THE DEVELOPMENTAL COST OF HOMOPHOBIA

The Case of Jamaica

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FOREWORD

Over time, we are learning how important human rights are for the health and growth of a country's economy. To create a vibrant economy, all people must be given the opportunity to contribute fully and to share in its success. However, the results of this study suggest that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people in Jamaica face violence, stigma, and discrimination, which hold those individuals back—and hold back Jamaica's economy.

Fear of violence and discrimination are preventing LGBT people in Jamaica from full participation in society and the economy, and this fear encourages behaviours which are detrimental to the affected persons' wellbeing. The respondents in this study were largely people who are considered as socioeconomic elites, yet they report that they are not open about who they are to people they work with and live near. They avoid public places that feel threatening. One in five have been attacked in the last five years. Their experiences lead them to need additional health services.

The workplace is hardly a haven of safety. More than half of lesbians and gay men and almost a third of bisexual and transgender respondents have experienced harassment or discrimination at work in the last year. LGBT people worry about discrimination in the workplace and perceive it as a major problem. And they're right: it's a problem for LGBT workers and for the businesses that employ them or want to sell them goods and services. By treating LGBT people unfairly, businesses lose out on productivity and loyalty of their LGBT workers and customers.

In a global economy, countries that provide their citizens with an excellent education, quality health services, and a tolerant social climate are likely to have an advantage in attracting business investment, local entrepreneurs, and international tourists. Economic partners increasingly look at how countries treat their LGBT citizens when they make important business decisions and have noted that organizations that encourage diversity and openness display greater productivity and creativity. This important study provides crucial knowledge about LGBT people's lives and suggests reasonable next steps for policymakers, the business community, and every Jamaican who want to ensure that LGBT people's human rights are respected and the country's economy can achieve its potential.

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ABSTRACT

This study describes the lived experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Jamaicans, and examines how discrimination affects the country's development, with particular emphasis on the economy. The results describe persons who still live in fear of discrimination and threat of violence and assault; the LGBT community is largely an unprotected community constantly in jeopardy of exclusion from the politics and economy of the place called home. This reality is costly for a country in need of diverse and qualified individuals to contribute to achieving the vision of "a healthy and stable society"; "a more inclusive society which fosters a great sense of hope" (Vision 2030).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Recognition and protection of the human rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) persons in Jamaica is insufficient. This is particularly worrisome as exclusion of LGBT people has implications for the sustainable development of the country. While international work exists detailing the impact of stigma and discrimination on national development, though limited, there is a dearth of scholarship on the Jamaican situation. This study is aimed at exploring the experience of LGBT persons and describing how these experiences jeopardize Jamaica's human, social and economic development.

The study employed a cross-sectional, mixed methods approach that targeted LGBT Jamaicans and used a convenience sampling technique that reached over 300 LGBT persons living in Jamaica. The questionnaire probed their sexual orientation and gender identity; their experiences with discrimination at school, work, and when accessing services of the State and private sector and how these affect their lived experiences in Jamaica.

The data provide evidence of discriminatory experiences unique to the Jamaican LGBT person. Respondents indicate the constant need to keep their non-heterosexual orientation a secret, and having to be very cautious when choosing with whom they are open. Despite various deliberate attempts to conceal their LGBT status, these persons feel that they are denied participation in the economy, representation in the legislature, and access to spaces free from stigma and discrimination. Respondents recounted

several recent incidences of threats of physical and sexual violence and actual experiences of same. Personal, direct experience of physical and sexual violence was relatively infrequent in this sample, but they existed, and the sample demonstrated fears of violence that would affect people's health and ability to operate freely in society.

Unfortunately, this reality presents real hurdles that affect the development of Jamaica. As marginalised and vulnerabilised members of society, some LGBT Jamaicans were unable to be productive members of society as they were constantly afraid of having the assets and opportunities attacked. Many LGBT persons surveyed, XX% of whom were either in or already completed college or university, were desirous of leaving the country, denying it their contribution to national development. This sample was able to cope through various strategies, but the fear of homophobic attacks continues to loom.

This study concludes that sustainable development in Jamaica is jeopardized by the lack of regard, and limited protection or coverage for the LGBT community. Among its recommendations are the creation of legislation and policies aimed at reducing discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity and other factors unique to LGBT person. It also calls for the engagement of duty bearers, public figures and authorities in the promotion of the human rights of LGBT persons and an end to stigma and discrimination. Perhaps add a call to action for the general public, caregivers, employers, and religious folk…?

CHAPTER 1: HOMOPHOBIA-HISTORICALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY

The Caribbean archipelago, with its history of slavery and dependence, has struggled over the past 100 years in its bid to achieve higher levels of development. More recently, development praxis and discourse have put great emphasis on human capital and ensuring that the human rights of all are protected. The discussion around human rights, especially within the Caribbean, has been contentious because of the drive to recognize and promote the rights of some of the poorest and most vulnerable Jamaicans, including for the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community - a community that has historically been marginalized and discriminated against.

Much like slavery, homophobia is seemingly a legacy of the plantation system. The British who colonized parts of the Caribbean, including Jamaica had a tradition of condemning sex between men (Smith and kosobucki, 2011). Faced with the debacle of same-sex activity 'contaminating'the workers in Britain said activity was criminalized in 1533. Smith and Kosobucki (2011) write that as the British began to colonize more countries; their proximity to the equator became a concern. It was felt at the time that heat promoted promiscuity which heightened vulnerability to engage in same sex-activity. Consequently, Caribbean countries became subject to Common Law, which would ban this practice.

Even though the British lost their direct influence on Jamaica after independence, the long standing influence supported by the Christian faith ensured that the legacy remained. The colonies needed to define citizenship as part of sustaining their liberation

(Brady, 2010). Jamaica was among the islands that established a hierarchy by which same would be determined. Heterosexual males were given the highest status, as heterosexuality shaped the definitions of respectability, masculinity and reproductive sexual activity; any sexual act incapable of reproducing was considered unpleasant and abominable. Black men, in order to lead had to demonstrate moral rectitude, particularly on questions of paternity. It followed that personal respectability would require Jamaicans to shun anything "nasty" Including oral sex, anal sex or any same-sex.

Han and O'Mahoney (2014) have investigated the variation in laws regulating punishment for homosexual conduct around the world. Using a sample of 185 countries, they found that "former British colonies were more likely to have laws that crimininalize homosexual conduct than former colonies of other European powers or than other states in general" (pp.5). They note that almost 70 percent of states with British origin continue to criminalize homosexual conduct compared to the French Colonies that represent just about 8 percent. This they attributed to the fact that after the French Revolution ended in 1799 the French Empire decriminalized sodomy; spreading the enlightenment legacy among its colonies while Britain and Wales continued to criminalize Sodomy until 1967.

While the literature examined was silent on the genesis of discrimination against Lesbians, Bisexual and Transgender women, it stands to reason that it was steeped in the same belief that LGBT unions could not reproduce. Furthermore, when the British colonized parts of the Caribbean and even years after liberalization, women were seen

as inferior and arguably their sexual practices less significant than that of men whose power and masculinity aided and sustained the economy.

Even with a heavy subscription to biblical precepts, slaves who were Christians were not against pre or extra marital sex, but rather, they focused on any form of sex that did not have the potential to reproduce (Smith & Kosobucki, 2011). Clearly, pre or extra marital sex was important to preserve the labour force. The act of same-sex intercourse was indistinguishable from the individual who indulged and the state, Church and citizenry, responded with fear, hatred, contempt and disgust toward such persons.

The narrative describing the LGBT community has, for the most part been written by the white colonizers (who have now abandoned said narrative) and political and religious interests convinced that recognizing the humanity of the LGBT community causes moral panic. In the past, hetero-normativity[1] has been inextricably linked to economic growth as reproduction ensured survival of the Plantocracy. Today, the link between economic growth and homophobia is perceived by development experts Sen (1999) and Houdart (2012) as negative in the way that it limits members of the LGBT community's participation in and contribution to economicactivity. Fabrice Houdart,

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[1]The institutions, structures of understanding and practical orientations that make heterosexuality seem not only coherent – that is, organized as sexuality – but also privileged. Its coherence is always provisional, and its privilege can take several (sometimes contradictory) forms: unmarked, as the basic idiom of the personal and the social; or marked as a natural state; or projected as an ideal or moral accomplishment

president of World Bank GLOBE - the Bank's LGBT employee resource group - posits"[Discrimination against LGBT persons] is a significant, self-inflicted economic wound."It is easy to assent to Houdart's position when we consider Banks'2003 findings that LGBT persons[2] have a shorter life span and faced greater health risks and social problems than heterosexuals. This was the result of the chronic stress placed on LGBT people owing to the need to cope with discrimination and negative social responses to anything that went beyond the parameters of hetero-normativity - anything considered "other" or "different".   Health issues were exacerbated by the substandard care provided to LGBT persons due to stigma and discrimination and their disproportionate exposure to violence. LGBT people were significantly at risk of being victims of violence or being unemployed (Banks, 2003).

By 2014, Badgett demonstrated that the economic cost of homophobia, particularly for countries in the Global South was becoming increasingly obvious and quantifiable. While discrimination takes its toll on the individual, in ways such as personal attacks or loss of wages, the combined effects of homophobia will manifest into the broader macroeconomic environment - "individual effects [of homophobia] will translate into important economic outputs" (Badgett 2014 in Wescott 2014, NPag).   This translates into lower rates of education, poor health, and poverty which lead to a smaller labour

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[2] At the time of the study, Banks referred to this population as GLB (gay, lesbian and bisexual). However, LGBT has become the nomenclature.

force and higher healthcare costs (Westcott, 2014). Badgett's (2014) case study of India also highlighted the enormous cost of healthcare due to homophobia in that country, as Banks argued about Canada from as early as 2003.

The aforementioned studies demonstrate that when LGBT people are denied full participation in society on the basis of their identity, micro level economic harm results. Such denial of human rights is also likely to have a direct negative effect on the level of economic development of a country (macro-level). According to Badgett et al. (2014), LGBT people

- are taken out of productive employment when they are harassed, arrested, detained, jailed, beaten and humiliated,
- face disproportionate rates of physical, psychological and structural violence, which may restrict their ability to work due to injuries and psychological trauma,
- face workplace discrimination and may therefore be unemployed or underemployed leading to their full productive capacity not being utilised,
- face multiple barriers to mental and physical health leading to reduced productivity.

Persons from the LGBT community will therefore be forced to, or find themselves engaging in casual labour or self-employment in order to avoid discrimination and harassment. LGBT students' learning is hampered when they face discrimination in learning environments; they may become truants or drop out, thereby reducing their skills and knowledge to allow them to function effectively in the workplace or matriculate to higher levels of education. Such exclusionary practices cost the economies of these emerging nations in lost labour time, lost productivity,

underinvestment in human capital, and inefficient allocation of resources due to discrimination in education and hiring practices (Badgett et al. 2014).

Badgett et al's analysis showed that there was a positive correlation between per capita GDP and legal rights for LGBT persons. It demonstrated that one additional right in the Global Index on Legal Recognition of Homosexual Orientation (GILRHO) [3] was associated with US$1,400 more in per capita GDP and with a higher Human Development Index (HDI) value. The positive correlation between LGBT rights and the HDI is an indication that the ability to enjoy freedoms go beyond economic outcomes to the level of individual well-being.

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[3]Countries are ranked on a scale of zero to eight – zero indicating a country that grants no legal rights to its LGB citizens, and eight representing a country that grants full legal equality for LGB people. This would include the legal recognition of same-sex relationships between consenting adults, protections against discrimination in employment and the legal ability of same-sex couples to adopt children, etc

CHAPTER 2: JAMAICA AND HOMOPHOBIA

In May 2015, Jamaica's human rights record was appraised by the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) [4] among the areas of concern were discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity (SOGI) and violence against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) persons. In a summary prepared by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and in accordance with paragraph 15(c) of the annex to Human Rights Council resolution 5/1, referencing the Youth Coalition for Sexual and Reproductive Rights, the submission stated that legislation did not guarantee all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination, but recommended that Jamaica enact legislation which recognizes sexual orientation and gender identity as criteria for non-discrimination. The limitations of the Jamaican legislation and other cultural prescriptions have seemingly anchored and amplified stigma and discrimination in Jamaica, which has resulted in an international perspective that Jamaica is one of the "most homophobic countries in the world". And while by comparison, Jamaica is less homophobic than some African and Middle Eastern countries, it is very homophobic relative to the rest of the Americas except for Central America and the Non-English-Speaking Caribbean. Development theorists and indices continue to show that societies

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[4] a unique process which involves a **periodic review** of the human rights records of all 193 UN Member States. The UPR is a significant innovation of the Human Rights Council which is based on equal treatment for all countries.

with stable, liberal and prosperous democracies seldom score as low as Jamaica. Despite this perceived positive relation between regard for and protection of human rights and development, neither the academic community in Jamaica nor the Jamaican government has commissioned any research to study the impact of this phenomenon on the developmental process.

A significant aspect of the development process as argued by Sen (1999) is the removal of major sources of unfreedom[5]. This is also a salient feature of Jamaica's National Development Plan, Vision 2030 which is promoting "a more inclusive society which fosters a great sense of hope" (P.VII) and that "we treat each other with respect and dignity" (P.VI). The fulfilment of this Vision requires that the rights of all persons within the society, including minority populations, be protected. Noteworthy is the demographic characterization of "minority" which included children, youth-at-risk, the elderly, persons living with disabilities (PWDs), persons impacted by HIV/AIDS, women and poor families. While the document does not explicitly identify the LGBT community it was keen on highlighting the fact that it's list was not exhaustive and that further identification and targeting of vulnerable groups is envisaged as part of the reform process (p.78).

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[5]Underdevelopment is "unfreedom"and development is the process of removing the various forms of unfreedom and expanding the capabilities of people to lead the kinds of lives they value

Vision 2030 identifies "a healthy and stable" population as an outcome, another aspect of the development process. Regardless of the many ways in which health has been conceptualized, a common characteristic in contemporary permutations is a state of physical, emotional, mental and social well-being that also relates to sexuality. This World Health Organization's (WHO) 2006 framing has moved the discussion beyond the notion of absence of disease, dysfunction or infirmity to include issues of emotional health, which are essential for the functioning and sustainability of society.

The consequences of homophobia have been documented by Banks (2003)[6]; Houdart (2012)[7]; Badgett (2014)[8] and Bocci (2014)[9] and include lack of access to education and healthcare, violence, unemployment, illiteracy, displacement, lack of legal rights, loss of community-based safety nets, brain drain, lack of economic opportunities, lack of equitable access to land and housing, social exclusion, poor mental health, substance use, suicide, lack of cultural representation, and high rates of HIV among some members of the LGBT community who engage in unprotected forms of sex.

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[6]The Cost of Homophobia: Literature Review on the Human Impact of Homophobia On Canada- This study reviewed research related to homophobia's negative results on gays, lesbians, and bisexuals (GLB) in terms of its human impact, which was defined as the number of "pre-mature" deaths caused by homophobia

[7]Estimating the Global Cost of Homophobia and Transphobia

[8]The Economic Cost of Homophobia and the Exclusion of LGBT people: A Case study of India

[9]Quantifying the Effect of Homophobia

With the exception of a few local studies such as, West (2014) West and Cowell (2014) Harriott, Lewis and Zechmeister (2014) and Boxill (2012), which examined the political culture of democracy and views of homosexuality held by Jamaicans and the factors that determined those attitudes, respectively, conversations around the impact of homophobia on Jamaica have not been based on empirical evidence. However, given what has been gathered from Banks (2003) and Badgett et al. (2014) regarding the impact of homophobia on economies and national development, the cost of stigma and discrimination is too great.

After reviewing economic variables from a number of countries including the United States of America, Netherlands, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, France, Germany, Peru, Mexico, Poland, South Africa, among others, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) (2012) has said that the positive influence of the LGBT community on the tourism sector is undeniable. Citing a 2011 projection from Out Now Consulting, the WTO (2012) report placed the global LGBT market potential at nearly US$ 165 billion for leisure travel spending in 2012. While the projection was based on an ongoing study expected to end in 2020, it was gleaned from responses to a question that asked a sample exceeding 40,000 about the last 12 months of spending in global markets. Of note is the fact that the report went further to state that the sample was largely a representation of homosexual males and that if one were to consider the lesbian, bisexual and transgender populations the figure would likely increase significantly.

These are merely snapshots of the global market segment, not intended to summarize the diversity of LGBT people worldwide. However, there is no denying that LGBT travelers are a dynamic and influential segment within the tourism sector- one whose willingness to come out and be counted will continue to grow as society becomes more and more accepting and more human rights laws that promote equality are passed. Reaching out to LGBT travelers in an informed, authentic manner is essential. (WTO, 2012. P.9)

Commensurate with the forgoing views, Nelson (2015) has written about the impact of homophobia on the image of Jamaica citing statements from former Prime Minister Bruce Golding and local artists and showing how such statements have resulted in campaigns to boycott Jamaican tourism and products. Given the heavy reliance of the local economy tourism on for foreign exchange (17.25% GDP in 2013) (Edward Seaga Research Institute, 2015) any action or inaction that alienates tourists and investors will have damning ramifications for economic growth. And while the present government declared prior to the elections the intention to review the anti-sodomy laws the persistence of local artistes to create and produce hate music has deepened the perception that Jamaica is in fact very homophobic.

The research and academic inferences (particularly that of Banks (2003)) presented are limited by the lack of comprehensiveness due to several factors, including: gaps in the literature since LGBT-related issues are far from mainstream research; and the fact that the economic analysis needed for such research is extremely complex. While the Badgett et al.' (2014) later study better attempted to quantify the cost of homophobia, its full impact is not easily modelled since current analyses are incomplete due to the lack of relevant data. Closing the data gap with studies is necessary to uncover the complete costs of homophobia, especially the cost to business and economic life.

Buddan (2015) argues that while the Caribbean ranks well in human rights and human development as economic conditions deteriorate so too will conditions for supporting human rights and democracy. He presents very succinct arguments that link human capital to national development and demonstrates how political discrimination impacts development. Such is the case in Jamaica, where as it pertains to LGBT rights, discrimination in institutionalized; laws not limited to section 76 and 77 of the Offences Against the Persons' Act institutionally discriminates against a group, albeit small. Buddan (2015) advises that good governance must favour a kind of development where the choice is not between human rights and human development but a balance between both. The views espoused by Buddan (2015) are commensurate with the Human Development Report (HDR) in 2000, which provided evidence of the symbiotic relationship between human rights and human development highlighting the importance of enabling people to enjoy their human rights. Furthermore, Hall and Lamont (2013) have postulated that there is a close link with very few exceptions between human development and human freedoms (rights). They write that freedom is the integral part of the concept of human development; If a society represses its people, it also represses their creativity and motivation and thus its growth rate and its human progress. Human development is then equal to the right of all people to the realization of their human rights (Bacer, Hey, Smith and Swinehart, 1994).

As part of closing the gap, this study attempts to explore the implications of the micro level impact (i.e. individual mental, physical or economic) of homophobia for human development in Jamaica. A study of this nature is essential in helping to fashion a

pragmatic argument that goes beyond social justice and human rights rhetoric. It also serves to expand the body of knowledge on the subject matter to broaden our understanding about the ways in which individuals and society are affected by the high levels of stigma and discrimination as well as violence that remain prevalent in Jamaica. White (2014) has proffered that as Jamaicans we need to "get past the lie that we are not affected". In an article in the Sunday Gleaner online, November 9th, he noted that

> When hundreds of otherwise productive youths are side-lined, left uneducated, and treated as outcasts for merely being gay, the society (you and me) must foot the bill for the lost productivity, plus provide their support. Similarly, when investments and tourism are reduced because of our stance on gays, we must pay for the resulting joblessness and the currency devaluation.

In accordance with this view, this study was executed within a human capital frame which promotes the inclusion of all groups in the society, including those from the LGBT community. Full inclusion requires the eradication of laws and cultural norms that create barriers to the full development, quality of life, and meaningful engagement of this vulnerable and marginalized population. It acknowledges that a country's greatest resource is its people - all its people - and that discrimination, stigma and exclusion limit the attainment of real, sustainable economic and social development.

This literature review (Banks (2003); Houdart (2012) and Bocci (2014) demonstrated how discrimination against one or several vulnerable populations affects the state. Using an exploratory research design, this study acts as a framework for making informed inferences that will guide legislators and policymakers' re-evaluation of laws and policies which support discrimination. Narratives about Jamaica's homophobia in the local, regional and international media affect Jamaica as a global brand. Arguably,

this leads to personal loss of earnings, as will be demonstrated in the study. This investigation is supported by the results of a survey of Jamaican LGBT persons about their experiences of discrimination, harassment, violence and other forms of abuse and the impact on their economic and social participation in the Jamaican society. While the study focuses on LGBT people and the impact of stigma and discrimination as well as violence perpetrated against them on the country's attempts at human development it must be noted that other populations or communities of vulnerable and marginalized people are similarly affected and the macro impact can be considered the same. However, for the purposes of this study focus will be on LGBT people.

Objectives

The objectives of this research are to:

- Examine the experiences of LGBT Jamaicans with respect to discrimination in the wider society, accessing State and support services and the local economy
- Examine the extent of workplace discrimination that may result in under-productivity
- Describe the economic costs experienced by Jamaican LGBT persons
- Describe the responses of persons in the LGBT community to their experiences with discrimination
- Present suggestions and recommendations made by the LGBT community for improving their lives and reducing stigma and discrimination within the population

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Conceptualization

The following terms are being defined so that readers will have a common understanding of the context in which they are being used when they appear in this study. The illustration also defines key concepts in this research.

- **Discrimination** - discrimination occurs when a distinction is made about a person that results in him or her being treated unfairly or differently on the basis of belonging to, or being perceived to belong to, a particular group
- **Transgender –** A person whose gender identity does not match his/her biological sex
- **Economic impact -** the gains and losses in money, time and resources of one course of action compared to another. Economic cost poses the problem of choice, that is, the benefit forgone by choosing one option rather than another
- **Homophobia -** embodies a range of negative attitudes and feelings towards LGBT persons which often affects their ability to achieve their fullest potential and contribute to social, political and economic development
- **Sexual orientation** – the enduring romantic, emotional, and sexual attraction to persons
- Open/out/public affirmation- Identifying oneself as Lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender and disclosing this to other people
- **Lesbian**- A female who has enduring romantic, emotional and sexual attraction to other females
- **Gay-** A male who has enduring romantic, emotional and sexual attraction to other males
- **Bisexual-** A person who has enduring romantic, emotional and sexual attraction to both males and females
- **Biological Sex**- the chromosomal, hormonal, and anatomical characteristics of a person particularly those characteristics that determine sexual and reproductive system of persons

- **Gender Identity**- one's personal, individual, internal experience of attitudes, feelings and behaviors associated with their own, or a different biological sex from that assigned at birth. This is different from gender expression which is external and speaks to behavior
- **Gender Expression**- the external display, practice and behavior of a person in relation to social norms associated with masculinity and

Illustration 1 The Genderbread Person

femininity

Sampling strategy

The unit of analysis for the project was persons who identify as LGBT. It goes without saying that, as the target of discrimination and stigma, they are best placed to explain the impact of stigma and discrimination on this group. However, given the nature of that target population, two challenges presented themselves regarding designing the sample. First, no exhaustive sample frame exists, indicating the population size of this

group and listing out its members. Second, finding and engaging these persons in an environment of discrimination and stigma proved difficult.

As such, this study used the convenience sampling technique to guide the selection of respondents. Convenience sampling is a specific type of non-probability sampling that relies on data collection from population members who are available to participate in the study and meet the requirements to participate in the study. In other words, this sampling method involves getting participants wherever they can be found and typically wherever is convenient. Given the difficulties in accessing members of this community, the researchers accepted available participants to provide primary data without additional requirements, as is typical with this sampling technique. The researcher utilized a group of persons from the LGBT and ally community who were known to have access to a network of persons who also identified as LGBT. It must be noted however that persons who made up this group that would act as the entry point also had experience in data collection. This was important for the proper administration of the instrument to the research participants

For this sample, no additional inclusion criteria outside of being a part of the LGBT community were identified prior to selection of subjects.

Data collection and analysis

Given the dearth of information that exists on the economic cost of homophobia, and the absence of same in a Jamaican context, it became important to employ a methodology that triangulates to unearth "truth". As such, this study was explorative

and descriptive in its design, utilizing a mixed methods approach. This mixed methods research utilized cross-sectional data obtained from face-face surveys as well as secondary data analysis. The data and discussion of findings are presented simultaneously, given the exploratory nature of study. This approach, which juxtaposes methods of different types, should allow for a more elaborate understanding of the phenomenon of interest (including its context) and greater confidence in the conclusions generated.

The face-face survey involved the use of a structured questionnaire comprising open and closed-ended questions. This proffers a number of benefits as part of the selected design. Chief among these was the opportunity to further explore particular questions, particularly those that are more prone to misinterpretation. Face-face surveys have a strong advantage with respect to higher response rates especially where the interviews are long. Furthermore, open-ended items were designed to allow for depth through probing which contributes to the empirical completeness, conceptual richness and theoretical consistency. The instrument, as such, can use more diverse indicators for representing a theoretical concept, such as homophobia, and for securing the internal validity of causal inferences and/or theoretical interpretations for same.

It was the researchers' hope to conduct in-depth interviews with owners of businesses or employers who would be best placed to say whether decisions not to employ have been connected to sexuality whether real or perceived. The researchers failed at the many attempts to find respondents who were willing to engage in such dialogue. The researchers are being deliberate in noting this challenge as it goes to the core of this

very research-the cost of homophobia. It strongly appears that stigma and discrimination also have implications for the advancement of scientific research in Jamaica on the topics of homosexuality and transgenderism as there is reluctance to be associated with anything, including scholarship related to these areas.

Secondary data analysis was also employed given its feasibility for assessing longitudinal and internationally comparative studies. Although difference between countries/contexts exists, present research creates and unifies criteria all over the world or at least within certain geo-political and social landscapes. These criteria will form the basis for any conclusions drawn regarding what constitutes homophobia in the first instance and impact in the second. The mutually constitutive character of theoretical concepts and empirical reality was useful for narrowing the gap between concrete ways in which homophobia plays out and how it has been conceptualized.

Limitations

Male homosexuals are over represented in the sample; lesbians, bisexuals and transgender persons are underrepresented. This compounds the problem of representativeness of this sample. Any decision based on this sample presumes that the Jamaican LGBT community is comprised of mainly male homosexuals. It is not practical or possible at this time to quantify members of the LGBT population. Such an exercise would be costly and time-consuming as well as difficult to complete in light of fears of persecution. A convenience methodology, as used in this study, is possibly the best

choice in light of resource constraints and socio-political environment surrounding sexual and gender minorities.

However, future research may wish to consider utilizing a statistically representative sample of the population of Jamaica over a longer period. In this approach, the instrument first would need to screen for the sexual and gender identity of the respondent before completing data collection. Another approach may be to make comparisons between LGBT and non-LGBT people.

There were some challenges with question construction which made analysis difficult. Specifically, the items related to sexual orientation and gender identity tended to be confused within the instrument. As such, a transgender respondent was not allowed to respond as a homosexual or bisexual, although such combinations are certainly possible. Future research will need to construct questions that reflect the complexity of the LGBT reality: being able to reflect in a well-articulated way that a transgender person can also be Straight, Lesbian, Gay or Bisexual.

Given the sampling method employed it is likely that there Is some level of exaggeration in how experiences were reported by participants. Most of the respondents were willing to self-identify as LGBT in a context where there are high costs for doing so. The sample was evidently one with strong opinions and some with unusual life experiences. Because the sample is so educated, there is a risk that this group overstated the level of discrimination faced by the LGBT person in Jamaican.

CHAPTER 4: PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

This section presents and discusses the profile the LGBT community based on the survey conducted among 316 lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender (LGBT) persons in Jamaica. It begins with a demographic description of the sample, and then provides an overview of the gender and sexual identities surveyed. It concludes with a discussion of the respondents' public affirmation of their gender and sexual identities

Demographics

Most of the respondents (63%) were assigned the male biological sex at birth, compared to 34% who were assigned the female biological sex at birth; 3.2% did not provide a response. The age distribution showed most of the sample under 25 years old (58%), followed by those between 25 and 39 years old (32%), and 3% who were between 40 and 60 years old; 7% did not provide an age. Almost equal proportions of the sample came from the urban (28%), suburban (25%), rural (24%) and inner-city (20%) areas; 2% were from unspecified locations and 2% did not respond. The sample was very (formally) educated, as the majority had obtained a college, university or higher education (53%), followed by those who achieved secondary education (26%) and post-secondary education (other than college/university; 14%); only 2% had not passed the primary level and 6% did not respond. (See Table 1)

Table 1 Demographic Distribution of sample

	CATEGORIES	FREQUENCY (%)
SEX AT BIRTH	Male	200 (63%)
	Female	106 (34%)
AGE GROUP	Youth (11-24 years old)	182 (58%)
	Young adults (25-39 years old)	100 (32%)
	Middle Age (40-60 years old)	8 (3%)
LOCATION	Rural	75 (24%)
	Suburban	79 (25%)
	Inner-city	64 (20%)
	Urban	87 (28%)
	Other	5 (2%)
EDUCATION	No formal Education	3 (1%)
	Primary	4 (1%)
	Secondary	83 (26%)
	Post-Secondary	45 (14%)
	Tertiary	166 (53%)

Most of the sample (50.6%) identified as Christians, with the sample representing various denominations. The largest group of respondents were in paid employment (47%) followed by those who were students (35%) and then by those who are

unemployed (14%). Only 40% of the sample indicated their income. Of that figure, the largest portion earned between J$10,000.00 and J$55,000.00 per month and 20% earning between J$100,000.00 and J$293,550.00 per month; 10% reportedly earned less than the minimum wage (J$22,400 per month).

Relationship Status

As shown inFigure 1, one third of the sample (33%) were involved in a relationship without cohabiting, as opposed to 15.2% who lived with their partner; 44.6% had no relationship and 5.4% had multiple relationships.
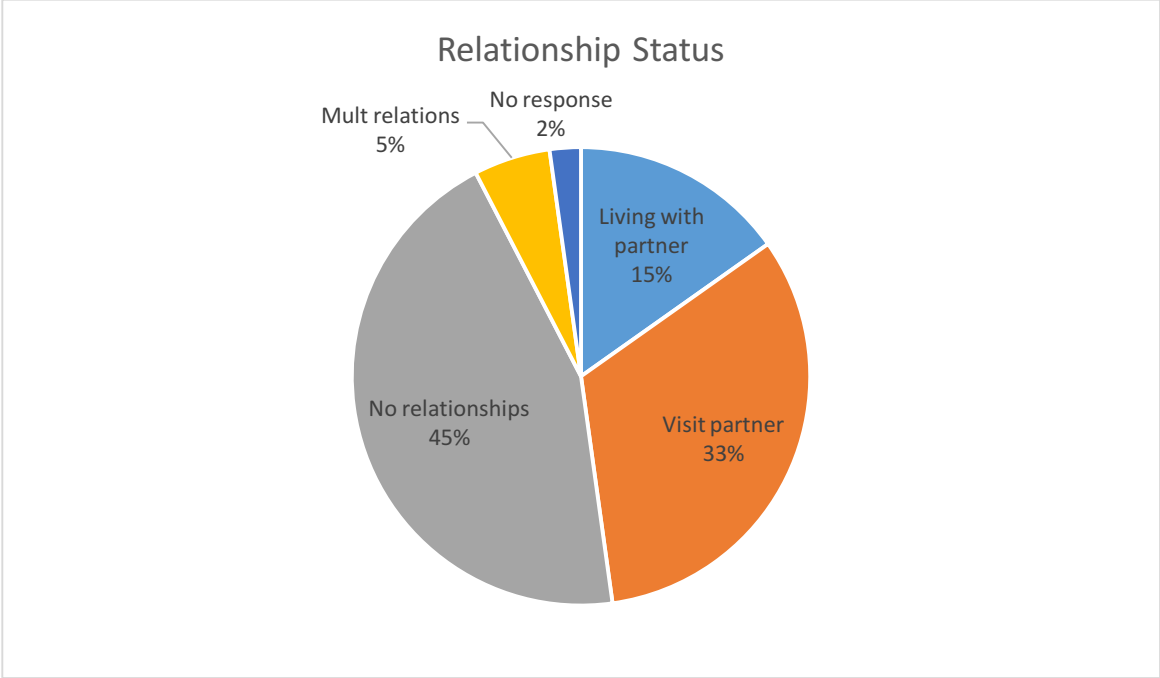

Figure 1 Relationship status of the sample

The sample was questioned regarding familial and household relationships. Only 11% of the sample responded in the affirmative when asked if they were legal guardians or

parents of minors. They were also asked if any household members were under 18 years old: just over one third (39%) said yes. A third set of responses showed that most of the sample (57%) live in a household in which someone else was a guardian or parent of a child. (Figure 2)
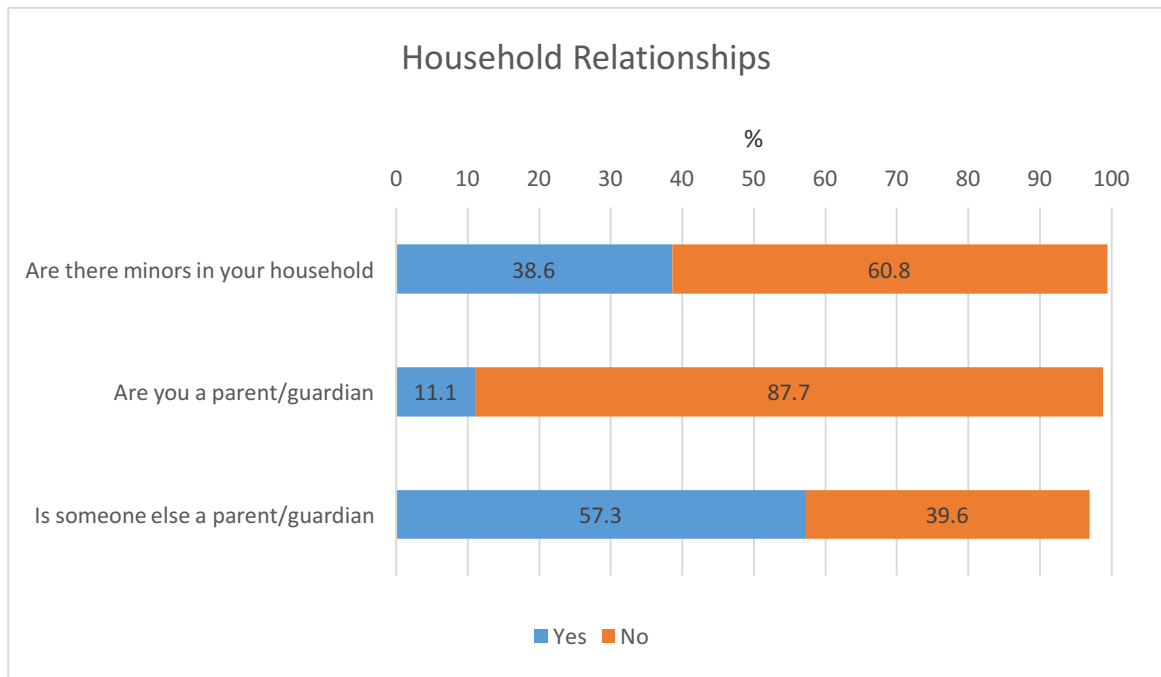
Figure 2 Household relationships

Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation

As illustrated earlier (see **Error! Reference source not found.**), the human being represents a complicated blend of identities. Two identities are the gender and the sexual identity. The gender identity refers to whether the individual thinks he/she is a man or woman based on their body chemistry and interpretations of social symbols of gender expressions such as mannerism and dress. One's sexual identity refers to whether one is hetero-, homo-, or bi- sexual. As such, a person's gender identity does

not dictate their sexual identity. For example, a transgender male may not be gay, as after transitioning to the male gender, he may find himself sexually attracted to females, making him heterosexual. For this study, respondents indicated their gender identity- whether they were transgender- and their sexual identity- whether they were lesbian, gay, bisexual or heterosexual.

Concerning their gender identity, only 27 respondents (8.5%) were transgender, while the remaining 92% were not. Of these, 1 identified as bisexual and 5 as gay; the other 21 did not identify with these sexualities. Overall, most respondents identified as gay (154 respondents or 49%), compared to 6% (19 respondents) who identified as lesbian, and 9% (27 respondents) who identified as bisexual. Unfortunately, close to one third of the respondents (95 respondents or 30%) did not provide a valid response about their LGBT status. The data suggests that most of those who identified as transgender were assigned the male biological sex at birth (61%) while the other 39% were assigned the female biological sex at birth. Only 5 respondents who identified as transgender also identified as homosexual.

Openness

Figure 3 illustrates with whom LGBT people are most likely to share information about their sexual orientation or gender identity. They were asked to indicate whether they were open with none, few, most or all of their friends, colleagues, family, medical staff faith-based, organizations or neighbors. Overall, it would appear that the closer the relationships, the more willing the respondents are to share the information. For

example, only 8% were not open with any of their friends, compared to 38% who were not open with their work or school colleagues, and 42% who would not share with any family member (other than parents). This figure increases as the relationship becomes increasingly impersonal. The majority were not open with medical staff (55%), their work superiors (60%), customers (63%), faith-based organizations (63%) and neighbors (68%).
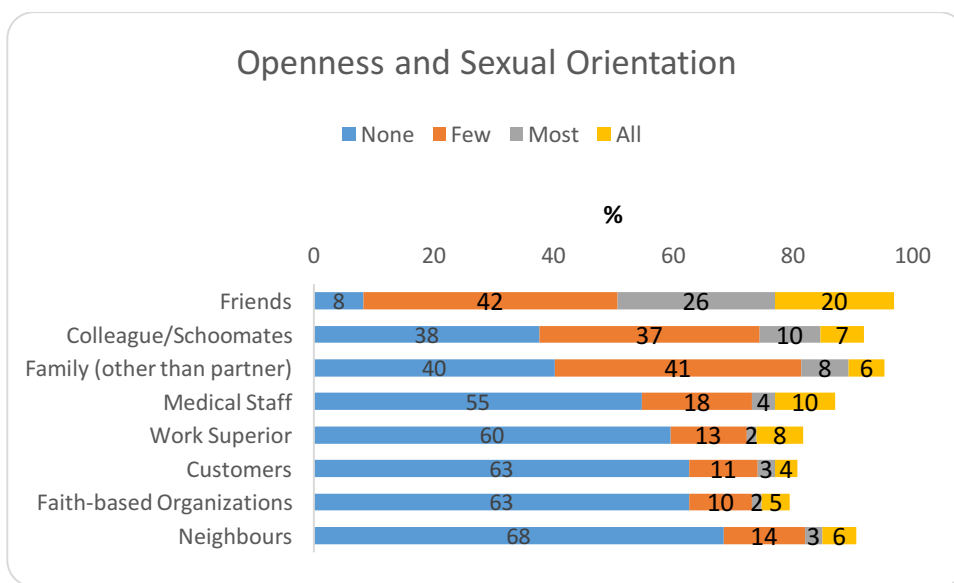
Figure 3 Openness and sexual orientation

However, the data also show that there was some variability within all categories of relationships, such that respondents were willing to share with at least a few persons, regardless of their relationship. Note, for example, that some respondents were unwilling to be open even among those they considered friends. Although a relatively low percentage, this should be of concern as these intimate relationship should provide an emotionally safe-space for these individuals, and not another arena for anxiety. Of

note, as well, is the large number who would not share their orientation with the faith-based organisations (68%). This is not surprising given the strong religious condemnation of homosexuality existing in Jamaica (LaFont 2009).

Respondents were also asked to indicate the extent to which certain classes of persons were knowledgeable of their LGBT status without them necessarily being told (see Figure 4). In congruity with the distribution of their openness, it appears that the closer the relationship the more likely the person will know about the respondent's LGBT status. Only 12% of respondents felt none of their friends knew of their status, compared to family (28%), work colleagues (30%) and, least of all, neighbours (53%). However, it should be noted that respondents did not indicate whether these persons knew because they were told by themselves personally.
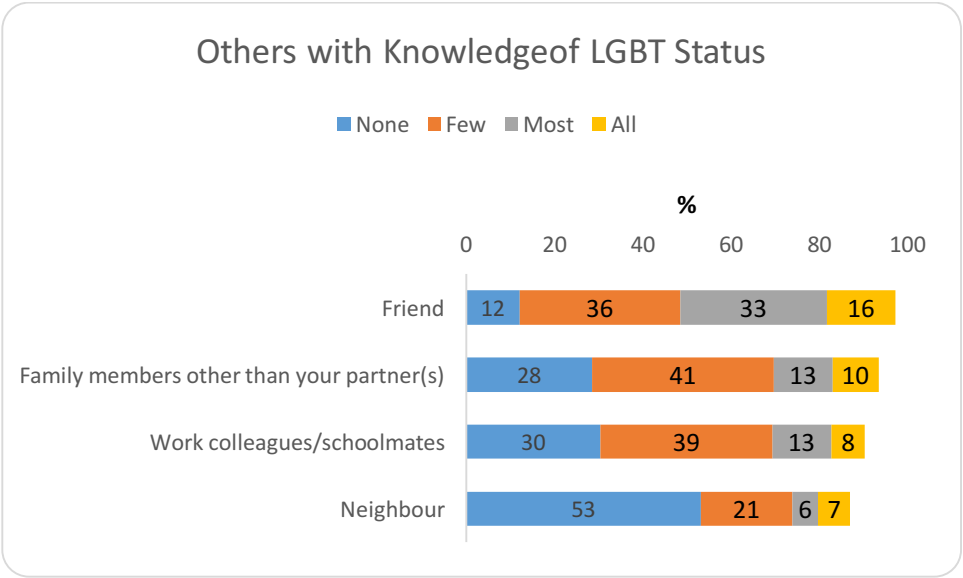

Figure 4 Others with knowledge of LGBT status

This notwithstanding, in general, the sample believed that, apart from sharing information with others about their LGBT status, their mannerism and speech were most likely to have made this known (see Figure 5). This was not verified as the respondents were not given an opportunity to state exactly how any of their associates who were aware of their LGBT status gleaned that information. This data more accurately speak to whether the respondents feel their conduct, manner of speech, or dress conforms to culturally held stereotypes about the LGBT community. In other words, though it cannot be said that others have identified them as LGBT persons, the respondents felt that their mannerisms, speech and dress could reasonably identify them as such within the Jamaican context.

How others identify your LGBT status

■ Yes   ■ No

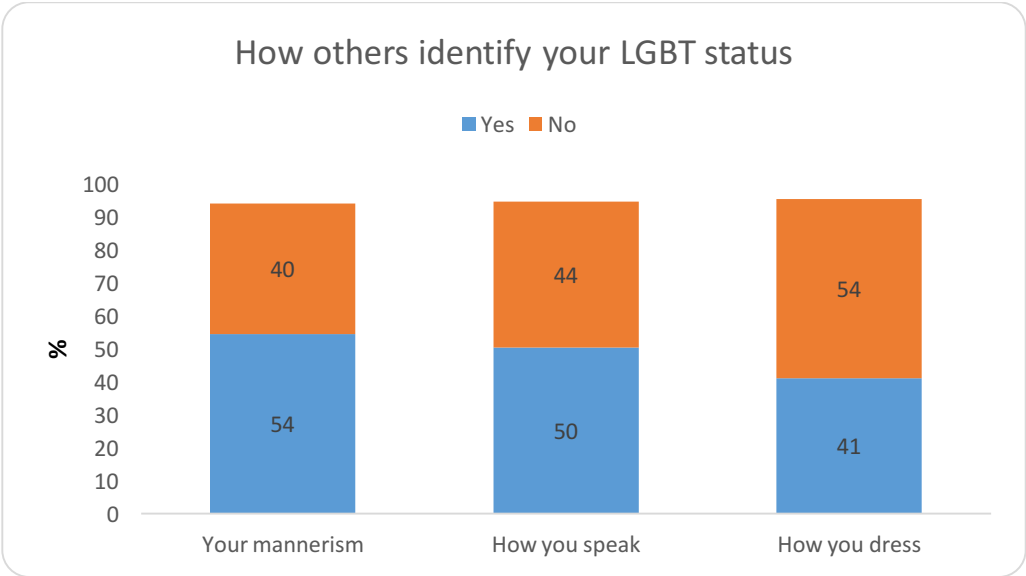| | Your mannerism | How you speak | How you dress |
| No | 40 | 44 | 54 |
| Yes | 54 | 50 | 41 |

Figure 5 How other identify your LGBT status

The data suggest that respondents typically try to keep their LGBT identity private. As illustrated in Figure 6, respondents are more likely to hide their status than be open.

Most said they have never or rarely been open about their status at school (81%) or at work (64%). Similarly, the largest group said they hid their status at school (55%) and at work (44%).
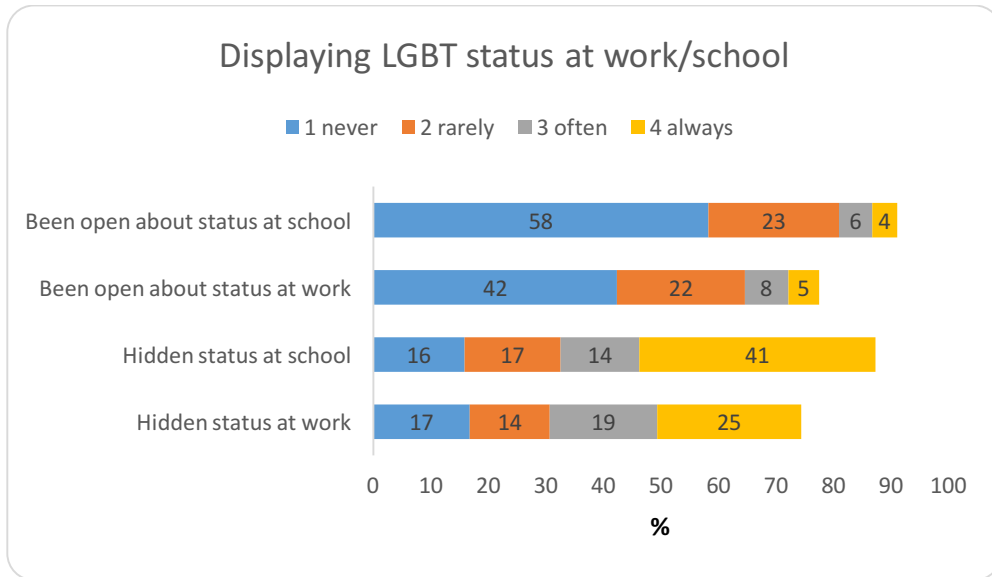
Displaying LGBT status at work/school

Legend: ■ 1 never ■ 2 rarely ■ 3 often ■ 4 always

	1 never	2 rarely	3 often	4 always
Been open about status at school	58	23	6	4
Been open about status at work	42	22	8	5
Hidden status at school	16	17	14	41
Hidden status at work	17	14	19	25

%

Figure 6 Displaying LGBT status at work/school

Places Avoided When Being Open About LGBT Status

Place	
Public Place	
Public Transport	
Public Building	
Faith-based Organization	
Restaurant	
Park	
Sports Club	
School	
Work	
Home	

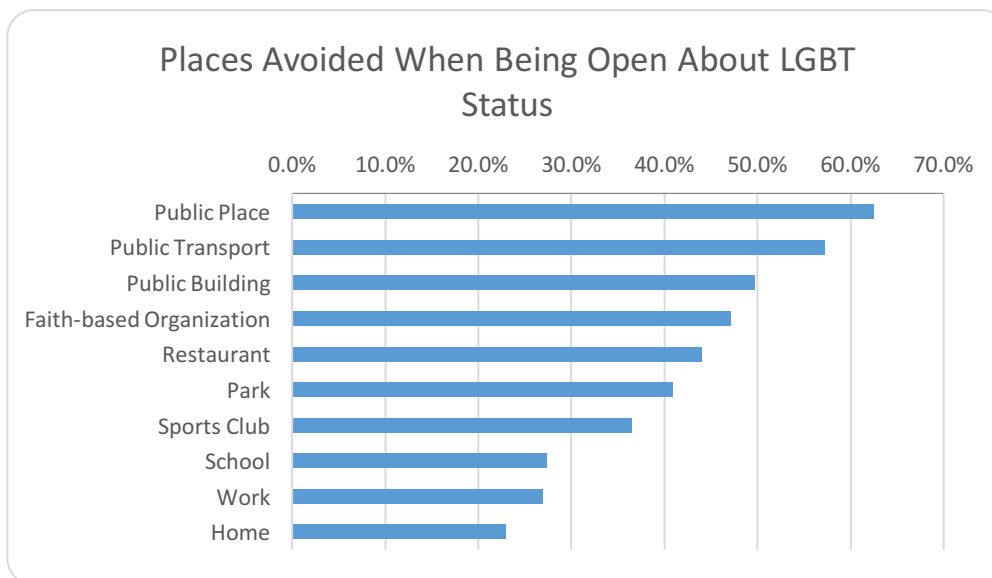(scale: 0.0%, 10.0%, 20.0%, 30.0%, 40.0%, 50.0%, 60.0%, 70.0%)

Figure 7 Places avoided when being open about LGBT status

The places typically avoided were public places like squares and roadways. Other top places they avoided included public transportation, public establishments, and faith-based organizations.

Summary: The Jamaican LGBT Person

Assuming that the LGBT persons represent around 3% of the population, this study presents the views and experiences of a relatively small sample of Jamaican LGBT persons. These persons were mostly male, homosexuals, with fewer bisexuals and even fewer transgender persons. Most are under 25 years old, fairly well educated, with some being gainfully employed, and from diverse communities in Jamaica; lightly fewer than half are in stable relationships, with some being parents or guardians.

They are willing to share about their status with persons who are close to them and have actually done so to a sizable degree. To a lesser extent, they have even shared their sexual and/or gender identity with colleagues at work and school. However, they will try to avoid public spaces for fear of persecution, especially because they feel others can tell their LGBT status by their dress and mannerisms.

The next section of this report will examine the experiences of these Jamaicans given their sexual and gender identity. It will consider their experiences with discrimination, their interaction with the State and the economy.

CHAPTER 5: THE JAMAICAN LGBT EXPERIENCE

As was presented in the introductory section, the study takes a human capital approach primarily at the micro level of analysis. This section focuses on the micro level considerations which include: loss of labour time; loss of productivity; under-investment in human capital; discrimination in education and the hiring process; and general human insecurity –including bias motivated assaults and structural violence (Badgett et al 2014; Banks 2001). The survey instrument measured personal experiences with discrimination at school and in the workplace; perception of personal safety; and accessing basic support services.

The study by Badgett (2013) demonstrated that discrimination against LGBT people led to various and varying kinds of harm. The harm is meted out at the level of the individual; the larger economic front at the level of the workplace; and, ultimately, the national economy. The researchers found specifically that LGBT persons

- are taken out of productive employment when they are assaulted, harassed and threatened
- face disproportionate rates of physical, psychological and structural violence, which may restrict their ability to work due to injuries and psychological trauma
- face workplace discrimination and may therefore be unemployed or underemployed leading to their full productive capacity not being utilised
- face multiple barriers to mental and physical health leading to reduced productivity.

Following on Banks'2011 analysis there is considerable stress involved in coping with the stigmatization and hatred directed at those who are LGBT. Banks found that LGBT persons had a shorter life span and faced health risks and social problems at a greater

rate than heterosexuals. Banks (2003) provided estimates of the annual cost of homophobia due to health and social issues based on LGBT persons representing 5-10% of the population. Suicide costs Canada an estimated $695-823 million per annum; alcohol abuse costs $0.29-4.1 billion; smoking −$281-623 million; drug use −$119-221 million; depression −$0.54-2.3 billion.

However, in 2001, there was not enough data to calculate figures related to unemployment, physical violence and HIV and AIDS. Nonetheless, these figures are considered to be substantial, especially as data show that gay, bisexual and other men who have sex with men (MSM) and transgender persons are 19 and 40 times more at risk of HIV transmission respectively Baral et al (2013), demonstrated from a systematic review and meta-analysis of existing data that transgender women were approximately 49 times more likely than the wider adult population to become infected with HIV. All these health issues were exacerbated by the substandard care provided LGBT persons due to stigma and discrimination as well as violence.

The lack of comprehensiveness in the research at that time was due to several factors, including the gaps in the literature, since LGBT-related issues are far from mainstream research, and the fact that the economic analysis needed for such research is extremely complex. This study demonstrates that these observations on the international scene are clearly evident or, at least, quite possible within the Jamaican context. The following will illuminate the discrimination and fear that Jamaican LGBT persons experience, and how this affects their personal lives, political and economic lives.

Discrimination

It is generally understood that when persons from any minority population- including the LGBT community experience discrimination or any other form of social exclusion, their ability to positively contribute to the economic development of the society is greatly compromised (Badgett et al 2013). Discrimination was defined by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS(UNAIDS) as treating someone less favourably than others because of a specific personal feature such as their age, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, minority background or for any other reason. For example, discrimination can occur when an LGB person is not given an equal opportunity to be promoted in their job, based on their sexual orientation, in comparison with a heterosexual, although an LGB person is equally suitable and experienced. It was important that this was readily distinguished from prejudicial attitudes which is based on an opinion but is not behaviour.

Respondents felt that members of the LGBT community all face discrimination of some kind. They expressed the view that the experience of discrimination is most widespread among persons who are gay and transgender, as shown in Figure 10. It should be noted that an overwhelming majority (93%) thought that there was widespread (very widespread or fairly widespread) discrimination against gays. In contrast, lesbians (46%) and bisexuals (46%) are believed to face less discrimination.

This distribution must be considered in light of the overrepresentation of homosexual males in the sample, and the patriarchal nature of Jamaican society. As stated earlier

(see Page 3), the legacy of British dependency was a society in which heterosexual masculinity was given primacy. As such, any permutation of sexual identity that appears to threaten this masculinity would most likely receive strong opposition. Notwithstanding, the largest group of respondents in all cases suggest that discrimination is widespread for members of the LGBT community.
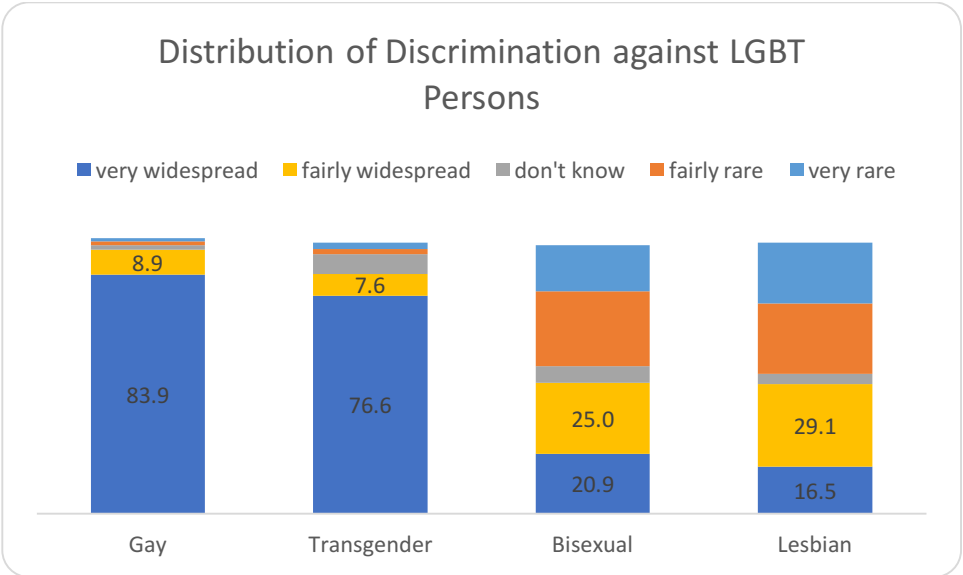

Distribution of Discrimination against LGBT Persons

Legend: very widespread | fairly widespread | don't know | fairly rare | very rare

Gay: 83.9 (very widespread), 8.9 (fairly widespread)
Transgender: 76.6 (very widespread), 7.6 (fairly widespread)
Bisexual: 20.9 (very widespread), 25.0 (fairly widespread)
Lesbian: 16.5 (very widespread), 29.1 (fairly widespread)

Figure 8 Distribution of discrimination against LGBT persons

In terms of personal experience, 71% of male persons who identify as gay have experienced some form of harassment or discrimination in the last 12 months, compared to 59% of lesbians, 35% of bisexuals and 29% of those who identified as transgender. The latter is interesting because the general LGBT community perceives discrimination against transgender persons to be high but few surveyed have personally experienced such actions. However, respondents indicated elsewhere that it was still a substantial problem within the community. This would mean that respondents are

aware of others within the community being harassed though they may not experience it themselves. (See Figure 9)
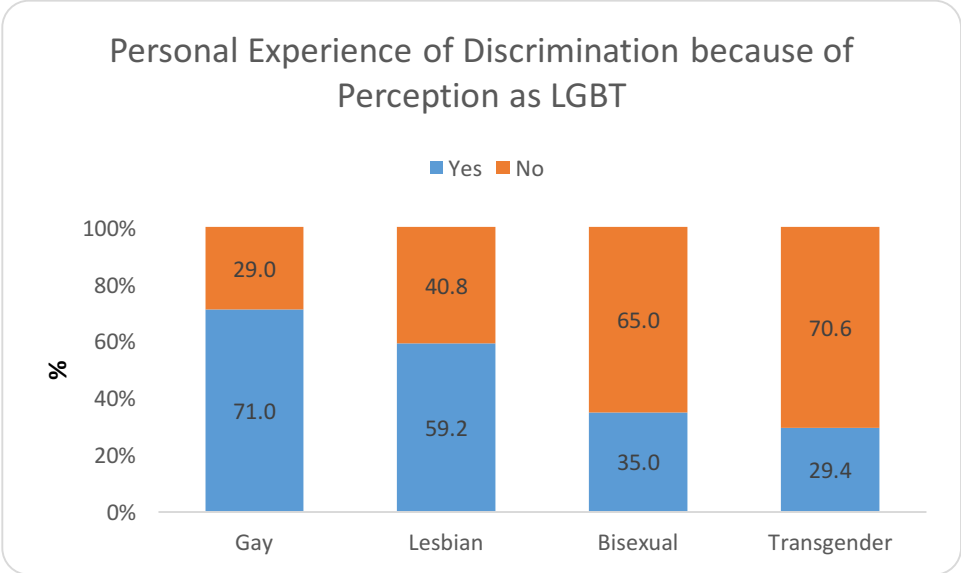

Figure 9 Personal experiences of discrimination because of perception as LGBT person

This study found evidence of differences in treatment of LGBT persons. The largest group (12.3%) felt they were treated with less courtesy, compared to 12% who felt they were treated with less respect and 10% who were treated with fear and apprehension. (See Figure 10)
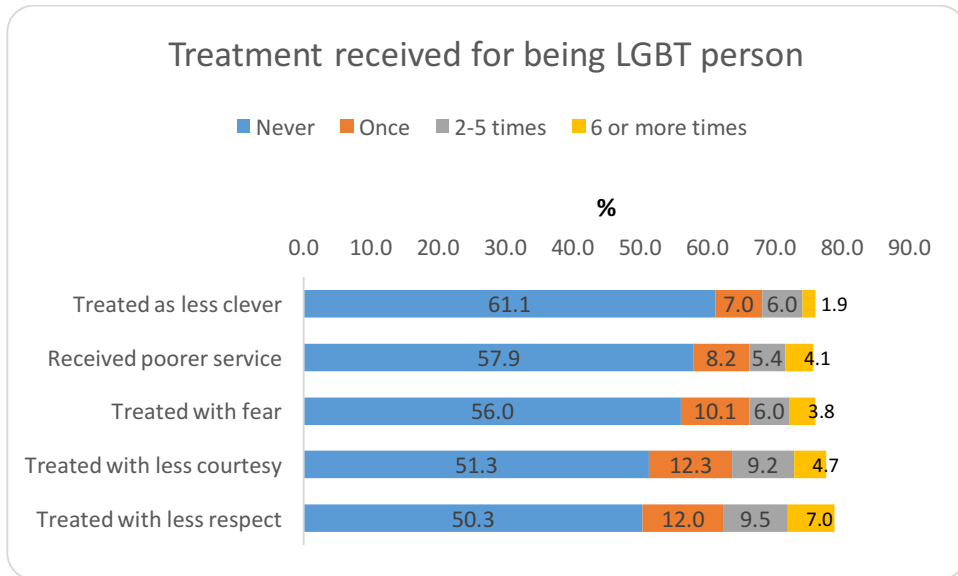
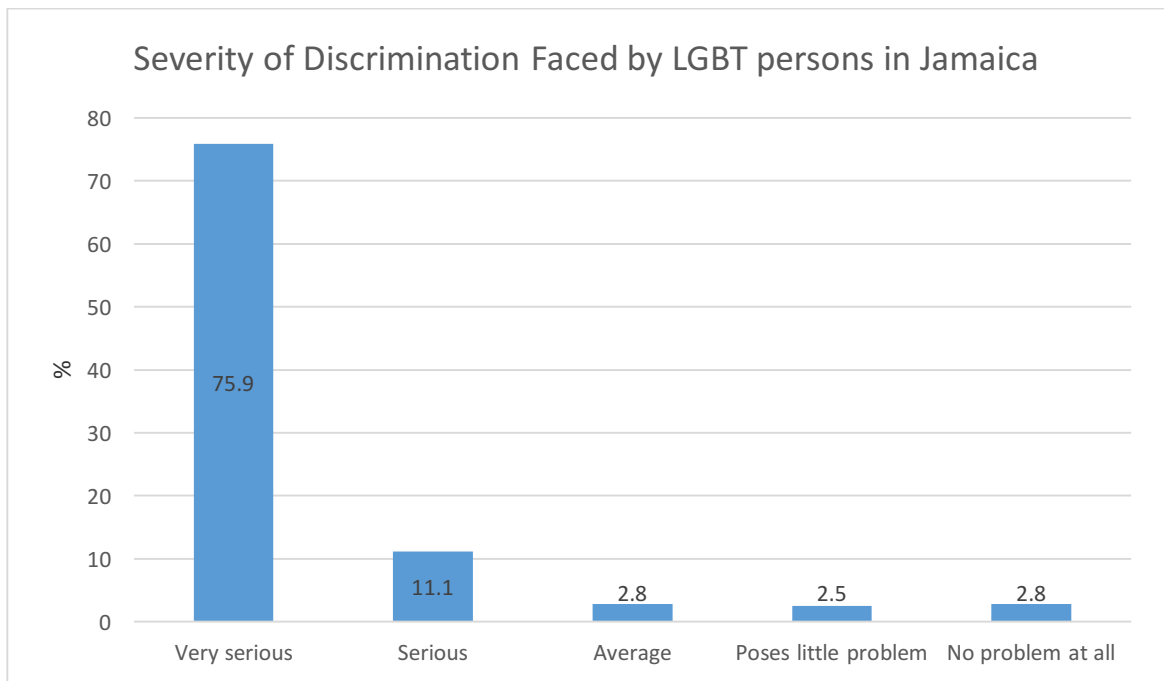**Figure 10 Treatment received for being LGBT person**

Figure 11 Severity of discrimination faced by LGBT persons in Jamaica

Overall, the majority respondents felt that the amount discrimination faced by the LGBT community in Jamaica posed a very serious problem (75.9%).

Assault and Threats

The nature of the "discrimination" being reported on by respondents is critical to this investigation. Internationally, discrimination encapsulates differential treatment meted out in employment, education, business experiences among other situations. However, in the Jamaican context, discrimination and homophobia are generally understood and discussed as the rate physical violence against LGBT persons. The assertion that "Jamaica is not homophobic" is usually substantiated by the lack of overt and frequent violent aggression meted out to those- especially the males- who make their status public. The fact of "corrective" sexual violence and gender based violence- a uniquely lesbian experiences- are also important to the discussion. It is important, then, to discuss the extent of assaults and threats of assaults experienced by the LGBT community. The data suggest that LGBT persons have been experiencing physical and sexual assaults as well as threats of such assaults and harassment. These come from both known and unknown perpetrators, and happen in both private and public spaces.

The data suggest that there have been more threats of violence than occurrences of same. In the last 5 years, 32% reported being threatened with physical violence, compared to 12% who reported being attacked. Similarly, more reported being threatened with sexual violence (23.7%) than being sexually assaulted (19%). Overall, respondents shared that they were threatened with physical violence as three times on average, and that they were actually assaulted three times as well. On average they

were threatened with sexual violence three times on average, but they experienced sexual violence slightly less, two times on average. (see Table 2)

Closer inspection suggests that there is a moderately strong likelihood of being physically and sexually assaulted if one was threatened with physical or sexual violence. That is, if an LGBT person was threatened with a physical or sexual assault, there is a fairly high probability that the threat will be carried out. Portions of the sample were willing to recount how many times they had experienced such threats exclusively versus assaults exclusively. On average, these persons reported being threatened with physical violence and experience such violence three times each. They received threats of sexual violence an average of three times, and were sexually attacked an average of two times.

Table 2 Distribution of threats and assaults

		Physically attacked	Sexually attacked	Threat of violence	Threat of sexual violence
Percentage victimized (n=316)		12%	19%	32%	24%
Number of Victimizations	Mean	3	2	3	3
	Median	2	2	3	3
	Minimum	1	1	1	1

	Maximum	6	6	6	6

Respondents were allowed to indicate all the classification of perpetrators of violence against them. Most of the sample said the last perpetrator of physical or sexual violence was a stranger (53%), compared to 20% who experienced such an assault from a schoolmate, and 18% who said it was from a family or household member. Close to 1 in 8 (12%) identified a faith-based organisation with close to 1 in 10 (9%) identifying a police officer.[10]
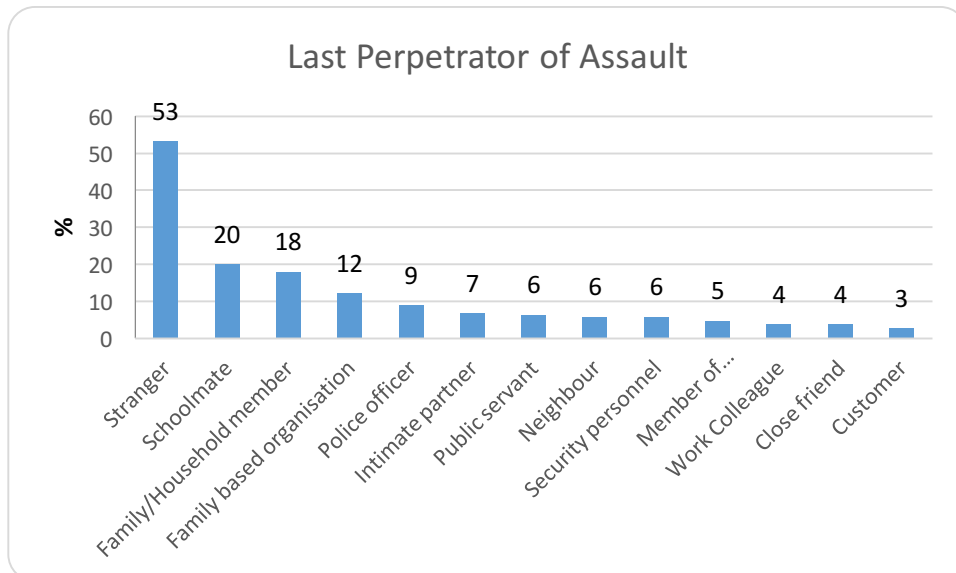

Figure 12 Last perpetrator of assault

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[10]Respondents were given the opportunity to make multiple responses to this question.

The perpetrators were predominantly male (76%) according to the respondents; 10% of the sample was assaulted by females, and 14% by both males and females.
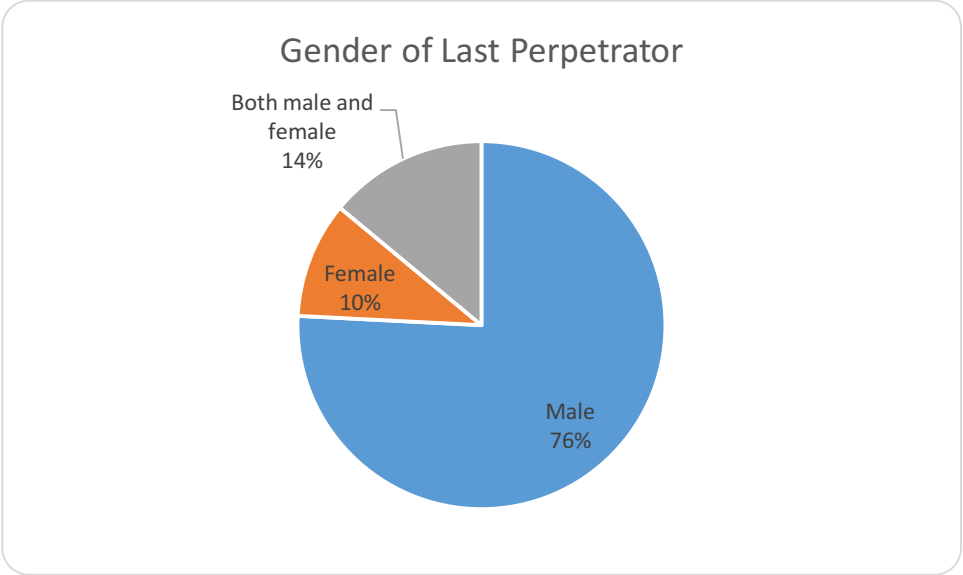

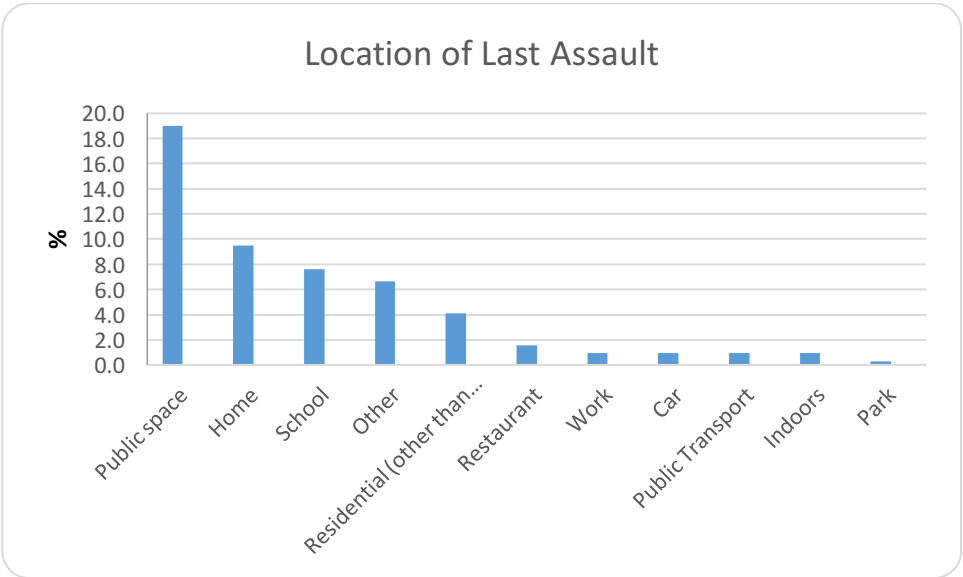**Figure 13 Gender of last perpetrator**

Figure 14 Location of last assault

Almost 1 in 5 of the assaults occurred in public spaces such as town squares or roadways. Close to 1 in 10 (9.5%) reportedly occurred at the home of the respondent, while 7.6% reported being assaulted while at school. Approximately 7% said that the assault occurred in an unlisted place, citing virtual spaces, such as Facebook and other social media websites, as the location of their last assault.

These figures (see Figure Figure 14), couple with those indicating the identity of the last perpetrator (see Figure Figure 12), can assist policy makers and practitioners in their attempts to target their interventions. That schools and public servants, along with "public spaces", are implicated in the experiences of threats and violence necessitates the intervention of public officials and community leaders. They must be called upon to encourage their coworkers and constituents to create a much safer environment for LGBT persons, who are also citizens. Religious leaders much also be encouraged to ensure that their sanctuaries remain safe spaces and that their congregants are more tolerant. Especially of note is the work that needs to be done in households. The participants identified family members and households as the perpetrator and location of violence. The issue of domestic violence needs to include discussions and interventions centered on dealing with LGBT issues, as much as marital and parental issues.

The findings of this survey were compared to those from the 2012-13 Jamaican National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) in order to illustrate how the experiences of the LGBT community compare to the wider population. It would appear that this sample of the LGBT community experience higher rates of threats of violence and actual

assaults than the national population. During the 2012-2013 periods, only 2% of the population had experienced a serious threat with a weapon, compared to 2.6% who received a serious threat without a weapon. In contrast, 43% of the LGBT community surveyed here reported receiving threats, within the last 5 years. Where 1.1% of the population had been assaulted with a weapon, and 0.8% had been assaulted without a weapon between 2012 and 2013, 19 of this study's sample reported being assaulted in the last 5 years. The NCVS showed that 0.1% of the population had experienced sexual assault. Data presented here suggests that 10% of the LGBT community were threatened with sexual violence and 11% of them had experienced sexual assaults. Notwithstanding the differences in time periods under review, the magnitude of the differences in experiences of the LGBT community and the wider society is cause for concern. This accentuates the fact that violence in Jamaica is not always random, but sometimes targeted at certain demographics.

Heath Services

Respondents were asked whether they had been denied healthcare services because they were identified as LGBT. The instrument did not distinguish between private or public sector providers. However, the majority (95.6%) indicated that they had not

been denied service[11], but, overall, the respondents felt that the problem of healthcare service providers refusing to treat someone because they were identified as LGBT as a very serious problem in Jamaica.

Denial of treatment is not the only form of discrimination that can be demonstrated by healthcare providers, however. The experience with healthcare service providers was varied. Most of the sample (52.5%) reported being forced to undergo seemingly unnecessary medical or psychological testing. A third of the sample (32.2%) also experienced inappropriate curiosity regarding their status. Approximately 17% felt they had not received equal treatment, and 15% declined treatment because they felt fear or discrimination or intolerance, and 15% also felt the need to change their general-practioner or specialist because of negative reaction.

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[11]This is but one of the ways healthcare providers may discriminate against LGBT persons. Others are discussed later.
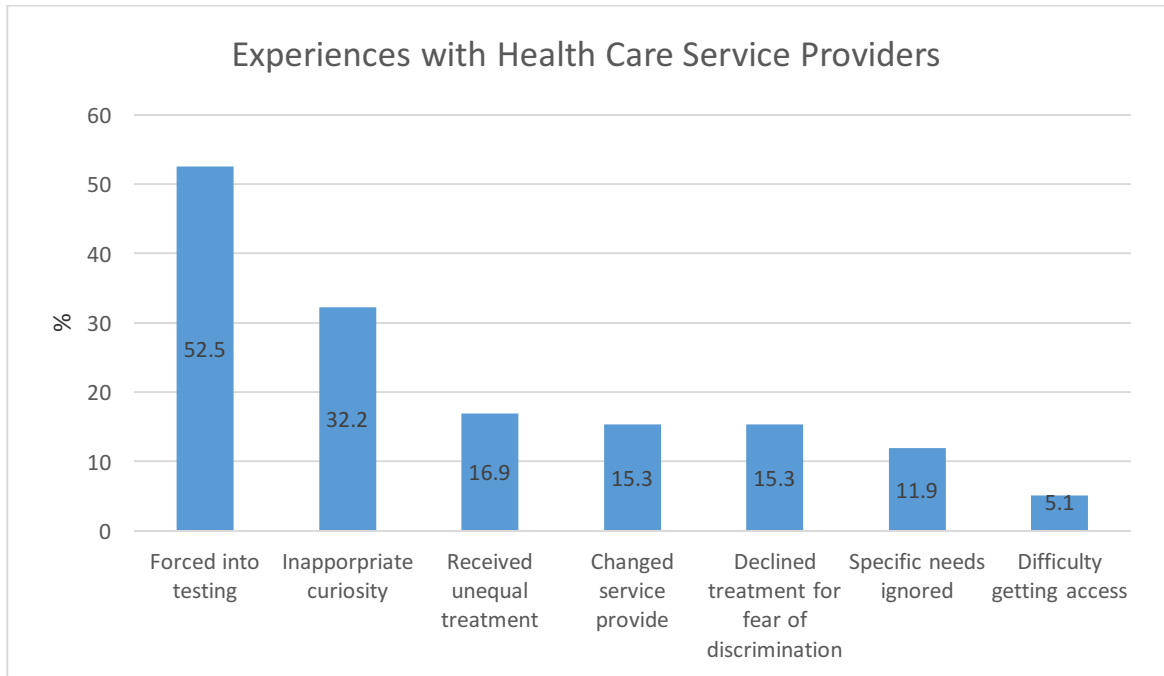
Figure 15 Experiences with health care service providers

Experiences with the State

As citizens of the country, members of the LGBT community will need to interact with representatives of the State. This study investigated the experiences of LGBT persons with representatives of the State who offer security services.

LEGISLATURE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

There are currently no laws in Jamaica which explicitly protect individuals from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. This sample of the LGBT community was asked if they knew of laws that forbade discrimination against persons because of their sexual orientation. The largest group (45%) was confident that there was no such law. When asked about laws against discrimination on the

grounds of gender identity, again the largest group (43%) said there was not. In both cases, approximately 1 out of every 3 (35%) respondents was unsure whether or not such laws existed, compared to less than 20% in both cases who were sure there were such laws.
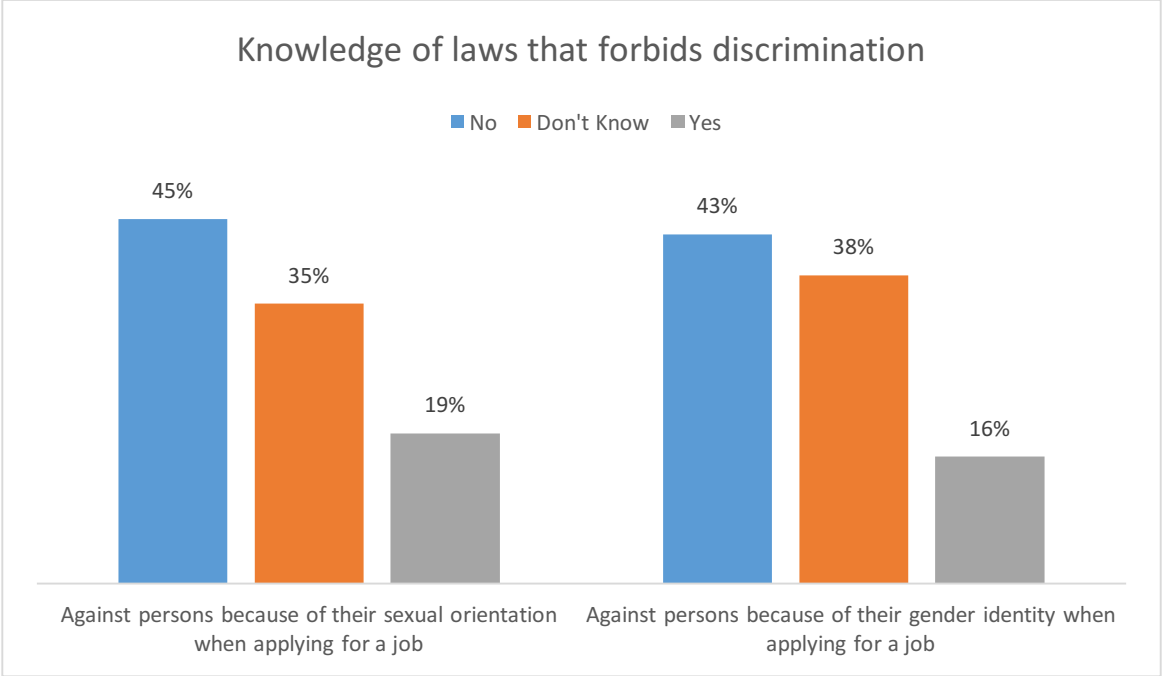

Figure 16 Knowledge of laws that forbids discrimination

The Latin American Public Opinion Project [LAPOP] (2012) found that Jamaica was particularly unsupportive of the basic rights of homosexuals. They found that persons with a higher level of schooling, those of a higher economic standing and persons who were more aware of current affairs issues were more likely to be supportive of the notion of equal rights for LGBT people (p. xxxv). The Department of Sociology, Psychology and Social Work at the University of the West Indies (UWI) in 2012 in the National Survey on attitudes and Perceptions towards Same-sex Relationships found

that males; persons "who listen mostly to reggae and dancehall music"; and persons who attended church frequently were more likely to have negative attitudes towards homosexuals.

During the 2011 election campaign, Prime Minister Portia Simpson Miller pledged if re-elected that one of her agenda items would be a review of Sections 76, 77 and 79 of the Offences Against Person Act which is referred to as "the Buggery Law." This piece of legislation is considered as a precursor to, and encourages prejudice and discrimination towards the LGBT community in general. Gay men and transgender women who are heterosexual are deemed to be particularly affected. The issue was raised again in 2014 at the review of the Sexual Offences Act which upon its promulgation in 2009, called for periodic five year reviews. Further afield, there were debates concerning the treatment of anti-sodomy laws. Trinidad and Tobago in 2006 ruled that sexual orientation should be protected under the country's Equal Opportunity Act, the ruling was overturned by the UK based Privy Council, this however shows that there is liberal thinking on this issue throughout the Caribbean. Political parties in Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and even Jamaica, made mention of the inclusion of sexual orientation in their manifestos. Nonetheless, Boxhill (2012) showed that 37% of the Jamaican population felt that the government was not doing enough to promote the rights of LGBT people and to protect them from discrimination and violence. Almost 77% of the same sample supports the retention of the 'buggery law'.

Considering the state of the legislature and the awareness of the sample, the respondents were questioned about their interaction with members of law enforcement.

The majority of the respondents did not report their last incidence of physical or sexual assault to the police; 51.3% of all respondents, regardless of offence. There were various reasons the assault was not reported. The largest proportion of the sample (41%) did not report it because they did not think the police would do anything, compared to 30% who did not report it because they thought the matter was too minor. Approximately 1 in 4 feared homophobic reaction from the police (25.5%), and 1in 5 felt too embarrassed and did not want anyone to know. Close to 14% also feared reprisals from the offender if they reported the matter, with close to 1 in 10 sharing that they were discouraged from reporting the matter (8.5%).
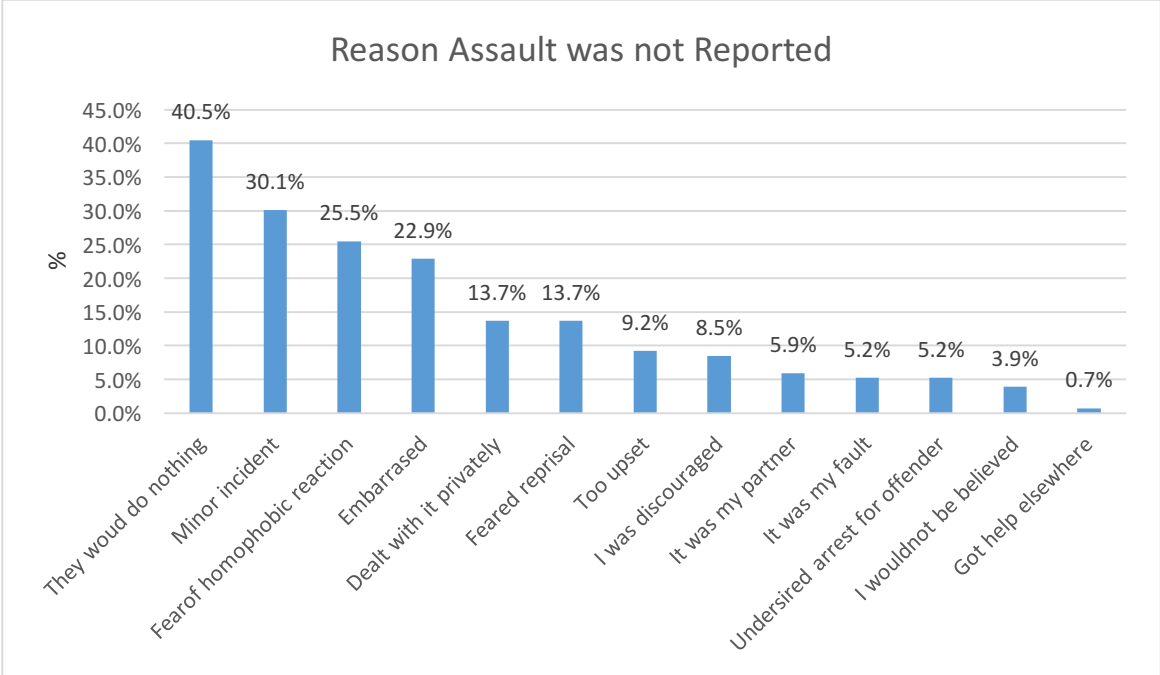

Figure 17 Reason assault was not reported

They were also asked about whether they had ever reported incidents of harassment to the police and their experience of that interaction. The majority did not report incidents

of harassment to the police (61.4%). The largest group of respondents (41%) felt the incident was too minor to be reported, compared to 36.6% who did not because they felt the police would do nothing. Close to 1 in 4 (24.6%) feared a homophobic response from the police, while close to 1 in 5 (19.1%) felt too ashamed or embarrassed to report the harassment. Another 18.6% dealt with the matter themselves, with yet another 15% fear reprisal from the offender.
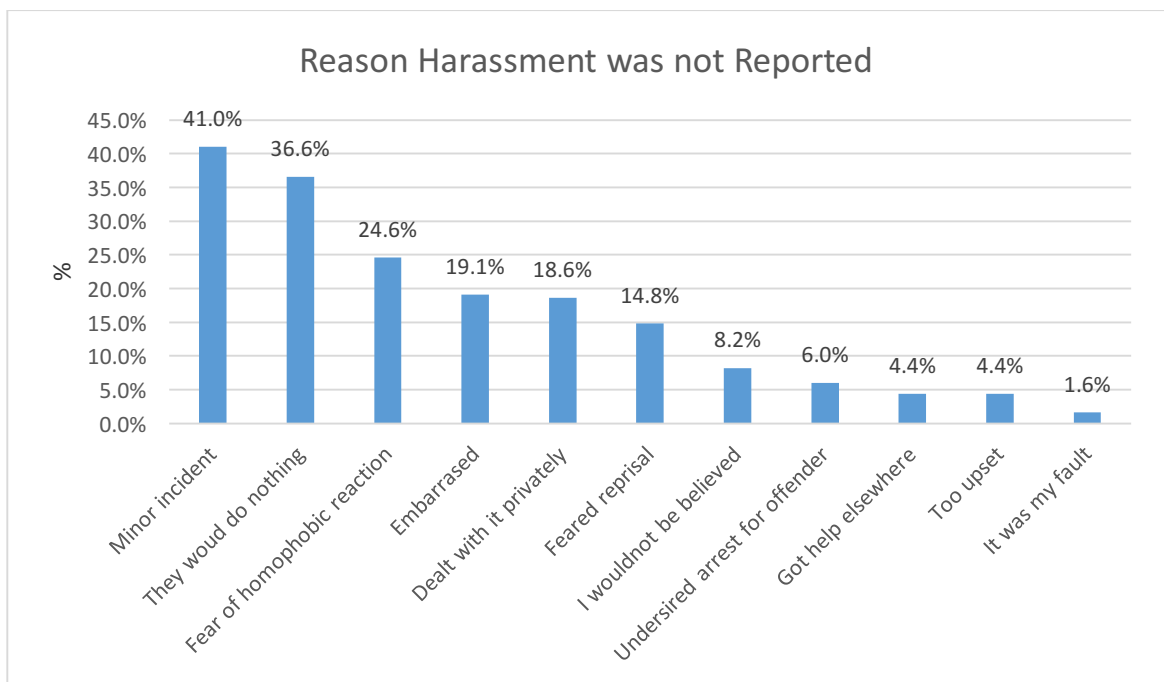

Figure 18 Reason harassment was not reported

Economic Experiences

BUSINESS AND WORKPLACE IMPACT

In 2013, Badgett et al. conducted a review of previous studies in order to identify and evaluate all published research assessing the impact of LGBT-supportive employment

policies and workplace environment on business outcomes with two primary questions in mind: 1) does research show that LGBT-supportive policies bring about the specific benefits mentioned by private companies that enact them, or are they associated with other similar economic benefits that may have an impact on the bottom line; and 2) if LGBT-supportive policies bring about certain benefits, does research show that these benefits actually have an impact on the bottom line, and if so, is it possible to estimate that effect in quantitative terms?

In total, they reviewed 36 research studies and concluded that research supports the existence of many positive links between LGBT-supportive policies or workplace environments and outcomes that actually benefit businesses. The studies reviewed demonstrate that LGBT-supportive policies and workplace environments are linked to greater job commitment, improved cohesion in the workplace, increased job satisfaction, and improved health outcomes among LGBT employees. LGBT-supportive policies and workplace environment are also linked to less discrimination against LGBT employees and more openness on the part of employees about being LGBT. Unfortunately, none of the studies provide direct quantitative estimates of the impact on the bottom line and this remains an area in need of research.

Badgett et al. (2013) were consistent with Banerji, Burns and Vernon (2012), who conducted research in India on behalf of Community Business[12]. The researchers produced a Resource Guide for Employers: Creating Inclusive Workplaces for LGBT Employees in India in which they presented a cogent business case for creating a diverse and inclusive business environment since this is directly linked to enhanced business performance. Apart from the changing legal environment in India and globally, "the most compelling business case relates to direct impact that creating more inclusive workplaces for LGBT employees has on productivity and performance, attraction and retention and market share"(6).

Boxill's 2012 study on Attitudes towards Same-sex Relationships in Jamaica found that business owners surveyed were not likely to hire someone from the LGBT community whose identity was known because of fear of making others uncomfortable. This was also outlined in Badgett et al's 2013 study as a concern. In the Boxill study, however, business owners indicated that they would not dismiss an employee because of their sexual orientation.

In this study, data collected showed close to 1 in 6 (16%) respondents did not have a job during the 12 months leading up to this investigation. When asked if they had ever

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[12] Community Business is a non-profit organisation based in Hong Kong that has a mission to lead, inspire and support businesses to make positive impact on people and communities.

been denied a job because they were identified as LGBT, 7% said they had. However, it was not clear whether those who did not have a job at the time of the survey were jobless because they were denied one.
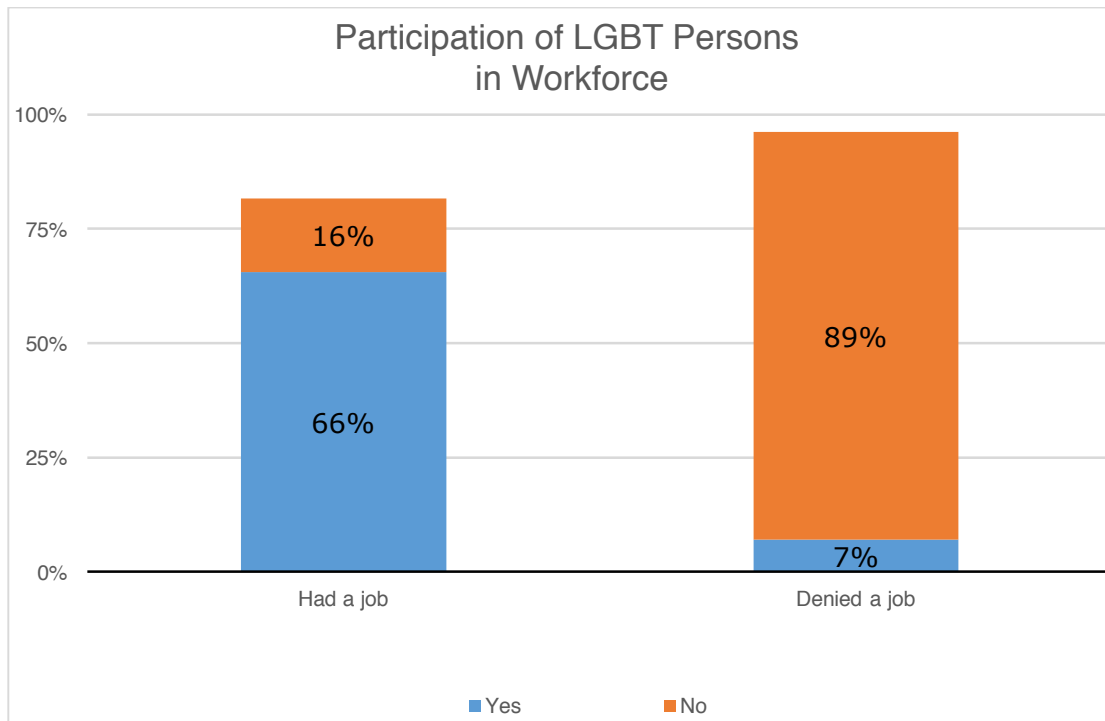

Figure 19 Participation of LGBT persons in workforce

As members of the LGBT community, the majority of the respondents (89.2%) considered denial of a job on the grounds of LGBT status a serious problem in Jamaica (very serious or serious). The majority (83%) also considered losing one's job on the same grounds to be an equally serious problem in Jamaica.
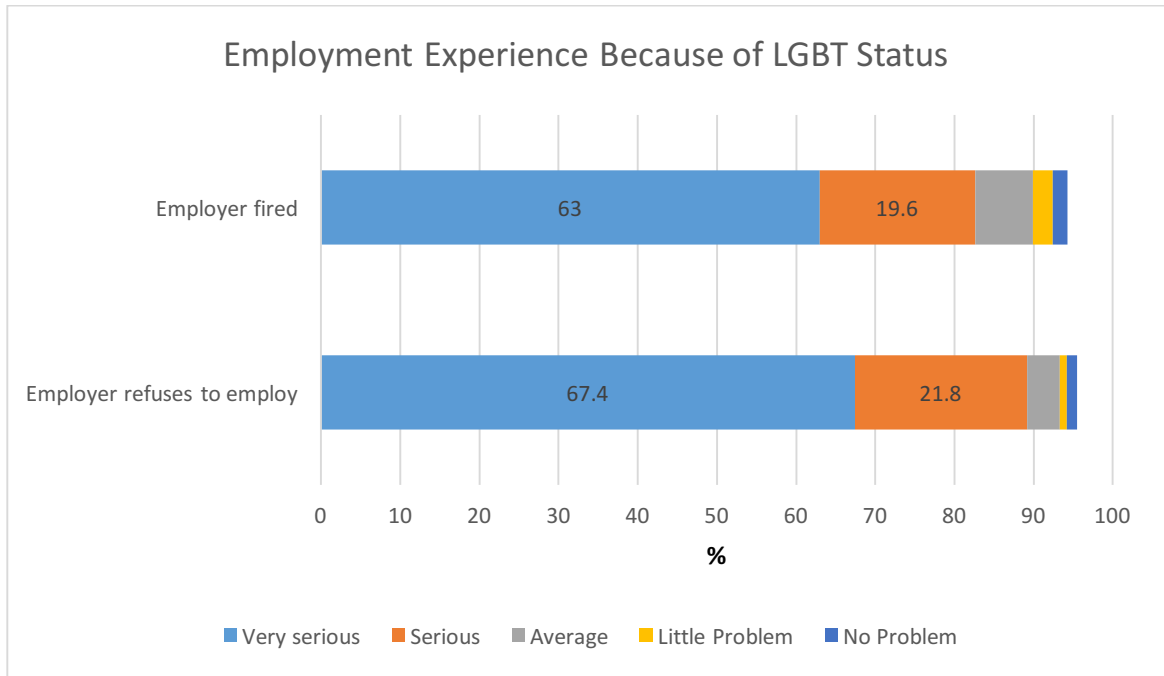
Figure 20 Employment experience because of LGBT

This survey also investigated the experience of LGBT persons with other aspects of the economy. Respondents were asked whether they had ever been denied service or access to a private establishment because they were perceived as an LGBT person. Close to 1 in 8 (12%) reported being denied access to restaurants or cafés; 1 in 10 (10.4%) reported being unable to rent a house or apartment for the same reason; and 2% were unable to buy a house or apartment.
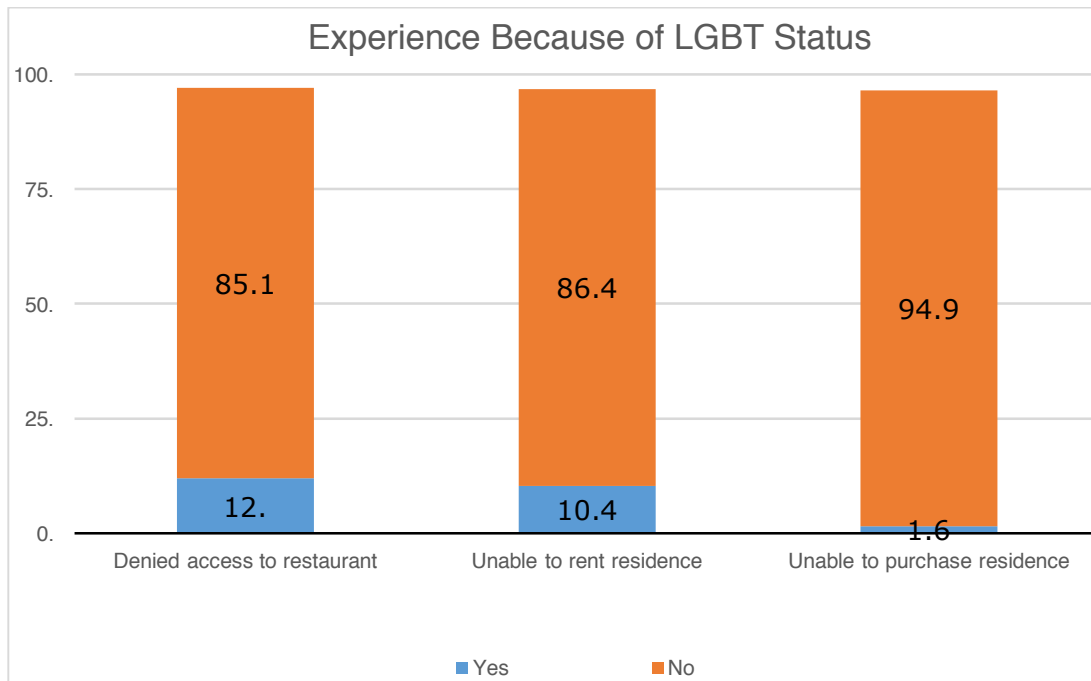
Figure 21 Experience because of LGBT status

These findings must be considered in light of the secrecy maintained by members of these communities. Recall that respondents typically tried to keep their LGBT status private. The more public the place, and the more formal and distant the relationship, the less likely it was for them to share their LGBT status. Therefore, it would not be entirely correct to assume that members of the LGBT community are not experiencing challenges participating in the formal economy. Rather, the data implies the difficulty that would be faced if respondents were open. Consider that, despite the secrecy, a significant and notable portion were denied access to restaurants or rental of residences.

Further analysis of the data provides some substantiation for this. The tendency to be open about ones LGBT status was crosstabulated against experiences of denial of

access. Statistically significant results were not obtained, however a general trend emerged. As illustrated, (see Figure 22), the data suggested that those who tend to be more open about their LGBT status were more likely to have been denied a job, denied access to public places such as restaurants, and denied the opportunities to rent a house or apartment.
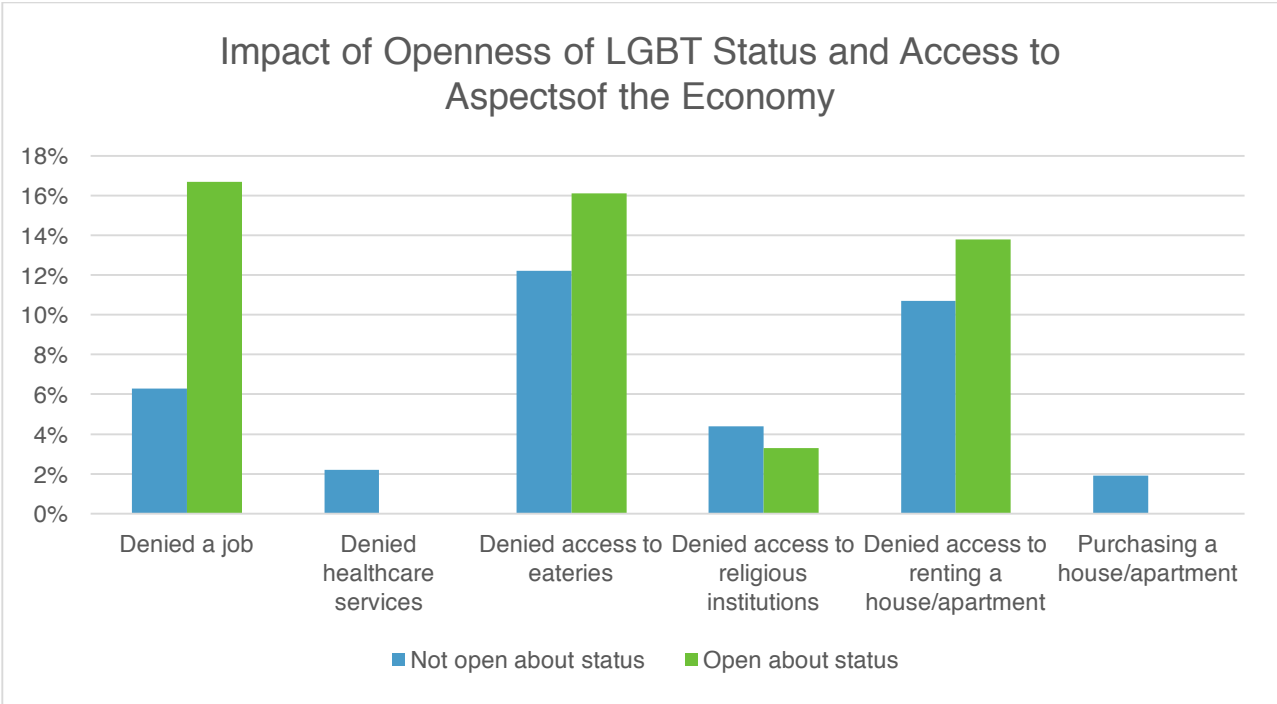

Impact of Openness of LGBT Status and Access to Aspectsof the Economy

Figure 22Impact of Openness of LGBT Status and Access to Aspects of the Economy

When asked how serious a problem these situations were, the respondents generally identified them as serious problems in Jamaica. A landlord refusing to let their property (83.1%) or being denied access to public spaces such as restaurants (86.1%) were both seen as serious problem in Jamaica.
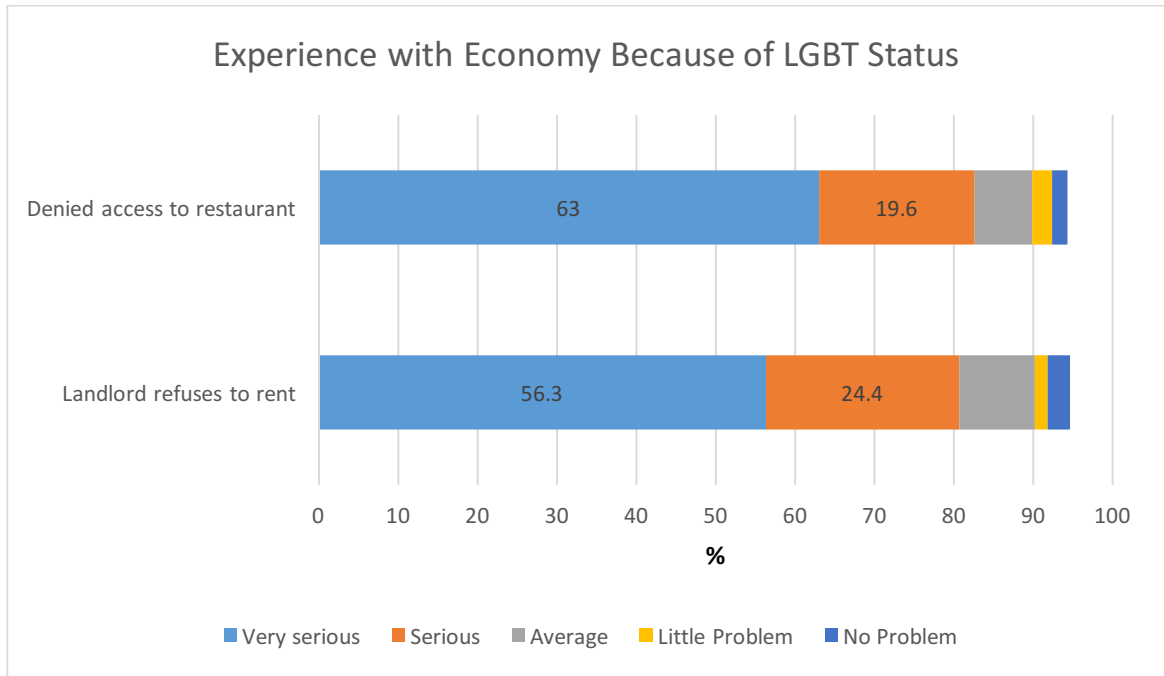
Figure 23 Experience with economy because of LGBT status

It is not possible to determine the validity of the claims. While these respondents may not be lying, the true reason they may have had particular experiences might not have been their LGBT status. It might have been coincidental. This notwithstanding, the fact that this community personally perceives discrimination is a cause of concern. It indicates that there is an environment in which discrimination, on the whole is occurring. Secondly, the fact that such theorizing is even possible suggests that the environment in which they live is not accepting of their LGBT status.

CHAPTER 6: RESPONSES TO EXPERIENCES

This study also investigated how members of the LGBT community responded to their various experiences.

Lifestyle Changes

There was roughly the same proportion of respondents who felt the need to change their life in some way in comparison to those who felt no such need, 40.5% and 41.5% respectively. The primary changes involved adjustments in mannerisms so as not to arouse suspicions. The respondents also indicated that they became much more wary of strangers and strange places, avoiding public places such as certain roadways, eateries and other establishments. Their familial and close relationships sometimes became strained as they move out of family homes, and ended friendships. There were changes to wardrobes, occupation and modes of transportation. These respondents would have started taking private transportation instead of public transportation. Some entered into hetero-normative relationships much to the chagrin of their LGBT partner.
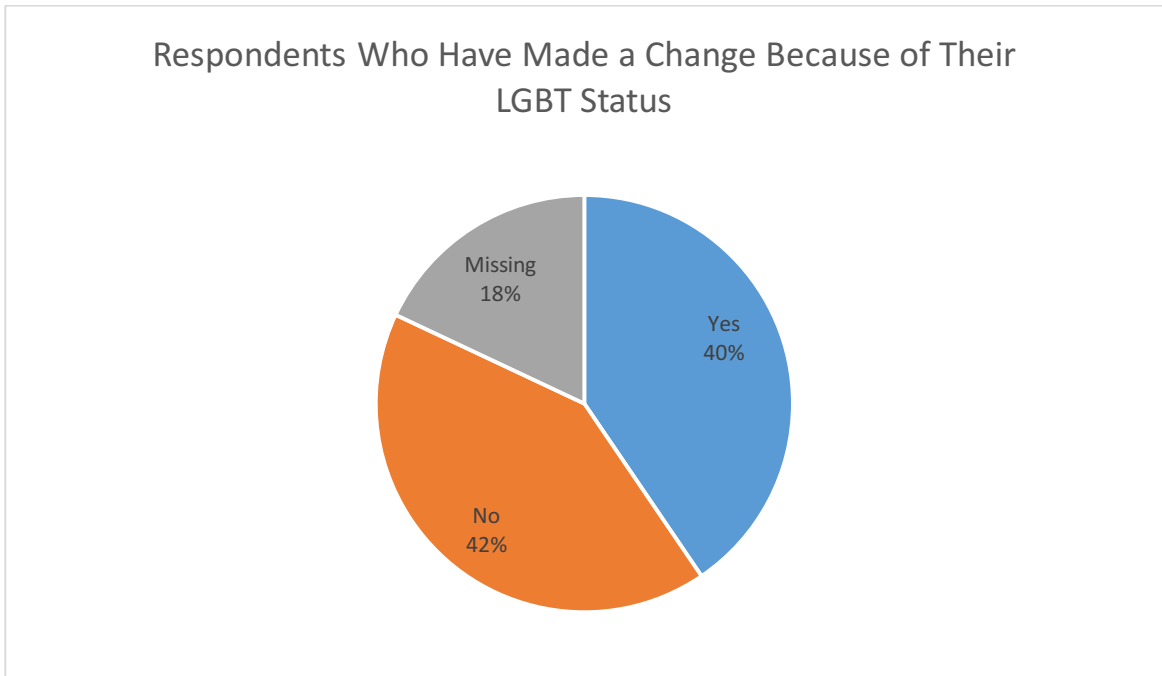
Figure 24 Respondents who have made a change because of their LGBT status

Relocation

The responses illustrate that relocation is a response for some LGBT persons, though a small portion. According to responses, 12% indicated that they have relocated within Jamaica because of their LGBT status. The largest group of these persons (23.7%) relocated within Jamaica only once, compared to 16% who relocated three times, 11% who relocated twice and 3% who relocated as many as six times. The relocations were mostly because of fear of persecution from neighbours and even family. They felt threatened and had actually received threats. At the time of this survey, these persons had managed to find jobs, and were most likely from the inner-city. It is not clear whether they had jobs before or where they were from originally.
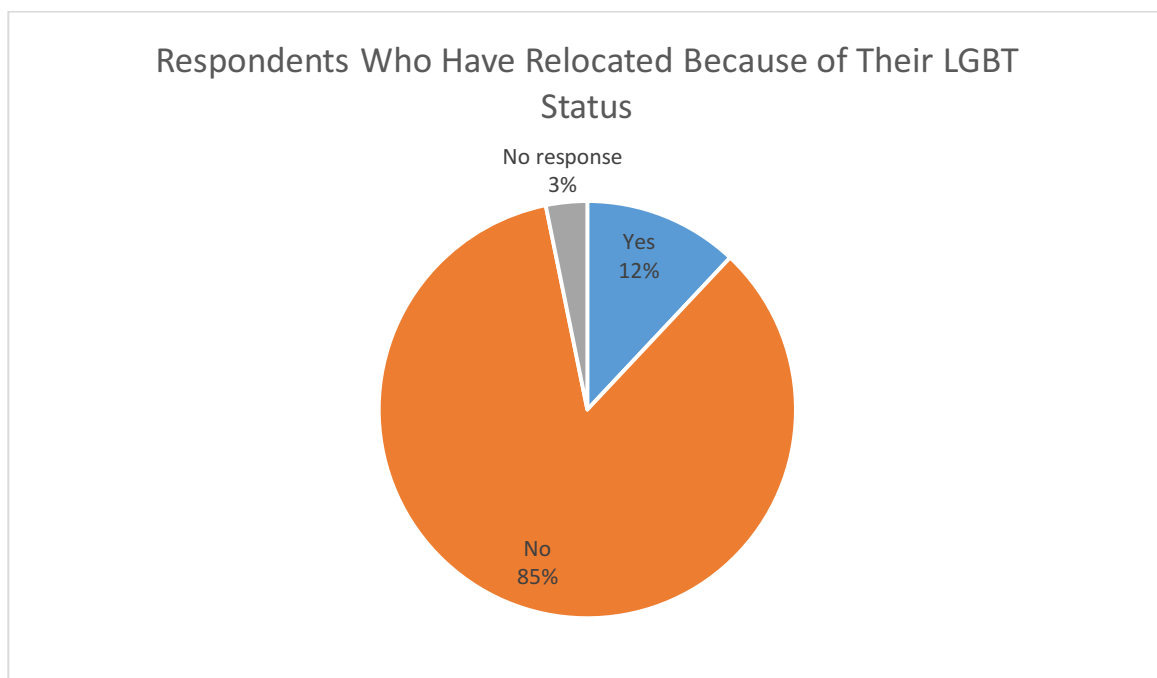
Figure 25 Respondents who have relocated because of their LGBT status

Despite the low levels of relocation within Jamaica, many have considered leaving the country altogether. The majority (74.4%) confessed thinking about migrating because of their LGBT status. Although the differences were not significant, the data also suggested that these persons were most likely male, from urban centres, employed.

Help Seeking

Having gone through these experiences, another reaction might be to seek out professional help. Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they ever sought medical, psychological or spiritual help, and the reason they felt they required such help. Few of the respondents sought any kind of help: 3.5% sought medical help; 10.4% sought psychological help; and 11.1% sought spiritual help.

Some respondents shared that they were sent to counselling while in school, though not specifying by whom, and others identified family members- usually parents- who encouraged them to seek psychological help. One indicated that this was against their will. Others felt different or abnormal and wanted help dealing with their feelings. Some sought help following traumatic incidents as well. None of the LGBT statuses desired medical or spiritual help more than any other.
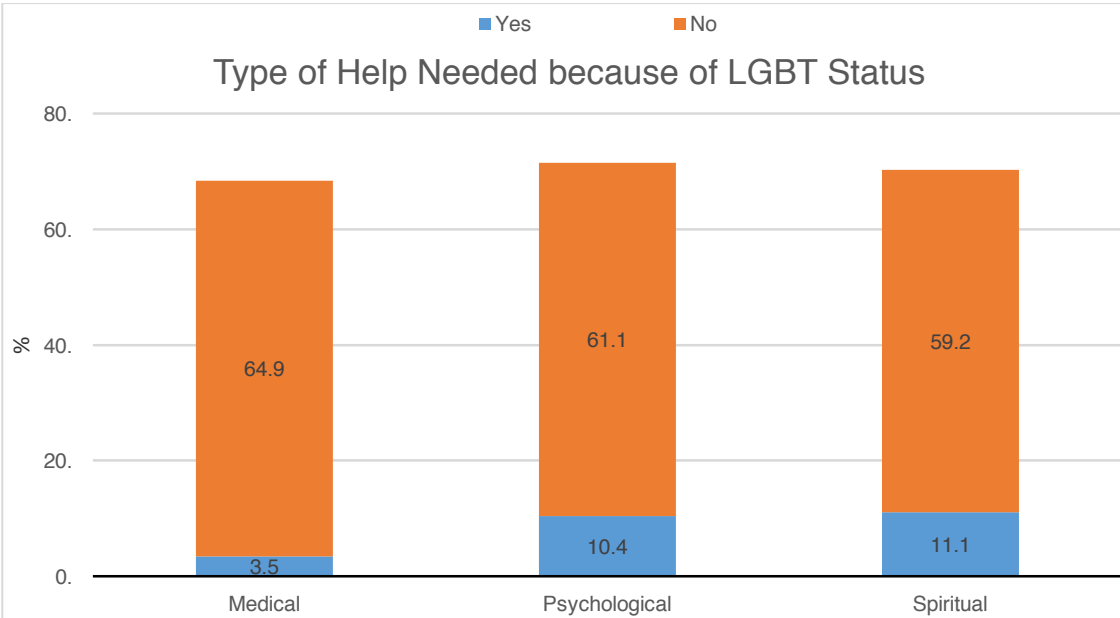
Figure 26 Type of help needed because of LGBT status

Medical help was sought for unspecified tests and to obtain medication. Spiritual help was sought because they felt their status was sinful, wrong or the result of evil spirits. They sought guidance and prayer from their spiritual leaders and communities. In some cases, the desire for help came because of directives from others usually family members, while in other cases it was as a result of personally held Christian beliefs.

The respondents indicated the source of their help. Medical and psychological help were sought mostly from local professionals; spiritual help was sought from more foreign sources. With respect to medical and psychological help, most respondents felt the local sources were informative and helpful: 73.3% and 73.1% respectively. Only 40% and 30.8% felt the assistance offered by local medical and psychological professionals, respectively, was sufficient. More of those who sought psychological help from foreign sources felt that they were not able to receive everything they needed in comparison to those who sought such help from locals. This notwithstanding, more of the foreign sources were unwilling to help, and more actually refused to provide assistance. (See Figures 27-29)
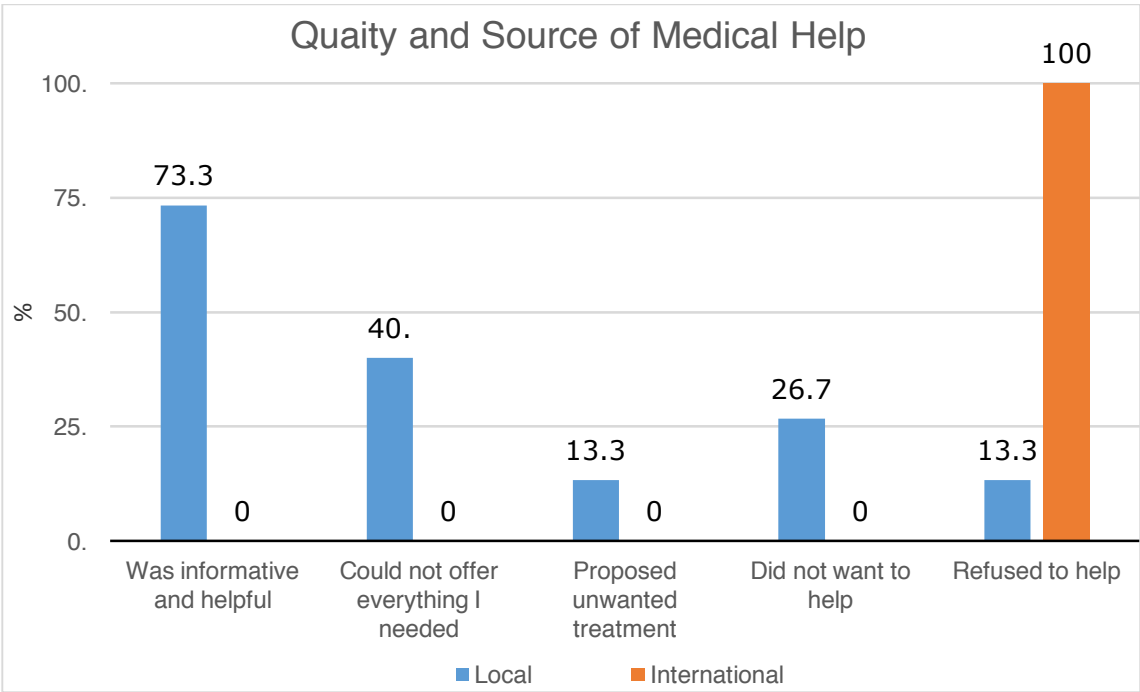

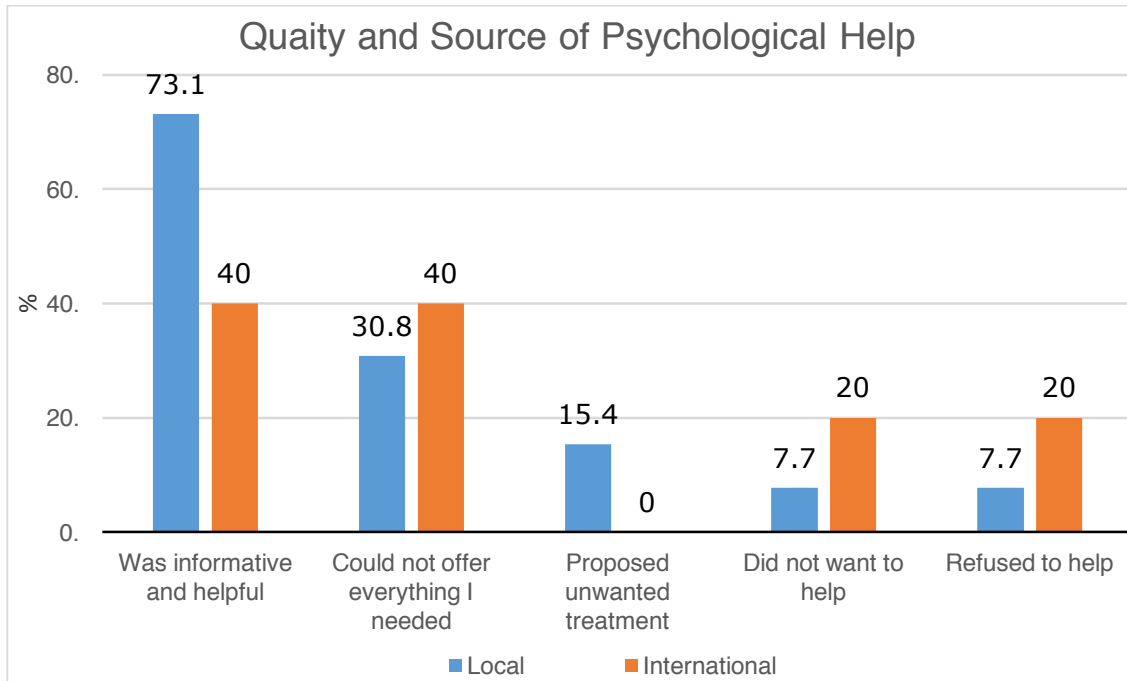**Figure 27 Quality and source of medical help**

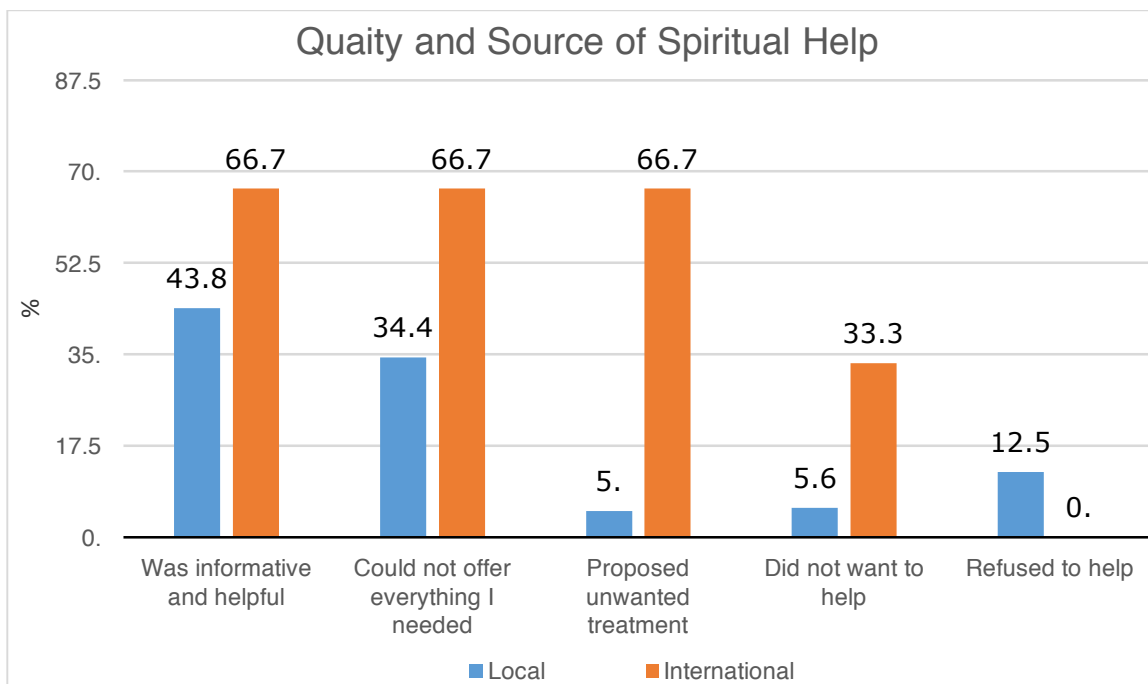**Figure 28 Quality and source of psychological help**

Figure 29 Quality and source of spiritual help

More of those who sought spiritual help from foreign sources felt they received informative and helpful assistance than those who received local assistance. More foreign spiritual helpers were not able to provide everything the respondent needed. Although more of the foreign sources did not want to help and none actually refused to help, unlike the local spiritual sources.

Summary

Three main responses were surveyed during this exercise: lifestyle changes, relocation and personal help seeking. Overall, most respondents felt the need to make some kind of change to their way of living because of threats to personal safety. These included decisions surrounding how to behave, what to wear, how to travel and where to be. There were places where they felt unsafe, and though relocation did not occur very often, there was the real desire to migrate to perceived safer countries. The respondents were able to find quality local medical and psychological help, but spiritual help was not sufficiently found though desired.

Respondents were given an opportunity to indicate to what extent they agreed with a set of suggestions. These suggestions were aimed at making living as a lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender person more acceptable. They were also given an opportunity to indicate to what extent they agreed with commonly held beliefs about the effect these suggestions may have on society.

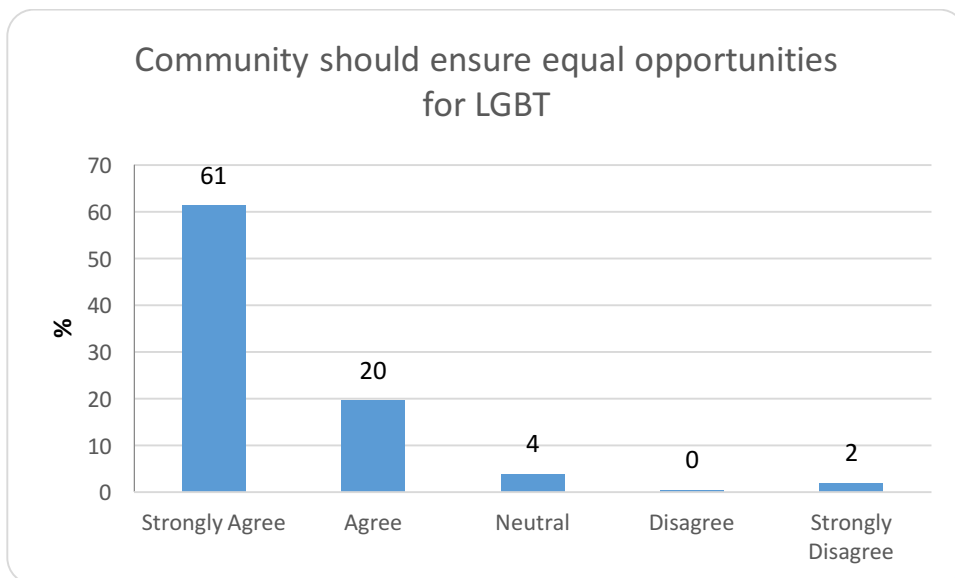**Figure 30 Community should ensure equal opportunities for LGBT**

The sample was asked to what extent they felt that their communities should ensure equal opportunities for LGBT persons. The vast majority (81%) agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. The following presents the preferred recommendations from homosexual, bisexual and transgender persons on how this might be accomplished.

Recommendations from Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals

Respondents who were identified as LGB indicated to what extent they agreed with a selection of recommendations aimed at improving their lives. Not all those who identified as homosexual or bisexual provided a response. The majority agreed with all the suggestions offered. The top three recommendations from this group were the training of public servants on LGB rights (52.9%), public authorities publicly promoting LGB rights (51.3%) and the acceptance of differences in sexual orientation by religious leaders (51%).
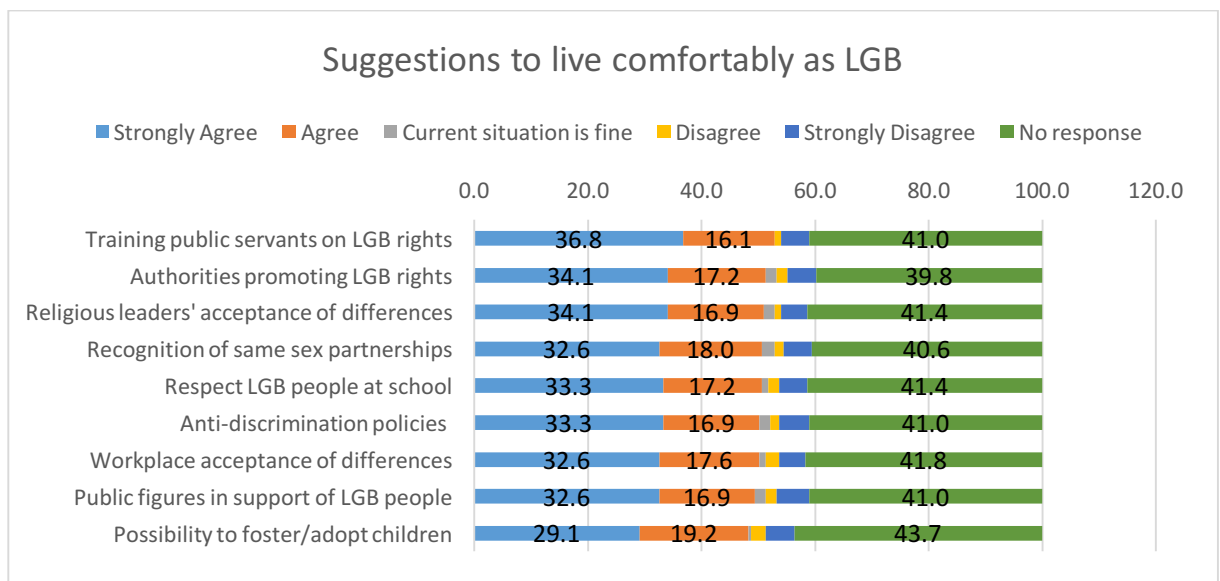
Figure 31 Suggestions so LGB persons may live comfortably

Recommendations from Transgender persons

Respondents who identified as Transgender also indicated to what extent they agreed with a selection of recommendations aimed at improving their lives. Not all those who identified as transgender provided a response. However, the majority seemed to agree

with all the recommendations offered. The top three recommendations from this group were workplace acceptance of gender identity differences (66.7%), measures implemented at school to respect transgender people (66.7%) and training for public servants on the rights of transgender persons (66.7%).
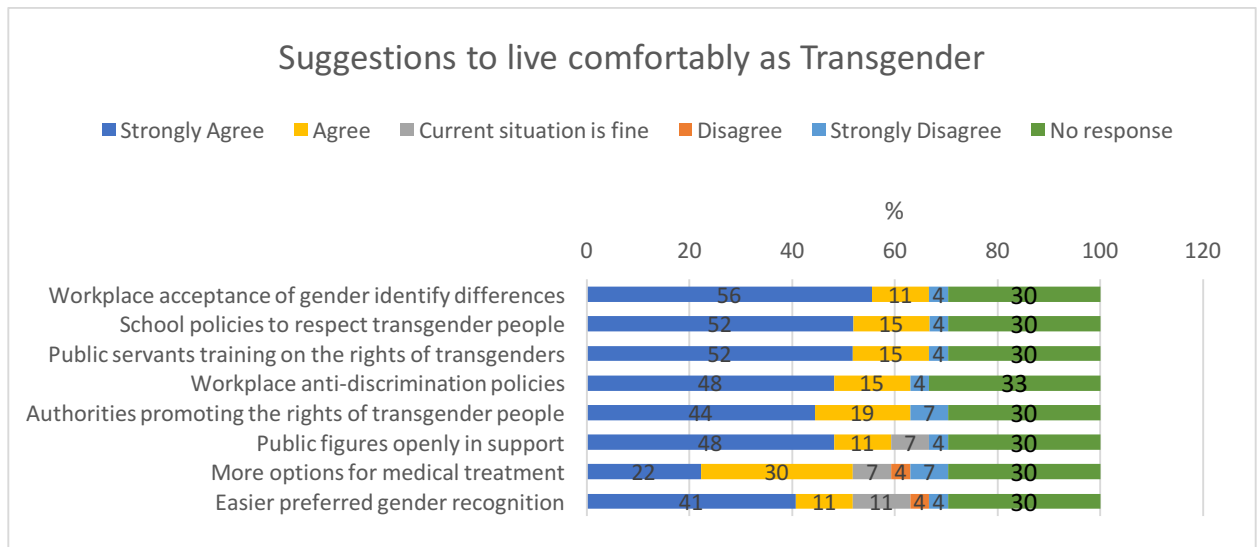
Figure 32 Suggestions to live comfortably as Transgender

Recommendations for Legislative Changes

The respondents were also asked to indicate their agreement with the implementation of particular legislations. The vast majority of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that the Jamaican Government should introduce legislation which outlaws discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation in employment (92.3%), education (89.3%) and service delivery (89.7%).

Suggestions to Government regarding Legislation

Legend: ■ Strongly agree ■ Agree ■ Neutral ■ Disagree ■ Strongly disagree

Category	Strongly agree	Agree
Outlawing discrimination in employment	63.2	29.1
Outlawing discrimination in the delivery of service	59.8	29.9
Outlawing discrimination in education	62.1	27.2
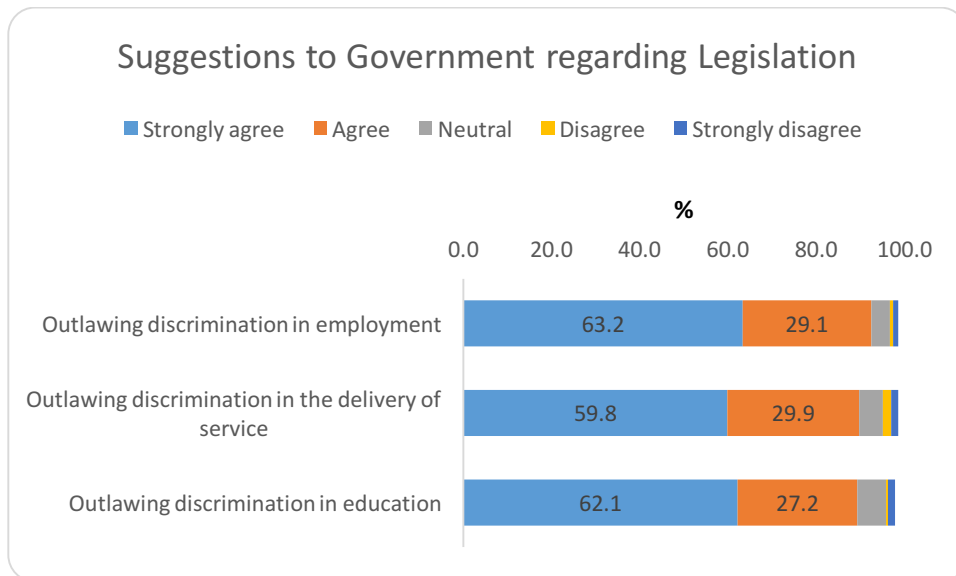
Figure 33 Suggestions to government regarding legislation

Perceived Effects of Recommendations

Persons will have various perspectives on how the adoption of these recommendations will affect the status quo and social fabric. The sample was asked to indicate to what extent they agreed with typical responses of persons to undertaking these recommendations. Close to 80% of the sample disagreed that implementing these laws would result in an increase in child molestation by LGBT persons. With respect to an increase in LGBT behaviour and accommodation of the same, the respondents were not as confident. The largest group neither agreed nor disagreed that introducing such laws would increase LGBT behaviour (26%) or the inclination of communities to tolerate LGBT persons (31%).

Effect of Legislation Outlawing Discrimination on the grounds of Sexual Orientation

■ Strongly disagree   ■ Disagree   ■ Neutral   ■ Agree   ■ Strongly agree

%

Category	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

Increase in child molestation by LGBT: 66, 12, 10, 5, 3

Increase in LGBT behaviour: 19, 20, 26, 18, 12

Increase in accommodation of LGBT persons: 11, 14, 31, 25, 13
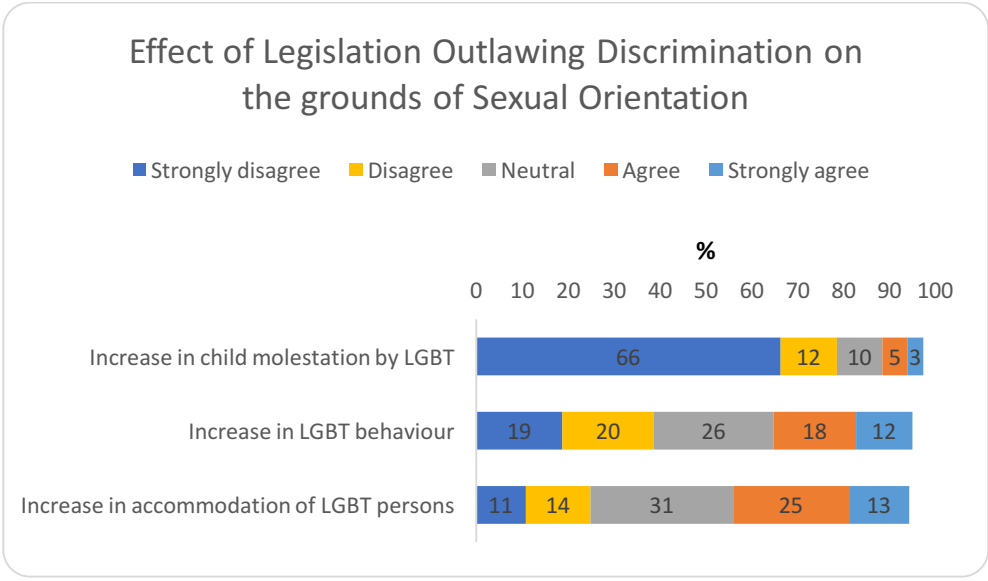
Figure 34 Effect of legislation outlawing discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION

Despite the progress in creating safe spaces for some LGBT Jamaicans, the findings form this research demonstrates that LGBT Jamaicans experience high levels of stigma and discrimination. While the analysis of the data was quantitative, the researcher is conscious that the qualitative nature of the convenience sampling method employed precludes making statements that would adequately represent the entire LGBT population in Jamaica. In the context of earning power, a substantial portion of the sample would be able to escape some of the obvious non –institutionalized manifestations of discrimination (displacement, homelessness, street harassment, mob attacks etc), (on the grounds of sexual orientation. Consequently, most of the respondents did not report experiencing non institutionalized forms of discrimination but reported knowing persons who had experienced same. This substantiates the fact that the respondents felt the problem was widespread and of significant concern. Note too that noteworthy portions of the sample personally experienced the violent and costly side of discrimination, despite their perceived ability to avoid it.

The data confirm that the Jamaican LGBT community has reason to live in fear and in circumscribed spaces. The respondents recalled recent incidents of violence and threats of violence that were motivated by their LGBT status. The data suggested that for the LGBT community, threats were precursory to actual incidence of physical violence. Based on the statistics, LGBT Jamaicans seem to experience violence to a greater extent than the wider population. For example, recall that while 1.9% of the general population had been assaulted between 2012 and 2013, 19 of this study's sample

reported being assaulted in the last 5 years. These assaults and threats were physical and sexual in nature.

Admittedly, international discourse around human rights has opened the floor for increasing dialogue locally. This has resulted in greater visibility of the Jamaican LGBT person who might have previously been considered alien. The fact that Jamaicans are now able to identify persons who belong to the community - persons who are their friends, family members, colleagues, as reported in the study - have seemingly softened their once hostile response. This gives evidentiary supports to West's position that knowing persons from the community and having contact with them is important for reducing stigma and discrimination. Pockets of Jamaicans are therefore more 'tolerant'. This notwithstanding, there remains spaces where they have not been welcomed or treated with equity because of their LGBT status. Similar to what was found in the referenced Canada and India studies, some LGBT Jamaicans have been denied access to public places of business, and they have been denied service or poorly treated by members of the State sworn to serve them. Their jobs have been affected and their property has been damaged.

The foregoing is compounded by the failure of legislators to recognize in the first instance, the existence of this diverse group and, in the second, their need for protection and recourse under the law. For example, when a Jamaican is able to make a case that they were discriminated against or denied service on the grounds of being male or female, black or white, Christian or Rastafari, there is no such provision for one who is discriminated against on the grounds of their sexual orientation or gender

identity. The possibility of discrimination causes an apprehension about seeking medical assistance that has been shown to increase the risk of serious medical complications like contracting HIV. The reality of discrimination even in this life or death sector was brought out in this study when some respondents reported difficulty in gaining access, receiving unequal treatment including undergoing unnecessary tests (53%) and inappropriate curiosity (32%) of medical personnel.

While the instrument of data collection captured impact at a micro level, given what has been gleaned from development experts such as Buddan (2015), Sen (1999) and Bocci (2001), development of the country is hampered by the strain experienced by this marginalized group. True development as it is understood today involves ensuring that all members of the society can experience the best of their country. It also means that all members of that society can contribute to the continued growth of said country. The experiences of these LGBT persons suggest that the politics of Jamaica is a long way from removing barriers; this will double the benefits as both human rights and human development will be balanced.

Contemporary policies on human development are modelled after the Human Development Index, established in 2009. The spirit of this index is that a country is developing where it allows its people to live long and healthy lives, obtain high levels of education, and earn a sufficient income to support comfortable standards of living. A high gross domestic product was no longer seen as the best and most useful indicator of human development. For a nation to be truly developed, its people must also be able to access quality health care and education.

The Index has evolved over the years and now emphasises the limiting power of inequality to development. The HDI is an average of a country's achievements in the key dimensions of human development. However, the reality on the ground tends to be dissimilar to that suggested by the statistics. Within every society, there exists substantial differences between what the country as a whole experience, and what the average individual actually experiences. While the country has a better health care system, there are those who are unable to access it. There may be many more schools, but still some students are unable to stay in the system long enough. The country may be earning increasing sums of foreign exchange, but that wealth may be concentrated in the hands of a few. This notion of inequality presents itself in very manifest was for marginalized communities and especially the LGBT community.

The health aspect of the HDI is measured primarily by the life expectancy at birth, with an ideal minimum being 20 years and maximum being 85 years old. This life expectancy is greatly improved where countries have quality pre and post-natal care, sufficient medical personnel and hospital space, relatively peaceful societies among other factors. The findings from this study describe a community that felt that the problem of healthcare service providers refusing to treat someone because they were identified as LGBT as a very serious problem in Jamaica. The respondents recounted receiving unnecessary tests and unequal treatment. For fear of discrimination, there were instances where some respondents did not seek medical attention, demonstrating that availability does not amount to access. The distribution of responses also suggests a community that is more likely to experience threats and physical violence than the

wider Jamaican population. The threat of violence and limitations to accessing health care impacts this dimension of human development for the LGBT community in Jamaica.

Human development as it pertains to education is measured by the average years of schooling for adults, and expected years of schooling for children. This sample of respondents was well educated, with most having obtained a tertiary education. The researcher notes that the sample for this study is uncharacteristic of the LGBT community in Jamaica as it relates to high levels of education. Anecdotal evidence points to a large proportion of the LGBT community in Jamaica not being able to continue schooling due to bullying, withdrawal of financial support from parents and caregivers and displacement. The sampled population also recounted instances of bullying in school that could negatively impact the expected years of schooling for children, and their academic performance in the system. Studies (Glew, Fan, Katon, Rivara, & Kernic, 2005; Juvonen, Wang, & Espinoza, 2011) have shown that bullied children have lower levels of achievement than other students. Additionally, others (Mehta, Cornell, Fan, & Gregory, 2013) have shown that bullying could significantly reduce a child's commitment to school. It can also be inferred from the data in this study that if schools are inhospitable then LGBT attrition is to be expected.

Finally, the HDI measure the gross national income per capita as a measure of the standard of living of a country's citizens. This economic dimension is impacted by the country's macro-economic performance, but is lived out in the economic experiences of the people: job availability and inclusion in the market.Although income is not critical to

the HDI, the economy is of greater concern for many and is affected by the experiences of any group, including the disenfranchised. The data suggest that being open about your LGBT status in Jamaica could result in your exclusion from the formal economy. There were respondents who, despite their best efforts to keep their status private, were still not allowed to enter certain establishments, purchase or rent homes, or purchase other goods and services. On the other side of the counter, as Badgett had observed, discrimination against LGBT persons can result in unproductivity, as they spend precious time and resources keeping their status secret. The losses from both sides were not calculable in this study, but it stands to reason that where business is denied and productive workers are hampered, potential profits are lost.

This loss is scaled upwards as the institutionalization of discrimination reduces the consumer population. The sustainable growth of a capitalist, free market economy, such as Jamaica's, necessitates the participation of a large and growing market. Marginalization of any group jeopardizes this. This population also needs to be healthy, educated and employed; and so must not be denied access to quality healthcare, education and job opportunities. This consumer population must have avenues for recourse so that businesses are obligated to offer the widest and best service possible. The general lack of job opportunities, compounded by stigma and discrimination, leads to a brain drain as they seek these opportunities elsewhere. A modern, successful economy does not have room for discrimination of the kind experienced by LGBT Jamaicans.

In the matter of politics, the experiences of these participants highlight the exclusionary nature of laws and cultural practices. The success of the HDI index depends heavily on a legal and policy framework that facilitate its realization for all members of the society. There are no laws which explicitly protect LGBT persons from discrimination, but there were some respondents who thought this was the case. Not only are they not protected under the law, but they are not aware that they are not protected. This creates a community of people who are unable to access the rights, benefits, and most importantly, the protections that are theirs. It creates a community of persons who cannot effectively participate in good governance; persons who do not know that they are disenfranchised and that their needs will not be met in the national discourse.

Notwithstanding the perceived existence of laws that will protect the community, the sample had requests for the Jamaican legislature. The results of this survey show that Jamaican LGBT persons desire laws which will protect them from discrimination when seeking education, employment or accessing other goods and services. They request anti-discrimination policies in the workplace and training for public servants in anti-discrimination. Commensurate with Buddan's arguments, respondents felt it important for duty bearers to publicly denounce discrimination against LGBT persons and support anti-discrimination laws and policies. Given the link that exists between laws and culture, support at the highest political level can inform the attitudes of the masses and eventually engender a society of tolerance.

What these findings illustrate is that the LGBT community in Jamaica is not free. Far from achieving the demolishing of unfreedoms that would result in the sustainable

development described by Sen, Jamaican culture sustains the marginalization of the LGBT community. LGBT Jamaicans still feel unwelcomed within their own homes, communities and country as even the laws which were arguably conceptualized to protect all citizens discriminates against them. As one respondent clearly stated,

> "…as much as we want to believe Jamaica is moving away from being homophobic there is still a mass[ive] amount of ignorant people [and laws] that make it unsafe [and unprotected]. And you just never know when that person will attack you."

Recommandations

The following recommendations were supported by the study participants and are in line with recommendations for good governance and justice:

- Sensitization sessions with the LGBT community that address institutionalized discrimination, including legislation;
- Lobby for the enactment of legislation that explicitly protect persons from discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and/or gender identity , especially in the areas of employment, education, healthcare and when accessing goods and services;
- Design and enact a national workplace diversity policy that prohibits discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and other statuses;
- Capacity building for duty bearers so that they are made familiar with the issues affecting the LGBT community and are adequately equipped to address them;
- Engage leading public figures and government representatives to secure buy-in for the recognition of the protection of the human rights of the LGBT community;
- Establish a committee charged with responsibilities for recording instances and forms of discrimination experienced by LGBT persons;
- Design and implement national public education campaigns aimed at reducing stigma and discrimination against members of the LGBT community;

- Encourage scientific research aimed specifically at illuminating the Transgender experience in Jamaica, so that programmatic intervention can be evidence-based.

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