# HOMOPHOBIC ATTITUDES AND STIGMA TOWARD GAY MEN AND LESBIANS IN THE CARIBBEAN: A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

by

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Violent acts against gay men and lesbians are common in the Caribbean, including rape and

assault. Widespread violence and attacks against homosexuals have prompted a human rights

group to confer on one Caribbean country, Jamaica, the distinction of being the most

homophobic place on earth. Homophobic ideology and stigma toward gay men and lesbians in

the Caribbean can be observed in the interactions of various institutions such as the church, the

health care system, the laws, the police, the government, formal culture (e.g., newspapers), and

popular culture (e.g., music). This master's thesis is based on a review of literature concerning

homophobic attitudes and stigma toward gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean, including:

British colonial laws known as "Sodomy and Buggery" laws, newspaper articles, dancehall

music, and calypso music. This literature analysis will assess the public health impact of such

attitudes and stigma, particularly how stigmatization from community members leads gay men

and lesbians into hiding because of their sexual behavior. Also, this thesis explores other public

health issues related to gay men and lesbians, including: isolation in the community, alienation

from family members, depression, emotional distress, physical torture, murder, and negative

health outcomes of being stigmatized.

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#### **PREFACE**

I would like to acknowledge the contribution and support of my thesis committee: Dr. Martha Terry, Dr. Mark Friedman, and Dr. Candace Kammerer. I would like to extend a special thank you to Dr. Terry for all the feedback she gave me on my thesis topic.

I was born in Jamaica and migrated to the United States in 1984 when I was 18 years old. I was unaware of gay men and lesbians in my community during my childhood in Jamaica. Since migrating to the U.S., I remained unaware of the widespread homophobic attitudes in Jamaica and other Caribbean countries until 1992, when I was introduced to a song by Buju Banton, a Jamaican dancehall artist whose lyrics encouraged killing gay men and lesbians. My conversations with family members and friends about violent and homophobic lyrics in much of Caribbean music revealed a startling number of negative and homophobic responses.

This experience led to my interest in learning about the causes of homophobic attitudes toward gay men and lesbians in Caribbean countries and what keeps homophobic attitudes ingrained in Caribbean culture. Some Caribbean music such as calypso and dancehall lyrics in the 1980s and 1990s perpetrate ignorance and homophobic stigma toward gay men and lesbians by blaming gay men and lesbians for spreading AIDS in the Caribbean. Many Jamaican dancehall songs, said to be "blood-curdling," have a significant influence on many Caribbean music enthusiasts; as a result, the homophobic lyrics of these songs encourage and reinforce homophobic attitudes. The following is an excerpt from a song by Elephant Man that sheds

insight into the degree of hatred and controversial homophobic lyrics toward gay men and lesbians (translated by Carol Martin-Mack, written in brackets):

# A Nuh Fi Wi Fault By Elephant Man Scaredem Crew (Bruk out Ridim):

Badman nuh inna nuh explanation no more

# [Gangsters don't have to explain themselves]

Anyway we hold dem bwoy dem get

# [Whatever we do to those boys they have to deal with it]

A yo, all yuh hear me

Tivali jungle

# [All of those that live in the area called Tivolu Jungle hear me now]

Rise all da ting dem yah man

[Raise the guns]

#### Verse 1

A nuh fi wi fault

If a battybwoy run inna we gun

# [It's not our fault if gay guys run into our guns]

A nuh fi wi fault

The pussy dem get shot down

# [It's not our fault those pussies got shot down]

A nuh fi wi fault

When fadda get boom down Sodom

# [It's not our fault that God destroyed the city of Sodom]

A nuh fi wi fault, A nuh fi wi fault

A nuh fi wi, A nuh fi wi fault

# [It's not our fault they found a gay guy with his head missing]

Dem find battyman we don't play

A nuh fi wi fault

Along time deh fassy dem a dead

# [They were condemned to die and that's not our fault]

A nuh fi wi fault

Ah dem make de syphilis a spread

# [Gays are responsible for spreading syphilis]

A nuh fi wi fault, A nuh fi wi fault

# [It's not our fault]

A nuh fi wi, But a fi wi fault

When yuh hear a Sodomite get raped

# [But it is our fault when you hear a lesbian got rape]

But a fi wi fault, When we have a gal in her place

A nuh fi wi fault, When twenty gal wash we place

# [But it is our fault when we have not only 1 girl but 20 girls washing our plates]

# [Yes that is our fault]

But a fi wi fault, But a fi wi fault A! den

#### Verse 2

Long time we ah warn dem anna obverse

# [We have been warning for a long time that gayness is wrong]

Battyman fi dead! Unnu Please mark we word

# [Please listen, give me my tech nine so I can shoot them]

Gimme tha tech-nine

Shoot dem like bird

Dis a whe guard man heard

A nuh fi wi fault

Jamaican don't like gay

# [It's not our fault that Jamaicans don't like gays]

A nuh fi wi fault

Ah same way Miami man stay

# [It's the same way men in Miami are]

A nuh fi wi fault

Ah same way Walter man stay

A nuh fi wi fault, nuh fi wi fault

A nuh fi wi, A nuh fi wi fault

When we ah bun tha fire hard

# [It's not our fault we are strongly against gay men]

A nuh fi wi fault

I we gwine bun de fassy dem abroad

# [We are going to fight against gays abroad also]

A nuh fi wi fault

And de same way we a bun dem ah yard

A nuh fi wi fault, A nuh fi wi fault

A nuh fi, But ah fi wi fault

When de poorer class ah get rich

# [But it is our fault when you see the poor getting rich and the bad roads getting fixed]

But ah fi wi fault, When we see the bad road dem a fix

It is very clear that this song advocates that homosexuals are responsible for spreading syphilis, lesbian women should be raped, and that homosexual men and women should have no rights. It is lyrics like these that motivated me to explore the public health impact of homophobic attitudes in laws, formal culture, and popular culture in the Caribbean.

#### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Many gay men and lesbians living in Caribbean countries live in fear due to homophobic attitudes and stigma that stem from Christian influences, music with anti-gay sentiment, and the British colonial Sodomy and Buggery laws, which prohibit engaging in sexual activities or having a relationship with a same-sex partner (Williams, 2005a; LaFont, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2008). As Williams (2005b) stated, "The stigma attached to homosexuality and those living with HIV/AIDS prevails across much of the Caribbean, where Victorian-era and antisodomy laws remain on the books in at least 11 countries, and politicians courting fundamentalist Christian constituencies are loath to contest them" (p. 2). Gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean are considered oppressed because of homophobic attitudes, stigma, and violence against them have impeded upon their basic human rights (Charles, 2011; Faucette, 2010 Human Rights Watch, 2004). Many people in the Caribbean denounce gay men and lesbians publicly, which contributes to anti-gay violence and homophobic attitudes (Charles, 2011). Murray (2012) states:

I will argue that hegemonic discourse about homosexuality in the Caribbean media are produced through a heterosexual patriarchal logic originating in a first-wave form of globalization known as colonialism...[and the] uneven processes of economic, political, and cultural globalization over the past twenty years (p. 17).

According to Charles (2011) the widespread violence and attacks against homosexuals in Jamaica prompted several human rights groups, such as the Human Rights Watch of Britain and

the gay community in the United Kingdom, to describe Jamaica as one of the most homophobic countries in the world. The endemic violence against gay men and lesbians in Jamaica and the Caribbean more broadly is a major problem for various reasons, and the failure of police to adequately respond allows such violence to continue unabated, increasing the likelihood that widespread violence will continue to have a negative impact on the homosexual community (Sharpe & Pinto, 2006; Williams, 2005a).

A major public health concern for gay men and lesbians is the fact that stigmas attributed to homosexuality prevent many gay men and lesbians from seeking HIV testing, treatment, and prevention (Carr, 2002; Rutledge, Abell, Panmore, McCann, 2009; Williams, 2005a). Homophobic attitudes, discrimination, and fear prevent many gay men from openly revealing their sexual orientation to a healthcare worker or from getting tested for HIV because patient confidentiality is often violated (Padgett, 2005; Williams, 2005a). The fact that many gay men and lesbians are not getting tested compounds the risk of HIV/AIDS spreading in the Caribbean (White & Carr, 2005). Caribbean government healthcare officials are unable to effectively assess the number of HIV/AIDS patients for the purpose of allocating funding for prevention programs and treatments (according to United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS, 2006). Also, cultural taboos about homosexuality and HIV/AIDS impede individuals' access to healthcare resources such as HIV/AIDS education and STD/HIV awareness programs and treatments.

The intent of this thesis is to 1) analyze the cultural origins of homophobia in the Caribbean by considering the history of homophobia, intolerance, and stigma toward homosexuals in the Caribbean, 2) use the social ecological model to describe factors that impact the health and well-being of homosexuals in the Caribbean, and 3) describe the impact of

homophobia on this population's health. These goals will be accomplished through a review of the literature that addresses the impact of the British colonial laws, Christianity, culture, and popular music with homophobic lyrics. Ottosson (2008) noted that the British colonial penal codes that criminalize gay men and lesbians for engaging in consensual same-sex activities continue to be enforced in more than 80 countries around the world (including eleven Caribbean countries). Also, this study will review relevant literature from Williams, Lafont, Carr, Christopher Charles, Alexander, and others. For example, M. Jacqui Alexander, who was born in Trinidad and Tobago, wrote a detailed account of her life as a lesbian living in the Caribbean and how the Sexual Offences Act of 1986 impacted the lives of gay men and lesbians. The Caribbean governments should repeal the "Sodomy and Buggery" laws. Also, Caribbean government leaders must speak out forcefully in defense and promotion of sexual rights, including clear messages that discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identify are inhumane, wrong, and subject to punishment.

#### 2.0 BACKGROUND

Homophobic attitudes in the Caribbean are a result of a number of historical and cultural factors. "Informal social knowledge" such as print media, dancehall music, and fictional stories about gay men and lesbians has led many citizens to negatively view gay men and lesbians in Caribbean culture. Other major influences include British colonial laws and religious views (Kirby, 2011).

In the Caribbean, laws that prohibit same-sex activity have a negative impact on the homosexual community. These laws date back to the 15th century, when England imposed its first secular law for example in Jamaica against the immoral act of the "abominable vice of buggery," which made it a crime for gay men to engage in sexual acts; men who engaged in such behavior were often penalized by hanging (LaFont, 2001). These laws punished homosexuals in the Caribbean for engaging in same-sex activities by defining same-sex sexual behavior as a crime (Kirby, 2011). As Kirby (2011) notes:

Although there were variations in the concepts, elements and punishments for the respective same-sex offences in the several colonies, provinces and settlements of the British Empire, a common theme existed. Same-sex activity was morally unacceptable to the British rulers and their society (p. 28).

From the 18th century to the present, same-sex sexual activities, especially between men, were referred to in the Caribbean as "unnatural acts" and "crimes against nature" (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Alexander (1994) writes that the Buggery Act, which dates back to British

colonial rule and prohibits homosexual relationships, was part of King Henry VIII's fight to damage the reputation of the Catholic Church in order to acquire its assets.

Another aspect of Caribbean life that came to the islands through the colonialists was the influence of religion, particularly Christianity. Several sources link Caribbean homophobia at least partially with religious conservatism regardless of the religion (Amber, 2009; Carr, 2002; Faucette, 2010; Genrich & Brathwaite, 2005; Williams, 2005b) (see appendix A comments from a former Jamaican Prime minister about religion). Religion is a very important part of everyday life in the Caribbean. Christianity is the predominant religion in Jamaica and the rest of the Caribbean countries, and on Saturdays and Sundays, the churches are filled with children and adults reading the Bible. For example, Scott-Williams (2011) notes that there is a "church on almost every street corner" and that Jamaica is listed in the *Guinness Book of World Records* as the "country with the most churches per square mile" (p. 1).

Many people in Caribbean countries believe that homosexuality is a sin and that the sodomy laws should not be abolished. The term "sodomy" was taken from the Bible (Sodom is the name of a place in the Book of Genesis 19:1-8), and it was used in the 11th century by Saint Peter Damien to connect "condemned sexual activity" with this biblical reference.

The social-ecological model will be used to look at issues related to homosexuality and health behavior in the Caribbean. Sallis, Owen, and Fisher (2008) discuss the connection between organisms and society and how this relationship impacts long-term behavior change on all levels. Social-ecological models address these five core levels: intrapersonal, interpersonal, institutional, community, and public policy. The intent of this thesis is to open a public health dialogue about issues that relate to gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean by examining: 1) how the portrayal of gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean discourse leads to stigmatization and

homophobic attitudes, and 2) the multiple influences on the health behaviors of gay men and lesbians at the intrapersonal, interpersonal, organizational, community, and public policy levels. Homophobic attitudes, discrimination, and stigma have resulted in limited human rights for the homosexual community and, as a result, health disparities between homosexual and heterosexual individuals in this geographic area.

The next section will briefly discuss the background of the six Caribbean countries of interest: Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Bahamas, Barbados, Saint Kitts and Nevis, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (see Fgure 1.).

#### 2.1 CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES OF INTEREST

This section focuses on the laws within the various Caribbean countries that prohibit sexual activity between same-sex couples, commonly known as the Sodomy and Buggery laws. Britain introduced these criminal codes, which make same-sex sexual activity punishable by years in prison, to the Caribbean during the colonial movement (which was the migration of Europeans from Spain, Portugal, and England to the Caribbean region where they established new colonies) (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987). Eleven Caribbean countries (all former British colonies) still enforce these laws. This study focuses on the following six Caribbean countries because, despite their Sodomy and Buggery laws, they remain popular tourist destinations for gay men and lesbians who are often not aware of the laws: 1) Trinidad and Tobago, 2) Jamaica, 3) Bahamas, 4) Barbados, 5) Saint Kitts and Nevis, and 6) Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

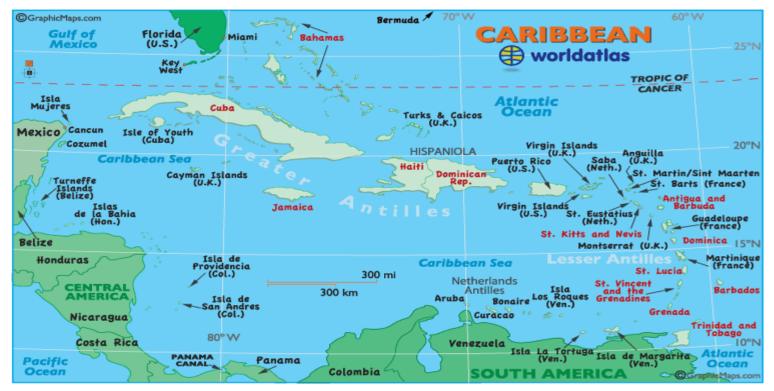


Figure 1 A map of the Caribbean Islands (world atlas)

#### 2.2 TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

The colonial period of Trinidad and Tobago began in 1498 after Christopher Columbus discovered the island and claimed it in the name of Spain. For more than 285 years, the island remained sparsely populated. However, in the closing decades of the 18th century, French and indigenous planters along with slaves of African descent settled in Trinidad at the invitation of the Spanish crown (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987). In 1797, Britain captured the island and imposed British colonial rules and laws upon the island. The Sodomy and Buggery laws that prohibit same-sex couples from engaging in sexual activity originated during this colonial era (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987). The Sodomy and Buggery laws were based on extremely conservative and

homophobic views that characterized the British Victorian era and were also based on certain Christian (Roman Catholic, Anglican, and others), and Judaic views concerning sexual morals (Wahab, 2012). The Sodomy and Buggery laws in Trinidad and Tobago marginalized homosexual men and women by criminalizing same-sex activities.

#### 2.3 JAMAICA

Intolerance of gay men and lesbians in Jamaica can be traced back to its Christian roots during the period of slavery and colonialism. According to Patterson (1969) slavery in Jamaica started during the colonial period in the 1700s and ended in 1838. The colonial period in Jamaica began with Spaniard Christopher Columbus's discovery of the island in 1494; Spanish rule was replaced by British rule in 1665, when the British captured Jamaica (Patterson, 1969). The Spanish first introduced Catholic religious doctrines to Jamaica; shortly after, the British imposed the rule and culture of the Church of England on the island (Chambers-Gordon, 2001). According to Charles (2001) many of the slave laws of the "Consolidated Slave Act" required slaves to build churches in order to keep practicing their African religious traditions. Yet, regarding attitudes toward sexual morality, both Christianity and British ideology have greatly shaped Jamaicans' view on homosexuality (Charles, 2011). The British imposed the Sodomy and Buggery laws in Jamaica.

#### 2.4 BAHAMAS

The Bahamas was the first Caribbean island discovered by Christopher Columbus, in 1412. The Bahamas became a Crown colony in 1629 when Britain formally claimed the island. The Sodomy and Buggery laws were introduced to the Bahamas during the British colonial period (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987). The Bahamas is the only Caribbean country that has decriminalized same-sex acts, which it did in 1991.; Section 2 and 16 of "Section Offense and Domestic Act of 1991" have laws that prohibit same-sex behaviors in public but, there is no law against same-sex activity in private (Ottosson, 2008). Although the Bahamas do not currently have laws against same-sex activity, homosexual men and women in the Bahamas still endure widespread homophobic attitudes and stigmas in the context of interactions with Christian cultural institutions, such as the Roman Catholic Church or the Baptist Church. Like other Caribbean islands, the Bahamas has a large Christian population that views same-sex sexual activities as sinful (Alexander, 1994). For example, Nixon (2009) made a film to document the struggles of gay and lesbian Christians in the Bahamas. She states that "the internalization of homophobia and painful secrets of gay male desire within a conservative Christian context; the preacher Ralph leads a double life as he denounces gay rights through the church, and Johnny and Romeo grapple with same about their same-sex desire" (p.159).

#### 2.5 BARBADOS

In Barbados, like other Caribbean countries, the Sodomy and Buggery laws against homosexuals were initiated by Britain during the colonial period when the island became one of its colonies.

British colonial rule in Barbados lasted from 1625 until the island gained independence in 1966 (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987). The Sodomy and Buggery laws that criminalize consensual same–sex relations strengthen social stigma against homosexuals (Abramschmitt, 2008). Also, like other Caribbean countries, Barbados has a large population of conservative Christians, and there is significant lobbying by churches opposing same-sex relationships that further strengthens the social stigma against homosexual men and women in Barbados.

#### 2.6 SAINT KITTS AND NEVIS

The island of St. Kitts has a long history of British colonization. Christopher Columbus discovered St. Kitts in 1493. The first British colony was established in 1623 (Meditz & Hanratty). By 1782, the British gained full control of St. Kitts and Nevis, and they maintained power until the islands gained independence in 1983 (Meditz & Hanratty, 1989). The British colonial ideology regarding gay men and lesbians was also imposed on the islands through the Sodomy and Buggery laws, and these laws remain (Immigration & Refugee Board of Canada, 2008). Religion remains a very important institution in St. Kitts and Nevis. Religion is a major vehicle for maintaining community solidarity and providing guidelines to reinforce what religious institutions view as respectable behaviors (St. Kitts & Nevis, 1990). Therefore, Christian faith contributes to homophobic attitudes and stigma toward homosexuals in St. Kitts and Nevis (St. Kitts & Nevis, 1990).

#### 2.7 SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

From 1763 until the island nation gained independence in 1979, St. Vincent and the Grenadines was another Caribbean country under British colonial influences. In 1776, a representative assembly was established; a Crown Colony government replaced it in 1877 (Meditz & Hanratty, 1989). British colonial Sodomy and Buggery laws were also introduced to the island. Additionally, religion plays a very important role in the lives of people of St. Vincent and the Grenadines (Global Gayz, 2012; Immigration & Refugee Board of Canada, 2003). A native religion that mixes African rituals and Christianity has been established on the island, and its practitioners are known as Converted Baptists (Global Gayz, 2006). Religion has also influenced stigmatization and homophobic attitudes toward homosexuals in the island nation (Global Gayz, 2006). For example, homosexuals hide their sexual orientation from family members because of the stigma and negative attitudes.

This section has described the origin of homophobia in the Caribbean. The next section will discuss the methods of this thesis and results of the literature review with respect to the factors that impact the health and well-being of homosexuals in the Caribbean.

#### 3.0 METHODS

A systematic review of literature was conducted to identify articles that address: homophobia in the Caribbean and the public health implications of this phenomenon. Once the articles were identified, the research studies were broadly described in terms of the target population (gay men and lesbians), homophobic attitudes and stigma, lack of access to healthcare services, HIV/AIDS prevention, Sodomy and Buggery laws, homophobic lyrics, religious doctrine, and outcome of interest. The articles chosen for review discussed issues related to gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean.

#### 3.1 CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION OF LITERATURE

The purpose of the literature review was, in part, to gain an in-depth understanding of homophobic attitudes toward gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean. Violence and homophobic ideology in the Caribbean have resulted in many international scholars bringing attention to this social issue. This review explores how these authors address various issues concerning gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean. Literature identified for study included articles on the following:

1) Sodomy and Buggery laws in the Caribbean; 2) religious doctrine in the Caribbean; 3) homophobic attitudes and stigmas in the Caribbean; 4) Caribbean cultural ideology in the Caribbean; 5) intolerance of homosexual men and women in the Caribbean; 6) violent attacks

against gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean; 7) homophobic lyrics in Caribbean dancehall and calypso music; and 8) HIV/AIDS issues in the Caribbean.

Some articles were excluded because they did not meet the inclusion criteria. For example, studies targeting African American gay men and lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people were excluded because this thesis looks at only gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean.

#### 3.2 ARTICLE RETRIEVAL

Four databases were used to identify relevant articles: PubMed, JSTOR, PittCat, and Google Scholar. The library catalog for the University of Pittsburgh, PittCat, was used as a resource for locating research journal articles, newspaper articles, and books addressing homosexuality and homophobic attitudes in the Caribbean (materials were retrieved on September 12, 2011, November 27, 2011, and August 25, 2012). The JSTOR database was used to retrieve social science journal articles relating to homophobic attitudes, homosexuality, and stigma in the Caribbean (on August 15, 2011). PubMed was used despite its focus on biomedical and life science literatures because it has literature that focuses on diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Google Scholar was used to find relevant articles in the field of social and behavioral sciences. The article retrieval process began with a search of the following phrases using PittCat: "Caribbean homosexuals, stigma and homophobic attitudes" yielding 1,253 articles; "homosexuality laws in the Caribbean" yielding 4,250 articles; "homophobic violence in the Caribbean" yielding 1,305 articles; and "HIV/Aids in the Caribbean" yielding 1,292 articles. The JSTOR database was used on three occasions to find literature using the following specific search phrases: 1) "homophobic attitude and Barbados" yielding 15 articles; 2) "homosexuality, stigma and the

Caribbean" yielding 223 articles; 3) "homophobic attitudes" yielding 1,841 articles. Four searches were performed in the PubMed database with the following phrases: 1) "homosexuality in the Caribbean" yielding 210 articles; 2) "homophobic attitude and stigma in the Caribbean" yielding three articles; 3) "HIV stigma gay in the Caribbean" yielding nine articles; and 4) "HIV men Caribbean" yielding 540 articles. The Google Scholar database was used with the specific search term "homophobic attitudes and stigma" yielding 13,900 articles. In summary, the author's search for relevant resources led to the procurement of more than 50 peer-reviewed journal articles and six books addressing homophobia and related issues in the Caribbean. Also, the "Murder Inna Dancehall Songs & Lyrics" website was used because it lists homophobic songs that advocate violence against gay men and lesbians. Finally, the Christian Bible was used because it contains scripture verses that many Christians in the Caribbean use to condemn homosexuality.

In the next section the social-ecological model is used to describe multiple factors that contribute to homophobia and its impact on homosexuals in the Caribbean.

# 4.0 A DESCRIPTION OF FACTORS THAT IMPACT HOMOSEXUAL HEALTH AND WELL-BEING BASED ON THE SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL MODEL

Social-ecological approaches are useful in addressing public health issues for homosexual men and women because such multi-level interventions can facilitate long-lasting improvements for complex health-related problems (Grzywacz & Fuqua, 2000). The Ecological Model of Health Behavior (see Figure 2) aims to understand influences on health behaviors at multiple levels in order to develop specific interventions that lead to behavior change for individuals (Sallis, Owen, & Fisher, 2008). This model examines five core levels that influence patterns of behavior: intrapersonal, interpersonal, institutional, community, and public policy (McLeroy, Bibeau, Steckler, & Glanz, 1988). This model may be used to begin a public health dialogue addressing several issues that directly relate to homosexual men and women in the Caribbean.

Intrapersonal:	Interpersonal Processes and Primary Groups:	Institutional Factors:	Community Factors:	Public Policy:
Knowledge Attitudes Behavior Self- Concept Skill Developmental history	Formal and informal social network and social support systems. Including family, work group and friendship network	Social Institutions And organization characteristics, and formal(and informal) rules and regulations for operations	Relationships among organization, institutions and informal networks with defined boundaries	Local, state and national laws and policies

Figure 2 The Social Ecological Model of factors that influence homosexuals' health and wellbeing (McLeroy et al., 1988).

# 4.1 INTRAPERSONAL LEVEL

At the intrapersonal level, specific characteristics influence the way homosexuals respond to negative attitudes about their sexuality that shape their behavior. These characteristics are knowledge, attitudes, behavior, self-concept, skill, and developmental history (McLeroy et al., 1988). Many gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean hide their sexuality due to fear of harsh punishment; they also tend to shy away from seeking help related to homosexual health issues.

Also, many gay men and lesbians do not feel safe seeking help from community HIV/AIDS programs or community health care clinics because there is no policy to protect their rights regarding disclosure of their sexual preferences.

Due to hostility toward gay men and lesbians living in the Caribbean, many gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean have a poor overall quality of life because they cannot openly acknowledge their sexuality. According to Green (2007) "Homosexuals face particularly arduous challenges in the development of a positive self-concept, the satisfaction of sexual needs, and the construction of intimate dyadic relationships" (p. 767). Based on his research, Green speculates that individuals who struggle with their homosexuality are likely to abuse illegal substances and/or commit suicide. Negative societal attitudes about homosexuality cause many gay men and lesbians to isolate themselves socially (McFadden, 2009). Many gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean struggle to develop coping skills that would enable them to deal with the psychological stressors of alienation, depression, and emotional distress. Consequently, many individuals within the gay community turn to alcohol and/or recreational drugs to cope with stigma associated to homosexuality.

#### 4.2 INTERPERSONAL LEVEL

Factors that influence health behaviors of gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean at the interpersonal level are:formal and informal social network, and social support systems, including the family, work, and friendship network (McLeroy et al., 1988). Many gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean do not have a social support system within their family unit because of the shame and stigma they endure from family members who view homosexuality as a sin. As Green (2007)

reported, "Gay men encounter a disruptive, deep-cutting 'push' out of their local community...including their family and churches" (p. 753). Homosexuals have reported that their sexual orientation has negatively affected their lives, specifically regarding a lack of familial and community support. These ostracized individuals are more likely to have adverse mental outcomes than homosexual men and women who have a stable support system (Green, 2007). Due to the lack of social support systems, many gay men and lesbians do not feel safe seeking help for psychological mental health issues that relate to their sexual orientation or behaviors.

### 4.3 INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

Factors that influence health behaviors of gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean at the institutional level are: social institutions and organizational characteristics, and formal (and informal) rules and regulations for operation. Churches can be viewed as social institutions with their own set of rules and beliefs about homosexuality, and the Bible is often used as a tool to reinforce religious doctrine about homosexual behavior. The contemporary homophobic intolerance of gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean is rooted in the "Christianization" of the Caribbean during slavery and the colonial period (LaFont, 2001). The Caribbean has the following main religious denominations: Anglican, Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, Baptist, Methodist, Seventh-Day Adventist, New Testament, and Jehovah's Witness.

Religious intolerance in Caribbean countries toward homosexual men and women forces many gay men and lesbians into seclusion. McFadden (2009) stipulates that many Caribbean people in these mostly Christian countries perceive homosexuality as a sin and insist that gay and

lesbian activists exaggerate the truth about violent crimes perpetrated against homosexual men and women. Because many churches see homosexuality as a sin, many church members believe homosexual men and women do not deserve the same civil rights that heterosexual men and women enjoy, such as access to marriage and public services (Williams, 2005b). Church leaders in various Caribbean islands have accused homosexuals of flaunting their behavior to "recruit" young men; many believe that God made women to enjoy sex with men and therefore use religion as a means of perpetuating homophobic attitudes. For example, Bishop Herro Blair, a well-known Jamaican pastor, stated, "I sympathize with those who face intolerance but homosexuals themselves are behind most of the attacks reported against them" (Williams, 2005b, p. 2). This statement indicates that Bishop Blair blames homosexual men and women for most of the negative attacks and violence they endure. Williams cited a direct quote from an interview with Blair: "Among themselves, homosexuals are extremely jealous...But some of them do cause reaction by their own behavior, for in many people's opinions, homosexuality is distasteful" (2005b, p. 2).

Many devout Christians in the Caribbean use Bible passages to condone homophobic attitudes and violence against homosexuals (LaFont, 2001). For example, Genesis 1:28 states, "Be fruitful and multiply." Some people interpret this passage as God's encouragement of sexual relationships between married men and women for the purpose of childbearing (The Old Testament). Genesis 19:24 states, "Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven" (The Old Testament). Many Caribbean Christians believe that this means God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah because they were infamous cities of homosexual sin. Leviticus 20:13 states, "If a man lie with a male as he lies with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination. They shall surely be put to death.

Their blood shall be upon them" (Bible Version). Some argue that this Bible verse suggests that God condemns the behaviors of gay men and lesbians, sanctions death for those who practice these behaviors, and justifies any form of violence and brutality toward homosexual men and women. As a result, many of these religious groups seek to restrict the human rights of homosexual men and women in order to prevent individuals from openly engaging in homosexual behavior.

Charles (2011) reported: "One must not lose sight of the fact that while the fundamentalists are almost hysterical in their opposition to gay men and lesbians, the opposition to homosexuality is omnipresent in religious circles throughout the Caribbean" (p. 10). Thus, institutional antagonism from churches is a reality of life for homosexual men and women in the Caribbean.

# 4.3.1 Image of the macho man

In all societies, cultural ideology and belief systems help define gender roles. For example, in Caribbean countries, Christian beliefs define marriage as being between a man and a woman. Also, many Caribbean men are trying to live up to what Caribbean culture defines as their gender role as "macho" men. The macho image is a typical ideology that defines male sexual "prowess" as normally measured by the number of female sexual partners a man has or "conquers" (Chavannes & Brown, 1998). Caribbean culture celebrates the heterosexual macho man image and labels homosexuality as pedophilia and rapist behavior (McFadden, 2009). Due in large part to the prevalence of macho man images in Jamaican music and other cultural elements, Jamaican men have become the premier example of what it means to be a macho man in the Caribbean. Jamaica's ideas about the qualities of a real man have spread to other neighboring islands in the

West Indies, e.g., Barbados and St. Vincent, greatly influencing adolescent males who readily absorb the images and music propagated by Jamaica (Parry, 2000). As a result, many Caribbean men measure their masculinity by having numerous girlfriends (consecutively or concurrently) and by being able to boast about their sexual experience and abilities.

The stigma and discrimination against Caribbean homosexual men force them to adhere to the gender norms by legally marrying and hiding their sexual preference in order to fit in with their communities. Citing work from Caribbean Vulnerable Communities (2009) the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (2009) reported that "most gay men are in the closet and get married to avoid suspicion" (p. 2). Similarly, the Human Rights Organization (2007) quoted a statement by the president of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines that negative societal attitudes toward homosexuality were causing a "closet lifestyle" among many homosexuals, who feel that they have to get married to people of the opposite sex in order to hide their sexual orientation.

Many Caribbean parents view their homosexual sons with shame; they blame them for not fulfilling the macho image and traditional gender roles by not having a traditional family through heterosexual marriage. Such family criticism or rejection results in many gay men hiding their sexuality from their parents and family (White & Carr, 2005). In Jamaica, for example, it was recorded in 1999 that a young man from a rural area felt that he could not speak to his parents about his sexuality because he knew he could not fulfill what they expected from him, which was to get married and have a family. The isolation and pressure from his parents and society to live up to this stereotypical role caused this young man to commit suicide in a public meat shop. According to a friend of the young man who committed suicide, "He couldn't even go to his family with that [his sexual orientation]... Not even his mother" (Carr, 2002, p. 2).

Like this young man, other Caribbean men struggle with issues of sexual orientation and the discovery of sexual identity and behavior related to their sexuality while living in Caribbean countries that reinforce heterosexuality as the only acceptable orientation. Bailey (1998) reported, "The need to affirm heterosexuality and condemn homosexuality has pervaded social relationships and the constitution of individual and gender identity throughout the Caribbean" (p. 133). Many Caribbean men are trying to live up to what their culture defines as appropriate gender roles; these cultural forces threaten the ability of these Caribbean men to accept themselves.

# 4.3.2 Homophobic attitudes and stigmas

Although some of the Caribbean countries that are the focus of this thesis do not have laws prohibiting females from engaging in same-sex sexual relations, lesbians are also stigmatized like gay men and labeled as sodomites (Amber, 2009). Williams (2005b) reported on a statement he obtained from Sheryl O'Neil who works for the Caribbean Epidemiology Center In Anguilla: "The stigma attached to homosexuality prompts some gays to avoid testing, treatment and support...that compounds the risk of the disease spreading because governments unable to adequately assess the problem and allocate money for prevention and treatment" (p. 3).

The homophobic climate in many Caribbean countries also extends to homosexual tourists who vacation in the Caribbean. Gay and lesbian tourists must educate themselves about the Sodomy and Buggery Laws in each Caribbean country before going there for a vacation. It has been reported that travel agents have often warned gay men and lesbians to avoid showing public affection in the Caribbean because they can be charged with committing a crime (Padgett, 2005).

In 1998, the Bahamas would not allow a Norwegian Cruise Line with 900 gay men to dock in the country due to the Bahamian fears that homosexual men and women would spread disease in their country (Puar, 2001). That same year, the Cayman Island government did not permit Holland America's *Veendam* chartered cruise ship with 500 gay men to dock in the country because a government official stated that gay men might engage in indecent behavior (Puar, 2001). A cruise ship with many gay passengers from Miami did not receive permission to dock on the Nevis part of St. Kitts and Nevis; the ship captain reported that he was informed that homosexual men and women were a threat to national security (Padgett, 2005). The Caribbean Media Corporation (2007) reported that a Saint Vincent and Grenadines government official banned gay cruise ships from entering their island.

Murray interviewed several Barbadian citizens to get their perspective on homosexual men and women who want to visit their country, and he received the following response from an individual to whom he referred as Mr. X , 25 years of age: "would you welcome someone in your own country whose behavior you consider to be immoral?...Gay people are not welcome by the majority of Bajans" (Murray, 2012, p. 19). Another response came from a young Barbadian man who identifies himself as "Assassin":

People like you might think our law against homosexuals is wrong, but if you respect our laws and by extension the people of this country, you will abide by the laws of this country. You seems to be of the opinion that the 'poor, pitiful, uneducated' people of Barbados should be down on our hands and knees kissing the ground tourists like yourselves walk on, just because you are willing to come and spend money in our country ...Keep that pro-homosexual propaganda drivel in your own country; we don't condone it here. Why should anyone listen to what America has to say about other countries' laws? Have you ever really sat down and analysed [sic] the morass that your country currently exists in? Do you really believe that a sovereign nation should take hints and legal advice from a country like that? (p. 19)

Whether residing in a Caribbean country or visiting on vacation, gays and lesbians in the Caribbean face a host of challenge rooted in traditional British colonial laws and supported by more current beliefs.

#### 4.4 COMMUNITY LEVEL

The community level of influence in the social-ecological model includes: relationships among organizations, institutions, and these dancehall and calypso lyrics are traditions of form informal networks within defined boundaries. Dancehall music is considered a very powerful cultural force in Caribbean society. Many dancehall lyrics carry homophobic messages and incite stigma and prejudice against gay men and lesbians (Amber, 2009). The Caribbean islands have strong musical traditions that are particular to each island: reggae, dancehall, steel band, soca, calypso, and folk music. This thesis focuses mainly on music from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, two island nations where dancehall artists and calypso artists use lyrics that incorporate homophobic messages and encourage the torture and murder of homosexual men and women.

During the early 1980s, dancehall deejays introduced dancehall music, which became popular across Jamaica, other Caribbean islands, and countries around the world. Dancehall music embeds various aspects of Jamaican culture, such as interweaving of God and Haile Selassie and fashion trends. References to dancehall by radio stations, street vendors, and advertisements captured the Caribbean's attention. Originally, dancehall lyrics focused on everyday living conditions, such as violence, poverty, middle- and upper-class struggles, and political issues.

During the late 1980s, however, dancehall music lyrics changed and became "blood-curdling" with low lurching beats and choruses that supported the murder of gay men and lesbians (Sanneh, 2004). Amber (2009) reported that "antigay sentiment is now deeply entrenched in the culture and promoted by many dancehall artists" (p. 10). According to Titus (2008), "While the plethora of homophobic dancehall songs might have contributed to a subgenre of its own, it seems to underline the region's strong resentment of gay lifestyle" (p. 1).

Many people in the Caribbean see these dancehall artists as role models, and their lyrics of hate and violence send the message that it is acceptable to murder homosexual men and women because of their sexual orientation (see appendix B, homophobic lyrics & C, dancehall dossier). The following represent a few artists whose lyrics perpetuate stigma and discrimination (translations are in brackets):

Beenie Man states in one of his songs, "I'm dreaming of a new Jamaica...come to execute all the gays," and in another song, he advocates killing gay men. Elephant Man states in two of his songs, "When you hear a lesbian getting raped/it's not our fault...Two women in a bed... That's two sodomites, who should be dead," and "Battyman fi dead! Tek dem by surprise" [Queers must be killed! Take them by surprise]. Bounty Killer urges listeners to burn "Mister Faggoty" and make him "whine in agony," and in one song he states, "Cocky deh yah suh fi wheel unda Dorothy (uh huh)" [Penis is to be used under Dorothy (or a girl]. In a Buju Banton song "Boom Bye Bye" [Boom (as in gun sound) goodbye, goodbye], gays "haffi dead" ["have to die"]. Sizzla Song states in two of his songs: "Shot batty bwoy, my big gun boom" ["shoot queers, my big gun goes boom"] and "Saddamite and batty bwoy mi say a death fi dem" [Lesbians and queers, I say death to them].

The promotion of violence, murder, and rape of gay men and lesbians has prompted the U.S. and England to disallow granting of visas to the before mentioned dancehall artists (Human Rights Watch, 2004).

Calypso is a form of Afro-Caribbean music that originated in Trinidad and Tobago. It has African and European roots. Calypso music has become a phenomenon throughout the Caribbean. As Best (1999) writes, calypso music has shifted its focus from addressing social issues such as poverty, crime, and the HVI/AIDS epidemic in the Caribbean to spreading homophobic intolerance toward homosexual men and women. Several Trinidadian artists, including Viper and Gabby, have used calypso music to stigmatize homosexual men and women and accuse them of spreading HIV/AIDS. For example, Best focused on the lyrics of the following two calypso songs.

#### A Viper's song states:

Dem homosexuals such undesirables that we have down in de city with them philosophies so let we shun them or better yet bun them
Aids is a problem and we don't want them If yuh get de point help me clear de joint

#### A Gabby song states:

Nuse Babbleow say yuh won't believe it
They try to keep de thing a secret
But that don't suit Bajan character
Dem know we mout ain't have no cover
Big names popular names
Make love to de boy at least that is what he claims
So now even married women saying they insist
De hospital show them all de names pun de list

It is very clear that these songs imply that homosexual men and women are responsible for spreading HIV/AIDS and for introducing homosexuality to the youths of the Caribbean.

## 4.5 PUBLIC POLICY LEVEL

Finally, the public policy level consists of local, state, and national laws and policies that impact gay men's and lesbians' health issues. As previously described, there are national Sodomy and Buggery laws which date back to British colonial rule in the Caribbean that make gay sex punishable by years in prison (depending on the specific country mentioned earlier). These laws allow for prejudice and homophobic attitudes to be present across various levels of Caribbean government, including government officials, police, and civilians (Charles, 2011; Human Rights Watch, 2004; McFadden, 2009 & Padgett, 2005). It is not uncommon for gays and lesbians in the Caribbean to be beaten, murdered, and tortured (Amber, 2009; Human Rights Watch 2004; Padgett, 2005; Sharpe & Pinto, 2006&Williams, 2005). Maldonado-DeOliveira (2009) argued that, along with stereotypes about heterosexual gender roles, Caribbean governments' consistent refusal to acknowledge the presence of gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean has negatively impacted the homosexual community. The homophobic attitudes and stigmas against gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean prevent these individuals from having basic human rights. According to Human Rights Watch (2004), "abuse against men who have sex with men takes place in a climate of impunity fostered by...Caribbean Sodomy laws and promoted at the highest level of government" (p. 18). Padgett (2005) reported:

Laws criminalizing homosexuality pose a serious threat to the fundamental rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals, exposing them to the risk of arrest, detention and, in some cases, torture and execution. Commonly, criminal sanctions are

accompanied by a raft of other discriminatory measures that affect access to a wide range of rights-civil, political, economic, and social and culture. We also know that criminalization perpetuates stigma and contributes to a climate of homophobia, intolerance and violence (p. 5).

There is no policy in place to protect the rights of gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean. Law enforcement's indifference and hostility toward the gay community allow individuals to commit violent crimes against homosexuals without fear of litigation and/or imprisonment. This has made victims less inclined to report attacks because they believe law enforcement and government officials will not deliver justice (Schleifer, 2004). The Parliament (prime minister and political leaders) is the highest level of government in all of the Caribbean, and it states that homosexuality is unacceptable and that persons who practice it endanger themselves and the country and should be imprisoned.

The fact that the law stipulates that homosexuality is a crime and punishable by years in prison allows the general population to regard homosexuality as wrong and justify violence against homosexual men and women. Therefore, when gay men and lesbians are victims of hate crimes, many feel that they do not have a voice, that they are powerless; they live in fear of their lives. Alexander (1994) stated:

I am an outlaw in my country of birth: a national; but not a citizen. Born in Trinidad and Tobago on the cusp of anti-colonial nationalist movements there, I was taught that once we pledged our lives to the new nation, 'every creed and race [had] an equal place.' I was taught to be believe 'Mas Day Done', that there would be an imminent end to foreign domination. Subsequent governments have not only eclipsed these promises, they have revised the vary terms of citizenship to exclude me. No longer equal, I can be brought up on charges of "serious indecency" under the Sexual Offences Act of 1986, and if convicted, serve a prison term of five years (5).

Additionally, anti-sodomy laws could prove detrimental in the war against HIV/AIDS because homosexual men and women may avoid necessary screenings for fear of prosecution

once their sexual history has been disclosed (Williams, 2005b). The homosexual population struggles with homophobic attitudes shared by dominant figures within Caribbean society and their communities such as church leaders, government officials, family members, and fellow citizens.

## 4.5.1 Colonial Sodomy and Buggery Laws

Ideology and beliefs about human sexuality dating back to the era of British imperialism are prominent in the present Caribbean legal codes, which condemn homosexuality (Charles 2011). The laws are presented as they are written in each country because paraphrasing them would change their meaning. Daniel Ottosson (2006, 2008, & 2010) compiled the Sodomy and Buggery laws from each county's government website and books that deal with legislation criminalizing consensual sex between homosexual men and women.

## 4.5.2 Trinidad and Tobago

In Trinidad and Tobago, homosexual activity is illegal for both gay men and lesbians. The Sexual Offenses Act in Trinidad and Tobago can imprison homosexuals up to twenty-five years in prison, if it is proven that they committed the act of Buggery. The Sexual Offences Act 1986 states:

- Male/Male Illegal Female/Female Illegal
- Sexual Offences Act 1986, Consolidated Version 2000
- Section 13. (1) A person who commits buggery is guilty of an offence and is liable on conviction to imprisonment-

- (a) If committed by an adult on a minor, for life;
- (b) if committed by an adult on another adult, for twenty-five years;
- (c) if committed by a minor, for five years.
- (2) in this section 'buggery' means sexual inter-course per anus by a male person with a male person or by a male person with a female person (Ottosson 2010:38).

### Section 16.

- (1)A person who commits an act of serious indecency on or towards another is guilty of an offence and is liable on conviction to imprisonment-
- (a) if committed on or towards a minor under sixteen years of age for ten years for a first offence and to imprisonment for fifteen years for a subsequent offence;
- (b) if committed on or towards a person sixteen years of age or more for five years.
- (2) Subsection (1) does not apply to an act of serious indecency committed in private between-
- (a) a husband and his wife; or
- (b) a male person and a female person each of whom is sixteen years of age or more, both of whom consent to the commission of the act.
- (3)An act of serious indecency is an act, other than sexual intercourse (whether natural or unnatural), by a person involving the use of the genital organs for the purpose of arousing or gratifying sexual desire (Ottosson 2010:38).

The Immigration Act of Trinidad and Tobago which falls under article 8(18/1) includes the following specific provision that prohibits homosexuals from entering the country: [e]xcept as provided in subsection (2), entry into Trinidad and Tobago of the persons described in this subsection, other than citizens and, subject to section 7 (2), residents, is prohibited namely;

- (e) prostitutes, homosexuals or persons living on the earning of prostitutes or homosexuals, or persons reasonably suspected as coming to Trinidad and Tobago for these or any other immoral purposes;
- (f) persons who are reasonably suspected of attempting to bring into Trinidad and Tobago or of procuring prostitutes or other persons for the purpose of prostitution or homosexual or other immoral purpose (Ottosson, 2010, p. 38).

Homosexuals are not only prohibited from entering Trinidad and Tobago, but also they can be deported if it is proven that they engaged in same-sex activities; however, this law is not strongly enforced.

### 4.5.3 Jamaica

Jamaican criminal code prohibits sex between gay men; however, lesbians engaging in same-sex activities are also a societal taboo. The 1864 Offenses Act Law in Jamaica states that engaging in homosexual activities is a crime punishable by 10 years of hard labor in prison.

"The Offence Against the Person Act": Male/Male-illegal Female/Female Legal

## **Article 76 "Unnatural Crime"**

Whosoever shall be convicted of the abominable crime of buggery [anal intercourse] committed either with mankind or with any animal, shall be liable to be imprisoned and kept to hard labor for a term not exceeding ten years (Ottosson, 2006, p. 20).

## **Article 77 "Attempt"**

Whosoever shall attempt to commit the said abominable crime, or shall be guilty of any assault with intent to commit the same, or of any indecent assault upon any male person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and being convicted thereof shall be liable to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding seven years, with or without hard labor (Ottosson, 2006, p. 20).

## Article 78 "Proof of Carnal Knowledge"

Whenever upon the trial of any offence punishable under this Act, it may be necessary to prove carnal knowledge, it shall not be necessary to prove the actual emission of seed in order to constitute a carnal knowledge, but the carnal knowledge shall be deemed complete upon proof of penetration only (Ottosson, 2006, p. 20).

## **Article 79 "Outrages on Decency"**

Any male person who, in public or private, commits, or is a party to the commission of, or procures or attempts to produce the commission by any male person of, any act of gross indecency with another male person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and being

convicted thereof shall be liable at the discretion of the court to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding 2 years, with or without hard labor (Ottosson, 2006, p. 20).

#### 4.5.4 Bahamas

The Bahamas is the only Commonwealth country in the Caribbean that has decriminalized sexual activities between same-sex couples. Both gay and lesbian same-sex sexual activity is legal in the Bahamas; however, there is still widespread homophobia in the country. Homosexual acts were decriminalized in the Bahamas in 1991, when the country repealed Sodomy and Buggery laws. Although homosexuality has been decriminalized, there still exist the following provisions of the law that criminalize homosexuality:

**Section 16 of the Sexual Offence and Domestic Violence Act 1991**, still makes it a crime for same-sex couples to have sex in public settings.

Section 2 and 16 of the Sexual Offence and Domestic Violence Act 1991: "Sexual intercourse with someone of the same sex under the age of 18 year old is a crime" (Ottosson, 2008, p.45).

The following falls under Section 2 of the same Act:

"There are two specific aspects of the criminal code that still discriminates against gay, lesbian and bisexual people. First the legal age of consent to engage in homosexual conduct is 18 years old, whereas heterosexual conduct is 16 year old. Special provisions of the criminal code define and prohibit public gay sexual conduct differently than it does for heterosexual conduct" (Ottosson, 2008, p. 45).

#### 4.5.5 Barbados

In Barbados, homosexual acts are illegal and can carry a life sentence in prison; however, the law is not strongly enforced. The Sexual Offence Act 1992 contains the following provision that criminalizes homosexuality:

## "Sexual Offences Act 1992", Chapter 154

In Barbados same- sex couples (male/male and female/female) engaging in sexual activity is illegal

**Buggery-** Section 9. "Any person who commits buggery is guilty of an offence and is liable on conviction or indictment to imprisonment for life" (Ottosson, 2008, p. 9).

## "Serious Indecency-Section 12"

- (1) A person who commits an act of serious indecency on or toward another or incites another to commit that act with the person or with another person is guilty of an offence and, if committed on or toward a person 16 years of age or more or if the person incited is of 16 years of age or more, is liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term of 10 years (Ottoson, 2008, p. 9).
- (2) A person who commits an act of serious indecency with or toward a child under the age of 16 or incites the child under that age to such an act with him or another, is guilty of an offence and is liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term of 15 years.
- (3) An act of serious indecency is an act, whether natural or unnatural by a person involving the use of genital organs for the purpose of arousing or gratifying sexual desire (Ottosson, 2008, p. 9).

## 4.5.6 Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

In Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, homosexual acts are illegal for both gay men and lesbians. Sections 146 and 148 of 1990 Criminal Code state:

## Male/Male Illegal Female/Female Illegal

### Section 146

Any person who – commits buggery with any other person; commits buggery with an animal; or permits any person to commit buggery with him or her; is guilty of an offence and liable to imprisonment for ten years (Ottosson, 2008, p. 33).

## **Section 148**

Any person, who in public or private, commits an act of gross indecency with another person of the same sex, or procures or attempts to procure another person of the same sex to commit an act of gross indecency with him or her, is guilty of an offence and liable to imprisonment for five years (Ottosson, 2008, p. 380).

### 4.5.7 Saint Kitts and Nevis

Saint Kitts and Nevis criminalizes only homosexual acts that are committed between males.

Male/Male Illegal Female/Female Legal

Section 56 and 57 of the Offences Against the Person Act states:

## **Section 56**

"The abominable crime of buggery up to 10 years imprisonment, with or without hard labor" (Ottosson 2008:32).

#### Section 57

Whosever attempts to commit the said abominable crime, or is guilty of any assault with intent to commit the same, or of any indecent assault upon any male person, is guilty of misdemeanor, and being convicted thereof shall be liable to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding four (4) years with or without hard labor (Ottosson, 2008, p. 32).

These Caribbean countries continue to implement British colonial sexual act laws that prohibit same-sex couples (especially male) from engaging in sexual intercourse; however, some of these

countries have no laws prohibiting sexual acts between females (although lesbianism is also looked upon negatively).

## 4.5.8 Caribbean laws invade the privacy of gay men and lesbians and create inequality

According to Human Rights Watch (2004) violent crimes in the Caribbean against gay men include beatings, armed attacks, and murder, and physical attacks against homosexuals are often accompanied by statements of intent to kill homosexuals. The homophobic attitude of the Caribbean government and law enforcement limits protection and safety for homosexuals. Charles (2011) reports that negative representation of homosexuality in the Caribbean and the violent attacks against homosexuals forces them to remain "in the closet" for their safety. Homosexuals in the Caribbean are, therefore, oppressed and led to believe that they are not entitled to the same basic civil rights as the heterosexual community. For instance because of the laws that forbid same-sex couples from engaging in sexual activities, many homosexual men and women fear reporting crimes perpetuated against them to the police; thus, statistics on these cases are likely not frequently lack accurate. As Charles (2011) reported:

Negative talk about homosexuality in everyday social interactions that have the backing of the law gives license to police brutality toward gays. Part of the unfettered hostility toward gays is explained by the belief within Caribbean society that homosexuality is linked to pedophilia (p.12).

Although Human Rights Watch (2004) has been calling for changes in laws to protect the rights of gay men and women against violence, brutal attacks against homosexual men and women continue in the Caribbean. Major cities in the Caribbean, such as Kingston, Jamaica have a high incidence of hate crimes committed against homosexual men and women. Also, homosexual men and women within the prison system are not safe from homophobic attitudes and violence.

Many individuals who are believed to be gay have been murdered by their fellow inmates (Titus, 2008). Rather than advocating on behalf of gay men and lesbians, police officers have been known to victimize this community.

Padgett (2005) stated that human rights activists have asked government officials in St. Kitts to investigate and prosecute acts of violence committed against gay men and women in order to ensure that that this community gets the same level of protection as the heterosexual community in their country. Padgett continued, "The failure to do so may reflect institutionalized homophobia, as well as a general lack of state capacity to ensure order and security" (p. 4). However, many government officials in the Caribbean refuse to extend help to individuals they see as deviant or dangerous (Murray, 2012).

### 5.0 IMPACT ON HEALTH

Despite the growing number of gay and lesbian communities in the Caribbean, the relevant authorities continually fail to address their health issues including the continued lack of access to HIV testing and prevention programs due in part to the oppression these individuals face (Human Rights Watch, 2004). Titus (2008) reported that "Caribbean homophobia has its roots in the linking of HIV/AIDS with homosexual males and that this belief is a barrier to combating HIV/AIDS" (p. 3).

Acosta (2011) stated that "institutional" homophobia is also a problem. Acosta continued "the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) indicates that penalization of homosexuality in the Caribbean is one of the main obstacles to controlling the epidemic that affects some 240,000 people in the Greater and Lesser Antilles" (p. 3). Many heterosexual people in the Caribbean also continue to deny the existence of the homosexual community, which has resulted in many homosexual men and women feeling like second-class citizens (Williams, 2005a)

In the Caribbean, AIDS is considered a homosexual disease, and gay men are blamed for spreading the disease (Murray, 2012). This forces homosexual men and women to hide their sexuality, which means they are not being diagnosed for HIV/AIDS or getting treatment. Carr (2005) reported that "HIV/AIDS is still perceived by some to be a gay disease" (p. 388). Although there are research studies that show that HIV/AIDS is not limited to the gay and

lesbian community, the perception that gay men are responsible for the spreading of HIV/AIDS continues to stigmatize homosexual people. In Trinidad and Tobago, a deep-seated stigma toward homosexuals has resulted in alienation and shame for gay men; fear of judgment within health services gives these men a sense of worthlessness and paralyzes them from gaining a sense of self-efficacy, even when it relates to health services and crimes against them (Rutledge, Abell, Padmore & McCann, 2008). For example, the fear of homosexuality leads many men to not get a rectal examination by their doctors to check for prostate cancer (McFadden, 2009).

The deep-seated social stigma and homophobic attitudes in the Caribbean create barriers to gathering data about the health status of gay and lesbian individuals. For example, the laws against homosexuality in the Caribbean create barriers to obtaining accurate data on the mode of transmission of HIV/AIDS and current incidence rates. Data obtained from National HIV/AIDS Commission of Barbados (2001) reported that from December 1984 to March 2001 only 5.7% of HIV/AIDS cases among homosexuals or bisexuals, and the mode of transmission was primarily via blood transfusion. Human Rights Watch (2004) reported that 5.4% of all cases of AIDS were among homosexuals and bisexuals, based on information from the Jamaican Ministry of Health Statistics. The Ministry of Health Statistics stated the actual percentage of HIV/AIDS cases acquired through same-sex contact may be higher, but the fact that homosexuality is illegal, along with stigma and discrimination attached to homosexuality, hinders homosexual men and women from disclosing that they have a same-sex partner. According to Williams (2005b) most gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean do not get tested for HIV/AIDS or admit their sexual orientation to a healthcare worker.

Padgett (2005) cited a report from the Ministry of Health on HIV/AIDS in Saint Kitts and Nevis:

Stigma associated with same-sex couples (male) resulted in some gay men resorting to having girlfriends as an alibi... the sodomy and buggery laws creates [sic] an atmosphere

for gay men to go underground, which ends up impeding access to health education and STD/HIV treatment (p. 2).

Some Caribbean countries have implemented HIV/AIDS prevention programs in an effort to educate their citizens about the risk of HIV/AIDS infection; however, the homosexual community is not being targeted (Rutledge et al., 2009).

Carr (2002) cited work from a qualitative study conducted by Bain (1998) assessing the attitude of Jamaican healthcare workers toward individuals with HIV/AIDS. The Bain study revealed that healthcare workers were less inclined to offer immediate treatment to homosexual people who were HIV/AIDS positive compared to heterosexual people with HIV/AIDS. Carr (2002) also cited a quote from Bain's (1998) study, which reported that an association of HIV/AIDS with homosexuality has "created attitudinal barriers at individual and institutional levels and has resulted in protracted delays in the community's response to the HIV epidemic" (p. 7). Carr cited work from a qualitative study from Wickramasuriya (1994) that found similar prejudices among medical students at University of West Indies-Barbados campus. According to the Trinidad and Tobago Anti-Violence Project (2009):

These men's narratives illustrate their sense that they have no confidence, that health care providers, protective services... in support for victims of sexual violence will not simply revictimize them. They refused...peer and professional counseling services, free medical examination, STI screening and post-exposure prophylaxis for HIV (p. 2).

This illustrates that the negative attitudes of healthcare workers toward gay men results in these individuals not getting adequate HIV/AIDS treatment and access to care.

Charles (2011) reported:

The government's policy to provide anti-retroviral treatment is failing because of the human rights abuse against gay men infected with the AIDS virus not to reveal their HIV status and their sexual orientation to health workers. Homosexuals in turn are blamed for the AIDS epidemic with the representation that AIDS is a homosexual disease and the

homosexuals are spreading AIDS. This forces homosexuals underground and beyond the place of diagnosis, treatment, and care. HIV among gay men is a hidden epidemic (p. 13).

The fact that many gay men and lesbians are not getting HIV testing compounds the risk of HIV/AIDS spreading in the Caribbean. Also, Caribbean government healthcare officials are unable to effectively assess the number of HIV/AIDS patients in order to allocate funding for prevention programs and treatments.

According to the Trinidad and Tobago Anti-Violence Project (2009):

These men's narratives illustrate their sense that they have no confidence, that health care providers, protective services... in support for victims of sexual violence will not simply revictimize them. They refused...peer and professional counseling services, free medical examination, STI screening and post-exposure prophylaxis for HIV (p. 2).

### 6.0 CONCLUSION

Many problems for gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean stem from religious doctrine, cultural beliefs, and the Sodomy and Buggery laws, all of which serve to stigmatize them and perpetuate the homophobic attitudes held against the homosexual community. Despite the fact that most Caribbean countries are trying to accept and embrace individuals for who they are by not discriminating against an individual based on race, religion, or ethnicity, the homosexual community in the Caribbean is not embraced. The findings from this reveal that gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean face many barriers such as: stigma, discrimination, and lack of access to HIV testing and HIV/AIDS education and treatment. The strongest barriers to health for gay men and lesbians seem to stem from the devoutly religious Caribbean stance against homosexuality, the Sodomy and Buggery laws, and the cultural norms about what it means to be a Caribbean man.

Although there are homosexual communities in the Caribbean, many political leaders refuse to repeal the Sodomy and Buggery laws, address violent crimes committed against homosexuals, or ensure that gay men and lesbians receive the same types of legal protections as heterosexuals. Homosexual people deserve the same legal protection as other minorities, including other races and religions.

Using the social-ecological model as a framework on homosexual individuals' health and well-being in an effort to develop interventions, the literature review identified barriers that

suggest the need for intervention at each social-ecological level. Also, the review identified the following limitations in the literature: 1) there were more articles about gay men than lesbians despite the fact that there are laws against lesbians in the Caribbean; 2) data were limited on the percentage of gay men and lesbians in the Caribbean; 3) data were limited on crimes or violent attacks against gay men or lesbians; 4) data were limited on educational programs addressing HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention. Also, the following limitation were identified no new data were generated about homosexuals issues in the Caribbean and as result non peer reviewed sources were used.

In order for there to be positive health outcomes for gay men and lesbians, the Caribbean needs to reduce the pressure of adhering to stereotypical anti-homosexual culture. Caribbean governments and individuals need to accept homosexuals as a legitimate community, because it is clear that the gay and lesbian population continues to grow despite attitudes toward sexual orientation. In order for there to be any significant changes in the attitudes of the Caribbean people toward the gay and lesbian community, there needs to be a change in the legislature to repeal the Sodomy and Buggery laws. In addition to this change, there also needs to be sensitization training for these persons entrusted to enact these laws (police officers). Once this region embraces tolerance, it will then be able to develop HIV/AIDS prevention programs that provide quality comprehensive services to the entire population, including the homosexual community.

#### APPENDIX A

## WHY ARE HOMOSEXUAL ACTS ILLEGAL IN JAMAICA?

On September 25, 2010, Bruce Golding, Prime Minister of Jamaica and current Chairman of the 15 nation CARICOM group was asked why homosexual acts are illegal in Jamaica. His response was:

It is rooted in a number of things. Firstly, we are a predominately Christian country and a fervently Christian country. It may not be reflected entirely in terms of how we live sometimes, but we are passionately committed to certain basic Christian principles...We are tolerant provided that homosexual lifestyle does not invade our space. And what do I mean by that? Persons who wish, because of their own inclination, to live in a homosexual relationship, do so in Jamaica and there are many such persons in Jamaica. The society in Jamaica in general does not want to be... do not want it to be flaunted. They don't want it to be sort of thrown into the face, because there are some real fears. There are some real fears. The basic unit of a society is a family, and there is a passionate concern in Jamaica about protecting the integrity of the family. And it is felt that encouragement or recognition of the appropriateness of the homosexual lifestyle is going to undermine the effectiveness of that family unit and, in that process, undermine the basic fabric of a society.

But I think much of what has been carried in the international media in terms of homophobia in Jamaica is grossly exaggerated. Homosexuals in Jamaica, they live and they enjoy their relationship. They are intermingled with heterosexuals, they have normal relations with heterosexuals, but they do have their private relationships. And so long is that is so, I don't believe that the people in Jamaica are going to be particularly perturbed.

What is illegal in Jamaica is buggery, which is in fact making homosexual acts illegal. There have been very, very few prosecutions; very, very few. And in most instances, there are prosecutions because there is a complaint by a victim. So that it's not the flashpoint issue that many people in the international media claim that it is.

## APPENDIX B

## CHART ILLUSTRATING HOMOPHOBIC LYRICS

Song Titles	Artist	Year
Nah Apologize	Sizzla	2006
J.A. Don't Like Gay	Dr.Evil	2005
Nah Gwan a Jamaica	Elephant Man	2004
Move Like Sissy	Assasin	2007
Babylon Bwoy	Baby Cham	2000

## 1. Song Title: Nah Apologize by Sizzla

Intro

Knocking on a door

Bredba: Yo Dadda... Dadda!...Dadda!

Sizzla: Yow,who dat?[ who is there]

Bredba: Me man,Bredba. Yuh no see wha' demput inna de paper? Dem talk 'bout

say fi apologize to batty-boy. Apologhize fuh wha'? Dem fi apologize to Jah!

Gunshot dem fi get!

[It's me your friend, Bredba. Did you see what they wrote in the paper? They said that we need to apologize to gays. But why should we apologize to them? The gays nrrd to apologize to Jah to God, gunshots would fix their attitude]

## Verse 1

Now this is an anthem!

Blaze up de fire, push up your hands dem

Big up de lioness with de lion dem

Aha...fire bu'n!

[Now this is an anthem. Put your hands in the air. I'm giving a shout out to all those men with their girls/princess by their side, Fire]

Ah me say Holy Emanuel I, King Selassie I, Jah! Ras Tafari

It is good to give thanks unto The Most High, King Selassie I, and sing praise

unto his name, Most High Jah!

[Give thanks unto God, Holy Emanuel I, King Selassie, Jah Ras Tafari. It is good to give thanks to give thanks unto the Most High King Selassie and sing praise unto his name, the most high-Most High Jah]

Ras Tafari just throw forth his love and kindness in the morning and the faithfulness

every night,upon an instrument of ten strings! alright,take it to dem,King. Beautiful people,Kalonji love yuh(((honour thy mothers and thy fathers)))...

but here's the judgement! (((alright!))

[ Ras Tafari throws his love, kindness and faithfulness forth every morning and night by playing a ten stringed instrument. Beautiful people love and honor the mothers and fathers of the land before judgement comes]

### Chorus 1a

Rastaman don't apologize to no batty-boy

If yuh dis' King Selassie I,mih gunshot yuh boy

Gimme de whole ah de girls dem 'cause ah dem have de joy

[Rasta will not apologize to gays. If they disrespect the Most High King Selassie I, this Rastaman will show you all respect with gums. Give me girls anytime because they have and will always give joy]

Inna de lake of fire me dash yuh boy

Badman don't apologize to no batty-boy

If yuh dis' Black people, ey, mih gun will shot yuh boy

[I will throw you gays into the lake of fire because gangsters will not apologize to gays. If you gays disrespect Black people, our guns will shoot you.]

Gimme de whole ah de girls dem 'cause ah dem have de joy

[Give me girls anytime because they have and will always give us joy]

Inna de lake of fire me dash yuh...ahhoy!

[I will throw you gays into the lake of fire, do you gays hear me?]

#### Verse 2

The girls dem sexy, and dem pussyy fat

Yeah, all the girls the boys dem looking at

[The girls are sexy and their vaginas are fat. All the boys keep looking at the girls]

Some boy bow down...bow down doing what?

Nothing in the world could ever have me doing that

[Some boys eat girls' vaginas, how could they do that / I wouldn't do that for anything in the world]

Ah don't care if they ban me

Damn,me say fi bu'n batty-man,yuh cyah wrong me

[I don't care where they ban me from overseas I'm not apologize to gays and I am not eating any girls vagina. Fire for gays and you all can't fault me for my opinion]

Yow,me nah born over England,a real African this

Real real Rasatman this! boom!

[I wasn't born in England, I'm a real African and a real Rastafarian]

**Chorus: Repeat 1x** 

### Verse: 3

Gwaan like dem smart and gwaan like dem crafty

Yow, shoot dem inna dem heart, dem too fucking nasty

[The gays act like they are smart and crafty, but they are too nasty]

De gyal dem have de pussyy and de stiff titty and de cute face,

and de boy dem walk pass it?

[The girls have a vagina and firm breasts and those gay boy really walk past these girls]

Damn, it's the lyrical phase...this alone make dem fret

Inna de Biblical bass we use to stone dem to death

[Good thing this is just a lyrical attack, and our songs make them afraid.

Back in the days of the Bible gays were stoned to death]

Whoa! de sexy girls dem mih sex

And when me say "bu'n batty-man!", nah vex! damn!

[Wow the girls are so sexy and when we say that gays should go to hell don't get upset with us that's just the way it is, they are going to hell]

### Chorus: 1b

Badman don't apologize to no batty-boy

If yuh dis' Black Woman, then mih gun will shot yuh boy

Gimme de whole ah de girl dem 'cause ah dem have happy joy

[Rastas will not apologize to gays. If they disrespect our Black Women

by being with other men, this Rastaman will show you respect with guns.

Give me girls anytime because they have and will always give joy]

Inna de lake of fire me dash yuh boy

Rastaman don't apologize to no batty-boy

If yuh dis' Black Woman, then mih gun will kill yuh...woy!!!

Gimme de girls because ah dem have happy joy...wow!

[Give me girls anytime because they have and will always give us joy]

Inna de lake of fire me dash yuh...ahoy!

[I will throw you gays into the lake of fire, do you gays hear me?]

#### Verse: 4

Where dem come from? dey must ha' parents

So how the fuck dem gone de wrong way and ah ride a rear end

[Where do these gays come from? They must have parents, so how the hell their parents allow them to stray such that they have become gay?]

Alright...big piece, ah glad disappear dem!

Go make dem know say we no fear dem!

[Let them know that we don't fear gays]

Damn!...we doh walk inna batty-man yard

We doh give a fuck if dem ban we from Scotland Yard

[We don't go into gay mens' houses and we don't care if we get banned

from England or place like Scotland Yard]

Yow! King Selassie bu'n Babylon because dem a fraud

Me hail de King and Lord of Lords

[God-King Selassie is above this world and burns the wicked system because all of them, the police and politicians are fraud]

## Chorus:1b Repeat 1x

Me say: push up de lighter dem, blaze uo de torch

When me done bu'n dem mother f^uckers,let dem roast,damn,or leave ah parch

Fuckers! well I wah see who dev march

And dey say de ras war wouldda start, wow!

[Put your lighters in the air, ignite the fire. When I am done burning those sinners I will let them roast also, leave them parched begging for mercy. The rastaman is starting this war]

## Chorus:1b Repeat 1x

Yow!...

Yeah, go and read yuh Bible and read Leviticus\*\*

Yuh live in a clean land, then yuh can live with us

[You gays go and read your Bible, read Leviticus. We live in a clean land if you change your ways you can live with us too]

Ha ha...ey!...ey! yow!

What dey say dey do, try to ban me from the UK

Mother fuckers I'm from Ethiopia, Africa...yow...straight to Zimbabwe [Just because we don't like gays the international community wants to ban us, wants to ban dancehall artists from the UK. But that's ok I am from Ethiopia, Africa and I can always go to Zimbabwe]

Yeah, praise Selassie I every night and every day

And sexy girl and ghetto youths:don't go astray

[ Praise Selassie I every day and all you sexy girls and ghetto youths I'm warning you don't go astray-don't't become gay]

'Cause badman don't apologize to no batty-boy

Fire bu'n dem

[Gangsters will not apologize to gays, they will burn in hell]

## 2.Song Title: J.A. Don't Like Gay by Dr. Evil

Space was cool (laughin)

I have a very evil plan, now see. man to man? no! that's not somethin to do to another dude. Its kinda creepy. ready mini me? (mm hmm)

### Verse1

My name is doctor evil, i'm tryin to find a reason. Why should a next man lie, with a guy whose name is stephen?

I love pum pum, fat cu cum cum, black brown square or round.

I will never like trevor, i preffer wifing[ to have] a heffer.

I bought dis A.K to spray on all gays.

Including outrage whose fightin all are dj's

Gun shots for all u fagits, I really hate u maggots

All I really need is, more pum pum [pussy] for this penis.

#### Chorus

J.a [Jamaica]don't like gay no, j.a don't like gay no
J.a don't like gay no, j.a don't like gay no
J.a don't like gay no, j.a don't like gay no
J.a don't like gay no,

Pum pum![pussy] yes is best thing. next to the breast, the chesting [ and to the chest area] We nuh[not] investing, (so oh so man, me nah tight ah di wrestling)

[The vagina is the best thing, second are the breasts, we are not interested in gays, and when we are done with them they will be resting in pieces. Gays are into molesting children and their reward is our bullets in their intestines]

Chorus: Repeat 1x Verse 1: Repeat 1x Chorus: Repeat 1x Verse 2: Repeat 1x

**Chorus: Repeat 1x** 

## 3. Song Title: Nah Gwan A Jamaica by Elephant Man

Yep, Davjoa Voo bun dem out
Fadda God say fi me fi bun down Saddam and Gomara so
[Father God said to burn down Sodom and Gomorrah so that when we are done with them they won't live to see tomorrow. So Jamaicans March out]
When mi done with dem, dem nah do live fi see tomorrow so
Fadda God say fi me fi bun down Saddam and Gomara so
Jamaicans march out, hey!

### Chorus

Certain things wah gwan a foreign, can't gwan a Jamaica
Nah support no chi chi and we nah support no raper
[Certain things happen overseas we will not allow in Jamaica, we will not support gays and people who rape others]

Nah support no bwoy, wah bruk we foot and tek we paper

[We are not supporting anybody that take advantage of us so thatthey can get the better of the people that were born in this country]

Dat can't gwan a Jamaica, that can't gwan a Jamaica
Certain things wah gwan a foreign, can't gwan a Jamaica
[This cannot happen in JA, certain things that happen overseas we will not tolerate in JA]

Man a worship Allah, like dem forget di Creator

How you fi diss we up and you nuh greet di undertaker

Dat can't gwan a Jamaica, that can't gwan a Jamaica

[Men are worshipping Allah, Have they forgetton God the true Creator? How can they do that and they haven't yet died and met the undertaker / They will be in trouble then. But these things can't happen in

JA]

## Verse 1

(Wah you say) No fuck with no Jamaican, dem will change up like di weather

You and Saddam a plot together, then we shot off one a yuh feather

Cut your throat if we find out you and Bin Laden a bredda

[ Don't mess with Jamaicans, they are fickle like the weather. If we ever hear that you and Saddam were plotting together, we will shoot you. We will cut your throats if we ever find out that you and Bin Ladden are brothers]

Black you out like di light wey go way inna New York wah day ya Wuk and send down di money, we don't intend fi stay ya One a wayer we wha fi drive some big car just like di Mayor

Gal a sayer, Ele dey ya this a fi dem holidayer

[We will make your lights go out Black like what happen in NY back in 9/11 because when we travel to the U.S. we only go to work and send down some money' we don't intend to stay in that country. We earn the money to go back home to buy and drive a big car just like the Mayor. This NY trip was just a holiday]

Man a player without no delay ya couldn't be no gay ya
Ask Faya, di anaconda mek she a say she prayer
Then she laye when me pop it out cau man a nuh pussy slayer
No betraya, nah switch from di gal dem all when we old and graya
Pussy haffi kill me, a dat me say ya

[ Elephant man is a player, I couldn't be no gay, ask the girl called Faya, because Elephant's anaconda/dick makes her say her prayers. Elephant man is no betrayer I am switching from the girls to no gays no matter how old or gray I get. It is the pussy that kill me]

# Chorus: Repeat 1x [Verse 2:]

(Wah we say) Player hater fi gwey

Anyway you see we deh, di bereter haffi did dey...Wah you say? (Wah we say)

Member say we head gone, drop and lick it when we born

We nuh fuck fi turn it on...Wah you say? (Wah we say)

[What are we saying? Those that hate players must go away. But we are the ones that have to stand up for all the players out there, what did I say? What are we saying?]

Big up every yardman inna Rockers Island

TG and Drewsland...Wah you say? (Wah we say?)

Big up every dance crew, we nuh care you a who

[Here's what we are saying-a shout out to all the Jamaicans in Rockers Island, U.S.A and to Tivoli Gardens and Drewsland (communities in JA), what are you saying / what are you saying?]

Tek di videolight, cause your clothes new (oonu dance)

Jamaican island way we love, di land of food and water

[Go and dance in front of the cameras because you have new clothes, we love our island Jamaica. We love our land of food and water ]

Nah go run way from down ya cause nothing we nuh shorter

We have we own a cement company and coffee maker

[We are not leaving Jamaica, we have everything here no real shortages, our basic needs are met, if you are hungry go visit the baker he will feed you]

If you hungry, go down a Treesland go visit up di baker

Big up di rasta man dem up inna di hills wah w beat di shaker

Way a reap di high grade dem by di pound and by di acre

Salute to all di farmer, wah a plant up di potato

Love me island me nah go be no forsaker, hey

[Salute to the Rasta that plant the greens in the hills and to the famers that plant the potatoes and other

ground provisions, I am not forsaking my island]

Repeat Chorus Repeat Verse1 Repeat Chorus

## 4. Song Title: Move Like Sissy by Assassin

Jah know dat one yah a star like a show[ Wow that one is funny he likes drawing too much attention to himself]

Agent double O neva go below [ true gangsters don't eat or go past the belt]

Yo! Man fi move like man bredrin!!![I don't understand how some men act like other men]

How some man a move so a chat so and a trace like a gal?!!! [I really don't understand how some men act and talk like women]
Siddung and a laff cocktail yo hear mi now mon!!![They should just sit down and behave themselves and stop drink ladies drinks]

#### **Chorus:**

Yo! How dem a gwaan like dem a sissy, trace like dem a sissy[Why are these men behaving like they are sissies? They talk and argue like they are sissies]

Flexin like don yuh a nuh Timbaland yuh a just a Missy[ They want the respect of a gangster, but they are acting like a girl so they can't get that kind of respect]

Just a sissy, big fat sissy[They are just a sissy a big fat sissy]

Yuh flexin like a gal Aunt!!! Yuh a move so it a bitchy[But even worse they are acting like a girl's aunt! they are acting so mean]

Just a sissy, big fat sissy[ They are just a sissy a big fate sissy]

Tell mi sum'n Ricky!!! How yuh a gwaan like yuh a Nikki!!!![Tell me something Ricky why are you behaving like you are Nicky]

Yuh move like yuh a sissy, flexin like a sissy[ You act and move like a sissy]

Dem movin so fishy we a wonda dem a sissy[ They move do strange and fishy we are really wondering if they are truly sissies]

### Verse 2

Wah sissy do?!!![ What does a sissy do?]

Weh all dem good fah fi chat like dem a gal [ What is their purpose, if all they do is talk like girls]

Go so gwaan, and a carry on, act like dem a gal[ If that is the case you sissies can continue to act like woman]

Dem have tattoo inna back like dem a gal[ Sissies have a lot have tattoos just like girls do]

A so on yuh hear dem a wear, frack like dem a gal[ They even wear dresses like girls]

Dem could a all a tek, cock like dem a gal[ They even have sex like they are girls]

Must fi grow wid dem muma or a dozen auntie [They are probably like that because they never had a male role models and they grew up with their mothers and 12 aunties]

Dem a gwaan like Beyonce or Ashanti[ They act like Beyonce and Ashanti]

Just a flip up and a lip up siddung a go so[ Their mannerisms, the way they sit are just like girls]

Dem a gwaan like dem a wear panty[They act like they wear ladies panties]

## **Chorus: Repeat 1x**

### Verse 3

Cau real gangsta dem a gallis but some bwoy move gallish [Real gangsters are womanizers they are not actual women]

Carry belly like seh dem a breed and keep malice[But these sissies look like if they could get pregnant and have children they would]

A wear navel ring and wear polish[ They even wear decorations in their belly buttons and nail polish]

Sean a flex like a Nicole Richie and Paris[ Sean is acting like Nicole Richie and Paris]

And dem a gwaan seh di whole a dem a Alice[ All of these sissies are acting like they were born to be Alice]

Man a move like seh dem a gwaan inna dem palace [They act like they own the world like they are natural and that's not the case]

Dem bwoy dem caan draw di chalice, dem move too faggish[ These boys can't connect with God, they can't drink from the Chalice because they are sinners they are gay]

A lock, fracktail, wid di gal dem and a lavish [ They are wearing dresses and behaving lavishly]

Chorus: Repeat 1x Repeat Chorus Repeat Verse 1 Repeat Chorus until End

## 5. Song Title: Nuh Batty Ting by Vybz Kartel

Why mi fi go see, where di fish roam free? [Why should I go the sea where the fishes swims freely]

FUCKIN idiot! Mi nuh lie, dem nuh know Selassie I![ You are an idiot Gully god]

Peter King dem see, a bare fish inna di sea so mi nah go! [Only fishes are in the sea I am not going there]

BATTYBWOY! YUH SCHUPID EEE! [ Gully god you are gay and you are stupid]

### **Chorus:**

Only ting mi a pree a di gun dem fi dun yuh free[ They only thing I am watching is the gun I am going to use to finish you off]

Nuh bring nuh battyman argument to mi[ So don't you dare tell me I am gay, you are the gay one]

BWOY! Gangsta nah go swim inna sea [ Boy do you hear me? Gangsters don't swim with all the gays and other fishes in the sea]

GWAN! Wid di fish inna di gully gully[But you gully god can go and swim with the gays and the fishes in the gully that live in]

Delia, Antoinette and Stacy

Seh yuh mouth comin like a Stay Free [ Delia, Antoinette and Stacey said that your mouth smells like stay free pads, because all you do is eat vaginas]

BWOY! Gangsta nah go swim inna sea[ Boy do you hear me? Gangsters don't swim with all the gays and other fishes in the sea]

GWAN! Wid di fish inna di gully gully [But you gully god can go and swim in your gully with all the fish in there]

### Verse 1:

Hey! Mi nuh waan be nuh Gully God [ I wouldn't want to be no gully god]

Bare fish inna di gully and dog shit and dutty pad

Bax Jefferey yuh mussi mad[I will not Hit Jeffery]

Di three feds yuh a par wid cyaa save yuh, go fi God[ The other 3 gangsters you hang out with cannot save you, you need God]

Mi nah go sea, beach mi go [I don't go to the sea I go to the beach]

True mi live cross di water pussy try diss mi now[ Just because I live in Portmore you want to disrespect me and my community]

Portmore gun nuh fire blank[Our guns in Portmore are full, we will shoot

you]
Coppa pop off yuh chest fi yuh[Our shots will tear you up]

Freeze yuh like a Eskimo[Our shots will freeze you like an Eskimo]

**Chorus: Repeat 1x** 

Verse 2:

Memba yuh cyaa gimme nuh tuff chat[ Remember you can't talk too rough to me]

Wen yuh trim bwoy, mi a buss glock, kill man at di bus stop[Remember boy when you are in you're barber shop I am out there killing people]

A true yuh study mi, mi go buss hot[ You are all talk, I bet you can't put your money where your mouth is. You are just pretending to be tough]

Di gangsta song dem weh yuh a mek up, a fool yuh, a muss dat[ The gangster songs that you make up must have disillusioned you]

Like yuh a chat bout you a oil gun[Because you think you area god]

A muss yuh battyman bredda dem a catch yuh a oil down[ it must be your gay friends telling you that to keep your ego afloat]

Gunshot yuh life don, middle day before night come[ Before you know it you'll find your life ended by a gunshot that soars in the middle of the day not in the night when you expect it]

**Chorus:** 

## APPENDIX C

## DANCEHALL DOSSIER: STOP MURDER MUSIC

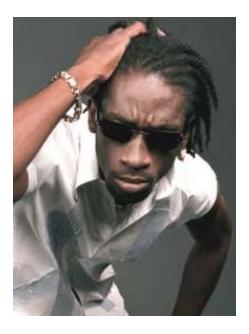
1	Beenie Man
2	Bounty Killer
3	Buju Banton
4	Capleton
5	Elephant Man
6	Sizzla Kalonji



Beenie Man Real Name: Anthony M Davis Date of Birth: 22 August 1973

Jamaican dancehall-reggae star Beenie Man has personally denied he had ever apologised for his "kill gays" music and, to prove it, performed songs inciting the murder of lesbian and gay people. In two separate articles, The Jamaica Observer newspaper revealed Beenie Man's disavowal of his apology at the Red Stripe Summer Sizzle concert at James Bond Beach, Jamaica, on Sunday 22 August 2004.

"Beenie Man, who was celebrating his birthday, took time to point out that he did not apologise for his gay-bashing lyrics, and went on to perform some of his antigay tunes before delving into his popular hits," wrote the Jamaica Observer "He delivered an explosive set during which he performed some of the singles that have drawn the ire of the international gay community," said the Observer.



Bounty Killer Real Name: Rodney Price Date of Birth: 12 June 1972

Jamiace Observer, Friday, October 08, 2004: Bounty Killer has lashed out at the media in his usual hard-core manner for portraying Beenie Man's apology to gay rights campaigners as 'bowing' to the homosexual campaigners.

The 'Killer' thinks that Jamaicans should be siding with Jamaican singers instead of ridiculing them when they appear to be coming under siege.

"Look at the press, when the gay rights groups overseas try to come down on the artistes and the artistes might say a few words to quell those people's aggression and to make this business look appropriate in America, they say 'Oh Beenie bow, him mash up'.

"When we Jamaicans should be attacking these people who are attacking our Jamaican artistes we are making fun of it.. we are laughing at them (our artistes)," Bounty Killer said.



Buju Banton Real Name: Mark Myrie Date of Birth: 15 July 1973

Amnesty International statement, 19 August 2004, issued by Susan Lee, Programme Director Americas, International Secretariat, AI London: "We can confirm that Amnesty International has received information from reputable national and international human rights organizations concerning reports that Buju Banton was involved in a homophobic attack. These reports take the form of statements that allege that on June 24 2004, six men were driven from their home and beaten by a group of armed men, and that the alleged assailants included Buju Banton (Mark Anthony Myrie). The reports further allege that this attack was apparently motivated by hatred of gay men: the victims reported that both before and during the attack the assailants had called the men "battymen" (homosexuals). Amnesty International is further aware that several of the alleged victims were interviewed by a Human Rights Watch researcher who was in Jamaica at the time. Amnesty International has also received reports

that several of the alleged victims made official reports to the Constant Spring police station on 25 June 2004."

## **Dancehall Dossier**



Capleton

Real Name: Clifton G Bailey Date of Birth: 13 April 1967

In an interview with the BBC prior to the 2004 MOBO Awards, Capleton claimed to have put his homophobic lyrics behind him. However, this is not true, as this entertaining snippet from a review in Reggaematic Magazine from December 2003 shows:

Less than 10 minutes into Capleton's highenergyJuly19th headline engagement at Philadelphia's Electric Factory, a plastic bottle of Desani water was launched from the audience, narrowly missing the Fireman's red turban. King Shango [Capleton], who was in the middle of an anti-batty man and vaguely pro Al Queda rant, was clearly taken aback. He left the stage, only to return a few minutes later, angry screwface firmly in place. Alas, the scowl didn't deter the hecklers, who lobbed another vessel of purified H2O in the Prophet's general direction."

## **Dancehall Dossier**



## Elephant Man

Real Name: O'Neil Bryan

Date of birth: 11 September 1975

Extracts from a review of Elephant Man Log On UK Tour on Saturday 10th November 2001 at the Malcolm X Centre, Bristol - in The Dainty Crew reggae e-zine.

Elephant Man began his set with 'Replacement Killer' and 'Elephant Man'. He moved to Harry Toddler's 'Bad Man Nuh Dress Like Girl'. He advised us that 'Me Nuh Like Gay' before he asked us to 'Wave Your Gun'.

Ele advised "Battybwoy to get scladie" before he moved to 'Watchie Pum'.

He moved to 'Blaze It Up', 'Show Me Dem' and he advised that he "bun out gay guys". "You Want War, OK"? Ele bawled and then did 'Haters Gonna War'. Elephant Man requested that Kip Rich join him on stage and Kip Rich took the mic and Djed 'Bun a Battybwoy' over the Superstar rhythm. Kip Rich went onto 'Dead Now' and Ele took the mic and Djed "Miss bushy bushy".

## **Dancehall Dossier**



Sizzla Kalonji Real Name: Miguel Collins Date of Birth: 17 April 1976

At a reggae concert in Chicago on 12 April 2002, Sizzla bragged that he kills queers, and also incited the audience to murder gays and lesbians:

"mi nuh go tek back mi chat... mi kill sodomite and batty man dem bring aids and disease pon people... shot a kill dem, mi nuh go tek back mi chat" [I wont take back my words...I kill sodomites and queers, they bring AIDS and disease upon people...shoot and kill them, I won't take back my words.]

A report by Amnesty International, dated 17 May 2004, about a reggae concert in Jamaica earlier this year, documented Sizzla and other reggae stars abusing and threatening to kill gay men: "

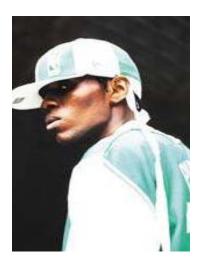
"Throughout the night,
Capleton, Sizzla and others sang almost exclusively about gay men. Using the derogatory terms for gay men - "chi chi men" or 'battybwoys' - they urged the audience to 'kill dem, battybwoys haffi

[kill them, queers have got to die, gun shots in their head, whoever wants to see them dead, put up your

dead, gun shots pon dem. Who want to

see dem dead, put up his hand'

hand]



Vybz Kartel Real Name: Adidja Palmer Date of birth: 1978

Some reggae promoters claim Vybz Kartel "apologised" in a BBC interview, but saying "That's what we are doing, not just me Vybz Kartel alone, but all the artistes, we are taking that stance. We want to move on now" is not an apology. He can't simply "move on" without acknowledging the damage his music has done to lesbian and gay people. To "move on" he must express a sincere regret, not simply (and conveniently) sweep the issue under the carpet. The tracks remain in circulation - does he still stand by them? It seems he does, because when the MOBO Awards asked him to sign a declaration that he did in fact apologise and had move on, he refused. As a consequence, his award nomination was withdrawn.

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