2023

Homophobia in Jamaica and its Impact on the Victimization of Homosexual Adult Males in Montego Bay, St. James

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Abstract

Homophobia in Jamaica and its Impact on the Victimization of Homosexual Adult Males

in Montego Bay, St. James

by

Shahila Edwards-Grey

MS, Walden University, 2015

BS, Western Carolina University, 2006

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Criminal Justice

Walden University

May 2023

Abstract

Jamaica has been listed among the most unfriendly nations for homosexual males.

Previous research indicated that due to the biopolitical and sociocultural norms of the

Jamaican society, homosexual males continued to be targets of various forms of

discrimination based on their sexual orientation. However, research reflecting the lived

experiences of homosexual males in Jamaica is sparse. The purpose of this

phenomenological qualitative study was to provide details on the encounters of

victimization due to homophobia of adult homosexual males in the parish of St. James,

Jamaica. Data were collected through observations and in-depth interviews with eight

men who identified as homosexual. Thematic analysis was carried out in order to provide

an exhaustive description of the phenomenon. Among the findings are that adult

homosexual males faced varying forms of violence due to their sexuality; some

individuals viewed homosexual males as pedophiles and therefore sought to protect their

children from exposure to those members of the LGBTQIA community. Additionally, the

findings represented that heteronormative notions of sex, identity and gender reflected the

distinctive values which are associated with a predominant societal group. Furthermore, it

was found that homosexual males who had familial support were often able to cope

mentally, despite the atmosphere of unacceptance. Also, it was found that religiosity

impacted tolerance and or acceptance of homosexuality in Jamaica. Finally, homophobic

attacks have nurtured mental trauma among homosexual males. The findings of this study

may contribute to positive social change by providing a platform for affected individuals

of the homosexual community to air their voices, which may impact policy changes.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

There are nearly 69 nations around the world that have laws that make homosexuality illegal (Paletta, 2020). In those countries, homosexuals are often victims of mob attacks due to a perceived deviation from the cultural norms of those nation states. Jamaica is one of those countries and has been documented as one of the most discriminatory of homosexual relationships (Lovell, 2016). The Offenses Against the Person Act, which was passed in Jamaica in 1864, makes homosexuality among males illegal Lazarus, 2011). Men who engage in the act could face a penalty of up to 10 years in prison with hard labor. An endeavor to participate in anal sexual activities may result in a penalty of up to seven years in prison (Ministry of Justice, 2018). In relation, a male who participates in homosexuality based on the 2009 Sexual Offences Act could be forced to register as a sex offender (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Human Rights Watch (2014) averred that the existence of the laws in amalgamation with religious views, the role of the media, the Jamaican dancehall music/artistes and political parties resulted in homosexual adults facing numerous acts of discrimination and victimization. Some of those acts include (a) being victims of extortion, (b) displacements from their homes and social institutions in the Jamaican society, (c) physical abuse by members of the society, and (d) imprisonment. Human Rights Watch augmented that LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual) participants in a 2014 study stated their fear of reporting their victimization. The fear was aligned to participants being ignored or violated because of their sexual identity. There was also a reported fear of reprisals from the public, on the lives of homosexuals. To this end, most

homosexuals not only live in fear, but suffer severe emotional distress, develop distrust of police officers, face homelessness and violence, become more susceptible to catching the HIV/AIDS virus, and be prone to sexual violence due to their sexual orientation.

This study will introduce a range of findings grounded in not only empirical literature, but perspectives of participants who have experienced the phenomenon under study. It will provide a basis of understanding of how homosexuals are perceived and treated in Jamaica, through the lens of adult male homosexuals. West et al. (2014) added to the discussion by stating that homosexual males in Jamaica are perceived as socially unacceptable. Several studies have highlighted the existence of the debate which encompasses perspectives of sexuality and by inclusive of homosexuality (see Joslyn & Haider-Markel, 2016; Overby, 2014; Sullivan, 2003). The bio-political and sociocultural viewpoints of homosexuality and homosexuals were well documented. A study conducted by Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2013) elaborated on the impact of the political sphere on how homosexuality is comprehended. The researchers emphasized both the macro- and microfeatures of the discussion concerning homosexuals, their rights, and the influence of politicization on their acceptance. Among the conclusions drawn by Haider-Markel and Joslyn was that macrolevel elements (such as political viewpoints and policies) can impact individual attributions. Such attributions included identification with a specific political party, Christian or secular groups, racial group, level of education, age group, community location, and gender. Each of the before mentioned was highlighted as influential individual attributes of how homosexuality is understood. The study showed

that individuals often aligned themselves with those who shared the same attributes. One of the most common traits noted by Haider-Markel and Joslyn was political trait.

In the Jamaican context, former Prime Minister Golding and then leader of the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) stated in 2008, on a program which was internationally televised, that there was no position open to gays in his government (West & Cowell, 2015). His views were reinforced by Smith, a former member of parliament also associated with the JLP. Additionally, those perspectives were further enhanced by the former JLP minister of education, Thwaites (Human Rights Watch, 2014). However, then leader of the opposition, Simpson-Miller of the Peoples National Party, presented differing views from her opponents. Simpson-Miller aired that discrimination against homosexuals based on their sexual orientation is wrong (Human Rights Watch, 2014). An examination of the sociocultural aspect of the debate unearthed findings which suggested that in Jamaican society homosexuality was dual. While homosexuality was perceived by some as a threat to heteronormative culture, to others, there was greater impact of heteronormative behavior on homosexual values Croce (2015).

Studies have shown that within the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean, the perception of homosexuality (homosexuals) was a residue of the colonial period. The influence of British colonialism of the region, on viewpoints of homosexuality can be traced back to the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Maiorana et al. (2013), laws making homosexuality among men illegal, were instituted by the British during the colonial era. Maiorana et al. argued that the degradation of homosexual males in the Caribbean is aligned with antibuggery laws (laws making anal sex illegal).

Additionally, such laws had solidified ideas of how the concept of being a man is understood. Maiorana et al. concluded that hatred of homosexuals, humiliation, and prejudicial attitudes toward homosexuals, are prevalent throughout the English-speaking Caribbean. Jamaica was identified as one of the main countries of the English-speaking Caribbean in which homosexuals (and mainly homosexual males) are targets of discriminatory, stigmatic, and homophobic attitudes.

Plummer (2014) asserted that in Jamaica, a question of a man's masculinity could be viewed as analogous to male homosexuality. Plummer used findings from a 2013 study to emphasize the idea that being a male homosexual in Jamaica may result in challenging results for those males who identify as gay, or who are viewed as such. Among the outcomes that were stated by the researcher are cases of "rejection, violence, and even death" (Plummer, 2014, p. 169). Studies have also shown that the main parishes in Jamaica where such outcomes are prevalent are St. James, Kingston, St. Catherine, and St. Andrew (Jamaica Forum of Lesbians, All-Sexuals and Gays [J-FLAG], 2013).

The examination of empirical works also revealed that there was a deficiency of comprehensive literature on homosexuality in Jamaica and limited qualitative findings regarding areas of victimization of LGBT individuals. In addition, an examination of research findings indicated that there is need for empirical works to focus on the impact of policies, stigma, and Jamaica's dancehall music culture on the lived experiences of LGBT individuals in Jamaica (Human Rights Watch, 2014; Logie et al., 2017a; Rogers et al., 2014; West & Cowell, 2015; West & Hewstone, 2012). This study focused on the impact of adult male homosexual discrimination on those who are victimized. The study

was conducted in the parish of St. James, Jamaica. It was conducted in order to raise

awareness of the political and socio-cultural states of Jamaica in alignment with

homosexuality and changing worldviews; it was endeavored to signal a platform for the

voices of those members of the Jamaican LGBT community.

Background

The concept used to delineate sexual intimacy between members of the same sex

(homosexuality) originated in the second half of the 19th century by Benkert (Brent,

2015). Brent (2015) expounded that despite the coining of the term during that period,

debates about homosexuality may be dated back to Plato's Symposium and traced to

modern arguments encompassing queer theory. The social scientist further elaborated on

the relevance of the social history of homosexuality in order to comprehend the historical

perceptions of homosexuality and how they conflate with modern social views. Bingham

and Banner (2014) contributed another element to the viewpoint of homosexuality by

discussing the former inclusion of homosexuality in the Diagnostic Statistical Manual

(DSM), as a mental disorder. However, the writers contended that upon its removal from

the DSM in 1973, a sociopolitical debate was ignited. Bingham and Banner associated

the inadmissibility of the term in the DSM with acts of prejudice and sociopolitical

nonconformity. The researchers proposed that such an attempt potentially nurtured abuse

against homosexuals. Therefore, the removal of the term, homosexuality, was

declassified as a mental disorder (Datta, 2014).

Willis (2004) helped to shape the debate by stirring attention to the idea that

among the acts of victimization perpetrated against sexual minority groups, hate crimes

against homosexual males is most widespread. Willis explained that such acts are grounded in "normative, individual, and societal attitudes and ideologies that lead to intimidation, bullying, teasing, physical assault, rape, and murder" (p. 115). Thomas et al. (2008) provided supporting arguments to the standpoint of Willis. Thomaset al. et al. affirmed that crimes against sexual minority groups produce adverse results because they are not confined solely to the recipients, but also the wider community.

Thomas et al. (2008) expanded by noting that the psychological impact of victimization against sexual minorities—including homosexual males—could have varying results. Among the outcomes may be "postevent depression, anger, anxiety, panic, and posttraumatic stress, or even…suicide" (Thomas et al., 2008, p. 1028). The researchers postulated that the effect of hate crimes against sexual minorities are often more impactful for sufferers of hate crimes than for targets of other offences.

Within the Jamaican contexts, studies have highlighted the roles of the church, advocates of heteronormative behavior, and the state in the perpetuation of adverse attitudes toward homosexuals due to their sexual preference (Cowell, 2011). Cowell (2011) shared that a prominent debate on the inclusion of homosexuals legislatively in the Jamaican sociocultural and sociopolitical settings was a contentious debate during discussions about amendments to the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms in Jamaica. A Joint Select Committee was formed to discuss an amendment aimed at deliberating on several topics which included whether homosexuals should be protected, the move was understood by some as an attempt at legalizing homosexuality. Among the opposing groups were some senators on the committee, church groups, as well as the

Lawyers of Christian Fellowship who strongly opposed the assumed implication. Human

Rights First (HRF, 2015) contributed that in 2011 the Jamaican parliament ratified the

Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms which delineated safety from

discrimination.

However, no protection was offered for minority groups and those whose gender

identities deviated from the Jamaican societal norms. According to findings produced by

HRF (2015), there was a deliberate exclusion of any language that aimed at protecting

individuals on the basis of their sexual orientation from the charter. Despite the lack of

protection for sexual minorities in the charter the Jamaican Forum for Lesbians, All-

Sexuals, and Gays (J-FLAG, 2014) shared that between the periods from 2009 to 2012

there were 231 incidents of violent victimization and discrimination against individuals

based on either their sexual orientation or gender identity. In a notable case, the Office of

the Director of Prosecutions (ODP) in Jamaica reported that two men were convicted in

June 2016, of the 2011 murder of a hairdresser, Richard Morgan. It was alleged by

individuals living in the community where Morgan operated his business that he was a

homosexual (Jamaica Observer, 2016). Morgan was chopped and beaten by his attackers.

The blows were fatal. It was affirmed by the ODP that the men held the view that "all

battyman fi die" (Jamaica Observer, 2016, para. 3). Battyman is a derogatory term used

in Jamaica to describe gay men.

According to J-FLAG (2014), pervasive violence against sexual minority groups

have resulted in many of them finding shelter literally underground. Many have found

accommodation in Jamaica's drains and gullies, J-FLAG sustained. Cowell (2011)

augmented that the documented hostility against homosexuals in the Caribbean and by extension Jamaica was a dark area. The author elaborated that empirical works highlighting what it is like to be a homosexual male and living in Jamaica, are inadequate. Carr (2003) affirmed that that homosexuals in Jamaica are often discriminated against and some literally live underground in order to conceal their sexuality. Some disguise their relationships by developing sexual relationships with heterosexuals due to "fear of ostracism, beatings, or even death" (Carr, 2003, p. 79). The aforementioned deliberations are therefore relevant to warrant a study of this nature to highlight what it is like to live in Jamaica as a homosexual male from the standpoint of homosexual males. This study will serve as a unique contribution to the dearth of literature available on homosexuality in Jamaica. Furthermore, considering social change it may also provide useful information to enlighten policymakers on the link between homosexual discrimination and the impact of such on the wider community. J-FLAG (2014) concluded that where HIV/AIDS is concerned one reason for its perpetuation is due to "high HIV prevalence in socially excluded groups" (p. 17).

Statement of Problem

Individuals who are members of the LGBTQ community encounter daily physical and psychological coercions from those in their milieus globally (Turner-Frey, 2014). Many LGBTQ members of Caribbean countries have been forced to seek asylum in other countries in order to escape persecution (Phillip & Williams, 2013). Jamaica stands out among its Caribbean counterparts for displaying the most prevalent antigay attitude toward homosexuals (West & Cowell, 2015). Between 2009 and 2012, 231 cases of

violence against gays were reported to J-FLAG (2013). Most of those incidents were recorded in the parishes of Kingston, St. Catherine, St. Andrew, and St. James (J-FLAG, 2013).

Researchers indicated that antigay prejudice in Jamaica was more tolerable than in other countries (West & Cowell, 2015; West & Hewstone, 2012). This was in the background of a list of nearly 73 countries and states around the world that determined in their laws that homosexuality is illegal. Among those countries, 13 have instituted the death penalty as a punishment for homosexuals (Carroll, 2016). Comparatively, though Jamaica and Canada share the relationship of both countries being members of the British Commonwealth, Canada became a safe haven for many homosexuals who had to flee from Jamaica due to fear of persecution and abuse (Bielski, 2017). West and Cowell (2015) affirmed that at the leadership level in Jamaica, former Prime Minister Golding stated on an international television program that homosexuals were unwelcomed in his cabinet. The researchers also noted the sustained cultural acceptance of the bashing of gay men by performance artistes particularly through the Jamaican dancehall music. Evidence of gay bashing through the dancehall music included the use of lyrics such as "Full dem up a kappa shat…Chi-chi man fi ded an dats a fak [Pump them full of copper shots (bullets)…Gay men should die and that's a fact]" (West & Cowell, 2015, p. 298). West and Cowell concluded in their findings that antigay prejudice is so widespread and deleterious in Jamaica that the issue is both critical and obdurate.

In 2015, Jamaica was applauded in tandem with its Charter of Rights, Vision 2030 National Development Plan and the Independent Commission by a number of

United Nations (UN) members. Then Minister of Justice, Senator Golding, addressed the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) by affirming that Jamaica was taking measures to support the basic human rights of all its citizens, including members of the LGBT community (Henry, 2015). Senator Gordon informed the HRC that one such measure was through a Jamaica Constabulary Force Diversity Policy that provided guidelines to the police regarding the treatment of LGBT members. Another measure discussed the idea of protecting individuals through an addendum to the Offenses Against the Person Act. The measure outlined that no one should incite violence in any manner of production (print, visual media) that could result in the infliction of harm on a person or category of people (Henry, 2015). Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2014) affirmed that antibuggery laws in Jamaica do not directly focus on transgender individuals and lesbians. There is often a fusion however in the treatment of transgender women and homosexual males. HRW also found that both lesbians and bisexual females are often pilloried and violently and sexually victimized. However homosexual males are among the most targeted groups (Dyson, 2013; West & Cowell, 2015).

The United States Department of State (USDS) emphasized through a Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2014 that members of Jamaica's LGBT community face critical levels of abuse due to their sexuality. Reports from several nongovernmental organizations sustained that the abuses included cases of weapon assaults, subjective imprisonment by the police, mob violence, corrective rape of lesbians, cases of stabbings, and incidents of shooting of LGBT members ("US Reports", 2015). A 2014 homophobic incident report revealed several cases of victimization against

homosexual males in Jamaica. The report noted 49 cases of physical attacks, 62 cases of

displacement, 28 acts of discrimination, 16 reports of threats or intimidation, two cases of

blackmail, and two incidents of kidnapping. There were no homicides reported in the

findings for that period (J-FLAG, 2014). Consequently, there is growing concern

regarding the intolerant treatment of male homosexuals in Jamaica (HRW, 2014). The

social issue I addressed in this study was homophobia in Jamaica to include the impact of

discriminatory practices on homosexual males due to their sexual orientation. HRW

(2014) posited that gays are often assaulted in several ways to include mob attacks,

stabbed with knives, shot, raped, and chopped. Other acts asserted by HRW included

home invasions, verbal abuse, extortion, and housing, health and employment

discriminatory practices. For example, specific cases of antigay attacks include the 2013

attack of a homosexual male who chose to remain anonymous. In that incident reported

by HRW Devon (not his real name) gave an account of being beaten by citizens who

were armed with machetes, knives and sticks while the police looked on. He was

afterwards handcuffed and placed in a police vehicle where he was again beaten by the

police. Though several studies have explored violence and discriminatory issues against

homosexuals in Jamaica, there is sustained a gap in literature exploring the issue through

the perception of those males who are the victims of such practices.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this transcendental phenomenological research was to offer a

description of the essence of the lived experience of homosexual adult males living in the

parish of St. James, Jamaica, who have experienced victimization due to their sexual

orientation. Transcendental phenomenology is geared toward providing a description of

the phenomenon through the eyes of participants (Creswell, 2013). Creswell noted that it

is less concerned with how the researcher interprets the occurrence. Victimization is

tentatively conceptualized as any adverse discriminatory treatment (both physical and

psychological) toward the affected population, due to the sexual orientation of the

recipients.

Research Questions

RQ1: How do men living in Jamaica who identify as homosexual describe their

lived experiences with victimization due to their perceived sexual orientation?

RQ2: What are the sociocultural attitudes of Jamaicans toward homosexual males,

through the lens of adult male homosexuals?

RQ3: What effect does the attitude of Jamaicans toward homosexual males have

on that population?

Theoretical Foundation of the Study

The theoretical foundation for this study was queer theory. There is no single

founder of queer theory (Creswell, 2013). However, the theory emerged in the early

1990s and has been attributed to the works of several authors to include Sedgwick,

Berlant, and Butler. Queer theory is identified in association with a diverse number of

approaches and strategies in tandem with individuality. The theory reconnoiters the

intricate makeup of identity and the function of identities in various settings. It concerns

how identity is defined by its link to both horological and traditional contexts, its

association with discussions about the issue, and connections with both sexuality and

gender (Creswell, 2013). Creswell (2013) postulated that the idea of queer theory is to

declassify identity from labels such as gay, homosexual, lesbian, and so on to draw

attention to the idea that identity is not stagnant. It is not fixed but is rather fluid. The

theory was applied as an advocacy lens as well as a preliminary focus from which

identity (homosexuality) can be explored (Creswell, 2009). It will add value to the

research by offering a connection between societal norms, sexual preference and the

differential treatment toward those who do not align to such norms (homosexuals). The

theory was used to highlight elements of Jamaica's cultural norms, equity, politics, policy

changes, and the situation of male homosexuality within such contexts. These highlights

are expanded on in Chapter 2 of this study.

Nature of the Study

The nature of this study was a qualitative research inquiry. Qualitative inquiry is

reliable in illuminating the way adult homosexual males define their experiences with

homophobia in the Jamaican cultural setting. Qualitative research is concerned with the

exploration of social phenomena and how they are interpreted and or defined based on

the experiences of participants (Creswell, 2013). Creswell (2013) expounded that through

qualitative research a pragmatic approach to the environment is fostered. The exploration

of a phenomenon within a real-life context is realized. An understanding of each

phenomenon is constructed based on meanings assigned to them by those who

experienced them, within particular contexts. In conjunction with a qualitative approach,

a transcendental phenomenological design was applied. Transcendental phenomenology

involves a strong relationship between interpretation and description of findings which

are based on the lived experiences of individuals involved in the study (Creswell, 2013).

There is emphasis on the descriptions given by participants rather than the interpretations

offered by the researcher (Creswell, 2013). Through both the approach and design, a rich

description of the phenomenon was offered based on the experiences of eight homosexual

adult males living in St. James. The core concern of transcendental phenomenology is the

authentic description and delineation of the heart of human experiences (Moerer-Urdahl

& Creswell, 2004). Consequently, my goal as the social scientist in this study was to offer

a description of the lived experiences of individuals involved in the study by using

several methods of data collection. They included the use of observation and in-depth

interviews (Creswell, 2013).

Definition of Terms

Attitude: "An enduring set of beliefs charged with emotion that predisposes a

person to certain kinds of behaviors" (Triandis, 1971. P. 371).

Batty bwoy (or batty man): "A pejorative gay Jamaican term for a gay man"

(Green, 2016, p. 39).

Buggery law: "Sections 76, 77, and 79 of the Offences Against the Person Act

(1864) which criminalizes anal intercourse and same sex (male) intimacy" (J-FLAG,

2014, p. 22).

Chi-chi man: "Gay men" (West & Cowell, 2015, p. 298).

Fish: "Homosexuals" (Anderson & McLean, 2014, p. 19).

Heteronationalism: "A concept that highlights…patriarchy (male dominance and sexism), and heterosexism as foundational imperatives of neo-colonial nation building within the Caribbean" (Lazarus, 2011, p. 82).

Heteronormativity: "The institutions, structures, practices, identities, and understanding that legitimize and hierarchize heterosexuality as the normal, natural, and only socially and morally accepted form of sexuality" (Maiorana et al., 2013, p. 986).

Homophobia: "Fear and contempt of homosexuals, usually based on negative stereotypes of homosexuality" (Human Rights Watch, 2014, p. 1)

Pilloried: "Exposed to public scorn or ridicule" (Merriam-Webster.com, 2018, para. 1).

Sexual orientation: "The way a person's sexual and romantic desires are directed. The term describes whether a person is attracted to people of the same or opposite sex, or to both" (Human Rights Watch, 2014, p. 2).

Sexual prejudice: "Individual's negative attitudes based on sexual orientation" (Herek, 2004, p. 6)

Sexual stigma: "The shared knowledge of society's negative regard for any nonheterosexual behavior, identity, relationship, or community" (Herek, 2004, p. 6).

Socioeconomic status: "Composition of three dimensions, education, income, and status" (McGarrity, 2014, p. 383) used to determine a person's social stance in society.

Victimization: "Hate crimes…discrimination, aggressions or harassment [encountered by gay men] because of their sexual orientation [with some negative

outcomes being] physical or psychological health problems due to this victimization (Barrientos & Bozon, 2014, p. 325).

Assumptions, Limitations, Scope and Delimitations

There were three assumptions that compose the foundation of this qualitative phenomenological research. The first among the expectations was that the allotted period for interaction with study participants cemented a favorable relationship between participants and me in order to yield extensive and valuable data on the subject. The second was that participants in the study were open and honest in their responses to the interview questions. Finally, I assumed that the instrument I used to gather data proved effective after expert review by my dissertation committee members.

The concentration of the research was on eight adult male participants who lived in the parish of St. James, Jamaica, and who identified as homosexual males. Participants were selected based on each meeting several criteria—among them was that each participant was of a low socioeconomic status. Most homosexual males who are victimized in Jamaica are of low socioeconomic households (J-FLAG, 2014). In alignment with the choice of a qualitative study a limitation was the probability of bias. Another limitation was the question of credibility of the data. According to Morrow (2005) there should be at least 12 participants in a qualitative study to foster the credibility of data. Additionally, since the study was focused on adult homosexual males from low socioeconomic households, it is not generalizable to the wider population of adult male homosexuals in the parish of St. James.

The study did not include participants from the middle to upper socioeconomic strata of St. James. Studies have shown that incidents of victimization toward those groups (based on their sexual orientation) are not very high when compared to other male participants from low socioeconomic households. With consideration given to resources needed to realize this study, the number of participants did not exceed 10. However, sampling was done until saturation was reached. The number of participants was eight, after the selection process was completed.

Significance of the Study

The victimization of homosexuals is a global issue that has sparked human rights concerns (Kalb, 2017; Turner-Frey, 2014). The treatment of homosexuals in Jamaica have come under much scrutiny from several human rights advocacy groups both locally and internationally. Among them are J-FLAG, Jamaicans for Justice, Human Rights Watch, Human Rights First, and the United Nations. There was a dearth of literature on homophobia in general in Jamaica. Most literature pertaining to the treatment of homosexuals in Jamaica explored the issue from the viewpoint of the larger Jamaican populace. One study conducted by Logie et al. (2016) has offered insight into the experiences of homosexual, transgender, and bisexual individuals living in Jamaica. Findings highlighted a need for further studies on the subject within the Jamaican context especially regarding the areas of governance, policy implications, global uneasiness, and victimization of homosexuals (HRW, 2014; West & Cowell, 2015; West & Hewstone, 2012). This study added to the body of evidence on the treatment of homosexuals in Jamaica, specifically, adult homosexual males.

Consequently, the research distinctively contributed to the field by offering a description of the real-life stories of homosexual males who have been victims of violence and or discriminatory practices in Jamaica because of their sexual orientation. The research served as an avenue to expose the voices of victims in order to highlight their experiences. Outcomes of the study provided a deeper insight into the experiences of such victims especially for Jamaican citizens, advocacy groups, international bodies, and policy makers.

Summary

Chapter 1 presented a summary of the study in the framework queer theory and the victimization of adult male homosexuals in the parish of St. James, Jamaica. It was comprised of the issue of discriminatory practices on homosexual males in St. James, due to their sexual orientation. Also, a justification was documented for the study with current empirical works. The qualitative phenomenological study included a group of 8 adult male homosexual participants who are of low socioeconomic households.

A qualitative phenomenological design was selected to highlight not only the experiences of individual participants but also to show the connection among individual experiences. Therefore, the essence of the shared, lived phenomenon was captured (Creswell, 2013). Other meaningful information that was included in the chapter were the study's purpose, the theoretical framework, and relevant material about the assumptions, limitations, delimitations, and the scope of the study.

Chapter 2 includes an extensive review of the literature about male homosexuality in Jamaica and the impact of victimization on that population. The review fosters a

disclosure of the relevance of the study using both theoretical and pragmatic justifications. Chapter 3 provides greater detail of the methods and designs of the research. The process of data collection and the outcome of that procedure are highlighted in Chapter 4. In conclusion, implications for further studies, as well as the study's effect on positive social change are addressed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to describe the lived experiences of adult homosexual males who resided in the parish of St. James, Jamaica. Additionally, the study was intended to illuminate acts of discrimination, stigmatization and violence against homosexual males in St. James, and the impact of the aforementioned on that population.

The stigmatization of homosexual males in Jamaica is not a new phenomenon. In fact, antihomosexual attitudes were recorded in the second half of the 19th century. During that period, Jamaica was colonized by the British, and was therefore under the rule of that nation. As a colony of Britain, Jamaica was subjected to its laws. Among the laws that were instituted was the 1864 Offences Against the Person Act which made buggery (anal sex) between men illegal (Bosurgi, 2014). However, it was worth noting that despite residual effects of the 1864 Act, the idea that its British imposition is totally accountable for poisoning modern perception of homosexuality in its former colonies, has been proved inconclusive (Han & O'Mahoney, 2014). Han and O'Mahoney (2014) affirmed although British rule might have helped originated the anti-gay views, these type of opinions tend to be continual and are not merely a product of imperialism.

A report from HRF (2015) highlighted several issues faced by members of the LGBT community in Jamaica. HRF (2015) documented that over an approximate period of 3 years (2009-2012) there were 231 reports of violence and discriminatory practices against LGBT groups in Jamaica. Among the acts of discrimination were lack of access to proper healthcare, shelter, and employment. The report by HRF was expounded with

presentations of violent incidents such as the murder a teenage male, Dwayne Jones, in

St. James. Jones was killed by an angry mob after he was identified at an event, dressed

as a female. In another incident, two males who were identified as homosexuals in St.

James were fatally shot. It was alleged by residents that their murder was due to their

sexual orientation (Frater, 2016). Frater (2016) noted, "It would appear that there was a

general lack of sympathy for the men as most residents seemed to support the view that

they were gay and were not welcome in the community" (para. 6). HRF concluded that

due to the prevalent vehemence and discriminatory acts against LGBT people in Jamaica,

many have been ostracized by their family members, and some have been forced to dwell

in sewers. HRW (2014) presented supported findings to the reports made by HRF and

Frater. HRW averred that conclusive findings from a study done by the group in 2013

revealed that more than 50% of LGBT participants were victims of violence due to their

sexual orientation. HRW asserted that many LGBT members are forced to seek asylum in

other countries, and are discriminated against by the police and some health sector

workers. Persad (2016) averred that life in Jamaica for LGBT people has changed

radically over the years. Persad advanced the view that most reporters who focus on

LGBT issues in Jamaica often seek for and highlight the most horrific stories. That

perception, Persad claimed, creates an incorrect description of victimhood among the

LGBTQ community in Jamaica. The conflicting views combined with a lack of literature

on homosexual discrimination in Jamaica have prompted a need for this study.

     This chapter provides a historical foundation of perspectives of homosexuality

and the involvement of the church, politics, culture, health sector workers, and society.

Comparative arguments were also presented to highlight the similarities and differences

in the treatment of homosexual males and lesbians. In addition, an exploration of

heterosexism as an inclusive argument against the perpetuation of homosexuality among

men was pursued. Furthermore, the discussion emphasized discourse about the

stigmatization of homosexuality, how homosexuals are treated in other countries and by

other religious groups, as well as the roles of advocacy groups on the acceptance of

homosexuality in Jamaica. Moreover, critical arguments also underlined viewpoints of

homosexuality in the Caribbean, the role of Jamaica's antibuggery laws in the context of

homophobia in Jamaica, and the impact of violence and discriminatory practices against

homosexual males, on that population.

Literature Search Strategy

Scholarly literature gathered for this study was acquired through thorough online

search strategies. Electronic database searches were accessed through Walden University

and North Carolina State University. Among the databases that were accessed were

LGBT Life with Fulltext, ProQuest Research-Multiple Databases, Social Sciences,

PsychINFO, Thoreau Multi-Database Search, Academic Search Complete, and EBSCO.

LGBT Life with Fulltext is the chief database on comprehensive literature

pertaining to LGBT matters (University of South California Library [USC], 2017).

ProQuest Research is a multidisciplinary directory that permits the concurrent exploration

various subject matters. It also provides comprehensive content of many scholarly works.

Social Sciences Full Text allows acquisition of a wide range of full text works including

peer reviewed journal articles (USC, 2017). PsychINFO is a well-known means of

accessing the American Psychological Association resources. Inclusive among the

resources are peer reviewed works, abstracts, books and dissertations. Thoreau is an

instrument that provides comprehensive search of multiple databases. Academic Search

Complete is another database that searches across multiple disciplines. Among its

resources are peer reviewed journals, newspapers and other forms of resources. EBSCO

allows researchers to access whole text of e-books (Walden University Library, n.d.).

Different combinations of the subsequent search terms were used to facilitate a

comprehensive exploration of the literature. They included *homosexuality,*

heterosexuality, buggery, religiosity, prejudice, homophobia, gay men, stigmatization,

discrimination, victimization, Jamaica, heteronormative, queer, LGBT, LGBTQ, lesbians,

prejudice theory. queer theory, queer theory and homosexuality, queer theory and LGBT,

queer theory and case study, and *queer theory and gays*. Google Scholar was also

searched which resulted in the access of other works through citations.

Theoretical Framework

Queer theory materialized in the initial part of the 1990s as an attempt to decipher

through the debates of gender and sexuality in consideration of chief changes " in

feminist theory, LGBT studies, and poststructuralism" (Queer Theory and Queer Studies,

2004, para. 1) in the prior 2 decades. The theory applies its worldviews to the ideas of

identities, sexualities and gender. Its core objective is to break down the dualistic

comprehension of identity, gender and sex, within society in order to make apparent the

inequality of control that exist in the world. Additionally, it criticizes how that power is

conveyed through the titles, identities, and expressions used to label sexuality, identity and gender (Goodrich et al., 2016).

Queer theory has been attributed to three pioneers—Sedgwick, Butler and de Lauretis (Halperin, 2003). Sedgwick and Butler had both written texts on the subject of queer theory before the concept was coined by de Lauretis (Halperin, 2003). Sedgwick (1990) contended that contemporary culture of the West was inadequate and impaired in its core composition to the extent that it did not include an analytical exploration of contemporary *homo/heterosexual* meaning. Sedgwick assumed that the critical debate should therefore take place within a shift from theoretical assumptions of origin of contemporary homosexual and antigay theory. Butler challenged the limits of perception of gender (Halperin, 2003). Butler argued that gender was fluid and condemned a ubiquitous heterosexual supposition in scholarly feminist works. The author aimed to challenge the viewpoints that asserted beliefs pertaining to the boundaries and appropriateness of gender that constrained the definition of gender to accepted ideas of manliness and womanliness (Butler, 1999). Butler believed that both sexual identity and gender are malleable, performative, and are composed of resistive properties to social norms (De Jong, 2014). Queer theory (as a concept) was however coined by a University of California professor, Teresa de Lauretis in the late 20th century (Halperin, 2003).

According to Halperin (2003) Lauretis merged the word *queer* with the term *theory* in order to arrive at the new academic concept, queer theory. Queer theory was then presented to academia at a conference with the same label in 1990, at which Lauretis was the host. Halperin advanced that the implication was that the new concept would be

"deliberately disruptive" (p. 340). The intention was to stir exploration beyond the

comfort of scholarship aligned with gay and lesbian studies. Sullivan (2003) explained

that though queer theory is today acknowledged as a branch of learning it still tussles

against acts to confine it. Sullivan explained that queer theory persists in refuting the

restrictive impacts of embedding the concept within a norm. The writer claimed that

queer theory is a "discipline that refuses to be disciplined" (Sullivan, 2003, p. 4).

Comparable to the assertions of Sullivan and Lauretis, are those of McDonald (2015)

who posited that queer was not always used in a positive context. McDonald postulated

that queer, prior to its reinvention in the 1990s, was used as a derogatory reference to

abnormality, deviance, and as a term used to stigmatize gay and lesbian people.

McDonald noted that queer and queer theory were redefined and therefore became

identical "with resistance to cultural homogenization and the promotion of sexual

variance" (p. 318). Jagose (1996) stated to the discourse by asserting that while queer was

once used as a homophobic slang, most recently its application has changed. Jagose

purported that the concept is used as a blanket terminology for a combination "of

culturally marginal sexual self-identifications and at other times to describe a nascent

theoretical model which has developed out of more traditional lesbian and gay studies"

(p. 1). Jagose affirmed that it is difficult to clearly define queer theory based on its

characteristic. The author noted the elasticity of the concept and its resistance to be

defined. Additionally, the more attempts are made to standardize queer theory the more

queer theory is steered toward a melancholic end (Butler, 1999; Halperin, 2003). Other

theoretical propositions suitable to the application of queer theory were documented by

Plummer (2011):

- Both heterosexual/homosexual binary and the sex/gender split are challenged.

- There is a decentering of identity.

- All sexual categories (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, heterosexual) are
  open, fluid, and nonfixed.

- Mainstream homosexuality is critiqued.

- Power is embodied discursively.

- All normalizing strategies are shunned.

- Versions of homosexual subject positions are inscribed everywhere.

- Deviance is abandoned, and interest lies in insider and outsider perspectives
  and transgressions.

- The most frequent interests include the social worlds of the so-called radical
  sexual fringe (e.g., drag kings and queens, sexual playfulness) (p. 201).

Button et al. (2012) explored the phenomenon of sexual minority victimization

and the consequences in configuration with the sexual identity of the victims in their

environment. The researchers used queer theory to inform their study on the implications

of sexual prejudice, victimization of gay youths, and the impact of social support of the

group. Using queer theory, Button et al. debated that individuals of sexual minority

groups in various social environments may experience victimization and coping support

to assist them in different ways. A comparison of heteronormative attitudes was further

made in contrast with homosexuality. Attitudes toward homosexuals are contextualized

within the framework of the principles of queer theory. A core philosophy analyzed in that context by Button et al. is the emphasized relationship among gender, sex, and sexuality that queer theory presents. Further, Button et al. stressed the parallel idea to queer theory that the composition of heterosexual behavior is customary and anything that deviates from that as abnormal, permits an advantaged status to heterosexuality. Hence, prejudicial attitudes and victimization of deviant groups is almost inevitable.

De Jong (2014) used queer theory as a foundation for the analysis of a study on attitudes of social workers in a school setting, to "gender-variant" pupils. Additionally, De Jong incorporated the relevance of the theoretical framework in a qualitative study. The researcher documented that the existence of queer theory as the framework of the study facilitated direction in the gathering of data, and its analysis. De Jong advanced the incomprehensibility of exploring gender variance without reference to the conventional duality of gender and its relation to heteronormative activity. De Jong upheld a critical analysis of the work by maintain a unbiased approach to the incorporation of queer theory into the study. The author sustained a constancy of studies guided by queer theory—that is to air the voices of study participants, and therefore present a genuine outline of who the participants are based on how they asserted that they saw themselves.

Foe (2014) examined the concept of gay tolerance in the Philippines by taking a comparative look at precolonial Philippines to its contemporary society. The social scientist extended the study to Philippine society before the gay movement. That extension was used to establish a foundation of cultural acceptance of gays despite episodes of intolerance in modern Philippines. Lack of tolerance was transparent in cases

of bullying and explicit teasing of gays, as well as through hatred of the self, that was

sustained by homosexuals. Queer theory was used with social constructivism to undergird

the social composition of sexuality. The theory was used to transfer the idea that sexual

appetite is a flexible social idea that transforms as time passes. Foe (2014) augmented

that there are variations in how it is delineated within different societies.

The variation in the use of queer theory to underpin each exploration in the works

of Foe (2014), De Jong (2014), and Button et al. (2012) coincide to offer various

perspectives regarding the approach, content, and method of discovery and data analysis

in the current study. Queer theory is a suitable choice for this study on the basis that the

study will use a qualitative approach and a phenomenological design to enter the world of

adult homosexual males who reside in the parish of St. James, Jamaica. Qualitative

explorations nurture rich textual data that reflects the narratives of participants who are

often oppressed (Creswell, 2009). Gender and sexuality in collusion with oppression are

concepts that were analyzed in the three studies. Elements of oppressions were explored

in the study with a focus on gay male victimization based on the sexual orientation of

participants. The aforementioned in conjunction with the purpose of the study are aligned

with several principles of queer theory. Halperin (2003) purported that queer theory made

explicit the association between sexuality and gender as both a systematic classification

and a lived experience. Queer theory has resisted the normalization of gender and

sexuality and opposed political and social regulation (Halperin, 2003). The latter

statement is valuable considering the sociocultural and sociopolitical stance of Jamaica's

general population regarding homosexuality. The country was labeled among the most

dangerous in the world for homosexuals to reside (West & Cowell, 2015). Additionally, the postulation of Plummer (2011) that queer theory explores the essential social interactions of those identities that do not conform to the norm, parallels the idea of this study as it focuses on a group that is considered deviants in Jamaica.

In view of the position of queer theory, and juxtaposed with the inquiries that are being made by the study it is worth noting that using the theory as a framework may assist in bringing transparency to the attempted resolution of a dilemma—the victimization of homosexuals males in Jamaica. It may shed light on attitudes toward gay liberation in that country while capturing the essence of the shared experiences among victims of anti-homosexual attitudes. Finally, within the context of queer theory, the inquiries made may also stir responses that "convey the voices and experiences of individuals who have been suppressed" (Creswell, 2013).

Historical Overview

Pre-Homosexuality

Prior to 1869 the concept of homosexuality was inexistent (Mondimore, 1996). The term made its advent in a letter to the then Minister of Justice in Germany. At the time the North German Federation was developing a new corrective policy. During the drafting of the new policy a discourse took place which encompassed a part of the Prussian penal policy that prohibited sexual intimacy between same sex individuals. The letter had appeared in a leaflet was constructed by Karl Maria Kertbeny (1824-1882), as well as other writers and lawyers who were at that time initiating enhancements pertaining to the impression of sexual orientation. The notion of people being attracted to

others of the same gender as an intrinsic and fixed characteristic of their persona was

fundamentally novel (Mondimore, 1996). In defiance of the delineation of the concept of

homosexuality as shared by Mondimore, Hubbard (2003) outlined arguments noting the

controversy in the viewpoint. Hubbard expressed that the concept of homosexuality is

controversial especially when one reflects on earlier cultures in contrast to contemporary

time. Hubbard asserted that "neither Greek nor Latin possess any one word covering the

same semantic range as modern conception" (Hubbard, 2003, p. 1). The author

represented a range of ideas to advance the multiplicity of perspectives on same sex

relations. Hubbard claimed that historically, certain types of sexual inclinations were

viewed as distinctive behavior of personalities. Among the standpoints from which he

drew were the ideas that a) same sex attraction is an innate trait and is therefore an

important composition of who a person is; b) it is a biological deficiency sustained when

a male and female sperm and egg (respectively) fail to fuse correctly during conception

(the viewpoint held by ancient philosopher, Parmenides); c) it is a genetic factor that

contributes to some males being effeminate and females displaying masculine qualities;

d) it is not only a possibility of innate same sex attraction being an inherent trait but it

could also be an effect of childhood abuse. In that case same sex attraction is a

physiological deformity (the stance held by Aristotle and disciples of his teachings).

A key intersection in the stance of both Mondimore (1996) and Hubbard (2003) is

that both writers agreed that millenniums of documented history, as well as the ascension

and collapse of urbane and intricate cultures happened prior to the existence of

homosexuality as a concept or a notion. Therefore, a comprehension of homosexuality in contemporary settings must first be examined in early societies.

Synopsis of Homosexuality in Some Ancient Cultures and Groups

Mondimore (1996) presented dual but opposing arguments with relation to cultural perspectives on same sex relationships. The earlier Latin and Greek vernaculars lacked any words that could be converted to homosexual because those cultures did not categorize sexuality as is existent in modern society. Contemporary conceptualizations and categorizations of sexuality encircle two ideas—homosexuality when there is same sex involvement, and heterosexuality when opposite genders are involved. In ancient times and among other cultures (different than modern Western cultures) the application of modern conceptualizations did not exist. For example, historians, anthropologists and sociologists have defined many societies in which same-sex relations are viewed in contrast to Western ideals.

Mondimore (1996) augmented that while the languages of the Romans and Greeks lacked terms for sexual classifications, explorers had a different perspective regarding Native American cultures. The cultures of Native Americans as discovered by anthropologists, missionaries, and voyagers from the 1600s forward, had classifications for sexual orientation (though no words of those classifications are presented in Western language). Subsequently, in the discussion to emerge an examination of customs of ancient groups toward same sex relationships (referred to in this document as homosexuality) will follow. Inside those societies, same sex relationship was not viewed as indigenous to a special group or class of individuals; there was no classification for

homosexuals. The contradicting perspective that Mondimore highlighted was that in some societies, same sex relationships were a traditional aspect of sexuality among all members of a society. The latter seemed to cement the idea that homosexuality may not be a personal quality as is held by some.

Though same sex relationships were common in early Greece, those customs that were impacted by the religion of the biblical character, Abraham, as well as penal codes and the church recognized same sex relationships as sinful and therefore was against biblical laws, and hence a corruption against Mother Nature. Even before the impact of the Abrahamic religion and therefore predating Christianity, though sodomy was typical in Greek culture, a view back to the era of Plato revealed that sodomy was viewed as abnormal (Skinner, 2013).

Contrasting arguments among social scholars (essentialists and constructionists) were also found among the debates on homosexuality. Essentialists perceive concepts such as *straight* and *gay* as traditionally unchanging and unprejudiced characteristics of individuals. On the other hand, constructionists believe that sexual attributes are shaped through communal and traditional processes. In essence, that former holds that sexuality is biologically determined, while the latter believes that sexuality is a result of environmental factors (Halperin, 1990).

Homosexuality in Ancient Africa.

The foremost documented same-sex partners in history are considered to be Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (both males) who existed some time about the period of 2400 BC. Works which display images of the couple often display them in a nose-kissing

situation which was typical in Egyptian works of art that depicted intimacy. Same sex

relationships were not confined to the male gender in Africa. In Lesotho (Kingdom of

Lesotho--a southern African country, females consistently took part in customary long

term relationships with each other (Murray & Roscoe, 1998). Similarly male warriors of

the Azande tribe in the northern part of Congo, commonly had youthful male sexual

partners between the ages of 12 and 20. Those partners also assisted with domestic chores

(Evans-Pritchard, 1970).

Several documents tend to discuss same sex relationship in Egyptian culture when

focusing on Africa. Reeder (2000) averred that in ancient Egypt there existed aversions

toward particular same-sex relationships among men, than intimacy among males in

general. Typically, at that time family structures composed of a mother, father and

children.

However, Parkinson (1995) and Brunner-Traut (1991) sustained that the

perspective of homosexuality which was held by ancient Egyptians remains obscured.

The authors shared that documents that discuss the issue often do not name the

circumstances of the intimate acts. Rather overformal and ornate interpretations are used

to discuss them. While the inscriptions on the tombs of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep

may symbolize a cultural acceptance of same sex relationships among ancient Egyptians,

the opposite was viewed regarding Seth.

Seth was a god in ancient Egyptian religion who seduced and raped his nephew

(Horus). In light of the perception of the mythical god, Seth, thoughts among the ancient

Egyptians were negative. Parkinson and Brunner-Traut sustained that there are no works

in ancient Egyptian texts which undoubtedly convey that same-sex intimacy was found to be either contemptible or acceptable. Likewise, there is none to suggest that it was penalized. Therefore, an unwavering assessment continues to be an issue.

Homosexuality in Asia.

Homosexuality existed in China since around the period of 600 B.C. Records of early homosexual behaviors in China were documented in the text "Dream of the Red Chamber" (written in the 18th century). Those relationships seemed just as common then as sexual relationships among persons of the opposite sex. Confucianism (551-479 B.C.) a dominant religion of the ancient Chinese did not focus much on human sexuality of any kind. However, literature from the Ming Dynasty depicted same-sex relationships among men as vastly pleasurable and more loving than when compared to that of heterosexuals (Kang, 2009). Despite its popularity homosexuality faced antagonism during the Tang Dynasty of the medieval period. That opposition was credited to the impact of the spread of both Christianity and Islam (Hinsch, 1992). Despite the influence of the aforementioned religions, negative perceptions of homosexuality were not totally reputable until the adaptation of western culture by the Qing Dynasty and then the Republic of China (Kang, 2009). Homosexuality became legal in China in 1997.

In Singapore, a southeastern Asian country, homosexuality is illegal. Over 20,000 gay rights advocates protested in 2014 against laws that forbid homosexuality. The laws were sustained, and provided a penalty of no more than two years in jail if found engaging in homosexuality (Enquirer, 2014). The present statute dates as far back as the colonial period when the country was under British rule. The statute was established by

the then British government in 1960 as penal code Section 377. The code included any

act of sexual intercourse which was deemed unnatural and against nature. Among those

acts were oral sex and buggery. Though the code itself was removed from the books in

2007 punishments for gay sexual relationship among men was sustained under penal code

377A (Mosbergen, 2015).

In southern Asia (India) homosexuals lived a closeted life until about a decade

ago. An entreaty was signed by the Naz Foundation in 2001 in the Delhi High Court to

have homosexuality decriminalized. However, till present it has not been realized.

Homosexuality is illegal in India, and though prosecutions are infrequently made, many

homosexuals in India often fall victims to extortions and blackmails (Lalwani, 2009).

Despite the circumstances surrounding homosexuality in modern India, Dandige

(2013) stated that in ancient times that was not the case. In fact, in earlier periods, various

types of sexuality were accepted in India. The researcher affirmed that the beginning of

homophobia in India may be traced back to the period of colonization by the British.

Homosexuality became a taboo. The taboo stemmed from a ban imposed on

homosexuality by the British (in 1959) during the Raj period. The law became effective

in 1860 under Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code which affirmed,

> Whoever voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any
>
> man, woman or animal, shall be punished with imprisonment for life, or with
>
> imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and
>
> shall be liable to fine. (as cited in Dandige, 2013, p. 26)

Prior to the British laws, homosexuality was never an illegal or punishable act. However, since the passing of the 1860 act, Dandige sustained that it became an appalling offense. The British instituted laws against homosexuality which made it a crime with a punishment of up to 10 years in prison if caught in the act. In contrast to the findings of Lalwani, Dandige asserted that in 2009 the Delhi High Court made it legal for same sex among consenting homosexual adults to take place without penalty.

Homosexuality in Europe.

The most ancient literary works produced in Western documents examined same-sex relationships of the ancient Greeks. During the Classical period in Europe the traditional forms of intimacy were between men and women, and men and youths. Same-sex relationships were an acceptable social norm. It was viewed as a way to regulate population growth as well as the benefits of pedagogy about sexuality. In his early works, Plato extolled the benefits of homosexuality (Cooksey, 2010). However, Plato in his literature later denounced the act as deviant (Moore, 2016). Boswell (1980) presented a contrasting perspective by citing the refutations of Aristotle to Plato's late perspective of same-sex relationships. Aristotle posited that the Celts viewed homosexuality as moral, and it was used to regulate population growth by the Cretans.

Crompton (2003) shared that in the early Roman Empire there was an attraction for good-looking slave boys and the reprehensible loss of virility. As was similar within Greek societies, homosexuality during that period of the Roman Empire was viewed with prestige, as well as openness to display same-sex affections when contrasted with Western cultures which only recently began to embrace such freedoms (Crompton, 2003;

Hubbard, 2003). Despite similar arguments put forward by both Hubbard and Crompton, the latter also presented some divergent views about other European nations and their viewpoints of homosexuality.

Crompton (2003) claimed that in Arab Spain and feudal France sensitivities toward homosexuality were on opposing ends of the debate. In Spain, intimacy between males was an idealistic probability which was thwarted by stern religious policies. In France homosexuality was penalized by putting individuals to death by a stake. It was also considered a dirty and prohibited immorality. Contrariwise, Crompton stated that the fad depicted an admiration of emperors "Fujan marriages, and Mandarin scholars paired with opera stars" (p. 13). The English who ruled England and Wales from the 17th to the 18th century viewed homosexuality as a satanic act that was aligned with the Catholic Church and was in no way affiliated with Protestant beliefs. At the same period in France, homosexuality as advanced by Hubbard, was vogue. Concurrently, in the Netherlands, it was observed as counter to reproduction.

Modern European stance on homosexuality has seen a statistical count of the nearly 24 countries globally that permit same-sex relationships, with most located in Europe (Lipka, 2017). Contradictorily however, Italy, due to its link to the Roman Catholic Church does not recognize same sex marriages. In Central Europe and Eastern Europe, none of the nations permit same sex marriage. In a study conducted by the Pew Research Center, it was found that most people in those regions oppose same sex relationships. The anomaly among them was in the Czech Republic. A vast majority or participants in the study favored homosexual marriages (Lipka, 2017).

Homosexuality in the Middle East.

During the early Assyrian era, same sex relationships were typical, permitted and accepted. In some religious works there were even prayers requesting blessings for same relationships (Holland, 2004; Mazzalongo, 1996). Same sex relationships were acceptable in regions like Greater Iran. During the years 1501-1723 male brothels were permitted, and they even engaged in paying their taxes. However, today, Israel is deemed the most forbearing of same sex relationships in the Middle East (The Independent, 2008). For example Tel Aviv is considered to be one of the most favorable places for gays in the world (Calgary Herald, 2011; Kirchick, 2007). Despite that, there are still many nations in the Middle East that penalize homosexuality, or ignore its presence (Eke, 2005). It is deemed against the law in most Muslim nations. In countries such as Yemen, Iran, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and Sudan, the death penalty is the method of punishment (Lavrikovs & Barris, 2009).

Homosexuality in the Americas.

During the period of pre-colonization of various territories in the Americas by Europeans a typical same-sex behavior encompassed those individuals who were classified as Two-Spirit persons. From an early age those individuals were granted the option to chart the route of Two-Spirit. Upon recognition of the role chosen, the child would then be groomed in a manner that was aligned with the gender he or she had selected. Often, persons who were considered Two-Spirit were shamans. They were worshipped due to a belief that they had extraordinary powers than other shamans. They engaged in same sex relationships with typical members of their tribe (Ben, 2004;

Stephen, 2004). Same-sex practices were also typical in other Latin American societies before colonization. They included those of the Zapotecs, Quechuas, Mayans, Aztecs, and Tupinamba of Brazil, Ben and Stephen asserted. However, according to Coello de la Rosa (2002) it was during the Spanish conquest that homosexuality was penalized. The Spanish were appalled about the practice and therefore instituted penal codes to punish anyone caught in such acts. Other penalties included being ripped apart by dogs or beaten publicly.

In spite of the history of homosexuality in Latin America, Brocchetto (2017) presented a contradictory discussion on the topic in contemporary time. When contrasted with modern day United States of America (USA), the United States Supreme Court ruled in in 1986 in the case of Bowers v. Hardwick that sodomy could be penalized at the state level. It was not until 2003 that the Supreme Court reversed the ruling (Dynia, 2008). By 2015, in the case of Obergefell v. Hodges, the Supreme Court again ruled that same sex marriages were legal in all 50 states (Chappell, 2015). On the other hand, at the state level there are still discrepancies regarding the rights of LGBT people in the USA. In contrast however, Brocchetto revealed that in Latin America laws aimed at securing LGBT rights in were in effect before the legalization of same sex marriages in the USA. Despite Latin American countries being noted as having some of the most progressive laws favoring LGBT groups, in contrast to some countries, the contradiction is presented in data that also support the fact that the region also has the highest rates of violence against LGBT groups.

Contra-wise to the days of the early Greeks and Romans, where there was widespread acceptance of same sex relations, by the colonial era especially in America (USA), homosexuals were not afforded a favorable welcome parade. Crompton (1976) presented a synopsis of the penalization of homosexuals during that era. At a period when the colony of Massachusetts (in 1641) initiated the opening of its shores to persons who sought asylum from both political and religious oppression, homosexuals were persecuted. By 1776 within the original 13 colonies of America, homosexuals were granted the penalty of death for engaging in same sex relationships. Laws against homosexuality did not originate with the Americans. In the Western world it could be traced back to the first half of the 16th century (1533) during the reign of Henry VIII in England. The law made it a capital punishment for any individual to "commit the detestable and abominable vice of buggery with mankind or beast" (Crompton, 1976, pp. 277-278). Over the years the law was reenacted until the second half of the 19th century when the penalty of death was replaced with imprisonment for life. Crompton theorized that the inclusion of the concepts of vice, abominable and buggery, cemented a religious foundation for the law.

In colonial America the five southern colonies before the great revolution, mirrored Virginia by enforcing the laws of the English against the acceptance of homosexuality (Crompton, 1976). While the statutes may not have been included in the books in some cases, they were still practiced. South Carolina however, included the law as it was documented by the English. In the north, a unique Puritan code was established that showed the distinction between the penal styles of America and England. The first

American law listed offences against the 'state' which included sodomy and buggery.

The latter was aligned with bestiality at the time. The laws of the English encompassed

anal sex between males, between a male and a female, as well as bestiality. In contrast

however, female sexual relations with each other was not applicable (Crompton, 1976).

By 1864, the English had instituted the anti-buggery laws in its colonies. At that time,

Jamaica was one of them. Today the Offences Against the Person Act (commonly called

the anti-buggery law) is still laid out in Jamaica's Constitution. Homosexuality is

punishable in Jamaica by up to 10 years of imprisonment (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

In America, the law went through several changes to the realization of widespread

acceptance by some today. By 1978 a novice approach to the study of sexuality fueled

political movements surrounding the advocacy for both gays and lesbians to be free to

practice their lifestyles (Halperin, 2008). In 2015, the Supreme Court of the United States

ruled that same sex marriages were legal in the United States (Human Rights Watch,

2015).

Grey et al. (2013) however, postulated that a significant change in how

homosexuality was viewed occurred after its declassification from the American

Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM).

A part of steering away from the attempt to cure homosexuality, there was the process of

gays disclosing their sexual orientation in order to nurture a positive mental mind frame.

There was shift from homosexuality as a disorder to a focus on society's negative

influence on the mental health of homosexuals. Grey et al. claimed that the idea of

homophobia was conceptualized to describe the stigmatization of homosexuals by

society. Today, homosexual males are among the most targeted groups of homophobic victimization when compared with other sexual minority groups.

Herek (2015) asserted that internationally, there are over 74 countries that have instituted statutes against homosexual conduct. While in some, the penalty may be jail time, in others it is more extreme. The penalty is death. As with global perspectives, homosexual males in Jamaica are the most targeted group for victimization based on their sexual orientation (J-FLAG, 2014). Among the forms of victimization recorded by J-FLAG were stigmatization, murder, bullyism, shootings, rape, intimidations, threats, verbal abuse, and eviction from homes, forced unemployment and discrimination when attempting to access some social services.

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders

According to Bingham and Banner (2014), homosexuality was first categorized as a '*sociopathic personality disturbance'* in the DSM in 1952. In fact, homosexuality was austerely labeled congruent with sexual cruelty and pedophilia as a diseased or morbid form of sexuality (American Psychological Association-APA, 1952). It was not until approximately 16 years later that it was reclassified as a sexual abnormality in the DSM-II. However, that classification was similar to the previous because homosexuality was still considered abnormal and deviant. It was categorized as repugnant and chided the lack of responsiveness in those stricken with that abnormality to accept a moral lifestyle (APA, 1968). Subsequent to that reclassification, as well as deliberations and demonstrations regarding the same in 1973, homosexuality was again removed from that category. Bingham and Banner (2014) argued that its removal was not due to scholarly

evidence but rather due to the sociopolitical atmosphere of that period. The move was considered not only fundamental to the foundations of psychiatric branch that classifies diseases, but also pointed to assertions of political partialities in identification of a disorder.

Daley and Mule (2014) augmented that the Stonewall Riots that took place in New York City in 1969 were among the instrumental protests that ignited a debate that fueled the removal of homosexuality as a disorder from the DSM. Silverstein (2009) supported the findings of Daley and Mule by affirming that the Stonewall Riots also nurtured national remonstrations for both social acceptability and equity toward homosexuals. Daley and Mule presented other controversial arguments regarding the declassification of homosexuality as a disorder. The social scientists affirmed that over the past three decades a number of classifications of disorders have permitted the likely treatment of LGBT people as deviants. The researchers argued that the identification of *Egodystonic Sexual Orientation* in the DSM-III, was substituted for *Sexual Orientation Disturbance*. In 1987 after a revision of the DSM it was subsequently interchanged with *Sexual Disorder*. Later in the DSM-5 homosexuality was not included as a diagnosis.

The exclusion of homosexuality from the DSM, as a sexual disorder was not only fueled by the Stonewall riots, but by empirical support from researchers who challenged the classification, as well as the idea that homosexuality was an indicator of pathology. Hooker (1957) conducted a study using a sample of homosexual men who had no affiliation with mental institutions, corrections facilities, or a history of mental or social disorders. That make-up was considered pioneering during that period. The study was

aimed at offering elucidations on whether homosexuality was nurtured by pathology. The conclusive argument based on Hooker's study was that there was zero relationship between same sex relationship among men, and mental illness. In fact, the study showed that like heterosexuality, its practices were diverse. Hooker postulated three main conclusions, that 1) if homosexuality presented an inability of homosexuals to adapt to the accepted norms of the society, it was solely sexually, and not psychologically; 2) Any stray from the array of sexual forms that there are, was within a customary range, and 3) homosexuality did not happen as a medical occurrence.

The pathologization of homosexuality was perpetuated by Krafft-Ebing. Krafft-Ebing was considered one of the most significant figures who perceived homosexuality as a deviation. His views were linked to the ideologies of the Darwinian Theory that sexual conducts that do not result in reproduction were types of mental health disorder. It was the views of Krafft-Ebing that were circulated among the scientific community which resulted in the initial classification of homosexuality as a mental disturbance (Drescher, 2015). Krafft-Ebing thought that even though an individual may have been born with a tendency toward homosexual behavior, those conducts must be accepted as a genetic ailment. In contrast to the theories of Krafft-Ebing, Freud (1905) asserted that homosexuality was not a mental disorder. The explanations presented by Freud included the idea that homosexuality was identified in individuals "whose efficiency is unimpaired, and who are indeed distinguished by specially high intellectual development and ethical culture" (Freud, 1905, p. 139). Despite the proclamations of Freud, Drescher

noted in divergence that the majority of psychiatric psychoanalysts of the compeers following Freud, perceived homosexual behavior as neurotic.

<div align="center">**Major World Religions and Homosexuality**</div>

The discussions about the association of religion with homosexuality have been diverse and impacted by the specific period within which they take place, as well as the time within that era. Intertwined in the discussions are topics focused on what is morally correct, what punishment best suits the transgression (if viewed as such), and whether same sex relationships should be socially accepted. McDermott et al. (2014) advanced that Anti-homosexual sentiments have been found to have a strong relationship with religious ideologies. Adamczyk (2017) contributed to the discussion by noting that responses to homosexuality were not only directed by personal religious views but by the impact of the larger national religious perspective—even for people who are not affiliated with a particular religion. An examination of Abrahamic religions (Christianity, Islam, and Judaism) and Hinduism will assist in shaping the historical foundation of religion and the perspectives on homosexuality in contemporary society.

Judaism

The establishment of the Judaeo-Christian culture began in 20th century B.C. when Canaan was occupied by Abram and his family. For the next two millenniums the population grew, and over those years they face numerous wars from the Romans, Persian, Greeks, and Babylonians. After the defeat of the Jews by the Romans, the Jews were scattered and later it was the Apocalyptic Jews who conveyed their culture with the ancient Christians (Harris, 2009). Those converts over time spread Christianity to the

Roman Empire which was falling at that time. During the Middle Ages, the religion spread throughout Europe. Harris augmented prior to Judaeo-Christianity, bisexuality was not only socially acceptable, but was widely revered. However, due to over 3000 years of losses through war, which included male rapes, and suppressions by the adversaries of Judaeo-Christian culture, homophobia was given birth as well as the dominance of Western culture. The impact of Western culture resulted in a lot of hiding their bisexuality and instead adapt to the new changes of stigmatization if their homosexuals or feel privileged to be a heterosexual (even under pretense). According to Harris (2006) Judaeo-Christian homophobia has expanded culturally and has earned global supremacy, therefore restraining the previously accepted same sex relationships.

Today, the Torah, which contains the first five books of the Hebrew Bible is the main text that dictates the responses of Jews to homosexuality. The text outlines that homosexuality is a sin and affirms through the book of Leviticus that it is wrong for a man to lie with another man (Moon, 2014). That perspective is dominantly held by Orthodox Jews. However, Slomowitz and Feit (2015) presented dissenting arguments by noting that the Orthodox Jewish society is becoming more open to the sensitivities of homosexual males. It was documented that some Jewish priests in the Orthodox society no longer believe the death penalty should be the result of homosexuality, neither should such men be driven from the synagogues. Rather, they should be allowed to fulfill duties in such places of worship.

Islam

For over a century there have been discussions outlined in Western literature

about Islamic attitudes toward homosexuality. Modern Islamic ideologies frown upon all

aspects of homosexuality. (Aboul-Enein, 2015) In fact, Aboul-Enein (2015) contended

that Muslim scholars today believe that every human was inherently formed to be

heterosexual and therefore homosexuality is abnormal. Not only is homosexuality viewed

as abnormal, but it is also considered illegal. Punishment for practicing the act is diverse

and dependent on the specific school of Islamic practice. The penalty can range from

mild prison terms to the death penalty. Conversely, there are some Islamic schools of

thought that do not mete out any physical punishment at all. Aboul-Enein expounded that

homosexuality is only viewed as the act of buggery. Other forms of affection among

males such as caressing, kissing or even non-penetrative sex were not considered deviant.

Contradictorily to modern Islamic views of homosexuality, Aboul-Enein (2015)

also noted that during medieval period, Arabic and Islamic documents depicted an

acceptance of homosexuality. Same sex relationships during those times were not only

tolerated by Muslims but were also commended and studied. Today, through the

doctrines of the Holy Quran, homosexuality is condemned (Jahangir & Abdul-latif,

2016).

Christianity

According to Bruce (2017) for over 1000 years homosexuals in Christian cultures

were not expurgated (despite only some isolated omissions). There existed an active

homosexual subculture at the beginning of the High Middle Ages. By the 13th century,

homosexuals and other minority groups such as Jews began to experience victimization

due to bigotry. Such treatments also happened in tandem with the period of the crusades

in which non-Christians were viewed as heretics. Bruce (2017) augmented that

throughout the middle of the 12th century people in Europe who engaged in same sex

behaviors were infrequently exposed to legal penalties or extreme moral censorship

during that time. In fact, it was noted that even in the literature of some noble churchmen,

and poets, homosexual fascination and compassions were evident (Bruce, 2017).

Liberal Christians.

Today, Liberal Christians are advocates of homosexuality. Among this group

homosexuality is neither deemed good nor bad. This ideology is recognized by several

Christian churches. Among those churches are the United Church of Christ, the United

Church of Canada (Dewan, 2005) the Presbyterian Church in the USA, the Evangelical

Church in America, and the Episcopal Church. Recent actions of the Episcopal Church

regarding homosexuality have fueled tense deliberations within the Church of England,

and within Anglican churches, globally. The liberal Christian movement is impacting the

once firm religious stance of many religious individuals in the USA. Many are

liberalizing, even at a slow pace (Schnabel, 2016).

Protestant Views.

On the other hand, conservative denominations in the Christian faith continue to

condemn homosexuality using teachings from both the Old and New Testaments within

the Bible. Therefore, it is maintained that sexual conducts that go against God's design of

heterosexual relationships, is sinful (Leviticus 18:22), (Hopko, 2012). Conservative

protestant views draw solely from the Bible. Contrary to those views are those of the Catholic Church whose beliefs are embedded in the Bible, natural law, and the teachings of Saint Thomas Aquinas (priest—1225-1274), (Paul, 1994).

Catholic Views.

The doctrines of the Catholic Church affirm that individuals who have a desire to engage in same sex relationships are called to practice celibacy (Paul, 1994). However, the Church uphold the sanctimony of marriage between a man and a woman and the fruitfulness of such relationships.

Hinduism

One of the standard textual works in the Indian culture is the Karma Sutra which was composed approximately 150BC. The text includes descriptions of eunuchs or men who sexually pleasured other men orally (Pattanaik, 2001). The writer went on to state that likewise, some medieval Hindu temples and art works transparently showcased both male and female same sex relationships. The implication was that some aspects of the Hindu religion and culture were accepting of diverse human sexualities than in their contemporary society. Over the years, however, Hinduism has held numerous standpoints on homosexuality. They include favorable perceptions, unbiased positions, and some incompatible views. Some laws of Hinduism condemn and penalize homosexuality among males, while some are accepting of same sex relationships among females. Historically, it has been found that there is not a solid collective outlook on homosexuality within Hinduism. Within each group that practices the religion the teachings are distinct (Vanita & Kidwai, 2001).

Scientific Perspectives on Homosexuality

The Theory of Evolution

McKnight (1997) specified that when viewed within the constraints of the theory of evolution homosexuality was considered deviant. McKnight expounded on the theory of evolution by affirming the purpose of evolution—to advance procreation. It is the singular reason for living. Therefore, if having sex did not result in reproduction, it was not aligned well with the framework of evolution. Based on the tenets of evolutionary theory, if one cannot pass on their genes, cannot reproduce, then that species will have diminished. Conversely, that was not the outcome. McKnight elaborated that homosexuals have been around for ages, and despite the beliefs of theories of evolution they are today a "robust minority within society" (McKnight, 1997, p. 1). Halperin (2008) also posited opposing viewpoints to the theories of evolution (which have been associated with Darwin). Halperin alluded to the idea that homosexuality is not genetic. It is not something that one is born with, but rather an act that is learned. On the other hand, Kauth (2000) avowed that with the sexual desire for same or opposite sex, many theories tend to focus on either one aspect or another. That is, it is either environmental, or genetic. That would also mean that a convergence of both views would be limited. The practice has fostered a limited perception of human sexuality that is not reflective of modern society or the fluidity of human sexuality. Kauth therefore asserted that there is an association between both the biological and the social factors that influence human sexuality. In an attempt to frame the discussion on homosexuality, Brent (2015) refuted the stance of Halperin by suggesting an Essentialist perspective to homosexual behavior.

Essentialists believe that classifications of sexual types are observed rather than constructed. An example used to solidify that idea is that of the ancient Greeks. During that time there were no concepts associated with same sex behaviour or even relationships among members of the opposite sex. However, it could be observed that there were individuals who intimately admired members of the same sex. Brent advanced that throughout time there have been various forms of sexual relations that are not bounded by time or place. From that standpoint Brent claimed that homosexuality is then a natural act and therefore not an offspring of a cultural or historical factor. Despite the Essentialist perspective, Halperin (2008) held that socioeconomic associations, studies on human development, as well as traditionally constructed elements, developed sexual classifications and the individual characteristics with which they are associated.

Anthropology

Johnson (2011a) affirmed that early European literature regarding homosexuality and anthropology were composed by the criminal and forensic anthropologist, Lombroso and Kraft-Ebing. The works were sternly focused on establishing a relationship between the physiological and behavioral attributes of humans. Both were accountable for the depiction of homosexuality as a disorder that permanently lived inside a person. It was established by the duo as a type of abnormality that depicted some individuals as genetically lacking. Johnson however shared opposing views to those held by Lombroso and Kraft-Ebing. The views reflected those of contemporary apologists regarding homosexuality. Such apologist opposed the buggery laws that were instituted by Europeans. Among the apologists were Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and Magnus Hirschfeld.

Ulrichs and Hirschfeld asserted that homosexuality was not a choice but rather a biological desire that those who engage in homosexual relationships cannot resist. Johnson asserted that the idea that every sexual conduct is determined by ones genetic makeup and not environmentally influenced, have resulted in changing political views that homosexuality is natural. Walks (2014) however, shared that where sexuality is concerned among anthropologists, there has been a variation in perspectives over the years regarding gender and sexuality. One idea Walks postulated (also noted by Weston, 1998) was the view of homosexuality as a cultural concept rather than a pathological one.

Weston (1998) contributed that with a focus on various genders and sexualities through anthropology, there have been a trio of intersecting stages queer anthropological growth. They included "the late 1960s through the early 1990s, the late 1980s through the early 2000s, and the late 1990s until the present" (Weston, 1998, para. 6). In the initial phase there was a focus on the origins of homosexuality. Examinations of other cultures deemed homosexuality an exotic ritualized lifestyle. However, by the second phase, when various forms of sexual practice began to increase and become more explicit (such as lesbianism, transgenderism, transgressive practices, and so on) it was realized by anthropologists that both context, and cultures and a move from exoticization were important. That move from exoticization resulted in a sustained range of emphases on even wider categories of human sexuality and gender. The third phase saw a recognition of the impacts of migration, neoliberalism, globalization and advocacy on the changing views of human sexuality.

Psychology

Campbell (1985) posited that psychological theories have exhibited a variety of standpoints on homosexuality and human sexuality. That focus does not necessarily center on genitalia functions but mainly of theorized pathologies, inspirations, and other elements vital to both personal and group efficacy. The schools of thought have been wide, with some encompassing physiological development, environmental stimulants, and intrapsychic attributes. Before the advent of the 20th century as well as during that period, homosexuality was generally viewed by psychologists as a mental disorder and was so classified in the DSM (see earlier discussion-DSM). The categorization of homosexuality as a mental disorder was not clearly identified through research conducted by social and behavioral scientists. Hence, one reason for its declassification and subsequent removal form the DSM in later editions (Bingham & Banner, 2014). Glassgold et al. (2009) advanced that one outcome of studies done by social, behavioral and mental health expertise is that homosexuality is a variant of human sexuality. Despite that popular belief there are still some who assert that it is a disorder.

One early psychologist who sustained that homosexuality is a disorder was Sigmund Freud. He was the pioneer of psychoanalytical assessment of homosexuality. Freud asserted that homosexuality was resultant of childhood experiences because all individuals were initially bisexuals at birth (RCL Spring 2016, 2016). Freud's work initiated other studies from psychiatrists such as Beach, Kinsey, and Ford. The works of the aforementioned revealed that homosexuality was more widespread than originally thought, and therefore it was not a mental disorder. Kinsey et al. (1948) presented an

opposing perspective that rather views sexual orientation as something that exists on a continuum. Individuals may exists on the continuum based on their personal fantasies, conduct, or feelings associated with heterosexual or homosexual behaviors. Campbell (1985) however refutes the stance of Kinsey et al. by noting that such an assessment of sexuality may overgeneralize the concept of homosexuality, to individuals, because it would make vague, individual variances. Though there still exist some discord within the school of psychology, on homosexuality one outcome postulated is that varying cultural perspectives and social attitudes in the United States have impacted multiple perspectives of homosexuality. One such impact was the decision of the American Psychological Association to make changes to homosexuality as a disorder. Such a change has helped to fuel recognition of some rights of LGBT groups (RCL Spring 2016, 2016).

Homosexuality and its Counterpart-Heterosexuality

While at variance with the focus of homosexuality encompassing either the biological or the social, another social scientist turned attention to the counter element to homosexuality—heterosexuality. Johnson (2011b) asserted that homosexuality cannot be properly understood without the inclusion of some focus on heterosexuality. Johnson averred that both terms were introduced at a time when there was much discussion pertaining to the clarification of sexuality. The establishment and promotion of the terms signaled a change in the manner in which sexual conduct was comprehended through a fusion of that conduct with social identity. Bullough (2006) introduced another related concept to the discussion—sexual orientation. The author conceptualized sexual orientation as a descriptor for sensual desirability directed at persons of like or different

gender, or both genders—homosexual, heterosexual, or bisexual, respectively. Bullough stressed that there is a belief that the concept heterosexual denotes an attraction between people of opposite genders. Controversially, it denoted that that any person who is not a heterosexual is a homosexual. Mondimore in contrast, argued that an attempt to clarify homosexuality is complicated. To define the term according to both time and place may be complex. Not all periods and cultures view homosexuality monolithically. An observation of both place and time may reveal different perceptions of homosexuality.

While there may be an implied uncertainty about the limitations of the concept, homosexual, a singular idea that is irrefutable is the controversy associated with homosexual acceptance and stigmatization (or discrimination). De Block and Adriaens (2013) asserted that homosexuality has been presented as a deviant behavior, represented as normal, and in some situation as illegal. De Block and Adriaens expounded that up until the second half of the 19th century the idea of sexual abnormality was structured on the basis of ethical principles and religious persuasions. With a greater recognition of psychiatry, a novel perception of homosexuality was shaped, making it not only iniquitous but also deviant from heteronormative expectations. According to Pereira et al. (2016) the inclusion of social norms into how homosexuality is perceived, is inevitable. Pereira et al. established that people adopt to social norms to circumvent punishment, when they have similar viewpoints as the origin of those norms, or when the norm is unswerving from a prior adopted set of principles. Pereira et al. posited that a person's conduct is affected by how they contend with different sources of motivation that impact their attitude. Within this context, one such source has been documented as an overall

norm that constrains the manifestation of prejudice. Despite that however, Pereira et al. opined that with reflection on homosexuality, the impact of the anti-prejudice norm on the decrease in displays of homophobia has been obscured.

Homophobia, Phobia? The Debate

The identification of Jamaica as one of the countries within which homophobia is present is not a refutable claim (Bosurgi, 2014; Dawes, 2015; West & Cowell, 2015). Some empirical works have acknowledged Jamaica as one of the unhealthiest places for the accommodation of homosexual lifestyle. In fact, the country was appended to a category of the most homophobic places on earth (Turner-Frey, 2014; West & Cowell, 2015). It should be noted that in contrast of those views depicting Jamaica as a violent and unhealthy setting for homosexuals, Persad (2016) presented differing perspectives. Persad denounced the title of "The Most Homophobic Place on Earth" which was used by Time magazine to describe Jamaica in 2006. The author alleged that since that period the use of that description gained usage in scholarly works. Persad claimed that the dated description has resulted in overshadowing the fact that there has been increasing social advancement in Jamaica, as well as vigorous advocacy for LGBTQ Jamaicans. The writer affirmed that such an obscurity has resulted in little focus on the relevance of both gender and socioeconomic status on the lives of LGBTQ people.

Homophobia was defined by HRW (2014) as a "fear and contempt of homosexuals, usually based on negative stereotypes of homosexuality" (Human Rights Watch, 2014, p. 1). It is also described as an "irrational fear of, aversion to, or discrimination against homosexuality or homosexuals" (Homophobia, 2017, para. 1).

Contrary to how the concept is perceived there are researchers who have declassified homophobia as a phobia. A phobia is defined as "an exaggerated usually inexplicable and illogical fear of a particular object, class of objects, or situation" (merriam-webster.com, 2017b, para. 1). Notwithstanding the similarities in the concepts (homophobia and phobia) as defined by merriam-webster.com, Dyson (2013) noted that to classify the bitterness projected by individuals who display homophobic attitudes towards gays as a phobia, is inadequate. Dyson further stated that phobias are aligned with psychological matters. The researcher therefore asserted that a better description of the negative attitude towards gays is sexual prejudice. Dyson averred that through that lens, sexual prejudice indicates a deliberate act of hatred of homosexuals. Hiebert (2016) refuted the stance of Dyson by asserting that it is not irrational to believe that there may be individuals who actually possess a fear of homosexuality. The implication is that the concept is suitable in some situations. With reference to the idea of homophobia, Hiebert reiterated that the original use of the concept was to denote not only an unreasonable fear of homosexuals but also an anxiety of homosexual emotions an individual feels within himself. Homophobia can therefore be hatred toward oneself based on homosexual feelings that, that person possesses. Hiebert expounded that within the Western regions of the northern areas of the world where there is strong heteronormative acceptance, there may not be a phobia of homosexuality (and the LGBTQI—lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, questioning, and intersex—community). The researcher stated that based on the latter, not everyone described as homophobic can therefore be classified as pitifully petrified loathers.

The American Psychological Association (APA, 2013a) claimed that "Fear is the emotional response to real or perceived imminent threat, whereas anxiety is anticipation of future threat" (p. 189). Therefore, people with fear are petrified of, apprehensive about, or evasive of constrained matters or circumstances. The APA claimed that the DSM documented a phobia as an anxiety syndrome. In isolation, the concept, homophobia, is presumably partial of individuals identified as homophobic regardless of the medical power exerted by the concept. Conversely, Hiebert (2016) advanced that the usage of homophobia or homophobic to define the act or individual deemed to display it is adversarial and lacking productivity. Rather, the researcher stated that the term homoppressive would be a better concept to describe individuals who do not approve of the lifestyle of homosexuals.

Within the Jamaican context homophobia is described by Wahab (2016) as 'exceptional' (Wahab, 2016, p. 913). It is conceptualized as a form of trepidation in a country that is plagued with unruliness and vehemence. J-FLAG (2014) shared that homophobia is not confined to a particular segment of the Jamaican society. It does not discriminate based on religious views, class, ethnic makeup, race, socioeconomic stance or religion. However, J-FLAG stated that homophobia was most practiced among individuals with little college education and those of low socioeconomic communities. J-FLAG added that within the LGBT community in Jamaica, some groups are at greater risk of being exposed to homophobic attitudes than others. Among them, homosexual males are most targeted.

Heteronormativity, Heteronationalism, and Heterosexuality

An interesting outlook on the concepts is the perspective of Daley and Mule (2014). The researchers situated the discussion within the context of queer analysis. Daley and Mule proposed that queer analysis contests the idea of sexuality and gender as stagnant and therefore having binary categories. Rather, gender and sexuality are presented as non-binary. The comprehension is that within the framework of apparent heterosexuality that typifies social organizations is an association of lucidity among sexuality, gender and sex. The researchers advanced that "sex = gender = sexuality" (Daley & Mule, 2014, p. 1292). The idea is that if a person is male, he must be masculine and that integrates with heterosexuality. Likewise, if a person is male and is viewed as effeminate he would also be perceived as homosexual. An important viewpoint of this queer analysis is that heteronormative ideas of sexuality, gender, and sex, mirror the characteristic values linked with a dominant group in a society.

Heteronormativity, Heteronationalism and heterosexuality are three concepts that are used to signal the dominance of the pervasive culture against homosexuality. Each is identified as follows. Heteronormativity is defined by Maiorana et al. (2013) as "the institutions, structures, practices, identities, and understanding that legitimize and hierarchize heterosexuality as the normal, natural, and only socially and morally accepted form of sexuality" (p. 986). Lazarus (2011) described heteronationalism as a "highlight of patriarchy (male dominance and sexism), and heterosexism as foundational imperatives of neo-colonial nation building within the Caribbean" (Lazarus, 2011, p. 82). Heterosexuality is commonly known as the intimate relationship between a man and a

woman. However, it is further clarified by Griebling (2012) as the supposition that there

exist only two gender identities—male and female. It further exerts that society is

occupied by mannish men and womanlike ladies. Based on gender typecasts males are

depicted as strong, intellectual and courageous breadwinners. On the other hand, women

are perceived as caring, defenseless beings. Both outlooks are vital to the principles of

heterosexism. Griebling argued that individuals whose sexual conduct challenge the

paradigm of heterosexuality are often ostracized, scorned, and often the subjects of

violent discrimination and victimization. Hubbard and Hegarty (2014) added to the

discourse by pronouncing that it is virtually a maxim of social consciousness that

prominent distinctiveness is viewed as the foundation for social normative behavior. Such

normative behavior is then perceived as being applicable to all members of society.

Hubbard and Hegarty debated nonetheless, that such ideologies strengthen disparity when

prominent identities are used as the basis for assessing others. The researchers sustained

that there is also a habit of merging heterosexual views with classifications such as

history, nature, society, and culture. However, that may lead to sexual stigma. That

stigma may be attributed to both sexual prejudice and heterosexual philosophy. That

philosophy is also conceptualized as heteronormativity.

Bailey et al. (2016) explicated that in the discussion about heteronormative

behavior, there is widespread controversy regarding the acceptance of homosexual

conduct. Despite the rise in rights afforded to homosexuals, as well as an increase in

favorable public opinions of homosexuals in a lot of Western countries, there are still

some countries that highlight different views. Bailey et al. stated that many African

nations, Middle Eastern countries, sections of Asia, and territories of the Caribbean still

view homosexuality as deviant and illegal. In some of those countries it is not only illegal

but may be severely punished. The severity of the punishment may equal the death

penalty. Jamaica is one of the countries of the Caribbean in which homosexuality is still

illegal. Cowell and Saunders (2011) contributed that homosexuality is illegal in Jamaica

and that there also exists a heteronormative value system in that country. That system

portrays an unanimity on both sides of the political distribution which is celebrated by the

prevalent culture and views. Cowell and Saunders reiterated that during a period when

many countries in the Western region are accepting sexual diversity there may be

weighty consequences for social impartiality, legislative changes, job affairs and public

policy in Jamaica.

The Emergent Male, and Homosexuality in the Anglophone Caribbean and Jamaica

Plummer (2014) offered a comprehensive explanation of the emergent male in the

Anglophone (English-speaking) Caribbean. Plummer shared that navigating the changes

from boyhood to manhood in the Caribbean is a critical period of a boy's life. It is during

that time that a Caribbean boy develops sexually, engages in sexual activities and is

afforded the title of man, once the aforementioned are achieved. However, the title of

man is conflated with certain guidelines pertaining to gender. Plummer described that

right as "*compulsory masculinity*" (Plummer, 2014, p. 168). That means that the creation

of a masculine personality is crucial. Based on the results of the study conducted,

Plummer found that masculinity is ruled by a thick network of responsibilities and

prohibitions. The prohibitions of manhood encompass the abandonment of attributes that

are thought of as feminine, gentle, childlike, lacking loyalty to peers, homosexual, or

deficient of maleness. Through an illustration of what it is like to be an emergent male in

an Anglophone Caribbean country, Plummer documented the following rhetoric of one of

the study participants.

...they will use certain lyrics and you will have to respond by raising your hand.

So that ways they will ask you if you love woman, put yuh two hands in the air and you

will have to put up the two hands; if you want to 'burn up chi-chi man', you will put your

hand as if it were around a lighter and you are lighting a fire; or they will say' shot the

battiboy' and you will have your hand shaped like a gun and moving it up and down as if

you were shooting something in the air. So those were really used as a measuring stick,

and if you didn't do it then there will be confrontation and harassment after...so if you

didn't burn up chi-chi man: you are gay; if you didn't put up your hands when they said if

you love woman: then you are gay; if you didn't light the fire: you are gay (Plummer,

2014, p. 168)

The ideas, *'battiboy'* and '*chi-chi man'* are derogatory terms that are used in some

Caribbean countries to label homosexual males. The terms are interchangeable with

faggot, as used in other societies. Comparative to Plummer's documentation, Anderson

and McClean (2014) pointed out that in the Jamaican setting in order for men to

demonstrate their manliness they must substantiate their heterosexuality. This challenge

is identified by the researchers as '*hegemonic masculinity'*. Some of the prime inclusions

of hegemonic manliness in Jamaica are an uninhibited heterosexual routine, authority,

violent and explicit homophobia, and domestic liberation. Young boys in Jamaica often

engage in heterosexual intimacy at a very young age so that they will not me labeled as homosexual. Homophobia is an embedded trait in the ubiquitous manliness of Jamaican males, Anderson and McClean contributed.

Phillip and Williams (2013) claimed that many Caribbean nationals view homosexuality as subhuman. It is to the detriment of the continuation of the family. Additionally, Phillip and Williams theorized that the illegality of homosexuality in the Caribbean reinforces homophobic attitudes. The researchers shared that a 2001 study conducted in Jamaica showed that most Jamaicans view homosexuality as intolerable. According to J-FLAG (2014) another study—'National survey on Attitudes and Perceptions of Jamaicans towards Same-Sex Relationships'— also indicated that most Jamaicans are homophobic. Plummer (2014) expounded that overall, in the Caribbean many parts have seen a growth in homophobic attitudes. That is most evident in the types of music produced. Some of the once laid-back Caribbean music now showcases violence against homosexuals. Both ironically and contrary to the portrayal of Jamaican music as overtly masculine and demeaning to homosexual culture was the finding of Helber (2012). Helber pointed out that Vybze Kartel (a noted Jamaican dancehall artiste) is known for his strong social and political commentaries, as well as hegemonic male promiscuity through his music. However, it is the same artiste who opened a door to the promotion of metrosexual acceptance, and both homosexual and feminine fads. For example, through the performance of his songs "Straight Jeans and Fitted", "Cake Soap" and "Freaky Gal", Kartel embodied the idea a man wearing very tight pants, bleaching their skin, and overtly accepting oral sex. Similarly, Ellis (2011) purported that Kartel

incongruously cleared the way for the freedom of expression of queer masculine through

his anti-homosexual music. Another dissenting view is that of Phillip and Williams

(2013), who claimed that despite the strong negative attitudes toward homosexual males

in the Caribbean, some countries like Barbados are thought to be making compromises in

their views of homosexuals.

Saunders (2012) also challenged the notion that the Caribbean is a dangerous

place for homosexuals. Similar to the documentations of Phillip and Williams (2013)

were the postulations by Saunders that through the works of Murray and Hamilton

("Flaming Souls: Homosexuality, Homophobia, Social Change in Barbados" and Sexual

Revolutions in Cuba: Passion, Politics, and Memory", respectively) dominance was

granted to the echoes, experiences, and history of nationals of the Caribbean, while at the

same time downplayed the rhetoric of the Caribbean being unsafe for homosexuals.

Saunders, through a scrutiny of the work by Murray, theorized that modern language that

characterize the Caribbean region as intolerant of homosexuals is an echo of the colonial

era and not necessarily a reflection of today's actual changing society. There is a shift

toward acceptance of LGBT members (Phillip & Williams, 2013; Saunders, 2012).

On the other hand, Kiesnoski (2005) presented a range of findings both in support

of and ironically refuting claims of homosexual acceptance in the Caribbean, especially

the once colonized British countries. While Kiesnoski found that Caribbean territories of

the United States present a warmer attitude toward gays, the social scientist claimed it is

not so in other territories. Therefore, some labeled gay friendly territories include the U.

S. Virgin Islands, St. Croix and Puerto Rico. However, other areas present varying

degrees of acceptance. Kiesnoski asserted that, "French or Dutch equals friendly; Spanish

less so; British not at all--in fact, often openly hostile" (Kiesnoski, 2005, para. 7). In

contradiction to the findings Kiesnoski also affirmed that Jamaica is moving toward

acceptance of homosexual, even though it is a former British colony. Kiesnoski stated

that, "Even in Jamaica--which Amnesty International describes as "suffering from an

appalling level of homophobia"--there's been some movement, though incremental: The

couples-only resort chain Sandals, with several locations in Jamaica, lifted its longtime

shunning of gay couples in 2004" (Kiesnoski, 2005, para. 3).

Jamaica's Antibuggery Laws

The influence of British colonization of many countries of the world was aligned

with the criminalization of homosexuality in many regions (Han & O'Mahoney, 2014).

Han and O'Mahoney theorized from the perusal of several empirical works that the

British are responsible for the viewpoints of homosexuality as an illegal act. Based on

data gathered on 185 countries, the latter claim was asserted by the social scientists.

Additionally, Han and O'Mahoney not only asserted the influence of the British on how

homosexuality is perceived legally, but also their responsibility for the documentation of

laws against homosexual conduct in countries that were once their colonies. Despite the

findings, Han and O'Mahoney stressed that there was no evidence reported that the

imperialism of the British contaminated cultures against homosexuality. However, one

residual effect of their legacy is the impairment of the rights to LGBT groups. Those

rights were impeded based on laws that were instituted by the British in its colonies from

the year 1860 and onward.

Documented within Jamaica's constitution are the core fundamental rights and freedoms that are afforded to members of its populace. The constitution states that everyone regardless of race, class, creed, place of birth, political affiliation, sex, or color is permitted specific basic freedoms and rights. Among those entitlements are the right to personal freedom, to life, to independence of movement, to deference of family life, to autonomy of conscience, to association, and to liberty from discrimination (Jamaica Information Service, 1990). Notwithstanding the inclusion of the before mentioned fundamental rights and freedoms in the Jamaican constitution, there is also the Offenses Against the Person Act of 1864 which criminalizes same sex relationships between males. The law was instituted by the British and is also known as the anti-buggery laws (Lazarus, 2011). Under sections 76, 77, and 79 an act or attempt to commit buggery (anal sex) may be punishable for a period of seven to 10 years in prison (HRW, 2014). HRWdetailed that sections 76 and 77 of the anti-buggery laws state, "The abominable crime of buggery [is] punishable by imprisonment and hard labor for a maximum of ten years while an attempt to commit buggery is punishable by seven years imprisonment" (p. 10). Additionally, under section 79 the act of gross indecency (sexual relations between men) whether publicly or privately is illegal. Any male who is found guilty of committing buggery must register as a sex offender under the 2009 Sexual Offences Act ((HRW, 2014).

In 2011 Jamaica the Jamaican Parliament ratified the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms. The charter defined defense against intolerance. Conversely, gender identity and sexual orientation are not included among the file of sheltered

categories. Despite advocacy for the inclusion of descriptions that would foster the protection of sexual minority groups from discrimination, there was never included in the constitution any such protections (HRF, 2015).

Regardless of the laws that criminalize male sex relations it was also argued by some that technically, homosexuality is not illegal in Jamaica. According to J-FLAG (2013) homosexuality is not unconstitutional. However, anal sex even among heterosexual males is illegal. J-Flag theorized that there is a conflation of anal sex with sexual orientation by the general public. The consequence is that if buggery is illegal, so is homosexuality among men. Lovell (2016) concurred with the findings of J-FLAG (2013). Lovell claimed that the British law was not directed at homosexuality but rather acts that did not result in procreation. Therefore, while buggery was illegal, homosexuality was not. Lovell also noted that after Jamaica became independent of British rule in 1962, there was still stern respectability for heteronormative values and Christian principles that were taught by the British. The result was a culture of anti-homosexual attitudes among the populace. Menelik (2017) presented a like argument by elaborating that buggery is unacceptable. The writer acknowledged that it is "Biblically wrong, morally wrong, biologically wrong, functionally wrong, hygienically wrong, socially wrong, and naturally wrong. As such, it should be shunned by society, as it is anti-life" (Menelik, 2017, para. 4).

Among the outspoken groups that are against the legalization of homosexuality is the Marcus Garvey People's Political Party. The group submitted a number of

recommendations toward constitutional change associated with the anti-buggery laws

(Menelik, 2017). Among the recommendations were the following points:

- The lawful recognition of marital union should only take place between a man
  and a woman.

- The anti-buggery laws should not be rescinded. Any conviction should result
  in 25 years at hard labor in prison.

- An attempt to commit buggery should be punishable by 15 years at hard labor.
  The illegal act should not be considered as a misdemeanor but a felony.

- Any union between two males must be considered a felony and punishable by
  up to 25 years in prison at hard labor.

Another body is The Jamaica Teachers Association (JTA) which stated that it

will not instruct its guidance counsellors to counsel homosexual students because the act

is illegal. Norman Allen (head of the teachers union) affirmed that counsellors would be

breaking the law to give guidance to homosexual students (Surtees, 2014). In addition,

Surtees augmented that the head of the Jamaica Association for Guidance Counsellors in

Education, Nina Dixon, shared that most counsellors who decline to counsel gay students

are Christians.

Several appeals have been made by human rights groups for the repeal of laws

that criminalize homosexual relations. However, those efforts have proven fruitless and

have not swayed the Jamaican populace's attitudes toward those individuals who are not

heterosexual (Lazarus, 2011). HRW (2014) pointed out that though it is very rare that an

individual is indicted under the Offences Against the Person Act, there are realistic

effects of the law that may be considered adverse. HRW affirmed that the criminalization

of male sexual relations nurtures discriminatory practices against that group especially

within the setting of a culture of homophobia. Furthermore, it is averred that it also

fosters sexual prejudice, hostility, and violence toward the group.

<center>**Public Attitudes towards Homosexuality in Jamaica**</center>

The Police

In March of 2014 a court ruled that a number of LGBT youth who had used

profane language aimed at the police were guilty of breaking the country's legislation

that banned the use of profane language in public. The language was used at the police

after the security force attempted the arrest the group for residing in the public sewers in

the parish of Kingston, Jamaica (Shangraw, 2014). In spite of the ruling, it was the

second ruling during the hearing that made a significant impact on the position of LGBT

youth in Jamaica, indirectly. The judge ruled that the city's sewers were a public space

and therefore no illegal act was committed by gays residing in them. Shangraw

expounded that although both rulings by the judge appear to be dissimilar, they both

serve to emphasize the issues that LGBT youth must contend with in Jamaica. Despite

the ruling, the police are adamant in their activities to continue to get rid of LGBT youth

from public sewers. Many LGBT youth in Jamaica have shared their distrust of the

police. HRW (2014) documented some of the sentiments of homosexual males who have

attempted to file reports with the police about various criminal matters but were faced

with discriminatory attitudes or victimization.

An account of an encounter with the police is documented below. According to

HRW (2014), an account of Genie O's experience was noted as follows after witnessing

the fatal shooting of his friend in the community of Greenpond, St. James in 2010.

> I didn't call the police. I know much wouldn't be done and I didn't want to get
>
> involved Once you are found to be associated with gay men your life would be at
>
> risk and you could be stigmatized as one of them. Most times you worry and cry
>
> about it and keep it to yourself and move on (HRW, p. 17).

Shangraw (2014) cited a 2012 report by the Inter-American Commission on

Human Rights which found that the police are often in collusion with activities that signal

violence against LGBT members in Jamaica. HRW documented that the attitude of the

police toward homosexuality is against the guidelines of the Jamaica Constabulary Force

(JCF) which were initiated in 2011. The policy affirmed that the rules of the JCF must be

stringently followed with relation to the protection of all individuals regardless of their

sexual orientation, religion, class, political affiliation, ethnicity, or color. Despite the

policy however, there have been reports of lack of police intervention during attacks on

homosexuals. In numerous cases study participants have stated that the police have failed

to arrest even violent aggressors in homophobic situations. Of 56 cases that were

recorded by HRW, only four individuals were arrested by the police. In another account

by a homosexual male named Devon,

> In January of 2013 police stood by and watched while a crowd of about 30
>
> people-shouting insults regarding his sexual orientation and armed with knives,
>
> machetes, and sticks-beat him for 20 minutes. He said police finally removed him

from the crowd and placed him in a police van to protect him from the mob but then handcuffed and beat him (Shangraw, 2014, p. 27).

Devon's case is not the only situation of police involvement in the abuse of homosexual males. In another account by a 23-year-old homosexual male, the victim disclosed that he was raped by a police officer at the age of 17, and threatened with death if he did not keep quiet about the incident. The report detailed that,

> One Sunday evening he called me over, handcuffed me, and told me that I was arrested for loitering. He drove me to a field, pulled my pants down, removed my handcuffs, put his gun to my head, and raped me. I grunted and screamed. When he was finished the police officer said, "If you tell anyone, you're dead" (Shangraw, 2014, pp. 35-36).

HRW reported that there are also many other cases of victimization of homosexuals by the police. They include situations of extortion, threats and violence.

Politics

Sustained political debates worldwide signal an established and prevalent concern with homosexual tolerance. Individuals who do not conform to the heteronormative lifestyle have witnessed an increase in the rights afforded to them, as well as greater acceptance toward them, mainly in the Western parts of the world. That is not the case however in many sections of "Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean, Oceana, and parts of Asia" (Bailey et al., 2016, p. 45). In those countries, homosexuality is against the law, is punishable by imprisonment, or could result in the death penalty. Bailey pronounced that there is often a fusion between political ideas and scientific theories in light of

homosexuality. The idea is that opposing parties in the discourse recognize the influence of science in decision-making about homosexuality.

In Jamaica the political debate regarding homosexual rights climaxed during the 1997 elections when the Jamaica Labor Party candidate, and former Prime Minister Seaga used lyrics from a song asking for the murder of homosexual mean, to condemn homosexuality. The song was Boom Bye Bye (by Buju Banton) (Cowell, 2011). That was followed by Mr. Seaga using a similar song that denounced homosexuality in the 2002 general election. The song was 'Chi Chi Man' by TOK. Chi-chi man is a derogatory term used to describe homosexuals in Jamaica. Former Prime Minister Patterson followed suit by explicitly affirming that he had no intention to repeal the laws against homosexuality in Jamaica. By 2007, former Prime Minister Golding, went on the BBC program—Hard Talk—and declared that no homosexuals would be allowed in his cabinet. Cowell shared that by 2008 the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms Act was laid in parliament. It defined marriage as an act between a man and a woman and no other union would be recognized. HRW (2014) postulated that the political views on homosexuality were not singular. Then opposition leader in Jamaica, Simpson-Miller, refuted the stance of then Prime Minister Golding. Miller asserted during a 2011 political debate that no individual should be exposed to bias based on their sexual orientation. Likewise, her opponent at the time, Prime Minister Holness, expressed like sentiments by voicing that he was against the discrimination of persons due to their sexual orientation. He also noted that he had no issue with affording homosexuals positions in his cabinet. Added to the debate were the perspectives of Javier (2015) who found that relevant to the spread of

homosexual acceptance by way of globalization, Jamaica still remains firm in its political

stance to not legalize homosexuality. Michaelson (2014) contended that an amalgamation

of religious and political opinions resulted in the formation of a fund raising campaign in

2014 to remove from office any political leader that was pro the legalization of

homosexuality. Two groups that were formed for the campaign were The Jamaican

Coalition for a Healthy Society, and Jamaica Cause (Churches Against Uniting Society

for Emancipation. It was alleged that the groups received funding from conservatives in

the United States.

Health Sector

Logie et al. (2017b) explained that the highest percentage of HIV in the Caribbean

is found among men who have sex with men, in Jamaica. One of the main concerns

echoed among homosexual males in Jamaica is the negative treatment toward them by

health sector workers. In a study carried out by Rogers et al. (2014) 332 participants from

healthcare and social service institutions in Jamaica and the Bahamas were interviewed in

order to gain information about the stigma attached to individuals living with HIV.

Among those individuals were homosexual males. The results showed that while

healthcare workers agreed that men who have sex with men (MSM) are entitled to quality

healthcare, they also criticized MSM and expressed cast blame on those individuals. The

result of the study also revealed that the highest levels of stigma were directed at MSM.

Rogers noted that the outcome of the study produced similar results as other like studies

that show that there is a strong level of stigmatization of people living with HIV, by

health sector workers. Logie et al. elaborated on the results of a qualitative test which

assessed the barriers to HIV testing among MSM in Jamaica. Among the results were

poor treatment by medical personnel, anxiety about the confidentiality of the results from

the HIV tests, and the stigma that is attached to individuals who are known to be HIV

positive. Among the factors that foster getting tested for HIV were support from peers,

the relevance of knowing one's status, and accessibility of centers for HIV testing. Logie

et al. expounded that previous studies also support their findings that healthcare workers

in Jamaica are reluctant to working with LGBT individuals. The findings indicated that

such mistreatments were not only endorsed by key medical informants, but also that such

conducts of stigmatization could foster discriminatory treatment of MSM. HRW (2014)

documented similar statements regarding the treatment of LGBT members by healthcare

workers. HRW shared that the stigmatization of individuals can cause them to not seek

proper health care. HRW documented accounts of discrimination by health care providers

against homosexual males. They shared the story of two homosexual male participants

identified as Florio and Genie. Florio shared his account of trying to get tested for HIV at

a clinic in St. James.

> I went to make an appointment for an HIV test. The reception asked, "Why are
>
> you here? Are you having sex with a man?" [I responded] "Do I have to answer
>
> the question?" The receptionist said "Bwoy, do you fuck men? Either you fuck
>
> men or not?" I felt so uncomfortable that I left. Other people could hear this.
>
> People who were in the front row laughed (HRW, 2014, p. 41).

Senior personnel at the Ministry of Health gave an account of a man who was afflicted with HPV (Human Papillomavirus). He received inadequate treatment until his health reached a critical level.

> They can't officially turn away people, so what would happen is that he would come in with fever and drainage problems related to HPV lesions [on his anus]. I sent him to dermatology [at a public hospital] but they don't do large legions. I sent him to surgery with a referral for HPV lesion removal. They gave him medication for fever and antibiotics and then…instead of taking care of him, they discharged him and said to return. This happened six or seven times throughout the year from 2011-2012 (HRW, 2014 p. 40).MG

As a result, that man had to have a complete colostomy done because the cancer had significantly manifested itself. HRW concluded that LGB people do face both discrimination and unawareness by healthcare workers.

The Church

Siegel (2001) stated that a history of Western attitudes toward homosexuality will showcase acts of discrimination, violence and sanctions. The Bible was often cited with reference to Sodom and Gomorrah and acts of homosexuality. In alignment is the book of Leviticus (Old Testament) that states that homosexuality is a forbidden act. Other books in the New Testament (Romans, Corinthians, and the Epistles of Paul) also denounce homosexuality as acceptable. In the olden Hebrew days homosexuals were maltreated. That treatment was sustained by Christians who reigned in Western Europe. Some societies such as England, America, Germany, and France even penalized homosexuality

with death, Siegel augmented. In contrast, there is a dismantling of conventional societal values as a result of globalization. Additionally, there is the departure from the autonomy of culture, which is making room for the tolerance of various paradigms regarding individualism, personal welfare and quality of life. Values in society are becoming fused to facilitate compromise and acceptance of conducts that do not fit into a normative attitude. One such conduct is homosexuality (Chadee et al., 2013). It is documented that within the Caribbean the principles of Conservative Christians were said to be the main logic for the upholding of laws that ban homosexuality in the region. It is said that the laws align with the Christian perceptions of most citizens of the region, Chadee et al. expounded. Chadee et al. highlighted that the result of their study on religiosity in the region showed that religiosity is a core element in collective preconception. It also indicated that the idea of religiosity extended outside the existence or lack of a strong tie to a religion. The study by Chadee et al. also showed that religiosity impacted how individuals react to a phenomenon and therefore a person's conduct towards lifestyles for instance, homosexuality.

Krull (2017) presented contradictory statements to the idea that the church is totally against homosexuals. There is rather the angle that the sinner can be loved and the sin hated. The homosexual can be loved, and homosexuality despised. Krull cited previous studies that affirmed that religious individuals shun homosexuality, but some are able to make a distinction between the act and those who practice it. Krull's findings indicated that people who are firm in intrinsic religiosity were not only less aggressive toward homosexuals, but also less disrespectful. Contrary to Krull's documentation,

Vincent et al. (2011) found that those of strict adherence to religion were openly aggressive toward homosexuals which was represented by both verbal and physical anger.

Perkins (2016) asserted the impact of the Evangelical church in the United States on the attempts to spread tolerance for homosexuality in Jamaica is vast. However, Dawes (2015) refuted that premise by asserting the logic in questioning the degree of the impact of the American Evangelical church on the prohibition of homosexual acceptance. Dawes posited that in the Caribbean and by extension, Jamaica, there always existed a stance against homosexual lifestyle. J-FLAG (2014) opined that the "Abrahamic religions, which include Judaism, Christianity, and Islam" (p. 20) are the main religions practiced in this region of the world. They are also considered the most aversive toward homosexuality. Additionally, there are several views regarding the Christian church's belief in Jamaica. The main book of Christianity is the Bible. Christians often quote from the book of Leviticus that explains that the sexual relationship between two males is abominable. Despite that however, J-FLAG presented countering arguments to suggest that Christianity teaches love, acceptance and inclusion. On those principles, the virtue of homosexual relationships should be respected.

Livingston (2017) asserted the views of Reverend Darren McKoy, head of the youth arm of the Church of God in Jamaica. McKoy discoursed that homosexuals in Jamaica should not be turned away from the church. They should be loved and accepted without discrimination or denunciation. On the contrary, however, Menelik (2017) affirmed that Jamaica cannot tolerate homosexuality because the act is abominable and

the Offences Against the Person Act should not be repealed. Menelik presented seven

grounds upon which the act should be considered as immoral. They include

homosexuality being, "Biblically wrong, morally wrong, biologically wrong, functionally

wrong, hygienically wrong, socially wrong, and naturally wrong. As such, it should be

shunned by society, as it is anti-life" (Menelik, 2017, para. 4). Serju (2014) shared similar

rhetoric from a group of congregants who claimed that homosexuals will not be allowed

in their church. Rather, they should form their own.

West and Cowell (2015) presented a controversial if not contradictory spin on the

debate. The researchers conducted a study on the predictors of prejudice against

homosexuals. Among the predictors was religiosity. The finding on religiosity revealed

similar outcome as other studies which sustained that religiosity was a great influence of

sexual prejudice against homosexuals. The contradiction, however, is that the same study

also affirmed that religiosity also fostered lower adverse attitudes toward homosexuals.

The latter is based on the Christian idea that one should "love the sinner but hate the sin"

(West & Cowell, 2015, p. 302). In general, West and Cowell asserted that the study

realized that the study realized that negative attitudes toward gays in Jamaica are

widespread and inflexible.

Other

Shangraw (2014) affirmed that LGBT groups are often homeless or have

insufficient accommodation. Additionally, they encounter many other issues that force

them to turn to a life of criminal activity to sustain a living. Those activities include

larceny of food, and other relevant items, as well as prostituting themselves in order to

gain cash. Those actions have caused several groups such as the police, politicians and others to stigmatize homosexuals and substantiate any negative actions that are taken against them. Other groups that have been found to discriminate against homosexuals include the church, members of the health sector, musicians and individuals from whom shelter is often sought by homosexuals. HRF (2015) asserted that intolerance regarding the access to shelter, jobs and housing are among the difficulties faced by LGBT people in Jamaica.

Through the Jamaican dancehall music, the denouncing of homosexuality is often expressed by calling for the death of homosexual males. It must be noted however, that some performing artistes have expressed apologies for recoding those songs that promoted anti-homosexual bias (West & Cowell, 2015). The move was realized after the initiation of the Stop the Murder Music Campaign (STMMC) in the U.K. The campaign resulted in an economic blow in revenue for the artistes as well as on Jamaica's tourist sector (Wahab, 2016). With particular relation to employment and housing Human Rights Watch (2014) found that the only legislation that protects employees from discrimination based on their sexual orientation is the 2004 Staff Orders for the Public Service. The legislation only protects civil service employees. Despite the presence of the policy LGBT people still report losing employment based on an assumption of their sexual orientation. HRW expounded that relative to housing discrimination both homelessness and forced removal are common occurrences among LGBT individuals. Often, they are coerced to flee their homes, bitterly and violently assaulted, or threatened with death. Nearly 40% of homeless youth in Jamaica are from the LGBT community.

Gender Indifference: Perspectives on Lesbianism, Male Homosexuality and other

LGBTQI Members in Jamaica

Lesbianism is defined as "female homosexuality" (Lesbianism, 2017). Though it

is understood that Jamaica's anti-buggery laws make anal sex illegal there is a common

perspective that the law does not target lesbianism. In fact, there is no direct link between

the law and lesbian and transgender females (HRW, 2014). That does not spare lesbians

of similar discriminatory attitudes that are meted out to homosexual males. There is a

strong link between the treatment of both lesbian and transgender women, and the

treatment of male homosexuals. Bisexual females and lesbians are sometimes humiliated

and aggressively and sexually oppressed. In many situations the offenders are individuals

who seek to drain Jamaica of LGBT people. From the period of April to June 2013, 71

members of the LGBT community in Jamaica were interviewed by HRW. The results

indicated that there were 56 incidents of among 44 LGBT people that happened between

2006 and 2013. Those cases included acts of violence toward them mainly because of

their sexual orientation. Notwithstanding that, homosexual males remain the main targets

of anti-homosexual attitudes in Jamaica (Dyson, 2013; West & Cowell, 2015).

West and Cowell (2015) revealed that in most cases discriminatory attitudes are

determined by gender. Citing previous studies, West and Cowell noted that males

predominantly have an adverse attitude directed at homosexuals than their female

counterparts. The study also highlighted that males are more susceptible to homophobic

bias than are females. Nonetheless, many research do not differentiate between anti-

homosexual bias, and bias toward lesbians. Conversely, studies that do so, stressed that

there were more cases of negative attitudes toward gay men, than women. The aggressors

in such cases are often heterosexual males, and is oftentimes not present among

heterosexual females, West and Cowell advanced. Considering the Jamaican context and

acts of discrimination toward all members of the LGBT community, J-FLAG (2014)

disclosed that while it may be difficult to end homophobia in Jamaica, legislatively

another approach may help. J-FLAG suggested that the Offenses Against the Person Act

be repealed, which would be a step toward nurturing a more favorable Jamaican society

in which respect for LGBT members could be fostered. In light of the suggestion by J-

FLAG, Human Rights First (2015) pointed to a 2012 survey in Jamaica in which attitudes

of Jamaicans toward LGBT groups were measured. It was realized that most Jamaicans

believed that both male and female homosexuality are iniquitous. More than three-

quarters of Jamaicans believed that the anti-buggery laws should not be rescinded and

over two-thirds of Jamaicans were against changes to the Charter of Fundamental Rights

and Freedoms which secure the rights of LGBT members. Additionally, Human Rights

First shared that former minister of justice in Jamaica, Mark Golding advised Jamaicans

to be more open to observing the rights of LGBT groups by practicing tolerance and

shunning violence toward them. Golding shared those views after the killing of a teenager

Dwayne Jones in St. James. James was killed when he was identified as a male dressed in

female clothing at a public party. "He was beaten, stabbed, shot and run over by a car" (p.

2).

The Stigmatization and Violent Discrimination of Homosexual Males in Jamaica

and its Impact on that Population

In contemporary society there are many different negative responses to homosexuality, known as homophobia. The reason for anti-homosexual attitudes is indeterminate. Those individuals of an ultraconservative religious stance use the Bible as a shield for their rhetoric of homosexuality. In that manner homosexuality is viewed as immoral and sinful. On the other hand, some individuals believe that homosexuals are pedophiles who will adversely impact the lives of their children. There are others who hold the view that homosexuality is contagious. In defiance of those perspectives, there are other persons who believe that homosexuality is a contagious disease (Siegel, 2001). Siegel further shared that studies have indicated that men who are homophobic also present a likelihood of arousal if they were to view erotic homosexual images. The author concluded that there may be a relationship between homophobia and homosexual arousal that males who are homophobic are oblivious to or are in denial of. Siegel pronounced that in the society there are frequent indicators of anti-homosexual responses.

In Jamaica most LGBT victims are males of low socioeconomic households. That is due in part because those individuals do not possess the financial capabilities or social wealth to pivot themselves into better economic situations (J-FLAG, 2014). West and Cowell (2015) elaborated that many works have documented that Jamaica's issue with homophobia is mainly confined to the lower economic strata of that society. Thomas (2006) noted that one way through which individuals of low socio-economic status in Jamaica may attempt to change the status quo is through their voting voice.

Anti-homosexual attitude is not a predominant issue among members of the middle class. Maiorana et al. (2013) stated that Jamaica was put into the global spotlight as a society in which there is much oppressive attitude toward sexual minority groups. Additionally, members of those groups are often excluded socially and are recipients of institutionalized violence. Thomas pointed to changes in the political strength of the lower economic class in Jamaica since the 1950s. The researcher highlighted a new social consciousness about the social injustices faced by the lower class which has stimulated a vibrant sense of awareness of social inequality and their ability to challenge the status quo, politically. It through unison in their voices and appeals for change by exercising their votes for better policies geared at assisting them, or providing avenues for changes in the social injustices that they face, that members of the lower socioeconomic class may find upliftment.

Stigmatization

Stigma is conceptualized as the "social and institutional processes and structures that devalue and limit access to power and opportunities, and includes internalized, anticipated, and enacted forms of stigma (Logie et al., 2017b, p. 457). Sexual stigma is, "The shared knowledge of society's negative regard for any nonheterosexual behavior, identity, relationship, or community" (Herek, 2004, p. 6). The impact of sexual discrimination on the security, health and overall welfare of members of the LGBT community are manifold and carefully noted (Hubbard & Hegarty, 2014). According to Kite and Bryant-Lees (2016), people's typecasts regarding social groups foster relevant data regarding the manner and ways wherein members of those groups are pilloried.

Studies often indicate the individuals' attitudes about LGBT groups are aligned with their perception of both heterosexual males and females (Callender, 2015; Kite & Bryant-Lees, 2016). Homosexual males are often thought of as effeminate, and lesbians are often perceived as masculine. Therefore, both male and female homosexuals are often stigmatized because it is thought that their conduct is deviant to heterosexual norms. Bisexuals on the other hand are often viewed as gays who are hiding their identity and are afraid to disclose they are homosexuals. They are often perceived as sexually immoral.

Logie et al. (2017a) postulated that both discrimination and stigma represent a challenging obstacle to homosexuals accessing proper healthcare and social services in Jamaica. Logie et al. averred that a qualitative study among college pupils in Jamaica revealed that there was little or no sympathy for homosexual males who contracted HIV when compared to their heterosexual counterparts for whom there was greater sympathy. Rogers et al. (2014) concurred by noting that the prime population that is impacted by both stigma and discrimination in Jamaica are homosexual males. Serju (2014) discussed the stigmatization of homosexuals within the church setting. For example, the writer claimed that at a particular church in St. Andrew, members have decided not to allow homosexuals access to the institution. Shangraw (2014) propounded that in terms of housing homosexuals are often shun by their families and forced into homelessness. They often find sewers, homeless shelters established by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and old or vacant homes to live in. However, many of those homeless individuals have been forced by the police to leave those locations. Often, they are also evicted by landlords (J-FLAG, 2014). White et al. (2016) expounded that both

homosexual males and bisexual men are stigmatized and discriminated against because of the illegality of homosexual relationships, and the adverse perception of the same. The researchers further stated that while the admission of one's sexual orientation may boost self-confidence it could result in a vulnerability to stressors. A survey carried out by White et al. indicated that a firm economic stance among gay and bisexual men is important to the process of revelation of their sexual orientation to their family members. Where the response of those family members is deemed adverse the result could be the nurturing of depression.

Discrimination

Iafrati and Williams (2016) affirmed that hate crimes constitute a variety of blatant activities. Any threat that is either inferred or seen can have severe consequences on homosexual males in the LGBT community. Therefore, any threat that is directed at the homosexual community should be thought of as a hate crime. It is also vital to view the foundation of those threats as anti-homosexual attitude, which is a social issue. It should be confronted thorough intentional planning that are directed at preventing those crimes, rather than controlling them. Violence against homosexual males that are left to be solved by the justice system or the security forces will result in a reactive than proactive ideal. Dawes (2015) on the other hand, shared that Jamaicans do not have a strong indifference toward homosexuals as is often perceived. It was documented that numerous homosexuals live an explicit life in Jamaica and are not seriously violated. Rather, Dawes documented that the negative attitudes of Jamaicans are in light of external imposition of the homosexual lifestyle on the Jamaican society. The researcher

advanced that while there are situations of violence against gays, it must also be taken in

account that there are also gay on gay violence in Jamaica. J-FLAG (2014) stated a

similar finding to the latter. J-FLAG asserted that relevant to violence against

homosexuals overall,

There is gay on gay violence. However, statistics on those crimes are inadequate

especially in light of perpetration due to the sexual orientation of the victim. That is due

in part to lack of reporting to the police out of fear, distrust, and or little or no

investigation being done. The idea that most homosexuals are killed by homosexuals is

undetermined because there is insufficient data on the issue and lack of sufficient motives

for the criminal activities. Shangraw (2014) added to the discourse by advancing that

what is known is that often the police is complicit with other members of the Jamaican

society in perpetrating crimes against homosexuals. J-FLAG (2014) reported that among

the violent occurrences perpetrated against gays are acts of "bullying, threats,

intimidation, sexual violence (including rape), mob attacks, murder, extortion,

discrimination in various places such as work, or on the streets, unjust evictions, and

beatings, among other things. The main locations of such incidents often take place in the

parishes of St. Andrew, Kingston, St. James, and St. Catherine. HRW (2014)

acknowledged that sexual and physical assaults are among the violent episodes that

homosexuals must contend with Jamaica. HRW confirmed that many LGBT people fear

reporting each incident or disclosing their identities due to assumed reprisal from the

wider populace. HRW noted that a 2012 report indicated that there were 231 occurrences

of violence toward LGBT people from the period of 2009-2012. Among those situations

were "home invasions, physical assaults and mob attacks" (p. 21). Within a four-month

timeframe the following attacks were documented by J-FLAG (2013). Most victims were

male homosexuals. All incidents took place from July to October of 2013.

- 16 year old Dwayne Jones was brutally killed for wearing female clothing
  while at a street party in St. James.

- On August 1, an angry mob attempted to kill two male homosexuals at their
  home in St. Catherine. They chanted that the men should leave their
  community. They were subsequently saved by the police.

- In the parish of Manchester a group of five male homosexuals were blocked in
  their house by an aggressive mob that threatened to kill them with batons.
  They were protected by the police. That incident occurred on August 22.

- On August 26, in St. Catherine, two gay men were attacked by a mob after a
  car accident. The mob demanded that they flee from the neighborhood. The
  men sought protection at a nearby police station.

- Edwin, a homosexual male was chased in the parish of Hanover, by an irate
  mob. He was pelted with stones. He sustained injuries to his head. The
  incident occurred on September 16.

In a study with 12 members of the LGBT community HRW learned that the

participants knew intimately of victims who were killed based on their sexual orientation.

Those victims were either a sexual partner or a friend. Included in the list of violent

attacks faced by homosexuals was arson. Gilpin (2013) shared an opposing account that

in an interview with the former Assistant Commissioner of Police, Watkis, it was

revealed that LGBT members are not targeted for violent assault more than ordinary

citizens of the country. Professor Harriot, a political sociologist at the University of the

West Indies (UWI) affirmed that with relation to violent episodes against members of the

LGBT community, it cannot be ascertained whether they were targeted based on their

sexual orientation. Mr. Watkis urged LGBT members to practice their lifestyle with

greater responsibility in order to not become victims. Persad (2016) supported the

position of Harriot. Persad affirmed that while violence directed at LGBTQ people in

Jamaica is a major problem, so too are gender-based violence, violent incidents involving

the police, and killings of citizens by the police. Persad stressed that violence against

homosexuals should be viewed in context of the Jamaica's colonial history, rate of

unemployment, and diminished safety mechanisms in place for people's safety. Roberts

(2015) shared that in some societies it is still evident that homophobia is existent but is

shunned at all levels. However, in general, society on a whole is making progress, even if

very slowly toward acceptance. Logie et al. (2016) suggested that both community and

peer support are important to garner support of LGBT members who have been exposed

to violence.

Impact

Though studies have found that some of the recorded effects of anti-homosexual

attitudes against homosexuals in Jamaica are displacement from homes, mental and

physical abuse, excommunication from family members, and stigmatization. Two of the

main impacts are high percentages of HIV/AIDS, and mental health issues. Bosurgi

(2014) said nearly 30% of homosexuals in Jamaica are living with HIV. Many do not

disclose their status due to fear of being ostracized. Figueroa et al. (2015) found that

Jamaica has one of the highest percentages of HIV/AIDS virus cases among homosexual

males in the Caribbean. Studies show that the percentage in Jamaica could be as high as

33.6%. The highest rate recorded among the overall adult population in the Caribbean

was 1.7%. Figueroa et al. found that one of the main factors for the high rate of

HIV/AIDS cases was due to a lack of disclosure of the sexual status of carriers. Men who

have sex with men (homosexual males) often failed to disclose their status to avoid

stigmatization. Figueroa et al. (2013) found that homosexual males of low-income

households, or are recipients of physical abuse, or homeless, present a greater risk of a

positive HIV result. Logie et al. (2013) confirmed that over half of the men who

participated in their study did not disclose to their partners that they were HIV positive.

Over half of the participants withheld that information from other also. Logie et al.

(2017b) affirmed that a study exploring the viewpoints of some homosexual males in

Jamaica regarding getting tested for HIV is that they will experience stigmatization and

bias treatments. Additionally, there is the matter of confidentiality that results will not be

shared with other parties. J-FLAG (2014) documented that a reduction in the high rates of

HIV/AIDS among homosexual males in Jamaica may be realized if,

- Homosexual males are championed to take greater accountability in practicing
  safe sex among each other.
- Legislatively, leaders institute policies that affirm the rights of homosexual
  men to their sexual orientation.
- Laws that make homosexuality illegal are repealed.

- Greater actions are taken in light of homosexual discrimination.

- The public is better informed about the risks involved in practicing buggery.

- Steps are instituted to reduce the vulnerability of homosexual males to social stigma.

Choi et al. (2013) affirmed that mental health issues are more widespread among LGBT groups than their heterosexual counterparts. LGBT people are almost twice as likely to suffer from mental health problems such as anxiety and depression, than are heterosexuals. Such disorders have been linked to discrimination based on the sexual orientation of the victims. Puckett et al. (2016) advanced similar claims as Choi et al., affirming that the greater impact of mental health issues on LGBT people may be a result of minority stressors. That included internalized homophobia which is the composition of a low self-esteem among particularly homosexual men (as used in the study) due to social prejudice. Kalra et al. (2015) shared a similar perspective as Choi et al., explaining that there are particular elements of risk that are shared among LGBT members with relation to poor mental health and occurrences of suicide. They include both discrimination and stigmatization at every aspect of society, violent episodes, being ostracized by family members, substance abuse, and suicide. Kalra et al. further asserted that there is a wide body of empirical data that indicate that there is a greater occurrence of psychosocial distress which fosters negative mental health, among LGBT people. Tsypes et al. (2016) averred that men who have sex with men present a greater risk of suicidal thought. However, Tsypes et al. concluded that the risk of suicide is greater in the late adolescence years into early adulthood. Wong (2015) contributed that in light of the issue of mental

health in LGBT people, those with supportive family members display a greater love of self and a more favorable mental state.

The Effects of Anti-Homosexual Attitudes on Jamaica's Economy

The United States (U.S.) is one of Jamaica's top trading partners (Statistical Institute of Jamaica, 2018). Jamaica has a long history of both cultural and profitmaking relationship with the U.S. The diplomatic relationship between both countries have been cemented for many years. Among its Caribbean counterparts, Jamaica holds the number three position for trade relations with the U.S. It is estimated that Jamaica exchanges $421.1million with the U.S. annually, for products valuing approximately $2 billion. Annually, a figure of nearly one million visitors from the United States go to Jamaica. Jamaicans living in the United States send billions of dollars yearly to the country (Human Rights First (2015). The economic impact therefore, of negating pressure from the United States to acknowledge LGBT rights in Jamaica are far from implied.

Contrariwise, Dawes (2015) added that when Jamaica was condemned regarding its anti-homosexual culture the populace was on the defensive. The accusation of a strong homophobic culture was viewed as condescending and far-reaching. The allegations of homophobic bias resulted in movements to shun Jamaica's tourist division. Dawes elaborated that the move, which was orchestrated by homosexuals overseas and in Jamaica, was somewhat successful. Jamaican dancehall deejays had to steer away from their popular lyrics which decried the appreciation of homosexuality and promoted homophobic violence. The campaign resulted in promotors in the United States and Europe snubbing deejays who promoted anti-gay lyrics. The result was that deejays'

earning power from their music had declined significantly. Stanislas (2014) added to the discussion by sharing that the campaign was titled STMMC which specifically targeted the substance of dancehall music. The campaign facilitated a joint effort between domestic and international bodies to cap the spread of homophobia through the Jamaican dancehall music.

The STMMC was initially started in the United Kingdom (UK). Among the dancehall artistes who were impacted were Buju Banton, Capleton, and Elephant Man (Wahab, 2016). Wahab expounded that in the UK, social action was advanced through mainstream LGBT media with reference to Jamaican songs with anti-gay lyrics as '*murder music*'. In addition, dancehall artistes who promulgated such lyrics were not granted visas to travel to the UK to perform. Furthermore, the campaign was spread to approximately 60 organizations internationally, and upcoming tour for some of the targeted artistes were cancelled. According to Wahab one of the most profound moves by the UK was the composition of the Reggae Compassionate Act of 2007. Some dancehall artistes were forced to sign the Act and also make public apologies about the lyrical contents of their songs. The agreement prevented them from singing any of their songs with homophobic lyrics while in the UK. Counter to the outcome of the STMMC is the finding of Marvin (2011) who analyzed the work of Donna Hope—"Man Vibes: Masculinities in the Jamaican Dancehall." Marvin stressed that in spite of acts geared at tempering dancehall music with specific relation to masculinity, a downgrading of homosexuality is still sustained. Transgressive Marvin augmented that the author viewed

the exercise as "transgressive" especially in alignment with hegemonic masculinity in Jamaica.

The campaign efforts had spread to Canada. By 2008 the STMMC organizers began to focus on Jamaica's wider economy. A move was proposed to economically and negatively impact Jamaica's tourism, and therefore compel the government of Jamaica to repeal legislations that make homosexuality illegal (Wahab, 2016). To date the Offenses Against the Person Act that makes homosexuality among males illegal, has not been repealed. Persad (2016) put forward dissenting views on the idea of perceiving Jamaica as a stereotypical violent place for LGBTQ people. Persad argued that the view is somewhat false and damaging to the Jamaican economy. The author shared the irony is that the same Western movement that implemented laws against sodomy is the same movement that is today refuting the residual effects of such laws. The representation of Jamaica as strictly homophobic is not only affecting the country's main economic activity-tourism—but also resulting in a boycott of Jamaican products (such as its music). A profound implication that the author also noted was that not only is Jamaica's economy adversely affected, but an increase in repercussion against the LGBTQ community in Jamaica is resultant.

<div align="center">**Summary**</div>

An all-inclusive comprehension of public sentiments toward homophobia in Jamaica may be better understood when viewed outside of a capsule, to incorporate various aspects of the history of homosexuality, globally. Alongside that historical criticism is also the inclusion of queer theory in which this project is embedded. A review

of the history of homosexuality in Jamaica presented supporting findings that perceptions of homosexuality in that country are grounded in British colonial laws, residual effects of various religious groups—mainly Christianity, cultural norms, political inputs and an infusion of Jamaica's dancehall music into the topical issue.

Queer theory is accredited to the works of three forerunners—Sedgwick, Butler and Lauretis. A common argument presented by each author is the idea of fluidity among gender types. The authors asserted that gender and sexuality exist on a continuum and not sustained in a perception of either manliness or femininity as is generally perceived. Queer theory ignited a discussion regarding both gay and lesbian studies and the multiple levels of human sexuality and gender. Among the tenets of homosexuality are the ideas that conventional philosophies of homosexuality are evaluated, and sexual categories are not stagnant.

Before the advent of the conceptualization of homosexuality in the late half of the 19th century, sexuality in some cultures was not solely constrained to heterosexual relations. For example, in the Hindu culture, homosexuality was not criminalized until the British colonial era when it became a taboo. Similarly, in Latin and Greek cultures, there were no concepts that limited sexual intimacy to only male and female relations. Conversely, it must also be mentioned that while same sex relations may not have been conceptualized as homosexuality, it was viewed as deviant in some cultures.

In earlier periods, traditions that were affected by the teachings of Abraham (the biblical character), as well as the church, and instituted laws, viewed homosexuality as sinful and a deviation from nature. Predating Christianity, and the Abrahamic laws and to

the period of Plato in Greek history, male sexual relations were observed as uncharacteristic. It was discovered that in other traditions, views on homosexuality varied. In ancient Africa, scrutinized artifacts implied that homosexuality was neither accepted nor found to be disreputable. In China, up to 600 B.C. same sex relationships among men were acceptable. It was not until the medieval period with the spread of Christianity and Islam that there was hostility in China toward homosexuals. Despite that period of change, the act was made legal in China by the end of the 20th century.

One of the prime influences of the criminalization of homosexuality, was colonialism and the spread of Christianity by the British. As hinted in previous paragraphs the British influence (through penal codes and religious beliefs) on the acceptance of homosexuality impacted some countries of the Caribbean (including Jamaica), Southern Asia (such as India), and southeastern Asia (e.g. Singapore). Despite British influence other influence were Muslim teachings which today forbid homosexuality especially in predominant Muslim nations such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Yemen, Nigeria and Sudan. Contradictory to its other Middle Eastern counterparts, Israel's is viewed as one of the friendliest nations on earth for homosexuals.

In the United States of America, the laws have changed significantly over the years. Before the great revolution in the United States, some colonies outlawed homosexuality as a mirror of a similar institution that was carried out by Virginia. However, by 2015 in the case of Obergefell v. Hodges, the Supreme Court ruled that same sex marriages were permissible in all 50 states.

Studies have indicated that anti-homosexual attitudes continue to drive the negative treatment of homosexual males in Jamaica. Among the parishes where strong homophobic incidents have been recorded are St. James, St. Catherine, Kingston, and St. Andrew. Though homosexual males are often the targets of adverse attitudes due to their sexual orientation, their female counterparts—lesbians—are often victims of similar crimes. However, discriminatory activities and violent attacks were found to be most dominant among the homosexual male population.

Homosexual males are often victims of various types of anti-gay prejudicial attitudes by members of the public. Other sources of victimization are from the church, the police, the health sector, housing authorities, and musical artistes. Some activists have argued that the presence of the Offences Against the Person Act of 1864 contribute to the discrimination and stigmatization of homosexuals. Another perceived contributory factor is the strong heteronormative culture of Jamaica.

The current study utilized the theoretical framework of queer theory (Halperin, 2003) to situate the constructs of sexuality, gender identity, and the perceived deviance of homosexuality in a predominantly heteronormative environment. The theory was used to advance the relevance of the core questions in the study and highlight their link to a qualitative phenomenological approach and design. In light of the literature reviewed, there is still more work that needs to be done to expand the available literature on LGBT studies in Jamaica in general. This study will make a unique contribution to the existing literature on LGBT studies in Jamaica by presenting a phenomenological perspective of the experiences of adult homosexual males in parish of St. James, Jamaica.

Chapter 3 included a brief introduction to the chapter, followed by a description of the research design and rationale for that design. Subsequently, the role of the researcher in the study was clarified and the chosen methodology to advance the study, described. Included in the description of the methodology is the type of sampling mechanism used to select participants, an explanation regarding instrumentation and how data analysis was carried out. Finally, issues pertaining to trustworthiness were discussed, as well as ethical considerations regarding the study.

Chapter 3: Research Method

The two preceding chapters provided documented information regarding the experiences of homosexual males in Jamaica, as exposed through findings in the works of various social scientists. Consequently, the purpose of this study was to describe the impact of violence and discrimination on homosexual adult males in St. James, Jamaica, from the viewpoint of the victims. This chapter presents a framework of the qualitative method I used to foster a comprehension of those experiences. The chapter progresses through four related sections. In the initial section I explain the research design and rationale used to understand the experiences of adult homosexual males in St. James, Jamaica. Next, I discuss my role as the researcher. The third section details the methodology of the study, including participant selection, instrumentation, data collection procedures, and how such data was analyzed. I explain the trustworthiness and ethical procedures applied to the study.

Research Design and Rationale

I employed a qualitative approach with a phenomenological methodology to explore the experiences of adult male homosexuals living in the parish of St. James, Jamaica who have been victims of discriminatory attitudes due to their sexual orientation. Intertwined with the study's design were the inquiries that aligned with the phenomenon of study. Those inquiries included the subsequent questions.

RQ1: How do men living in Jamaica who identify as homosexual describe their lived experiences with victimization due to their perceived sexual orientation?

RQ2: What are the sociocultural attitudes of Jamaicans toward homosexual males, through the lens of adult male homosexuals?

RQ3: What effect does the attitude of Jamaicans toward homosexual males have on that population?

Furthermore, specific focus was given to the attitudes of Jamaicans towards homosexual males, homophobia as an element of those attitudes, the sexual orientation of victims, and the victimization of those victims based on their sexual orientation. Consequently, the impact of the overall values on victims were discerned.

Rationale for Research Design:

A qualitative study is traditionally used to investigate and comprehend the definition participants impute to a social issue with which they are confronted (Creswell, 2009). On the other hand, a quantitative study evaluates the correspondence among variables in order to assess objective theories (Creswell, 2009). The use of a qualitative approach aligns with advocacy of an inductive study, a concern with how individuals assign meaning to their experiences, and the value of representing the intricacy of a circumstance. A quantitative approach was not suitable to the study based on the three components Creswell (2009) recommended researchers consider when selecting a study approach. Creswell affirmed that a social scientist should ponder the chosen techniques for inquiry, the philosophical worldviews, and particular procedures of the study that transforms the approach into a practical idea. While a quantitative study confines how much of an experience a participant divulges, a qualitative study through its methods of inquiry often reveals rich textual data related to participants' stories (Creswell, 2009;

Patton, 2015). The selected strategy of inquiry in this study was transcendental

phenomenology.

Phenomenological research purports that the essence of an individual's lived

experience is revealed in a way other individuals can develop an understanding about a

shared delineation of that experience (Moustakas, 1994). According to Creswell (2013)

the issue best qualified for a phenomenological design is one in which it is pertinent to

grasp a comprehension of the unified experiences of several people's encounters with a

phenomenon.. Transcendental phenomenological inquiry can therefore be used to

recognize what the essence of the lived experiences of the participants is, when faced

with victimization based on their sexual orientation.

There were other qualitative methods of inquiry I considered for this study.

However, they were deemed less suitable to fostering an understanding of the

experiences of the participants when compared to a phenomenological method of inquiry.

For example, an ethnographic study is used to foster a depiction or clarification of a large

culture sharing group who often interrelate as time passes (Creswell, 2013). The use of

ethnography is very intense and, in most cases, demands the involvement of the

researcher in the study itself (participant observation). The population in this study was

not very large as is commonly expected of an ethnographic study—over 20 (Creswell,

2013). A culture sharing group as is required by an ethnographic inquiry is not being

assessed in this study. Moustakas (1994) expounded that the outcome of an ethnographic

study is a cultural description.

Consideration was also given to a grounded theory approach. Grounded theory is a method of inquiry in which "researchers attempt to construct (versus test) a set of theoretical propositions based on their experiences in the field" (Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2015, p. 242). One of the ideals of grounded theory is to establish a theory. Where queer theory, and or other existing theories fail to establish the essence of the shared experiences of the study participants, then grounded theory could be applicable. Creswell (2013) shared that grounded theory is most suitable to a study when there is no available theory to align with participants' experiences. Creswell augmented that where there is an existing theory, grounded theory is only applicable when the existing theory fails to address theoretically valuable variables of concern to the social scientist. The issues of gender, societal acceptance, heteronormativity, homophobia, and deviance as dealt with through queer theory were the factors of concern in this study.

Another possibility that was explored was the use of a case study. A case study is defined by Creswell (2013) as the "study of a case within a real life, contemporary context or setting…within a bounded system, bounded by time and place" (p. 97). This study is usually done over time. The application of a case study was eliminated because the study is not preoccupied with events taking place over time. It is concerned with what is presently being encountered or what have been resultant from the phenomenon.

Role of the Researcher

Creswell (2009) outlined several practices that constitute the roles of a researcher in a qualitative study, which I carried out in this research. Creswell stated that a social scientist must (a) define whether they will be an observer, or participant observer in the

study, (b) gather data that reflect the participants' story and how they delineate it, (c)

concentrate on a singular phenomenon, (d) add personal significance to the research, (e)

examine the context in which the phenomenon takes place, (f) authenticate the

accurateness of outcomes, (g) interpret the information discovered, (h) institute a plan for

change, and (i) work together with the study participants.

My principal function as the researcher in this study was to collect and interpret

data from participants in the study and examine the data thematically (see Sullivan et al.,

2008). Additionally, and considering ethical considerations I conducted a self-assessment

to make aware any biases that may affect the overall study. Sullivan et al. (2008) shared

that a researcher's experience and persona can both affect the processes of data gathering,

and interpretation. Sutton and Austin (2015) noted that the role of the researcher to be

reflective prior to and during the study process. That way, both context and

comprehension will be clarified for anyone who peruses the study. It is impossible to

avoid biases, Sutton and Austin argued. However, through reflexivity, and transparency

in stating one's position and partialities it can be better understood how certain elements

were addressed. Those elements include how inquiries were made, information was

collected and scrutinized, and how outcomes were reported. Additionally, I was

transparent with participants by outlining their relationship with the study. This provided

an understanding to the participants about the researcher's role as an observer or a

participant observer (Rossman & Marshall, 2010). I did not have any prior relationship

with the participants in this study; explanations were given to participants about both

their role and mine.

In addition to the use of reflexivity and transparency, I also employed bracketing as an avenue for filtering prior experiences with the phenomenon of the study (see Creswell, 2013). Creswell asserted that through bracketing (or epoche) "investigators set aside their experiences, as much as possible to take a fresh perspective toward the phenomenon under examination" (p. 80). Moustakas (1994) supported this argument specifically regarding its association with transcendental phenomenology. Moustakas shared that transcendental translates to "everything is perceived freshly, as if for the first time" (p. 34). I therefore viewed the phenomenon through fresh lens.

Each participant was provided with an incentive of U.S. $20 participation in the study. I believed that an incentive of US$20, which equated to approximately $2,400 (Jamaican dollars), was a rational incentive for participation in the study based on the intricacies and inconveniences of the research. The incentive was not justified based on any threats of being involved in the study (see University of Pittsburgh Human Research Protection Office, 2017). As augmented by the University of Pittsburgh Human Research Protection Office, the size of the incentive as well as the period of payment was not coercive to stir participation in the research. The United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare & National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavior Research (2014) affirmed that the ethical involvement of a participant in a study should be based on whether that participant did so voluntarily and was also informed about the study. When viewed from the perspective of the participant, involvement in a study is often perceived from an economic stance with the concepts of costs and benefits being at the fore. Dunn and Gordon (2005) expounded that considering

the cost/benefit structure researchers should consider the economic factors that come into play in a study, when appealing to participants. However, the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare & National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavior Research affirmed that incentives should not be substantial to motivate study participants to "undertake risks they would not be willing to accept without the incentive" (para. 9). As was noted earlier, the incentive that was provided to each participant did not exceed US$20 ($2400JMD). The economic value to participants was considering transportation, food, and any other minor inconvenience to each participant with relation to multiple interviews, and locations of those interviews.

Methodology

Participant Selection Logic

I sought participants throughout the city of Montego Bay, St. James, Jamaica, based on locations recommended by the Freeport Police Department in St. James, and the J-FLAG, whose head office is in Kingston. J-FLAG is the leading organization in Jamaica that advocates for LGBT rights and freedoms J-FLAG, n.d.). Its main focus is to stimulate social change in light of LGBT issues in Jamaica (J-FLAG, n.d.). Individuals selected for the study were persons who identify themselves as adult homosexual males, and who fall within the category of age 18 through to 29 years. Other criterions are outlined later in this section.

The sampling strategy was selected in alignment with the phenomenon (see Groenewald, 2004). Therefore, purposive sampling was most suitable for this study. Groenewald (2004) outlined that the nature of the research should be given consideration

when selecting the sampling strategy. Where the phenomenon of study is a sensitive nature, snowball sampling may be most suitable. Additionally, factors such as the purpose of the study and the insightfulness of the researcher must also be considered. Participants were deliberately sought based on their experience with the main occurrence. In conjunction with purposive sampling, exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling was executed with the intention of identifying participants. As recommended by Patton (2015) I was the main recruiter. Participants who have had rich experiences with the phenomenon recommended other participants with valuable experiences were recruited and recommended others. Participants were then prescreened using a set of criteria for inclusion in the study (See Appendix A).

Participants resided in the parish of St. James. St. James was listed among four parishes in which LGBT individuals are often targeted for homophobic violence (Human Rights Watch, 2014; J-FLAG, 2013). Participants were adult males who identify as homosexual and were 18 to 29 years old. According to J-FLAG (2013), there is a disproportionate number of males within the age range of 15-29 years who are both offenders and victims of violence in Jamaica. Similarly, most LGBT victims of homophobic violence were identified as males who fall within the age range of 18-29 years. J-FLAG expounded that another consideration is the socioeconomic status of victims. Therefore, the socioeconomic status of participants was among the list of criterions. According to J-FLAG, LGBT individuals in Jamaica who are not among the middle and upper classes possess no means of evading their circumstances. Therefore, life for them in Jamaica is more complex and threatening especially when combined with

a sexual orientation that is considered deviant in that society. J-FLAG shared that, "wealth, social class and social capital are of critical importance for all LGBT people as they negotiate safety in their respective communities" (p. 2). Participants indicated whether they were victims of violent and or discriminatory attitudes from members of the public in light of their identified sexual orientation.

There were eight participants in this study. This was in tandem with such considerations as economic cost of the study, saturation, and the fact that there is no agreed designated number of participants when conducting a phenomenological study. Creswell (2013) averred that sample sizes in a phenomenological study vary. Mason (2010) postulated that there is no strict guideline for sample sizes, neither are there scientific arguments to support whether one size is more appropriate than another. Mason elaborated that studies have shown that most scientists abscond from suggesting what constitutes an adequate sample size in a qualitative study.

With specific regard to saturation, participants were recruited until data saturation was reached. The sample was not significantly large, and so randomization was not used to decrease the number of participants in the study. The operationalization of saturation was done similarly to a technique used by Guest et al. (2006). Guest et al. systematically assessed findings from their research against codes that were constructed from a literature review. It was realized that of the 36 interviews that they had conducted, data saturation was reached after the first six interviews and 34 of 36 codes that were created, were done prior to the interviews. Guest et al. posited that a sample size of six was adequate to foster the construction of significant themes and valuable interpretations.

Instrumentation

Data was gathered using both direct observation and in-depth interviews. Creswell (2013) postulated that in-depth interviews are the main method of gathering phenomenological data. Developed an observation guide and an interview protocol.

Observation

Nonparticipant observation is one of the specific data collection mechanisms that was used in this study. Data was gathered using an observation sheet (See Appendix B). Among the methods of gathering qualitative data were through both interviews and observation (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2015). Creswell (2013) advanced that observations can provide the researcher with information as situations take place, uncommon circumstances may also be documented, and are often helpful in situations in which participants may not be very comfortable. The following steps which were shared by Creswell (2013) were advanced during the observational procedure.

- Upon the choice of a location for observation, authorization should be sought for the use of that site. I needed no authorization to use the site as the location was public.

- I was a nonparticipant in the observational exercise.

- Specific selections were made regarding what or who was observed.

An observational protocol was developed. The protocol included both reflective and descriptive notes. The latter highlighted the study population, context of the study, and events observed during the process. Included in the protocol were notes on the duration, time and place of the observational exercise.

I then gradually withdrew from the location of observation as well as express gratitude toward the participants for taking part in the exercise. Participants were informed of how the information was utilized and how it may be accessed later. Extensive notes were documented right away while the events were fresh in my mind. In-depth descriptions of participants and events observed, were made.

Patton (2015) asserted that while not all things can be observed the use of interviews complement data gathered through observation. Information such as "feelings, thoughts, and intentions" (p. 426) cannot be gathered through observation. Circumstances that took place prior to an observation cannot be recorded using that method. Therefore, individuals must be questioned about their experiences.

Interviews

Interviews are another method of collecting data in a phenomenological study. Interviews are suitable for gathering qualitative data because they yield rich textual data (Creswell, 2013) and foster information about how individuals perceive the world in which they live, and the experiences they confront (Kvale, 2007). Interviews will permit the researcher to delve into the minds and experiences of participants (Patton, 2015). Creswell augmented that when aligned with a phenomenological study, interviews should be both in-depth and multiple. That will allow for each participant to share the intricate circumstances that encompass his experience, and therefore highlight the different views or delineations that participants have. This method of gathering data assists in shaping the events that participants share (Durlak et al., 2010; Poulos, 2014). An additional benefit of utilizing in-depth interviews in this study is the idea that the face to face engagement with

participants will help to build a greater relationship between the researcher and study participants, as well as allow the researcher to identify both non-verbal and verbal cues (Creswell, 2013).

With specific alignment with the intent of the study all procedures related to conducting the interview were relevant. The process began with me a) establishing a positive rapport with study participants, b) I outlined the purpose of the study, c) assertions of confidentiality, d) who will have access to the data, e) why the researcher will be taking notes during the interviews, and f) how contact may be made with the researcher or university for follow-up or concerns. The use of an icebreaker question also assisted with setting a comfortable tone for the subsequent questions related to the study (see Creswell, 2009, 2013). Participants were allowed to express themselves so that their experiences were documented and their voices captured. Additionally, an ideal location in which each participant was comfortable, was selected.

The interviews were composed of open-ended questions. For example, "Tell me about your experience as a homosexual male living in Jamaica". Prompts or follow-up questions were used to gain additional information related to responses that interviewees provide. As recommended by Creswell (2013), the interview closed with each participant thanked for his role in the study as well as the privacy of their responses and possible follow-up interviews.

As noted earlier, the study instruments were not published data collection tools. After an extensive literature review, the interview questions were constructed. Creswell (2009) affirmed that a phenomenological study should consist of one or two broad

questions that elicit responses about what participants have experienced and the context in which those experiences took place. The interview protocol is then composed of five to seven open-ended questions which are directly related to the core questions. The protocol in this study was composed of six sub-questions followed by a thank you note that aimed at assuring participants of the privacy of their data.

Interviews were carried out over a minimum tentative period of a week though the original plan was for a period of three weeks. Participants opted to complete the interview in a single sitting. That proposed time allowed for scheduling of interview sessions based on times selected by the participants as well as established rapport with the group and gather contact data of participants (Palinkas et al., 2015; Patton, 2015). To limit the impact of mortality or inadequate participants the following mechanisms posited by Allen (2017) were employed.

- Participants were offered rewards of US$20. The incentive did not exceed US$20. This was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB). The inclusion of rewards in this manner encouraged participants to take part in the whole project.

- Mortality was perceived as a serious issue, so the interviews were structured to decrease the number of segments that were initially established. For example, a pretest and an initial interview were scheduled for the same session when an interviewee was okay with the time scheduled.

- Flexibility was established so that there were times for make-up sessions if needed. Since the study could have taken place in a different geographic location flexibility would have also allowed for phone interviews if necessary.

Allen elaborated that mortality is best handled if the threats are prevented.

Procedures for the Recruitment, Participation and Collection of Data

The gathering of data was initialized with the location and selection of participants using snowball sampling and a pretest. Access to participants was gained through the assistance of a member of J-FLAG. Selected participants were then contacted through an established medium selected by potential participants. At the first official meeting with the participants, my role was outlined, an introduction to the study was given, the nature of the study was introduced, and the conditions for the selection of subjects shared. A schedule was then established for the interview and observation exercises. The exercises lasted for a period no less than a week. There were singular interviews of participants. The number was relevant to the availability of each participant, and how much information was shared in the initial interview.

Participants were asked to sign a consent form before taking part in the study. The contents of the form were read, and all uncertainties clarified so that participants understood their role during and exiting the process. Aliases were used instead of actual names of participants to retain confidentiality of participants in the study. Interviews were recorded using both audio tapes and documented on interview protocols. Each interview lasted a minimum of 30 minutes. Data was then transcribed exactly as stated by interviewees. An observational sheet was used to record events observed, a description of the events and reflective notes were made.

Data Analysis Plan

According to Moerer-Urdahl and Creswell (2004) the procedures outlined by

Moustakas (1994) for the analysis of phenomenological data foster "logical, systematic,

and coherent design elements" (p. 19) that nurture a description of the essence of the

lived experiences of participants. Moerer-Urdahl and Creswell outlined that a

phenomenological investigation is initialized with all preconceptions held by the

researcher being set aside. That activity is conceptualized as the epoche. That enabled me

to view the phenomenon under study through a fresh perspective. The analysis of the data

began with me first making explicit their experiences with the occurrence being studied.

This was through the provision of a description of those experiences.

Moustakas (1994) affirmed that the next step in the data analysis procedure is the

process of horizonalization. Horizonalization is a procedure in which particular

testimonials are selected from the transcribed data that are specifically related to how

participants described their experiences. The selected data was then documented in a

tabular format so that the variety of viewpoints of participants can be identified by a

reader.

Next themes or meaning units weredeveloped. This step included the elimination

of unrelated statements as well as those that were repetitive. Those statements that

remained were then considered the textual definitions or horizons. The remaining

statements were then classified into themes. Supporting findings from empirical works

scrutinized during the literature review were used to clarify terminologies used by

participants (see Moustakas, 1994).

After the development of themes or meaning units were the textual descriptions of participants' experiences. I   proceeded to document a rich description of what was experienced by the participants (textually), as well as how it was experienced (structurally), (Moustakas, 1994). Both textual and structural explanations were then fused to provide a holistic description of the experiences shared by participants. That is sometimes referred to as the essence of the lived experiences of participants (Moustakas, 1994).

My intent, initially, was to use the data management tool, NVivo. Lewis-Beck et al. (2004) described NVivo as a software program that assist researchers to manage, code and recover qualitative data. The original intention was to use the software for data transcription. Mills et al. (2010) posited that the software can be used to assist with a range of data formats such as audio, textual data, and portable document formats. This researcher instead opted to analyze the data, manually. Cross-case analysis, an audit trail and member checks were done.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness was facilitated in the study through the use of member checks. Member checks is defined as the perusal of data by individuals who contributed those data to the study. Conclusive findings were evaluated by study participants to secure that process. The use of data saturation was also employed. That is, data was gathered to the extent at which the data being gathered became repetitive and therefore was not contributing new insights to the study (Suter, 2013). In addition, the use of audit trail (extensive documentation of data collection) and the reasons for vital decisions were

employed. Finally, rich descriptions were provided regarding the context of the research (Merriam, 2009).

Credibility

The believability of the data conclusions was enhanced through member checks as well as the merging of different sources of information. That is, information gathered through interviews as well as observations and field notes. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested the organization of data to foster credibility. That means coding the data using themes. Using codes, data was categorized in a manner that allowed the data to speak for itself. Moreover, audit trail was used. The process nurtured the documentation of information that readers may examine to assess the conclusions drawn by the researcher regarding the study. It may also enhance trust when evaluated in tandem with the implications of the study.

Transferability

The generalization of data conclusions to other contexts was fostered using comprehensive textual descriptions. Such descriptions encourage judgements about a suitability of the findings with other contexts. The application of cross-case comparisons was used to enhance transferability (Suter, 2013).

Dependability

Dependability was heightened using audit trail and in-depth documentation of findings. Another method that was employed is code-recode consistency. Through that method the researcher recoded the data to see if similar results are realized as in the initial

coding exercise. The strategies helped to provide evidence regarding whether similar results would surface if the study were carried out again (Suter, 2013).

Control of researcher bias was facilitated using bracketing or epoche. This included the setting aside of presumptions prior to conducting the study, as well as noting within the study what experiences I had with the phenomenon of interest (see Creswell, 2013). Moreover, deliberate attempts were made to seek opposing evidence or worldviews (Suter, 2013). Finally, the use of reflexivity during the process of gathering data provided explicit insight about the researcher's thought process and reactions to the phenomenon.

Ethical Procedures

One of the main procedures in the data gathering process was to obtain written consent from the research subjects. That process was approved by the IRB, Participants in the study were adults ranging from age 18 through to 29. Therefore, no parental consent was required. Participants were informed about the goals of the study. They were guaranteed of their rights during the study (Miles et al., 2014). To establish trust and transparency throughout the study the researcher acknowledged through "thank you" statements within instrument protocols about the use of the participants' time, privacy, and data shared. Participants were assured that that information they shared will be kept confidential and that no other party, but the researcher will have contact with their information. Likewise, participants' real names were concealed, and pseudonyms used to ensure individual privacy. If a professional was used to assist in the data transcription process, that person would have been required to sign a confidentiality form which

outlined privacy standards associated with the data, and the transcriber's role. The data was however transcribed by me as I am fluent in the local dialect and the English language which were used by the participants.

Miles et al. (2014) postulated that "Study participants' concern about the inequity of benefits and costs serves to jeopardize access and thin out data" (p. 61). A monetary compensation was provided to participants for their voluntary role in the study. The total sum was US$20. The sum was justified based on the risks taken by participants, their time given for the study, and the fact that participants spent money to travel to the location of the study for the interview sessions.

With specific regard to harm and risk, the study took place within an environment in which empirical data showed that homosexual males are not viewed favorably. To minimalize potential harm to participants discretion was used in the selection of the interview location. Participants engaged in that process by providing a location in which they were most comfortable, and times when they were available.

Hard data was stored in a locker that has a built-in combination system. That means only I had access to the data and the code for opening the locker. Electronic data was stored on a hard drive on my personal computer. Again, there was a passcode to access the device. I was the only one who was privy to the passcode for the device. Data will be destroyed after it was stored for a period of no less than five years.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to describe the impact of violence and discrimination on homosexual adult males in St. James, Jamaica, from the viewpoint of

the victims. Chapter 3 presented a framework of the qualitative method utilized to foster

a comprehension of those experiences. The selected design of the study was a

phenomenological approach. Transcendental phenomenological inquiry was used to

recognize what the essence of the lived experiences of the participants is, when faced

with victimization based on their sexual orientation. The principal function I had in this

study was to collect and interpret data from participants in the study and examine the data

thematically. Purposive sampling was most suitable for this study. The main instrument

for data collection was interviews. Observation exercise was also conducted, field notes

were taken, and reflexivity was employed. IRB approval was sought and granted. That

approval outlined how participants and their data was treated. Chapter Four presents

information about the actual data collected, how it was analyzed, evidence of

trustworthiness, and the outcome of the analysis.

Chapter 4: Results

I employed a phenomenological approach for this qualitative study. The purpose

of that approach was to explore and further describe the lived experiences of adult

homosexual males aged 18-29 in Jamaica. I conducted interviews to capture the

experiences of each participant using the following questions:

1. What does it mean to you to be a male homosexual?

2. Tell me about your experience as a homosexual male living in Jamaica.

3. What beliefs do you think most Jamaicans have about homosexuality?

4. How have members of the Jamaican society treated you as a male

    homosexual?

5. How have the treatments you have received from the society affected you?

6. What do you think the Jamaican government can do regarding how

    homosexual males are treated in Jamaica?

In this chapter, I present the findings from my interviews with participants. I also

discuss my data analysis process and the themes that emerged from it. I also examine

discrepancies with the data as well as trustworthiness. The chapter concludes with a

research summary and a transitional description of Chapter 5.

Setting

Due to the nature of the study and the locality of the research, interviews and

observation were conducted in person and face to face with participants. The benefits of

the face-to-face approach are that they permitted the exploration and explication of the

feedback from the participants. Kim et al. (2008) suggested that face-to-face interviews

foster a relationship between the participant and interview as it involved personal contact. This may help mitigate any discomfort participants may have about sharing their stories.

Interviews were conducted inside a remodeled trailer in the city of Montego Bay, St. James. The trailer was located on the grounds of the Type-5 Health Center in Montego. Initial use of the location was provided by the first participant. Subsequent participants expressed comfort with the location as they felt safe and expressed familiarity with that location. The location also allowed for privacy and the mitigation of conspicuousness, as the general grounds are used for a diverse group of people with various gender classifications, as well as other members of the society.

The trailer was partitioned into three rooms, with a passageway adjoining each. Interviews were conducted in one room to the far end of the trailer. Participants' arrival and departure were scheduled to allow for privacy. Interviews were conducted without incident or interruption.

Demographics

The intent of the study was to provide a description of the lived experiences of adult male homosexuals living in St. James, Jamaica, who have been victims of homophobic discrimination. Participants' involvement was based on several criteria which were determined by participant prescreening factors (See Appendix A). Those criteria were categorized under identified gender classification (male), age (18-29years old), sexual orientation (homosexual), experience of victimization, and socio-economic status (income and place of residence). According to J-FLAG (2014), most homosexual victims of violence are of low socioeconomic backgrounds which make them vulnerable

for victimization. Due to the anonymity of participants names were coded as Participant

1(P1), Participant 2 (P2), and Participant 3 (P3) until the list was exhausted at Participant

12 (P12). While 12 participants were screened, and at that point saturation was met, only

eight qualified (P1, P2, P6, P7, P8, P9, P10, and P12) based on the inclusion criteria.

Three participants were not selected based on their age being outside the range of the

selection criteria. One was not selected because she identified as a female and pansexual

rather than homosexual. Table 1 below reflects the factors that were considered while

screening participants, as well as the demographic profile of each participant.

Table 1

Participants' Prescreening Factors: Demographic Profile

Participant	Age	Reported Gender	Reported Sexual Identity	Monthly Income	Residence
P1	24	Male	Homosexual	$24000JMD	Rented unit with male homosexual friends.
P2	24	Male	Homosexual	$0.00 JMD	Homeless
P3	32	Screened out due to age factor. Participant's age is outside the range for the study.			
P4	23	female	Pansexual	Screened out due to sexual identity.	
P5	17	Screened out due to age factor. Participant's age is outside the range for the study.			
P6	23	Male	Homosexual	$32000 JMD	Homeless
P7	26	Male	Homosexual	$0.00 JMD	Homeless
P8	23	Male	Homosexual	$0.00 JMD	Homeless
P9	23	Male	Homosexual	$0.00 JMD	Homeless
P10	26	Male	Homosexual	$0.00 JMD	Homeless
P11	31	Screened out due to age. Participant's age is outside the range for the study.			
P12	28	Male	Homosexual	$0.00JMD	Homeless

Data Collection

During the process of recruitment, participants were selected using the snowball sampling technique in tandem with purposive sampling. According to Ungvarsky (2020), snowball sampling is a technique used in research to seek and retain participants for a study, with each participant further recommending others for the same study. Purposive sampling as conceptualized by Suen et al. (2014) documented that purposive sampling is characteristically used in qualitative research. The process generally involves the selection of participants in alignment with the purpose of the study. The prospect is that each selected participant will add to the rich textual data of the study by providing narratives of their unique experiences with the phenomenon. Suen et al. expounded that, "as a result, members of the accessible population are not interchangeable and sample size is determined by data saturation not by statistical power analysis (p.2)." Table 2 reflects the experiences of participants that assisted with the qualification process for the study. The prescreening factors also contained a domain for *other*. P1 and P2 shared *other* experiences which they felt were not captured by the before mentioned.

Table 2

Participants' Prescreening Factors: Experiential Profile

Experiences	Participants							
	P1	P2	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P12
Chopped					x			
Shot								
Burned					x			
Stoned			x	x	x	x	x	x
Stabbed					x	x		
Fired from Job	x	x						
Evicted from home	x			x	x			x
Shunned by Family	x			x	x	x	x	x
Shunned by Friends	x			x	x	x	x	x
Chased by a Mob		x		x	x	x	x	x
Homelessness		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Verbally Threatened	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Extorted						x		x
Sexually Violated	x			x		x	x	
Embarrassed			x	x	x	x	x	x
Discriminated Against by Healthcare Worker(s)					x	x	x	x
Discriminated Against by Church	x			x				x
Discriminated Against by Police					x	x	x	

Note: P2 reported discrimination from community members. P6 reported being shunned by society.

Snowball sampling was initiated when the first participant informed other males which he identified as homosexuals to participate in the study. Each participant who was interviewed further referred another. I set up interviews after potential participants contacted me., My information was in the consent form that was provided to each participant that was interviewed. Participants were informed of a possible location for the interview, based on the choice of location of the initial participant interviewed. Each subsequent participant opted to use the same location inside a trailer located at the Type-5 Health Center based on a cohesive argument that they felt they would have been safe there.

Interviews were conducted over a period of a week which contrasted to the initial intent noted in Chapter 3, in which it was stated that the study would have occurred over a period of 3weeks. The interviews lasted for 1 hour to 1 hour and 30 minutes. Participants agreed to do a follow-up interview if necessary. Participants were each given a consent form prior to being interviewed, and each consent was audio recorded to maintain anonymity of participants, then transcribed. Interviews were recorded. The use of a Wanlipo 16GB Digital Voice Activated Recorder was used to record the interviewers. The device also had a password protection function which also made the information inaccessible to unauthorized individuals. The data capacity allowed for adequate space for storage of the information. The device has a rechargeable battery and USB chord which allowed for convenient charging. There were, however, no issues with the device during each interview. Rutakumwa et al. (2019) stated that in support of the use of digital recorders in qualitative interviews, that "the research community may deem its absence a

threat to the apparent validity and credibility of the data (p.579)." The employment of a recording device permitted the undivided attention of the researcher to the participants.

In addition to the use of a recording device I also used an observation guide (see Appendix B). The observation guide was used to document descriptive and reflective notes as well as demographic data regarding the "time, place and date" (Creswell, 2009, p. 182) when the observations took place. Observations were done of all participants for a period of 30 minutes each, as they interacted with the public. An interview protocol was used with each participant throughout the interviews (Appendix C). During the interview, documentations were made of the body languages of participants, as well as the reaction of the researcher to the data that was being gathered. Intermittently, participants were asked to clarify a response when necessary and or were asked a follow-up question should their responses have been indistinct. Oral recordings were transcribed and saved in addition to all noted, on a flash drive in a location that is also inaccessible to anyone else but the researcher.

Data Analysis

Moerer-Urdahl and Creswell (2004), outlined that a phenomenological investigation is initialized with all preconceptions held by the researcher being set aside. Prior to the analysis of the data, I set aside notions and or prejudices that may impact the data analysis process. This included that I have spent over 30 years in the general setting (St. James) where the study took place.

The data analysis process was initiated directly following the initial interview. After each interview was also the transcription of the data. I did this in order to enhance

the process of understanding through familiarity of the data presented and the essence of the participants' narratives. Member checking was also employed to augment a comprehension of the data and each participant's intended meaning of his narrative. I transcribed the data into standard English as participants used a mixture of the local Jamaican dialect, patois, and standard British English. I am fluent in both patois and English. The process of analysis was both exhausting and protracted but fostered the analysis and reflection of each transcribed sentence (see Korstjens & Moser, 2018). A process of horizonalization based on the transcribed data was then employed to pinpoint relevant narratives, after which was the identification of meaning units and codes (see Moustakas, 1994). Following the identification of the units was the development of themes (Creswell, 2007).

Extensively, each participants' narratives and observations of the participants were reviewed repeatedly and I made notations to include questions, thoughts of the statements made, body language, and reactions of the participants to each question and within the general environment to gain a sense of what the data included. For example, there were moments in which the participants were reserved for a prolonged period before answering a question. The idea that a moment of contemplation was needed to manage their adverse experience, was shared by three participants, in order to define their moment of thought before responding. The various communication forms of the participants were included in order to capture the lived experiences of the participants (see Aborisade, 2013).

A summary of the interview, which included the transcribed data was given respectively to the eight participants in order to incorporate member checking by each of the eight participants. The latter process assisted with the elimination of biases by the researcher and the nurturing of the epoche or bracketing (see Creswell, 2013). Each participant subsequently confirmed the accuracy of the transcribed data and observations. Horizonalization and development of themes ensued through color coding the narratives and analyzing the connection among the participants' experiences as each theme emerged from the data.

An open coding strategy allowed for a significant number of codes (20-30 assigned to each interview) when they were initially read (see Creswell, 2012). The number of new codes which emerged with each interview became less, which indicated that data saturation was met. Common terms and phases were found and these included *police brutality, confidentiality, violence, acceptance, rejection, suicidal thoughts, rape, change, rape, economic stance, consequences, gender, religiosity, familial support,* and *legislation*. The codes were then grouped to form categories which further fostered a structure of related themes.

Differences in participants' experiences were also noted. The next step in the process of analyzing the information involved the researcher examining the relationship between each section of the study and the phenomenon that is being examined. I found one discrepancy in relation to the literature. This was included in the research data analysis. The discrepancy is that most participants did not want homosexuality to be legalized in Jamaica. The relevance of this inclusion in the study is that it was significant

to be incorporated as a theme. These are further explored in tandem with the results of the study.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

According to Polit and Beck (2014) trustworthiness indicates the extent of trust in the information, methods of gathering quality data and the analysis of that data. Connelly (2016) expounded that since qualitative research is subjective, this type of study is often heavily scrutinized. Connelly noted that the establishment of unambiguous protocols and processes can foster trustworthiness in a study. The subsequent subtopics (credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and member checking) will further emphasize the extent of trustworthiness regarding this study and in association with the postulations of Polit and Beck.

Credibility

Credibility was fostered through several means such as regulation of my bias. The researcher discussed those biases and employed bracketing to mitigate impact to the data gathering and analysis. Johnson et al. (2020) posited that relevant to the rigor of a study is the researchers own perception and reasons for conclusions as a study advances. Johnson et al. stated that reflexivity (which the researchers defined as the notion that a researcher's biases and presumptions can affect the decision-making process throughout a qualitative study) is a significant part of the credibility from the initial stage of the study. This may be impacted by a researcher's experiences, personal history, and beliefs.

In highlight of transparency of my experience with the subject of study, I am a female who grew up in the parish of St. James, where the study was conducted. I was

brought up in a Baptist church under the guidelines of Christian principles and teachings and with the understanding that any deviation from the idea that a relationship is between a person who was born a male having a sexual relationship with a person who was born a female (and recognized as either gender through the identification of a male or female genitalia) is not only wrong but blasphemous. What should also be made transparent is the fact that other than the religious understanding with which I grew up, was also the household culture to which I was experienced. It was not considered favorable to speak in acceptance or tolerance of male homosexuals nor was it acceptable to empathize with that group and any adverse experience they have. During and after each interview I employed reflexivity. In addition, the review of the literature was extensive and included both endorsed and refuted results regarding the phenomenon of study. The inclusion of rich textual descriptions and member checking also facilitated credibility, as discussed by Connelly, 2016.

Transferability

The goal of this qualitative study was to facilitate a rich documentation of the lived experiences of adult homosexual males who have been impacted by homophobia in Jamaica. The application of cross-case comparisons was used in this study. Cross case comparison entails the comparison of similarities and differences in the shared experiences of the units that are being studied (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008). This was also used to enhance transferability (see Suter, 2013), through the data analysis of each participant's narratives and through the establishment of themes with comparison of the data among participants. The utilization of data rich descriptions also allows a reader who

may be familiar with the phenomenon, to ascertain whether there are parallels to their experiences.

Dependability

Malterud (2001) advanced that the use of an audit trail could facilitate dependability. An audit trail as explained by Malterud is the documentation of how the study was conducted as well as a clarification of conclusions made by the researcher. The process is transparent outline of the measures taken during the study. To facilitate dependability, I noted each step that was taken throughout this study. An example of this may be observed through the process of data gathering which was noted in the interview protocol.

Confirmability

Amin et al. (2020) established that confirmability is established by examining the emergent information and the process of interpreting data. It is the extent to which the findings may be confirmed by other researchers (Tuval-Mashiach, 2021). Participants were provided with a transcribed copy of their interview. Each engaged in member checking regarding observations of body language, documentation of narratives that each made, and themes which were identified. I expressed transparency regarding my own upbringing and how that upbringing may have impacted my perspective of homosexual males.

In addition, an observation protocol was used which documented both descriptive and reflective notes which were initiated at the time of observation of the participants. Direct field observation was employed. Johnson et al. (2020) noted that consistent

observation of the study population is crucial to the confirmability criteria. During the

process of observation, I employed consistency through observation of each participant in

the natural environment and using reflective and descriptive notes to document those

observations.

Participants and Participant Description:

The participants were of like demographic make-up. They each identified as

homophobic males. Due to confidentiality reasons as was outlined in the informed

consent, the actual names of participants were not used in the study and instead each was

assigned a randomly selected coded name, for example P1 (participant 1) and so on.

Participants' ages were noted as these were relevant to the study. Other criteria for

inclusion in the study were noted based on the participant screening factors, also included

below.

P1: He identified as a male homosexual with an income of $24000JM dollars, The

rate of the United States dollar to a Jamaican dollar at the time of this study was $10 to

$140, respectively. He resided in a shared home with other homosexual men. He

described facing the following experiences due to his identification as a homosexual

male. They are being fired from his job, evicted from his home, shunned by his family

and friends, verbally threatened, sexually violated and discriminated against by the

church.

P2: He identified as a male homosexual with no income. He noted that he was

homeless. He described facing the following experiences due to his identification as a

homosexual male. They include him being fired from his job, chased by a mob and homelessness.

P6: He identified as a male homosexual with an income of $3200. He noted that he was homeless. He described facing the following experiences due to his identification as a homosexual male. They include him being stoned, homelessness, verbally threatened and embarrassed.

P7: He identified as a male homosexual with no income. He noted that he was homeless. He described facing the following experiences due to his identification as a homosexual male. They include him being stoned, evicted from his home, shunned by family, shunned by friends, chased by mob, verbally threatened, sexually violated, embarrassed and discriminated against by the church.

P8: He identified as a male homosexual with no income. He noted that he was homeless. He described facing the following experiences due to his identification as a homosexual male. They include him being chopped, burned, stoned, stabbed, evicted from his home, shunned by family and friends, chased by a mob, being homeless, verbally threatened, embarrassed, discriminated against by healthcare workers and discriminated against by the police.

P9: He identified as a male homosexual with no income. He noted that he was homeless. He described facing the following experiences due to his identification as a homosexual male. They include him being stoned, stabbed, shunned by family and friends, chased by a mob, being homeless, verbally threatened, extorted, sexually

violated, embarrassed, discriminated against by healthcare workers and discriminated against by the police.

P10: He identified as a male homosexual with no income. He noted that he was homeless. He described facing the following experiences due to his identification as a homosexual male. They include him being stoned, shunned by family and friends, chased by a mob, being homeless, verbally threatened, sexually violated, embarrassed, discriminated against by healthcare workers and the police.

P12: He identified as a male homosexual with no income. He noted that he was homeless. He described facing the following experiences due to his identification as a homosexual male. They include him being stoned, evicted from his home, shunned by family and friends, chased by a mob, facing homelessness, verbally threatened, extorted, embarrassed and discriminated against by healthcare workers and the church.

Results

The leading research questions which were asked are,

1) How do men living in Jamaica who identify as homosexual describe their lived experiences with victimization due to their perceived sexual orientation?

2) What are the socio-cultural attitudes of Jamaicans toward homosexual males, through the lens of adult male homosexuals?

3) What effect does the attitude of Jamaicans toward homosexual males have on that population?

The data was gathered from eight participants who all resided in the parish of St. James in which the study took place. All participants identified as homosexual males and met the criteria to participate in the study based on their age and identity.

The questions were responded to through citation of direct statements taken from the transcribed data. There were six sub questions that were used to acquire thick contextual descriptions of the lived experiences of the participants. Answers to the above-mentioned questions, produced six themes. The themes are noted as (a) systemic treatment: violence, rejection and acceptability; (b) protect the children? (c) gender identity and sexual conformity; (d) economic instability (e) familial interference and intervention; (f) religiosity and legislative confluence and distinction; and (g) psychological stability. Each theme will be addressed using explicit statements and summaries as resultant from the transcribed data which highlights the experiences of the study participants.

Theme 1: Systemic Treatment: Violence, Rejection and Acceptability

Sharifa Patel (2015) postulated that homosexual individuals in Jamaica may be the targets of violence that their counterparts in other western regions may be able to evade due to their geographical position and the system of support that is afforded to them. In a study conducted by Rogers et al. (2014), it was discovered that among participants from healthcare and social service institutions in Jamaica and the Bahamas which were interviewed to gain information about the stigma attached to individuals living with HIV, were homosexual males. The results showed that while healthcare workers agreed that MSM are entitled to quality healthcare, they also criticized MSM and

cast blame on those individuals. The result also revealed that the highest levels of stigma were directed at MSM.

When systemic treatment was discussed, participants highlighted general treatment by the public, healthcare workers, the police AND/<u>OR</u> religious leaders. While participants discussed the before mentioned groups, treatment by the police and the public in general, seemed more widespread, than specific groups such as the church or healthcare facilities. This will be further addressed in Chapter 5.

P1's response in accordance with the above theme is that "There is no acceptance on Jamaica, but there is tolerance. They will work with you, but they don't want to have their children around you…organizations are not very confidential. Persons go to them, and everybody knows their business firsthand. I have found a few people who are confidential and talk to them. They accept me for who I am."

P2 provided a broader explanation of his experience as a homosexual male, in light of this theme by encompassing specific encounters with not just the public but also with the police:

> The experience is horrible. Not all the time you can control yourself. Sometimes being in the street and with friends and how you could have conversations behind closed doors. Someone could hear, and they try to be violent against you. They threaten to shoot me and tell me I must not be around people. They tell me, "A kill man must kill you." I have to walk fast so that a crowd doesn't come down. About 60% of police will pretend that they don't see somebody harming you because you are gay. I was going to a party with friends and a police stopped us

and told us to get out the car. They used violence against us and discriminatory words and called us "batty bwoys". Me and one of my friends were taken to the police station and locked up, even though we never committed a crime. Sometimes when the police stop us, they video us so that passersby can take pictures of us. That is like setting us up to be killed…if I should be myself in the street or society, maybe I would have been killed already. Some persons think it is wrong. They try to take the law into their own hands and will try to harm me. They have done it already. They think that I am doing something to harm the country.

P6 shared:

When we meet with other guys in the gay community, we can be ourselves. But, the bad thing is that some people are not open minded with us. It causes fear of them hunting us. It doesn't seem to be as consistent right now because a lot of people are kind of focused on the lottery scamming. I want to think it is getting a little bit better at least for me because people don't bash me as much as before. I like that I can be myself on the road in some places. Please note that I am saying some places. I remember man hit me with a cane. I was at a restaurant and a Friday and a man came in and said "unoo lef up fram yah suh" [all of you, leave from here]. He then hit me with a cane. I reported it to the police, and they did nothing. I don't trust the police because they never do anything. On the road people will call me, battyman. for the most part Jamaicans do not treat gays very well especially when you're poor.

P7 posited that, "I believe that 99% of Jamaicans believe that "batty bwoy" must die. Some will say let them live their life. Some say it is wrong….Some people have treated me quite good. Some of them are cheering. A friend took me out before and every now and then she checks on me. I work at a facility where the people know that I am gay, and they treat me well. Some Of my coworkers will not talk to me in the streets though, but they pretend to be nice to me when I'm at work with them. Maybe they fear for their own lives…. I was also raped by men who used bottles and sticks to rape me.

P8 stated:

People say that we're living the wrong life and that two men cannot have a baby. I remember I went to the type 5 Health Center and they told me to get out of the line and sit and wait. Because they think that if you're gay you have HIV. One day I was walking past a policeman and he asked, "What is that smell?" it was in public and I knew it was because I was gay. He was trying to say that I was a fish. Fish is one of the names that they call gay men in Jamaica. Some people will beat us and some things you want to share even with your family, and you cannot…One time I was walking on the road and out of nowhere came about 15 men with machetes and bottles and stones…I was hit on over my body with the stones and bottles. when I tried to jump over a fence I was chopped on my leg. I had to hide in the bushes until it was late hours at night before I went to the hospital to get help. When I went to the hospital, I could not tell them that I was

gay. If I had told them that I was gay they possibly would have chased me out of the building.

P9 discussed the following:

In the middle of the tone of Montego Bay I was stabbed and verbally abused, and it is the glory of God that saved me because nobody tried to help. Another time I was coming from home, and I was chased by some men and stoned. Next time a policeman grabbed me up by my shirt and hit me in my face. Another time even the same guys who live in my community stoned me. Jamaicans do not treat homosexual men like they are human beings too.

P10 noted that,

I hate going to get any kind of medical treatment because it seems like even when they call your name, they speak loud enough for others to hear that you're gay. When things have happened to me, I do not go to the police because they do not help. I feel like no matter what happens to you they take the side of those who hurt you. Have to live in fear all the time and one of those fears is being chased by a mob. It happened to me twice…. At the main health care center and the major hospital, the workers there will say that being gay is not a right. No matter what happens to us, whether we are beaten, chopped, or shot the police do not help…I reported crimes that have happened against me because I am gay, and the police did not investigate them. I remember I was arrested for a traffic offence and the police put me in a cell with other men and told them to beat me because I am gay.

P12 explained the following:

All these bruises over my body are because they were inflicted by people I tried to get away from who tried to hurt me because I am gay. Imagine trying to run away from a group of men who are armed with weapons and they're trying to hurt you. Well, that is my life…. Many times, I've been threatened to be killed by people on the street. Another time I was drugged and woke up in a hospital and I felt pain in my bottom, and it was then that I realized that they have done some horrible things to me sexually. I was molested internally but I don't know what they used.

Theme 2: Protect the Children?

There are some perspectives that a male homosexual could adversely affect a child's wellbeing. This idea proved common among the experiences of some participants. Jackman (2017) claimed that participants in a study conducted among three Caribbean countries believe that laws in place that ban homosexuality mitigate harm to children. In the current study some participants shared the perceived narrative by some members of the Jamaican society with an implication that male homosexuality is synonymous with pedophilia. The following participant statements reflect the value of this theme in the current study and shows some relationship between the homosexual experience and an extension of concerns of societal views homosexual men.

P1 claimed that, "People associate pedophilia HIV and prevalence rate with homosexuality. People think it's nasty."

P6 stated, "Jamaicans believe that if you are a gay then you are going to make your children gay."

P8 indicated that, "They think that we are rapists. They think that if I have a child, I will try to rape my son."

P9 said, "They think that we are going to rape their children."

P12 postulated that, "Most Jamaicans think that being a gay man is wrong. They think that as long as you are gay you must die and that you should keep away from other people especially their children."

Theme 3: Gender Identity and Sexual Conformity

The Jamaican society restrains apparent effeminate characteristics in males while simultaneously stigmatizing such behaviors as demoralizing. Plummer (2014) suggested that in the English-speaking Caribbean a transition from youth to adult male is a key period in a male child's life. Throughout that period, the male child learns to conform to societal expectations as he navigates his sexuality. Plummer highlighted the idea of "*compulsory masculinity*" (p. 168) as he augmented that the emergence of a male dominant characteristic critical. Plummer posited the reality of prohibitions responsibilities as the boy becomes man in Anglophone Caribbean countries. To clarify, Plummer further advanced that among the prohibitions are that feminine characteristics in males be negated. In the empirical finding by Plummer, it was highlighted that in some settings such as the dancehall in Jamaica, disc jockeys will specifically ask male party goers to burn gay men, and to indicate with a show of hand if they love women. Those who do not conform, could face dire consequences.

Participants in the current study discussed masking their own gender or sexual identity in the face of scrutiny, in various forms.

P1 shared, "I am not very effeminate. I am more of a macho guy. I

can walk down the street without being attacked just by virtue of how I look."

P2 postulated, "I am very conservative. I am not really open. I don't let people in.

I am mostly masculine than feminine… Males hide their lifestyle even gangsters

discriminate when they are doing the same thing."

P6 asserted, ". I am comfortable and I am not afraid of who I am. I am

comfortable with my sexuality.

P7 indicated, "Some are gay and hide it and participate in bashing me. Some

people don't like the vulgar type of homosexuals. I'm scared. I always try to walk alone to

avoid being labeled.

P8 claimed, "in reality I cannot fully live how I want to live my life in Jamaica. It

is not possible."

P10 alleged that, "I have to live under certain restrictions, and I can't dress or

speak or act feminine in public because I can be attacked, bashed, and criticized or

judged very harshly."

Theme 4: Economic Instability

West and Cowell (2015) postulated that homophobia is most predominant towards

males who are the lower socioeconomic strata of the Jamaican society. According to

McFee and Galbraith (2016) expounded that discriminatory practices towards the LGBTI

community is prevalent in schools, the workplace, public and private places. Among the

findings is that LGBT individuals were marginalized economically. The findings

indicated explicitly that a prohibition from the standard economy was apparent for an

LGBTI people. The researchers elaborated that the identification as part of the LGBTQI

community impeded the acceptance into some businesses, obtaining or renting homes,

accessing good and or services, and that due to such constraints, many sought

opportunities to through looking for asylum outside of Jamaica.

In tandem with the above findings, participants in this study shared the following.

P1 stated,

I lost a job as a teacher because of my experience… I had to leave everything.

Mentally, psychologically, socially and economically. I came to this side of the

island not having anywhere to go. A friend of mine called and asked what was

happening. I stayed with him. I was not working. I overstayed my welcome. I

went through hunger. There was food in the house but he told me not to touch his

food. Things are a little better now economically.

P2 declared, "Majority of homosexual men are unemployed because of the

stigma, that gays are violent, and that the lifestyle is wrong."

P6 contended,

Some say that we do it for money. As for me I don't know about anybody else but

I don't do this for money. Who would want to feel the pain that I have to feel, or

hide who you are when you're in public?

P12 revealed,

It is very hard in terms of discrimination and how people treat you if they find

out. They will abuse you and treat you like an animal. You will be homeless and

have no one to turn to and feel confined at times and feel like you want to end

your life. You have to be on the down low to have a normal life.

Theme 5: Familial Interference and Intervention

White et al. (2016) affirmed that a revelation of sexual preference may be

encouraging to the self, however the act itself may foster an uncovering of undesirable

experiences and difficulties. The researchers conducted a survey among over 100

homosexual and bisexual men ranging from early adulthood (18) to 56 years old. The

study indicated that the participants who expressed their identity as part of the two names

groups faced disparities from family members. The researchers believed that the adverse

reaction by family members were also impacted by the level of, or lack of economic

independence by the homosexual or bisexual male making the disclosure. White et al.

suggested that concrete and social interferences and endeavors to enhance favorable

familial connections are necessary to nurture an atmosphere that empowers security the

LGBTQI community in Jamaica. According to narratives shared by the current study

participants, the involvement of family in their disclosure and or overall experiences of

being male homosexuals have been either negative, positive and or a combination of both

experiences.

P1 expressed that his introduction to male homosexuality was impacted by an

unpleasant experience perpetrated by a family member against him. P1 shared,

My story started with being molested by a family member—a brother who denied

it. I suppressed it for years. After my mom died, I got married not to cover it but

to fit in. I got married, had kids and still continued to do things. It got to the point

where I was exposed to a family member. He wanted me to have sex with him. He

exposed me to the family. Consider being home with your wife and kids.

Everybody wanted to kill me.

P8 shared,

My own father invited me to dinner only to try to kill me. When I was there, he

called on the community on me and I had to run to save my life… My own uncle

chased me from my house. He tried to pour acid on me to burn me and that is why

I am now out in the streets. It was my family home, and nobody stopped him.

Nobody wants to live with a gay man in their house even if they're family.

P9 noted, "I feel like even if some of my families support me, I'm still alone

because I am the one who is gay. They cannot protect me from that."

P12 stated, "I have been chopped several times and I have been rejected by my

family… My family doesn't support me and they're afraid to have me around them."

Theme 6: Religiosity and Legislative Confluence and Distinction

Jamaica has been documented as the most homophobic place on earth by some

researchers. Wursthorn (2021) discussed that Jamaica violated the American Convention

on Human Rights due to laws on its books which prohibit same sex relationships among

agreeing adults. In extension, Wursthorn suggested that the laws also lack sufficient

security for members of the LGBT community in Jamaica. On the other hand, Persad

(2016) advanced that the notion of Jamaica as the most violent place for LGBTQ people

is misleading. Persad augmented that the laws which adversely impacted LGBT people

were perpetuated by the Western movement, which today is rebutting the counter impact

of such laws, to the said people. Sharifa Patel (2015)

Shared that philosophies of appropriate sexual behaviors should not be separated

from the relic of British rule of Jamaica. The author expounded that there are no

indicators of changes in the laws. Smith (2018) documented that typically societal laws

are reflective of the stance of those who create them. Smith perceived that those who

uphold the buggery laws in Jamaica predictably exhibit a negative attitude toward LGBT

groups, as is also reflected in the general population in Jamaica. Perkins (2016)

postulated that not much focus has been placed on the manner in which both local and

global political and religious groups are vigorously engaged in the molding of the

sociological and political atmosphere in the Anglophone Caribbean. Perkins further

clarified that,

The dismissal of the intervention by pro-LGBT groups as imperialist impositions

threatening local culture and religious freedom may serve only to maintain the division

between 'the West' and 'the Rest'. Maintaining this division may simply reinforce the

notion of the West having a monopoly on goodness and civilization. Indeed, such a desire

to maintain traditional family values and freedoms may well impoverish socio-political

discourse in the region through limiting the benefits that may be gained from the

experience, expertise and resources from allies in the global world. Much more work

needs to be done to move this battle beyond words (p. 41).

This theme umbrellas the experiences of the current research participants through an explication of their narratives in light the Offenses Against the Person Act, societal views or implications and religious interactions.

P1 shared that,

I am also gay, in a Christian country… The church is judgmental. They don't practice what they preach in terms of loving the person. I lost a job as a teacher because of my experience. I have been through the use of olive oil and casting of demon. My pastor rebuked me publicly in a WhatsApp group…Any government or any political party that tries to legalize homosexuals will be committing political suicide. I don't see it being repealed. Governments are parties who want to win elections unless there is an international push for example America says they will withhold aid from you. I don't see it happening outside of that…Personally, I like being in the shadows. I don't mind being in the shadows. I see great distress or civil war if the government tries to legalize homosexuality."

P2 indicated that,

Jamaica is very religious, so they refrain from accepting certain lifestyles, like LGBTQ… They can bring in a law that specifically goes for police and citizens that it is wrong to discriminate against someone gay or lesbian or to treat them badly, or even to kill them the law should make it wrong to kill them. The laws should make us live. People should love each other."

P6 clarified, I don't think the government can do anything. Society won't accept it. Laws won't change it. Society doesn't seem to believe that to be gay is a right." P7 stated,

"They don't even have to legalize it. They could just speak on behalf of gays. They can simply ask the people to let the gays live their lives.

P9 averred, "They can do nothing. Jamaicans will not vote for anybody who will legalize homosexuality."

P10 indicated that,

They believe it is against our Bible teaching because we are a super Christian country, so they bash it as abnormal. The culture thinks that everyone else is supposed to know what is best for us. They think that…we are demons destroying the country. They think we're breaking down the morals of society and should be put to death. They think that we are practicing something that is not natural… I don't think that they can do anything. This is especially because Jamaica is a black community and blacks don't support certain things. Most people think that if you are gay, it should be kept in the bedroom. It would be hard for them to change that because it is rooted in our culture."

P12 claimed that, "I think I'm not saying they should legalize it or uphold it but they can make laws where everyone is treated with equal rights and treated better."

Theme 7: Psychological Stability

Smith 2018 averred that a significant number of literature ties homophobic practices to a wide range of psychosocial results for LGBT people. Smith augmented that,

LGBTI individuals (aged 18+ years) residing in highly homophobic communities, compared to those in low prejudiced communities, died an average of 12 years

younger, had a 25% higher risk of cardiovascular-related cause of death, and had over three times higher rates of homicide and violence-related death. Also worrisome is the finding that LGBTI individuals in more homophobic localities died of suicide an average of 18 years earlier than peers who experienced less prejudicial environments. (p. 253)

Among the experiences shared by participants in this study are as noted below.

P1 divulged that, "I have not moved past the stage of confusion and bitterness. I just go on, I just live."

P2 shared,

It affected me more so when I was younger. I feared going on the road or even to go walking. Everywhere I went people would call me names like battyman, fish, and that I should die. I was young and I was not used to it. It made me feel small and I wanted to end my life. It made me feel like no one loves me or care for me. I feel alone. It makes me feel like I just want to be by myself.

P6 disclosed, "The treatments they make me fearful. I won't lie sometimes I wish I was someplace else where I could just be myself. It's like you can be here today and gone tomorrow. I am scared."

P7 posited,

It is not really a good experience. It makes you feel uncomfortable because you don't know what people will do. I'm scared especially at night because I don't know what people will do. People call me names like fish, battyman, faggot and #2… There was a time when I couldn't sleep, and I was scared about getting

STD's. Many times, I feel suicidal, but I don't trust telling anybody that I am a homosexual. It's a scary place in Jamaica to be a homosexual especially to be a homosexual man.

P8 informed that,

I feel every day like I want to give up. I feel like I want to kill myself. I don't want to be living out here on the road. being homeless and in the street because your own family won't accept you it's not a good feeling.

P9 said,

I feel bad. I don't really get suicidal, but I do get scared when I'm walking, and people threaten to kill me. I feel like even if some of my families support me, I'm still alone because I am the one who is gay. They cannot protect me from that.

P10 stated, "It makes me not want to leave home. I have a map of three places I can go. It makes me wonder what others think of me and I am fearful of others identifying me."

P12 shared, "Sometimes I'm confused. I don't know what to do. I isolate myself from people. Most times I feel suicidal."

Summary

Chapter 4 provided a greater understanding of the research questions in tandem with narratives expressed by the study participants. Personal statements from the transcript were included to add authenticity as the lived experience of each participant was explored.

The participants shared a range of views and experiences highlighting their lived experience to include discriminatory treatment by the church, general society, the police, the impact of legislation and experiences affiliated with the healthcare sector. Some participants expounded that while legislatively, there may be advocacy for change, this may have an implication of further discrimination and violence towards the LGBTQI community. Within the context of legislative rulings, tolerance and acceptance seem to be a greater hope among participants than a change in law. Additionally, while the findings in the study do not reveal an endorsement of legislative changes, it highlights a great psychological impact of homophobia on the study participants. Mental health trauma resultant in suicidal ideation, fear and isolation shaped the narratives of the participants.

In Chapter 5, summarized the purpose and nature of the study as well as explored the main findings within the study. Furthermore, the chapter compares and contrasts the findings in this study with revelations noted in the literature review, and in tandem with the theoretical framework used. Additionally, the study limitations were described and recommendations for further studies were documented. Finally, the chapter highlights the implications for social change, empirical research and offer a description of recommendations for practice, as well as executes a summative statement of the core of the study.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The purpose of the study was to examine the lived experiences of adult homosexual males in the parish of St. James, Jamaica, who have been victims of homophobia. The study was qualitative study, and a phenomenological approach was used to examine the definition of the lived experiences of each participant. As part of the data analysis process was my explanation those experiences. The chief findings of the study are condensed using the theoretical framework of queer theory.

The key determination from this research is that adult homosexual males in St. James, Jamaica, experience victimization at the individual and or systemic level due to their sexual identity. Themes which emerged from the study were further categorized into seven major themes. Not all seven themes were discovered in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. This limitation is further explored in this chapter.

Interpretation of the Findings

The nature of this study is a qualitative research inquiry. This type of inquiry was dependable in that it allowed me to highlight the way in which adult homosexual males added meaning to their experiences with homophobia in the Jamaican cultural setting. Creswell (2013) noted that this type of inquiry is focused on the discovery of social phenomena and how it is understood and or given meaning in tandem with the experiences of study participants. The use of the framework, queer theory, was backed by the data.

The main purpose of queer theory is to analyze society's comprehension of gender and identity. Its core objective is to break down the duality of identity, sex and

gender in the general public in order to extricate and showcase the inevitability of control

that exist in the world (Goodrich et al., 2016). Furthermore, it evaluates the way that

control is transmitted through the titles, identities, and expressions used to label sexuality,

identity, and gender (see Goodrich et al., 2016).

P1, P2, P8, and P10 disclosed that they disguised their homosexuality in the

public to mitigate scrutiny. P6 discussed that he finds comfort in his sexuality in spite of

the implied hostility towards homosexuals. P7 showcased another angle to the tenets of

queer theory by explicating that other members of the LGBTQI community may disguise

their sexuality through a portrayal of the same hostility, classified as homophobia, that

adversely impacts male homosexuals.

Nascimento et al. (2018) noted that there is relevance in emphasizing that the

dominant idea of masculinity tacitly assumes and incorporates heterosexuality. The

researchers endorsed that,

> For those young men who do not identify themselves as heterosexuals—within a
>
> binary homosexual-heterosexual logic- life can be marked by countless
>
> experiences of discrimination and violence, increasing their vulnerability to
>
> different health issues, such as suicidal ideation and making them victims of
>
> physical and psychological violence within family, school and community
>
> contexts. (p. 5).

The work of Nascimento et al. authenticates the experiences of the participants in light of

their disguised sexual identity, and counterplays the tenets of queer theory while at the

same time confirming its merits. This chapter further discussed through a highlight of the seven themes which were identified.

Theme 1: Systemic Treatment: Violence, Rejection and Acceptability

Participants' narratives in alignment with this theme, confirmed the findings in the literature review. Each participant disclosed various levels of violence based on his sexual identity. For example, P1 discussed a lack of acceptance. P 2 emphasized violent acts such as threats to be shot and lack of effective policing to protect without discrimination. P6 divulged that he was beaten with a cane, chastised, and chased away by an individual who did not endorse his lifestyle. P6 went on to support the experience of P1 through his own encounter with lack of action by the police considering reported violence against him by the citizenry. P7 confirmed an incident of him being raped with foreign objects while navigating a dual experience of finding acceptance among those with whom he worked. P8 broadened the spectrum of adverse experiences by not only making transparent discriminatory police practices but incorporating similar actions by the healthcare system. P9 again supported the narratives of disparate treatments, with his own with an implication that homosexual males in Jamaica are seen as subhuman. P10 pointed to disadvantageous and contrasting treatment of male homosexuals in Jamaica by citizens, the police, the healthcare sector, and a lack of consequence to those who portray the behaviors. P12's experience also did not stray from the literature discussed in Chapter 2, as his experiences also depicted violence, a lack of acceptance, and disparity. Shangraw (2014) highlighted that many times the police may be implicated along with some in the general populace who victimize homosexual males. J-FLAG (2014)

confirmed that included among the encounters of homosexual males in Jamaica are acts

of bullyism, discriminatory work practices, beatings, mob violence, rape, and other forms

of victimization.

Theme 2: Protect the Children?

While P1, P6, P8, P9 and P12, discussed various observations, experiences, and

interpretations of public attitude towards homosexuality in conjunction with this theme,

the literature provided sparse findings in this area. The implication is that this limitation

may foster a need for further exploration through research in this specific area in the

Jamaican culture.

P1 and P8 discussed a perspective by the public that homosexuality is

synonymous with pedophilia. P10 and P12 reported that the public believe children are at

risk of sexual brutality specifically through rape by homosexual males. P8 on the other

hand indicated that based on his experience, he believes that the public condemn

homosexuality as they believe that the children are at risk of mirroring behaviors of

homosexuals. However, the literature provided little information what causes

homophobia. No literature was found that supported or disputed the participants'

statements. Siegel (2001) who noted that the rationale for homophobia is yet to be

determined.

Theme 3: Gender Identity and Sexual Conformity

In tandem with this theme, participants discussed how their sexuality is presented

considering societal expectations of gender/sexuality and conformity. For example, P1

noted that he presents a macho self in the public sphere which may make it possible for

him to mitigate attacks due to his sexuality. P2 embraced conservativeness and presents

perceived male dominant characteristics. P7 talked about being bashed by other

homosexual males who hide their lifestyle. Despite the public perspective of his

sexuality, and to avoid further scrutiny, he navigates through his day-to-day activities in

public, with fear. P10 stated that he masks his feminine behaviors in fear of victimization

and or harsh public judgment.

The literature revealed that labels in social groups nurture important data

pertaining to the way members of those social clusters are disparaged (Kite & Bryant-

Lees, 2016). Research also found that a person's attitude regarding LGBTQ groups often

parallel their view of heterosexual males and females (Callender, 2015; Kite & Bryant-

Lees, 2016). The findings of Daley and Mule (2014) offer clarity on this theme. Daley

and Mule advanced their stance through the induction of queer analysis. The researchers

opined that queer analysis challenges the notion that gender, and sexuality are stagnant.

They presented that both are instead non-binary. The researchers indicated that that "sex

= gender = sexuality" (Daley & Mule, 2014, p. 1292). They noted that there is a

presumption that if someone is male must have masculine characteristics. On the other

hand, if his characteristics are effeminate, he is a homosexual (Daley & Mule, 2014). A

significant perspective of that analysis is that heteronormative notions of sex, identity and

gender, reflect the distinctive values which are associated with a predominant societal

group.

Theme 4: Economic Instability

P1, P2, P6, and P12 explored the economic impact of their sexuality. For example, P1 discussed losing his job due to his sexuality. He discussed experiencing hunger and the impact of his unemployment. P2 expounded that based on his encounters, most homosexual males struggle with unemployment, due to a notion that homosexual males are violent. P12 explored the idea of homelessness which he indicated is aligned with a male being found to be a homosexual.

The work of J-FLAG (2014) reflects the participants' narratives. J-FLAG noted that unemployment is sign of victimization. Shangraw (2014) suggested that LGBT groups often encounter homelessness and lack of adequate accommodation which may nurture a life of criminality in order to foster survival. HRF (2015) contended that prejudice concerning the access to housing and employment are among the adversities which LGBTQ people in Jamaica encounter.

Theme 5: Familial Interference and Intervention

Not much was revealed in this category by most participants. P1, P8, P9, and P12 advanced narratives of their experiences with family members because their sexuality. White et al. (2016) asserted that a disclosure of one's sexuality with affiliation to either homosexuality or bisexuality may be resultant in stressors for that homosexual or bisexual party. The researchers found that having a strong economic position may prevent some repercussions to either of the groups who may disclose their identity to their family members. Otherwise, if the familial response is not nurturing, it could have a

counterproductive impact. Wong (2015) supported that homosexuals who have the support of family, often display a better mental state than their counterparts.

The above literature confirmations were evident in the stories shared by some participants. For example, P1 discussed being molested by a male family member with the implication that it was how he was introduced to homosexuality. On the other hand, when other members of his family found out that he was homosexual, he was ostracized. P9, counter to the findings proposed by Wong (2015), indicated that though he may have the support of family members, he feels isolated as he is the one who must live with the experience of being a homosexual. P12 shared, in validation of literature findings, that though he was victimized due to his sexuality, he was abandoned by his family.

Theme 6: Religiosity and Legislative Confluence and Distinction

The literature discussed the Offenses Against the Person Act (also known as the Antibuggery Laws) in isolation as well as in tandem with religious overviews of homosexuality. Jamaica is a Christian nation shaped by colonialism and the law which penalizes buggery to up to 10 years imprisonment at hard labor (HRW, 2014). The literature itself highlighted a conflicting perspective of the teachings of Christianity in that sins may be forgiven, and that all persons are loveable (see Krull, 2017). In the context of possible legacies of colonialism and a merger with contemporary practices, it may seem that to love all is a conditional notion of Christianity, at least within the Jamaican cultural setting and in light of the landscape of homophobia and homosexuality, and their prevalence in Jamaica (HRW, 2014).

Chadee et al. (2013) found that in the Caribbean, conservative Christian teachings form the reason that antibuggery laws are sustained in the region. The researchers expounded that religiosity provides a framework of individuals' responses to a practice, such as homosexuality. On the other hand, Krull (2017) presented a middle ground suggesting that the church does not entirely shun homosexuals. Krull noted that findings suggest that the act of homosexuality may be hated, but the person can be loved. Krull affirmed that people who are grounded in fundamental religiosity were less violent towards homosexuals. Conversely, those who were deeply grounded in religiosity presented with greater aggression towards homosexuals. In tandem with the laws, Menelik (2017) affirmed that homosexuality in Jamaica should not be allowed as the author noted that the act is sinful, and the Offences Against the Person act should not be abolished. The author expounded that on the following premises, homosexuality is morally wrong. Among the list of moralities are that homosexuality is "Biblically wrong, morally wrong, biologically wrong, functionally wrong, hygienically wrong, socially wrong, and naturally wrong. As such, it should be shunned by society, as it is anti-life" (Menelik, 2017, para. 4). While there may be differing views of the impact of religiosity on how homosexuals or homosexuality is perceived, it may be noted that what is evident, is that there is some influence.

Participants in this study who discussed religiosity and or the church presented similar views as those that emerged in the literature, but also conflicting perspectives to the literature, relevant to the antibuggery laws. There was no advocacy for the latter to be repealed. In fact, the views reflected advocacy more so for tolerance.

P1 shared that he is a homosexual in a predominantly Christian nation. He chided the church for its implied hypocrisy of perceived antilove towards homosexuals. He expressed that he was admonished by a minister of the church, publicly. Despite his experience, he also presented that should a ruling party attempt to repeal the laws against homosexuality in Jamaica, it would be the end of that party. P2 also cited that Jamaica is a religious nation, P2 and P12 averred that rather than a focus on repealing the antibuggery laws, a law should be effected which should highlight that disparate treatment of homosexuals in wrong. P6 and P9 discussed that the Jamaican government does not have much flexibility regarding the adverse treatment of homosexuals. Rather, he advanced that a change in laws would not change the mindset of the people. P7, like P6 stated that legalization of homosexuality does not even have to be considered, but that homosexuals (conflictingly) should be permitted to advance their sexuality. P10 claimed society views the lifestyle of homosexuality as morally destructible and against Christian principles. He also noted that the idea that homosexuality is morally corrupt is culturally etched that a change in this view is inconceivable.

HRF (2015) cited that in 2011, the parliament of Jamaica endorsed the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms. Included in the document was a support against intolerance. What was not addressed was sexual intolerance and or gender identity. Some also argue that homosexuality itself is not illegal in Jamaica, but anal sex is, under the Offences of the Person Act. Lovell (2016) stated that the laws effected by the British did not specifically target homosexuality, but rather sexual acts that inhibit reproduction.

Theme 7: Psychological Stability

Findings in this study reflect similar findings in the literature. This area addresses the impact of homophobia on homosexuals, psychologically. Participants discussed the fear of being targeted due to their sexuality, as well as they shared their conflict with suicidal ideation.

Grey et al. (2013) noted that the adverse views of homosexuality occurred after its declassification from the DSM of Mental Disorders. Grey et al. cited that there was a change in the idea that homosexuality is a disorder. Instead, there became a concentration of society's unfavorable impact on the psychological state of homosexuals. That nurtured a growth in homophobia in order to define the condemnation of gays. Within the literature, Bingham and Banner (2014) found that homosexuality was initially considered a '*sociopathic personality disturbance'* in the DSM. Bingham and Banner claimed that the exclusion of homosexuality from the DSM was a yield to the then sociopolitical demands and not scholarly evidence.

Each participant in this study shared some level of psychological impact that they contended with in association with their sexuality. P1 discussed being trapped in bitterness. P2 reflected on his younger years and being chastised then by others through name calling on his adult years, he and P12 spoke of self-isolation. P6 and P10 identified a life of fear. P7 discussed feeling fearful, experiencing insomnia and contemplating suicide. P8, P9 and P12 also considered suicide.

According to Kalra et al. (2015) LGBT members, pertaining to deteriorated psychological health have a shared risk of suicidal ideation. Kalra et al. claimed that

ostracization and disparate treatment of homosexuals are shared experiences among the beforementioned group. Kalra et al. noted that there is a wide body of scientific studies which suggest that there is a large existence of psychosocial distress that fosters poor psychological health among LGBT people.

Limitations of the Study

I utilized snowball sampling. The sampling type possibly impacted the participation of individuals who otherwise may not have engaged with me, if a familiar person was not also associated with the project. However, there are limitations. Ungvarsky (2020) noted that while this sampling method may be helpful to access information from individuals who may have otherwise been difficult to identify, it may also result in partiality in that findings may not necessarily apply to the generalized population.

There were eight participants in this study which is sufficient (see Creswell, 2013) for this study type. Notwithstanding the adequacy of the number of participants, especially considering saturation being reached, a larger scale study, possibly utilizing a different sampling method may yield greater results.

Empirical studies on homophobia in Jamaica are sparse. The dearth of adequate numbers of said studies may be resultant in a lack of widespread reflections of the experiences of most homosexuals in Jamaica. The study incorporated certain criteria for inclusion of participants. Therefore, from an empirical perspective, the results cannot necessarily be used to reflect the experiences of all homosexual males who do not fall within the range of 18-29 and are of low-income households.

Recommendations

In tandem with the limitations of this study, I recommend that a possible mixed approach be used to conduct a similar study, inclusive of a wider participant group and utilizing a different sampling method (to limit bias).

Another recommendation is that more research be done regarding advocacy for a change in the antibuggery laws, given that participants in this study did not favor a change in laws, but rather a right to exist without acts of discrimination towards them, whether individually or systematically. Conversely, within that same study, it may be examined whether the latter can exist without a repeal of the Offences Against the Person Act, given it has been cited to go in tandem with cultural norms in Jamaica.

Additionally, while Jamaica is labeled as the most homophobic place on earth (West & Cowell, 2015), and studies suggest that those most impacted in Jamaica, are from low socio-economic households (J-FLAG, 2014), Dawes (2015) shared a varying perspective. The researcher informed that Jamaicans do not have adverse feelings towards homosexuals as some researchers may suggest. Dawes stated that may homosexuals in Jamaica are able to showcase their sexuality without adverse consequences. In extension, the researcher augmented that outside interference and impositions are what stir the attitudes of Jamaicans towards homosexuals. Dawes suggested that while there exists violence towards homosexuals, there is also homosexual on homosexual violence. I would therefore recommend that greater advancements through research be done to reflect the nature of victimization of the homosexual

population in Jamaica, and that statistically, the rates reflect gay on gay crimes and those produced through homophobia.

Finally, considering expressions of fear, suicide, isolation and other mental health impacts, I recommend that more oversight be given to those who serve in the public sphere, so that acts of discrimination towards members of the LGBTQI community are mitigated.

Implications

This study may impact social change in a number of ways. It highlights the narrative of participants that they are seeking tolerance and not necessarily acceptance or a change in laws. It therefore provides a voice to this group. It is also a voice that counters a widespread narrative that homosexuals are requesting a change in current laws.

The results of the study may also advance social change by stimulating a reflection on the impact of stigmas attached to homosexuality and the effect of such stigmas on homosexual males in Jamaica. The literature confirms that those who are of the homosexual community tend to self-isolate, contemplate suicide, live in fear and are subjects of widespread scrutiny. Based on such findings, any progress in the overall treatment of homosexual males, may extend to the wider LGBTQI community, and boost a greater sense of acceptance of those groups.

Finally, the results may stir a move for policymakers to consider changes in public sector policies that affect workplace practices in light of any negative treatment of homosexual males, due to their sexual identity.

Conclusion

In 2015, Montego Bay (St. James. Jamaica), hosted its first public gay pride march (Davis, 2015). The event was incident free and was "the first public gay pride celebration in the English-speaking Caribbean" (Davis, 2015, para. 4). During the week leading up to the march, the then Justice Minister, Golding, stated, "I believe that the views of the Jamaican society are evolving towards greater tolerance and against violence and other forms of discrimination" (para. 17). By the 5th year of its conceptualization, the then Mayor of Montego Bay, Homer Davis, cited that an upcoming discourse about the constitutionality of same sex marriage was unlawful. He went on to prohibit the use of the Montego Bay Cultural Center to host a part of the gay pride events, asserting that it would disrupt the purity and intent of the reason the building was established (HRW, 2019). Gay pride groups were unable to secure a space for the event that year.

The above discourse, despite the 2019 outcome, reflects that there is some glimmer of hope for homosexuals in Jamaica. It also indicates that if the event was successful in the four years prior to 2019, that possibly, there is some level of tolerance for members of the LGBTQI community.

While I do not identify with the LGBTQI community, I do identify with humanity. That identity permits me to accept the mantra, that the present I create, is the future I want. I would love to see a future in which individuals may live a life free of imposed fear and psychological trauma. It is vital that the rights of all people to freedom (engulfing safety to exist despite cultural norms), be cherished.

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Appendix A: Participant Prescreening Factors

Name: _____

Date of Birth: _____   Age: _____   Gender: _____

(male, female, other)

Address: _____

Sexual Orientation: _____

Income: _____ (weekly, monthly, annually)

Please place a check mark (✓) beside the response that best shows your answer.

Have you ever been a victim of violence or discrimination due to your sexual orientation?
        Yes _____   No_____

Which of the following experiences have you encountered because of your sexual orientation?

Chopped		Chased by a mob	
Shot		Homelessness	
Burned		Verbally threatened	
Stoned		Extorted	
Stabbed		Sexually violated	
Fired from your job		Embarrassed	
Evicted from your home by a landlord		Discriminated against by health workers	
Shunned by your family		Discriminated against by the police	
Shunned by your friends		Discriminated against by a church	

Other:
_____
_____

Appendix B: Observation Guide

Date:_____ Time: _____
Location: _____

Duration of Activity:_____(mins)
Descriptive Notes   Reflective Notes
General: What are the experiences of
adult homosexual males who reside in
the parish of St. James, Jamaica?

Description of physical setting
Participants portraits

Participants' responses to the
setting/members of the public

Public's response to Participants

Other events observed

Appendix C: Interview Protocol

Time of Interview: _____   Date: _____

Place: _____

Interviewer: <u>Shahila Edwards-Grey</u>   Interviewee: _____

Interviewee's Age: _____

Study Description: The study is aimed at documenting the voices and stories of adult homosexual males based on their experiences living in Jamaica. The location of the study will be in the parish of St. James, Jamaica.

Questions

1. What does it mean to you to be a male homosexual?
2. Tell me about your experience as a homosexual male living in Jamaica.
3. What beliefs do you think most Jamaicans have about homosexuality?
4. How have members of the Jamaican society treated you as a male homosexual?
5. How have the treatments you have received from the society affected you?
6. What do you think the Jamaican government can do regarding how homosexual males?
7. are treated in Jamaica?
8. Thank you for taking part in this study. I assure you that the information that you provided me will be kept confidential. I may need to follow up with you for further information about the study. May you provide me with the best method to reach you? If you think of anything else that you would like to share, I may be contacted at _____.

If you have any concerns regarding how I conducted this study, you may contact Walden University at _____.