

**NATIONAL SURVEY OF ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF  
JAMAICANS TOWARDS SAME SEX RELATIONSHIPS**

**Supported in part by a grant from  
Foundation Open Society Institute (ZUG)  
and additional support from AIDS Free World**

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**UWI, MONA**

**JANUARY 2011**

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report examines Jamaican views towards homosexuality and attempts to discover what are some possible determinants of attitudes towards homosexuality in the country. This study uses a mixed method approach driven largely by a nation poll of attitudes and perceptions. For the survey, a nationally representative sample of 1007 adults from 231 communities across Jamaica was interviewed between October and November 2010. The margin of error is approximately +/- 4%. The survey was supported by a qualitative study based on five focus groups conducted across the country between October 2010 and January 2011. Following is a summary of findings from the study.

1. It would appear that Jamaicans become aware of homosexuality at an early stage in their lives as the majority of the respondents (51%) indicated knowing about homosexuality at 14 years old and under.
2. Most Jamaicans (89%) believe that homosexuality is somewhat or very prevalent in Jamaica. Respondents also alluded to an association with this orientation and one's social class, as 66.8% felt that it was more prevalent among some social classes more than others. A significant 57.7% felt that it was most prevalent among the upper class, while 9% said it was most among the middle class and another 2% said it was most among the working class.
3. Most persons (51%) felt that homosexuality was to be found equally among males and females, however, 32% felt that it was more common among males and 11.2% stated that it was slightly more common among females.
4. With respect to the causes of homosexuality, opinions varied. Only 10% felt that persons are born as homosexuals, however 28.6% felt that it was due to environmental factors – social and cultural. The largest proportion felt that it was due to a combination of factors, suggesting the interaction of nature and nurture.
5. Most Jamaicans (56%) believe that it is not possible to be a homosexual and be religious at the same time. However, it should be noted that a significant minority

(43%) does not share this view, which perhaps suggest that the public is somewhat conflicted on the issue of homosexuality and religiosity.

6. When asked if one can be homosexual and also be a Christian, only 30% agreed with the statement.
7. Most respondents agreed that society was more accepting of female homosexuality (67.1%) and that this was the case because women can do things men cannot do whilst suffering few negative consequences. Also, female homosexuality is rarely considered to be bad or wrong (13%).
8. Most respondents (85.2%) did not think that homosexuality among consenting adults should be made legal in Jamaica.
9. In relation to male homosexuality, 82.2% deemed it to be morally wrong as opposed to 3.6% who did not see it as a moral issue. 6.2% of those polled had no opinion on the matter. As for female homosexuality, the results were similar as 75.2% felt that homosexuality was morally wrong.
10. Two homophobia scales indicate that Jamaicans have strong negative views of homosexuality, thereby ranking high on these scales.
11. Negative views of homosexuality tended to be greatest among males, non-university educated persons, those who listened mostly to dancehall and reggae music and those in lower socio-economic groups.
12. In general, the most important finding from this study is that strong negative perceptions and attitudes towards homosexuality cut across all social classes, gender and social groups in Jamaica.

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## 1. Background

Popular opinion within and outside of Jamaica is that Jamaica is a very homophobic society. *The American Heritage Dictionary* defines homophobia as the "fear of or contempt for lesbians and gay men" and "[b]ehavior based on such feelings." "The Offences Against the Person Act of the Jamaican Criminal Code" contains several sections that deal with male homosexual acts and non-gender specific anal intercourse. Article 76 stipulates that anyone committing buggery with man or animal is "liable to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for a term not exceeding 10 years." Under Article 79, any male convicted of "any act of gross indecency with another male person" is liable to receive a maximum sentence not exceeding 2 years, 'with or without hard labour.'" (Carr and White, 2005, p.6). Unlike other colonial-era legislation that exists without societal support, the "buggery law" is strongly supported by the Jamaican people. A poll in **The Daily Gleaner**, conducted in 2001, showed that 90% of the population was strongly opposed to removing this legislation. However, there has never been a comprehensive polling of Jamaicans on homosexuality. Therefore, this study is the first national study to focus on attitudes and perceptions of Jamaicans toward same sex relationships.

A review of North American literature on attitudes towards same sex relationships reveal that a number of variables play a critical role. The variables that appear to influence attitudes towards same sex relationships include: peoples' religious views, social class, education and gender. Persons who are less religious, of a higher social economic status and are more educated have more liberal views of homosexuality. In addition, females generally have more liberal views than males. In Jamaica, given the debate surrounding the role of music in the determining attitude, we also include 'type of music listened to most' as an additional variable.

In Jamaica, it may be argued that attitudes towards homosexuality are affected by a number of additional factors, among them the views of opinion makers and politicians. For example, during the 2001 general elections, the Jamaican Labour Party used the popular dancehall song "Chi Chi Man," which celebrates killing gay men as its theme song (Human

Rights Watch, 2004). More recently, the current Prime Minister, Mr. Bruce Golding responded to the question on whether gays could serve in the government with “Sure, they can be in the Cabinet but not in my Cabinet” (Luton, 2009, p.1).

Beyond the legal and political discrimination, homosexuals in Jamaica face severe discrimination that often leads to violence and even death from members of the public. The United Kingdom based *The Observer* reported that over the span of five years, over 30 gay men were killed in Jamaica. Reports of beatings and other kinds of violence have been more constant. A recent report by Human Rights Watch reports of:

“Violent acts against men who have sex with men are commonplace in Jamaica. Verbal and physical violence, ranging from beatings to brutal armed attacks to murder, are widespread. For many, there is no sanctuary from such abuse. Men who have sex with men and women who have sex with women reported being driven from their homes and their towns by neighbours who threatened to kill them if they remained, forcing them to abandon their possessions and leaving many homeless” (Human Rights Watch, 2004, p.4)

One of the most harrowing cases of homophobic violence was the prison riot of 1997, which erupted when the head of the Jamaica Correctional Services proposed that condoms be distributed in the male prisons. In the riot, seventeen male inmates were murdered because it was alleged that they were homosexual, in full view of wardens who stood close by (Williams, 2000).

The basis for the strong homophobic attitudes that are displayed in Jamaica have been explored by different researchers. Gutzmore (2004, p.8) presents the largest number of what he calls “homophobic ideological imperatives,” which he divides into primary and secondary imperatives. The primary imperatives are “the religious fundamentalist anti-homosexuality” imperative and “the ‘unnaturalness’ of homosexuality” and the secondary imperatives are “the purity and authenticity of a primordially homosexuality-free global African culture,” “the imperative to protect vulnerable youth from homosexuality, as conflated with paedophilia” and “the imperative of the illegality of homosexuality.”

He shows that religious fundamentalists use the Bible to denounce homosexuality by pointing to the fact that “God, throughout His book, variously declares homosexuality to be an ‘abomination’ (Ezekiel 16: 50), a ‘vile affection’ (Romans 1: 26, 27), ‘unseemly’ (Romans 1: 27), ‘not natural’ (Romans 1: 26, 27), a form of ungodliness (Titus 2: 12)” (Gutzmore, 2004, p. 10). Therefore, those who commit this sin have to be punished by God. One of the terms that is regularly used to describe this violence against homosexuals is “batty judgments” (Carr and White, 2005). Carr (2003) theorizes that the biblical roots of these judgments may have their roots in 19<sup>th</sup> century evangelism after emancipation, showing the pervasive religious influence on homophobia.

The second primary imperative that homosexuality is simply “unnatural” is also a popular perception in Jamaican society with the foundation that sex is for procreation purposes and thus sexual acts that could not lead to procreation are perverse. The other imperative that is commonly used to justify homophobia is the conflation of homosexuality with paedophilia. Gutzmore (2004, p. 15) explains that “the foundational assumption of this imperative is that homosexuality, especially in its male form, involves a strongly predatory paedophile tendency which is put into practice against innocent and powerless young people at every opportunity.” On the other hand, young men are strongly encouraged to engage in heterosexual sex from a young age to develop their sense of masculinity, to which homosexuality presents a challenge (Chevannes, 2004).

Anderson et al (2009) discusses homophobic attitudes within Herek’s theoretical framework of heterosexism, which he defines as an ‘ideological system that denies, denigrates and stigmatises any non-heterosexual behaviour, identity, relationship or community.’ Agreeing with two of Gutzmore’s imperatives, Anderson posits that heterosexism is fuelled by religious beliefs and the “belief that the Black identity should exclude homosexuality” (p.3). She found that even several of her gay research participants had internalized the argument of religious condemnation and believed that Christianity and homosexuality were irreconcilable.

King (2006) expands on the perception of homosexuality as racial conflict as presented by Anderson and Gutzmore, which she terms “homosexuality as cultural imperialism” in her



study on homophobia in Jamaica. She found that in exploring the explanations given for homophobia, the perception that “homosexuality is a white perversion that has been imposed upon African people” (p.26) came up repeatedly. Most of her respondents believed that homosexuality did not exist in pre-colonial Africa and that it was introduced during slavery and further denigrated people of African descent as it was a reminder of 400 years of sexual exploitation.

The strong homophobia that exists in the country has myriad effects, the most hazardous of which is its impact on the transmission and treatment of HIV/AIDS. Royes (2003) found that homophobia leads to denial on the part of some homosexual men who define themselves as heterosexual, while continuing to have sex with men, often unprotected, which places the MSM population at high risk to HIV/AIDS. Homophobic attitudes also pervade the health care system and many HIV positive MSM are discriminated against, especially in the public health care system. Fear of discrimination deters a large portion of the population from even seeking health care, which further compounds the problem (Human Rights Watch, 2004). For all these reasons, it is important to get a greater sense of how Jamaicans feel about homosexuality, beyond the anecdotal evidence, for it is only by cataloguing and understanding these views that we are able to contribute to a much more enlightened discourse on the matter.

## **2. Objectives**

The main objectives of this study are to examine Jamaican views towards homosexuality and highlight what are some possible determinants of attitudes towards homosexuality in the country. The study employs two homophobia scales and focus groups in an attempt to achieve these objectives.

## **3. Methodology**

This study uses a mixed method approach driven largely by the quantitative data – that is, a QUANT-QUAL approach. For the survey, a nationally representative sample 1007 adults (18 years and over) from 231 communities across Jamaica was interviewed between October and November 2010 . The margin of error is approximately +/- 4%. The survey

was supported by a qualitative study based on five focus groups conducted across the country between October 2010 and January 2011.

### *3.1 Demographic profiles of FGDs*

For the first FGD, all of the participant university students were between the ages of 19-22 years. In total there were 8 participants with 5 females and 3 males. Although they all attended university they hailed from various geographical locations in the country. These included mainly inner city communities and rural communities.

The second FGD was comprised 10 male participants only. They were from an urban, inner-city community in Central Kingston. They were between the ages of 18- 31 years. Five of the participants finished secondary level education while the others did not, most stopping at the 10<sup>th</sup> grade (or 4<sup>th</sup> form) level. One of the participants had a cook shop, 2 had jobs, 1 was enrolled in a post secondary level institution (HEART programme) and the others were unemployed.

The third FGD comprised 5 participants, all of whom were professionals and included a teacher, 2 managers, and an administrative assistant. Of the 5 participants, 4 had a first degree and 3 had Masters level qualifications. They included 2 males and 4 females between the ages of 28 -40 years.

The fourth FGD was a mixed inner-city group with 6 participants, 3 males and 3 females. Two female participants were unemployed, the other female participant was employed, 1 male participant was retired, another male participant was employed and the other male participant depended on seasonal work. The participants ranged from 24 to 60 years.

The fifth FGD was a mixed religious/Christian group. The age range was from 26 to 67 years. Three of the participants (1 male and 2 females) were employed part time and the other participants were employed full time.

### *3.2. Measuring Attitudes*

An attitude is a construct that reflects how people feel about something. Attitudes exist along a continuum of positive to negative, although some attitudes may reflect the fact that a person is conflicted or ambivalent about an issue, person or thing. Attitudes comprise what a person thinks, what a person does, and what a person feels. Hence we are concerned with cognition, affect and behavior.

Measuring attitudes is a highly developed area of social sciences and often employs complex techniques such as scales and indices. This survey draws on two scales that have been developed for studying attitudes towards homosexuality, the Wright, Adams and Bernat 1996 homophobia scale and the Riddle 1994 homophobia scale. Dr Henry Adams and his colleagues at the University of Georgia developed their scale based upon modifications of other scales. In the study we modified the Wright et al scale and also triangulated with the Riddle Scale.

### *3.3 Measuring Perceptions*

Perception refers to the process by which people acquire, interpret, select and organize information. Perceptions depend on the five senses and are based on past experiences and socialization. They may or may not reflect the reality. In this study, a number of questions have been asked to elicit respondents' perceptions of a number of issues related to homosexuality.

### *3.4 Measuring Knowledge*

Part of the objective of this study was to investigate what Jamaicans know about various aspects of same sex relationships and interrogate how they acquired this knowledge. A number of questions geared towards ascertaining what people know about various issues associated with same sex relationships were included in the survey.

### *3.5 Limitations of survey*

Conducting surveys on sensitive topics often results in respondents not revealing their true feelings on a number of issues. Given the sensitivity of the topic of homosexuality in

the Jamaican society, we anticipated that there might be reluctance in answering various types of questions and in some cases the tendency to not tell the truth – the problem of social desirability bias. To address the potential problem, in piloting the study, we were able to make adjustments to compensate for some sources of invalidity. We found that mature female interviewers with significant interviewing experience elicited better responses in the field. Consequently, the interviewers were largely experienced, mature females. While we cannot guarantee the absence of social desirability bias in the results, we believe that we were able to reduce it significantly.

### *3.6 Field work Challenges*

There were some challenges that sought to impede the process of gathering worthwhile information for the subject being investigated. It became progressively more difficult to organize the FGDs not only because of logistical issues as perhaps is a normal functionality, but more importantly because of the topic that was up for discussion. Many of the potential participants upon hearing of the topic were less than eager and some very adamant that they wanted no part of any discussion with homophobia and homosexuality as the headline. This was especially more pronounced in the attempts to organize the rural groups as the first few attempts to get the FGDs together were unsuccessful, mainly because of the topic under investigation.

## **4. FINDINGS**

### *4.1 The Sample*

The data from this study were collected from a representative sample across the island. These 1007 participants were both male (49%) and female (51%). The ages of the respondents ranged from 18-84 years old.

As illustrated in Tables 1 & 2 below, most of the respondents attend church or other religious activities, with the majority attending these activities two to three times a year.

Table 1: Attendance at Church or other religious activities (n=2007)

<b>Attendance</b>	<b>Percentages (%)</b>
Yes	81.8
No	18.2

Table 2: Frequency of Church and Religious activity Attendance (n=2007)

<b>Frequency of Attendance</b>	<b>Percentages (%)</b>
Every week	27.6
Every Month	29.5
Two to three times a year	32.6
Every year	5.1
Less than Once per year	5.1

Given the debate in Jamaica about the possible impact of musical preference on views about homosexuality, this variable was included in the survey. As Table 3 below shows, the majority of the respondents listened to a variety of musical genres with no clear preference for one type.

Table 3: Music Preferences of Respondents

<b>Musical preferences</b>	<b>Percentages (%)</b>
Reggae	19.9
Dancehall	12.0
Hip Hop/Rap	5.3
R&B	15.2
Soca/Calypso	.9

Rock/Alternative	1.9
Gospel	15.8
Old hits	.8
Jazz	.1
Country	.1
Listen to all about the same	28.1

In relation to the employment status of those polled, 77.5% were employed, with the majority of respondents being office/clerical workers. Table 4 gives the distribution of the types of employment of the respondents.

Table 4: Occupations of Respondents

Occupations	Percentages (%)
Clerical, Office Worker	13.2
Other type of work	12.9
Tradesman, Skilled Worker	12.4
Business Person	11
Unskilled Worker, Labourer	9.6
Professional	9.3
Higgler, Vendor	5.2
Manager, Supervisor	5.2
Respondent has never been employed	5.2
Teacher	5.1
Shopkeeper	3.5
Juggling, Hustling	3.4
Farmer	3.2
Farm Worker	.7

The education of respondents ranged from no formal education to graduate degrees. However, almost a third of the respondents (31.2%) indicated that they had completed secondary education and just over 18% had some type of tertiary education.

In terms of social class distribution, more than half (51%) were classified as lower/working class, and one third said they earned between \$20,000 and \$70,000 per month.

## 4.2 Knowledge, Perceptions and Attitudes

Information on same sex relationships was analyzed under four major categories: **knowledge, perceptions and general and specific attitudes.**

### *4.2.1 Knowledge and Definitions Homosexuality*

In relation to knowledge, respondents were asked if they were aware of common terms associated with same sex relationships. The results revealed that 99.1% were aware of the term “lesbian”, 98.7% the term “gay”, 98.1% of the respondents were aware of the term “homosexual” and 92.6% were aware of the term “bisexual.” Respondents were least aware of the term “transsexual” as 23.5% had no idea what the term meant. When asked how they became aware of homosexuality, the results revealed that most respondents became aware of homosexuality largely due to contact with friends and family (32.9 %) as well as information from the media (31.3%). Other formal agents of socialization such as the school and the church were also identified as places of primary awareness. Informally, interaction on the streets was also identified as a medium of how people became aware of homosexuality. Table 5 and Chart 1 provide the results for each area of awareness.

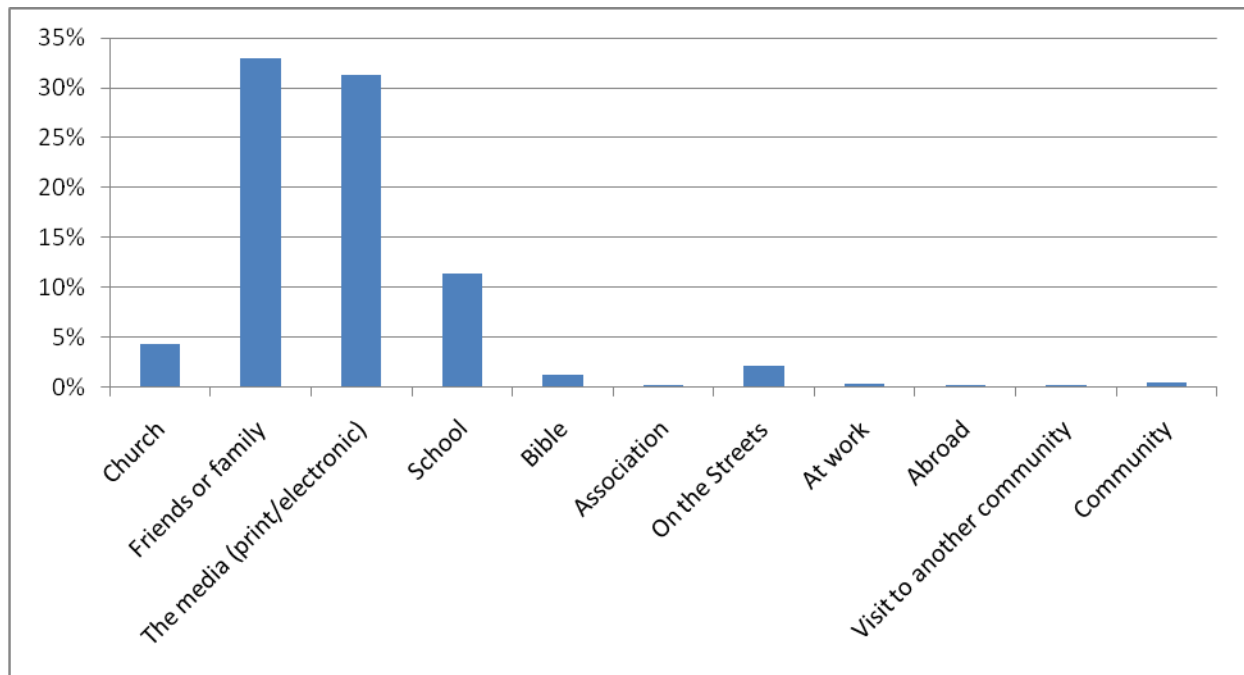
Table 5: Sources of first awareness of homosexuality

<b>Source of awareness</b>	<b>Percentages (%)</b>
Friends/Family	32.9
Media(print/electronic)	31.3
School	11.4
Church	4.3
On the streets	2.1
Bible	1.2

It would appear that Jamaicans become aware of homosexuality at an early stage in their lives as the majority of the respondents (51%) indicated knowing about homosexuality at 14 years old and under. Regardless of the initial exposure to homosexuality, there were varying results as to what constituted homosexuality. The majority of the respondents (73%) said that homosexuality meant sexual intercourse with members of the same



Chart 1: Sources of first awareness of homosexuality



sex. However, a significant percentage of respondents felt that homosexuality was only in reference to males, as 21.6% agreed that males who had intercourse with other men solely were homosexual. Other notable definitions of homosexuality can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6: Definitions of Homosexuality

Definition	Percentages (%)
Same sex/gender having sexual intercourse	73.0
Interest/feelings/attraction to the same sex	4.8
Battyman	3.2
Gay persons	2.2
Ungodly	1.2

#### 4.2.2 How prevalent is Homosexuality?

It would seem that most Jamaicans (89%) believe that homosexuality is somewhat or very prevalent in Jamaica. Respondents also alluded to an association with this lifestyle and

one's social class, as 66.8% felt that it was more prevalent among some social classes than others. A significant 57.7% felt that it was most prevalent among the upper class, while 9% said it was most among the middle class and another 2% said it was most among the working class.

Most persons (51%) felt that it was to be found equally among males and females, however, 32% felt that it was more common among males and 11.2% stated that it was slightly more common among females.

Part of the reason for the perception that homosexuality is on the increase in Jamaica may perhaps be based on the fact that many Jamaicans are exposed to it on cable television. In other words many appear to be more aware of it or to hear more about it by virtue of watching the television. In one focus group there seemed to be a consensus regarding the perception of males wanting to be a part of the 'hype culture'. As a consequence of this overwhelming need to be a part of the 'hype culture,' the perception is that males will do anything thing to stay in style. According to the participants, in the quest for the 'hype' some of the youths mix with the wrong crowd and are re-socialised in this new life style and culture which comes at a high price. One respondent noted that it is the *"media and globalization.... You turn on the TV you see male and male having sex together likewise female and female having sex. Persons are more open with their views now."*

The religious group participants pointed to the media as one of the main "perpetrators" encouraging "the sin" and they noted that the type of programming leaves a lot to be desired, and is partially responsible for corrupting the minds of the young and impressionable. Some of the programmes, they argued, occupy prime time slots and are heavily promoted at various times, which makes it difficult for parents 'to parent' effectively. Some examples given in this regard include: Frasier (a comedy), Spartacus (television show) and Brokeback Mountain (movie).

Another reason that emerged based in the focus groups has to do with the perception that many young men turn to a 'homosexual lifestyle' for economic reasons. The focus groups revealed that even though a variety of responses were given as to what predisposes individuals to homosexuality, one of the main responses centered on the notion that

individuals who are homosexuals engage in this practice largely for the financial benefits that can be derived. Many respondents believe that individuals are not born homosexual but because of material possessions many young men “*sell out*” (*give up/in*) to a large extent and turn to homosexuality. In other words, because of poverty many youths, “hard core” included (even the ‘*shottas*’ and men that on the surface appear straight), in an effort to gain social mobility, have access to the finer things in life and in some cases for sheer survival, will allow older more established men (“*di big man*”) to entrap them into homosexuality because of the benefits these wealthy men can offer. One of the participants opined: “*People seem to be getting involved because of the benefits. I don’t think most people are attracted to same sex.... And it’s the poor guys from the ghetto that do it with men from uptown. So I don’t think there is attraction and remember that you don’t have to be aroused to do some sex...*” Furthermore, respondents noted that individuals who are ‘gay’ were not properly socialized by parents and others. Therefore, part of the problem of homophobia in Jamaica is linked to the economics and social class, where many perceive that inequality leads to the poor being exploited by the rich.

A number of participants noted that they were genuinely fearful of the seemingly increased levels of homosexuality in the Jamaican society. They noted that some of these persons were in very influential and prestigious positions and had economic and political power and could change laws to make homosexuality legal. They were also very fearful of the external influences that they argue are having a significant impact on the society and the young men in particular, “leading many to change their sexual orientation.” They again brought up the mass media which they believed is the main conduit through which this diffusion and change in societal norms and values are occurring.

Additionally, respondents from the all-male group were concerned that homosexuality was becoming prevalent in inner city communities. They noted that they know that some ‘*top shottas*’ have already ‘*sold out*’. They again reiterated that this unfortunate state of affairs was due to poverty to some extent, but also laziness. They argued that many did not want to work hard to gain the material possessions that so many youths desire, instead they look for the easy way out, which in some respondents’ views was homosexuality. Some used themselves as examples and pointed to livelihood activities that they have developed in an

effort to show that they are willing to work hard for that they want. Some examples include starting drinks stalls, cook shops, grocery shops and continuing education.

#### *4.2.3 Nature or Nurture*

With respect to the causes of homosexuality, opinions were fairly varied (Table 7). Only 10% felt that persons are born as homosexuals, however 28.6% felt that it was due to environmental factors – social and cultural. The largest proportion (35%) felt that it was due to a combination of factors, suggesting the interaction of nature and nurture.

Table 7: Causes of Homosexuality

<b>Causes of homosexuality</b>	<b>%</b>
Born with/Genes	9.8
Upbringing (Socialization)	14.3
Environment (Social and cultural world)	28.6
Combination (All of the above)	35.0

When asked if homosexuals can be made to change their orientation through therapy or other professional treatment, 47% agreed with the statement while 27% stated that it was not possible. Why did the 47% think that it was possible to change? Reasons include: everyone can change, it's was a state of mind, it's natural for a man to be with a woman, and, 'they need God' (Table 8).

Table 8: Reasons why it is possible for homosexuals to change

<b>Reasons why homosexuals can change</b>	<b>%</b>
Everyone can change	30.0
It's a state of mind/ It's within their mind	8.4
It's natural for man to be with woman so therapy can help	3.0
They need God to help them	2.5
There is evidence to show that it works/ it will disclose reason for behavior	1.2
Depends on a number of things	1.2

Reasons for disagreeing are equally interesting and include the following:

- They cannot change (12.0%)
- Their bodies will never be the same again (1.8%)

#### *4.2.4 Religion and Homosexuality*

Most Jamaicans (56.4%) believe that it is not possible to be a homosexual and be religious at the same time (Table 9). However, it should be noted that a significant minority does not share this view. A large 43% felt otherwise, which perhaps suggest that the public is somewhat conflicted on the issue of homosexuality and religiosity. However, when asked if one can be homosexual and also be Christian, only 30% agreed with the statement.

Table 9: Religion and Homosexuality

<b>Can one be a homosexual and be religious?</b>	<b>Percentages (%)</b>
Yes	43.6
No	56.4
<b>Can one be homosexual and Christian ?</b>	<b>%</b>

Yes	29.7
No	61.0

The main reason for this stance is that it is considered a sin and contradicts the teaching of the Bible (41.5%). Other reasons include:

- It's just not right / It's just a sin (41.6)
- They have to repent (5.7%)
- God destroyed a city because of it already (5.2%)
- God does not accept it in heaven (5.0%)

Much of research on homophobia shows that there is a positive relationship between religiosity and homophobia. This relationship was evidenced in the foregoing comments and was also borne out in the focus groups. In all of the focus groups, the main basis for opposing homosexuality was because it was seen as sinful or going against the laws of the Bible.

Participants in the religious/Christian group were extremely concerned about what they perceived to be the decaying moral fabric of society which in their view is epitomized in the growth of homosexuality in Jamaica. They believe that this is an indication of the devil growing stronger and making significant inroads in the Jamaican society and the world at large. They warned that these are the signs of the times and that any encouragement of this ungodly and unchristian act should be frowned upon, discouraged and the sinners should be helped. The agitated body language (including finger pointing), firm (and what seemed to be disgusted) facial expressions and very serious and (at times) very elevated voices sought to drive home their personal feelings and biblical teachings. It was that homosexuality is wrong and is against what God wants for his servants on earth. It is a sin. They were very clear when expressing their views on homosexuality; they believed that they were sinners, but not different from any other types of sinners. Therefore, the collective expressed the view that if these 'sinners' are shown the way they can be 'saved.'

Most of the respondents sought to rationalize their response by positing that homosexuality was wrong in the eyes of the God. They pointed to the Bible, Christianity and the fact that it went against the natural reproductive process and order of things. Thus, for these reasons homosexuality could not itself be rational. They noted that *"God did not make Adam and Steve but Adam and Eve."* It is the belief that this is the main rationale for their very firm and grounded belief on the issue. Some participants opined: *"I don't think homosexual behavior is right, growing up as a Christian. The Bible goes against it. Male in male cannot reproduce and female and female cannot reproduce so it makes no sense."* Another noted: *"I think its wrong ... my belief it's in the Bible that it displeases God."* Also, the Bible says it is wrong and that's the only basis I go off ... personally, I am disgusted. I don't like it at all." While both the males and females had a high level of contempt towards homosexuality, the males felt more strongly about the issues. There was negative chanting of 'no!' and they got very loud and irate in their expressions of how they felt towards homosexuality. This was especially more pronounced when a scenario was presented to them. The strong negative response was no different in the professional, mixed inner-city group and Christian groups. Comments such as: *"it cannot continue on its [homosexuality] own, cannot generate children....gays and the lesbians too should be put on an island by themselves."* Another opined: *"if you not carrying out the work of the Lord....it is bad.....tell them about the Bible."* Some male members of the professional group expressed similar sentiments and specific chapters of the Bible were even quoted. One male participant made the point that it was not just homosexuality alone that he had grave concerns about but other sexual sins that are also frowned on in society. He opined: *"A homosexual who has a wife and a private (homosexual) life is no worse than a man with many women. However, the deception will hurt the wife more because the cheating is done with a man. Leviticus Chapter 18 speaks to a variety of sexual sins. It speaks about incest having sex with animals etc. so it not just homosexuality that I am against it is all the sexuality it just the morals."*

These results clearly indicate that religion plays a significant role in determining how people feel about homosexuality. As Table 2 shows almost 60% of Jamaicans say they attend church at least once per month, and almost 90% two to three times per year. This

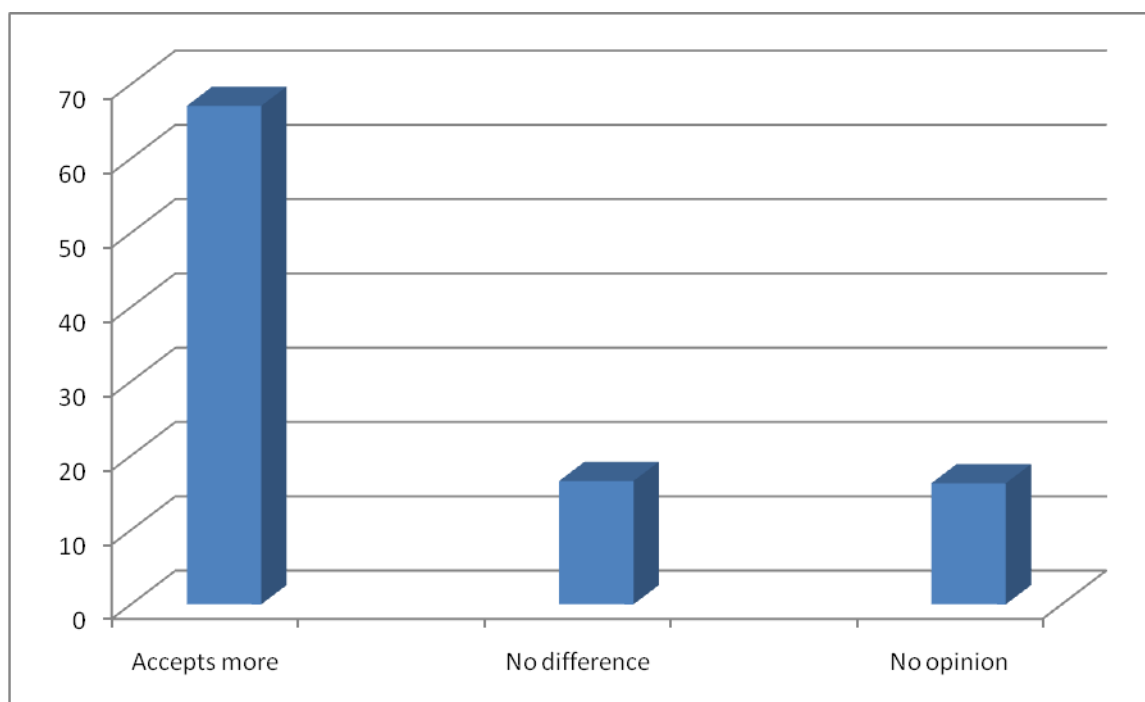
situation may in part explain why about 10% (Table 7) of those interviewed see homosexuality as being caused by nature rather than by nurture.

#### *4.2.5 Gender and Homosexuality*

There has long been a debate as to whether there is some gender bias in society in relation to accepting homosexuality. Is society more accepting of female homosexuality than it is of male homosexuality? When asked, most respondents agreed that society was more accepting of female homosexuality (67.1%) and that this was the case because women can do things men cannot do while suffering little consequences (Chart 2). Also, female homosexuality is rarely considered to be bad or wrong (13%). Other significant responses were general such as, people regarded both situations differently (7%) whereas another alluded to the fact that there is no difference in the reaction towards homosexuals regardless of gender (7%). A significant percentage (49%) of respondents felt that homosexuals do experience genuine love and affection in their intimate relationships, while 21% said that they did not. The others did not know or refused to answer the question.

Chart 2: Is society more accepting of female homosexuality than male homosexuality?





#### 4.2.6 Legalisation and Morality of Homosexuality

Despite the foregoing responses, most respondents (85.2%) did not think that homosexuality among consenting adults should be made legal in Jamaica (Table 10).

Table 10: Should homosexuality be legal among consenting adults?

Legalization of Homosexuality	Percentages (%)
Should be legal	6.2
Should not be legal	85.2
No opinion/no response	8.6

The issue of morality and legality of homosexuality seems to be closely related in the minds of the respondents. In relation to male homosexuality, 82.2% deemed it to be morally wrong as opposed to 3.6% who did not see it as a moral issue. 6.2% of those polled had no

opinion on the matter. As for female homosexuality, the results were similar as 75.2% saw this orientation as morally wrong. However 10.4% argued that it depends on the situation that caused their homosexuality in order to determine if it was a moral issue. The percentage of those who had no opinion on the matter was similar to that of male homosexuality at 6.3%. As for bisexual relationships, 75.3% saw this as morally wrong with 8.5% saying that it depended on the situation and 5.2% that it was not a moral issue.

Sexual experiences which involve experimentation with homosexual acts were also examined. The results revealed that people generally disagreed with such actions. 85.0% of the respondents disagreed with the practice of anal sex between a man and a woman, 78.2% felt it was inappropriate for a woman to be having intercourse with two men at the same time and 60.3% disagreed with the practice of a man having sex with two women at the same time.

The objections to legalization of homosexuality were again defended on religious grounds and the need to protect Jamaica society from changing its cultural practices for the worse. These sentiments were reflected in the focus groups where participants were asked to be as objective as possible and take a futuristic look at the issue at hand, considering also that we currently operate in an era where human rights for all are encouraged and discrimination against various groups is discouraged. Respondents were generally adamant that same sex relationships should not be allowed to have same privileges as regular people for fear that it may be misconstrued as good or a sign of encouragement. It was made very clear in a very firm way [with strong emotions e.g. raised tones and the strong body language] that they were against things such as awarding same sex couples the same rights as heterosexual couples and allowing them to raise children as a family. Questions arose such as: who would be called mom and who would be the dad? Wouldn't that be confusing to the child? Would that be a healthy environment for the child to grow up in? Wouldn't that be encouraging a young innocent child to become gay? How would the cycle of procreation continue?

They did note that some tolerance had to be part of the changing society, as they conceded that homosexuality was bigger than them. One respondent opined: *"have to be more*

*tolerant because dem inna di system, bank, hospital, pharmacy, work wid dem.*" Noteworthy was the opinion of a participant from the professional group who stated that homosexuality has always been a part of society throughout history and meted with agreement and contempt at varying intervals, thus, this newer dispensation is perhaps a part of the ongoing cycle, which is underscored by powerful individuals who have considerable influence in the Jamaican society and the rest of the world who are pushing for laws that favour homosexuality to suit their own agendas. He stated "*..... Wanting to create laws to facilitate this is only a smoke screen. What appears to be new we have gone through already at some point in history. The Greeks confronted this and have silently accepted homosexuality. Romans captured Greece and this still continued.*"

Most participants lamented that the ordinary citizenry was very concerned about what the Jamaican society would be like in another 10 to 20 years as it was becoming increasingly obvious that they were powerless to the ongoing shift in the culture and to who wields the power and influence. In essence, homosexuals were taking over and there was not much anyone could do to stop them. The participants were also very firm and clear with their calls on government to not allow them legitimacy through legalizing same sex relationships or any sort of homosexual activities. One noted: "*it gonna get worst in 10 to 20 years without fear....government should not give them rights.*" Other participants were very concerned about the type of societal influence that any legitimate endorsement would have on the children and the youths that constitute the next generation. One of participants (a mother) noted, "*Mi don't want dem legalise it [homosexuality] cause mi want my grand [grandchildren] to live a normal life...cause [homosexuality] is not right.*" It was very clear from all the participants in the varying groups that they did not see a very positive future as it related to type of society that Jamaica and by extension the world at large would evolve into if same sex relationships were to become more pronounced and legitimized. The inner-city groups expressed these sentiments with the most venom and the religious group was seemingly disturbed and viewed this as a negative indication that the devil was making strong in-roads in the country.

#### 4.3 General Attitudes Towards Homosexuality

In this section we examine general attitudes toward same sex relationships/homosexuality. These questions were adapted from a number of studies that examine attitudes toward homosexuality. These questions examine attitudes in a variety of situations, including: work settings, social settings, and interactions with professionals, family members and friends. Table 11 shows the results of each question with the mean responses, with Likert scale values: **1= strongly agree, 2= agree, 3=neither agree nor disagree 4= disagree and 5= strongly disagree**, below. These results show strong negative attitudes towards homosexuality and homosexuals.

Table 11: Attitudes towards homosexuality

Question	Mean n=1007
I would feel comfortable working closely with a male homosexual.	4
I would enjoy attending social functions at which homosexuals were present.	4
I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my neighbor was a homosexual	3
If a member of my sex made a sexual advance toward me, I would feel angry.	2
I would feel comfortable knowing that I was attractive to members of my sex.	4
I would feel comfortable being seen in a homosexual bar	4
I would feel comfortable if a member of my sex made an advance toward me.	4
I would feel comfortable if I found myself attracted to a member of my sex	4
I would feel disappointed if I learned that my child was homosexual	2
I would feel nervous being in a group of homosexuals.	2

I would feel comfortable knowing that my Pastor was homosexual	4
I would be upset if I learned that my brother or sister was homosexual	2
I would feel that I had failed as a parent if I learned that my child was a homosexual.	2
If I saw two men holding hands in public I would feel disgusted.	2
If a member of my sex made an advance towards me I would feel offended	4
I would feel comfortable if I learned that my daughter's teacher was a lesbian.	2
I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my spouse or partner was attracted to members of his or her sex.	2
I would feel at ease talking to a homosexual person at a party.	3
I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my boss was homosexual	2
It would disturb me to find out that my doctor was homosexual.	2
I would feel comfortable if I learned that my best friend of my sex was homosexual.	4
If a member of my sex made an advance toward me I would feel flattered	4
I would feel uncomfortable knowing that my son's male teacher was homosexual.	2
I would feel comfortable working closely with a female homosexual	3

The generally negative attitudes were reflected in the focus groups which showed strong resentment by males in particular towards relatives who 'come out of the closet'. This resentment is based on the fact that that relative would reflect on them negatively.

Respondents were given the following scenario and asked to respond: "What if you were to uncover that a close friend and or family member was a homosexual. What would you do? Suppose it is your father or someone who you look up to and all of a sudden he/she is coming out of the closet? Would you treat him or her any differently because of this new found knowledge, despite the closeness that was there before?"

All of the respondents conceded that this new found knowledge would have taken them by surprise and admittedly they would be confused especially because it was someone close to them that they trusted. The overwhelming view was that they would feel '*betrayed*' and hurt as the trust would be shattered and that the relationship would never be the same again. The somber tones and the horrified and sad facial expressions corroborated the statements. Many of the respondents noted firmly that they would no longer want to continue the relationship. One respondent stated: *"I would stay away from them big time because I'm in this house comfortable with this person and all of a sudden I realize that this person is homosexual and I'm walking around ostracizing people and then my family member is. Trust me it would hurt."*

The males from the all male group, noted that whether family or friend that would be the end of the relationship. A number of them also made reference to possible violence against them (mostly the friends). One male respondent noted: *"stop deal wid him nuff a dem we have"* [referring to an uncle].

When a similar question was posed to the respondents as it related to the workplace their responses were mixed. While they were against homosexuality they recognized that perhaps they could not hold a hard line in the workplace, school and other places in respect of their personal views. However, some were even more venomous and violent in their comments, while others noted that they do not care. One respondent noted: *"I would go of course because I am going to work my money I don't care about them, what they do don't affect me."* Another participant noted: *"I would go to school or work with a homosexual*

*individual because as I said what they do in their personal lives don't have anything to do with me just like what I do in mine has nothing to do with them. So working with someone I know is homosexual wouldn't be different from working with someone I know was heterosexual. I would even be friends with that person just as long as they don't cross that line."* Another participant noted: *"if I knew a colleague of mine is gay, I'll be skeptical around him. [Why?] for one he is a guy and I won't be comfortable around them. (Interviewer: Why wouldn't you be comfortable?) Because he is attracted to males and I am a guy I don't want him to push his homosexuality on me, sometimes they try to convert people but if it is my boss now it's another story I just have to tolerate it as long as he doesn't try to pull anything or else I'll just go somewhere else."*

However, some responses were even more venomous and violent compared to the others noted earlier. The following were opined by a members of the all-male group. One respondent noted: *"meet him at a particular place den stab him up no matter the consequences."* Another noted: *"Probably mi woulda knock him out. Public him cudda reach."*

#### *4.4 The Modified Wright, Adams and Bernat Scale*

Drawing on the Wright, Adams and Bernat homophobia scale, an instrument was developed for Jamaica. Respondents were asked express their thoughts, feelings and behaviours regarding same sex relationships. Using the Likert Scale response values of 1= **strongly agree**, 2= **agree**, 3=**neither agree nor disagree** 4= **disagree** and 5= **strongly disagree**, mean sores are presented in Table 12. With an overall mean of 2.3, the results indicate that, in general, Jamaicans have strong negative views about homosexuality, although most seem not to have acted on these negative perceptions. These results indicate a fairly high level of homophobia among Jamaicans.

Table 12: Adapted Homophobia scale items

Question	Mean n=1007
Homosexuals make me nervous.	3
If I discovered a friend was homosexual I would end the friendship	3
I think homosexuals should not work with children	2
I make derogatory remarks about homosexuals.	3
Marriage between homosexual individuals is acceptable.	4*
I make derogatory remarks like “faggot” or “batty man” to people I suspect are homosexual.	3
It matters to me whether my friends are homosexual or not homosexual.	2
It would upset me if I learned that a close friend was a homosexual	2
Homosexuality is immoral	2
Homosexuality is a sin.	2
I tease and make jokes about homosexuals.	3
Society should recognize homosexuality as normal	4*
I feel that you can trust a person who is homosexual.	3*
I fear homosexual persons will make sexual advances towards me	3
Organizations which promote homosexual	3



rights are not necessary.	
I have damaged property of a homosexual person.	4
I would feel uncomfortable having a homosexual roommate.	2
I would hit a homosexual for coming on to me.	2
Homosexual behavior should be against the law.	2
I avoid homosexuals.	2
It bothers me to see two homosexual people together in public.	2
When I see a homosexual I think: "What a waste."	2
When I meet someone, I try to find out if he/she is a homosexual.	3

#### 4.5 Riddle Homophobia Scale

Using the Riddle Homophobia scale, respondents were asked to identify a word from a list provided, that best described their view of homosexuals. 59% chose negative words, indicating generally negative attitudes towards homosexuality. Nonetheless it should be noted that 20% of respondents chose positive words such as tolerance and acceptance. As Chart 3 shows, the more positive the description the less likely respondents were willing to choose the word. These results again point to a high degree of homophobia in the Jamaican society.

It must be noted that despite what appears to be widespread fear of and dislike for homosexuals in Jamaica, many respondents readily point out that persons who are homosexual make an important contribution to the society. Most of the respondents did in fact believe that homosexuals were and can be productive members of society. They

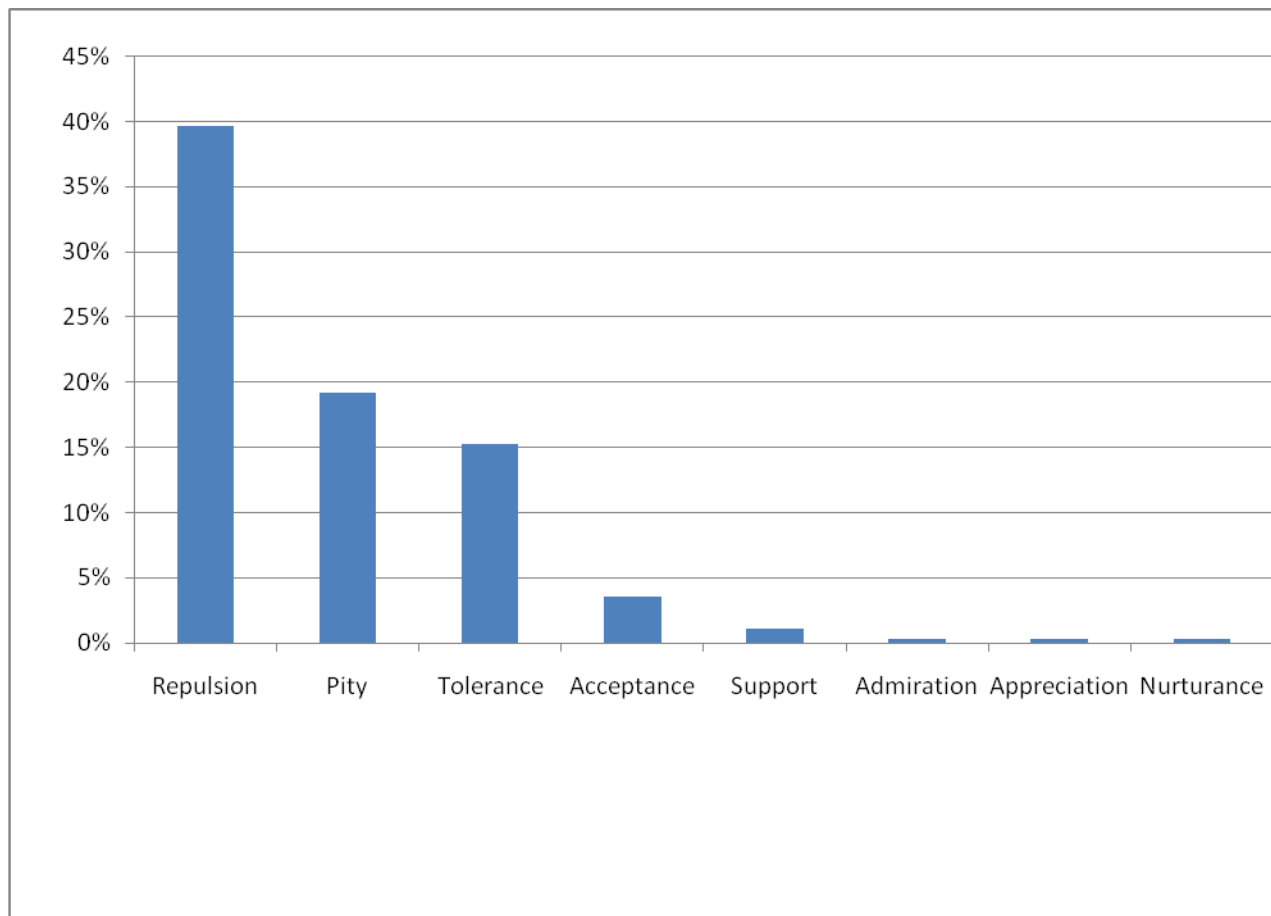
conceded, on some level, that many of the ‘guys’ were otherwise ‘normal’ and that they may be indeed interacting with them every day and not know their sexual orientation. They pointed out again that many alleged known homosexuals in the Jamaican society are wealthy, established and affluent individuals that do make a positive contribution to society.

It should also be noted that while there are strong homophobic attitudes, many Jamaicans believe that homosexuality can be tolerated as long as it is done in private. The focus groups revealed that many persons felt that “the ‘guys’ should keep it in the closet”. Failing that they should always keep their distance from ‘normal people’. In essence, homosexuals should keep their same sex beliefs and relations ‘in the dark.’ This means that they should keep themselves to themselves, be very private and do not flaunt it in the public domain, so as not to make ‘regular’ people feel uncomfortable in other spaces.

Table 7: Descriptions of feelings for Homosexuals in Jamaica

<b>Description of view</b>	<b>Percentages (%)</b>
Repulsion	39.6
Pity	19.2
Tolerance	15.3
Acceptance	3.6
Support	1.1
Admiration	.3
Appreciation	.3
Nurturance	.3

Chart 3: Description of feelings for homosexuals in Jamaica



#### 4.6 Predictors of Attitudes Towards Homosexuality

In this section, we examine some of the factors that most determine attitudes towards homosexuality. The literature points to a number of variables, including: religion, gender and education. In the case of Jamaica reference is often made to the role of music, especially dancehall and reggae in shaping values and attitudes generally. To examine the impact of these variables, Chi Square tests were conducted focusing on the Riddle homophobia scale - the results from can be seen in Appendix 1. The idea here is to determine if there is a statistically significant difference ( $p < .05$ ) between the variables and variation on the Riddle Scale.

#### 4.6.1 Gender

While the results show that both men and women exhibit strong negative views towards homosexuality, these negative views are stronger among males and this difference is statistically significant. In the focus group discussions, males tended to be more vocal than females in their opposition to homosexuality.

#### 4.6.2 Education

Persons who have university education are more likely to exhibit tolerance towards homosexuals/homosexuality than non-university educated persons. This difference is statistically significant.

#### 4.6.2 Music

The results show that those who say that they mostly listen to dancehall and reggae are more likely to have negative views towards homosexuality than others who mostly listen to other types of music. It should, however, be noted that while this difference is statistically significant, strong opposition to homosexuality cuts across all musical preferences, as can be seen in Appendix 1.

#### 4.6.3 Religion

Based upon the results of the survey and focus groups there can be no doubt that religion plays a significant role in determining attitudes towards homosexuality. However, statistically speaking there is no evidence from this survey that attending church or religious activities drives anti-homosexual attitudes or behaviour. The precise role of religion in regard to attitudinal formation towards homosexuality is complex and requires further study.

#### 4.6.4 Social Class

Social class seems to play a peculiar role in determining attitudes towards homosexuality in Jamaica. Among many persons from poorer sections of the society there is a perception

that among middle and upper classes, homosexuality is practiced as lifestyle, whereas among the poor it is part of their economic survival. The results indicate that persons of lower socio-economic statuses are more likely to have negative attitudes towards homosexuality.

## **5. CONCLUSIONS**

This survey examined attitudes and perceptions of adult Jamaicans towards same sex relationships/ homosexuality. The findings reveal that Jamaicans have strong negative views of homosexuality and there is the overwhelming belief that it should not be legalized among consenting adults. The survey found about half of the adult population believed that homosexuals experience feelings of love like heterosexuals. Jamaicans are divided over whether homosexuality is as a result of nature or nurture, although one-third is of the view that it is the result of both.

The data, however, show that females and university-educated persons tend to be slightly less homophobic than others. Persons who listen to mostly to reggae and dancehall are also more likely to hold stronger negative views about homosexuality than those who say they mostly listen to other types of music. Additionally, lower socio-economic status seems to be associated with more negative views towards homosexuality. It should be emphasized that these relationships are weak and are a matter of probability. They do not mean that all members of those groups behave in the same way. It should be noted that the most important finding from this study is that strong negative perceptions and attitudes towards homosexuality cut across all social classes, gender and social groups in Jamaica.

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## APPENDIX 1

Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? \* What type of music do you listen to most? Crosstabulation

			What type of music do you listen to most?										Total	
			Reggae	Dancehall	Hip Hop/Rap	Rhythm and Blues (R&B)	Soca/Calypso	Rock/ Alternative	Listen to all about the same	Gospel	Old Hits	Jazz		Country
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships?	Repulsion	Count	93	54	12	56	1	6	88	54	3	1	0	368
		% within What type of music do you listen to most?	65.0%	62.8%	30.8%	47.5%	16.7%	35.3%	45.4%	42.9%	42.9%	100.0%	.0%	49.9%
	Pity	Count	16	12	12	29	2	1	50	45	2	0	0	169
		% within What type of music do you listen to most?	11.2%	14.0%	30.8%	24.6%	33.3%	5.9%	25.8%	35.7%	28.6%	.0%	.0%	22.9%
	Tolerance	Count	22	13	9	28	3	6	38	25	2	0	1	147
		% within What type of music do you listen to most?	15.4%	15.1%	23.1%	23.7%	50.0%	35.3%	19.6%	19.8%	28.6%	.0%	100.0%	19.9%
	Acceptance	Count	8	6	5	3	0	2	8	2	0	0	0	34
		% within What type of music do you listen to most?	5.6%	7.0%	12.8%	2.5%	.0%	11.8%	4.1%	1.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.6%
	Support	Count	3	0	1	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	11
		% within What type of music do you listen to most?	2.1%	.0%	2.6%	.8%	.0%	5.9%	2.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.5%
Admiration	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	
	% within What type of music do you listen to most?	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%	
Appreciation	Count	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	
	% within What type of music do you listen to most?	.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.9%	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%	
Nurturance	Count	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	
	% within What type of music do you listen to most?	.0%	1.2%	.0%	.8%	.0%	.0%	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%	
Total	Count	143	86	39	118	6	17	194	126	7	1	1	738	
	% within What type of music do you listen to most?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	102.596 <sup>a</sup>	70	.007
Likelihood Ratio	97.332	70	.017
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.052	1	.081
N of Valid Cases	738		

a. 65 cells (73.9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .00.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	.373	.007
Nominal	Cramer's V	.141	.007
N of Valid Cases		738	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

## Crosstabs

### Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? * Respondent's Gender	797	79.1%	210	20.9%	1007	100.0%
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? * If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	637	63.3%	370	36.7%	1007	100.0%
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? * What is your highest level of education?	773	76.8%	234	23.2%	1007	100.0%



## Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? \* Respondent's Gender

Crosstab

			Respondent's Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships?	Repulsion	Count % within Respondent's Gender	224 58.0%	171 41.6%	395 49.6%
	Pity	Count % within Respondent's Gender	82 21.2%	111 27.0%	193 24.2%
	Tolerance	Count % within Respondent's Gender	62 16.1%	91 22.1%	153 19.2%
	Acceptance	Count % within Respondent's Gender	11 2.8%	25 6.1%	36 4.5%
	Support	Count % within Respondent's Gender	3 .8%	8 1.9%	11 1.4%
	Admiration	Count % within Respondent's Gender	0 .0%	3 .7%	3 .4%
	Appreciation	Count % within Respondent's Gender	2 .5%	1 .2%	3 .4%
	Nurturance	Count % within Respondent's Gender	2 .5%	1 .2%	3 .4%
	Total	Count % within Respondent's Gender	386 100.0%	411 100.0%	797 100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.592 <sup>a</sup>	7	.000
Likelihood Ratio	29.040	7	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	16.420	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	797		

a. 6 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.45.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	.186	.000
Nominal	Cramer's V	.186	.000
N of Valid Cases		797	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? \* If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?**

**Crosstab**

			If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?					Total
			Every week	Every month	Two to three times a year	Every year	Less than once per year	
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships?	Repulsion	Count % within If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	81 44.0%	92 49.7%	104 49.8%	19 61.3%	17 60.7%	313 49.1%
	Pity	Count % within If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	67 36.4%	43 23.2%	43 20.6%	4 12.9%	6 21.4%	163 25.6%
	Tolerance	Count % within If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	31 16.8%	35 18.9%	48 23.0%	7 22.6%	3 10.7%	124 19.5%
	Acceptance	Count % within If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	5 2.7%	8 4.3%	8 3.8%	1 3.2%	1 3.6%	23 3.6%
	Support	Count % within If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	0 .0%	2 1.1%	3 1.4%	0 .0%	1 3.6%	6 .9%
	Admiration	Count % within If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	0 .0%	1 .5%	2 1.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .5%
	Appreciation	Count % within If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	0 .0%	2 1.1%	1 .5%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .5%
	Nurturance	Count % within If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	0 .0%	2 1.1%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	2 .3%
	Total	Count % within If yes, how often do you attend church or other religious activities?	184 100.0%	185 100.0%	209 100.0%	31 100.0%	28 100.0%	637 100.0%

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34.040 <sup>a</sup>	28	.200
Likelihood Ratio	36.562	28	.129
Linear-by-Linear Association	.004	1	.948
N of Valid Cases	637		

a. 22 cells (55.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .09.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	.231	.200
Nominal	Cramer's V	.116	.200
N of Valid Cases		637	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

## Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? \* What is your highest level of education?

Crosstab

			What is your highest level of education?								Total
			No formal education	Primary/Prep School	All-Age School/Some Secondary Education	Completed Secondary Education	Vocational/ Skills Training	University	Some Professional Training beyond University	Graduate Degree (MSc, PhD)	
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships?	Repulsion	Count % within What is your highest level of education?	3 60.0%	19 70.4%	61 53.0%	149 58.0%	57 44.5%	65 38.9%	18 51.4%	14 35.9%	386 49.9%
	Pity	Count % within What is your highest level of education?	1 20.0%	5 18.5%	33 28.7%	51 19.8%	39 30.5%	41 24.6%	7 20.0%	7 17.9%	184 23.8%
	Tolerance	Count % within What is your highest level of education?	1 20.0%	3 11.1%	12 10.4%	43 16.7%	23 18.0%	47 28.1%	7 20.0%	15 38.5%	151 19.5%
	Acceptance	Count % within What is your highest level of education?	0 .0%	0 .0%	6 5.2%	8 3.1%	5 3.9%	10 6.0%	1 2.9%	2 5.1%	32 4.1%
	Support	Count % within What is your highest level of education?	0 .0%	0 .0%	1 .9%	5 1.9%	0 .0%	2 1.2%	2 5.7%	1 2.6%	11 1.4%
	Admiration	Count % within What is your highest level of education?	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 2.3%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Appreciation	Count % within What is your highest level of education?	0 .0%	0 .0%	1 .9%	0 .0%	1 .8%	1 .6%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Nurturance	Count % within What is your highest level of education?	0 .0%	0 .0%	1 .9%	1 .4%	0 .0%	1 .6%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Total	Count % within What is your highest level of education?	5 100.0%	27 100.0%	115 100.0%	257 100.0%	128 100.0%	167 100.0%	35 100.0%	39 100.0%	773 100.0%

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	70.802 <sup>a</sup>	49	.022
Likelihood Ratio	68.603	49	.034
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.598	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	773		

a. 40 cells (62.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .02.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	.303	.022
Nominal	Cramer's V	.114	.022
N of Valid Cases		773	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

## Crosstabs

### Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? * Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	775	77.0%	232	23.0%	1007	100.0%

**Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? \***  
**Do you go to church or attend other religious activities Crosstabulation**

			Do you go to church or attend other religious activities		Total
			Yes	No	
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships?	Repulsion	Count % within Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	309 48.7%	72 51.1%	381 49.2%
	Pity	Count % within Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	166 26.2%	22 15.6%	188 24.3%
	Tolerance	Count % within Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	121 19.1%	31 22.0%	152 19.6%
	Acceptance	Count % within Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	24 3.8%	10 7.1%	34 4.4%
	Support	Count % within Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	6 .9%	5 3.5%	11 1.4%
	Admiration	Count % within Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	3 .5%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Appreciation	Count % within Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	3 .5%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Nurturance	Count % within Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	2 .3%	1 .7%	3 .4%
	Total	Count % within Do you go to church or attend other religious activities	634 100.0%	141 100.0%	775 100.0%

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.108 <sup>a</sup>	7	.024
Likelihood Ratio	16.162	7	.024
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.545	1	.214
N of Valid Cases	775		

a. 7 cells (43.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .55.

### Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Phi	.144	.024
Nominal Cramer's V	.144	.024
N of Valid Cases	775	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.  
b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

## Crosstabs

### Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? * Interviewer determination of social class	744	73.9%	263	26.1%	1007	100.0%



**Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? \* Interviewer determination of social class Crosstabulation**

			Interviewer determination of social class				Total
			Lower Class	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class	Upper Class	
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships?	Repulsion	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	223 59.8%	110 42.3%	29 42.6%	12 27.9%	374 50.3%
	Pity	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	77 20.6%	69 26.5%	17 25.0%	7 16.3%	170 22.8%
	Tolerance	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	56 15.0%	61 23.5%	15 22.1%	19 44.2%	151 20.3%
	Acceptance	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	10 2.7%	11 4.2%	4 5.9%	5 11.6%	30 4.0%
	Support	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	4 1.1%	3 1.2%	3 4.4%	0 .0%	10 1.3%
	Admiration	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	0 .0%	3 1.2%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Appreciation	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	1 .3%	2 .8%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Nurturance	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	2 .5%	1 .4%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Total	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	373 100.0%	260 100.0%	68 100.0%	43 100.0%	744 100.0%

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	58.699 <sup>a</sup>	21	.000
Likelihood Ratio	55.084	21	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	23.623	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	744		

a. 17 cells (53.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .17.

### Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	.281	.000
Nominal	Cramer's V	.162	.000
N of Valid Cases		744	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships? \* Interviewer determination of social class Crosstabulation**

			Interviewer determination of social class				Total
			Lower Class	Middle Class	Upper-Middle Class	Upper Class	
Which of the following best describes your view about persons in same sex relationships?	Repulsion	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	223 59.8%	110 42.3%	29 42.6%	12 27.9%	374 50.3%
	Pity	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	77 20.6%	69 26.5%	17 25.0%	7 16.3%	170 22.8%
	Tolerance	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	56 15.0%	61 23.5%	15 22.1%	19 44.2%	151 20.3%
	Acceptance	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	10 2.7%	11 4.2%	4 5.9%	5 11.6%	30 4.0%
	Support	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	4 1.1%	3 1.2%	3 4.4%	0 .0%	10 1.3%
	Admiration	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	0 .0%	3 1.2%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Appreciation	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	1 .3%	2 .8%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Nurturance	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	2 .5%	1 .4%	0 .0%	0 .0%	3 .4%
	Total	Count % within Interviewer determination of social class	373 100.0%	260 100.0%	68 100.0%	43 100.0%	744 100.0%

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	58.699(a)	21	.000
Likelihood Ratio	55.084	21	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	23.623	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	744		

a. 17 cells (53.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .17.

## Appendix 2 (Survey Instrument)