men receive, the economy would grow at a rapid rate.

Myrtho Celestin-Sorel (1988) stated, "What is being a woman in Haiti? We have to be women in a society of deprivation and poverty, of survival and misery, of repression and corruption" (p. 21). Charles (1995) maintained that the shaping of Haitian women's demands and forms of organizations are intertwined in the structure of their society. From this structure emerged struggles for social change and a more meaningful and complete recognition of women as historical subjects.

The development of women's organizations. What is unique about the Haitian women's movement in Haiti is the fact that most of the organizations have evolved around politics. These movements tended to bypass social issues and oppression of women and claim direct participation in the political process. The earlier organizations, however, focused on both political and educational issues whereas the later organizations focused primarily on issues of a political nature. This section on the development of women's organizations analyzes the different phases of the women's movement from 1934 to the present.

In 1934, women in Haiti began to formulate their demands in an organized way. An association for the political and social enfranchisement of women developed out of a group of women professionals and community leaders. This particular organization dissolved within three months; however, a new one, known as the *Ligue Feminine d'Action Sociale* (Social Feminist Action League), formed that same year. This group later became a legal organization that focused on legal rights such as higher education, suffrage, and the status of married women. This was a much-needed organization. Some of their victories included (1) obtaining women's right to vote in 1950 (with their husbands' permission), (2) women's admission to universities in 1934, (3) allowing women to run for public office in 1991, (4) and facilitating social mobility for ethnic minority groups (Charles, 1995).

The league founded three other social organizations: (1) the *Association des Femmes Haitiennes pour l'Organisation du Travail* (1935; Association of Haitian Women for the Organization of Work), (2) an organization for homemakers (1937), (3) an organization working on behalf of children's rights (1939; Chancy, n.d.). Later, the

League lobbied to provide an equal minimum wage for men and women and three weeks paid maternity leave for women. The campaign was successful and a fund was created in 1939 (Chancy, n.d.). In 1943, a high school for young women opened in Port-au-Prince and by 1944, girls were admitted to traditionally male high schools in the capital. Sociologist Errol Miller noted that literacy among the general Haitian population rose from 12% in 1920 to 44% in 1980-1986 (cited in Chancy, n.d.). By 1950, however, the organization was reduced to philanthropy. Their ultimate victory was to force the Duvalier regime to redefine the meanings and role of gender relationships vis-à-vis the state (Charles, 1995).

Duvalier was dictator of Haiti from 1957 until the late 1980s. During that time, women did not have the right to organize. The regime forbade meetings and women's groups were not permitted to exist. This mandated silence was demonstrated by the arrest of journalist Yvonne Hakim Rimpel, along with her two daughters. She was taken from her house by force, stripped naked, tortured, and allegedly raped in an attempt to silence her from writing about the injustices that women faced. The League protested and presented a note signed by 36 courageous women demanding an investigation (Zephir, 1991, p. 27).

During the Duvalier period, both men and women left Haiti in large numbers and took refuge in New York and Canada. The first group emigrated in the 1960s and included Duvalier's political opponents and many bourgeois mulatto families. This group was followed in the late 1970s and early 1980s by large components of middle-class and working-class Haitians (Charles, 1990). In 1961, there were approximately 7,000 Haitians in New York, but in 1967, that number rose to more than 40,000 Haitians. By

the mid-1980s, there were approximately 500,000 Haitians living in the United States and Canada, out of which more than 300,000 lived in the New York City area (p. 12).

The 1970s brought the creation of Diaspora communities, which played a critical role in the women's movement. For many women, migration creates a dichotomy. For some, it brought conflict over ascribed social and sexual roles and identities. For others, it empowered women, especially if they were married and middle class (p. 13). For poor and working-class women, migration may have increased their burdens and responsibilities with the loss of the extended family setting. However, the experience of migration, in general, entailed a change in women's control over resources in the household (Neptune-Anglade, 1990).

During the Duvalier years, there are two main periods in the Haitian women's movement. The first is connected with the formation in 1970 of the "Patriotic Movement," a broad coalition of leftist-oriented and nationalist groups that were opposed to the Duvalier regime. The second started in the early 1980s with the increased influx of Haitian refugees in New York City and Canada organizing to commemorate the United Nations Decade for Women (Charles, 1995).

During the first period, RAFA (Rally of Haitian Women) was created, in 1973, in Montreal. Later it became *Neges Vanyan* (Valliant Women). According to Charles (1995), RAFA was created by women from progressive circles in Haiti who had once been members of *Union des Femmes Haitiennes* (UFH). These women were political exiles from Haiti and had various connections with the international socialist movement, especially with various communist parties in the West and Latin America. These women, who lived in Canada, understood the need to create a women's organization especially

because their clients (Haitian sisters) were female Haitian immigrants. A member of RAFA/*Neges Vanyan* remarked in 1984,

Many of us worked together in various community programs at the Maison d'Haiti. We knew about collective work. Moreover, we were attentive to many women's issues because many of our clients were women. Ourselves, we had experienced difficulties because of our status as single women, as mothers, and as Black. We were thus very conscious of Haitian women's problems. (Trouillot, 1984, p. 9).

RAFA/*Neges Vanyan* believed that Haitian immigrants living in Montreal faced mostly gender subordination problems. RAFA/*Neges Vanyan* had three main objectives: commitment to their community work; solidarity with and support of militants in Haiti, including women, who were fighting for the liberation of the people and their democratic rights; and networking and solidarity with the international women's movement (Charles, 1995). This organization was very active in international affairs. For instance, in 1972, the group participated in the First Congress of Black Women in Canada; in 1975, in collaboration with other Caribbean women, RAFA published the first document on the political situation of women living in Haiti, focusing on the conditions of female political prisoners. Other activities included attendance at women's conferences: 1975 in East Berlin, 1978 and 1979 in Moscow, and 1978 in Cuba. At all of these conferences, women who were exiles under the Duvalierist regime testified to the torture and repression of women in Haiti (Fuller, 1999). Following the uprooting of the Duvalier regime in 1986, many members of RAFA/*Neges Vanyan* returned to Haiti and created new feminist organizations such as *Femmes D'Haiti*.

In New York, in 1973, the Union of Patriotic Haitian Women (UFAP) pursued similar paths. The UFAP focus was mobilization of Haitian women for the anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist struggle (Union of Patriotic Haitian Women, 1972). The

members of the UFAP believed that only a revolution would end women's oppression; therefore, they concurred that a women's movement had to work first for the liberation of Haiti as a basis for women's liberation. UFAP disappeared from the political scene by the mid-1970s.

In Canada, a third organization emerged, known as the Canadian *Point de Ralliement* (Rallying Force). The aim of this group was to advance gender issues. One member expressed her views as follows:

We felt a "malaise" in the community. Women were criticized and blamed for all the problems. We were accused of lacking certain attributes when compared with Canadian, in particular, Quebec women. It seemed that Haitian men did not face any difficulty in their integration into Canadian society. Parallel to that situation, we were also in a process of critical reflection of the host society and of ourselves. Because of that self-searching and because of discussion with our Canadian female coworkers, we began to understand that despite the differences we shared the same problems; only the effects and manifestations of women's conditions separated us. (Dorsinvil, 1984)

Point de Ralliement wanted to create an organization that included women from all backgrounds; however, membership consisted of only middle-class women. Their activities focused on raising consciousness. Following the creation of these three groups and the 1975 United Nations Resolution on Women, many other Haitian women's organizations were formed in the United States, Canada, and Europe. There are a few that are worth mentioning: the most prominent in Montreal was *Fanm* and the Association of Haitian Nurses; in New York the most noteworthy was the Haitian Women's Ad Hoc Committee, which participated in the 1985 Nairobi women's conference. Later on, most of these groups began to switch their focus to more specific women's issues, particularly the problems encountered by women who were working within the national political

organizations, within their households, and in the societies to which they immigrated and settled (Charles, 1995).

Like the women's movement in South Africa, the Haitian women's movement lacks a broad-based organization (Vogelman, 1990). Thus, there is no organization that sees as its primary task the raising of issues regarding the social, economic, and political relationship between women and men. Rather, what are present are women's organizations. A political force dominates some of them. Much of the aim and work of these organizations in the past has revolved around the perception of women as a constituency that needs to be mobilized and organized against dictatorship, rather than in relation to issues specifically related to women's oppression (e.g., violence and abuse).

The second period involves the early 1980s. During this time, the beginnings of a democratic movement had surfaced in Haiti. Suzy Castor, in the opening of a seminar on Haitian women held in Haiti in 1986, commented,

During the long and political life of Haiti as a nation, the contributions of women to the struggles against the oligarchy and for democracy were significant. Yet, their political roles have not been recognized. Like all the other 'subaltern; their history has been obscured There is an historical erasure of [woman's] condition, p. 14).

Women are recognized in the political realm based on their husbands' political positions.

Many women who had lived in the Diaspora and contributed to the opposition in one form or another were returning to Haiti (Charles, 1995). By 1986, the growth of the democratic movement led to the overthrow of the Duvalier regime. Many possibilities emerged for these women of the Diaspora to return and participate in a "new" Haitian women's movement. The presence of these women in these new groups was very apparent. According to Charles (p. 16), 60% of the members of groups such as *Fanm*

D'Ayiti (Women of Haiti), *Comite Feminin* (Feminist Committee), Worker Solidarity with Haitian Women (SOFA), or *Kay Fanm* (Women's House) had at one time resided outside of Haiti. Haitian women were at the forefront of the overthrow of Duvalier. Charles (p. 17) affirmed that women's participation in these events was not organized around issues related to gender; they were part of a general insurgency that demanded work, full political rights, and other changes.

Following the overthrow of Duvalier, women had a greater focus for the future and the needs and problems facing the rights of women in Haiti. Women's organizations had a greater potential to take up issues specific to women. However, what was apparent is that a "liberated Haiti" did not significantly alter the living and work conditions of most Haitians, especially women. It was important that the work around improving these conditions did not take place at the expense of work around reducing the incidence of women's rights violations.

Immediately after the fall of Duvalier, 30,000 women took to the streets to protest and to demand changes in their favor. It was a protest against exclusion. "The country was being remade and we didn't want it to be remade without us" (*nou pa t vle peyi a ta refet san nou*; Myriam Merlet, March 17, 1999, as cited in Charles, 1995). At least 15 women's groups and organizations participated in the demonstration (Jean, 1986).

The protest and demonstration by 30,000 women shocked the public on April 3, 1986. However, this was only one of many movements initiated by women. For instance, Cesaire, Pierre, Ricot, and Jocelyn (cited in Charles, 1995) contended that women's roles in the political process was revealed through their participation and organization of the 1984 food riots and in their protests against high prices for fuel and gasoline a year later.

Indeed, political history often ignores women's political contributions and activities, which often take place informally. According to Charles (p. 17), these events are cases in point for Haitian women. Women were the primary organizers of these protests.

Many women's organizations appeared in 1986, after the overthrow of Duvalier. In the rural areas, women had integrated religious, community-based, cultural, and peasant organizations. Membership increased particularly in the two peasant movements, *Tet Kole* (Put Our Heads to Work) and *Tet Ansanm* (Let's Unite Our Heads). The goals of these two peasant organizations were land reform and bringing basic services to their communities (Americas Watch and National Coalition of Haitian Refugees, 1994). By the same token, "Women of the *Papaye* Peasant Movement (MPP) were the first to march, demanding not only equality of civil and political rights, but also demanding rights to work, leisure time, and education" (Charles, 1995, p. 17). The Haitian scholar Regine Latortue remarked that educated women had helped urban and rural working-class women but had "not yet succeeded in altering the social structure of Haiti in any significant way" (Steady, 1981, p. 540).

The participation of women in *Papaye* is worth noting. *Papaye* was founded in 1972 by the Catholic Church as a training center for catechism and agriculture. Soon after its inception, it became apparent that the problems that were faced by the peasants were not technical but were rather rooted in injustice and exploitation. Hence, MPP emerged with a roster of 20 peasants. This one group grew into two groups by the end of 1973, and it increased to 39 groups by the end of 1976. Each of these groups had one woman member whose main responsibility was to attend to the needs of the males. In 1978, MPP implemented an education project on storage and retail trade of agricultural goods.

Women were integrated in MPP because they constituted the main traders of agricultural products. Despite the resistance of many male members to the inclusion of women, women triumphed. In 1980, one women's group existed; however, by 1983 the number had risen to six. In 1991, right before the military coup, there were 400 women's groups with a total of 4,500 members. Fick (1990) noted that women's organizations represented one-fifth of MPP membership.

The MPP movement organized the first women's congress in 1988 with the following goals: (1) a decent life for all people, (2) family planning, (3) sex education, and 4) education project on storage and retail of agricultural goods (Charles, 1995). The objectives of this congress were also equality of rights and full citizenship for women. The movement was also supportive of women's differences and believed that they should create their own organizations in which they would be able to express and voice their opinions more fully.

By 1990, there was an array of women's groups and feminist organizations in Haiti that differed in social composition, goals, and objectives (Charles, 1995, p. 18):

- (a) The League and the Club of Professional Women, which were traditional women's clubs and philanthropic groups;
- (b) The *Association des Anciennes de Ste. Rose de Lima* (Female Alumni of Ste. Rose), under the leadership of middle-class women, has tended to center its efforts on basic services such as healthcare, lowering infant mortality, and providing education for the poor;
- (c) *Fanm d'Ayiti*, *Kay Fanm*, and *Ligue des Femmes Rurales* (League of Rural Women), have focused on survival issues, social and economic change, and

political recognition for the fact that women should not be second-class citizens.

Women continued to focus on a variety of objectives and goals including social, economic, and educational issues. In many sectors of the economy, women focused on basic needs, economic equality, and citizenship rights and identity. Two urban organizations—Kay Fanm, which works with domestic workers, and CPFO (Center for Promotion of Working Women), which works with women employed in the export industries—share this focus. Many women have worked to decentralize the Western-oriented dominant-cultured ideology and promote the more African-centered cultural practices and identities of the majority of the Haitian population (Charles, 1995).

In the initial stages of the 1990 elections, the majority of women's organizations united in the *Lavalas* Movement to elect Jean Bertrand Aristide and the first democratically elected government in Haiti. The end of September 1991 brought a new wave of turbulence to Haiti. The military seized power from Aristide, and most independent groups were forced to go into hiding. For instance, the MPP's physical space was invaded. Women leaders were threatened and attacked; their homes were ransacked, and rape was used to stop these activists from continuing their work. The only women's shelter, Kay Fanm, was destroyed by fire. These attacks were more apparent in the countryside where activists were easily identified. As one member of a woman's organization put it, "This repression is especially directed at women because in this society women have no right to organize" (Charles, 1995, p. 19).

Human rights abuse increased in mid-1993. Women were offered places of refuge by other women (Fuller, 1999). Between January and May 1994, 66 cases of rape "of a

political nature” were documented (Dieng, 1999). The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights documented 21 cases from first-hand reports. Human Rights Watch/NCHR published “Rape in Haiti: A Weapon of Terror,” based on a February 1994 investigation, reporting “a campaign of systematic violations of human rights that clearly includes rape.” (Human Rights Watch, HRW/National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, NCHR, 1994, p. 4). As a result of these documented cases, the door was finally open to discuss rape in general, a subject that had been silenced.

The women of the women’s movement were brave and courageous; they refused to live a life of violence, threats, and inequality without a voice. They came back strong in March of 1993 and organized the first conference on Violence Against Gender despite the state siege imposed by the repressive military regime (Fuller, 1999).

The aftermath of the *coup d’etat* included an important step for the women’s movement. The government began to address many women’s issues. One of the most important was the creation of the Ministry of Women’s Affairs and Women’s Rights. Dr. Lise-Marie Dejean, a member of SOFA, was named the first Minister in 1994 (Fuller, 1999). The first Haiti women’s conference, which took place in Boston in October 1994 with women from Haiti and the Haitian Diaspora, requested that the Haitian society adopt a people-oriented economic development framework, which promotes sustainable development and empowers women (Structural Adjustment and Haitian Women, n.d.). Many recommendations were made, including validating and disseminating knowledge and making employment for women a priority, promoting women’s organizations at the work place and market women’s organizations, avoiding any international aid that

undermines the democratic and economic development agenda of peasant and worker organizations and promoting unity throughout the Caribbean.

The Minister headed Haiti's delegation to the Fourth International Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. On April 3, 1996 brought the ratification of the Belem do Para Convention, which outlines all the rights and protections of women. However, Haiti's court continues to apply different penalties for breaches of laws committed by men and women. Relations between the Ministry and feminist NGOs were often tense, with NGOs accusing the Ministry of inaction. Various Ministers held and left the post and the budget continued to shrink. In 1996 and 1997, leaders spoke of closing the Women's Ministry, in spite of objections from the women's organizations (Fuller, 1999).

The Commission, which was headed by a woman, noted "a direct link between the generalization of violence during the period covered by the mandate of the Commission and the dramatic increase in the incidence of rape and other forms of sexual aggression" (Commission Nationale de Verite et de Justice, 1996). The Commission acknowledged that "the social context makes women very vulnerable and little inclined to file complaints" and called for the following changes (Fuller, 1999, p. 9):

- 1) Rape to be redefined as an attack on physical integrity and well-being rather than honor, and for acts of "conjugal and family violence" to be explicitly defined as "forms of physical, moral and/or sexual aggression, and thus, breaches of law subject to graduated penalties;"
- 2) Legal proceedings to be instituted against the presumed authors of abuses, together with compensation for victims;
- 3) Victims' private lives to be protected in trials;

- 4) Rules on medical certificates of rape to be modified, extending the ability to complete them to health care professionals other than physicians;
- 5) Educational programs to be developed to improve the treatment of rape victims by police, judges, doctors and others;
- 6) Services and programs to be created for victims; and
- 7) A campaign to be conducted to educate and inform the public about rape.

The government failed, once again, to implement the recommendations. Women began to lobby and protest. In November 1997, The International Tribunal brought together many men and women to testify to Human Rights groups about the victims of violence. Haitian radio broadcast these stories, which had largely been kept secret for years (Fuller, 1999).

A panel of judges, drawn from international experts and representatives of Haitian human rights groups, noted the various shortcomings and ineffectiveness of the judicial system and of police practices and procedures. The panel recommended that the government work with a coalition of women's organizations to prepare a law for criminalizing of all forms of violence against women (Komite Adok kont Vyolans sou Fanm, 1997, pp. 10-11).

The panel also recommended legalization of abortion in cases of rape, incest, and danger to a woman's health; decriminalization of adultery and introduction of it in the civil code as motive for marital breakup; amendment of the Civil Code to recognize common-law marriage; establishment of various measures relative to the legal system including establishing a police unit composed of women to receive complaints and conduct investigations on antiwoman violence, protecting plaintiffs and witnesses in

trials, establishing shelters for women who are victims of violence, adopting of education programs that incorporate principles of nonsexist education, and educating the public on the human rights of women.

In 1998 and 1999, Kay Fanm put together a Carnival float with the theme, "No to Violence Against Women." Awareness of the injustices and violations of women's rights were the major themes of this Carnival. Many authors have agreed that education of the public, especially this generation, must continue to be on the forefront of these issues for major changes to occur (Andrade, 1992; Anon, 1985; Loue, 2001). In the future, a feminist awareness needs to become a central part of women's organizations, and more specific organizations dealing with violence against women need to be created. These organizations may act as both resource and pressure groups. The Haitian government will need constant reminders that women's rights violations are a significant contributor to reducing the quality of life for Haitian women.

Haiti's Record on Ratification of Human Rights. As a member of the United Nations, Haiti took part in the proclamation on December 10, 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Haiti ratified the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) in 1981, and the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women, known as the "Belem do Para Convention," in 1996. The documents (United Nations, 1990) also show that Haiti ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1972) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1991; signed in 1966).

The record shows, however, that Haiti has not ratified the international covenant on economic, social, and cultural rights or the convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, among other human rights instruments.

Agreeing to ratify is one thing, and implementing the changes is another. In Haiti's case, ratification had little impact. According to Fuller (1999), under both dictatorship and democracy, Haiti has ignored its commitment to make implementation progress reports to CEDAW. Neither the initial report due in 1982, nor follow-up reports that were due in 1986, 1990, 1994, and 1998 have been submitted.

Current status of women in Haiti. Public awareness has advanced; but progress in other areas is very slow. There is still only one women's shelter, Kay Fanm, for a population of 8 million. In 1998, a promising dialogue took place between the women's group and Parliament on legal reforms concerning women. The women's group had selected four topics (i.e., legalizing abortion in certain circumstances, providing legal protections for domestic workers, decriminalizing adultery, and making rape a crime against the person), as their highest priorities. Only one has been enacted. It was suggested that adultery be decriminalized; instead, the penalty for adultery was equalized for men and women (Fuller, 1999).

Women have taken some giant steps in terms of organization. They have continued to promote the existing groups and have developed more groups in response to recognized needs. Many organizations continue to receive threats regarding their lobbying for equal rights. A health organization for women in Cite Soleil was burned down, a worker raped, and equipment stolen. The Haiti support group informed this researcher that Haitian human rights workers continue to face threats. Pierre Esperance, a

member of the National Coalition for Haitian Rights (NCHR) stated that these threats could be linked to the organization's condemnation of human rights abuses committed by the Haitian police (Auguste, 2001). The Director of Christian Aid, Dr. Daleep Mukarji, wrote a letter to the Haitian president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to investigate the threats against human rights workers and to provide them with security to carry out their vital work (p. 1).

Women's progress continues to stagger. The advancement of women would grow rapidly if women were given some institutional support in the development of entrepreneurship. Poverty rates are still higher among Haitian women than their male counterparts. In spite of this, women tend to spend a larger portion of their personal income supporting their family.

Policy interventions designed to alleviate the constraints in businesses continue to leave women entrepreneurs out of the formula. Women's traditional roles as mothers and housekeepers have been one of the main reasons why they have not been able to accumulate start-up capital to begin a new business. In addition, the women who work receive lower wages because of discriminatory practices. Female entrepreneurs are more visible in the textile and clothing manufacturing sector than anywhere else.

Throughout Haiti, male-owned enterprises outnumber those run by women more than three to one. The gender breakdown within industrial sectors shows that women-run enterprises are in the trade sectors. Community, social arrangements, and personal services are the next most important categories of enterprise in which women participate. The Haitian women's circumstances clearly indicate the need for specifically designed interventions to integrate women directly into the mainstream economy. Research has

shown that women's activities play an important role in household survival and human capital investment. Therefore the inclusion of women in the development of Haiti's economy will provide a strong impetus for economic growth.

The future of the Haitian women's movement is very promising if its members continue to pursue a clear and specific mission. This review reveals that most of the efforts of the movement in Haiti have focused around political themes (i.e., overthrow of Duvalier, restoring Democracy, liberation, etc.) and reached a plateau once the goal was achieved. Like the women's movement in other places, women in Haiti need to organize continuously by focusing on issues that are clearly a violation of women's rights. Issues such as violence, oppression, health care, labor, education, and gender should be addressed at all levels so that they become inclusive in policy-making. As alluded to earlier, women find themselves in the unenviable position of being minors in all aspects of life. There has been a generally held belief in Haiti that once Duvalier left and once Haiti becomes a democratic society, people will be in a position to compete on an equal basis in all spheres of life. Years have passed since the overthrow of Duvalier, yet women have still to enjoy their newly won rights as equal human beings. Women need to bring the issues to the table continuously to make sure their rights, which are protected in the constitution, are put into practice so that they can experience the everyday freedoms enjoyed by Haitian men. The long-term goal is for the Haitian woman to become independent, literate, and healthy. Therefore, information about and analysis of these issues should now be a part of development as integral as social and policy analysis. More importantly, the women's groups, with their determination and collective efforts as a political constituency, will bring the kind of qualitative change necessary to establish

the rights of women in Haiti. It is this researcher's hope that within the next 10 years, Haitian women will be visible in all parts of the government making and implementing policies as equals. The country will make so much progress that pregnant and married women will be able to continue their education; daycare centers will be available to women who choose to work; and the country will flourish with community centers that will address the needs of all people. The researcher foresees the day when women will not live in fear, when inclusion is preferred over exclusion, and domination is denounced.

Some Attempted Solutions. The Minister for Social Affairs and Labor of Haiti (Center for the Study of Human Rights, 1996) believed that the root causes of domestic violence against women in Haiti are largely financial and that women who are economically stable would not take a beating without action. The Minister estimated that 90% of Haitian women are victims of violence. As a result of this, she decided to provide workshops in most of the provinces in Haiti to educate and enhance women's vocational skills.

In addition, the Minister initiated a program in which women in prison are trained in the production of arts and crafts. Their products are then sold by other women in the streets and a portion of the funds is used to support the prisoners' relatives (children, mother) during the inmates' periods of incarceration. The Ministry for Social Affairs and Labor believes that this tactic produces an important resource once the women are released, especially in situations in which the woman is a sole provider for the family.

For the first time in Haiti, families were able to obtain funds for damages caused by the military. There was a 4-year investigation (known as the "Raboteau massacre") that addressed human rights abuses that occurred from 1991-1994 (United Nations,

2000). This investigation was completed in September, an indictment was issued, and trial was set by the end of the year. The trial was a success. The Ministry of Justice disbursed approximately 1,700 (27,000 gourdes) in reparation money to 914 victims of the 1993 Cite de Soleil fire, which reportedly was set by the paramilitary Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti (FRAP; p. 2). No other progress was made in addressing other human rights violations or political killings dating from the Duvalier, or post intervention periods.

Background of Domestic Violence in Haiti

Domestic violence—wife beating—is the most widely perpetuated and underestimated crime (Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 2000). Violence in the home, flowing almost exclusively from male to female is international, historical, and cross-cultural. The world is finally coming to terms with the severity, depth, and breath of the violence women face in third-world countries. Women in Latin America are killed by their partners for honor, and women in Africa and the Middle East suffer female mutilation (Andrews, 1996). Studies done in Latin America and the Caribbean show that one out of four women is victim of physical abuse in her home but only 5 to 15% of the women report the crime (Inter Press Service, 1998). Statistics and records show that violence against women by their spouses ranges from 40 to as high as 80% worldwide (Bunch, 1991).

According to Marcus (1994), domestic violence and terrorism are ranked by social scientists at the same level. Women who are abused live in a world of trauma and catastrophe, and these women experience threats, humiliation, surveillance, stalking, coercion, and physical violence (p. 6). Indeed, violence against women in intimate

relationships crosses many social lines, impacting approximately 1 in 4 women in Canada and in the United States and as many as 60% in parts of Africa, Latin America, and Asia (United Nations Social Statistics and Indicators, 1995).

Domestic violence is a serious human rights problem in Haiti. Set against the political backdrop described above, it is part and parcel of the political and social repression that has dominated the lives of Haitian women. In interviews conducted by the Centre Haitien de Recherches et d'Action pour la Promotion Feminine (Haitian Center for Research and Action for Women's; CHREPROF), a study of 1,705 women revealed that 36% experienced violence at the hands of their partners. Furthermore, this study found that 80% of the men interviewed considered that violence against women was strictly a family matter; these men attempted to justify such violence by citing in cases in which they perceived disrespect for or disobedience from their partners. The sample included 1705 women and 503 men from the nine departments (States) of Haiti (Cap-Haitien, Les Cayes, Artibonites, Port-Liberte, Jacmel, Port-au-Prince, Port-de-Paix, Jeremie, and Hinche). The researchers utilized a questionnaire to collect the data. The researchers looked at the following hypothesis to guide them in the study: "violence against women and girls in Haiti is a 'norm' in our society, a social phenomenon, an ancestral heritage, link to our customs as a people. Therefore, it is independent of social conditions, marital status, religious convictions, or level of education of the victims." The findings confirmed the hypothesis. Perilla (1999) contended that in many parts of the world where women are considered to have lower status than men, domestic violence becomes a cultural norm. Where human rights are ignored or undervalued, domestic abuse is an expected and accepted part of the marriage contract. In a recent report, the

Haitian Minister for Social Affairs and Labor estimated that 90% of Haitian women are victims of violence. As described in the preceding sections, Haitian men (like men of many other cultures) learn at an early age that their gender endows them with special privileges and rights. These privileges and rights are viewed as the normal way of life. A typical Haitian man sees his wife and children as his possessions, and they must attend to his wants and needs (Fonrose-Jean-Pierre, 2001). He carries the burden of sole provider and protector of his family as long as he is accorded his rightful status: that of “*chef de la maison*” (head of his household) who has absolute power and control over all. If behavior in support of this theory is changed in any way, he sees it as a threat to his manhood and his partner will pay the consequences.

Violence against women is a violation of the fundamental universal human rights of women. It has been recognized as a priority for international action. In 1993, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women. This declaration outlines the international legal instruments that protect a woman’s right to be free from violence and sets forth the responsibilities of individual governments to ensure that these protections are enforced. To ensure that these rules are enforced, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights appointed a special Rapporteur on violence against women to collect comprehensive data and to recommend measures at the regional, national, and international levels to eliminate violence against women and its roots.

This section examines domestic violence as part of Haitian culture and considers evidence of its prevalence, its causes beyond those described in the political context above, and legal issues surrounding it.

Theories of Domestic Violence and Their Applicability to the Haitian Population

A vast number of theories attempt to explain the reasons behind domestic violence. The applicability of each theory should be culture-specific; the way in which male and female roles are viewed by the culture is important in explaining each theory. Some of the theories and their applicability are reviewed below.

Culture of violence theory. This theory postulates that there are certain societies or subcultures that perpetuate violence through the establishment of norms that allow the use of physical force or violence to a higher degree than others (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967). According to Levinson and Malone (1980), the rate at which violence occurs in peaceful societies is significantly lower than in violent societies. Moreover, there tends to be a direct relationship between the extent to which a male is integrated into the male subculture and the rate of violence in the home.

Haiti is indeed a country that has had its share of violence. Children grow up and come in contact with violence in their homes, in schools, on the streets, and as a result of the civil wars and political upheavals.

Social Learning Theory. Social learning theory posits that individuals learn behavior through observation of such behavior (Bandura, 1977). This theory has also been used to explain the cyclical patterns of child abuse (Davis & Leitenberg, 1987; Kaufman & Zigler, 1987). This theory suggests that violent behavior is not biological or instinctual in nature. One form of learning involves role modeling during the developmental years of socialization. The individual, Bandura argued, observes the violent behavior of significant others and then mimics their violent acts. The more the individual is exposed to violence, the more likely the individual will be to internalize

violent behavior and thus apply it in adult life when confronted with threatening situations.

Social learning theory is relevant to domestic violence in the Haitian population because children of Haitian ancestry experience for the most part a punitive upbringing that uses not only detention but also physical punishment to influence behavior. Male children observe frequently the interactions between mother and father, and they learn at an early age that to be male means to have more power.

Psychological Theory. This theory focuses on the individual and tries to alter his or her thought patterns, behavior, and affect in order to diminish the abuse. Prevention plans entail locating the source of the violence and treating the individual person. Alternative intervention strategies involve focusing on the abused woman and helping her to draw up plans to leave the relationship safely (Walker, 1984). This theory has been criticized on the basis that victims may attribute fault or blame to themselves as a result of this individuation (Walker, Bowker, & Below, 1993).

Marital Power Theory. Cromwell and Olson (1975) explained the use of power by defining the three different types of power: (1) power bases look at assets and resources that allow one partner to exert control over the other. These resources and assets include connections, knowledge, and skill; (2) power processes refer to the way in which the individual uses negotiation, assertiveness, and problem-solving to gain control over the other. Power outcomes refer to who is actually making the decisions. Cromwell and Olson contended that those partners who lack power are more likely to engage in physical abuse against the other partner.

Serra (1993) argued that violence has different meanings depending who is performing the act. When violence is committed by a man, it is conceived as power; however, when committed by a woman, it is viewed as powerlessness. Serra extended the power base to include the moral choice to use or to refrain from using violence:

There is no moral code or reason for a “norm” forbidding woman’s violence toward a man. Therefore, while *a man’s nonaggression* toward a woman expresses *a norm inscribed in our morals and in our culture*, *a woman’s nonviolence toward a man appears to be a form of nonpower*, a consequence of the biological fact that she is unable to overcome him. A man’s nonviolence toward a woman takes on a sense of his “not wanting to”—*a moral choice*. A man who does not react to a woman’s blows by beating her shows respect for the other sex, while a woman who—having been hit by a man—does not react by attacking him, gives only an impression of powerlessness. Hence, neither violence, nor nonviolence, is reciprocal. (1993, p. 24; italics in original)

Evolutionary Theory. The evolutionary theory, which was advanced originally by anthropologists to explicate child abuse, is believed to be relevant in explaining domestic violence (Barry, Child, & Bacon, 1967; Lenski & Lenski, 1970; Narroll, 1970; Rohner, 1975). This theory affirms that as societies move from simple to complex and families become smaller and nuclear in form, social relations become both more structured and ambiguous. Loue (2001) argued that in societies that are complex, physical punishment is not used to secure obedience. On the other hand, obedience is highly valued in societies, which maintain a hierarchically organized social structure and in which a large amount of activity occurs in the context of formal social encounters outside of the home. If such a high value is placed on obedience, is expected of children and spouses alike. Loue (p. 23) posited that where such obedience is not forthcoming, violence may be used to secure it.

In a study conducted by Levinson (1989) on the link between social change and wife beating, the researcher found that after the shift in the Macedonia, Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, and Littoral regions of the former Yugoslavia from an extended family

household model to a money economy in 1900, the status of women increased while a reduction was observed in regard to the status of men and thus wife-beating became more common.

The Resource Theory. Sociologists have taken a closer look at the social attributes and power structures of the family so as to ascertain a more thorough understanding of its violent aspects. The resource theory maintains that families, like all other social systems, tend to be used as resources when other resources are lacking (Goode, 1971). For instance, a family with fewer resources (e.g., prestige, money, and power) tends to suffer greater frustration and bitterness and thus is more likely to resort to violence to resolve conflicts. O'Brien (1971), in his study of divorce-prone families, concluded that violence within the family was more common when the husbands were underachievers in the wage-earner role and when the husband demonstrated certain status characteristics that were lower than those of his wife.

In Haiti, this is usually not the case. However, this theory could be evident in Haitian immigrant families. Oftentimes, the woman is able to secure a position as a housekeeper before her spouse can find employment. In addition, the husband may find work that pays minimum wage whereas the wife may earn \$500 to \$600 per week in a housekeeping position, or other positions (Fonrose-Jean-Pierre, 2001).

Cultural Context of Domestic Violence

Galtung (1990) defined "cultural violence" as any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structure form. According to Pence (1985/1989), acceptance of batterers' use of physical violence and terrorist tactics has been and

is a significant cultural support for the battering of women. It has also been noted that minority groups, perhaps because they are subjected to a higher level of stress, higher rate of broken families, or as an outcome of poverty, have had higher rates of domestic violence (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1990). Horning et. al. (1981) found that women receive more beatings in periods of high unemployment. The lack of collective condemnation of legal intervention clearly indicates to those who have chosen to batter that there are no official objections to their patterns of battering (Tifft, 1993, cited in Se' ver, 1997).

In India, feminists continually fight against the increased incidence of "dowry death." Official figures show that 332 cases of "accidental burning" were reported in New Delhi in 1982 as compared to 305 in 1981 (Kelbar, 1983). However, various women's organizations believe that many cases go unreported because of the refusal of the police to document the cases (Brocke-Utne, 1989).

According to Brocke-Utne (1989), the British government appointed a committee in 1975 to look into the question of wife beatings. At that time they were faced by the fact that of the 6,680,000 wives in Britain, more than 5,000 per year were known to have been severely injured by their spouses. They found that this number represented only a small fraction of the actual incidents. The committee members' actual work also encountered prejudices in the field (VAWS, 1994). "They admitted that they had met many men, especially of leading positions, who did not want to acknowledge the fact that women are beaten by their husband constitute a problem warranting official recognition and action" (Brocke-Utne, 1989, p. 48).

The absence of collective support on the part of society or the legal system is not, however, viewed as the most critical cultural support for violence against women or for

women's inequality. Tift (1993, cited in Se' ver, 1997) believed that the significance lies in the belief that a man has the right to control or punish his partner for perceived hostile or harmful behavior. The author suggested that one must fully understand and challenge this belief, the legal system's response, and those cultural and social structural supports that underlie these behaviors.

Tift (1993, cited in Se' ver, 1997) outlined three additional cultural and social structural supports that underpin the battering of women and the acceptance of this battering:

- (1) The belief that hierarchical social arrangements in general and hierarchical arrangements based on sex and gender specifically are natural and immutable;
- (2) The widespread use of linguistic structures, established in specific economic arrangements, that objectify women; and
- (3) Gender socialization and social arrangements that place and keep women in a subordinate and disempowered position in society.

Studies show that in some parts of the world, women are mutilated in a variety of sadistic ways. Brocke-Utne (1989) posited that women (in many places of the world) live in lifelong physical pain or are tortured to death in barbaric rituals. This is indeed the case with "ritual genital mutilations—excision and infibulation—still inflicted upon women throughout Africa today and practiced in many parts of the world in the past" (Brocke-Utne, 1989, p. 49).

Cultural Norms, Religion, and Violence

Allegiance to religious beliefs, practices, and loyalties continues to play a vital role in the lives of people everywhere (Dayan, 1998). Religious sentiments and commitments are found everywhere, in culture and history as well as in social and personal behavior. This section examines the meaning and role of religion in the context of cultural norms and violence in Haiti.

One analyst remarked that most forms of religion seem to work against the values of equity, justice, and peace. Professor Abdullahi An-Na'im of Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, argued that "[Religions] are often used to legitimate and condone many types of violence and inequalities, to justify the oppression of women, child abuse and the persecution of minorities and dissidents within the communities of believers" (Ngangoue, 1998). In the Caribbean, women are believed to be inferior to all men by God and law (Hurstun, 1938). Adullahi (cited in Ngangoue) contended that although religion can be a source of resistance and sometimes opposition to changes linked to a culture of human rights, its basic norms and legal structures can become a precious resource for cultural change that reinforces human rights.

Leaders in the religious sector can be viewed as important resources against family violence because they are connected to the families of their congregation in a variety of ways. In most cases, clergy are familiar with the families' histories and have access to their homes. However, these leaders, argued Nason-Clark (1997), are often viewed as contributing to the perpetuation of domestic violence as a result of religious beliefs. Although there is no evidence, according to Nason-Clark (p. 54), that the evangelical subculture, with its emphasis on wifely submission and hierarchical gender

relations, increases the incidence of wife abuse, it does lead to a serious misrecognition of the rate of wife abuse within the faith community. In many instances, this leads pastors to favor the ultimate reconciliation of abusive marriages rather than their termination, and may also lead some abused women to delay seeking help or to assume that their churches will be unresponsive to their situation. Furthermore, the author found no evidence that “. . . clergy suggested that women return to an unchanged abusive environment, or that they should simply endure the suffering, or that they should work harder at being better wives.” However, Nason-Clark found that clergy greatly underestimate the frequency of violence in church families.

Contrary to other religions (e.g., Catholicism, Protestantism) that tend to discriminate based on gender, *vodou*, the national religion of Haiti, does not discriminate (Bellegarde-Smith, 1990). Vodou is viewed as a pagan, primitive form of “black” magic rather than as a religion by foreigners as well as some Haitians (Dayan, 1998).

Bellegarde-Smith (1990) maintained that Vodou and the *Kreyol* (commonly referred to as “Creole” in the United States) language are essential parts of the Haitian culture and nationality. “Religion and language are major symbols in all cultures and the embodiment of nationality, and personal identity from a collective identity, especially in communal societies” (p. 9). Both Vodou and the Kreyol language were officially recognized by the Haitian constitution of 1987. Prior to its recognition, Vodou was illegal and its observers were often persecuted (Hurstun, 1938).

The word *vodou* is believed to come from two words, *vo* and *du*, which mean “introspection into the unknown” (Bellegarde-Smith, 1990). The religion is often seen as a violent black magic affair because unlike the other religions in which sins are

committed against God, in Vodoun transgressions are committed against one's fellow beings who suffer the brunt of one's actions. The concept of sin is nonexistent; instead social and moral behavior is regulated by taboos that are linked to ancestral values and traditions (Bellegarde-Smith, 1990; Dayan, 1998; Desmangles, 1992; Hurston, 1938).

Another interesting fact is that vodou is purely democratic. Sex and gender do not matter in Vodun philosophy (Bellegarde-Smith, 1990). Women and homosexuals are not discriminated against in Vodun hierarchies and ceremonies. The author maintained that both women and men are priests in decentralized structures that abide no national or regional hierarchies, these aspects of the vodou religion contrast sharply with the rigid, complex hierarchies of the Roman Catholic Church and the structures of most other denominations of Western Christianity (Desmangles, 1992).

In talking about vodou, most people are not aware of the different classes of deities that are in existence, the Rada or Arada and the Petro. The Rada gods are the "good" gods and are said to have originated in Dahomey (Desmangles, 1992). The Petro gods are the ones who do evil work and are said to have been brought over from the Congo (Hurston, 1938), *Rada* is derived from *Arada*, the name of a prominent kingdom in Dahomey during Haiti's colonial period (Desmangles, 1992). *Petro*, on the other hand, is derived from a mythological character, Dom Pedro, a leader of the maroon rebellion during the latter half of the eighteenth century. These words in vodou, however, no longer designate geographical locations; rather they characterize "categories of *lwas* who are known in Haiti particularly for their cosmic functions as sustainers of the universe" (p. 95). Though *Petro laws* are associated with malevolent magic and have earned the reputation of being destructive, aggressive, and violent, one must realize that these

distinctions are not absolute (Desmangles, 1992). The *Petro lwas* can still protect an individual from danger. Similarly, whereas the *Rada lwas* are viewed as benevolent, they can inflict diseases on devotees who fail to uphold their religious obligations toward them (Dayan, 1995).

Desmangles (1992) summarized the vodou religion as follows:

Vodou in Haiti today is a religion whose theology has attempted to sustain many of the religious and cultural African values in Haitian society. Its continued existence in Haitian culture is symbolic of the Vodouissants' resistance to renouncing their African traditions and acclimating themselves, by force if necessary, to European's Catholicism. Hence, Vodou in effect is a reaction to the oppression caused by the intransigent hostility of the Roman clergy. Moreover, the present content of its theology, which includes both Catholic and African religious traditions, derives from the contact between the cultures of two continents on Haitian soil. (p. 7)

Sociological Perspectives on Domestic Violence

A growing literature postulates that sociocultural factors contribute to male assaultiveness (Strauss & Gelles, 1986). For instance, the authors found that the rate of wife assault in Hispanic families in the U.S. was more than double that of non-Hispanic families (Strauss & Smith, 1992). Davis (1992) compared the attitudes of college students in the U.S. and Colombia toward wife abuse and concluded that (1) Colombians were generally more accepting of violence toward women, and (2) Colombian women tended to blame wives for triggering abuse.

Kim and Cho (1992) conducted a study using the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) to assess spousal assault in South Korea. The authors reported that the Korean rates were three times the U.S. rates (37.5% vs. 11.6%). The authors concluded that this high rate is directly related to "public prejudice toward divorce, public ignorance, and toleration of spouse abuse and lack of legal support for protection of women" (p. 280).

Levinson (1989) conducted another study that targeted systematic cross-cultural examination. This study examined 90 societies using accounts drawn from the Human Relations Area files. The study found that wife beating was more common in societies in which (1) men controlled the wealth, (2) conflict resolution was violent in general, (3) males were seen as having domestic power, and (4) women had no equal right to divorce or separation. Furthermore, Levinson discovered that people in these 90 societies believed that wife assault occurred or should occur for three reasons: (1) the woman's "failure to perform her duties," (2) punishment for adultery, and (3) "his right for any reason or no reason at all" (p.78).

The rationale behind domestic abuse stems from the traditionally inferior position of the wife in many cultures. Ofei-Aboagye (1994) illustrated the tribulation faced every day by women in the Ghanaian culture. She affirmed that traditionally a woman is expected to be satisfied and indeed gratified that she has become wife to any man. In addition, she is expected to obey him in thought, word, and deed, without ever thinking about her needs. This idea is reiterated in the case of *Ribeiro v. Ribeiro* in which, in analyzing the contribution a wife had made toward her husband's personal wealth and discussing whether she had been fairly treated in her separation settlement, the Ghanaian judge stated:

Both parties' earning capacities have been spent. But the man has property and the wife has nothing; her only assets are her children who, according to the evidence, are all well-placed in life. A woman cannot ask for more (Se'ver, 1997, p. 123).

"Cultural conditions, marriage laws, economic realities, physical inferiority—all these teach women that they have no direct control over the circumstances of their lives" (Walker, 1979, p. 52). Walker posited that women are subjected to both parental and

institutional conditioning that restricts their alternatives and shelters them from the consequences of any disapproved alternatives.

According to Ofei-aboagye (1994), the inequality of women is such an integral part of the culture, it becomes indescribable. Dolphyne (1991) stated that “in some cases mental torture may exceed the manifest physical abuse and attain dimensions of degradation and yet seem to be a figment of the imagination of the victim” (p. 127). This type of violence is not thought of as being unjust because it appears not to be present. The author goes on to say that writing or even thinking about inequality seems wrong; it seems a betrayal, a criticism of the culture and the way of life. Ofei-Aboagye (1994) affirmed that domestic violence is not a problem but part of a way of life.

According to the United Nations (2000), violence is rampant in Haiti. Women are the key targets for all forms of violence. Yet, it has been noted that Haitian society does not believe that there is a culture of violence against women in general. Instead the consensus is that violence against women is a result of a culture of repression of those who are less fortunate. The Minister of Justice contended that the notion of violations of human rights is not only incidental but also structural. The Minister of Foreign Affairs also is in agreement that “the situation of women in Haiti is not ideal” (p. 3). However, he remains hopeful because he believes that the people in power believe in the human rights of women.

The Haitian Experience of Domestic Violence

Although domestic violence is a widespread problem in Haiti, it is not openly discussed. Many women bear and accept their suffering as a normal part of everyday life. According to the Minister for the Status of Women, domestic violence is quite prevalent

in Haiti, mainly taking the form of battering and psychological violence (Center for the Study of Human Rights, 1996).

The discussion above highlighted the lack of resources available to combat violence against women in Haiti. As a result, there are no plans to implement any preventive programs with respect to violence against women. Currently, the Office of Family Protection has only 15 trained social workers. Instead of increasing social services for victims of violence, which is crucial to the amelioration of violence, the Ministry for Social Affairs and Labor is channeling all available resources toward training programs for women (United Nations, 2000).

Another serious form of violence against women is rape. As discussed above, even though rape is defined under the Haitian Penal Code (art. 229), it is not recognized as a serious crime that is punishable by law and no trial is required. In this system, the victims are punished and the criminals go free. For instance, if a young girl is raped by her teacher, she is expelled from school and forced to marry the teacher. Another way young girls suffer is through domestic work known as "*restavek*" (meaning "lives in" in Creole)." These girls or boys are often taken advantage of sexually by their employers, which results in many pregnancies. According to the Ministry for the Status of women in Haiti, 900 cases of adult women and 1500 cases of girls between the ages of 6 and 15 years reported sexual abuse and aggression, for a total of 2400 cases (Center for the Study of Human Rights, 1996).

There are no simple explanations for the causes of domestic violence. Research indicates that domestic violence has its roots in the subordinate role women have traditionally held in private and public life (United Nations, 1990). The United Nations,

in the *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women*, recognized domestic violence as “a manifestation of historically unequal power relationships between men and women” and condemned the violence as one of the “crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men” (p. 13) In another study conducted with immigrants from Bogota, Colombia, the researcher, Villar-Gaviria (1990) found that the issue of domestic abuse was a salient social problem. The researcher maintained that the use of coercion and control against women has been reserved for males to be used with impunity most of the time. Strauss, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980) maintained that abusive behavior is modeled for males in their family of origin. According to Perilla (1999), many countries in Latin America (as well as the rest of the world) have not implemented the laws that specifically protect women from violence in their environment. In addition, in some countries where the laws exist, their enforcement is random at best because of the lack of appropriate infrastructure.

The lack of evidence. The United Nations hired a Special Rapporteur (SR), Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy, to assess domestic violence in Haiti. She interviewed government representatives, including the First Lady of Haiti, the Prime Minister of Haiti, the Minister for the Status of Women, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Justice, the Minister for Social Affairs and Labor, the Director-General of the National Police, and the Ombudsman. She also met with nongovernmental and women’s organizations and interviewed 30 women victims of domestic violence in an attempt to determine the extent of domestic violence in Haiti.

There is limited information about domestic violence available from public sources. Doctors, police, and prosecutors do not keep official statistics on the number of

women who are beaten by their partners. However, the SR reported that women continue to suffer from what some interlocutors referred to as “structural violence” that is targeted at the poor (United Nations, 2000).

Several explanations were offered for this lack of reporting. Some women feel that others will have a lower opinion of them if they acknowledge and report the abuse. Others do not report it because of economic pressures such as lack of housing and unemployment. In some cases, the women do not report it because they will have nowhere to go. *Kay Fanm*, Haiti’s only women’s shelter, provides temporary housing for up to three days for victims of domestic violence.

In dialogue with Haitian women, one finds that women in Haiti are especially concerned with other people’s opinion of them. Therefore, they become stigmatized by society’s views and opinions. For instance, many women decide against divorce simply because of public opinion. Furthermore, their society tends to see a divorced woman as guilty (United Nations, 2000).

Women do not feel that they can express themselves openly about the problem because they fear that if they publicly disclose that their husbands beat them, they will have no choice but to get divorced. Regardless of the severity of injury, very few women tell doctors that their husbands have beaten them (Center for the Study of Human Rights, 1996).

The lack of empirical knowledge. Empirical data is lacking on the extent of the problem of domestic violence in Haiti. Perhaps this lack of data is rooted in the premise that violence against women and girls is “a social phenomena, an ancestral heritage, linked to our customs and habits as a people and consequently independent of social

conditions, matrimonial status, religious convictions or level of education of its victims” Centre de Recherches et d’action (CHREPROF, 1996, p. 4).

In this study, CHREPROF (1996) found that 7 out of 10 women interviewed had been victims of violence. Of the women in the study, 37% had reported sexual violence (defined as rape, sexual aggression, seduction, and sexual harassment). Another third stated that they had been victims of physical violence (blows, beatings). Half of the aggressors were husbands or boyfriends. An interesting finding of this study was that 66% of the victims said that they had kept their experience secret. Of the 66%, 32% kept it a secret for fear of “social judgment,” 22% because of “reprisal,” and 14% for lack of appropriate legal measures.

Haitian women speak against violence. In an attempt to dispel the popular belief in Haiti that violence against women is not a serious crime, the International Tribunal brought together more than 600 participants and at least 24 women’s, popular, and human rights groups to discuss issues such as the failure of the justice system to address crimes of violent acts against women (Zarifis, n.d.).

On November 24, 1997, before the tribunal, the women of Haiti cried “enough.” Some 20 women from throughout the country told their stories and the suffering they had endured while the Haitian National Police (HNP) Force stood by.

This meeting resulted in many recommendations on how Haiti can work to rid itself of violence against women. The judges made the following recommendations:

- Educate citizens to consider rape a crime, instead of an act of disrespect to its victims;
- Permit abortion in cases of rape, incest, and health risks to the mother;

- Educate judges on violence against women, emphasizing that these acts are crimes that require appropriate judicial remedies;
- Deploy a specialized police unit to handle cases of violence against women;
- Decriminalize adultery for men and women; and
- Provide training to all HNP personnel on how to receive complaints of sexual and domestic abuse.

The government, once again, failed to implement but one of these changes, which was to equalize the penalty for adultery for men and women (the International Tribunal's recommendation was to decriminalize it totally; Fuller, 1999).

Legal issues. The legal means by which violence against women in Haiti is addressed is unacceptable (Fuller, 1999). According to a United Nations representative, "The lack of a working judicial system is perhaps the greatest violation of human rights in Haiti." Antoine (cited in Fuller, 1999, p. 1) argued that the legal protection and redress for women are substantially weaker in Haiti, and need to be aggressively reinforced. Moreover, he contends that the system must challenge the notion that wife beating is a private matter, perhaps even one of marriage's rights.

According to the Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, the Haitian government has tried to establish many ways to aid victims of abuse, but very few abusers have been brought to justice. The Minnesota Advocates reported that "women face particular burdens in seeking justice in Haiti; current laws and legal practice provide little recourse to women who have been victims of rape or other violence" (p. 1).

In 1982, a landmark decree made women equal to men, particularly within marriage, but different penalties for breaches of laws continue to be applied, even though they are counter to the terms of this decree, the 1987 constitution, and ratified treaties.

For example, Haitian women activists stated that women who commit adultery are punished with 3 to 24 months' imprisonment, plus a fine of \$100, whereas men only pay the fine. Furthermore, a judge may excuse a man for killing his wife if the husband found her with a lover; in any event, his maximum sentence might be no more than 2 years in prison. A similar situation occurred in Trinidad and Tobago on August 5, 1999, where a 39-year-old truck driver claimed that he was provoked by his 26-year-old wife's infidelity into killing her by beating her to death with a piece of iron. He received only a 3-year sentence (see www.caribbeanblues.com). Many women's organizations, such as Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA) and Trinidad and Tobago Coalition against Domestic Violence, have wondered whether the man would have received the same sentence for killing another man. Dr. Daphne Phillips, Junior Minister in the Ministry of Community Empowerment, asserted that infidelity, "real or imagined," was a major reason for violent attacks against women. Violence is punished by laws under assault and battery based on the circumstances of the attack as well as the degree of injury. Domestic abuse has been judged to be an internal family matter and is not penalized (Fuller, 1999). In Brazil, for instance, husbands were routinely acquitted for murdering straying wives until the late 1970s, and in Saudi Arabia, adulterous wives are stoned to death (Ehrenreich, 1995).

Although the most common form of stable union in Haiti is *plaçage*, known as the common-law marriage, the rights of women in these circumstances are not recognized.

Summary

Progress in the area of women's rights has been very slow in Haiti. Women are being told by the courts that there is no one available to hear their cases right now, so they should return the next day (Lespinasse, 1998). One woman was told that she should locate her own abuser and then come to police to get him arrested. The perpetrators of violence are being compensated while the victims are suffering. Rape of any form is not being defined as a criminal offense, but a crime of morals and honor.

While this researcher was finishing this literature review, news arrived from the Haiti Support Group that Haitian human rights workers continue to face threats. Pierre Esperance, a member of the National Coalition for Haitian Rights (NCHR) believes that these threats could be linked to the organization's condemnation of human rights abuses committed by the Haitian police (Auguste, 2001). The Director of Christian Aid, Dr. Daleep Mukarji, wrote a letter to the Haitian president, Jean Bertrand Aristide, to investigate the threats against human rights workers and to provide them with security to carry out their vital work.

This literature review explored both the political and social climate and the initiation and continuation of violence among women in Haiti and considered the challenges as well as the consequences posed to human rights by the social inequalities of domestic violence and abuse. The research proffers the following suggestions for spurring the movement toward the development of community-based responses to psychosocial oppression that foster enhanced individual and collective development in a context of social change.

As Eleanor Roosevelt once observed,

Universal human rights begin in small places—in our classrooms, on our shop floors and around our kitchen tables; in the places where we live our daily lives. By standing for something larger than ourselves, we give our lives lasting meaning—strengthening the bonds of the human family for generations to come. (Rubin, 1998, p. 2).

The incidence of domestic violence continues to increase, and larger issues of how to stop its occurrence on an international level are rarely addressed. It is obvious that a prescription will not cure this particular disease or epidemic.

To get to the root of domestic violence, one must understand it globally. Cultural and traditional norms lead to abuse and domestic violence in a variety of ways. Clearly more extensive information and data are required on the situation of Haitian women so that concrete strategies can be introduced. Data collection (through research) and recording must become an important part of this process. In addition, Haiti must adopt a “zero tolerance” policy on the abuse of women. The leaders must start to prevent, investigate, prosecute, and punish every act of violence.

Having examined the available studies one can see that the main research gap lies in the lack of more rigorous quantitative and qualitative studies leading to the examination of partner violence in a broader context. The literature review leads to the following questions: At what rate is domestic violence occurring in the home? Does the Haitian system of government perpetuate more violence by adopting a mild penalty for acts of violence? Do Haitian women view violence as part of a cultural norm or do they believe that the law should sanction those who commit such acts? What role does the community play in ameliorating the violence? By concentrating on this underexposed area, the goal of the present study is to determine the incidence and prevalence of

domestic violence in the home and to shed some light on the way in which Haitian women define domestic abuse.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter provides a discussion of the study's participants, instruments, procedures, and the proposed method of analysis.

Overview of Research Design

This study uses a combination of the survey design and the ethnographic approach. According to Babbie (1990), the purpose of a survey design is to generalize from a sample to a population so that inferences can be made about some characteristic, attitude, or behavior of this population. The cross-sectional survey is the method of choice for this study due to its advantages, such as the economy of the design, the rapid turnaround in data collection, and the ability to identify attributes of a population from a small group of individuals. The survey questionnaire identified as the CTS2 developed by Strauss (1996) was administered in an interview format face-to-face with individuals.

The qualitative portion of the study utilized the ethnographic research method. This design is the preferred method for the second part of this study because its purpose is to provide a holistic picture of the subject of study with emphasis on portraying the everyday experiences of individuals by interviewing them (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990).

The study was conducted in Pétion-Ville, Haiti, drawing samples from the towns of Berthe, Péguy-Ville, Bossier, and Delmas. The informants in this study were 150 Haitian women who are or were in a relationship within the past 12 months. Using ethnographic research methodology, the focus of this portion of the study is to interview the women about their views of domestic violence, the roles that the law plays, and the effectiveness of past and current organizations as well as the views of the community on

the issue, and the perceptions and meaning attached to those experiences as expressed by the informant. Particular attention is devoted to the role of the women, the role of the culture, and the way in which they define violence.

Geography and Demography of Pétion-Ville

Pétion-Ville is geographically located 1200 feet above Port-au-Prince, which is the capital city of Haiti. The Metropolitan zone in Haiti includes Port-au-Prince, Pétion-Ville, Delmas, Carrefour, Léogane, Croix des Bouquets, and Croix des Missions. Except for Delmas, the three towns in the sample are part of Pétion-Ville. Named after President Pétion, the city of Pétion-Ville has a population of approximately 20,000. Delmas has 25,000 people with an average income of 10 gourdes (\$0.25 US) per day. Péguy-Ville has approximately 4000 people with an average income of 12 gourdes (\$0.30 US) per day with an average distance of 2.5 kilometers from Pétion-Ville. Bossier has 2000 people with an average income of 8 gourdes (\$0.20 US) per day with an average distance of 6 kilometers from Pétion-Ville. Berthé borders Péguy-Ville with an average population of 1000 people. Its average distance to Pétion-Ville is 1.5 kilometers with an average income of 50 gourdes (\$2 US) per day.

Participant Sample

This study sampled a cross-sectional sample of women from Pétion-Ville (N = 150) who are married, living with a male partner (*plaçage*), or dating a male partner. The geographical locations used in the sample were the towns of Berthe, Delmas, Péguy-Ville, and Bossier. The sample selected among the first 150 women who agreed to participate in the study after the distribution of 1000 flyers and through word of mouth. The researcher recruited participants by advertising with domestic violence programs in

Pétion-Ville (i.e., Kay Fanm shelter, nongovernmental organizations such as SOFA, CPFO, FRAP, and Women of Haiti), churches, computer schools, cosmetology schools, and the *lycée* (public high school). The flyer included information such as an assigned number, a brief explanation of the study, a telephone number, the time to report, age limit, and the location of the interview (see Appendix B). Recruitment materials did not indicate that volunteers were to have experience with intimate partner violence in order to participate.

Instruments: The Survey

In addition to gathering demographic data for the sample (see Appendix C and C1), the study used Strauss' et. al. (1996) Revised Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS2), which contains 78 items or questions about the way that couples handle conflict. This instrument measured the frequency of the occurrence of violence against the women of Haiti. The frequency levels include (1) once in the previous year; (2) twice in the previous year; (3) 3 to 5 times in the previous year; (4) 6 to 10 times in the previous year; (5) 11 to 20 times in the previous year; (6) not in the previous year, but had occurred prior to that; and (7) never occurred.

The researcher used a 5-level scale to categorize the forms of abuse and violence: negotiation (action taken to settle a disagreement via discussion), psychological aggression (acts or omissions designed to produce psychological harm or mental anguish), physical assault, sexual coercion (behavior that is intended to compel the partner to engage in undesired sexual acts), and injury (indicated by bone or tissue damage, a need for medical attention, or pain that lasts longer than a day).

Underlying the scale is an assumption that conflict is an inevitable part of all human association, including relations in the family (Strauss & Hamby, 1997). What differentiates conflictual situations is the way in which the participants manage and resolve the conflict. The CTS addresses three general modes of dealing with a conflict:

- The use of rational discussion, argument, and reasoning;
- The use of verbal and nonverbal acts that symbolically hurt the other or threaten to hurt the other; and
- The use of physical force against the other person as a means of resolving the conflict.

The items listed above start with those that are low in coerciveness and high in social acceptability (such as discussing an issue calmly) and gradually become more coercive and aggressive (such as “slapped you,” “beat you up,” and “used a knife or a gun”). The survey asked participants the number of times each action occurred during the past year, with responses ranging from “never” to “more than 20 times.”

The CTS2 has been shown to be both reliable and valid. The coefficients are as high as or higher than reliabilities previously reported for the CTS1 (Straus, 1990, p. 296). The alpha coefficient of reliability (Internal Consistency) for the Negotiation scale is .86; for the Psychological Aggression scale, .77; Physical assault is .86; Sexual coercion is .87; and Injury is .95 (Straus et al., 1996, p. 297).

I also developed a questionnaire to collect the qualitative data. This questionnaire was important to the study in that it helps to frame an understanding of how violence is addressed and defined among Haitian women. The main objective of the questionnaire was to determine whether or not Haitian women believe that a man has the right to hit or

punish them under any circumstance. The questionnaire also helped to delineate the role that culture plays in domestic violence in Haiti. The researcher translated all the answers from Haitian Creole to English. The research assistant performed a cross check by repeating the translation.

Respondent Demographics

An examination of certain demographic aspects of the 150 participants will help elucidate the socioeconomic life of the respondents and their families. Further, the consideration of certain demographic variables is useful because this study is the first of its kind in Haiti and could provide some rough comparison of the same variables considered in previous American sociological inquiries. However, because this inquiry is not concerned with a comparative analysis of demographic variables of large groups, and because the sample was not randomly selected, the conclusions should be viewed with caution. The demographic data presented here should be considered as descriptive attributes of this particular sample, and are, of course, not necessarily typical of all Haitians who commit acts of violence. Neither does the researcher suggest that these demographic variables be considered causal factors (see Table 1).

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Sample (N = 150)

	Frequency	%
Age		
18-22	37	25
23-27	39	26
28-32	51	34
>33	23	15
Relationship status		
Dating	43	29
Living together (plaçage)	37	25
Married	69	46
Divorce/Separated	01	0.7
Education		
No schooling	13	09
Primary/ES	34	23
Secondary/HS	70	47
College/Higher	33	22
Religion		
Catholic	41	27
Baptist	47	31
Christian	26	17
Vodoun	12	08
Other	24	16

Table 1, Cont'd.

	Frequency	%
Children		
No children	43	29
1-2 children	68	45
3-4 children	21	14
>4 children	18	12
Geographical Residence		
Péguy-Ville	26	17
Delmas	72	48
Berthé	15	10
Bossier	37	25
Employment Status		
Employed (women)	51	34
Unemployed (women)	99	66
Employed (men)	99	66
Unemployed (men)	51	34
Earnings (combined, Haitian dollars)		
High (> 5000/month)	04	03
Mid (\$2000-5000/month)	23	15
Low (\$1000-2000/month)	54	36
Poor (< 1000/month)	59	39
No income	10	07

Table 1, Cont'd.

	Frequency	%
Family Support		
Yes	56	37
No	94	63
Neighbor support		
Yes	33	22
No	117	78

Age and Gender

The statistical data reveal that the domestic violence is committed by both male and females; however, the highest prevalence and incidence rates in all categories are committed by males. The respondents' ages ranged between from 18 to 49 years and 25% of the sample was 18-22 years old, 26% were 23-27, 34% were 28-32, and 15% were older than 33 years. Note that only women were interviewed. In reviewing the data, the researcher found that older women experienced less violence than younger women. The older women had a higher percentage of using negotiation as a way to problem solve.

Educational Achievement, Occupation, and Income

Of the 150 respondents, 47% were high school graduates, 22% attended college or higher education, 23% finished elementary school, and 9% had no formal schooling. Occupation included many teachers, carpenters, secretaries, housekeepers, homemakers, police officers, and some lawyers, doctors, engineers, and businessmen/women. Income ranged from high (> \$5000 per month/Haitian monetary) to no income. Three percent of

the participants were in the high bracket; 15% were mid-income earners (\$2000-5000/month); 36% were in the low income categories (\$1000-2000/month); 39% were in the poor category (< \$1000); and 7 percent had no income at all. The respondents in the “no income” category relied on handouts from family and friends for daily survival. A glance at data show a much lower incidence rate of violence for couples who were in the upper income bracket and in which both partners worked. The overall rates of employment were 34% for females and 66% for males.

Marriage, Children, and Religion

Of the 150 respondents, 46% were married; 29% were dating; 25% were living together (*plaçage*), and only one of the respondents was divorced (0.7%). It is important to note here that Haitian men and women are not advocates for divorce. The data confirm this fact. This population truly believes that marriage is for better or for worse. Their motto is “Marriage is for life.” Even in the midst of abusive situations and unhappiness, couples tend to remain together. The male partner may sleep outside of the home with other females but will continuously come back to the house as needed. This may occur for a number of years or until death separates them, but they remain married. It was obvious during the interviews that some of these women needed to break away from their marriages and file for a divorce, but they remained in the relationship. More violence was observed among the couples who were married than the dating couples. This is understandable as most men in the Haitian culture believe that they own their wives once they place a ring on her finger. This is consistent with the American model as well; retrospective studies found that 73% to 85% of abused wives did not experience abuse

until after they had married the abuser (Bowker, 1983; Dobash & Dobash, 1978; Pagelow, 1981; Rosenbaum & O'Leary, 1981; also see Cate, Henton, Koval, Christopher, & Lloyd, 1982; Henton, Cate, Koval, Lloyd, & Christopher, 1983; Laner & Thompson, 1982; and Makepeace, 1981 for findings on dating violence; cited in Koss, et al., 1994, p. 42).

Seventy-one percent of the 150 respondents had children, and 29% had never experienced the role of parenthood. Forty five percent of the respondents had between one to two children, 14% had 3-4 children, and only 12% had more than 4 children.

The religious categories were chosen to reflect the culture and belief of the people. For instance, in Haiti, a person who practices Catholicism would not fall under the general umbrella of being a "Christian"¹. Each one of these religions shares some common elements, but there are define differently among the people. These statements should be read with caution because the views/definitions are not typical of all Haitians. Of the population interviewed, thirty one percent of the respondents were Baptists, 27% were Catholics, 17% were Christians, 8% practiced vodoun, and 16% fell in the "other" category, which included Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Atheists, Protestants, and nondenominational.

Procedures

Prior to conducting the actual study, the researcher conducted a pretest of the translated (*Kreyol*) version of the CTS2 survey with 10 volunteer participants. The

¹ A Christian in Haiti is defined by many as a person who believes in God, follows the biblical principles faithfully, and believes in speaking in tongues and practices such acts. Such a person would dress modestly, does not drink or smoke and does not take part in worldly pleasures. Women are also required to cover their heads in church functions.

purpose of the pretest was to identify questions that might be unclear or a potential problem during the actual collection of the data.

The study made use of 4 research assistants who were required to attend a 6-hour workshop about the nature, purpose, recruitment, and objective of the study. The researcher trained the assistants and provided ample time for them to practice reading the CTS2 survey as well as the verbatim cultural questionnaire, and to check the appropriate responses. The researcher briefed the assistants on the issues of ethical standards, confidentiality, and the rights of the participants to terminate the interview at any time. The research assistants were chosen based on their professionalism, prior experience, education, and sensitivity to this particular issue.

Following the distribution of the recruitment flyer, each set of forms (CTS2, demographics, and cultural questionnaire) were coded with a number. I specifically targeted the weekday women's church services and elicited their help and participation. The women responded favorably.

The researcher used two sanctuaries and one vacant house located in each of the subsections of the city to gather the data from the participants. This tactic was used to permit the participants easy access to the various locations. The churches that were used for the interviews were set up with desks/tables that were separated from each other by dividers. The researcher and assistants used a private office of the church to conduct the interviews. As the participants came in, they were taken to a table. The researcher or an assistant explained the purpose, the benefits, and the nature of the study to them, and they were informed by means of a written and oral consent form (Appendixes D and D1) that they had the right to terminate participation at any time during the study. Participants

were informed that the objective is to obtain scientific knowledge about domestic violence in Haiti and that the researcher was not representing any institution or legal system. Moreover, the potential participants were informed that their participation in the study was voluntary and that the only compensation that they would receive consisted of a refreshment and transportation fees to and from home. Participants who agreed to continue after that initial briefing, were taken to a private office/room where the researcher or assistant first conducted a one-on-one interview by reading the questions and recording the responses to the CTS2, measured in terms of frequency of occurrence, administered the cultural questionnaire (see Appendix E and E1 for protocol), and finally administered the demographic information questions. The researcher instructed the interviewers to write down, as verbatim as possible, the responses that were provided to the open-ended questions.

Following the interviews, the researcher took some time to make sure that the participant was not upset as a result of answering the questions. The participant was given the phone number and address of the domestic violence shelter, Kay Famn, for group counseling should the need arise.

Data Analysis

The first step of data analysis consisted of reading all of the questionnaires to get a global sense of the dynamics involved. The second step involved ensuring that all the forms were coded correctly. The researcher used secondary information to describe and analyze the context of the problem being studied and broke it down using percentages. Variables such as age, education level, children, employment, support mechanism, and

socioeconomic status (with income levels divided into poor and middle class subcategories) were looked at globally to see whether or not these variables had an impact on domestic violence. Descriptive statistics were the primary mode of presenting and explicating the data obtained from the study. The data (responses to the CTS2) were categorized under negotiation, psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual coercion, and injury.

The first step in analyzing the qualitative data was to transcribe the responses obtained from the open-ended questionnaire. These responses were then typed up by question and the answers to each question were reviewed by a minimum of two people so as to extract various themes that emerged from the data (i.e., to conduct thematic analysis). The researcher isolated the themes with sample responses to indicate the themes and calculated the percentages of agreement in terms of themes extracted using the inter-rater reliability method.

The second step involved analyzing and comparing the data to other studies in the United States as well as in Latin American and Caribbean countries. The researcher analyzed and summarized the qualitative data to offer an explanation of why some women are reluctant to leave a violent relationship or to file charges against their abusers. The researcher developed theories around the women's responses to culture and the way in which cultural norms contribute to violence against Haitian women.

Chapter 4

Results

Quantitative Analysis: Descriptive Results

The Prevalence of Violence

For the purpose of this study, prevalence is defined as the percentage of the women interviewed who were affected by violence at a given time (Barnett, Miller-Perrin, & Perrin, 1997, p. 13). This study considers the extent to which the violent behavior is perpetuated in the homes of the 150-interviewees within the 12 months prior to the study.

The CTS2 was the instrument of choice. The CTS2 was used to measure the extent to which couples experienced domestic violence. The CTS seems to be a reliable method of eliciting highly sensitive data. Though the CTS is often used with couples for whom in most cases both the men and the women are interviewed, in this study, only the women were interviewed. The data reported for the men in this study were derived from information that was reported by the women respondents. The survey included questions about behaviors that ranged from positive resolution strategies (e.g., negotiation) to severe levels of aggression (e.g., beaten up, threatened with a knife or gun or had one used against them). The survey's most striking finding is that 54.8% of the women experienced some degree of physical assault (including pushing, shoving, punching, kicking, slapping, grabbing, and slamming) by their partners in the past 12 months. Seventeen percent of the women reported committing physical violence against their partners. This is three times less than the percentage of women who were the victims of abuse.

Also striking are the figures for violence in its most severe forms, such as when a woman is beaten by her partner, kicked, or slammed against the wall. These data show that 50.4% of female partners have experienced these most severe forms of violence in the 12 months prior to the study and that 4.4% have experienced them at some time. At the extreme end of the scale, 20.7 % reported having been threatened or victimized with a knife or a gun by their partner.

Table 2 provides the prevalence rates for each category of violence for female and male partners. Figure 1 graphically represents the prevalence rates of each component of violence for the 5-level scale (with the exclusion of negotiation). Psychological aggression was the most common form of violence reported. Nearly 57.2% of women in the sample reported that their current partner has called them names, shouted or yelled at them, threatened to hit or rape them in order to diminish their self-worth.

The most common form of this type of abuse is the threat of having something thrown at the respondent that could potentially hurt her. Psychological abuse is reported at similar levels for the men; 28.6% of the women reported that they verbally abuse their partner as well; the most common form involved doing something to spite him. Another 6.3% of the respondents reported having experienced psychological abuse at some time.

Table 2

Reported Prevalence of Violence by Gender, CTS2 Scales (N = 150; percent)

Scale	Women	Men
Negotiation	79.9	61.5
Psychological aggression	57.2	28.6
Physical assault	54.8	17.3
Sexual coercion	56.2	15.2
Injury	53.1	13.0

Note. Only women were interviewed; the numbers listed for the men were reported by the women. These numbers refer to percentage of violence in which women and men were victims.

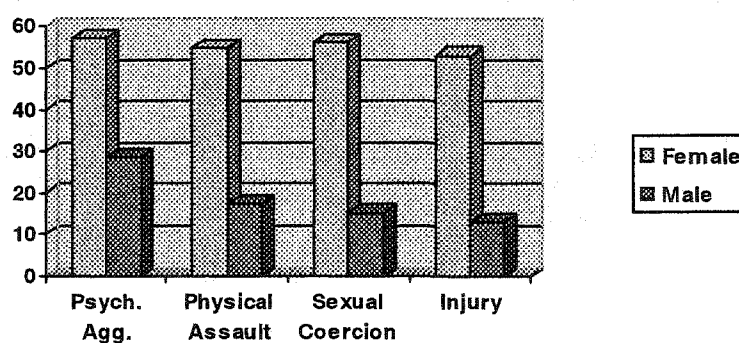


Figure 1. One year prevalence (mean) rates of violence (percent)

The second most common form of violence encountered was sexual coercion. This form of abuse ranked lower only than psychological aggression. An overwhelming 56.2% of the respondents reported that in the previous 12 months they had been forced into sexual activity in which they had not chosen to engage, by being threatened, held

down, or hurt in some way. The most common form observed was sex without a condom (74% of the interviewees, 111/150 informants). Sexual coercion occurred at a rate of 15.2% for the men, with the most common form being the women insisting (without using force) on having sex when the partner did not want to participate. Another 3.5% reported that sexual coercion did not happen in the past year, but has happened before.

The fourth form of abuse involved physical violence of an injurious nature. About 53.1% of the women sampled reported that their partner necessitated a visit to the doctor as a result of a broken bone, sprain, or bruise. As expected, the more severe the injury, the less likely it was to have occurred in the population. The most common form encountered in this group was a sprain, bruise, or small cut. Only 13.0% of the men experienced injury, with a sprain or bruise being the most common form.

Finally, 61.5% of respondents reported that in the course of their relationship their partners had shown care, respect, and the ability to problem solve with them in the midst of difficult situations. However, 79.9% of the women indicated that they cared for and respected their partners despite the complex circumstances that they encountered.

The Incidence of Violence

Physical assault. The incidence of violence provides an indication of how often violent incidents are happening among those who experience it (Brownridge & Halli, 2001, p. 83). In the present investigation, participants were victimized an average of 11.9 times in the year prior to the study.

Nearly 6.2% reported that physical assault had occurred more than 20 times in the past year; another 6.8% experienced physical violence 11-20 times in the year prior to the

study; 8.1% reported an incidence rate of 6-10 times in the past year; 7.9% stated violence occurred 3-5 times in their relationship, and 10.7% experienced an incidence rate of twice in the past 12 months. Incidence rates for male partners were reported at an average of three times less than the rate reported by and for the women.

Table 3

One-Year Incidence Rates of Violence/Physical Assault (percent)

Incidence	Female	Male
Once in the past year	11.9	8.2
Twice in the past year	10.7	3.7
3-5 times in the past year	7.9	3.0
6-10 times in the past year	8.1	2.0
11-20 times in the past year	6.8	1.8
More than 20 times in the past year	6.2	1.8
Not in the past year, but happened before	5.1	2.6
This has never happened	43.2	76.9

Sexual coercion. Studies from around the world have suggested that sexual coercion is common in the lives of women. In the United States, some investigations, for instance, have suggested that between 1 in 5 women will be the victim of a completed rape in her lifetime (Koss, 1993). A surprising number of women, 12.2%, reported at least one incident of sexual coercion in the 12 months prior to the present study; 10.4%

experienced sexual coercion 6-10 times in that year. Another 7.0% reported more than 20 instances of sexual coercion (see Table 4).

Table 4

One-Year Incidence Rate of Sexual Coercion (percent)

Incidence	Female	Male
Once in the past year	12.2	5.1
Twice in the past year	10.6	2.9
3-5 times in the past year	9.9	1.8
6-10 times in the past year	10.4	1.8
11-20 times in the past year	6.1	1.2
More than 20 times in the past year	7.0	2.4
Not in past year, but it happened before	3.3	1.7
This has never happened before	40.4	83.1

Injury. According to the Council on Scientific Affairs (1992), victims of domestic violence have the highest rates of internal injuries and unconsciousness. In the United States, studies have shown that more than 80% of all assaults committed by spouses and former spouses result in injuries, compared with 54% of assaults by strangers (Heise, Germain, and Pitanguy, 1994). Of the women surveyed, 12.0% reported injury at least one time in the year prior to the study, and 11.6% suffered injury at least 3 to 5 times. Nearly 9.6% experienced abuse of an injurious nature at least twice in the prior 12

months. Some 5.1% of the women reported committing injurious acts against their partners at least one time in the past year (see Table 5).

Table 5

One-Year Incidence Rate of Injury

Incidence	Female	Male
Once in the past year	12.0	5.1
Twice in the past year	9.6	2.1
3-5 times in the past year	11.6	2.0
6-10 times in the past year	7.8	1.1
11-20 times in past year	6.9	1.9
More than 20 times in past year	5.3	0.8
Not in the past year, but happened before	3.3	2.2
This has never happened	43.6	84.8

Psychological Aggression. Many studies conducted indicate that psychological violence is more harmful than physical violence. In addition, many studies have shown that psychological aggression is inversely related to an increase in physical assault because of the conflict-escalation theory of couple's violence which states that verbal aggression against a partner rather than being cathartic tends to increase the risk of physical assault (Berkowitz, 1993; cited in Strauss et al., 1996). Empirical research has supported the escalation theory by showing a strong association between psychological aggression and the probability of physical assaults (Murphy & O'Leary, 1989; Straus,

1974). The prevalence rates of psychological aggression for women in this study were approximately 1.5 times higher than for the males in most cases (see Table 6). Figure 2 and table 7 present the aggregated findings for the four types of violence.

Table 6

One-Year Incidence Rate for Psychological Aggression

Incidence	Female	Male
Once in the past year	11.8	7.9
Twice in the past year	12.3	5.5
3-5 times in the past year	8.8	4.8
6-10 times in the past year	9.2	3.2
11-20 times in the past year	7.1	3.3
More than 20 times in the past year	8.0	3.8
Not in the past year, but happened before	5.7	3.9
This has never happened	37.2	67.5

Table 7

One year overall incidence rates (mean) of violence (percent)

Scale	Women	Men
Psychological aggression	9.5	4.8
Physical assault	8.6	3.4
Sexual coercion	9.3	2.5
Injury	8.9	2.2

Women and men who experienced violence from one through twenty times in the past year.

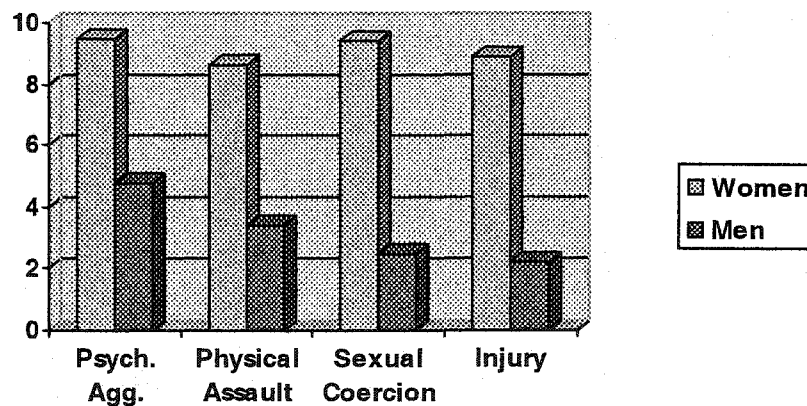


Figure 2. One year overall incidence rates (mean) of violence (percent)

Qualitative Results

To inquire of a person whether she has been battered or abused presumes that the person posing the question shares the same definition of these terms as the person being asked (Kelly, 1990). The way the question is asked and answered relates directly to

research estimates of the incidence and prevalence of partner violence. It further relates to the development and prevention of strategies that can abate the violence. Yet, few studies have considered this line of inquiry.

Part 2 of this chapter presents summaries and themes in an attempt to understand how Haitian women perceive partner violence, the nature of their understanding of domestic violence, the role of the law, and the resources that exist and whether or not they use the resources.

This part of the study was accomplished by asking the respondents a series of four questions about their perceptions of partner violence in Haiti. These interview questions offer various advantages in the research study because the questions are open-ended. These questions permit the investigator to compare the elements that are important to the CTS2 that was used in the quantitative component of the study. Because the questions are open-ended, the responses are not confined to a predetermined range, as is the case with the CTS2 questionnaire format. In addition, this component of this study permitted an assessment of individuals' perceptions of partner violence, regardless of their prior experience with such an event. Moreover, because the questions were asked in a general way, respondents may have felt less threatened in discussing their own circumstances and may have been more candid than they would have been otherwise. The literacy level of the volunteers did not affect the responses as the questions were presented orally.

This study asked a series of four questions, shown below, which were designed to elicit women's understanding of violence, the law, family/friends/supporters, organizations, and their effectiveness in addressing the issue(s). The second step involved the translation of the responses from Kreyol to English. Each questionnaire was

translated first by the researcher, and then it was given to the assistant to be translated. These two translations were compared. Any discrepancies were resolved by allowing a third person to translate the questionnaire and compare it to the other versions. The third step involved grouping the 150 answers into themes for each question. To validate the procedures, a research assistant read and extracted the themes for each question. Agreement rate was 96%. Both individuals rescored those items that produced disagreement. This process resulted in a 98% agreement rate overall.

Question 1: "What is your understanding of domestic violence in Haiti?"

Table 8 provides the themes found in response to the first question of the open-ended survey and the percentage of participants who mentioned them. The participants offered numerous explanations, beliefs, ideas, and opinions that explicated their view of domestic violence. Table 7 presents six broad themes/categories that emerged from question one of the survey. Most of the women, 79 out of 150 or 53% of the sample, saw domestic violence as a shameful act, something that should not exist. Characteristic responses are presented below.

Table 8

Question 1: "What is your understanding of domestic violence in Haiti?"

Themes	#/150	%
Shameful act, abnormal, lack of respect	79	53
Domestic violence is unjust, terrible, no equality	21	14
He can hit me, he is the provider, disobedience	23	15
#1 cause of depression for women, sad	15	10
Lack of education, ignorance	10	07
It is not his fault, it is voodoo	02	01

Theme 1: Shameful Act, Abnormal, Lack of Respect. One woman with a high school education shared her view on the issue:

My husband has no right to hit me. This is not how it was when we were dating. It is embarrassing and shameful for others to see. Those things should have no place in society. The neighbors are always listening and watching.

Another woman, with an elementary school education, explained her dissatisfaction with her marriage:

I don't like being disrespected. I am not a child; I am his wife, so he has no right to hit me. Someone needs to put a stop to domestic violence, especially in Haiti where women have no place to go.

One woman, with a college education, observed,

Domestic violence is an abnormal thing that should not exist. I do not believe that it is logical for a man to hit a woman, but the Haitian law permits it every day by refusing to punish those who are beating their wives.

Another participant, with an elementary school education, remarked,

Domestic violence in a country like Haiti is bad because you are already dealing with poverty. You have a situation where the family can hardly feed the children or send them to school. For instance, I know this lady who is often abuse

physically by her husband. One day, during one of these fights, she injured her arm badly and had to be taken to the hospital for stitches. This injury set her back for days. She was unable to feed the kids because the money was used to pay the doctor.

Theme 2: Domestic violence is unjust, terrible, and shows a lack of equality.

Fourteen percent of the participants identified with this theme regarding domestic abuse.

One woman wanted to set the record by teaching her husband about equality:

I think that women have too much respect for men in general. Many women can defend themselves in these situations, but they take it and remain silent. I am a woman that falls into this category. For years, I wanted to react, but I looked the other way. One day, I had enough. I was not in the mood at all. We started to argue about money. As usual he cautioned me to “*feme bouch ou*” (shut up). I warned him, as he approached me that I would hit him back if he hit me. He (my husband) said that he would love to see that in a condescending manner. So, he struck me with his fist, and I punched him on the face. I think he was so shocked that he did not hit me again. Later on, I discussed with him how he should see me as a partner, an equal partner, not just his servant. He never tried to hit me again.

Another woman, with a high school diploma, shared her views:

Domestic abuse is unjust and really terrible when you start to think about what women do for men. We are their wives, servants, and mother of their children. The majority of Haitian men do not know how to put a pot on a fire. The table is set for them everyday, their clothes are iron and hung, their bath water is always ready. We treat them like kings, and still they abuse us. What exactly are they unhappy with? I can't remember the last time my husbands gave me a hand with the children or help me to carry the water home, or decided to clean the table after dinner.

Theme 3: Domestic violence is the number one cause of depression for women.

This was an astounding observation. Although the women were not involved in any kind of group or therapy, some make a practice of confiding in a friend or family member. Ten percent of the participants indicated that they believe that domestic violence causes women to become depressed. When asked how they came to this conclusion, many said that they could relate to their situation or that of their friends/neighbors who were

affected by domestic violence. A 28-year-old woman explained the role of depression in her life:

I got married thinking that I would be happy. But it is total opposite. My happiness ended quickly. My husband started beating me since the second week. I noticed that I could do nothing right. He criticized everything including the meal I prepared. There was always something missing. It was hard for me to share it with anyone since I always hear that what happens inside your home should not leave the door. One day, I decided that I would kill myself by drinking a bottle of aspirin. If my sister had not come by after school, I would not live to tell you this today. I was in the hospital for many days. Then, my husband started telling everyone that I was crazy.

Theme 4: A man can hit, he is the provider; lack of obedience, it's not abuse.

Fifteen percent of the women surveyed viewed violence in the home as a form of correction, a right that the men earned by providing the bacon or a form of love. A woman explained her sentiments:

I really enjoy fighting with him because the fight always ends up being physical. Once that happened, I can get him to do anything I want sexually because he always feels guilty after he beats me. Making up is the best part for me.

Another woman with an elementary school education related her understanding of why her husband could beat her:

I don't think that a husband should beat his wife every day, but they are times that it is justified. For me, I know that I do a lot of things to push his buttons. Sometimes I do too much that he has to correct me. I know what he doesn't like me to get involve in, but I do it anyway. I believe in the saying that a person that corrects is a person that loves you. For example, he always tells me not to get involve in gossiping about other women.

Another woman explained her view:

My boyfriend is my supporter. He pays for everything and I don't have a job so I think if he wants to hit me, it is not a crime. He never once injured me while he was hitting me, so I do not think that he is abusing me. I just need to obey him so that he doesn't get mad. The bible says that we should submit to the men, but many women want to be the boss, and most men will not let that happen.

Especially in Haiti, the men are quick to let the women know that they wear the pants in the family.

Another woman feels this way:

I know that my boyfriend is quick tempered and aggressive, so I try very hard to do the right thing. I don't talk back to him and I respond to him with respect. Obedience is very important if one is going to have a good relationship, one that can last.

Theme 5: Lack of education, ignorance. Seven percent of the participants affirmed that domestic violence is rooted in a lot of misunderstanding, which is also a lack of education. A woman with a college education explained:

A man should not hit a woman, it is that simple. It happens many times in Haiti and will continue to happen because there is never a case use to educate people about violence. Men who abuses women should be made to pay a fine. They need to be punished severely. I believe that if the law makes an example out of someone, every person will realize that it is not a joke. They would know that the punishment is too severe to disregard the rules. I know too many women that are disfigured in these situations of abuse and often nothing is done. The cases are not even reported.

Theme 6: It is not his fault, it is voodoo. Voodoo also emerged as factor underlying partner violence. One percent of the participants attributed the violence to voodoo. Some women speculate that some men would go to a "vodoun priest" to get with a certain woman that they would not otherwise qualify to have (based on the division of social class). One woman explained:

I wanted harmony and unification in my marriage, but we were divided on all the issues that we end up fighting most of the time. He would beat me then try to convince me that it was the devil. One day he asked me to go and seek help from a vodoun priest with him. So when we got there, the priest told us that he was not supposed to marry me. He should have been married to this girl he used to date before me. So I had all these problems because of what she did. So, I asked the priest what we should do since we already married; he suggested that we attended a couple of ceremonies to seek forgiveness.

Question 2: Do you think that the law should be involved in cases of domestic violence concerning two partners? If so, in what capacity?

This section presents the findings for question 2 of the open-ended survey of 150 study participants. Table 9 summarizes the themes found in the responses.

Table 9

Question 2: Do you think that the law should be involved in cases of domestic violence concerning two partners? If so, in what capacity?

Themes	#/150	%
Punish men severely, fines, sanctions, penal code	60	40
Law no involvement, destroy families, will not report	31	21
Law should practice prevention, create special office	23	15
Law should arrest, educate, help women financially	27	18
There is no law, no time, officers are guilty	09	06

In regard to the role played by the law in domestic violence in Haiti, many of the women interviewed stated that in their view, the law is not part of the solution. The majority believed that the law was written to fill pages and waste paper, but it is never executed. Forty percent of the women support a severe punishment policy in addition to a fine imposed on men who abuses their wives. When asked to specify what they meant by “severe,” most of the participants basically wanted the men to be picked up by the police, fill out a report, pay a fine, and be forced to attend counseling or classes on violence. In all likelihood, they did not want to separate the family.

Theme 1: Law should help by punishing men severely, charging fines, developing penal code/policy, taking sanctions. Here is one woman's theory:

Yes, the law should help in cases of abuse; however, the law in Haiti is never executed. The people are aware of that. So most women do not waste their time to report any crime. If they are willing to help, then they must enforce the policy by punishing men severely and impose a fine on them each time they engage in abusive acts.

Another woman expressed her dissatisfaction:

My husband was abusing me a lot. So, I decided to go and report him one day. The police made me feel like I was doing something wrong. He asked me questions like: do you love your husband? Do you still want to live with him? Can you feed the kids if he is arrested? I felt like the abuser. He never wrote anything down on the report. So, I left. I think if the law wants to help women deal with abuse, then they need to have a special bureau where women can go to report the abuse. Moreover, they need to train people who are sensitive to these issues, one who is not going to make the woman feel like she is doing something wrong. Otherwise, women need to handle their own business.

Another woman shared her views: "I think the law should forbid a man from hitting a woman. Men should know that it is against the law and what the penalties would be if they were to break it."

Theme 2: Law should not get involved; law will destroy family; I will not report it.

Twenty-one percent of the women stated their belief that domestic violence is a private issue and that the law should not get involved in private matters. Some felt that it would only destroy the family and they would not be able to feed the children. Others said that they would not report it because they loved their husbands. One woman explained:

I believe this issue is a private matter. The law should not get involve in something like that. If I were to report my husband and he was arrested, who would help me support the children? I would be totally on my own. [There is] no financial support for women in Haiti.

A high school student expressed her feelings on reporting to the law:

I would not report my boyfriend to the police because he loves me. When I act right, he does not hit me. So, I just need to keep him happy and our relationship will be fine. The police wouldn't do anything any way.

Another woman with an elementary education reported:

The law cannot help in most cases. I have four children to feed. If the police is involved, everyone will know your business. We usually take care of our own issues. There is no reason to tell the world what is going on. We talked about it and solve our own problems.

Theme 3: Law should practice prevention. Fifteen percent of the interviewees contended that prevention is the best measure by which to attack the situation domestic violence. One woman stated,

No one gets married to divorce later on. Oftentimes in Haiti, it is the husband who usually leaves the wife, and everyone points finger at her to say that she did not know how to keep her man. That usually brings someone down. Women try to do their best, but sometimes that is not enough. Even if they are being abused, they will not leave because they don't want to feel like it is their fault. So most women will stay and take it. What the people in charge should do is to create classes, infuse the curriculum in high school and college on the issue so that it does not happen later on. There is also a question of loyalty. Most women I know would not agree to have their husbands arrested. It is just not something they would do. They truly believe that marriage is for better or for worse. You find many women who still carries their husbands' last name, separated for 10 years, but never divorced.

Theme 4: Law should arrest, educate, and help women financially. Eighteen percent of the women interviewed were in agreement with this theme. One woman observed,

The minute that the abusers start to get arrested, they will stop. At present, no one is questioning their acts. Most of them are aware that the woman will get no support if he is forced to leave the home, or get arrested. I think that the government should put special funds in the budget to handle this matter. So if an act of abuse occurs, they can arrest the man, help the woman to support the kids with food and education, and force the abuser to take classes or go to therapy to get better.

Another woman expressed her views:

Most men who are involved in these acts are ignorant. They do not see anything wrong with correcting someone that they own. I heard a husband once told his wife, "I am your husband and I will do whatever I want to you and no one can stop me." Some men do believe that marriage gives them that right. That must be true since abuse acts occur everyday without any repercussion. Everybody is afraid to get involved. In Haiti, the man builds the house, so often it is the woman who has to live the home if things do not work out. They have the right to take their children from you also if they choose to do that. That is why so many children are living with grandmothers.

Theme 5: There is no law in Haiti, people do not have time, and the officers are guilty of the same crime. Six percent of the participants felt that there is no law in Haiti. The people who work as officers do not have time for issues such as domestic violence. The women agreed that they would not report any abuse to the police because they knew so many officers who were beating their wives everyday. One woman explained,

As far as I am concerned, if someone is supposed to uphold the law, then that person should be a role model. There are too many officers who beat their wives. So, if I go report to them that my husband abuses me, do you think they will care? These are usually the same people that make you feel like the perpetrator. Some of them are very ignorant.

Another woman voiced,

I once told my friend to go and report her husband to the police because he kept threatening and physically abusing her. When she got to the police station, the officer told her that he didn't have time to investigate matters of this nature. He further told her to prepare a dish that her husband enjoyed a lot and that will take care of the matter—insinuating that it is something that she is not doing right. Haiti makes laws for the sake of making them, not to enforce them.

Question 3: Do you see family/friends as a source of support in cases of domestic violence in Haiti? Or, are they just bystanders who do not want to get involved?

This section presents the findings for question 3 of the open-ended survey of 150 study participants. Table 10 summarizes the themes found in the responses.

Table 10

Question 3: Do you see the family/friends as a source of support in cases of domestic violence in Haiti? Or, are they just bystanders who do not want to get involved?

Themes	#/150	%
People don't want to get involved, shame	75	50
Some give bad advice, some are the cause of violence	09	06
My family/friends do provide support for me	25	17
Many women help, advise so there's no split up	28	19
I don't need help, solve my own issues	04	02
Many people say, "You chose him so deal with it"	10	06

Theme 1. People don't want to get involved. Fifty percent of the interviewees reported that people do not want to get involve in domestic issues. This is partly because couples will always go back together and the advisee will tell the husband everything that was said, which will create a bad advisor-advisee relationship later on. Most of the respondents themselves stated that they would not get involved so they are not *honte* (shameful) later on. Here are some comments: "It's not a good idea to become an advice giver in couple's relationship because they will try to blame you later on after the ice melt over." "If you get involve, you will be ashamed after they make up. So, it is better to stay out of it and let them solve their own issues."

"Once couples reach the honeymoon cycle, the woman will implicate any person or persons who tried to help her when things were rough."

Theme 2: My family/friends do provide support for me. Seventeen percent of the participants reported that they received support from family and friends in their relationships. Some women said that things were better as a result of having such a support mechanism in place. One woman expressed her gratitude:

I am thankful for my parents' help. They have been a tremendous help in my marriage; they have supported me financially, and have provided a forum of many discussions in an attempt to help my husband stop the abuse. I can say that my marriage is better as a result of these meetings.

Another woman commented that she was still alive and well as a result of the support that her friends provided her:

It is hard to find friends like mine. They have really come through for me. Some provide me with a place to sleep; others fed me and my children, and some helped me in the financial realm. Many provided emotional support. If it had not been for them, I think I would have remained in the violent place and probably would not live to talk about it. My husband is violently aggressively, he has a heart made of stone.

Theme 3: Many women help, give advice so the couple won't break up. Nineteen percent of the women said that they have witnessed women, including the First Lady, help and counsel women who were experiencing abuse. One woman remarked,

Mostly the advice I have received is that marriage is for better or worse. These older people often counseled you not to leave your husband, and they suggest some things that you can do to keep the home peaceful. But they often do not realize that these things do not work not because of the wife, but because of the crazy man. I do take their advice and practice it, but my husband is not practicing anything except slapping me whenever he is feeling bad or had a bad day at work.

Another woman shared her view:

My situation was so terrible that I left to take refuge over my maid of honor's home. But she talked to me about it and sent me right back home. She explained to me that marriage is not easy and it takes a lot of work to make it work. I am a young woman and I don't have much experience, but I was very confused. It seemed like I was suppose to do all the work to appease my husband. I wondered what role he was going to play to make this marriage work or was it a one-way street.

Theme 4: Some women give bad advice, I don't need help. Eleven percent of the interviewees believed that it is better to solve their own issues. Some of them expressed that a lot of people will give bad advice to them or their husbands and will cause things to worsen. Here are some comments:

One time my husband was beating me and later on I overheard the neighbor tell one of her friends that I had an affair and that's why I was getting what I deserved. The fight had nothing to do with an affair. If my husband heard this he would want an explanation or details about my so-called affair.

Another woman saw it this way:

It is better not to involve anyone in your business. When I repeated my vows I repeated them alone, so now I must deal with this on my own. People will never say something the way it happened, they will always add more spice than there is. I prefer to solve my own problems.

Theme 5: You chose him so deal with it. Six percent of the sample had been told this statement. Many women explained that their family was in disagreement with their choices for a mate. Oftentimes if they were experiencing problems, the family would not get involved because they had prewarned the woman. Here is what one woman said:

My marriage was terrible. I became horrified of my husband. So I went home to see if I could stay there for a couple of days. My parents said absolutely not, "We warned you, but you chose to go through with it, so now you must see it through by yourself". I was at my wits' end, and his family was no help.

Another woman commented:

It is common for people not to help you when you did not listen at the pre-stages of the relationship. My family would not visit me in the hospital because I married this man. They said that I got what I wanted. So now I must be contented with it. This kind of attitude really forces the man to do worse things to you because in Haiti having a family behind you says a lot. If the man knows that your family does not care, he will treat you in the worse possible way, "*c'est comme si tu es un chien*" [it is like being a dog²].

² It is common for dogs to be mistreated in Haiti.

Question 4: Are you aware of shelters/organizations that exist to address the issue of domestic violence in Haiti? If so, have these organizations/shelters been effective? If not, what are some possible ways to let people know about these organizations?

This section presents the findings for question 4 of the open-ended survey of 150 study participants. Table 11 summarizes the themes found in the responses.

Table 11

Question 4: Are you aware of shelters/organizations that exist to address the issue of domestic violence in Haiti? If so, have these organizations/shelters been effective? If not, what are some possible ways to let people know about these organizations?

Part A		
Themes	#/150	%
Department of women's affairs	08	05
Department of women's rights	07	05
No	49	33
Yes, SOFA/Kay Fanm	20	13
Yes, but I don't know names/organizations	46	31
Other (see notes)	20	13

Note: Includes "org. fanm yo," "defans fanm yo," "fanm soley leve," "konbit fanm lakay," and "Fanm K'ap Batay Kont Vyolans" (FKBKV).

Part B (Effectiveness of Programs)		
Themes	#/150	%
No	65	43
I don't know	09	06
No, lack of resources	15	10

Table 11, cont'd

Themes	#/150	%
Yes	19	13
Things in Haiti don't last very long	15	10
They would never accomplish mission, injustice rules	12	08
They are working hard to make a difference	15	10
Part C (Ways to Publicize Organizations)		
Merging into one	13	09
Publicity (TV, radio, flyers, newspaper, theatre, brochures)	68	45
Research	13	09
Provide financial resources	17	11
Provide formation, education, and social support	06	04
Stricter laws	06	04
I don't know	16	11
More aggressive/force police to enforce law	11	07

Question 4, part A, asked whether the participants were aware of their resources to combat violence. Thirty-one percent of the women had heard of such an organization; however, they stated that they did not know the names or the locations of one. Thirty-three percent had never heard of nor knew of any organizations that were in place to handle the issue of domestic violence. Many of these women were in disbelief when they were told that such an organization exists and the addresses were given to them. Thirteen percent of the participants were aware of the organization, SOFA, and the one and only

women's shelter, Kay Fanm. They also knew the address. Another 10% named the Department of Women's Rights and the Department of Women's Affairs. The other 13% named many different types of organizations, including some that were no longer in existence.

Question 4, part B, inquired about perceptions of the effectiveness of the existing organizations. An overwhelming 43% of the participants did not believe that the organizations have been effective in reaching the people or helping to abate the violence in Haiti. Only 13% said that they were effective. Among the 13%, many mentioned that such organizations would never be able to satisfy everyone. These women affirmed that the organizations were doing the best that they could with very limited resources and that they applauded them. Another 10% believed that the organizations were working hard to make a difference, and that is what counts. Ten percent of the interviewees responded that it is through no fault of their own that they are not effective because most of them are not funded by the government. As a result, they are operating on a very low budget. Another 10% expressed dissatisfaction and claimed that there was a lot of lobbying at the beginning stage, but that progress then began to die down. This group said that they were not surprised because things in Haiti do not last very long. Eight percent did not believe that these organizations could ever be effective because injustice rules in Haiti. They believed that if these organizations were doing a great job, someone would find a way to destroy them. The other 6% responded that they did not know whether or not these organizations were effective as they are not at all familiar with their goals and missions.

Question 4, part C, gave the women a chance to be the critical thinkers. The question posed was, "What are some possible ways for these organizations to let women

know they exist in order for them to be more effective? What things do you think should be put in place to advance the cause at hand?" Nine percent stated that there were too many organizations without enough resources or funds to finance them. This group suggested that these organizations combine into one or two so as to pool their resources and increase their effectiveness. Eleven percent of the women stated that once there are only one or two organizations, the leaders should develop stricter policies and force the police to enforce domestic violence laws. In addition, 4% of the women believed that the organizations should develop a curriculum to train both women and law enforcement personnel about the issues and to provide formation and social support. Eleven percent of the participants believed that for these organizations to be effective, they must provide financial resources to women. Some of the resources suggested were food, seminars/workshops on gaining employment, help paying for children's education, and providing women with a skill that will allow them to be self-supportive. An overwhelming 45% of the sample said that the organizations need to do more advertising or publicity via television, radio, flyers, newspaper, brochures, and theatre. They should advertise during special programs so that they will reach the majority. Finally, 9% said that more research studies such as this should be conducted for quality control on a variety of pilot programs, or just to check in on the population to see where they are with the issue of violence.

The findings clearly indicate that Haitian women are aware of the need to combat domestic violence. The data also show that the topic of violence may not be a discussion at the dinner table, but the population is conscious that a problem exists.

Chapter 5

Discussion

This chapter summarizes and discusses the problem, participants, and findings as reported in preceding chapters and presents implications for further research.

Quantitative Findings

Analysis of the results of the quantitative portion of the study revealed the major findings presented below.

Haitian women experience physical violence at a rate higher than their counterparts in other Latin American and Caribbean countries and higher than North American women. More than one-half of the participants, 54.8%, reported physical assault at least once in the past year. This figure is in stark contrast to 11% of North American women in marital or cohabiting unions (Dekeseredy and Schwartz, 1998); 52% of women in Managua; 40% in Santiago, Chile; 22.7% in Montevideo and Canelones in Uruguay; 35% in Costa Rica; and 20% in Colombia (Morrison & Biehl, 1999). Although estimates based on probability samples in the United States suggest that a minimum of 2 million women are severely assaulted by male partners every year (Strauss & Gelles, 1990; Strauss, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980), that number is doubled for Haitian women. Other estimates of the percentage of women who are physically abused range from 18 to 36% (Rybarik, Dosch, Gilmore, & Krajewski, 1995). This is consistent with the literature that indicates that violence against women impacts 1 in 4 women in the United States and Canada and as many as 60% in parts of Africa, Latin America, and Asia (United Nations Social Statistics and Indicators, 1995).

The findings of the present study for the area of sexual coercion indicate that women are sexually abused at a rate of 55.7% as compared to 34.3% in the United States (Teske and Parker, 1983; Grant, Preda, & Martin, 1989). The literature review for this study found that rape is pervasive in Haiti; however, the CTS2 does not use the term "rape." Instead it asked the respondents whether they were ever sexually assaulted by their partner or forced to have sex with their partner. Forty-four percent reported that their partner used forceful means such as hitting, holding down, or using a weapon to make them have either oral or anal sex.

Research indicates that the consequences of psychological violence are sometimes more devastating than those of physical violence (Aguilar and Nightingale, 1994; Okun, 1986; Walker, 1984; (all) cited in Brownridge and Halli, 2001); however, it was difficult to theorize whether or not this is true with Haitian women as the prevalence and incidence rates of psychological aggression are only different by half for both male and female partners (see Table 2). This is one area where the women defend themselves against the men by insulting them as well. This could be the reason why the data is showing that Haitian women experience physical violence at higher rates than those found in many other nations. The women are nearly as verbally abusive as their partners, which may compel their partners to strike them more often, thereby creating more conflicts. The men may view this verbal aggression as disobedience and may feel disrespected when they are challenged. The study showed that physical assaults occurred at an average incidence rate of 9.5% and 8.6 % for physical assault and psychological aggression respectively (see Figure 2). This could be applied to the realm of empirical research that supports the escalation theory as a result of a strong association between

psychological aggression and the probability of physical assaults (Murphy & O'Leary, 1989; Straus, 1974; (both) cited in Strauss et al., 1996). Strauss (1996) contended that if the escalation theory is correct and the CTS2 measures of psychological aggression and physical assault are valid, they should be highly correlated.

Of the total sample interviewed, 53.1% reported injury as a result of violence. This area may merit more research to determine whether clinics, hospitals, and doctors' offices accurately document each injury. In a study, conducted in the United States, in which all ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic groups from the community were represented, Hamberger and his colleagues found a lifetime injury rate of 25% (Koss et al., 1994). With respect to injury utilizing a weapon, Gondolf, Fisher, and McFerron (1988) found that 48% of African-American women reported having had a weapon used against them, compared with 39% of Hispanic and Caucasian women. In this study only 20.7 % of Haitian women reported having had a weapon used against them.

In examining socioeconomic factors, the researcher found that the relationship between educational attainment and partner violence was complex and inconsistent. In Haiti, it appears that when the husband is unemployed or employed only part-time, the violence rate is decreased. This is totally the opposite in the United States. Horning et al. (1981) found that households in which the husband was unemployed or employed only part-time had an increased rate of violence. One explanation for this finding in the United States is that men may use physical violence to compensate for their inability to be the family's primary breadwinner.

There is also evidence to suggest that occupational status is related to partner violence. The researcher observed that in families in which the woman has a higher status

than the man, she exerted control and domination and tended to abuse her husband. During the interview, female respondents who worked as sole supporter of the household laughed at the thought of allowing their partners to hurt them. Not only did they laugh, but they admitted to becoming frustrated quickly in an argument and hitting their partner. This is in sharp contrast to the findings of studies done in the United States. Kantor and Jasinski (1997) explained that in couples in which the wife has a much higher status, the husband may feel threatened and use violence to restore his authority. This power held by the women could be explained using the basic premise of resource theory, which states that the powerful will dominate the less powerful (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Johnson, 1996; (both) cited in Brownridge and Halli, 2001). The balance of power is switched because the woman is contributing the most resources to the family. In Haiti, it is harder for men to use violence as a means of controlling the relationship when they lack resources such as money or occupational status because the women could easily discard them. Further, because of the woman's income potential, she could easily leave the relationship and move on, in contrast to women who are dependent on their partners for their every need. Also, Haitian men appear to feel more shame if they are not able to provide for their family, so they will remain quiet to make sure that no one is aware of the issues. Another way they control this shame is to leave the house daily so that others will not be aware that they do not work. In contrast, the women who do not work tend to stay home.

Divorce or separation is almost nonexistent in Haiti. However, considering that Haiti lacks programs or plans to deal with domestic abuse, divorce or separation may be the obvious solution in many cases of abuse. That solution in itself requires instructing

the population about choices and providing the economic means to get out of a violent relationship. The majority of unhappily married people in Haiti do not seriously consider a “split” because of the great emotional and financial difficulties involved in the marriage. In most cases, the mere contemplation of having to raise a child alone without a job is a deterrent. Unlike the United States, Haiti lacks laws to force men to pay child support when the marriage ends up in a divorce or separation. Oftentimes, the wife’s family is burdened with providing for two families. Rather than considering a termination of the marriage, partners continue the relationship despite its frustrating and abusive aspects.

Qualitative Findings

The emphasis by most respondents, 53 %, was that domestic violence is abnormal, shameful, and shows a lack of respect for humanity. The word “shame” appeared in almost all the answers. The data analysis revealed that many women used the phrase, “I am not a child,” which indicates a belief that it is just to beat a child. Physical violence on children is normal in Haiti. This finding is consistent with the strong association noted between frequent child abuse and severe marital violence (Strauss, Gelles, and Steinmetz, 1980). These data are also consistent with the social learning theory of violence, in that people who suffered violence as children later, as adults, inflicted violence on their own children. Only one person responded to the question by stating that domestic violence whether done to a spouse or a child is abnormal. Even though the women were asked for a general view or understanding of domestic violence,

many women responded to the question in regard to self. They answered candidly and were able to not only give their opinions but expressed the way they felt as well.

Fifteen percent of the women felt that it was sometimes justified for the partner to beat his wife. Many women indicated that the husband would not have hit the wife if she had acted appropriately. Similarly, some women stated their belief that a man has the right to correct his spouse if he is the sole breadwinner in the household. These women believe that when one does not earn an income, one has no power; and if one is powerless, then, one must accept abuse. This is consistent with the marital power theory, which states that the person with the most assets and resources will tend to exert control over the other (Cromwell and Olson, 1975). Furthermore, some of the women interviewed indicated their belief that it is a wife's duty to provide whatever her husband asks for upon demand or she risks suffering the consequences. Many of these women believed that a wife must be obedient at all times to a husband, and if she is not, then she must be corrected. These women were operating under the cultural norm. This percentage of women ascribed complete dominance to the husband. This complies with the sex-role theory, which asserts that boys are taught at an early age to be dominant in relationships, to be the breadwinner, to be king of his "castle," and to use force if deemed appropriate (Mihalic and Elliott, 1997). Conversely, girls are taught to be passive to men and to perform the roles of wife and mother.

This study is consistent with the overall findings in the literature review that the Haitian legal system has not been and is not part of the solution. The women judged that police are not responsive to abused women. An earlier study showed that women were frequently ignored or their complaints not acted upon (Fuller, 1999). Some of the data

confirmed a general mistrust of the law with regard to police protection in domestic violence cases. Yet, many women, 40%, agreed that the law should be involved in cases of abuse. The women voiced that in Haiti, the law is never executed. It is there on paper mainly to be able to say that there is a law. On the other hand, 21% stated that the law should not get involved in partner affairs and that getting involved would destroy the family structure because the wife would not be able to support the family alone and that many children would thus not get an education. Furthermore, 6% of the women believed that the police are guilty of the same crime of abuse and that, therefore, they could not trust the police to come to their aid. The majority of the women would cast their vote for prevention rather than incarceration because of the strong belief system in Haiti that "marriage is for better or for worse." This is very important to Haitian women and men alike. The data showed that among the 150 interviewees, none were divorced despite the difficulties they encountered. Separation occurred for many couples, and the men sometimes lived with another woman; however, the wife was still carrying the name and no divorce proceedings were in the plan. Culturally, if a separation occurs, the man is often the one who initiates the process and dictates how things will proceed.

Another 18% believed that domestic violence would be reduced if the men were arrested, forced to attend classes on the matter, and charged a fine or penalty. These women also believed that long term incarceration should be avoided. In addition, many women advocated for the creation of a special bureau that would be separate from the police that would hear cases of abuse. The women in general do not go and report abuse to the police because oftentimes they are made to feel as though they were the

perpetrators instead of the victims. They would like to see individuals who are trained to hear them without the pervasive attempts to elicit guilt feelings.

In terms of overall support, 37% of the sample agreed that they receive help from family and friends in the event of abusive acts, and 22% sought advice from neighbors. However, these sources of support never counsel them to leave the relationship. Instead, they provide pointers for ameliorating the situation. In fact, family and friends often become concerned if there is talk of a separation. The most common advice is mainly to keep the family together or to restore the family. The majority of women, 63%, said that people do not want to get involved in marital affairs. This group affirmed that there was never a time after a couple fights that they did not go back together, regardless of the severity of the injuries. For that reason, these sources of support preferred not to get involved and lose face later on, or become the "bad one" who tried to break up a relationship. Six percent of the participants believed that they were capable of solving their own problems and therefore did not need help from anyone. Another 6% received no help because of prior disagreements with their family regarding the chosen mate. If Brown, Counts, and Campbell's (1999) theory is true, one would expect this group to suffer the most abuse. According to Brown, Counts, and Campbell (1999), when a woman's kin are nearby for support, their presence provides a deterrent to spousal abuse. However, a wife is in a vulnerable position and has an increased risk of being ill-treated if she is coerced to move to a distant location and isolate herself from her family. Fonrose-Jean-Pierre (2001) noted this phenomenon in the case of a battered woman from Haiti. The woman was forced to cease all contact with her family and moved away

from them without any support. Following the isolation the woman endured a devastating life of abuse from which it took her years to break away.

The data provided by the women in the present study confirm one of the heaviest burdens that women must carry when violence is evident in their homes. Ten percent of the women mentioned that domestic violence is the number one cause of depression for Haitian women. What increases the load in Haiti is that there are no support groups that women can attend to talk about the abuse and receive emotional support. Many women mentioned that they do not share things such as abuse with others (family or neighbors) because they blame themselves for what is happening. This finding is consistent with other studies. Hilberman (1980) and Walker (1984) found that most victimized women suffered from feelings of incompetence, unworthiness, guilt, shame, and fear of losing control; often, the most common diagnosis among these women was depression.

It is worth mentioning that one percent of the sample attributed no fault to the perpetrator of abuse; rather they placed the blame on vodoun. This was also noted in the practicum case study in which the abuser tried to convince the woman to go and see a vodoun priest to fix the problem (Fonrose-Jean-Pierre, 2001). In this study, the women were convinced that their abusers were cursed by some other party that he should have married.

In regard to the effectiveness or the existence of organizations that are established to combat domestic violence, most of the participants were unaware of their existence. If they knew of their existence, they did not know their locations. Hence, the majority of the participants suggested that the organizations do more publicity on radio, television, flyers, brochures, theatre, and research.

Implications of the Study

Many studies question why an abused woman stays in the abusive situation. The question in the present study is instead, where can she go? It was obvious that many of the women interviewed would like to leave; however, economic circumstances would not permit such a move. Many of them felt that it would be too much to ask their families to not only provide for them but for their children as well. Furthermore, these women were often the ones who were providing for the extended family. Oftentimes there is extra pressure because of this additional financial obligation, and the partner is aware of that. The women stay for the most part because there is nowhere else to turn. The barriers are insurmountable. The one and only women's shelter in Haiti can only provide a three-day stay for an abused woman. One participant observed: "domestic violence should not exist, especially in Haiti where women have no place to go". Others do not leave abusive relationships because they feel that people will see them as failures. The Haitian culture considers it a weakness not to be able to keep one's partner. Families can become ashamed and embarrassed. Some of the women do not want to lose face. Many women do not seek help because they believe that God would never give you something you could not handle and that somehow God will provide help. Illustrated by this common Haitian proverb "*bon Dye pa bay pen san sékou*".

It is apparent from the qualitative data, that many women do not have an adequate understanding of violence and how best to respond to it. This study attempted to increase the realm of information available regarding domestic violence in Haiti. This study was based on the assumption that Haitian women have a different definition of domestic violence than that commonly used in North American and Eastern cultures.

This study revealed that there are differences in the way in which Haitian women view domestic violence with respect to other cultures. Fifty percent of the women defined domestic violence as shameful, abnormal, and unjust; however, 15% believed that it is a man's right to correct his partner if he chooses to do so. The latter percentage implies that violence has deep roots in cultural construction of gender, a construction that promotes the growth of male entitlement and social inequality for women. Intervention and treatment methods will not succeed unless the gendered nature of violence in various media is understood and addressed.

Another striking implication is the percentage of women who have been sexually abused. Sexually abused women suffer various health-related ailments such as headaches, migraines, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). According to Stark and Flitcraft (1995), nearly one-third of all women who attempted suicide had been abused. In comparison to nonabused women, battered women seem to have higher rates of depression, PTSD, and substance abuse (Lyon, 2000).

Limitations and Delimitations

In regard to delimitations, the sample was delimited to 150 women in the city of Pétion-Ville. Most studies that have used the CTS2 have worked with larger samples. This study is a first step in the beginning of a series of studies intended to obtain an accurate picture of the extent of violence against women in Haiti. Attempting to get a larger sample during this first study was not feasible because of the time and resources

available to commit to this project. This is an appropriate size considering that this is the first of its kind.

The most obvious limitation of this study involved the difficulty of knowing whether the participants faithfully gave their full and honest responses. They may have felt that some of the questions were too intrusive, or may have tried to manage their self-image by providing answers that varied from the truth or omitted some important aspects of their circumstances. Such distortions may have resulted in the omission of important aspects of the total picture of domestic violence in Haiti. Another limitation involved the design of the "cultural questionnaire." Following the interviews and while reviewing the result, the researcher found that the distribution of the sample involved mainly dating, living together, and married individuals. Yet, the interviews revealed that many women were separated. Many Haitian women view separation as if it was a divorce; also in many cases of separation, the couples are still intimate with one another. Hence, they see themselves as married. As a result, only one person stated that she was separated. The researcher needed to define the terms in the demographic questionnaire culturally as well.

Suggestions for Further Research

There are several specific areas of recommended research derived from the results of this investigation. Any researcher will face challenges when attempting to collect data relative to violence in Haiti. Violence is rampant in Haiti, as noted throughout this study; however, there are no systems in place to document and collect the data.

Areas of study deserving of some attention include a replication of this study using both male and female subjects. Such studies would be helpful in encouraging the

development of norms for a culture such as Haiti as none exist at this time. This kind of study would also help in the development of a training or curriculum to begin to address the violence based on the Haitian culture.

There are benefits to be had from similar studies using a wider population sample. Possibilities along this line include a study of the current organizations and their effectiveness, sampling the women who are currently receiving services or have received services in the past, or any combination thereof. A study to assess the relationship between domestic violence and suicidal women would be an important contribution as the association between violence against women and suicide has not been documented. Participants in the present study suggested that domestic violence was the number one cause of depression among women. A look at depression and violence might prove to be worthwhile. Cross-validation studies using women who are the breadwinners and males who are unemployed may add much to the sum of knowledge in this relatively unexplored area. Another fruitful area might be a study on domestic violence and child abuse in Haiti.

The development and study of various types of pilot programs designed to facilitate better understanding and communication between partners may also be a worthwhile area of exploration.

On a governmental level, policies should be developed to combat poverty and to reform and modernize judicial and police systems. Well-designed and targeted platforms or campaigns, including commercial programming, can significantly reinforce civic values, challenge prevailing views of acceptable norms in regards to gender, and help to abate domestic as well as social violence.

Underreporting and underrecording of violence should be challenged. An overwhelming number, 69.3% of the sample, reported going to visit a doctor as a result of a fight with a partner. Hospitals and doctor's offices should develop a form and train their staff to record and report injuries relating to violence in the home. Far more reliable data and comparable statistics on the incidence and prevalence of violence in Haiti will contribute to success in combating the problem.

The Haitian women who participated in this study were more interested in prevention rather than in punitive action. Measures should be taken to develop programs that will address treatment, group and individual counseling, and training rather than incarceration of perpetrators. Prevention should be directed not only to high-risk groups, but to the whole population (especially at the primary level) as well.

The study has helped to fill a wide gap in the scientific literature and to shed some light on previously unexplored phenomenon. However, this study has been an exploratory one and several variables require more refined study (especially quantification). Relevant variables remain to be unearthed. At the least, many questions remained to be asked.

Summary

Violence within current marital, dating and common-law (*plaçage*) relationships is quite prevalent in Haiti. In this study, 54.2% of Haitian women living with a partner, married, or separated/divorce reported experiencing violence during the relationship. The most common forms of violence involved being kicked, slammed against a wall, pushed, or shoved, and beaten up by one's partner. However, the study estimates demonstrate that

even the least common form of violence that is, being threatened with or having a knife or gun used, was experienced by many women.

Cultural norms sanctioning partner aggressions, measured by the questionnaire item, "What is your understanding of domestic violence?" found that 15% of the women interviewed approved or believed that there are times when it is justified for their partner to abuse or correct them. Though these statements are the perceptions of the victims, and are rooted in ancient hierarchal family structures and rigid gender roles that emphasize male dominance and women's submissiveness.

Although the study did not attempt to look at correlation of different variables, it appears that education levels, socioeconomic status, age, and relationship status have some impact on the prevalence and incidence rates of violence. It is hard to conjecture the effects of all these variables without using a multivariate analysis to see where the pieces fit into the puzzle.

The first step in helping victims of violence in Haiti is to obtain resources. Currently, resources are lacking. The organizations are not funded and most women are not even aware of their existence. A collaborative forum needs to take place between the organizations, the researchers, and the agencies that are interested in promoting these issues. The women mentioned a special bureau or a "safe place" where they will be heard nonjudgmentally; however, a place like this will require either governmental or private support. It is obvious that one shelter will not meet the needs of a population of eight million people; therefore, funds are needed to develop safe houses for victims of violence. Though phone service is not available in Haiti's rural areas, a 24-hour hotline should be provided for women who have access to a telephone to report violence as well

as to provide guidance, information, and counseling. At present, comparable data is lacking. Perhaps the hotline will be one way of documenting violence for those who have access to a phone. Training interventions should be directed at not only the leaders in the field, but the schools (all levels), police officers, the judicial system, and the public health sector. In the present study, many women visited a doctor as a result of injury after a conflict. The health-care system has the means to inform and implement many changes. The media (print and broadcast) and theatre can also be valuable resources for promoting knowledge of resources. Collaboration with the media to promote the message that domestic violence is intolerable and destructive would be indispensable. Through the media, light can be shed on various roles and issues that perpetuate violence. The media can disseminate information; inform the public, and model appropriate behavior. Theatre is very important and useful in Haiti. Schools at all levels use theatre as a source of entertainment. A variety of age-appropriate scripts could be developed to educate and inform the public on the issue of domestic violence.

On the side of mutuality of aggression between partner relations, the study showed that both men and women can be aggressive. However, in all categories (physical, psychological, injury, and sexual) men were the primary perpetrators of violence. Though the women reported committing at least one of behaviors listed on the CTS2 (push, shove, slap, kick, hit, beat up, choke, and threaten with or use knife or gun), offending rates for men were 3 to 5 times higher than for women. Furthermore, one is often not aware of the details that led to the offense. For instance, did the woman commit the acts in self-defense?

The dual method (i.e., qualitative interview and survey) used in this study represents a major contribution to the understanding of partner violence in Haiti. It is this researcher's hope that this effort will move one step closer to fostering an understanding of and, ultimately, continuing to work with the organizations and private donors to develop programs and projects to improve the tragic conditions associated with domestic violence and the role of in Haitian society.

Researcher's Role

My perceptions of Haiti and its culture have been shaped largely by my personal experiences as a child. I was born in Haiti in November of 1965 and attended primary school (s) there from 1969 to 1978. I immigrated to the United States to join my parents at the age of 13 as a permanent resident. My connection to Haiti from 1978 to 1983 was via letter writing to friends and family, and cultural activities (i.e. plays for mother's day, theater and drama, special viewing of films, poetry, etc.) in Washington DC. I reconnected to the land post High School when I visited family members and attended a few funerals.

My interest in engaging and conducting a study in Haiti began at an early age through numerous observations of the culture and its people. I became interested in the field of violence after witnessing many disagreements and battles among couples. After conducting a wide search in 1996 on domestic violence in Haiti and found few pieces of data, I decided that I would focus my future studies in that area. I deemed that it would be an important study not only because there were so few studies in the area but because of my observations as well.

As I ponder on how I would arrive at collecting the data on such a sensitive subject in a culture where I might be considered a foreigner, I became reluctant.

Nevertheless, my interest did not diminish. During my numerous visits to Haiti, I started to set the stage through general communication with younger women on the topic. These women were very interested in the subject. They had a lot to say. I then stated my intentions and posed the question on how they think a large scale project would be received by other women like themselves. The women felt very positive and believed that other women would contribute to the cause as well. At that time a few women became excited and volunteered their help in the data collection process.

I began to draft my proposal and remained hopeful. What made a huge difference in collecting the data were my Research Assistants. They were very positive once they were trained and they believed in the importance of the project. They were chosen very carefully not only because of their professionalism but their reputation in the city as well. Like many other cultures, one's reputation in Haiti is very important. This was illustrated when I approached a few women in the church where I attended during my years as a young girl there. The women told me that they remembered how kind and honest I was as a child and that alone was enough for them to trust me.

The women who received the flyer were a bit more reluctant than the women we approached verbally. These women wanted to make sure that their identity would not be revealed in any shape or form. There were a few women who insisted on filling out the form themselves in order to conceal their identity. To assure them, I gave the example of not really knowing whether the signature on the consent form was real or not. Some women stated that they did not want to waste their time; they only wanted to participate if

the results would be sent to organizations with power that could not only advocate, but implement programs as well.

There were two cases of incest which were referred to SOFA. The younger women who were pregnant or gave birth to babies found the sexual questions too intrusive. A technique that I used to get around that was to stress that they were probably pregnant right now because they lack knowledge or experience. Answering these questions will help them or another woman make better decisions in the future. We met twice with only five women to finish the questionnaires. I counseled two women who were raped and suggested that they visit the women's shelter, Kay Fann, for more services. Overall, the women responded favorably. I believe being able to speak their language help me tremendously in winning their trust and cooperation. But on a more serious note, the women believe that project of this nature is needed in order for the country to adopt more peaceful initiatives.

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Appendix A

Definitions of Terms

Abuse	May include physical assault, but it also covers a wider range of hurtful behavior. Threats, insulting talk, sexual coercion and property destruction are all part of abuse (Walker, 1989).
Battering	Punching, hitting, striking; i.e., the actual physical act of one person beating another (Walker, 1989).
Creole whites	A person of European descent born in Spanish America or the West Indies (Merriam-Webster, 1991).
Cultural Violence	Defined as any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form (Galtung, 1990).
Diaspora	A dispersion, scattering, or decentralization, as of national or religious groups living outside their homeland but maintaining their cultural identity; the people of such a group (Merriam-Webster, 1991).
Dowry	Money and material things that a bride can bring to a marriage. This practice takes place in India where the bride can be killed if the amount of the dowry is insufficient. The husband is then allowed to get a new wife with a larger dowry (Andrews, 1996).

- DV Domestic violence is a general term used to describe the battering or abusive acts within an intimate relationship. Includes physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and destructive acts, or offenses that can be prosecuted (Walker, 1989).
- FMG Female Genital Mutilation Ranges from circumcision, wherein which the clitoris is removed, to total infibulation, the complete removal of all external organs and sewing the vagina closed (Andrews, 1996).
- Incidence The frequency with which a condition or event occurs within a given time and population. (Barnett, Miller-Perrin, & Perrin, 1997)
- Kay Fanm Nongovernmental women's shelter that works with victims of violence; receives complaints of violations; and provides medical, legal, and psychological assistance. The organization has one lawyer and works together with other associations or private clinics on medical care.
- Labor Code Governs individual employment contracts. It sets the standard workday at 8 hours, and the workweek at 48 hours, with 24 hours of rest on Sunday. The code also establishes minimum health and safety regulations (United Nations, 2000).
- Lavalas An umbrella social movement representing various progressive social movement groups and mobilizing around a wide range of issues from daily survival to human and civil rights, from political representation to gender issues (Charles, 1995).
- MPP (Papaye Peasant Movement). A group founded by the Catholic Church in 1972. The main purpose of the organization was training and agriculture;

however, this group began to explore injustices and exploitation of peasant's workers. It was created only for males, but females were allowed to join starting in 1978.

- Mulattoes** The offspring of parents of whom one is Caucasian and the other is Black; loosely, any individual of mixed Caucasian and Black ancestors; the light brown color of mulatto (Merriam-Webster, 1991).
- Patriotic movement** A broad coalition of leftist-oriented and nationalist groups opposed to the Duvalier regime.
- Plaçage** (Common law). Defined as partners living together as husband and wife without being legally married (VAWS, 1994).
- Poor** In regard to the poor, the terms "lower-class," "under-class," "popular masses," and, rarely, "proletariat" are used interchangeably. The term of choice for the Haitian poor in Creole is pep (the people). With regard to "class," throughout the text I often preface the term with the adjective "socioeconomic," thus recognizing with Poulantzas (1982) that "purely economic criteria are not sufficient to determine and locate social classes."
- Power** The condition that makes it possible for one actor to make his or her will or goals prevail. Power is based on resources available to each actor in a particular relationship (Martin-Baro, 1994).
- Prevalence** The percentage of the population that is affected with a particular disease or condition at a given time (Barnett, Miller-Perrin, & Perrin, 1997).
- Restavek** A child whose care has been entrusted to a middle or upper class

- benefactors in exchange for his/her housekeeping services (Antoine, 1998)
- SOFA (Haitian Women in Solidarity). A nationwide women's network that has been seeking justice in cases of violence against women perpetrated by the military regime that usurped power in Haiti in 1991 (Lerner, 1998).
- SR Special Rapporteurs, i.e., International human rights experts whom the Commission on Human Rights appoints to carry out investigations and make recommendations in countries where allegations of human rights violations so warrant (Maran, 1999).
- UFH (*Union des Femmes Haitiennes*). A coalition of many women's sections of clandestine leftist parties, particularly the Haitian Communist party.
- Vodou A coherent and comprehensive belief system and world view in which every person and every thing is sacred and must be treated accordingly (Bellegarde-Smith, 1990).

Appendix B
Recruitment Flyer

1001

I am a graduate student who is interested in how Haitian women handle conflicts with an intimate partner. I am recruiting women ages 18-35 who are married, or who have been living with a male partner in the past 12 months, even if they are now separated, divorced, or widowed, or are dating a male partner currently.

If you are interested in participating in this study, you may phone me at (provide number) to discuss the time that is convenient for you, or you may contact a member of the research team (insert address). It is not necessary to call; you can come to be interviewed on (insert day, and time) at the following address: (insert the Church address).

Any information you provide will be confidential. You will not be identified in any way. You will not be required to provide your name.

Appendix C

Demographic Profile of the Sample

Income (per month in Haitian dollars)

(a) _____

Education

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| (a) No schooling | (b) Elementary |
| (c) High school | (d) College/higher |

Geographical Residence

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| (a) Berthe | (b) Peguy-Ville |
| (c) Bossier | (d) Delmas |

Age

- | | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| (a) 18-22 | (b) 23-27 |
| (c) 28-32 | (d) 33 or older |

Status

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| (a) Married | (b) Dating |
| (c) Divorced/Sep | (d) <i>plaçage</i> |

Religion

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| (a) Catholic | (b) Christian |
| (c) Baptist | (d) Other _____ |
| (e) Vodoun | |

Children

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| (a) No children | (b) 1-2 children |
| (c) 3-4 children | (d) >4 children |

Employment(Participant)Partner

(a) employed

(a) employed

 Business woman Mason Teacher Carpenter Seamstress Plumber Housekeeper Farmer Secretary Mechanic Nurse Professor other other

(b) unemployed

(b) unemployed

Have support of relatives in the relationship

(a) yes

(b) no

Have support of neighbors

(a) yes

(b) no

Appendix D

Consent Form

**PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS IN RESEARCH USING THE
CONFLICT TACTICS SCALES**

Murray A. Strauss

Family Research Laboratory, University of New Hampshire
Durham, NH 03824 603-862-2594 murray.straus@unh.eduWebsite: <http://pubpages.unh.edu/~mas2>

The following procedures have been approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of New Hampshire and similar procedures have been approved at many other universities.

Informed Consent

The purpose of the study is to find out about family relationships and conflicts or dating partner relationships and conflicts. The questionnaire includes questions, which ask your own family background and some questions are about sexual relations.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you are free to decide if you want to answer the questionnaire or not. You can decide to discontinue answering the questions at any time.

Confidentiality

All responses are anonymous. Your name or other personal identifiers will not appear on the questionnaire.

The demographic characteristics such as and education, use categories such as 18-24, 25-29, 30-39, etc. rather than specific ages. This makes it almost impossible for anyone to identify you on the basis of the demographic data.

Post-Interview Informed Consent

Now that we are done, I want to make sure that you understand certain things about this interview. First, your answers will be kept strictly private. That is, your name and address does not and will not appear anywhere on our records or on the interview. Only statistics such as averages and percentages will be made public. Second, as you know from some of the questions, one of the purposes of the study is to find out about disagreements and conflicts in the family and what family members do about the conflict, and especially to find out how often and why people use physical force. So, with these things in mind, do we have your permission to include your interview in the study?

I CERTIFY THAT I HAVE READ THE ABOVE STATEMENT TO THE
RESPONDENT AND THAT HE/SHE HAS UNDERSTOOD THIS STATEMENT AND
HAS GIVEN PERMISSION TO USE THE INTERVIEW:

Interviewer: _____

Date: _____



Appendix D1

PWOTEKSYON SIJÈ MOUN YO PANDAN NAP SÈVI AK ENSTWIMAN CTS2

Pwosesis sa yo nou pral swiv la , yo apwouve pa komite “Institutional Review Board” nan inivèsite “ New Hampshire” ak nan lòt inivèsite.

KONSANTMAN ORAL DE PATISIPASYON

Objektif rechèh sa-a se pou detèmine kòman fanmi-a fè fas ak pwoblèm /rezoud pwoblèm ki pwezante yo. Kesyonè sa-a konpoze ak kesyon ki mande enfòmasyon sou fanmi-w , li genyen tou kesyon ki mande enfòmasyon sou zafè fè bagay.

Patisipasyon-w se sèlman si ou vle e ou kapab deside si ou vle oswa si ou pa vle reponn kesyon yo. Ou kapab deside rete reponn kesyon yo nenpòt ki moman nan entèvyou-a.

KONFIDANSYÈL

Tout repons yo sans non. Ni non-w ni identite-w pap parèt sou okenn papye. Infòmasyon tankou laj edikasyon ap parèt an katagori chif tankou : 18-20; 25-29;30-39 etc. Konsa pa gen moun kap ka konnen-w paske-w te patisipe.

POSTINTERVIEW—KONSANTMAN DE PATISIPASYON

Kounnye-a nou fini ak kesyonè-a. Mwen vle asirem ke ou konprann tout bagay sou intèvyou-a. Anvan tout gagay repons ou yo ap rete sekrè . Sa vle di non-w . adrès ou pap ekri okenn kote. Se sèlman chif pousantag estatistik yo kap piblik. Apre sa kòm ou konnen , younn nan objektif intèvyou-a se detèmine kouman fanmi yo rezoud chire pit antre yo e ki lè ak pou ki sa yo sèvi ak fòs fizik yo. Konsa ak tout sa ou konpran yo eske nou gen pèmision-w poun mete intèvyou-w la nan rechèh nou an.

Mwen sètifie ke mwen li tout sa ki ekri pi ro-a bay moun kap patisipe-a. Li Konprann tout objektif yo et li bay pèmision-l poun sèvi ak repons li yo.

INTÈVYOUWÈ: _____

DAT: _____

Appendix E

Domestic Violence in Haiti Cultural Questionnaire

- 1) What is your understanding of domestic violence in Haiti?
- 2) Do you think that the law should be involved in cases of violence concerning two partners? If so, in what capacity? If not, why?
- 3) Do you see the family/friends as a source of support in cases of domestic violence in Haiti? Or, are they just bystanders who do not want to get involved?
- 4) Are you aware of shelters/organizations that exist to address the issue of domestic violence in Haiti? If you are aware, have these organizations/shelters been effective? If not, what are some possible ways to let people know about these organizations?

Appendix E1

VYOLANS DOMESTIK EN AYITI—KESYONE KILTIREL

- 1) Ki sa ou panse oswa kompran de violans domestik an ayiti ?
- 2) Koman-w panse ke lwa kapab ede-w? Si lwa pa supoze entre ladan, pouki sa?
- 3) Eske-w we ke fanmi/zanmi supote fanm nan situasyon abi sa yo? Si wi, koman? Ou byen you pa vle mele nan bagay kon sa ?
- 4) Eske-w konnen yon kote oswa organizasyon an Ayiti ki la pou protege fanm yo kont abi? Si-w konnen, eske-w panse ke oganizasyon akompli objektif li? Si-w pa panse ke organizasyon an akompli objektif li, ki lot jan ou panse ke organizasyon te ka lese moun konnen you egziste ?

Appendix E2

Backtranslation of Domestic Violence in Haiti Cultural Questionnaire

- 1) What is your understanding of domestic violence in Haiti?
- 2) How do you think the law should help in cases of violence? If the law should not get involve, why not?
- 3) Do you believe that family/friends provide support to women who are in violent situations? Or, are they bystanders who do not want to get involve?
- 4) Are you aware of any organizations/shelters in Haiti that exist to address the issue of domestic violence? If so, have these organizations/shelters been effective? If not, in what other ways can the organization (s) let people know of their existence?

Appendix F

Conflict Tactic Scale

No matter how well a couple gets along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with the other person, want different things from each other, or just have spats or fights because they are in a bad mood, are tired, or for some other reason. Couples also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences. This is a list of things that might happen when you have differences. Please circle how many times you did each of these things in the past year, and how many times your partner did them in the past year. If you or your partner did not do one of these things in the past year, but it happened before that, circle "7".

How often did this happen?

1=Once in the past year

2=Twice in the past year

3=3-5 times in the past year

4=6-10 times in the past year

5=11-20 times in the past year

6=More than 20 times in the past year

7=Not in the past year, but it did happen before

0=This has never happened

1. I showed my partner I cared even though we disagreed.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
2. My partner showed care for me even though we disagreed.		
3. I explained my side of a disagreement to my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
4. My partner explained his or her side of a disagreement to me.		
5. I insulted or swore at my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
6. My partner did this to me.		
7. I threw something at my partner that could hurt.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
8. My partner did this to me.		
9. I twisted my partner's arm or hair.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
10. My partner did this to me.		
11. I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
12. My partner had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of fight with me.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
13. I showed respect for my partner's feelings about an issue.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
14. My partner showed respect for my feelings about an issue.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
15. I made my partner have sex without a condom.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
16. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
17. I pushed or shoved my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
18. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
19. I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have oral or anal sex.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
20. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
21. I used a knife or gun on my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
22. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0
23. I passed out from being hit on the head by my partner in a	1 2 3 4 5 6	7 0

fight.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
24. My partner passed out from being hit on the head in a fight with me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
25. I called my partner fat or ugly.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
26. My partner called me fat or ugly.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
27. I punched or hit my partner with something that could hurt.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
28. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
29. I destroyed something belonging to my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
30. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
31. I went to a doctor because of a fight with my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
32. My partner went to a doctor because of a fight with me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
33. I choked my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
34. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
35. I shouted or yelled at my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
36. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
37. I slammed my partner against a wall.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
38. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
39. I said I was sure we could work out a problem.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
40. My partner was sure we could work it out.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
41. I needed to see a doctor because of a fight with my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
42. My partner needed to see a doctor because of a fight with me, but didn't.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
43. I beat up my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
44. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
45. I grabbed my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
46. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
47. I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have sex.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
48. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
49. I stomped out of the room or house or yard during a disagree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
50. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
51. I insisted on sex when my partner did not want to (but did not used physical force).	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
52. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
53. I slapped my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
54. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
55. I had a broken bone from a fight with my partner.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
56. My partner had a broken bone from a fight with me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
57. I used threats to make my partner have oral or anal sex.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
58. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
59. I suggested a compromise to a disagreement.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
60. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
61. I burned or scalded my partner on purpose.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
62. My partner did this to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
63. I insisted my partner have oral or anal sex (but did not use physical force).	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 64. My partner did this to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 65. I accused my partner of being a lousy lover. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 66. My partner did this to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 67. I did something to spite my partner. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 68. My partner did this to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 69. I threatened to hit or throw something at my partner. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 70. My partner did this to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 71. I felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with my partner. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 72. My partner still felt physical pain the next day because of a fight with we had. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 73. I kicked my partner. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 74. My partner did this to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 75. I used threats to make my partner have sex. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 76. My partner did this to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 77. I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement my partner suggested. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 78. My partner agreed to try a solution I suggested. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |

Appendix F1

CTS2 Kreyol

QUESTIONNAIRE SUR LA RESOLUTION DES CONFLITS CONJUGAUX (CTS2)

Menm si de moun ki marye ou kap viv ansanm antann yo byen anpil, sa kapab rive ke yo gen ti pwoblèm, Youn kapab kontraye lòt, youn kapab beke lòt paske yo kapab pa nan po yo, yo kapab fatigue ou byen yo ka gen lòt rezon. Yo sèvi avèk anpil lòt fason pou rezoud pwoblèm sa yo. La-a yap jwenn anpil fason ke ou kapab sèvi lè oumenm ak patnè ou gen pwoblèm. Fè yon ronm sou kantite fwa ou sèvi ak fason sa yo e konbyen fwa patnèw la sèvi ak yo nan lane ki sòt pase a. Si nou pat sèvi ak yo nan lane ki sòt pase a men nou konn sèvi ak yo kanmèm fè yon ronm sou chif sèt la (7).

- 1 = yon fwa pandan ane ki sòt pase a
 2 = 2 fwa pandan ane ki sòt pase a
 3 = 3 a 5 fwa pandan ane ki sòt pase a
 4 = 6 a 10 fwa pandan ane ki sòt pase a
 5 = 11 a 20 fwa pandan ane ki sòt pase a
 6 = + de 20 fwa pandan ane ki sòt pase a
 7 = pa pandan ane ki sòt pase a men sa konn rive anvan
 0 = sa pa janm konn rive

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mwen montre patnè-m nan ke mwen te atache avèk li menm si nou te gen pwoblèm. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 2. Patnè-m nan te montrem kel te atache avèk Mwen menm si nou te gen pwoblèm. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 3. Mwn te esplike patnè-m nan opinyon-m (fasonm panse) sou ti pwoblèm nou. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 4. Patnè-m nan esplikem opinyon-l sou ti pwoblèm nou an. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 5. Mwen derespekte patnè-m nan Mwen di-l anpil pawòl piman bouk. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 6. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 7. Mwen tire yon bagay sou patnè-m nan ki te kapab blese-l. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 8. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 9. Mwen tòde bwa oswa mwen rale cheve patnè-m nan | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 10. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 11. Mwen fè yon foulay ou gen yon vè ble akòz yon chire pit ke-m te gen avèk patnè-m nan | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 12. Patnè-m nan te fè yon foulay ou gen yon vè ble akòz yon ti chire pit li te gen avèm . | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 13. Mwen toujou respekte opinyon patnè-m nan menm lè-n gen ti pwoblèm . | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 14. Patnè-m nan toujou respekte opinyon-m men-m lè-n gen ti pwoblèm. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 15. Mwen fòse patnèm nan fè bagay avèm san Kapòt | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 16. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 17. Mwen bourade patnè-m nan. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 18. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 19. Mwen itilize fòs (tankou bal kou, fesel atè, rale zam poum fòse patnè-m nan fè ti bèf pou mwen oswa poum fè bagay avèl nan dèyè. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 20. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 21. Mwen menase patnè-m nan ak kouto oswa ak zam. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 22. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 23. Mwen indispoze ak yon kou ki pranm nan tèt pandanm t'ap goumen ak patnèm nan | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 24. Patnèm nan indispoze ak yon kou ki pranm nan tèt pandan li tap goumen avèm | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 25. Mwen di patnè-m nan gwo soulye , makak | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 26. Patnè-m nan di-m gwo soulye, makak | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |
| 27. Mwen bay patnè-m nan yon kout pwen oswa mwen bal kout yon bagay ki ka blese-l | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 |

28. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
29. Mwen kraze tout sa ke patnè-m nan te genyen	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
30. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
31. Ma'l kay doktè apwè yon chire pit ak patnè-m nan.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
32. Patnè-m nan al kay doktè apwè yon chire pit avèk mwen.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
33. Mwen eseye trangle patnè-m nan	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
34. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
35. Mwen rele anmwe pou patnè-m nan.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
36. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
37. Mwen pouse patnè-m nan avèk raj l'al frape nan yon mi.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
38. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
39. Mwen di-m te kwè ke nou te ka rezoud pwoblèm nan.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
40. Patnè-m nan te kwè ke nou te ka rezoud pwoblèm nan.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
41. Mwen ta byen bezwen al kay doktè apwè yon chire pit ak patnè-m nan , men mwen pat fè-l	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
42. Patnè-m nan ta byen bezwen al kay doktè apwè yon chire pit avèk mwen, men li pat fè-l.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
43. Mwen bat patnè-m nan.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
44. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
45. Mwen kenbe men patnè-m nan mwen rale-l ak raj	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
46. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

47. Mwen itilize fòs tankou bay kou, frape atè
rale zam poum fòse patnè-m nan fè bagay avèm 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
48. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
49. Pandan nou te fache mwen te kite chanm nan 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
50. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
51. Patnè-m nan pat vle, mwen insiste
jouktan mwen fè bagay avèk li
men mwen pa fè fòs avèl 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
52. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
53. Mwen bay patnèm na yon souflèt 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
54. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
55. Mwen gen yon zom ki kase apwè
yon chire pit ak patnè-m nan. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
56. Patnè-m nan gen yon zo-l ki kase apwè
yon chire pit avèk mwen. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
57. Mwen menase patnè-m nan pou-l ka fè ti bèf
pou mwen oswa poum fè bagay avèl nan dèyè. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
58. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
59. Mwen mande antant lè gen pwoblèm . 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
60. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
61. Mwen fè espwe , mwen boule patnè-m nan 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
62. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
63. Mwen annouye patnè-m nan pou-l fè
ti bèf pou mwen ak poum fè bagay avè-l
nan dèyè men san mwen pa fòse-l. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
64. Patnè-m nan konn fèm sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
65. Mwen di patnè-m nan li se yon voryen
Kòm mennaj. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

66. Patnè-m nan konn di-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
67. Mwen fè yon bagay ki pa fè patnè-m nan plezi . 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
68. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
69. Mwen fè kòm si m'ap bay patnè-m nan kou ou byen m'ap voye yon bagay sou li. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
70. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
71. Apwè yon chire pit nan mitan nou patnè-m nan vinn gen yon doulè nan kò-l ki dire jis apwè demen. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
72. Apwè yon chire pit nan mitan nou, mwen vinn gen yon doulè nan kò-m ki dire jis apwè demen. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
73. Mwen bay patnèm nan yon kout pye. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
74. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
75. Mwen sèvi ak anpil pwesyon poum fè bagay avè bagay avèk parnèm nan. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
76. Patnè-m nan konn fè-m sa. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
77. Pan nan nou te nan kont , mwen eseye solisyon patnè-m nan bay la . 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0
78. Patnè-m nan dakò eseye solisyon ke-m bay la 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

Appendix F2

BACKTRANSLATION OF CTS2

Even though two people who get married or live together get along well, there are times when they will disagree on issues, one might annoy the other, they might have arguments or fights because one is in a bad mood, tired, or for some other reason. Couples may have many other ways to settle their disputes. Here is a list of things that might happen when you have differences of opinion. Please indicate how many times you did each of these things in the past year, and how many times your partner did them to you by circling a number. If you or your partner did not do one of these things in the past year, but it happened before that, circle 7.

How often did this happen?

- 1 = One time in the past year
- 2 = Two times in the past year
- 3 = 3 to 5 times in the past year
- 4 = 6 to 10 times in the past year
- 5 = 11 to 20 times in the past year
- 6 = More than 20 times in the past year
- 7 = It did not happen in the past year, but has happened before
- 0 = Never happened

1. I showed my partner I cared even though we had a problem.
2. I explained to my partner my opinion on the issue.
3. I disrespected (insulted, swore at) my partner.
4. I threw something at my partner that could hurt him.
5. I twisted my partners arm or hair.
6. I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with my partner.
7. I always respect my partner's opinion even though we disagree.
8. I forced my partner to have sex without a condom.
9. I pushed and shoved my partner.
10. I used force (like hitting my partner, used a weapon, dropped my partner on the ground) to make my partner performed oral/anal sex.
11. I threatened my partner with a knife or a gun.
12. I knocked my partner unconscious with a blow to the head while we were fighting.
13. I called my partner ugly.
14. I punched my partner, or hit my partner with something that could hurt.
15. I broke all the things my partner had.
16. I consulted a doctor after a fight with my partner.
17. I tried choking my partner.
18. I shouted or yelled at my partner.
19. I shoved my partner and my partner hit the wall.
20. I told my partner that I believe we could solve the problems.

21. I needed to consult a doctor after a fight with my partner, but I did not.
22. I beat my partner.
23. I grabbed my partner.
24. I used force (i.e. hitting my partner, holding down, used a gun to make my partner have sex with me).
25. I stomped out of the room during a disagreement.
26. My partner did not want to, but I insisted and had sex with my partner; however, I did not use force.
27. I slapped my partner.
28. I had a broken bone after a fight with my partner.
29. I used threats to make my partner have oral/anal sex with me.
30. I asked for understanding when there is a problem.
31. I purposely burned my partner.
32. I insisted that my partner have oral/anal sex with me without using force.
33. I accused my partner of being a lousy lover.
34. I did something to spite my partner.
35. I threatened to hit or throw something at my partner.
36. My partner still felt physical pain the next day because of a fight we had.
37. I kicked my partner.
38. I used pressure to have sex with my partner.
39. I agreed to try a solution to a disagreement my partner suggested.

The other 39 questions state: "My partner did this to me"

Appendix G

The Revised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS2, form A)

The CTS2 items group by scale

Negotiation

Question number	Item
1	I showed my partner I cared even though we disagreed
13	Showed respect for my partner's feeling about an issue
39	Said I was sure we could work out a problem
3	Explained my side of a disagreement to my partner
59	Suggested a compromise to a disagreement
77	Agreed to try a solution to a disagreement my partner suggested

Psychological Aggression Scale Items

5	Insulted or swore at my partner
35	Shouted or yelled at my partner
49	Stomped out of the room or house or yard during a disagreement
67	Said something to spite my partner
25	Called my partner fat or ugly
29	Destroyed something belonging to my partner
65	Accused my partner of being a lousy lover
69	Threatened to hit or throw something at my partner

Physical Assault Scale Items

- 7 Threw something at my partner that could hurt
- 9 Twisted my partner's arm or hair
- 17 Pushed or shoved my partner
- 45 Grabbed my partner
- 53 Slapped my partner
- 21 Used a knife or gun on my partner
- 27 Punched or hit my partner with something that could hurt
- 33 Choked my partner
- 37 Slammed my partner against a wall
- 43 Beat up my partner
- 61 Burned or scalded my partner on purpose
- 73 Kicked my partner

Sexual Coercion Scale Item

- 15 Made my partner have sex without a condom
- 51 Insisted on sex when my partner did not want to (but did not use physical force)
- 63 Insisted my partner have oral or anal sex (but did not use physical force)
- 19 Used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have oral or anal sex

- 47 Used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have sex
- 57 Used threats to make my partner have oral or anal sex
- 75 Used threats to make my partner have sex

Injury Scale Items

- 11 Had a sprain, bruise, or small cut because of a fight with my partner
- 71 Felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with my partner
- 23 Passed out from being hit on the head by my partner in a fight
- 31 Went to a doctor because of a fight with my partner
- 41 Needed to see a doctor because of a fight with my partner, but I didn't
- 55 Had a broken bone from a fight with my partner

Appendix H

Haitian Earnings and U.S. Equivalency

<u>Earnings</u>	<u>U.S. Equivalency</u>
\$5000.00/month	\$625/month
\$4000.00/month	\$500/month
\$3000.00/month	\$375/month
\$2000.00/month	\$250/month
\$1000.00/month	\$125/month