

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260714346>

Attitudes toward gay men and lesbians among Barbadian university students.

Article in *The West Indian medical journal* · January 2013

CITATIONS

0

READS

254

3 authors:



Donna-Maria Maynard

University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados

42 PUBLICATIONS 52 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE



Michael Harry Campbell

University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados

24 PUBLICATIONS 49 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE



Jill Gromer-Thomas

Florida State University

17 PUBLICATIONS 16 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:

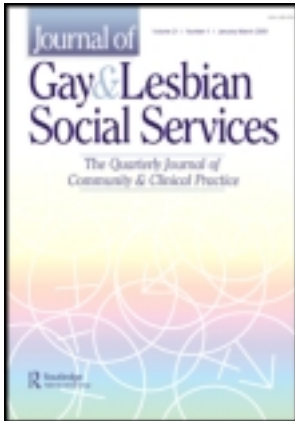
Project

Caribbean Regional Conference of Psychology [View project](#)

Project

Barbados University Depression Study [View project](#)

This article was downloaded by: [University of the West Indies], [Donna-Maria Maynard]
On: 30 October 2013, At: 08:11
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered
office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services

Publication details, including instructions for authors and
subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/wgls20>

Sexual Prejudice Among Barbadian University Students

Jill M. Gromer ^a , Michael H. Campbell ^b , Tomi Gomory ^a & Donna M.
Maynard ^b

^a Florida State University , Tallahassee , Florida

^b University of the West Indies , Cave Hill , Barbados

To cite this article: Jill M. Gromer , Michael H. Campbell , Tomi Gomory & Donna M. Maynard (2013)
Sexual Prejudice Among Barbadian University Students, Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services,
25:4, 399-419, DOI: [10.1080/10538720.2013.834808](https://doi.org/10.1080/10538720.2013.834808)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10538720.2013.834808>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Sexual Prejudice Among Barbadian University Students

JILL M. GROMER

Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida

MICHAEL H. CAMPBELL

University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, Barbados

TOMI GOMORY

Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida

DONNA M. MAYNARD

University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, Barbados

The level of sexual prejudice on university campuses has implications for the health and well-being of gay and lesbian students, and research on sexual prejudice in the Eastern Caribbean is extremely limited. This study assesses the individual attitudes of 251 Barbadian students toward lesbian and gay people using two psychometric inventories. It also examines differences in attitudes as a function of demographic variables including gender, religiosity, and personal acquaintance with lesbian or gay people. The Barbadian students evidenced diverse attitudes, with the average student displaying a moderate amount of sexual prejudice toward lesbian and gay people. Religiosity predicted more negative attitudes toward both lesbians and gay men. Being male predicted more sexual prejudice against gay men, but not against lesbians. Finally, personal acquaintance with a gay or lesbian person did not have a statistically significant relationship with sexual prejudice. This study is among the first of its kind and may serve as a guide to other researchers seeking to further explore attitudes toward lesbian and gay people among Eastern Caribbean students or among Barbadians in general.

Address correspondence to Jill M. Gromer, Florida State University, College of Social Work, Doctoral Program, 296 Champions Way, University Center Building C, Tallahassee, FL 32306-270. E-mail: jmg05j@my.fsu.edu

KEYWORDS homophobia, heterosexism, discrimination, quantitative methods

INTRODUCTION

Acceptance of sexual diversity on university campuses directly affects the health and well-being of lesbian and gay students. A recent study of college students in the United States found that one-third of gay and lesbian undergraduates surveyed experienced harassment because of their sexual orientation (Rankin, 2004). In addition, rates of violence against lesbian and gay people in the United States are higher than those against their heterosexual counterparts (Skolnik et al., 2009). From 2006 to 2008, reports of violent crime decreased for the general U.S. population, but reports of violent crime against lesbian and gay people rose by 28% during that time (Skolnik et al., 2009). Lesbian and gay college students are also more likely than their peers to experience harassment and violence on campus (Eddy & Forney, 2000). These experiences are both associated with poor mental health outcomes for lesbian and gay students (Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995; Swim, Johnston, & Pearson, 2009). The perception of prejudice from peers also appears to have negative consequences, including social isolation and poor academic performance (Cramer, 2002). Lesbian and gay students report feeling less of a sense of community on campus than other students do, and they are more likely to experience feelings of loneliness and depression (Westefeld, Maples, Buford, & Taylor, 2001; Zapata, 2000). Given the potential problems associated with prejudice and consequent discrimination, it is important for universities to assess and address sexual prejudice among students, defined here as the negative attitudes of individuals toward people of differing sexual orientations (Herek, 2004). Because the research on sexual prejudice in the Eastern Caribbean is limited and no information is available regarding the level of acceptance among Barbadian university students, this study explores the level of sexual prejudice among Barbadian university students using two psychometric inventories. The study also examines personal qualities and characteristics that may predict sexual prejudice within this population.

Sexual Prejudice in the English-Speaking Caribbean

There is a large body of research exploring sexual prejudice, as well as its correlates and consequences in a variety of settings, including university campuses. However, virtually none of this research has taken place in Barbados. Furthermore, literature on this topic in the Anglophone Caribbean in general is also very limited. What scholarship does exist tends to portray the region as intolerant of any sexual deviation from the heterosexual norm (Crichlow, 2004; Gutzmore, 2004; Kempadoo, 2004; Mohammed,

2003). However, the presence and conditional tolerance of sexual diversity in the English-speaking Caribbean has also been documented through qualitative investigations and analyses of societal trends, and in Caribbean art and literature (Glave, 2008; Kempadoo, 2004; Murray, 2002, 2009; Wekker, 2006).

The empirical research concerning sexual prejudice and sexual diversity that does exist in the English-speaking Caribbean seems to be the result of increasing public discourse about the public health implications of laws that criminalize sexual diversity, as well as the international attention on homophobic violence in Jamaica (Waters & de Groulard, 2012). At least eight English-speaking Caribbean nations, including Barbados, have laws prohibiting sexual contact between members of the same sex (Acosta, 2011; <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/docs/ngos/lgbti2.pdf>). Public debates about these laws often center on the barriers that criminalizing same-sex relations can pose to HIV prevention efforts with men who have sex with men (MSM) (Dale, 2010). These concerns about HIV prevention have led to an ongoing research project in the Caribbean that may help to better identify the number of gay men in the region and the level of comfort they feel revealing their sexual orientation to others (Waters & de Groulard, 2012). This study, while it does not include lesbians and is not specific to Barbados or Barbadian institutions of higher education, still provides some useful information. Waters and de Groulard (2012) studied the profiles of all Caribbean members of a social networking and dating Web site for MSM. They found 60,737 online dating profiles of men from 26 Caribbean nations and territories, suggesting that approximately 1% of men in those countries participate in MSM online dating. Waters and de Groulard conjecture that the men with online dating profiles represent only a small portion of the actual MSM population in the region. The study further explores profiles from two English-speaking nations: Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Between 85% and 95% of the profiles from those two nations indicated that the men were “in the closet,” suggesting that the majority of MSM felt the need to hide their sexual orientation or MSM status. The findings from this study suggest that MSM are present in the Caribbean and that they are affected by sexual prejudice, at least in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

The second study is specific to Jamaica (Boxill et al., 2011). A research team from the University of the West Indies surveyed a nationally representative sample of 1,007 adults about their attitudes toward sexual diversity. The majority of respondents (82%) felt that male homosexuality was morally wrong, that female homosexuality was morally wrong (75%), and that homosexuality should remain illegal in Jamaica (85%) (Boxill et al., 2011). This study also included focus groups. One major community theme that emerged from the focus groups was that lesbians and gay men should not “flaunt” their homosexuality in public; that they should not express their

homosexuality to “regular” people. This seemed to be especially true about attitudes toward gay men (Boxill et al., 2011).

A separate autoethnographic study concerning lesbian women in Jamaica mentions the cultural theme of silence when it comes to issues of sexual diversity along with the notions that lesbians are often considered to be imitating men, that lesbian women were largely invisible in the 1970s and 1980s, and that lesbian women are often able to carve out a niche where they are at least conditionally accepted (Silvera, 1992).

Both the Silvera study (1992) and the survey organized by the University of the West Indies (Boxill et al., 2011) may provide some context for the present study as they were conducted in Jamaica, which is another English-speaking Caribbean nation. However, their results will not necessarily generalize to Barbados, as it is possible that differences exist between Jamaica and Barbados in the content of their public’s attitudes about sexual orientation. For example, some academics have speculated that Jamaican discourse on the topic uniquely includes the concept of homosexuality as a product of cultural imperialism (King, 2006; Lewis & Carr, 2009). In addition, qualitative research on gender identity in the Caribbean suggests that Barbadians may be generally more tolerant of nontraditional gender roles than Jamaicans (Marshall & Maynard, 2009; Murray, 2009). This could extend to attitudes about sexual orientation.

Sexual Prejudice in Barbados

Unfortunately, there has been no assessment of sexual prejudice in Barbados using an established psychometric inventory. However, Caribbean Development Research Services (CADRES, 2004) compiled a report of face-to-face interview data from 1,457 randomly selected households across Barbados. A major finding of this report was that 87% of Barbadians surveyed opposed decriminalizing consensual sexual acts between male adults. The report authors also note that Barbadians often confused support for decriminalization with a personal endorsement of homosexuality during research interviews. This same study asked respondents to choose between the words *bate*, *tolerate*, and *accept* to describe their feelings toward homosexuals. Of the participants, 16% chose the word *bate*, 17% chose the word *accept*, and 46% chose the word *tolerate*. It is assumed that the remaining percentage of respondents declined to answer. Notably, 31% of participants believed that the word *homosexual* referred only to men. This finding may impact the interpretation of other results. For example, results from items using the word *homosexual* may disproportionately refer to gay men.

There has been one qualitative study of the experiences of gay men in Barbados, chronicling and analyzing communications with queer, male-bodied individuals (Murray, 2009). One finding of this research was the

marked difference in how gay men generally and queer men known as “queens” are regarded by other Barbadians. Although Murray (2009) reports that the label “queen” has multiple meanings, he defines it as men who desire other men, who are outspoken, who respond to harassment in proactive ways, and who display traditional feminine characteristics or wear women’s clothing. Murray (2009) notes that the Barbadian category of “queen” encompasses people who might be considered transgender in the United States, as well as men who dress in drag for entertainment and men who behave in a “flamboyant” fashion. Murray (2009) argues that “queens” receive respect from heterosexual Barbadians despite their negative opinions about queerness. According to the author, this is due to the queens’ “outness,” their constructive participation in the community, and their willingness to stand up to teasing and harassment. The study also suggests that Barbadians, including queer Barbadians fitting the “queen” label, hold more negative attitudes toward gay men who are more masculine or who are closeted in part because of their silence and invisibility and in part because they do not fit into the stereotype of the “queen.” Finally, Murray argues that closeted gay men in Barbados may be seen by more visible gay men as shirking their responsibilities to the gay community. Although this study did not directly investigate the extent of sexual prejudice in Barbadian society, it does provide some insights about the disparate levels of hostility experienced by distinct groups of queer people in Barbados.

The literature concerning HIV/AIDS prevention also yields information about the attitudes of Barbadians toward lesbian and gay people. It has been proposed that cultural beliefs associating HIV/AIDS and homosexuality contribute to negative attitudes about people living with HIV/AIDS in Barbados, because homosexuality is devalued and stigmatized there (Rutledge & Abell, 2005). Further evidence that homosexuality may be stigmatized in Barbados comes from a recent study finding that, among groups of people living with HIV/AIDS, people in the Eastern Caribbean, including Barbadians, were least likely to feel warmth (defined as favorable feelings toward infected or affected persons) for men who have sex with men and intravenous drug users (Abell, Rutledge, McCann, & Padmore, 2007).

Correlates of Sexual Prejudice

Correlations among a few characteristics and sexual prejudice have been found in the literature, which is mostly composed of studies from the United States and Australia. These variables are religiosity, gender, age, education, and personal acquaintance with gay people (Ben-Ari, 1998; Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; Estrada & Weiss, 1999; Fisher, Derison, Polley, & Cadman, 1994; Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Hudson & Ricketts, 1980; Kirkpatrick, 1994; Lim & Johnson, 2001; Morrison, Parriag, & Morrison, 1999; Nelson & Krieger, 1997;

Sneddon & Kremer, 1992; Wills & Crawford, 2000). These relationships have been used to theorize about the nature of sexual prejudice in the cultures in which they were found (e.g., Carnaghi, Maass, & Fasoli, 2011; Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; Fisher et al., 1994; Kirkpatrick, 1994). For example, some academics have suggested that sexual prejudice in the United States is perpetuated by a widespread antigay religious fundamentalist attitude among U.S. citizens (Whitley, 2009). Others have suggested that for men in Italy, demonstrating sexual prejudice has become a way to assert or emphasize one's masculinity in that culture (Carnaghi, Maass, & Fasoli, 2011).

Studies evaluating these theories were preceded by more exploratory research on the correlates of sexual prejudice. The present exploratory study examines relationships between sexual prejudice among Barbadian university students and variables found in previous research to correlate with sexual prejudice. Briefly, the findings in the United States and other nations have been that younger participants display more tolerance than do older participants (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980; Lim & Johnson, 2001; Wills & Crawford, 2000) and that men tend to hold more negative attitudes than women, especially toward gay men (Ben-Ari, 1998; Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Morrison et al., 1999; Nelson & Krieger, 1997). Research has also shown that religious involvement and frequency of religious service attendance correlate positively with homophobia (Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; Estrada & Weiss, 1999; Fisher et al., 1994; Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Kirkpatrick, 1994; Sneddon & Kremer, 1992; Wills & Crawford, 2000). In a meta-analysis of 61 studies on religiosity and homophobia, Whitley (2009) found that certain types of religiosity are more strongly associated with sexual prejudice than others. These include Christian orthodoxy, fundamentalism (a perspective that one set of beliefs represents absolute truth), and intrinsic religious orientation (a tendency to unconditionally accept and attempt to embody religious teachings). Finally, personal acquaintance with a gay man, lesbian, or bisexual person has reliably been shown to inversely relate to homophobic attitudes (Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; Herek, 1988; Herek & Glunt, 1993). Interventions incorporating gay and lesbian speakers have been successful in increasing positive attitudes toward sexual minority people, and survey research has shown negative correlations between homophobia and acquaintance with gay men and lesbians (Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; Herek, 1988; Herek & Glunt, 1993). Published research examining these relationships in Caribbean samples is scarce, although some academics have speculated about the role of religiosity and gender in sexual prejudice in the Anglophone Caribbean.

Religiosity and Sexual Prejudice in the Caribbean

Claude Douglas (2006) asserts that there is a general theme of disapproval or ambivalence that is driven by a set of Judeo-Christian values common to English-speaking Caribbean nations. Marshall and Maynard (2009), in a

qualitative exploration of sexual identity among 101 Jamaican and 52 Barbadian women, noted that a majority of the participants were “deeply opposed to lesbianism for religious reasons” (p. 332). Gutzmore (2004), in an analysis of sexual prejudice in Jamaica, cites religious fundamentalism as one of the key elements in perpetuating homophobia. Similarly, Silvera (1992), in her analysis of the invisibility of lesbians in Jamaican culture, states the following:

Although Christian values have dominated the world, their effect in slave colonies is particular. Our foreparents gained access to literacy through the Bible when they were being indoctrinated by missionaries. It provided powerful and ancient stories of strength, endurance, and hope which reflected their own fight against oppression. This book has been so powerful that it continues to bind our lives with its racism and misogyny. Thus, the importance the Bible plays in Afro-Caribbean culture must be recognized in order to understand the historical and political context for the invisibility of lesbians. (p. 523)

The study conducted by Boxill and his colleagues (2011) in Jamaica confirmed that Jamaicans who are more religious also tend to be more homophobic. In addition, 56% of respondents did not believe it was possible to be simultaneously religious and homosexual. Murray (2009) speculates that Christianity also plays a role in sexual prejudice in Barbados. Specifically, he mentions the increased popularity of fundamentalist denominations (e.g., Pentecostal, Seventh-Day Adventist) as a possible factor in the development of what he sees as an increasingly hostile environment toward queer individuals. Whitley’s (2009) meta-analysis of studies on types of religiosity and sexual prejudice found that a fundamentalist orientation toward religion does predict sexual prejudice in the United States and Canada, providing some support for Murray’s (2009) conjecture.

Gender and Sexual Prejudice in the Caribbean

There has also been some discourse in the Caribbean regarding gender and sexual prejudice. The literature regarding Anglophone Caribbean masculinity generally indicates that Caribbean men are socialized to see effeminate or gentle behavior as weak and undesirable (Crichlow, 2004; Lewis, 2003; Murray, 2002). Murray (2009) argues that the worst insults to a Caribbean man are accusations that he is a “buller,” “battyman,” or “chi chi man,” which are all derogatory slang terms for gay men. If this is true, men may be more likely than women to disvalue queerness, especially among other men. Of course, this is mostly conjecture, as empirical research on the topic is limited to the CADRES (2004) study, which found that Barbadian women were more tolerant of homosexuals than men, and the finding of Boxill and colleagues (2009) that Jamaican women were more accepting than Jamaican

men regarding homosexuality. These findings are similar to findings in non-Caribbean countries regarding gender and sexual prejudice (Ben-Ari, 1998; Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Morrison et al., 1999; Nelson & Krieger, 1997).

STUDY AIMS

Empirical data on sexual prejudice in the English-speaking Caribbean is limited and is nearly nonexistent for Barbados. Sexual prejudice on university campuses has harmful consequences, and Barbadian university students are likely to have an impact on the cultural future of Barbados. For these reasons, an inquiry into Barbadian university students' attitudes about gay and lesbian people is warranted. This exploratory study examines the level of sexual prejudice that exists among Barbadian university students by using two psychometric inventories. This study also examines relationships among sexual prejudice and variables that have been found to correlate with sexual prejudice elsewhere. As mentioned earlier, these are religiosity, gender, age, education, and personal acquaintance with lesbian and gay people. However, the current study will not investigate the impact of age or education, as the sample of interest, university students, has a narrow demographic range in these categories. The present study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What level of sexual prejudice exists among the study sample of Barbadian university students?
2. Is the respondents' level of sexual prejudice toward gay men different from the level of prejudice held toward lesbians?
3. How does religiosity contribute to sexual prejudice among the respondents?
4. How does gender (being female or being male) contribute to sexual prejudice among the respondents?
5. How does interpersonal contact with a lesbian or gay person affect sexual prejudice among the respondents?

METHOD

Participants

All procedures were approved by the applicable university institutional review boards (IRBs). A total of 251 volunteers were recruited from a Barbadian university using a convenience sampling strategy. The sample included 194 (77.3%) women, 190 (75.7%) students of Barbadian nationality, 226 (90%)

undergraduates, and 25 (9.9%) graduate students. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 53, with a mean age of 23.61 ($SD = 6.76$).

Measures

INDEX OF ATTITUDES TOWARD HOMOSEXUALS

The Index of Attitudes Toward Homosexuals (IAH) was developed by Hudson and Ricketts (1980) as a measure of homophobia. It is a 25-item, self-report scale that uses a 5-point Likert-type response format. It includes items such as "I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my neighbour was homosexual," and "I would feel that I had failed as a parent if I learned that my child was gay." An overall index for the IAH is achieved by summing the responses to the items and then applying Hudson and Ricketts' (1980) formula to transfer these scores onto a scale ranging from 0 to 100. Larger scores indicate greater homophobia. The psychometric properties of the IAH were recently reevaluated in the United States using a convenience sample of 331 American college students and were found to be sound. Specifically, internal consistency ($\alpha = .92$) and convergent validity with another measure of antigay bias ($r = .77, p < .05$) were examined (Siebert, Chonody, Rutledge, & Killian, 2009). Research on the IAH using a convenience sample of 150 Australian college students also found the scale to be adequately reliable and valid (Pain & Disney, 1996). This is notable because Barbados and Australia are both members of the Commonwealth of Nations. Pain and Disney (1996) found that the IAH was internally consistent ($\alpha = .94$) and had convergent validity with another measure of homophobia ($r = .84, p < .01$) for their Australian sample. In the present study, internal consistency for the IAH was excellent ($\alpha = .92$). Correlations among the IAH and the two subscales of the Sexual Prejudice Scale (SPS) in this convenience sample were all large ($>.79$), significant ($p < .01$ for each), and positive, providing strong evidence of concurrent validity for both the IAH and the SPS.

The most significant limitation of the IAH is its use of the word *homosexual* in many of the items, as the CADRES (2004) survey suggests that a significant number of Barbadians (31% in the survey sample) believe that the word refers only to men. This misunderstanding may skew the sample's responses.

SEXUAL PREJUDICE SCALE

The Sexual Prejudice Scale (SPS) was developed by Chonody (2009). The scale was originally developed to be used with social work students, and it includes separate subscales for prejudice against gay men and prejudice against lesbians. Each of the subscales contains 15 items that are scored on

a 6-point Likert scale. This measure includes items such as “Lesbians are harming the traditional family” and “Most gay men are promiscuous.”

Overall indexes for the subscales are created by summing the item responses. Scores on either subscale can range from 15 to 90, with higher scores indicating greater prejudice. The subscale scores may be combined to give an overall indicator of sexual prejudice. The main strengths of this measure are that it is contemporary, it was designed for use with students, and it is able to separate bias against gay men from bias against lesbians. Content validity for the SPS was established with a formal validation study that used a convenience sample of 851 American university students and also incorporated quantitative and qualitative feedback from a panel composed of 6 substantive and methodological experts. The subscales of the SPS were also found to have convergent validity with an established measure of antigay bias (gay men subscale, $r = .50$, $p < .01$; lesbian subscale, $r = .52$, $p < .001$). In addition, measures of internal consistency were good for both the lesbian subscale ($\alpha = .95$) and the gay men subscale ($\alpha = .94$) of the SPS. In the present study, measures of internal consistency for the lesbian ($\alpha = .87$) and gay men subscales ($\alpha = .89$) were also good.

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

A demographic questionnaire was developed for the purposes of this study, and included items regarding gender, field of study, nationality, age, religious involvement, and personal acquaintances with gay and lesbian people.

Two items were included on the demographic questionnaire to provide indicators of religiosity. The first item, “How often do you attend religious services?” is scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from “never” to “always.” The second item, “My religious faith is important to me,” is scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.”

A single yes or no item, “I know a person who is gay, lesbian, or bisexual,” served as an indicator of personal acquaintance with a gay or lesbian person.

Sampling Strategy

A convenience sampling strategy was employed to obtain participants from a Barbadian university. First, the deans of each of the five faculties at the university were approached for permission to survey students within their faculties. Only three gave their permission. Next, the researchers approached individual lecturers from the approved faculties to ask for appointments to

administer surveys during class time. Participants from those lecturers' classes were then approached directly during the regular class meeting time.

Procedure

Participants were approached in person in classrooms during class time. They were informed of confidentiality practices by researchers. Those who agreed to participate read and signed a consent form. They were then asked to complete a survey packet that included a demographic questionnaire, Part 1 of the Sexual Prejudice Scale (gay men subscale), Part 2 of the Sexual Prejudice Scale (lesbian subscale), the Index of Attitudes Toward Homosexuals, and an optional page soliciting comments about the survey items. All participants filled out the measures in that order. Given the potentially sensitive nature of the inventories presented, participation was anonymous and efforts were made to physically separate participants during administration. Surveys were completed in the classroom. Instructors were not present during administration and it was explained that participation was unrelated to students' class grade. Students who elected not to participate were given the option to either work on course work or be excused from class. The response rate for this study was approximately 90.3%. Although records of class attendance on the dates of administration were not available, information on enrollment was provided. A total of 278 students were enrolled in the surveyed courses. Of those, 251 participated.

Analyses

After data collection, general linear modeling techniques were used to address the primary research questions. Twenty-six participants (10% of the sample) provided incomplete data. Missing responses were addressed using listwise deletion; analyses were carried out using data from the 225 participants that provided complete responses. Participants with missing data were demographically similar to those not missing data. In addition, point-biserial correlations revealed no statistically significant relationships between missing responses and scores on the three outcome measures of sexual prejudice.

RESULTS

Sexual Prejudice Among Barbadian Students

The central question of what level of sexual prejudice Barbadian students hold against lesbians and gay men was addressed using the Index of Attitudes Toward Homosexuals (IAH; Hudson & Ricketts, 1980) and the Sexual

Prejudice Scale (SPS; Chonody, 2009). For this sample, scores on the IAH ranged from 2 to 98, with a mean of 58.51 ($SD = 20.56$). Higher scores on the IAH indicate greater homophobia or sexual prejudice; Hudson and Ricketts (1980) interpret scores above 50 to indicate homophobia. For purposes of comparison, the mean score of participants ($N = 300$) in the original validation study of the IAH was 53 (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980). The mean score of a contemporary U.S. sample ($N = 331$) was 52.57 (Siebert, Chonody, Rutledge, & Killian, 2009), and the mean score of an Australian sample ($N = 150$) was 60.9 (Pain & Disney, 1996).

Scores on the gay men subscale of the SPS ranged from 17 to 88 in this study, with a mean of 53.13 ($SD = 14.58$). Higher scores on the SPS gay men subscale indicate greater sexual prejudice against gay men. The mean score of participants ($N = 851$) in the initial validation study of the SPS was 31.53 for the gay men subscale (Chonody, 2009).

Finally, for this study, scores on the lesbian subscale of the SPS ranged from 20 to 88, with a mean of 51.58 ($SD = 13.70$). Higher scores on the lesbian subscale of the SPS indicate greater sexual prejudice. For purposes of comparison, the mean score of participants ($N = 851$) in the initial validation study of the SPS was 30.41 on the lesbian subscale.

Levels of Sexual Prejudice Against Lesbians and Gay Men

To investigate whether Barbadian students were more prejudiced against either lesbians or gay men, paired samples t-tests were conducted to compare respondents' scores on the lesbian and gay men subscales of the SPS. There was a very small (1.55, $SD = 8.45$) overall difference in mean scores for the subscales, suggesting that students are more prejudiced toward gay men, $t(224) = 2.75, p < .01$. However, when this relationship was explored by the participants' gender, there was no statistically significant difference between female students' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. There was a larger difference, though, between men's scores on the lesbian subscale of the SPS (52.9, $SD = 12.87$) and their scores on the gay men subscale (57.5, $SD = 13.88$), $t(53) = 3.92, p < .001$. The effect size (Cohen's d) was somewhat small for this test at .33 and the achieved power, calculated using G*Power in a post hoc analysis, was .66. This group of tests suggests that male students hold more prejudice against gay men than lesbians, and that female students hold approximately equal amounts of prejudice against gay men and lesbians.

Predicting Scores on the Index of Attitudes Toward Homosexuals

A multiple linear regression was conducted to investigate how religiosity, gender, and interpersonal contact with a lesbian or gay person contribute

to sexual prejudice (as measured by the IAH) in this sample. Prior to conducting the analysis, variables were checked for normality using skewness and kurtosis statistics. A correlation table of the predictor variables was also examined. Personal acquaintance with a lesbian or gay person had small ($<.12$) and non-statistically significant bivariate correlation with each of the other predictors and with the outcome variable, so it was left out of the analysis. The correlation between the two indicators of religiosity was somewhat large (.631), so tolerance values were examined for each indicator. At .58 and .59, the tolerance values were high enough to indicate that collinearity was not an issue. However, frequency of religious service attendance did not make a statistically significant contribution to the model and accounted for only .6% of the variance in IAH scores, so it was removed from analysis. The final model, which included gender and importance of religious faith as predictors, was statistically significant and accounted for 19.8% of the variance in sexual prejudice as measured by the IAH, $R^2 = .198$, $F(2, 9368) = 27.35$, $p < .001$. A post hoc power analysis was conducted using G*Power for this regression model. The effect size (Cohen's f^2) was small (.25), but the achieved power was more than adequate at .99. Both gender and importance of religious faith were statistically significant predictors of sexual prejudice. Being male predicted higher scores on the IAH, $B = -11.09$, $SE_B = 2.9$, $p < .001$. Also, as importance of religious faith increased, so did IAH scores, $B = 7.59$, $SE_B = 1.2$, $p < .001$.

Predicting Scores on the Gay Men Subscale of the Sexual Prejudice Scale

Another multiple linear regression was conducted to investigate how religiosity, gender, and interpersonal contact with a lesbian or gay person contribute to sexual prejudice against gay men (as measured by the gay men subscale of the SPS) in this sample. Again, prior to conducting the analysis, variables were checked for normality using skewness and kurtosis statistics. A correlation table of the predictor variables was also examined. Personal acquaintance with a lesbian or gay person also had a small (.06) and non-statistically significant correlation with gay men subscale scores, so it was left out of the present analysis, thus leaving the two indicators of religiosity and gender as predictors. The overall model was statistically significant and accounted for 24.6% of the variance in sexual prejudice as measured by the SPS gay men subscale, $R^2 = .246$, $F(3, 3910) = 24.10$, $p < .001$. The effect size (Cohen's f^2) for this regression was somewhat small at .33 and the achieved power, as calculated in a post hoc analysis, was .99. All predictor variables made a statistically significant contribution to the model. Being male predicted higher scores on the gay men subscale of the SPS, $B = -7.23$, $SE_B = 4.84$, $p < .001$. Also, as importance of religious faith increased, so

did subscale scores, $B = 4.83$, $SE_B = 1.04$, $p < .001$. Finally, as frequency of religious service attendance increased, so did the gay men subscale scores, $B = 1.92$, $SE_B = .159$, $p < .05$.

Predicting Scores on the Lesbian Subscale of the Sexual Prejudice Scale

A final multiple linear regression was conducted to investigate how religiosity, gender, and interpersonal contact with a lesbian or gay person contribute to sexual prejudice against lesbians (as measured by the SPS lesbian subscale) in this sample. Prior to conducting the analysis, variables were checked for normality using skewness and kurtosis statistics. A correlation table of the predictors was also examined. Again, personal acquaintance with a lesbian or gay person had a small (.04) and non-statistically significant correlation with the outcome variable, so it was left out of the analysis. The first model tested included gender and the two indicators of religiosity as predictor variables. Gender and frequency of religious service attendance did not make a statistically significant contribution to the model and together accounted for only .02% of the variance in the lesbian subscale scores, so they were removed from the analysis. The final model, which included only importance of religious faith as a predictor, was statistically significant and accounted for 23.6% of the variance in sexual prejudice against lesbians as measured by the SPS lesbian subscale, $R^2 = .236$, $F(1, 9874) = 68.5$, $p < .001$. The effect size (Cohen's f^2) for this regression was small at .30. The achieved power, as calculated in a post hoc analysis, was .99. Importance of religious faith made a statistically significant contribution to SPS lesbian subscale scores, with scores increasing as religious faith increased, $B = 6.27$, $SE_B = .758$, $p < .001$.

DISCUSSION

According to these results, Barbadian students evidence diverse attitudes toward lesbian and gay people. However, this study also suggests that the average Barbadian student still holds a moderate amount of sexual prejudice against lesbians and gay men. This is in agreement with previous sociological examinations of attitudes toward homosexuality in Barbados that find ambivalence or disapproval (Douglas, 2006; Marshall & Maynard, 2009; Murray, 2006) and also with the findings that stigma against lesbians and gay men continues to exist in Barbados (Abell, Rutledge, McCann, & Padmore, 2007; CADRES, 2004; Rutledge & Abell, 2005).

The finding that male students have more sexual prejudice toward gay men than female students was not unexpected, as this has been consistently

noted in the international research on homophobia (Ben-Ari, 1998; Herek & Capitano, 1995; Morrison et al., 1999; Nelson & Krieger, 1997). The finding that men held more sexual prejudice toward gay men than toward lesbians is more interesting, although this and other gender differences in sexual prejudice have been reported elsewhere (Nagoshi et al., 2008). Some sociological research in the Eastern Caribbean has suggested that boys are socialized to devalue and avoid effeminate or gentle behavior in themselves and in others, which may contribute to a greater amount of prejudice toward gay men among Barbadian men (Crichlow, 2004; Lewis, 2003; Murray, 2002).

Greater importance of religious faith predicted more sexual prejudice on all of the measures used, suggesting that religiosity plays a role in Barbadian students' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. This finding makes sense in terms of the sociological literature that cites religious values as a main cultural barrier to acceptance of sexual diversity in the English-speaking Caribbean (e.g., Douglas, 2006; Marshall & Maynard, 2009). More research on the facets of religiosity that could affect attitudes toward sexual diversity in Barbados will be necessary to identify specific beliefs or practices that may lead to prejudice or discrimination.

Personal acquaintance with a gay person was, contrary to findings from international research on sexual prejudice, not a predictor of positive attitudes toward lesbian and gay people in this study (Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; Herek, 1988; Herek & Glunt, 1993). While it is possible that personal acquaintance with a lesbian or gay person is not related to sexual prejudice among Barbadian university students, there are other potential explanations for this finding. There was little variability in responses for this item, with 91.9% of respondents indicating that they knew a lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB) person. This could have affected the regression analyses. In addition, personal acquaintance with a lesbian or gay person was measured by agreement with the statement, "I know someone who is gay, lesbian, or bisexual." This is a general statement and does not indicate level of closeness to or fondness for the person known. Future research should reexamine this relationship using a more detailed measure of the type and quality of personal contact with lesbian or gay people.

Limitations

This study has some important limitations. Convenience sampling was used to gather the study sample and only three of the five university faculties allowed student participation in the research project. In order to generalize research results beyond those completing the study, a random or representative sample of students at the university would have been necessary. Only those who agreed or self-selected into the study (thus the term *convenience* sampling) completed the survey, and it is possible that those who

self-selected to participate may be systematically different in their attitudes from those who chose not to participate. In addition, the use of convenience samples may fail to meet some required assumptions for the statistical analyses to be valid, so caution should be used in the interpretation of these analyses (Berk, 2004, chiefly pp. 45–51). Finally, the popular press extensively covered a story during the month that data collection occurred that detailed the claims of a local man who said that gay people were fraudulently seeking refugee status in Canada through false claims of abuse suffered in Barbados (Bradshaw, 2011; Jordan, 2011a). It is possible that the coverage of this story could have affected public opinion and as a result, the internal validity of the study. Campbell and Stanley (1963) originally identified the specific internal validity effect of particular external community events on study participants as *history*. For example, the portrayal of gay Barbadians as dishonest could increase negative sentiment toward lesbian and gay people. Alternatively, the story could put pressure on citizens to report more positive attitudes in order to counter negative international attention about the reports of homophobic violence.

CONCLUSION

Despite the limitations, this study is the first of its kind to be conducted in Barbados on university students. The attitudes of university students are important to assess, as student attitudes have a great impact on campus climate. In the United States, perceived prejudice from other students is associated with social isolation and poor academic performance among lesbian and gay students (Cramer, 2002). In addition, sexual minority students in the United States report feeling less of a sense of community on campus than other students do, and they are more likely to report symptoms of depression (Westefeld et al., 2001; Zapata, 2000). This research shows that the attitudes of the student body toward lesbians and gay men can have an impact on the academic performance and mental health of sexual minority students. Therefore, this study points to a need for developing culturally sensitive interventions aimed at reducing sexual prejudice among Barbadian students, who evidence moderately negative attitudes toward their lesbian and gay peers. Furthermore, the study suggests that faith plays a role in Barbadian students' homophobic attitudes. Religious faith has been previously identified as an important cultural barrier to acceptance of sexual diversity in the English-speaking Caribbean (e.g., Douglas, 2006; Marshall & Maynard, 2009). This evidence suggests that the development of interventions aimed at reducing sexual prejudice in Barbados should involve religious officials and organizations. More research is needed to determine the particular role of religiosity in attitudes toward sexual diversity in Barbados and to explore how religious organizations might be involved in changing those attitudes.

This study may also serve as a guide to other researchers seeking to explore more broadly Eastern Caribbean students' attitudes and those of the general population of Barbados toward lesbian and gay people. Academic and popular literature indicates that complex nuances exist with regard to individual attitudes that may warrant more qualitative exploration. It may be especially useful to focus on aspects of religious life that contribute to sexual prejudice.

Topics that could reveal barriers to quality health care should also be studied, such as the question of whether Barbadians commonly subscribe to myths regarding HIV and homosexuality. If it turns out that people commonly conflate HIV and homosexuality, fear of being stigmatized or labeled as gay could ostensibly prevent a person of any sexual orientation from seeking HIV services. The attitudes of health care providers toward lesbian and gay people should also be researched, as the attitudes of these providers could impact the quality of health care for a segment of the Barbadian population. The perceived attitudes of health care providers toward sexual diversity have been shown to influence treatment adherence and self-disclosure among lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) patients. This includes disclosure of sexual risk behaviors (Bodenlos et al., 2007; Cornelson, 1998; Kinsler, Wong, Sayles, Davis, & Cunningham, 2007).

The study of community attitudes toward lesbian and gay people is a controversial but important topic for Barbados as it is throughout the world. These attitudes have implications for public health, discrimination in housing and employment, and public policy. In order to confront issues that arise due to the attitudes of the public and to develop appropriate social policy and culturally sensitive evidence-tested clinical practices, it is necessary first to determine what those attitudes are and how they translate into action. This study represents one small step toward our understanding of these matters.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was supported in part by a grant from the Foundation for the Scientific Study of Sexuality. The authors would like to acknowledge Meghan Watson for her support in preparing this manuscript.

REFERENCES

- Abell, N., Rutledge, S. E., McCann, T. J., & Padmore, J. (2007). Examining HIV/AIDS provider stigma: Assessing regional concerns in the islands of the Eastern Caribbean. *AIDS Care, 19*(2), 242–247.
- Acosta, D. (2011, May 17). Homophobia in the Caribbean varies widely. *Caribbean, 360*. Retrieved from http://www.caribbean360.com/news/cuba_news/429422.html?utm_source=twitterfeed&utm_medium=twitter#axzz1MciTPrDU

- Ben-Ari, A. T. (1998). An experimental attitude change: Social work students and homosexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 36, 59–71.
- Berk, R. A. (2004). *Regression analysis: A constructive critique*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bodenlos, J. S., Grothe, K. B., Whitehead, D., Konkle-Parker, D. J., Jones, G. N., & Brantley, P. J. (2007). Attitudes toward health care providers and appointment attendance in HIV/AIDS patients. *Journal of the Association of Nurses in AIDS Care*, 18(3), 65–73.
- Boxill, I., Martin, J., Russell, R., Waller, L., Meikle, T., & Mitchell, R. (2011). National survey of attitudes and perceptions of Jamaicans towards same sex relationships [University of the West Indies Report]. Retrieved from [http://www.aidsfreeworld.org/Our-Issues/Homophobia/~media/Files/Homophobia/Jamaica%20National%20Survey%20on%20Homophobia.pdf](http://www.aidsfreeworld.org/Our-Issues/Homophobia/~/media/Files/Homophobia/Jamaica%20National%20Survey%20on%20Homophobia.pdf)
- Bradshaw, M. (2011, February 27). Bajan gays upset. *The Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationnews.com/articles/view/12370/>
- Campbell, D. T., & Stanley, J. C. (1963). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Caribbean Development Research Services (CADRES). (2004). *Attitudes toward homosexuals in Barbados*. Bridgetown, Barbados: Author.
- Carnaghi, A., Maass, A., & Fasoli, F. (2011). Enhancing masculinity by slandering homosexuals: The role of homophobic epithets in heterosexual gender identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 37(12), 1655–1665.
- Chonody, J. M. (2009). Measuring sexual prejudice: Development of the Sexual Prejudice Scale. Doctoral dissertation, Florida State University.
- Cornelson, B. M. (1998). Addressing the sexual health needs of gay and bisexual men in health care settings. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality*, 7(3), 261–271.
- Cotton-Huston, A., & Waite, B. (2000). Anti-homosexual attitudes in college students: Predictors and classroom interventions. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 38(3), 117–133.
- Cramer, E. P. (2002). *Addressing homophobia and heterosexism on college campuses*. New York, NY: Harrington Park Press.
- Crichlow, W. (2004). History, (re)memory, testimony and biomythography: Charting a buller man's Trinidadian past. In R. Reddock (Ed.), *Interrogating Caribbean masculinities: Theoretical and empirical analyses* (pp. 185–224). Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.
- Dale, M. (2010). Barriers to HIV prevention in the Anglophone Caribbean. *West Indian Medical Journal*, 59, 34–45.
- Douglas, C. (2006). *Homosexuality in the Caribbean: Crawling out of the closet*. St. Andrew, Grenada: Maryzoon Press.
- Eddy, W., & Forney, D. S. (2000). Assessing campus environments for the lesbian, gay and bisexual population. In V. A. Wall & N. J. Evans (Eds.), *Toward acceptance: Sexual orientation issues on campus* (pp. 131–154). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Estrada, A., & Weiss, D. (1999). Attitudes of military personnel toward homosexuals. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 37(4), 83–97.

- Fisher, R., Derison, D., Polley, C., & Cadman, J. (1994). Religiousness, religious orientation, and attitudes toward gays and lesbians. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 24*, 614–630.
- Glave, T. (2008). *Our Caribbean: A gathering of lesbian and gay writing from the Antilles*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gutzmore, C. (2004). Casting the first stone: Policing of homo/sexuality in Jamaican popular culture. *Interventions, 6*(1), 118–134.
- Herek, G. M. (1988). Heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: Correlates and gender differences. *The Journal of Sex Research, 25*, 451–477.
- Herek, G. M. (2004). Beyond "homophobia": Thinking about sexual prejudice and stigma in the twenty-first century. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy, 2*, 6–24.
- Herek, G., & Capitanio, J. (1995). Black heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in the United States. *The Journal of Sex Research, 25*, 451–477.
- Herek, G., & Glunt, E. (1993). Interpersonal contact and heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men: Results from a national survey. *The Journal of Sex Research, 30*, 239–244.
- Hershberger, S. L., & D'Augelli, A. R. (1995). The impact of victimization on the mental health and suicidality of lesbian, gay, and bisexual youths. *Developmental Psychology, 31*(1), 65–74.
- Hudson, W., & Ricketts, W. (1980). A strategy for the measurement of homophobia. *Journal of Homosexuality, 5*(4), 357–372.
- Jordan, R. (2011a, February 20). Gay scam? *The Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationnews.com/articles/view/gay-scam/>
- Jordan, R. (2011b, February 20). Nine Barbadians, mostly gays, want refugee status in Canada. *The Daily Herald*. Retrieved from <http://www.thedailyherald.com/index.php/regional/2-news/13933-nine-barbadians-mostly-gays-want-refugee-status-in-canada.html>
- Kempadoo, K. (2004). *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, race and sexual labour*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- King, J. (2006). *Outing the centre: Homophobia in Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica: SIT Jamaica: Gender and Development.
- Kinsler, J. J., Wong, M. D., Sayles, J. N., Davis, C., & Cunningham, W. E. (2007). The effect of perceived stigma from a health care provider on access to care among a low-income HIV-positive population. *AIDS Patient Care and STDs, 21*(8), 584–592.
- Kirkpatrick, L. (1994). Fundamentalism, Christian orthodoxy, and intrinsic religious orientation as predictors of discriminatory attitudes. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 32*, 256–268.
- Lewis, L. (2003). Caribbean masculinity: Unpacking the narrative. In L. Lewis (Ed.), *Gender and sexuality in the Caribbean* (pp. 94–128). Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.
- Lewis, R. A., & Carr, R. (2009). Gender, sexuality and exclusion: Sketching the outlines of the Jamaican popular nationalist project. *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies, 3*, 1–22. Retrieved from http://sta.uwi.edu/crgs/november2009/journals/Lewis_Carr.pdf
- Lim, H., & Johnson, M. (2001). Korean social work students' attitudes toward homosexuals. *Journal of Social Work Education, 37*, 545–554.

- Marshall, A., & Maynard, D. (2009). Black female sexual identity: The self defined. *Souls*, 11(3) 327–336.
- Mohammed, P. (2003). A blueprint for gender in Creole Trinidad: Exploring gender mythology through calypsos of the 1920s and 1930s. In L. Lewis (Ed.), *Gender and sexuality in the Caribbean* (pp. 129–168). Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.
- Morrison, T. G., Parriag, A. V., & Morrison, M. A. (1999). The psychometric properties of the homonegativity scale. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 37(4), 111–126.
- Murray, D. A. B. (2002). Who's right? Human rights, sexual rights and social change in Barbados. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 8(3), 267–281.
- Murray, D. A. B. (2009). Bajan queens, nebulous scenes: Sexual diversity in Barbados. *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies*, 3, 1–20. Retrieved from <http://sta.uwi.edu/crgs/november2009/journals/murray.pdf>
- Nagoshi, J. L., Adams, K. A., Terrell, H. K., Hill, E. D., Brzuzy, S., & Nagoshi, C. T. (2008). Gender differences in correlates of homophobia and transphobia. *Sex Roles*, 59, 521–531.
- Nelson, E., & Krieger, S. (1997). Changes in attitudes toward homosexuality in college students: Implementation of a gay men and lesbian peer panel. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 37(4), 111–126.
- Pain, M. D., & Disney, M. E. (1996). Testing the reliability and validity of the Index of Attitudes Toward Homosexuals (IAH) in Australia. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 30(2), 99–110.
- Rankin, S. (2004). Campus climate for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. *The Diversity Factor*, 12(1), 1–3.
- Rutledge, S. E., & Abell, N. (2005). Awareness, acceptance, and action: An emerging framework for understanding AIDS stigmatizing attitudes among community leaders in Barbados. *AIDS Patient Care and STDs*, 19(3), 186–199.
- Siebert, D. C., Chonody, J., Rutledge, S. E., & Killian, M. (2009). Index of Attitudes Toward Homosexuals 30 years later: A psychometric study. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 19(2), 214–220.
- Silvera, M. (1992). Man royals and sodomites: Some thoughts on the invisibility of Afro-Caribbean lesbians. *Feminist Studies*, 18(3), 521–532.
- Skolnik, A., Middlestadt, C., Cervantes, E., Finney, J., Ringer, J., Barretto, J.,... Cruz, V. (2009). *Hate violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people in the United States: 2008* [Report by the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs]. Retrieved from http://www.cuav.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/7971_2008NationalHVRReport.pdf
- Sneddon, I., & Kremer, J. (1992). Sexual behavior and attitudes of university students in Northern Ireland. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 21, 295–312.
- Swim, J. K., Johnston, K., & Pearson, N. B. (2009). Daily experiences with heterosexism: Relations between heterosexist hassles and psychological well-being. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 28(5), 597–629.
- Waters, J., & de Groulard, M. (2012). *Unseen but in the scene none-the-less: Unraveling the enigma of Caribbean men who have sex with men* [Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS Presentation]. Retrieved from [http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/field/image/unraveling%20 the%](http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/field/image/unraveling%20the%20enigma%20of%20caribbean%20men%20who%20have%20sex%20with%20men.pdf)

20enigma% 20 of% 20Caribbean% 20Men% 20who%20have%20sex%20with% 20men.pdf

- Wekker, G.(2006). *The politics of passion: Women's sexual culture in the Afro-Surinamese diaspora*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Westefeld, J. S., Maples, M. R., Buford, B., & Taylor, S. (2001). Gay, lesbian, and bisexual college students: The relationship between sexual orientation and depression, loneliness, and suicide. *Journal of College Student Psychotherapy, 15*(3), 71–82.
- Whitley, B. E. (2009). Religiosity and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: A meta-analysis. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion, 19*(1), 21–38.
- Wills, G., & Crawford, R. (2000). Attitudes toward homosexuality in Shreveport-Bossier City, Louisiana. *Journal of Homosexuality, 38*(3), 97–116.
- Zapata, L. P. (2000). The relationship between students' sexual orientation and their psychological sense of collegiate community. Dissertation Abstracts International, A. 61(3-A), (UMI No. AAT 9964343). Retrieved from UMI database.