ATTITUDES TOWARD HOMOSEXUALS IN BARBADOS (2004)

Report prepared by



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SYNOPSIS

This study examines the attitude towards homosexuals in the independent post-colonial island of Barbados in an effort to establish a historical base-line that could inspire further research on this issue. It draws primarily on nation-wide quantitative surveys that were executed in 2003 and 2004. These included relevant questions but were not exclusively focused on issues of homosexuality. Initially the study sought to determine the way in which most Barbadians perceived homosexuals and discovered that persons largely saw it as a "male" preoccupation, which partially explains the comparatively greater concerns of men that were interviewed.

The main survey (2004) used simple indicators to gauge attitudes and was informed by an earlier survey (2003) which sought to determine the public's attitudes toward decriminalisation. The outcome of the 2003 decriminalisation survey indicated clearly that there was little if any support for the decriminalisation of homosexual acts; however the 2004 survey demonstrated that this single question only told part of the story of Barbadian attitudes.

The 2004 investigation which is presented here demonstrates that "negative" attitudes toward homosexuals are prevalent within a relatively small section of the Barbadian population, while the vast majority of Barbadians are either tolerant or accepting of homosexuals. This essentially means that Barbadians have disaggregated their strong views on the retention of a legal prohibition against homosexual acts, from their attitude towards homosexuals generally, which is considerably more soft.

This mental separation of what should be two related issues appears illogical but speaks volumes about the extent to which Barbadians have accepted religious and traditional doctrines without question and given little rational thought to this issue. Therefore when confronted with individuals that they have no logical reason to dislike, Barbadians retreat to their human values but nonetheless feel the need to publicly assert their philosophical opposition to what they see as a "lifestyle". This apparent contradiction is aptly reflected in a phrase that is often quoted in response to these issues "Love the sinner but hate the sin".

Apart from highlighting this "gap" in the Barbadian logic, the study also helps to explain the rationale behind our attitude towards homosexuals and this seems to be located in the twin issues of fear and concern. There is obvious concern for the homosexual who the public "fears for" or is "concerned about" and there is also a fear "of" the homosexual which could be located in that person's apparent proclivity to be predatory, or to the extent that the homosexual could have the capacity to improperly influence societal norms.

The study revealed a major preoccupation with even the most "liberal" persons that their children and to a lesser extent their families should NOT be homosexual, while there was comparatively less concern about the other categories (like "Friends" and "Employees"). This pattern was clearly influenced first and foremost by concern for the homosexual ("Children" and "Family") and secondarily fear of the homosexual (Teachers and politicians). The fact that there was generally little concern about homosexual "Friends" supports the argument that Barbadians are not instinctively homophobic but this fear is rooted in an emotional bond or power relationship.

The other major finding of this study is the identification of demographic variables that appear to influence a person's attitude towards homosexuals. The survey demonstrates that women are generally more comfortable with homosexuals than men and similarly young adults are more comfortable than older persons. It is interesting that the age divide here is more 18-50 as distinct from 51 and over since the separation between the views of the 18-30s and the 31-50s is not clearly reflected in their different opinions. The impact of income and education is; however clear since persons who were better educated and who earned more money in the survey appeared more comfortable with homosexuals.

The final section of the report attempts to compare Barbadian attitudes toward homosexuals with their attitudes toward other controversial issues such as the decriminalisation of Marijuana (Ganja); the Death Penalty and Corporal Punishment of Children. This comparison did NOT establish any statistically verifiable relationship, but it does demonstrate that Barbadians are considerably more opposed to the decriminalisation of homosexual acts than any of the other major issues engaged in the survey. This section also supports the argument that there is some distance between the stated Barbadian position on several of these moral issues and their practices.

INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

This report speaks mainly to data that was collected in 2004 as part of a national "omnibus" survey conducted by students of the Qualitative Research Methods course of the UWI, Cave Hill. Students in this course were supervised in survey design, data collection and tabulation by the Director of CADRES who was at that time also the course Director. The project associated with these data required that students identify research issues; design suitable questions; collect data from a representative cross-section of Barbadians and thereafter prepare reports on select themes. The report that follows draws on data collected by students but makes no reference to the related report which was associated with a University examination and could not be referenced in a report of this nature. The fact that the issue of attitudes toward homosexuals was included in this omnibus study reflects the fact that students in that year were interested in examining the issue and it is noteworthy that similar interest was reflected in the qualitative aspect of the course which was conducted in the previous semester (September – December 2003).

The survey employed a stratified random sample of Barbados which identified as primary strata:

- Age;
- Gender: and
- Parish of Residence

In addition, several other demographic categories were identified and collated, however the survey was not designed to replicate these characteristics in a manner that was proportionate to the population of Barbados. Data that are presented in these instances would therefore bear some relation to the national scenario, but would not be a conclusive indicator of the extent to which that variable is present in the population of Barbados.

Interviewers were each assigned areas based on a random selection of polling divisions in each electoral constituency. Constituencies are roughly equal divisions of the national population and polling divisions are equal divisions of constituencies. These are therefore the most practical mechanism to match the national distribution of residents. In each instance interviewers selected 12 households in a random matter (*one in three*) and conducted one face to face interview at each of twelve households.

The analysis that follows arises from these cases which were 1,457 in total and in this instance the analysis relies upon three specific questions that are presented in Appendix I. These questions were designed to elicit the respondents' understanding of the term "homosexual" and moreover their attitude to homosexuals. The manner in which these variables are analysed is quite simple and designed to determine the extent to which perceptions are present in the population and also the demographic factors that impact on these perceptions. The latter issue is explored by reference to the *chi square* test for independence which establishes the extent to which there is a relationship between two variables or if such variables are independent of each other.

In addition to the main survey, reference was also made to a second CADRES Survey conducted in Barbados during January of 2003 along with *Gallup* poll data that speaks to relevant public opinion in the United States of America at various points in time. Both of these surveys are representative of the populations that they speak to and fall within the +/- 5% margin of error which facilitates comparison with the main data-set which has a comparable confidence level.

Although this study is seminal it does have several limitations and the most obvious of these is the "age" of the main data-set, which was collected in 2004. Clearly the survey does not speak to contemporary attitudes, but speaks instead to the attitudes that prevailed in 2004. In this regard it is useful to note that social attitudes of this variety are like the attitudes to capital punishment, corporal punishment and smoking and hence are more likely to be modified in one direction over time. This is to some extent supported by reference to the US/Gallup data which reflects an "improvement" in the attitude of Americans towards legally sanctions homosexual relations between 1977 and 2010. We can therefore assume that if this study were repeated in Barbados now, attitudes would have "improved" which is to say that Barbadians are likely to be less "homophobic", making this study reflective of a "worst case" scenario which is useful to chronicle.

Another major limitation relates to the fact that the survey was "one-off" in Barbados alone and as a esult there is no capacity to establish trends over time or make comparisons between Caribbean slands. In this regard also the survey will serve as a starting point or "base-line" and would facilitate comparisons if the study is replicated elsewhere.		

SURVEY DEMOGRAPHICS

Table 01: Parish of Residence		
St. Lucy	1.6%	
St. Andrew	0.8%	
Christ Church 11.79		
St. Peter 3.3%		
St. James	8.2%	
St. Thomas	4.1%	
St. George	5.8%	
St. Michael	48.0%	
St. Phillip 9.9%		
St. John 2.5%		
St. Joseph	4.1%	

In this section data is presented largely for purposes of information, however these demographic categories are used later in the analysis to determine the extent to which relationships exist between the different demographic variables. Table 01 speaks to the percentage of the national sample that was contributed by each Parish of the country. In this instance it is important to note that different quantities of persons live in individual parishes, hence the survey took equal quantities from the political constituency boundaries which were more consistently proportioned.

Table 02 speaks to the sex of the respondent and it can be seen that there are slightly more women than men in Barbados and this is consistent with the national scenario.

Table 02: Sex of Respondents		
Male	49.4%	
Female	50.6%	

The race of respondents is presented in table 03 and this also appears to match the local profile. Afro Barbadians are the single largest racial group in Barbados hence one would expect that their opinions to be more profound in the survey.

Table 03: Race of Respondents		
Afro	88.1%	
Anglo	1.9%	
Sino	0.3%	
Indo	1.0%	
Mixed	8.0%	
Other	0.8%	

Table 04: Age of Respondents		
18-30 years	34.5%	
31-50	34.6%	
51 and over	30.8%	

The age distribution in the survey (*like gender*) is deliberate and matches the national profile, with the older group being smallest and the younger groups being largest.

Table 05: Employment Status of Respondent		
Yes, Employed (full-time) 45		
Yes, Employed (part-tine)	8.4%	
Housewife/Househusband 4.		
Unemployed	9.1%	
Student	8.0%	
Retired 12		
Self Employed 11		
Other/Won't say	0.9%	

Table 05 speaks to employment and presents the quantity of respondents that were employed, unemployed and otherwise engaged. Since the survey was largely an adult survey, the largest quantity was employed full or part time, however the 10% student component could reflect the youngest persons in the sample.

The income of respondents presented in Table 06 should be interpreted with some caution since onequarter of respondents did not respond to this question. This is normal in surveys across the region where people are hesitant to speak about their income level.

Table 06: Income of Respondents		
\$2,000 30.79		
\$2,000-\$3,000	18.5%	
\$3,000-\$4,000	8.4%	
\$4,001-\$5,000	3.0%	
Over \$5,000	3.0%	
Won't say	25.5%	
N/A	10.9%	

Table 07: Marital Status of Respondent	
Single	56.9%
Married	31.7%
Divorced	5.6%
Widowed	5.4%

Table 07 suggests that one-third of respondents are married while the majority are single. The analysis that follows would therefore best speak to a comparison of these two categories of persons.

Table 08 is presented slightly differently and therefore reflects the cumulative number of children that each person interviewed had at the time. We can therefore see that half of those interviewed had at least one child, while one third had none. This section was re-coded elsewhere in the analysis to reflect those who "had" children and "did not have" children.

Table 09: Religion of Respondents		
Practicing Christian	56.5%	
Non Practicing Christian	35.2%	
Muslim	0.9%	
Jewish	0.3%	
Rastafarian	3.2%	
Baha'i	0.1%	
Atheist	0.8%	
Agnostic	2.3%	

Finally tables 09 and 10 present the education and religion of respondents and highlight Christianity at the most popular religion with a significant number of Christians claiming to be "non-practising".

Table 10: Highest Level of Education of Respondents	
Primary 12.8%	
Secondary	41.0%
Post-Secondary	10.4%
Technical/Vocational 10.2	
Tertiary 25.5%	

Tab	Table 08: Number of Children		
	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage	
0	30.5%	30.5%	
1	20.9%	51.4%	
2	20.3%	71.7%	
3	13.4%	85.1%	
4	7.2%	92.2%	
5	3.3%	95.6%	
6	1.7%	97.3%	
7	1.2%	98.5%	
8	0.5%	99.0%	
9	0.3%	99.4%	
10	0.3%	99.7%	
11	0.1%	99.8%	
13	0.1%	99.9%	
16	0.1%	100.0%	

VIEWS ON DECRIMINALISATION

The extent to which people feel that homosexual acts should be legal is a good indicator of people's attitude towards homosexuals especially in a country like Barbados where the legal infrastructure is widely perceived to frown on such activity. In Barbados homosexual acts that can be classified as "buggery" are deemed to be illegal and can attract up to 15 years imprisonment, however such prosecutions and convictions are rare. In addition to the buggery/sodomy issue, there is also the broader issue of the definition and perception of "indecency" under the laws of Barbados which can facilitate a substantially more broad legal net that could easily embrace the sexual practices and general lifestyles of homosexuals. The issues that emanate from this legal environment are numerous, but are not the central focus of this paper which speaks to attitudinal issue. Notwithstanding, this investigation initially speaks to a 2003 CADRES survey which asked Barbadians if they would support the "decriminalisation of homosexual acts".

Figure 01 speaks to these data and demonstrates that 87% of Barbadians opposed the decriminalisation of homosexual acts between male consenting adults. There was virtually no support for decriminalisation in this survey since only 6% supported it and 7% were not sure which amounts to a complete rejection in statistical terms. In instances like this where there is unanimity, it is not normal for there to be any strong correlations regarding any demographic factor that could impact on this opinion and this is the case here as well. As it relates to both gender and age there is no statistically sound correlation present in the data; however there is a statistically insignificant observation that demonstrates that women and younger people are slightly more inclined to support decriminalisation.

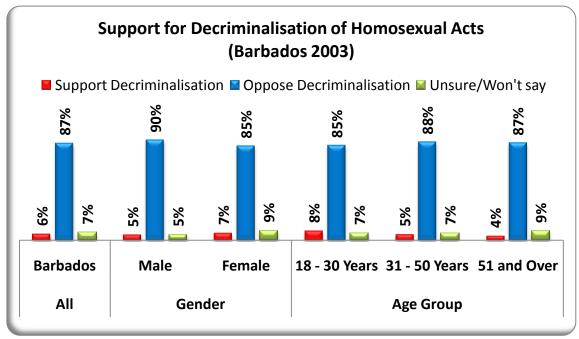


Figure 1: Support for Decriminalisation of Homosexual Acts (Barbados 2003)

This high level of opposition to decriminalisation conveys the impression that Barbados is an extremely intolerant society, which is highly debatable and in this regard issues of definition and comparison emerge. Regarding definition, it should be noted that the 2003 CADRES survey asked Barbadians "Do you think that homosexual acts between male consenting adults should be decriminalized or made legal in Barbados?" which appears at first blush to be a relatively definitive question. Subsequent discussions with interviewers, as well as public discourse on the issue, however revealed the fact that Barbadians often confuse decriminalisation with personal support for homosexuality and moreover believe that decriminalisation is akin to support for "Gay Marriage".

In support of this point, reference can be made to a comment made by the Leader of the Opposition in Barbados (2005) Clyde Mascoll. He stated "I can condone homosexuality because of the need to give the individual choice, but I cannot see legitimising it. I respect the rights of the individual and I respect the rights of consenting adults to do what they want to do in the privacy of their homes, but I can't see myself supporting decriminalising buggery" (Nation Newspaper January 29th 2005). This statement appears to differentiate "condoning" an activity from "legitimising" it and implies that decriminalisation advocates are proposing something more than "respect[ing] the rights of consenting adults to do what they want in the privacy of their homes". Although the clarification of this misunderstanding might not necessarily have substantially reduced the levels of opposition, the identification of these shortcomings in the question structure helps to contextualise this high level of opposition.

The next logical question that arises relates to the extent to which persons in Barbados are more, or less opposed to decriminalisation than is the case in other countries where homosexual acts are also illegal. Since there is no data available from other Caribbean jurisdictions, reference was made to a series of *Gallup* polls conducted in the USA which conveniently track the American attitude towards this same issue. In the American context, homosexual acts between consenting males have been decriminalised at the state level either directly or by way of human rights challenges in the courts over the last 45 years, hence the question asked respondents if the acts "should" be legal regardless of whether or not this is/was the case.

Figure 02 presents this *Gallup* data and demonstrates that in 1977 the American public was divided on the issue with 43% being supportive and a similar number opposed. The first *Gallup* poll was conducted during the 70s when some states still maintained "sodomy" laws and the data-set therefore tracks the progress of public opinion from that point up to the present situation which is a full 7 years after the last set of "sodomy" laws were struck down in Texas (2003). It can be seen that public opposition to legal sanction has softened over the years and commensurate support increased; however the US is clearly a very different environment to the Caribbean based on these data. In 2003, 60% or 6 out of every 10 Americans believed that homosexual acts should be legal while in Barbados in that same year 6% or 0.6 persons out of every 10 supported decriminalisation.

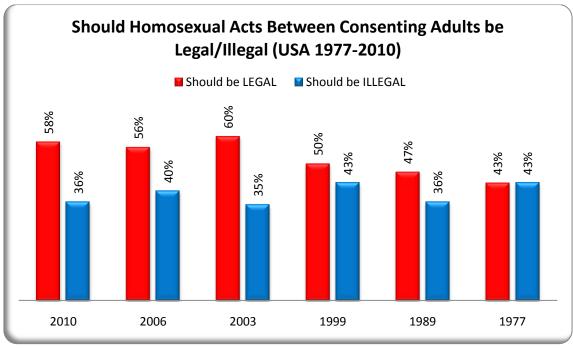


Figure 2: Should Homosexual Acts between Consenting Adults be Legal/Illegal (USA Gallup)

The foregoing data and comparisons speak to the specific issue of decriminalisation; however this is only one of several components which speak to the attitude of Barbadians and it is therefore important to consider the less rigid indicators presented in other sections of the report.

PERCEPTIONS OF HOMOSEXUALS

Initially the meaning of the word "homosexual" was explored by way of a question that asked "What does the word homosexual mean to you" and the overall results are presented in figure 03 below. In this instance respondents were given three options and asked to select the one they think best reflects their personal understanding. Interviewers were instructed to explain that there was no correct or incorrect answer and respondents should simply state their opinion.

The vast majority of respondents (68%) selected the option that interprets the word homosexual to mean "a person that likes the same sex" which is the conventional and proper definition of the word. 31% of Barbadians were more inclined to the more colloquial understanding that sees the word as identifying a relationship between two men and only a faction (2%) expressed the view that the word meant two women.

The meaning of the word homosexual is important to this analysis since it helps one appreciate the roots of perceptions that are being explored in this paper. The fact that one-third of Barbadians see this word as speaking to men only implies that men would also be associated with any associated negativity. Presumably these persons either don't see women as having similar proclivities or perhaps consider lesbianism to be more "normal" behaviour.

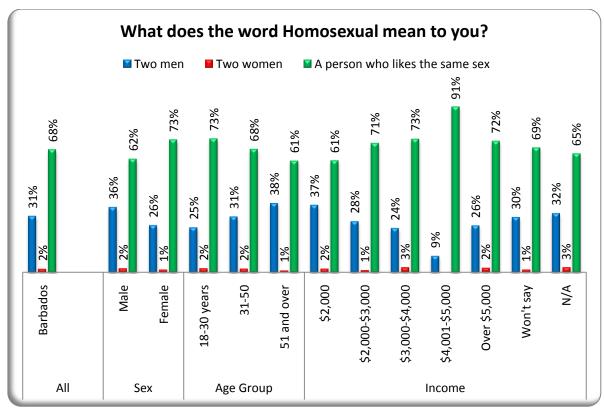


Figure 3: What does the word Homosexual mean to you?

The *chi square* test results in this instance demonstrated positive relationships between the response categories and sex, age and income. This essentially means that these variables affect a person's proclivity to define the word homosexual differently. Specifically, men were more inclined to think that the term homosexual applied to men only and similarly older persons were also more inclined to think so, than younger persons were. The income relationship was somewhat surprising since it appears as though persons in lower income brackets were more inclined to think that the term applied only to men and this trend continued until the income category passed Bds. 5,000 per month and then the understanding reverted to a lower income understanding.

This peculiarity has partially been caused by the fact that the smallest number of persons in the survey were in the \$5,000 + income group and the *chi square* analysis is not sensitive to these differences; hence the exaggerated opinion in this income group might have more to do with the size of the sample than any difference of opinion. Moreover the "Won't say" and "N/A" categories appear to be similar to the overall population and these two distinctions imply that income does positively affect person's understanding of the meaning of the word "homosexual" and wealthier persons are more likely to define homosexual as relating to persons of the same sex, while persons in lower income groups are more inclined to think that the term homosexual refers to two men.

ATTITUDINAL ISSUES

To gauge attitudes toward homosexuals, respondents were asked a series of hypothetical questions to which they had three response options. Barbadians were asked how they would feel about having a homosexual as:

- A Child;
- A Family member;
- A Teacher:
- A Friend:
- A Public Official;
- An Employer; and
- An Employee

Respondents were asked to respond to ALL scenarios and state if they "Wouldn't Mind"; would "Prefer Not" or were "Uncertain". The advantage of this approach is that it is a simple way of gauging the complex circumstances under which persons might be more or less comfortable with homosexuals and moreover it allows for a "ranking" of the most disconcerting scenarios for Barbadians.

The national data is presented summarily in figure 04 which demonstrates that Barbadians are MOST concerned about having a "Child" that is a homosexual and least concerned about having an "Employee" that is a homosexual. It can also be seen that the extent to which people are most concerned, least concerned and ambivalent are inversely related. Generally between 30% and 60% of Barbadians would prefer not to have a homosexual in any of the categories identified, while the level of uncertainty is between 12% and 18%. Particular attention should be paid to the "Child" and "Family" categories since in both of these instances, there are as many or more persons who would "Prefer Not" than there are persons who "Wouldn't Mind". This scenario implies what is perhaps the area of greatest concern and also a similarity in the way that Barbadians perceive the two categories.

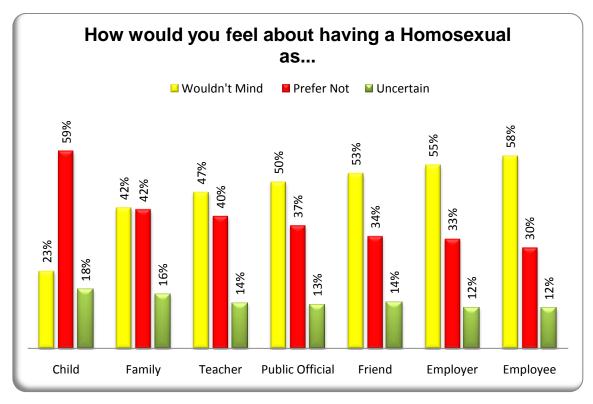


Figure 4: How would you feel about having a Homosexual as...

The complete analysis of the impact of demographic factors on attitudes is presented in Appendix III; however the summary and appropriate ranking of preferences is simplified and presented in Table 12. This relies exclusively on the "Prefer Not" classification to generate a table of the homosexual relationship types that make Barbadians most uncomfortable, along with the manner in which key demographic variables impact on these dislikes. It can be seen that after "Child", comes "Family" and then "Teacher". The top three categories are to some extent similar since these are all roles that are exceedingly close, or considered to be very influential. This highlights a possible basis for the Barbadian attitude towards homosexuals who are either persons they care deeply for or persons they fear could influence persons they care deeply for.

In the former category ("Family") attitudes could be either protective or reflective of moral indignation and the research instrument was not designed to disaggregate one variant form the other which is perhaps a deficiency that can be adjusted in future studies. The first aspect speaks to Barbadians that might be genuinely concerned about the plight of homosexuals within their "Family" who could be exposed to abuse or hostility because of the way society perceives them. This reaction is firmly rooted in love and the desire to protect ones loved ones and is very different from moral indignation which is an attitudinal rejection of behaviour that an individual considers wrong. The former variant can be considered positive since it would naturally give way to reduced anxiety once the individual is convinced that the society is sufficiently accepting of their "Family Member", while the latter variant will be modified more slowly since it is rooted in the individual's core values.

Views on the homosexual as a "Teacher" also speak to potential concerns about "Family Members", but could also relate to the society as a whole and demonstrate the belief that "Teachers" have considerable influence and access to children as well as the wider society. "Teacher" concerns are more likely to arise from the variant referred to as moral indignation combined with the belief that homosexuals are predatory either in pursuit of their sexual expression or in an attempt to recruit those subject to their influence. Parents and "Family Members" appear to fear such contact or conversion and as such are concerned about the influential role of "Teachers". It is also possible that persons worry about the plight of their loved-ones who having been "converted" into homosexuality by a "Teacher", might be subject to abuse or condemnation.

		Gender Age Group			Status		Religion			
	National	Male	Female	18-30	31-50	51 & Up	Married	Single	Practicing Christian	Non-Practising Christian
Child	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
Family	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1
Teacher	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3
Public Official	4	5	4	4	4	7	4	4	4	6
Friend	5	4	6	6	5	4	5	5	6	7
Employer	6	6	5	5	6	6	6	6	5	3
Employee	7	7	7	7	7	5	7	7	7	2

These Barbadian attitudes are clearly influenced by the belief that homosexuality is learned behaviour and there have been several national discussions that support this presumption. The society is highly religious (although selectively so) and presumes the Biblical prescription to be consistent with what "is" and not what "ought" to be. The homosexual is therefore presumed to be a person who starts life as a heterosexual and is later converted. If therefore, the society can prevent this conversion it can save itself considerable problems related to both variants of this attitude being explored. The fact that sexuality and homosexuality are genetically determined is a case that has already been made in Barbados but it is clear here that the vast majority of persons are not convinced.

The placement of the "Public Official" before the "Friend" but after the "Teacher" implicitly supports the earlier suggestion that Barbadian attitudes are influenced by their fear of influence since "Public Officials" have considerably more influence than "Friends". The influence of a "Public Official" is less direct than that of a "Teacher" but could potentially cast a wider net since that official could influence policy which could impact on the entire society. Concerns about the "Public Official" could, like concerns about the "Teacher" be influenced by both concern for the homosexual as well as moral indignation. In this regard, however concern for the individual would be replaced by concern about the "type" of society that might emerge if government policy were seen to be encouraging homosexuality.

The placement/ranking of "Friend" is to some extent a positive placement since it suggests that Barbadians are less concerned about their "Friend's" sexual orientation and this could indicate that there is less moral indignation where such relations are concerned. One could be less than thrilled about the sexual orientation of a "Friend" but the fact that slightly more than half of Barbadians would have such a person as a "Friend" regardless, implies greater comfort and the assumption that persons with dissimilar sexual orientations can co-exist and pursue a mutually beneficial relationship (friendship) notwithstanding.

The final two ranks were reserved for "Employers" and "Employees" respectively and the fact that there is more concern about the homosexual "Employer" speaks to the issues of control, influence and perhaps a fear that a homosexual employer might influence an "Employee" in ways that s/he might prefer not to be influenced. The placement of the "Employee" last on the list suggesting the category that persons are most comfortable with, speaks volumes about the extent to which persons perceive "Employees" to be powerless. The fact that close to 60% of Barbadians would not mind employing a homosexual is perhaps a good thing in the context of this study that often appears to present a bleak outlook.

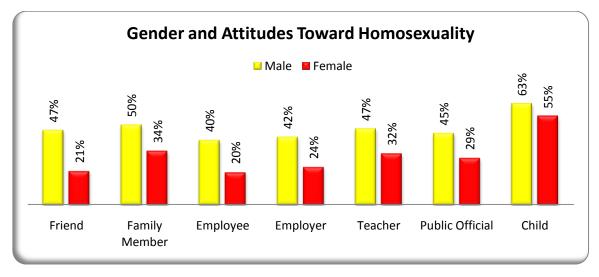


Figure 5: Gender and Attitudes Toward Homosexuals

In figure 05 the gender analysis isolates the "*Prefer Not*" response and demonstrates that across the board women are less concerned about homosexuals than men and this is especially so regarding "*Friends*" where they are half as concerned as the men were. The relationship women are most concerned about is that of their children, but even here there is an 8 percentage point difference. In this regard the difference is statically significant which implies that gender does influence attitudes toward homosexuals.

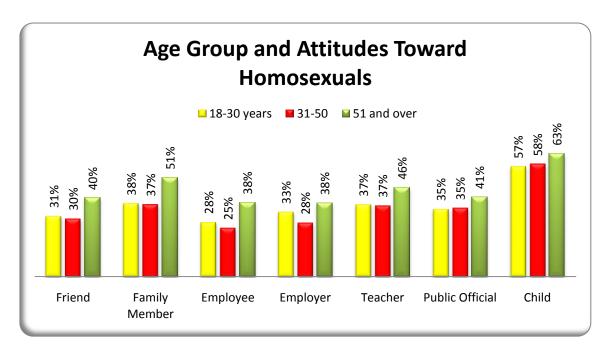


Figure 6: Age Group and Attitudes toward Homosexuals

The age group of respondents is also a factor that significantly influences attitude and in figure 06 this can be seen since the older persons in all instances are more concerned about homosexuals. It is interesting that the extent to which persons are concerned in the 18-30 and 31-50 age groups is similar; however persons over 51 are considerably more concerned. As with the gender based analysis, the concern about having a "*Child*" as a homosexual is the issue that presents the smallest difference in perspective between the age ranges.

Neither marital status nor religion correlates significantly with attitude suggesting that persons are no more likely to be supportive or opposed to homosexuals as a result of their being married or single, or on account of their religious persuasion. Notwithstanding, these analyses are presented out of general interest for purposes of information. It appears as though single people are generally less concerned and widowed persons most concerned, however this outcome would have influenced by the small number of widows in the survey and the fact that widows tend to be older. The comparison that comes closest to being statistically significant is that which compares single persons to married persons and reflects a small difference between the two in favour of the single persons who seem more progressive.

Regarding religion it is important to appreciate that several of these categories are quite small and this impacts negatively on the efficacy of the *chi square* test, hence the only possible comparison would be that of Practising to Non- Practising Christians and even these need to be approached with some amount of caution.

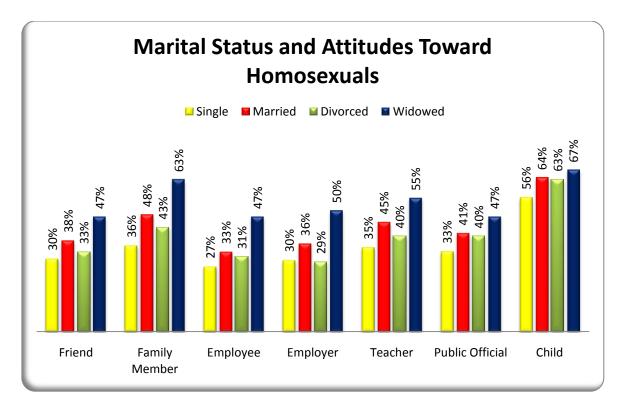


Figure 7: Marital Status and Attitudes toward Homosexuals

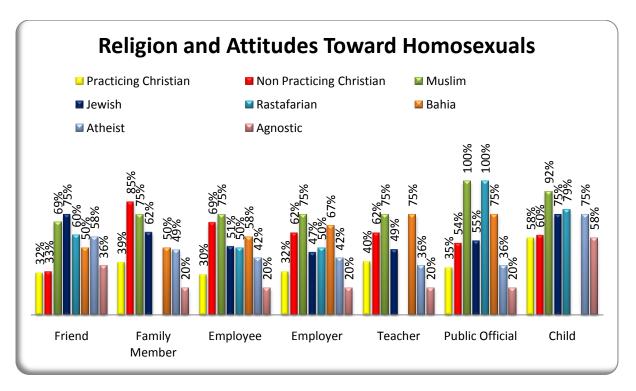


Figure 8: Religion and Attitudes Toward Homosexuals

ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALS IN A WORD

In this survey a second technique was used to gauge attitudes which is presented in this section and exploits the respondent's willingness to assess their attitude towards homosexuals in a single word. Here respondents were asked to select one of three words which best reflects their attitude towards homosexuals and the responses are presented in figures 09; 10 and 11.

Figure 09 presents the analysis that is associated with the persons who selected the "hate" response and allows for an analysis of gender, age, income and education correlations. The national response is presented at the extreme left and indicates that 16% of Barbadians hated homosexuals in 2004. This extreme variant of homophobia correlates with all of the demographic variables used and we can see therefore that men are more than twice as likely to manifest these views, and the same can be said for persons in lower income earning groups since 19% of persons in the lowest income earning group "hated" homosexuals and this was higher than the national average.

Age and education were somewhat less straightforward to analyse in this category since the youngest and oldest were equally likely to "hate" homosexuals while the lowest "hate" level was located among the middle-aged folk that responded. From the perspective of education, the least well educated persons were most inclined to hate homosexuals, while those educated to the Tertiary levels were least likely to hate. The peculiar statistic relates; however to persons educated to the Post-Secondary level that had views which were consistent with those of "Tertiary Level" educated persons. This suggests that respondents might not have properly understood the educational classification and some persons who went to Tertiary institutions identified themselves as "Post-Secondary".

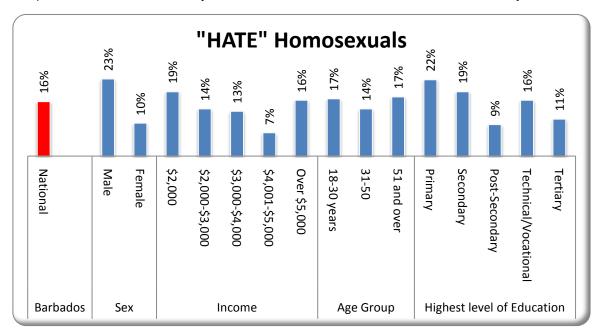


Figure 9: HATE Homosexuals

The level of "tolerance" is measured and analysed in figure 10 which demonstrates that 46% of Barbadians tolerated homosexuals in 2004 which is slightly less than half of all respondents. In this instance correlations also emerge since females appear more tolerant than males and persons who earn more are more likely to be tolerant than those who earn less. The age-related influence is strange here also since the most "tolerant" are those in the middle-age group which is directly opposite to the "hate" response category. This tends to buttress the earlier correlation and implies that perhaps younger people are more inclined to be negative towards homosexuals because they are subject to influence by older persons; however they later grow to appreciate the need for tolerance and acceptance which happens between 31 and 50. In this instance the educational attainment analysis appears straightforward and consistent with the previous section's findings that locates higher levels of tolerance among better educated people.

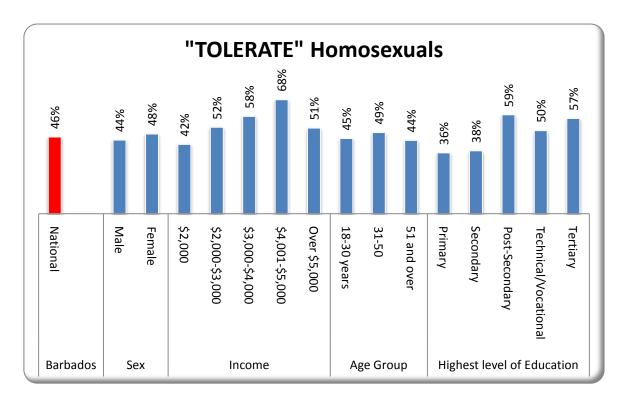


Figure 10: TOLERATE Homosexuals

The most positive attitudinal expression provided in this survey was that of "acceptance" which is presented in figure 11. 17% of Barbadians accept homosexuals and this is strikingly close to the quantity of Barbadians that "hate" homosexuals. Here also, women are more accepting than men, but income influences are peculiar since persons who earn more money are more "accepting" but one of the higher income earning groups (\$4,001 - \$5,000) dips below the national level of acceptance while the highest income category reflects the highest level of acceptance. This peculiarity could be explained by the fact that fewer people are in that category and as such unusual variations often occur.

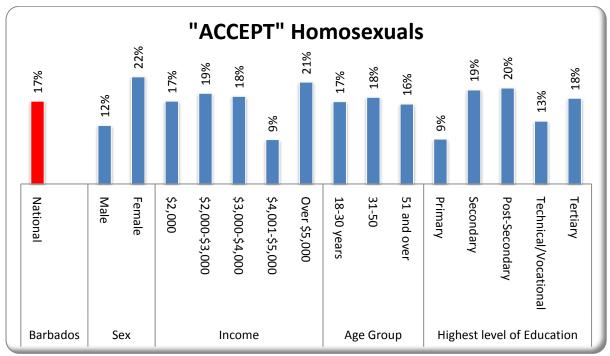


Figure 11: ACCEPT Homosexuals

The age based analysis continues to appear peculiar as in this instance there is really no statistically significant variation between acceptance levels that are all separated by one percentage point. It would appear as though the arguments previously advanced about younger people "learning tolerance" do not apply to the concept of acceptance which seems to follow a slightly different pattern. The influence of education is; however consistent with the foregoing sections with the lowest level of acceptance being among persons who have only had a primary education.

COMPARATIVE BARBADIAN ATTITUDES

In this section an attempt was made to establish relationships between the views of Barbadians on homosexuals and their views on other controversial issues which were also tested in the survey and these data are presented in figure 12. It should be noted that there were no statistically verifiable relationships emerging here which indicates that a person's attitude towards homosexuals is not likely to influence their views on other issues. Figure 12 is therefore only for purposes of information, but demonstrates that extreme attitudinal indicators towards homosexuals (such as hate) are relatively low and not matched by any similar opinion on any other issue examined. It is also interesting to note that the level of opposition to the decriminalisation of homosexual acts was higher than the opposition to the decriminalisation of Ganja use, which was interestingly enough almost the same as the level of support for the death penalty. The only statistic that approaches the level of opposition to decriminalisation is the level of support for Corporal punishment in the home (2004). It is interesting that support for corporal punishment and issues related to homosexuals are matters which the Bible is alleged to speak to unequivocally and which has no doubt informed the attitudes of Barbadians on these issues. It is at the same time equally clear that there is some distance between the proclaimed support for a Biblical principle (such as opposition to homosexuals and flogging) and the actual operation of these values by either flogging ones children or hating homosexuals, just as there is a gap between the quantity of practising and non-practising Christians in Barbados.

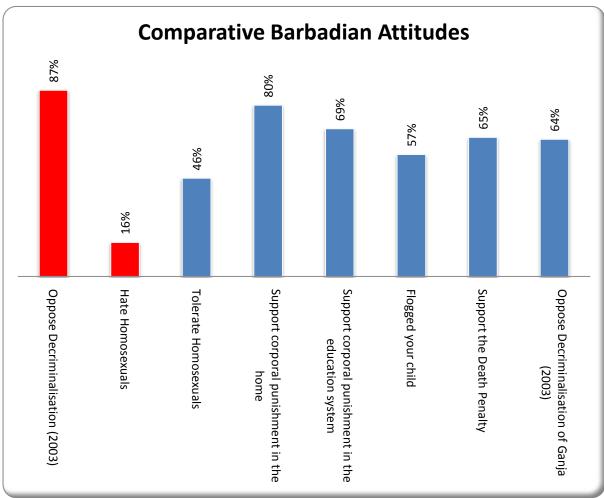


Figure 12: Comparative Barbadian Attitudes

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Survey Excerpts

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT, SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

SY22B SURVEY 2004

Good Morning/afternoon/evening I am part of a group of students from the UWI conducting an island wide survey in which 1000 people are being interviewed on a range of social issues. You have been randomly selected to be part of this survey and I ask that you consent to being interviewed.

This survey is being conducted by the Department of Government at the UWI and you are given the assurance that all answers given will be treated in the strictest of confidence.

1.	Interviewe	er's Name					2.	PD		
Lo	cation of In	terview (District	and Pla	ce):						
3.	Consti	ituency			_	4.	Parish			
		PLEAS	SE CIRC	LE NUM	IBER N	EXT TO	ANSWE	R GIVE	N	
4.	Sex	Male	1	Female	9	2				
5.	Race:	Afro	1	Anglo		2	Sino	3	Indo	4
		Mixed	5	Other	6					
6.	Age Group	o (If unsure call o	out age (groups a	nd ask p	erson to	state w	hich on	e he/she	e belongs to).
	18-30	Years	1	31-50	Years		2	51 and	d over	3
7.	Occupatio	onal Status:	What is	s your er	nployme	ent statu	s at pres	sent?		
	Yes, Emplo	oyed (full-time)		1		Yes Er	nployed	(part-tin	ne)	2
	Housewife	/Househusband		3		Unemp	oloyed			4
	Student			5		Retired	d			6
	Self Emplo	yed		7		Other/\	Non't sa	ıy	8	

8.	Income: In which of	of these b	oroad ca	tegories	would y	our mo	nthly inco	ome fall?	?		
	Below \$2,000	1	\$2001-	\$3,000	2	\$3,001	-\$4000	3			
	\$4001-\$5,000	4	Over \$5	5,000	5	Won't	say	6	N/A	6	
9.	Marital Status: Wh	at is you	r marita	l status?							
	Single	1	Married	l	2	Divorce	ed	3	Wide	owed	4
10.	Children: How man	ny childre	en (if any	y) do you	ı have?		-				
11.	Religion: What (if a	any) is yo	our religi	on?							
	Practising Christian	l	1	Non Pra	actising (Christia	n	2	Mus	lim	3
	Jewish 4	Rastafa	rian	5	Bhai	6	Atheist		7	Agnostic	8
12.	Education: What is	s the high	iest leve	el of educ	cation yo	u have	complete	ed?			
	Primary 1	Second	ary	2	Post-Se	condar	у	3			
	Technical/Vocation	al	4	Tertiary		5					
13.	Homo2: What does	the wor	d homos	sexual m	ean to y	ou?					
	Two men 1	Two wo	men	2	A perso	n who l	ikes the	same se	×	3	
14.	Homosexual: The to you as a homose							ussion, if	a pe	rson was k	nown
	A friend:	Wouldn	't mind		1	Prefer	not to	2	Unc	ertain	3
	A friend: A family member:				1	Prefer Prefer		2		ertain ertain	3
			't mind		-		not to	_	Unc		
	A family member:	Wouldn	't mind 't mind		1	Prefer	not to	2	Unce	ertain	3
	A family member: An employee:	Wouldn Wouldn	't mind 't mind 't mind		1	Prefer Prefer	not to not to not to	2	Unce	ertain ertain	3
	A family member: An employee: An employer:	Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn	't mind 't mind 't mind 't mind		1 1 1	Prefer Prefer Prefer	not to not to not to not to	2 2 2 2 2	Unce Unce Unce Unce	ertain ertain ertain	3 3 3
	A family member: An employee: An employer: A teacher:	Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn	't mind 't mind 't mind 't mind 't mind		1 1 1 1	Prefer Prefer Prefer Prefer	not to not to not to not to not to	2 2 2 2	Unco Unco Unco Unco	ertain ertain ertain ertain	3 3 3 3
15.	A family member: An employee: An employer: A teacher: A public official:	Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn	't mind 't mind 't mind 't mind 't mind 't mind	your attit	1 1 1 1 1	Prefer Prefer Prefer Prefer Prefer	not to not to not to not to not to not to	2 2 2 2 2 2 2	Unco Unco Unco Unco	ertain ertain ertain ertain ertain	3 3 3 3 3
15.	A family member: An employee: An employer: A teacher: A public official: A child:	Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn	't mind	your attit 2	1 1 1 1 1	Prefer Prefer Prefer Prefer Prefer	not to not to not to not to not to not to	2 2 2 2 2 2 2	Unce Unce Unce Unce Unce	ertain ertain ertain ertain ertain	3 3 3 3 3
	A family member: An employee: An employer: A teacher: A public official: A child: Homo3: What word	Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn Wouldn Tolerate	't mind	2	1 1 1 1 1 1 Accept	Prefer Prefer Prefer Prefer Prefer ards ho	not to not to not to not to not to mot to	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 Don't ki	Unce Unce Unce Unce Unce	ertain ertain ertain ertain ertain ertain	3 3 3 3 3

17.	Corporaiz.	Do you	Support	Corpora	i puilisili	nent (nogging) ii	i the education s	ysterri:
	Yes		1	No	2	Unsure	3	
18.	Corporal3:	Have yo	ou ever f	flogged y	your child	d?		
	Yes		1	No	2	I don't have a c	hild 3	
19.	Death: Do y	you sup _l	port the	Death Po	enalty?			
	Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3	Won't say	4

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE

Appendix II

2003 Survey Question

HOMOSEXUALITY: Do you think that homosexual acts between male consenting adults should be decriminalized or made legal in Barbados?

Yes 1 No 2 Not Sure 3 Won't Say 4

Den	Appendix III Demographic Impact on Attitude Towards Homosexuals (<i>Prefer Not)</i>									
		Friend	Family Member	Employee	Employer	Teacher	Public Official	Child		
Sex	Male	47%	50%	40%	42%	47%	45%	63%		
	Female	21%	34%	20%	24%	32%	29%	55%		
Race	Afro	32%	40%	30%	32%	38%	36%	58%		
	Anglo	32%	43%	32%	36%	46%	46%	50%		
	Sino	25%	50%	25%	25%	25%	25%	50%		
	Indo	71%	86%	71%	79%	71%	71%	86%		
	Mixed	44%	50%	33%	36%	47%	38%	72%		
	Other	36%	55%	36%	36%	64%	73%	82%		
Age Group	18-30 years	31%	38%	28%	33%	37%	35%	57%		
	31-50	30%	37%	25%	28%	37%	35%	58%		
	51 and over	40%	51%	38%	38%	46%	41%	63%		
Income	\$2,000	34%	41%	32%	34%	40%	37%	59%		
	\$2,000-\$3,000	34%	42%	26%	30%	38%	40%	56%		
	\$3,000-\$4,000	36%	48%	30%	30%	40%	34%	70%		
	\$4,001-\$5,000	43%	57%	43%	52%	52%	41%	77%		
	Over \$5,000	26%	40%	23%	26%	49%	33%	63%		
	Won't say	33%	38%	31%	33%	38%	37%	53%		
Marital Status	Single	30%	36%	27%	30%	35%	33%	56%		
	Married	38%	48%	33%	36%	45%	41%	64%		
	Divorced	33%	43%	31%	29%	40%	40%	63%		
	Widowed	47%	63%	47%	50%	55%	47%	67%		
Children	Don't Have Children	33%	37%	28%	32%	37%	37%	57%		
	Have Children	34%	44%	31%	33%	41%	36%	60%		
Religion	Practicing Christian	32%	39%	30%	32%	40%	35%	58%		
	Non Practicing Christian	33%	85%	69%	62%	62%	54%	60%		
	Muslim	69%	75%	75%	75%	75%	100%	92%		
	Jewish	75%	62%	51%	47%	49%	55%	75%		
	Rastafarian	60%		50%	50%		100%	79%		

Der	Appendix III Demographic Impact on Attitude Towards Homosexuals (<i>Prefer Not</i>)										
		Friend	Family Member	Employee	Employer	Teacher	Public Official	Child			
	Bhai	50%	50%	58%	67%	75%	75%				
	Atheist	58%	49%	42%	42%	36%	36%	75%			
	Agnostic	36%	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	58%			
Education	Primary	40%	47%	37%	39%	41%	38%	61%			
	Secondary	34%	40%	33%	33%	40%	37%	58%			
	Post-Secondary	26%	40%	24%	28%	38%	33%	57%			
	Technical/Vocational	37%	41%	32%	40%	41%	39%	57%			
	Tertiary	32%	42%	25%	28%	39%	37%	62%			