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One love

Homophobia and the Jamaican press

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Abstract

Södertörns högskola. Institution of Swedish, rhetoric and journalism. A field study in journalism. Level C. Autumn of 2008.

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One love - Homophobia and the Jamaican press

Jamaica is a beautiful island in the Caribbean well known all over the world for its Reggae music and its message of One love. But it is neither the songs about love nor the striking beauty of the island that awoken our interest. It was the widespread homophobia that can be found both in the Reggae lyrics, as they often promotes violence against homosexuals, the law against buggary and in almost every other corner of the society. We wanted to know if this homophobia also could be found in the press. Therefore the aim of this study is to find how LGBT-persons are being described in the Jamaican press. Do the press reflect or oppose the homophobia in the society?

Our theoretical framework is about socialization, identity and the building of a nation, of which in all media is a part. It is also about how alienation is created by the media. Our material contains of all articles from the four main newspapers in Jamaica, The Daily Observer, The Gleaner, The Chat and The Star, that in someway touches LGBT-persons during a two week period, between November 10 and November 23, 2008. We use all of these 27 articles to make a quantitative analysis and four of them are handpicked for a qualitative analysis. As a complement to the articles we use qualitative interviews with the editor in chief of The Daily Observer Vernon Davidson, and the Senior lecturer of Media and Communication at University of West Indies, Canute James.

We find that the homophobia in the society is in some ways reflected by the Jamaican press. LGBT-persons, especially homosexual men, are described as different, abnormal and as standing outside the Jamaican society. This strengthens the alienation. The great reggae and dancehall stars are often more defended than criticized for their homophobic lyrics in the press. What we also find is that there is an ongoing debate about the homophobic hatred as being a part of an old society that it is time for Jamaica to grow out of. In other words the proud Jamaican nation of which the homophobia is a part should change according to some, whilst others do not want their nation to adapt itself to other countries views.

Keywords: Homophobia, Jamaican press, alienation, homosexuality, heteronorm and LGBT.

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1. Introduction

“Homosexuality is genocide” / 25 year old Jamaican man

The human being is exposed to a million of things starting the day she is born. What she is exposed to, starting in her family, is affecting her personality and forming her ideas and ideals, with media being one part when building her identity. Through media, ideal, attitudes, images, values and lifestyles are chosen to be shown, or not shown, to the public. Through media ones opinion can be heard by the rest of the nation and even the world. Publication might and often does affect people’s opinion. Not only media has this effect but plays a part in it together with other institutions in the society. It is not only media itself that choose what is to be shown, but the public, as the media is a product which is adjusted to satisfy the consumers. This makes the media partly a reflection of the public’s attitudes, values etc. as well as the public’s attitudes, values etc. are a reflection of what is shown in media.¹

Throughout history people, who stand outside the heteronorm, and who we in this study refer to as LGBT-persons, Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transgender, have many times been objects of oppression in different societies. In many nations they have been seen as the weak and therefore they are the ones weakening the nation. In times of war or other strain, this attitude among people is strengthened.² People also have a strong urge to define what is normal and what is abnormal. In Christian, Muslim and Jewish countries the need to ban LGBT-persons has been characteristic. While in many other cultures, homosexuality could be a part of every person’s life.³

The small island Jamaica has a population of 2,7 million people⁴ and an environment like a paradise in the middle of the Caribbean. However, people have a huge amount of hatred against certain groups mixed with a huge amount of need for love, harmony and music. Jamaica has a history of slavery⁵. The criminality-rate is very high and the standard of education low. It is also the country with the largest number of Christian churches per capita

¹ Ulf Hannertz, *Medier och kulturer*, Stockholm: Carlsson, 1990, p. 16 f

² Mathilda Piehl, ed. *Hbt i utveckling*, Stockholm: RFSL and Forum Syd, 2008, p. 36

³ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p.146-149

⁴ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

⁵ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

in the world.⁶ The Jamaican music is widely spread all over the world with lyrics about sweet love and freedom, about a world free from racism and hatred. At the same time the same artists sing about burning, and even encourage the audience to burn, all lesbians⁷ and to peel the skin off of gay men.⁸ Gays in Jamaica are believed not to come to heaven. And before they die a natural death, many of LGBT-persons might get shot, burnt or chopped (often with a machete) by their fellow countrymen.⁹ Going to the police is not a priority for a homosexual because of the Jamaican law prohibiting sex between men that can give you up to ten years in prison.¹⁰ The Prime Minister Bruce Golding made it very clear on BBC in Hard talk May 2008 that he would never let a gay man sit in his Cabinet¹¹ and both of the leading parties have used anti-gay songs as slogans during times of election.¹² Jamaican media is a product of the nation's values and attitudes like any other nations media. We have read newspapers and interviewed people that are part of the journalism in Jamaica. It has been an interesting research and even though we thought we were well prepared prior our actual stay in Kingston, a lot of surprises came up during these passed nine weeks.

1.1 Purpose of the study

The purpose of our study is to investigate how LGBT-persons, Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transgender, are described in the press in Jamaica. We investigate if there is a connection between the homophobia in the society and how the issue is handled in the press. The results of these findings will be summarized to reach a conclusion about if, and in that case how, the press reflect or oppose the homophobia of the society.

The study has not been performed to correct the Jamaican society; it has been done to reveal if the press is part of the homophobia that hurt some of the Jamaican citizens.

⁶ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

⁷ Capleton, "Cuyah cuyah"

⁸ Buju Banton, "Boom bye bye"

⁹ "Suspected lovers chopped, burnt", *The Star*, November 18, 2008, p.1, 3

¹⁰ http://www.manskligarattigheter.gov.se/extra/document/?instance=1&action_show_document.533.=1, The Foreign Ministry of Sweden, 2009-01-02, p. 6

¹¹ Interview with Bruce Golding, Prime Minister of Jamaica, in Hard Talk on BBC by Stephen Sackur, May 20, 2008

¹² Rebecca Schleifer, *Hated to death: Homophobia, Violence and Jamaica's HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, pdf, Human Rights Watch, November 15, 2004, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/11894/section/1>, 2008-10-29, p. 13

1.2 Disposition

We will begin our study by explaining how we define the conceptions that will be used throughout the study. After that we will be presenting detailed background information about Jamaica by covering parts of the Jamaican history, its culture and the Jamaican way of living when it comes to education, politics and religion. The Jamaican media will be presented as well as the laws of the country. Why this chapter has been given a lot of space is because the Jamaican background and history are important for today's homophobia. Thereafter the history of LGBT and the different faces of the homophobia will be described to give an understanding on how long it has been an issue throughout the world. We will mention the changes in the law and in the attitudes towards LGBT in Sweden and how the homophobia in Jamaica is a part of the society. We will then continue to the theoretical framework that this study will be based upon. In this chapter the shaping of identity, a person's introduction to socialization and the building of a nation will be discussed. Our research question will then be presented followed by the choice of methods. Here we will explain why and how we plan to use the methods, being quantitative context analysis, qualitative context analysis and qualitative interviewing. We will discuss theories about these methods as well as their area of use. In the next chapter our material will be presented starting with the articles used for the quantitative content analysis followed by the analysis of the four articles chosen for the qualitative analysis. Thereafter the interviews will be published and commented on. After the material chapter the result and conclusion will follow. Every chapter will begin with a statement made by local Jamaicans we have spoken to.

1.3 Conceptions

Our definitions of the conceptions that will be used throughout this study do not differ much from how they are usually defined by others. It is still necessary to define them here to avoid misunderstandings. When doing so we choose to refer to the Swedish gay-right organisation RFSL and use their definitions. They can also be found on RFSL's website www.rfsl.se.

LGBT stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender. The conception is mostly used in the western world but is recognised in most countries. It means people who stand outside the heteronorm. Some organizations have added quiz that stand for queer and/or intersex to the conception.

Homosexuality is the ability to fall in love and/or be sexually attracted to a person of your own sex. We will use the word for both male and female which is not always how it is used. In Jamaica people and also the media tend to mainly speak of homosexuals or gays as only men.

Bisexuality is the ability to fall in love with and/or be sexually attracted to persons of both sexes. A bisexual's identity varies and to be bisexual does not necessarily mean that the person is identically interested in both men and women. One can for example be more sexually attracted to one sex and more likely to fall in love with both or the other way around. We will use the word bisexual in its wider conception.

Transgender is an umbrella term that usually considers individuals whose sexual identity and/or sexual expression at times or always is different from the norm of the sex they were born with. A common mistake is to believe that transsexuals are the same as transvestites. Words like drag queens, drag kings, intersexual, transgenderists and transvestites are included in the conception. After speaking to several Jamaicans we have noticed that they tend to believe transsexuals are men dressed in women's clothes and nothing else. If no other is mentioned we will use the word in its broadening meaning with the belief that a transsexual can only be a person who identifies him- or herself as one.

The heteronorm is based on the assumption that being heterosexual is normal and homo- and bisexuality must be explained, discussed and defended. Everyone who is not heterosexual must therefore "come out" with and defend his or her sexuality. The fundamental conception of the heteronorm is that men are attracted to women, women to men and that the sex you belong to is the sex you should feel like. The heteronorm is strengthened by conscious and unconscious things people in a society say and do. Any deviant from the norm can lead to both positive and negative treatment. It is not seldom that persons who do not fit in the heteronorm get excluded, harassed and exposed to violence. The heteronorm is strong all around the world and neither Sweden nor Jamaica is an exception.

Sodomy is derived from the biblical story of the cities Sodom and Gomorra that God soaked in fire and sulphur because the citizens lived in sin. According to the story they devoted themselves to homosexuality and sex with animals. The conceptions homo- and heterosexuality was first being used in the end of the 19th century. Before that sodomy and

sodolists were used for persons that we today call LGBT. In Jamaica the word sodomy is also being used in acts of paedophilia.¹³

2. Jamaica – a background

“It’s about socialisation. You choose to be gay for economic reasons.” / 25 year old Jamaican man.

Jamaica is the third largest island of the West Indies with a population of 2,7 million (2008). As a former British colony English is still the main language in Jamaica that gained its independence from Great Britain 1962. Most citizens speak the unique language Patois with words from Spanish, French and West African. The two leading political parties are People’s National Party, PNP, and Jamaica Labour Party, JLP. The most important and acute politic problem is the social violence. Jamaica is one of the countries in the world with the highest murder-rate and fights between more than 300 criminal gangs are the most significant reasons for that. The corruption is widely spread in all areas of the society, but the most important ones are the police and judiciary system as well as in the political sphere. The vast majority of the police force is working the streets, not to keep law and order, but to get bribes from the citizens who want to avoid a lengthy trial. Every year the police is said to be executing more than one hundred criminal suspects without giving them a fair trial. The violence often has political dimensions and becomes more intense during times of election. The high unemployment together with poverty, low living standards and a great amount of weapons among the inhabitants, reinforces the unstable situation. A majority of the Jamaican citizens lived abroad in 2002, mainly in Great Britain, The US and Canada.¹⁴

2.1 History

The Spanish colonialism in Jamaica began in 1509. The Indians were forced to labour and slavery. The hard work combined with European illnesses which the natives were not immune to, lead to the extinction of the Jamaican Indians. To have all work done on the sugar plantations, the Spanish started to import slaves from West Africa.¹⁵ The slaves made many

¹³ <http://www.rfsl.se/?p=410>, RFSL, 2009-01-02

¹⁴ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

¹⁵ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

rebellions against their masters, both individually and collectively. It was characteristic for the Jamaican slavery that the African slaves were not easily reined as in other colonies¹⁶. Today more than 90 percent of the Jamaicans have their roots in Africa. The small group of Spanish was defeated by an English military expedition in 1655, and that was the beginning of a 300-year long British occupation of Jamaica.¹⁷

In the 17th century the Spanish started returning to Spain because of their defeat and they either released their slaves, or the slaves, also called Maroons, escaped and soon started to attack the British. The battle between the British and the Maroons kept on until the 19th century when in 1834 Great Britain finally abolished slavery. In the 1940s the two parties Jamaica Labour Party, JLP, and People's National Party, PNP, were established. Both parties fought for the Jamaican independence, which was established August 6, 1962.¹⁸

2.2 Religion

Most people in Jamaica are Lutheran Christians and religion has a very strong position in the Jamaican society. Jamaica is the country in the world which has the largest number of churches (and bars) per capita.¹⁹ Christianity was brought to Jamaica by the colonialism but the African slaves did not adopt it until the Christian missionaries tried to help the slaves regain their freedom and meanwhile teaching them the Christian beliefs.²⁰ Before Christianity the religion of the slaves was Obeah, which Jamaicans nowadays refer to as witchcraft.²¹

2.3 Economy

The Jamaican economy is very vulnerable since all of the four main industries, mining industry, tourism, agriculture and the manufacture industry, are depending on foreign demand. One fourth of the employed Jamaicans work with tourism.

2.4 Politics

Since the 1940s Jamaican politics have been dominated by two parties, the conservative Jamaica Labour Party, JLP, and the socialistic People's National Party, PNP. The ideological

¹⁶ Lesley Gordon, ed., *Jamaica*, Singapore: APA, 2004, p. 51

¹⁷ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

¹⁸ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

¹⁹ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

²⁰ Lesley Gordon, ed. *Jamaica*, Singapore: APA, 2004, p. 51

²¹ Roland Henry, "Obeah enters mainstream commerce", *The Sunday Observer*, 7 May, 2006, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20060506T210000-0500_104063_OBS_OBEAH_ENTERS_MAINSTREAM_COMMERCE.asp, 2008-10-29

differences between the two parties are rather small nowadays with JLP as the leading party.²² JLP was established in 1943 as a political branch to the trade-union movement Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, a connection that still is strong. They launch an industrial politic and promote a close connection to the U.S. The party is led by the Prime Minister Bruce Golding.²³

PNP was established in 1938 and has a close connection to National Workers' Union, another trade-union movement. From being a pronounced socialistic party it has lately moved more to the centre of political views. PNP works for making Jamaica a republic and is from 2006 ruled by Portia Simpson Miller. She comes from a simple background in a poor suburb of Kingston and is popular among women, poor and the many unemployed (13 percent in 2003). PNP ruled Jamaica from 1989 to the latest election in 2007 that was won by JLP with 50,1 percent of the votes whilst PNP got 49,8 percent.²⁴

2.5 Violence

Murder, shooting, rape, carnal abuse, robbery, larceny and burglary are regarded as major crimes in Jamaica. A total of 7 283 crimes were reported in 2007, which was 42 more than the year before, according to The economic and social survey - Jamaica in 2007. The year 2006 there were 50 murders in 100 000 inhabitants. It was a reduction from the year before when there were 62 murders in 100 000 inhabitants. In 2007 the murder rate increased as 1574 people were killed which is 59 murders in 100 000 inhabitants. 58,7 percent of the victims were between 20 and 39 years old, and in 49,2 percent of the cases the motive was gang related. In 79,1 percent a gun was used as the murder weapon.²⁵ Between 1999 and 2007, 1000 persons were killed by the police.²⁶ Policemen suspected for homicide or for murder are rarely convicted. From 2003 to 2007 no case with police suspected for homicide or for murder led to conviction. In November 2008 the Cabinet voted to keep the Capital punishment which has not been used since 1988.²⁷ Around 50 prisoners were still awaiting death penalty in 2007.²⁸

²² <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

²³ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

²⁴ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

²⁵ Planning Institute of Jamaica, *Economic and Social Survey Jamaica*, Kingston: Planning Institute of Jamaica, 2008, p. 24.3-24.7

²⁶ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

²⁷ <http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20081220/lead/lead4.html>, The Gleaner, 2009-01-02

²⁸ http://www.manskligarattigheter.gov.se/extra/document/?instance=1&action_show_document.533.=1, The Foreign Ministry of Sweden, 2009-01-02, p. 2-3

The Swedish Institute of foreign politics writes on the website landguiden.se that violence and discrimination against women is very common. Much of the violence towards women is not being reported, often because they occur in their own homes. In 2006, 635 cases of rape were reported, the maximum sentence for rape is 25 years in prison. Prostitution is forbidden but does appear reportedly. Also child prostitution is said to be a serious problem together with physical and sexual encroachments against children, as well as child trafficking. It is prohibited by law to discriminate because of race, sex or religion. But it is not prohibited to discriminate because of sexual preferences or sexual identity. The punishment for sexual acts between men is ten years according to the Swedish governmental office. Former Prime Minister Patterson declared openly and clearly that this law is not going to be changed.²⁹

2.6 Education

In Jamaica school is obligatory from six to eleven years of age and free of charge. The ministry of education states that 99 percent of the children are registered in school, but their presence comes up to only 78 percent, according to a report by The Foreign Ministry of Sweden in 2007. The report also states that in some areas in the country only 50 percent of the registered children actually go to school. This is probably an effect of the economical conditions which in some cases forces the children to work instead of going to school. By having the children at home you do not have to spend money on extra costs which the school demands.³⁰ Illiteracy is a problem even for them who graduates, as one third of the children can neither read nor write after six years in school. The compulsory school is followed by a three-year secondary school and thereafter a four-year upper secondary school. These last seven years are expensive and eligible which exclude many. There are also vocational educations to be chosen. Three of four students continue the eligible studies. The colleges in Jamaica are technology school, University of agriculture, Teachers' training college and the University of the West Indies in Kingston, founded 1948, where all the classic educations are offered, with a certain cost. The education of journalism is called Media and Communication and is between three and five years long depending on the degree.³¹

²⁹ http://www.manskligarattigheter.gov.se/extra/document/?instance=1&action_show_document.533.=1, The Foreign Ministry of Sweden, 2009-01-02 p. 5-6

³⁰ http://www.manskligarattigheter.gov.se/extra/document/?instance=1&action_show_document.533.=1, The Foreign Ministry of Sweden, 2009-01-02, p. 5

³¹ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

2.7 Media

There are two main newspapers, The Gleaner and the Daily Observer. The Gleaner, was established in 1834 and they publish Monday to Saturday with an edition of 50 000. It is privately owned by different companies and institutional shareholders. The Sunday Gleaner reaches twice as many readers as The Daily Gleaner. The Gleaner-group also publishes for example the evening paper The Daily Star with an edition of 45 000 and the Weekly Gleaner, which is distributed to 22 American and eight Canadian cities. It also has a British edition and they are all distributed to keep Jamaicans abroad updated on Caribbean news.³² The Star publishes Monday to Saturday.

The Gleaner's main competitor is The Daily Observer, privately owned by Gordon Stewart, who also has interests in tourism on the island. The Daily Observer was established in 1993 and has an afternoon edition called The Chat that publish Monday to Thursday with a Friday weekend edition. The target group for the two daily papers is people from low- and middleclass with an interest in mainly the important issues within the country but also international information, according to Canute James, senior lecturer of Media and Communication at University of West Indies.³³ The Chat and The Star are typical tabloids that cover different stories and are both sensationalised, also according to James. Their target group is people who are mainly interested in what is going on and who is doing what. James also points out the importance of understanding that because Jamaica is such a small country journalists have to deal with the village mentality meaning that everyone knows one another. For the journalists this might mean that they for example have to cover stories about people the journalists themselves may know privately. When it comes to electronic media there are two main groups for television and radio. There are also the religious stations LoveFM and LoveTV and lots of other commercial radio stations.³⁴

2.8 Rastafari and the reggae culture

Between one and five percent of the population belong to the Rastafari-movement which has a close connection to the reggae music. According to Kwame Dawes, from the University of South Carolina, Rastafari is one of the most complex and insightful reactions to colonialism and the oppression of blacks. In the foreword of "Rastafari. From Outcasts to Culture

³² <http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com>, The Gleaner, 2008-11-04

³³ Interview with Canute James, November 19, 2008

³⁴ Interview with Canute James, November 19, 2008

Bearers” by Ennis Barrington Edmonds, Kwame Dawes writes that there has always been a Jamaican counterculture that celebrates Africa and rejects European values³⁵.

The historical roots of the Rastafari movement go back to the first part of the 20th century when Haile Selassie, also known as his original name Ras Tafari, was crowned the emperor of Ethiopia. Slavery was considered an evil that had its origin in the sorcery of the white people and Ethiopia became the model for black power.³⁶

Ennis Barrington Edmonds writes that a man named Leonard Howell appears to be the first to have introduced the idea of Selassie’s divinity to the public in Jamaica. At that time few people could ever imagine the profound effect the movement would have on the society.³⁷ Howell also divined himself as a messenger of God, Selassie. A revolutionary message that his followers accepted. Howell advocated hatred of and violence against white people to revenge the many years in slavery and he declared the black race superior to the white. The movement should only be true to Selassie and withdraw from the British crown. After spending two years in prison for revolutionary potential he established a Rastafarian commune in Pinnacle, an abandoned colonial estate in Sligoville, St. Cathrine. The commune was self-supportive by growing local food and trading ganja³⁸. After a police-raid in 1941 Howell was imprisoned for another two years together with a number of his men, said to have been harassing the peasant farmers who lived nearby Pinnacle. He returned in 1943 and formed an even stricter security in the commune but 1954 police feared that Pinnacle was becoming a guerrilla training camp and yet again raided the estate. Members were scattered and many ended up in the slums of Kingston. This was the end of Howell as the leader of the movement. The movement itself continued and is still a part of Jamaican culture and religion.³⁹

The reggae has its roots in Jamaica and the Rastafari movement. It has grown to be an important part of the culture for all the English-speaking parts of the West Indies.⁴⁰ Bob

³⁵ Ennis Barrington Edmonds, *Rastafari, from outcasts to culture bearers*, Oxford: Oxford University press, 2003, p. 1

³⁶ Ennis Barrington Edmonds, *Rastafari, from outcasts to culture bearers*, Oxford: Oxford University press, 2003, p. 32-33

³⁷ Lesley Gordon, ed. *Jamaica*, Singapore: APA, 2004, p. 51

³⁸ marijuana

³⁹ Ennis Barrington Edmonds, *Rastafari, from outcasts to culture bearers*, Oxford: Oxford University press, 2003, p. 32-38

⁴⁰ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

Marley is one of the greatest reggae artists ever and has become a symbol for reggae and has been dubbed the psalmist and prophet of the Rastafari movement⁴¹.

Reggae-lyrics are often political and do also include homophobic messages, like for example in Buju Banton's song Boom Bye-Bye⁴² where he says gays have to die. Lyrics like this started a great and worldwide debate between reggae artists and gay activists. The debate has for example resulted in the document Reggae Compassionate Act, written by top reggae promoters and Stop Murder Music activists. It dissociates itself from all forms of racism, violence, sexism or homophobia and declares One love to be the main message of the Reggae music. The document has been signed by three of the most famous artist, Beenie Man, Sizzla and Capleton, who earlier has had homophobic lyrics, according to an article written by Jon Voss, June 14, 2007, in QX, Scandinavia's largest gay and queer community⁴³. Artists like Elephant Man, Buju Banton, TOK, Bounty Killer and Vybz Kartel has chosen not to sign. The reason being that the document is not representative to their music and beliefs, according to Teino Evans at the news website, The latest from the Caribbean.⁴⁴

This subject also has strong connection with Sweden. The Jamaican culture and approach in the subject has been spread all over the world together with the popular reggae music. The greatest reggae artist, Bob Marley, has become an icon also in Sweden. Many Jamaican artists invited to perform on Swedish scenes sometimes use their lyrics to reach out with their hatred and encourage the audience to use violence against homosexuals. According to the artists themselves, they use metaphors only and do not mean that people should hurt homosexuals. Elephant Man, who has toured in Sweden, sings in one of his songs: "Log on, and step on chi chi (means the same as homosexual) men. Step on him like an old cloth. We're dancing to burn out all freaky men. We're dancing to crush out all chi chi men."⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ennis Barrington Edmonds, *Rastafari, from outcasts to culture bearers*, Oxford: Oxford University press, 2003, p. 4

⁴² Buju Banton, "Boom bye bye"

⁴³ <http://www.qx.se/5230/reggaeartister-stottar-antihomofobikampanj>, QX, 2007-06-14

⁴⁴ <http://www.ttgapers.com/Article1777.html>, The latest from the Caribbean, 2007-06-30

⁴⁵ Elephant man, "Chi chi man"

3. Outside the heteronorm

“Homosexuals are revolting” Vernon Davidson, editor in chief of The Daily Observer.

This chapter aims to cover the background of LGBT and show the effect homophobia has had on different societies in all parts of the world throughout the history. It will also present the changes made in the Swedish law that has affected the people's attitudes towards homosexuals as well as explain which part the homophobia plays in the Jamaican society today.

3.1 The illegalization of homosexuality

Homosexuality and transvestism have existed during all times and at all continents according to the book *“Gay. En världshistoria”* edited by Robert Aldrich. There it is said that already in ancient times there are written stories about men loving men, as well as women loving women. In the 7th century B.C. Sapfo writes poems about her love for women on her own island, named Lesbos, from which the name for love between women, lesbianism, has its origin. In the 12th century B.C. Homers describes in the Iliad the love between Patroklos and Achilles. Love between equal sex, men as well as women, is mentioned in the Old Testament, but condemned as sodomy both by Judaism and Christianity. At the same time the same thing is described in China in the friendship between duke Ling and Mizi Xia, and from India in the epos Mahabharata with the relationship between Krishna and Arjuna. There are lots of signs showing that sodomy and transvestism were frequently existent, all over the world since ancient times, but it has been described and valued in many different ways.⁴⁶

There are documents from the 4th century B.C. explaining an order with elderly men honouring younger men with presents. When the two men had become lovers, the young one received a certain status among the elite. Few documents, though, talk about lesbian relations, but this does not necessarily show the lack of it, but can be seen as a result of the dominating patriarchal system. At this time, sexuality was not yet considered as only being something for reproduction and marriage, as was the case after the spreading of Christianity. Neither had the Greek language yet invented words for hetero- and homosexuality.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 7

⁴⁷ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 30-47

From older and high medieval time, there are no sources describing neither the life of homosexuals, nor any judicial persecution of them. The reason is that the concept homosexual not yet was established and that humans loving someone of the same sex were not regarded as a category of their own. On the other hand there were punishments for sexual acts which could not lead to reproduction, since that was considered against "nature". Homosexuality was at that time in Europe looked upon as equal with sex with animals and punishment for that was decided by the church and the jurisdiction of the bishops. In 13th century homosexual men began to be called sodomites and they were at this time handed over to the Inquisition.⁴⁸

In the 14th and 15th centuries special commissions were created in the bigger cities in Europe, to persecute sodomites and to pronounce death sentences for the crime. A witch hunt of men having sex with men started and few were afraid of reporting suspected persons. Still there grew, along with the witch hunt, cultural circles among the homosexuals with exchange of letters and poetry, and whence homoerotic literature. At this time laws were established around Europe making the act of sex between persons of equal sex a crime and punished it with torture and death. Many were those who got castrated and also different parts of the body, like feet, got amputated or eyes put out. It was enough with a verbal or an anonymous charge to start an investigation, which most often included torture. Also a large sum of money was offered to those who contributed a name of a sodomite in Venice and Florence, in the 15th century.⁴⁹

From the 15th to the 18th centuries the prosecution of sodomites continued in Europe. The sodomites were not regarded as a special group of men. Instead sodomy was looked upon as an act that most men could be tempted to do. Many medical doctors stated that sex between equal sexes was caused by special sexual preferences, physical character or individual nature and sodomy was not considered a disposition which stayed all life. Certain food and a lot of feasting could for example tempt the man.⁵⁰

In the 18th century homosexual subcultures were established in many cities in Europe. They might have existed already since three generations back, but no written documents can prove

⁴⁸ The inquisition was stated by the pope Gregarious IX year 1233 which gave the church the juridical right to execute people who were declared guilty even if it was with the help of torture. Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 58

⁴⁹ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 57-75

⁵⁰ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 86

their existence earlier than 18th century. The largest among the homosexual subcultures were found in Paris, London and Amsterdam. The reason for that may have been that the police were more organized in those cities. Still at this time the laws in Europe stipulated death sentence for sodomy. Often the condemned were burned at the stake, decapitated or drowned in a barrel. In Sweden there was no law against sodomy until 1608. Before that sodomites were condemned in consistence with the law against sex with animals. Many of the trials against the sodomites in Sweden resulted in death penalty. In Finland a special law against homosexual acts was not written until 1889. The last execution for sodomy in Europe took place in 1803 in the Netherlands. The decriminalization of sodomy started in France in September 1791 after the French Revolution. This eventually came to influence the rest of Europe. Though the law against sodomy was removed in many countries, other laws could and were used against homosexuals, such as laws against indecent behaviour. Outside Europe homosexual relations and transvestism were not unusual and often not illegal. During colonial times many countries were forced to adopt the Christian family structure and sexual patterns, which could be totally new for the people in the colonized countries. Laws were introduced to prohibit homosexuality in favour of monogamy marriage.⁵¹

Hernán Cortes, the conquistador, came to Mexico in 1519 and reported to his Emperor Charles V that the Mexicans in Vera Cruz dedicated themselves to the horrible sodomy. Similar stories were found in documents from both North- and South America. From Angola there are written documents from the 17th century talking about grown up men, dressed in female clothes, having relationships and also often marriages with other men. Reports from other places in Africa have described cultures with homosexual relations going on until heterosexual marriage was established.⁵²

First time the word homosexuality may have been used can be by Károly Mária von Kertbeny from Hungary. This was when he in 1869 writes a letter to the Minister of Law requiring the laws against homosexuality to be withdrawn. After that the term was used first in medical context and later in common language. It was through the term homosexual and the medical and psychiatric research of the homosexuals that they started to be classified as a specific art or group of people. Physiological proofs were traced to show the sexual disposition of the individual. In the end of the 19th century homosexuality was defined as a perversion. It was

⁵¹ Mathilda Piehl, ed. *Hbt i utveckling*, Stockholm: RFSL and Forum Syd, 2008, p. 36

⁵² Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 146-149

believed that it could be congenital and therefore not considered criminal. Another thought was that it might be due to a bad way of living, prostitution or seduction and if so, it should be possible to treat.⁵³

In the 1930s homosexuals were often associated with communists. This was because the Soviet Union was tolerant towards homosexuals and supported many of their campaigns. If someone was homosexual and also a communist, he was specifically noticed in media and this spread rather accepting attitudes towards homosexuals. From the years after 1934 even the Russian attitude towards homosexuals hardened and a new law against homosexuality was adopted, including up to 5 years in prison or penal servitude. Later on the penalty also included deporting to the Gulag. During this time lesbians were sent to mental hospitals for treatment. During Nazism in Germany, there was a growing fear of behaviour that could weaken the structures of the society with the core family as the basis for clear and obvious sex roles. In 1933 the papers, the bars and communities of homosexuals were prohibited. In 1935 the law against homosexuals became even harder including all sorts of acts to be considered acts of homosexuality. Heinrich Himmler was the central figure in the development of the homophobia in Germany during the WW2, which turned out to become yet another witch hunt of homosexuals as they were sent to and killed in the concentration camps.⁵⁴

When the society is exposed to crises like poverty or war, it is not unusual that pressure towards divergent groups, as for example homosexuals, increases. The nuclear family becomes a symbol for the survival of society and none reproductive behaviour are thereby looked upon as weakening it. The fear grows and leads to suppression and sexual roles become clearer with the result that, generally women, become exposed to an increasing pressure and a withdrawal from their freedom.⁵⁵

This happened for example during the Cold War in the 1950s. The nuclear family was in focus and homosexuals were categorised as communists in the U.S. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, FBI, chased and spied on persons suspected to be homosexuals. In spite of this there was, in many countries, a number of activist organizations fighting for better conditions and higher acceptance towards homosexuals increased. In some countries the situation was

⁵³ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 167-168

⁵⁴ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 192-195

⁵⁵ Mathilda Piehl, ed. *Hbt i utveckling*, Stockholm: RFSL and Forum Syd, 2008, p. 36

the opposite, with conditions for homosexuals getting rougher. In the 1950s the National Association for Sexual Equality in Sweden, RFSL 'S, was established. Ten years later, 1960, the French government described homosexuality as a social occurrence like alcoholism or tuberculosis.⁵⁶

In the 60s and the 70s the number of activist groups and a broader political line developed. They had in common the purpose to create a more modulate and positive picture of the homosexuals, not least in the media. Due to the pressure of gay right activists the American Psychiatric Association erased homosexuality from the list of mental illnesses in 1973. This was a huge step forward in the fight for the rights of the homosexuals.⁵⁷

In the 70s HIV/AIDS was no problem. In many countries homosexuals did not have to worry any more about their families throwing them out, police chasing them or the society rejecting them. In this accepting climate the homosexual culture grew and different gay cultures could be identified. They created their own areas to associate in, like occasional special clubs to whole quarters. This happened mostly in the USA, Germany and England. The same rise of the gay culture had started ten years earlier in Holland and Denmark and in the 80s it spread to quite a number of big cities in the world like Sydney, Paris, Milano, Tokyo, Bangkok and Rio de Janeiro. After the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, the same culture grew in Eastern Europe. The HIV/AIDS epidemic, starting in the early 80s, spread quickly over all continents. The illness was initially mostly spread in USA where the government tried to reduce the epidemic by closing and prohibiting gay clubs and other gay meeting places. In northern Europe, gay meeting places were instead used for information about the disease and safe sex. This was done on the initiative from the gay organisations and the reason was to avoid the homosexuals to be driven into hiding, where HIV/AIDS would continue to spread. The results showed that this was a better way to reduce the incidence of the disease, compared to the repressive methods used in USA.⁵⁸

During the 90s the most hysteric fright of HIV/AIDS subdued and homosexuals got back their possibility to be together in a more normal way. Globally the gay world was more homogeneous than earlier, but internally the multiplicity had increased. It became now more

⁵⁶ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 201-206

⁵⁷ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 217

⁵⁸ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 335-338

important if one was lesbian, bi-sexual, transvestite or trans-sexual and the separate groups arranged their own happenings and meetings. But still AIDS continued to be associated with LGBT-persons and LGBT-persons were suppressed and discriminated by laws of different societies.⁵⁹

Today homosexual acts are prohibited in more than 85 countries and territories. Penalties vary from fees to capital punishment. The reasons are mainly religious and/or remains of colonial times. It is mainly in Asia, Oceania, Africa and Central America that prohibition still is common. The laws were first written to illegalize male homosexual acts but has lately in some countries increased to also comprise lesbianism. In the 90s this was done in for example countries like Uganda, Botswana, Barbados and Sri Lanka. In Yemen, Iran, Sudan, United Arab Emirates and in 12 member states of Nigeria, the punishment for sodomy is capital punishment. In countries where they do not have any explicit laws against homosexual acts, laws against offensive behaviour, prostitution or contempt for religion are being used instead. This is the situation in Egypt and Iraq, where witch hunt towards homosexuals is frequent.⁶⁰

LGBT-persons run the risk of bad health since the situation in many countries force them to hide their sexuality because of fear. Health care is most often adjusted to the heteronorm resulting in a lack of information for LGBT-persons about for example safe sex. Research on the health of lesbian and bi-sexual women is limited. In the labour market LGBT-persons are often discriminated, regardless of their social class and economical background. Studies show that LGBT-persons are negatively affected by mobbing or by lack of support from their own, not seldom hostile, family. If a person who has revealed sexuality outside the heteronorm gets excluded from her family the situation can lead to drug addiction, misuse and poverty. The consequences may also be honour related violence in the family and can also lead to conversion rape, performed by either a relative or someone in relation to the family. The aim with such a conversion rape is to make the lesbian or bi-sexual women heterosexual. LGBT-persons are often exposed to psychological and physical violence as well as threatened by violence towards their families.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Robert Aldrich, ed. *Gay. En världshistoria*, Stockholm: Natur&Kultur, 2007, p. 338

⁶⁰ Mathilda Piehl, ed. *Hbt i utveckling*, Stockholm: RFSL and Forum Syd, 2008, p. 33

⁶¹ Mathilda Piehl, ed. *Hbt i utveckling*, Stockholm: RFSL and Forum Syd, 2008, p. 9-12

3.2 The development of LGBT in Sweden

In Sweden sexual acts between persons of equal sex was decriminalised 1944. The year 1972 Sweden became the first country in the world to offer a new judicial sex identity and to offer medical assistance to change the physical status of sex of a person. Seven years later the State Social Board eliminated homosexuality as a concept of illness. In 1987 the prohibition to discriminate homosexuals was established and a year later a law accepting homosexuals to be live-in partners, “sambos”, was introduced. The year 1995 another law about equal partnership was established. In 2003 the Swedish Constitution established the prohibition of persecution against any group of people due to sexual identity. The same year it was allowed for equal sex couples to apply for child adoption. In 2005 sexual discrimination became illegal in the social area, the social help care, the social security system, unemployment economic help system and health care system. It was in 2005 also accepted for women who live together and/or are in partnership with each other, to have insemination done in order to become parents.⁶²

3.3 Homophobia in Jamaica

The Jamaican law prohibits homosexual acts between men in repeal sections 76, 77 and 79 of the *Offences against the Person Act*, but does not prohibit being homosexual.⁶³ The punishment for buggery can be up to ten years in prison.⁶⁴ LGBT-persons are often objects for physical and psychological abuse. For example two men was murdered in their home in Oracabessa in November 17 2008. According to the police the motives probably were that they were gay.⁶⁵

Kingston attorney Lawsom Williams (pseudonym) tells Human Rights Watch through an e-mail conversation: “Usually, the police indict gay men for buggery. This is very difficult to prove in the context of consensual anal sex and there is seldom a successful prosecution for buggery. The damage is in the terror of the charge itself. Often, the defendant pleads guilty to the lesser offence of gross indecency, to abbreviate the embarrassment. Or if the defendant is adamant that he will compromise, very often the charge is dismissed for lack of evidence. But

⁶² <http://www.rfsl.se/?p=2840>, RFSL, 2008-10-24

⁶³ <http://www.moj.gov.jm/laws/statutes/Offences%20Against%20the%20Person%20Act.pdf>, The Offences against the Person Act

⁶⁴ http://www.mankligarattigheter.gov.se/extra/document/?instance=1&action_show_document.533.=1, The Foreign Ministry of Sweden, 2009-01-02 p. 6

⁶⁵ “Suspected lovers chopped, burnt”, *The Star*, November 18, 2008, p. 3

the damage is in the charge. It is standing in the dock in the face of judge, police and sometimes other litigants, where it is known that you are charged as a batty man.”⁶⁶

The leading political party JLP, is not planning to change the law against buggery. Actually the Jamaican Prime Minister Bruce Golding said in an interview on the program Hard talk on BBC November 2007 “Not in my Cabinet!” as an answer to the question if he could have a homosexual congress member.⁶⁷ Before the election in 2002 the two main parties used songs with anti-gay lyrics as slogans. In 2001 JLP used TOK’s “Chi Chi Man” which encourages to burn gay men and in 2002 PNP, which was the ruling party, used “Log on to progress” which refers to the song “Log on” by Elephant man in which he tells us to log on and step on queer men.⁶⁸

Cases of encroachment towards homosexuals are seldom reported because of the fright of getting caught by the police because of their sexual identity. But there are reported cases according to Rebecca Schleifer from the international organization Human Rights Watch, who made an investigation about the situation of the HIV-positive in Jamaica in 2004. In the report the law against homosexual acts is described as ”Jamaica’s sodomy laws, which criminalize consensual sex between adult men, are used to justify arbitrary arrest and detention, and sometimes torture, of men (and sometimes women) suspected of being homosexual.”⁶⁹ In the report Schleifer describes the homophobia in Jamaica and the consequences from it for the epidemic HIV/AIDS. If LGBT-persons will get discriminated and maybe banned when going to hospitals testing for HIV/AIDS, the spreading of the epidemic will be hard to prevent.⁷⁰

Human Rights Watch interviewed several LGBT-persons with stories of police abuse. For example 20 years old Dennis M. from Montego Bay.

⁶⁶ Rebecca Schleifer, *Hated to death: Homophobia, Violence and Jamaica’s HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, pdf, Human Rights Watch, November 15, 2004, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/11894/section/1>, 2008-10-29, p. 23

⁶⁷ Interview with Bruce Golding, Prime Minister of Jamaica, at Hard Talk on BBC by Stephen Sackur, May 20, 2008

⁶⁸ Rebecca Schleifer, *Hated to death: Homophobia, Violence and Jamaica’s HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, pdf, Human Rights Watch, November 15, 2004, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/11894/section/1>, 2008-10-29, p. 13

⁶⁹ Rebecca Schleifer, *Hated to death: Homophobia, Violence and Jamaica’s HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, pdf, Human Rights Watch, November 15, 2004, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/11894/section/1>, 2008-10-29, p. 12

⁷⁰ Rebecca Schleifer, *Hated to death: Homophobia, Violence and Jamaica’s HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, pdf, Human Rights Watch, November 15, 2004, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/11894/section/1>, 2008-10-29, p. 14

“Police always harass me... They stop you and hear you talk a bit feminine (and) they ask you personal questions like are you top or bottom and like that... The last time this happened... the two police came over and said ‘Batty men must’ die. You should be under the ground. You should not be living in Jamaica.’ Not every police officer does that. Some police officers say it is not legal so you should curtail your behaviour. But most of them, once they hear you talk femininely they begin to bitch (verbally abuse) you and a crowd comes around.”⁷¹

Lilli P., 36 years old, told Human rights watch about when she was in her car with her girlfriend on New Years Eve 2002. She says that the police approached them and called them “ ‘dirty lesbians’ and threatened to charge the women with indecent and lewd exposure and asked them for money”. When they did not give the police money they were arrested and brought to the Portmore police station where they were told they were not going to get charged but their names would be recorded in the register.⁷²

In newspapers they use the word sodomy in the meaning of carnal abuse on a minor like in the article “11-y-o boy murdered; cops believe he was sodomised” in Daily Observer November 14, 2008.⁷³ The meaning of the word sodomy is known in Jamaica as a group word for paedophilia, sex with animals and homosexuality. Canute James, senior lecturer of Media and Communication at University of West Indies, says the Jamaicans know by the context in the article if the writer refers to paedophilia or something else. Why they do not use the word paedophilia is because Jamaicans do not know what that is, he says. He does think it is possible though that this use of the word sodomy (meaning both paedophilia and homosexuality) might affect the attitudes towards homosexuals.⁷⁴

Song lyrics in music produced in Jamaica often includes strong opinions against homosexuals. Some reggae and dancehall artists explain it by the audience’ expectations and not that it is their own opinions. Reggae artists from Jamaica have been obliged to sign a contract to not singing “killing music” before staging some European scenes. Some has signed, some choose not to and some of those who did sign has afterwards not followed the

⁷¹ Rebecca Schleifer, *Hated to death: Homophobia, Violence and Jamaica’s HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, pdf, Human Rights Watch, November 15, 2004, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/11894/section/1>, 2008-10-29, p. 19

⁷² Rebecca Schleifer, *Hated to death: Homophobia, Violence and Jamaica’s HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, pdf, Human Rights Watch, November 15, 2004, <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/11894/section/1>, 2008-10-29, p. 25

⁷³ Horace Hines, Dailey Observer, November 14, 2008, front page, “11-y-o boy murdered; cops believe he was sodomised”.

⁷⁴ Interview with Canute James, November 19, 2008

contract. Like in the case of Capleton 2008 where parts of his tour in Europe got cancelled because of his anti-gay lyrics.⁷⁵

A twenty-two year old man from Port Antonio, thinks homosexuality is wrong. But homosexuals can live their way as long as they do not hit on him. He says:

- Most gay guys worship the devil, they do evil things, not all but most. They are not gonna' see heaven cause in the bible it says man and man (homosexuality) is wrong.

He does not believe in violence against gays, that is why the law against the homosexual act is good, it protects the gays.

-I think it's right. If it wasn't like that people would get killed. It is protecting them. They wanna keep it undercover. I don't think they should get punished....I think you must let people do what they would like to do.

The law makes the homosexuals go undercover so that they will not go openly in the street so that Jamaicans will not kill them, he says.

What would you do if your brother was gay?

-If my brother was gay? I would cut him off.

Has there been any changes in Jamaica in this matter the last couple of years?

-They are more brave now. I think that is stupid. They are risking (their lives).⁷⁶

4. Theoretical framework

"Homosexuality can be cured but I don't know how because I'm not a doctor." /30 year old Jamaican man.

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of this study. We will examine how the main newspapers in Jamaica describe LGBT to catch a glimpse of how media, as a part of socialization, the creation of the identity and the building of the nation takes part in the widely spread homophobia in the country. We will also discuss media as a part of the political and cultural agenda.

⁷⁵“Capletons’ European tour in danger?”, *The Chat*, November 10, 2008, p. 3

⁷⁶ Interview with 22 year old Jamaican man, November 13, 2008

As a part of setting the political agenda media possesses the power to choose and present what is considered important, relevant and urgent to publish. Underlying factors like news valuation, ideal, sources of information, ownership structure, target group and technique possibilities take part in such matter of discretion.⁷⁷

Socialization is a person's introduction to the human fellowship that begins the moment she is born. We are formed as individuals through language and all other abilities to communicate with others. The Socialization is divided into the primary and the secondary socialization. The forming takes place between the individual and those close to her like the family members. The latter indicates the socialization process that goes on within and in relation to different institutions in the community as for example the school, the church, the place of work and also of importance through media. All of these contexts teach us as individuals who we are and what is expected of us. Media is the extended arm of the society's ability to reach out to individuals and contributes to how we define reality and ourselves. Media presents ways to see and understand the world. It gives us ideas of what is important and what is not, what is good and what is bad and help us to separate right from wrong. As receivers we are left to, in our own way, understand and decide on where we stand, who we are, who we want to be and who we under no circumstances want to be. This compound self-conception is called our identity.⁷⁸

Our identity is built up by several identities that we choose, that we are given or that are forced upon us. It is through our identity that we can compare ourselves to others to see who we are and who we are not. When speaking of identity social scientists often divide the identity in two, the social and the personal identity. Our social identity is created by other people's ideas on who we are, the collective context in which we belong as well as the social and historic background we come from. In Jamaica the gruesome history of slavery is an essential part of how people see each others in terms of for example skin tone. The personal identity is our own answer to the question *Who am I?*⁷⁹

The media contributes to the creation of our identities in ways that we are both aware of and not aware of. Our identity is affected by what the media tell us and how we ourselves choose

⁷⁷ van Dijk (1988:62-64) from *Främmande sidor*, p. 41 (*News as Discourse*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum)

⁷⁸ Ulf Hannertz, *Medier och kulturer*, Stockholm: Carlsson, 1990, p. 16 f

⁷⁹ Ulf Hannertz, *Medier och kulturer*, Stockholm: Carlsson, 1990, p. 17-18

to receive and use that information. Even though we do not have a total control over how we are affected by the media we do have the possibilities that in some degree choose what kind of information and what sort of media we let ourselves be exposed to.⁸⁰

The media professor Benedict Andersson introduced the idea of imagined communities that are constructed by the media. According to Andersson the media is part of the creation of a nationalism that makes a strong connection between people in the same group, society or country. The strength in this connection is what, during times of war, makes individuals prepared to sacrifice their own lives for the sake of the nation – the imagined community.⁸¹ This connection is strengthened by the media. Jan Ekecrantz, also a media professor, demonstrates that the national state is the journalist's frame of reference when constructing reality.⁸² The English sociologist Gerard Delanty consider today's nationalism to be a result of the weakening of the state as a consequence of globalization and a search for fellowship and identity. In other words it is no longer the state that dominates the creation of nationalism but the human need of belonging somewhere.⁸³

The way the media represent different groups can strengthen this fellowship, awaken strong feelings and provoke people. To represent and describe something or someone in the media is always and with no exception a construction of reality that can never be completely objective. Representation is considered an issue so important that there are often rules for how certain groups are allowed to be described in public. For example The Jamaican Gleaner writes in their editorial policy that "We identify someone's race, ethnicity or sexual preferences only when it is important to understanding the story."⁸⁴ The same or similar policies can be found in most media. One problem is that it might be hard to be consistent when following these rules as they demand subjective judgements in every single case where a decision on whether or not a person's sexuality or ethnical belonging is motivated to publish.

Främmande sidor, by Gunilla Hultén, investigates how alienation and migration are described in four Swedish newspapers. Her examination of how ethnical belongings create minority

⁸⁰ Ulf Hannertz, *Medier och kulturer*, Stockholm: Carlsson, 1990, p. 24-25

⁸¹ Ulf Hannertz, *Medier och kulturer*, Stockholm: Carlsson, 1990, ps 19-18

⁸² Jan Ekecrantz (2005:43) from *Främmande sidor* p. 9 ("news paradigms, political power and culture contexts in 20th century Sweden" in eds. Svennik Hoyer & Horst Pöttker, *diffusion of the News paradigm 1850-2000*. Nordicom: Göteborg)

⁸³ Gerard Delanty (2002:157-158) from *Främmande sidor*, p. 8 (2002 *Medborgarskap i globaliseringens tid*.) Lund: Studentlitteratur

⁸⁴ <http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/editorialpolicy.html#sec3>, The Gleaner, 2009-01-02

groups when described differently than the majority is interesting for our study. As part of her theory she uses the Dutch scientist Teun A. Van Dijk investigations. Van Dijk has written several books about how the media handles racism and says that news have created a new sort of racism after media refrained from the old, more obvious, racism. The former racism was based on a belief in a biological difference where the white man stands above the black. Even though the media has turned its back on this racism, another racism, just as dangerous, has been created. Today ethnical minorities are described not as inferior but as different, according to Van Dijk. By systematically strengthening the ethnical differences that are based on what might seem to be legitimate values and attitudes these minorities are shut out from the national state. The same problem can be found in representation of other minority groups like LGBT.⁸⁵

In his book, *Racism and the press*, Van Dijk presents a result that minority groups are allowed to speak their opinion less often than the majority. In *Främmande sidor* Gunilla Hultén draws the conclusion that there is a trinity consisting of territory, native country and identity that support each other when immigrants are described in the Swedish press.⁸⁶ Results that will be useful for our study.

According to the sociologist and anthropologist Ernest Gellner the national principal demands that everyone in the political unity share the same culture and that those who share the same culture therefore belong to the same political unity.⁸⁷ The national state is thereby dominated by an ethnical group whose mutual interest is created by for example the media. Or as the ethnologist Orvar Löfgren expresses it in *Hulténs Främmande sidor*. "We must not forget the medias role in gathering people, synchronize their lives or establish feelings of closeness and at the same time has a long history."⁸⁸ It is through the media that people who will never physically meet see themselves as part of the same imagined community.⁸⁹

Also culture has a leading role in the creation of both nationalism and identity. To define the word culture Gunilla Hultén choose to quote the ethnologist Olov Andersson, who sees

⁸⁵ Gunilla Hultén, *Främmande sidor*, Stockholm: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) 2006, p. 21

⁸⁶ Gunilla Hultén, *Främmande sidor*, Stockholm: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) 2006, p. 44

⁸⁷ Gellner 1997:45, from *Främmande sidor*, p. 44 (Gellner, Ernest, 1997, *Nationalism*. London: Phoenix)

⁸⁸ Translated by the authors of this study

⁸⁹ Gunilla Hultén, *Främmande sidor*, Stockholm: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) 2006, p. 45

culture as rules, values and symbols shared by a group of people.⁹⁰ Those who belong to the same culture see and give expression to the world in roughly the same way. The members will have common features that those outside of the group cannot share. It is mainly in the meeting with other cultures that the differences appear and the individual identity is renewed and occasionally questioned and changed. Cultures can therefore be used to mark and maintain identity within, and differences between, groups.⁹¹

Journalism uses different categories as sex, ethnicity, sexuality, profession and class in which people are placed. By categorising people and phenomena a boundary between what is immoral and forbidden is created. In that way the media contributes in the reduction of the individual identity which also strengthens alienation as these categories decide who fits in in a certain group and who does not. The alienation is in other words established when the media separates groups from each other. This creates types and stereotypes that present a simple and unbalanced illustration of the reality that might be far from the truth. This, according to the media professor Stuart Hall, only seizes a few simple characteristics of a person and reduces her to these qualities and nothing else. In reality a person is of course much more complex and colourful than the black and white types and stereotypes often presented by the media.⁹²

Media also possesses the ability to freeze time and place. Not all media, as for example live television shows, does that but the press is a natural example. This opens for a lot of possibilities but also some dangers as a journalist's subjective view of an incident not always truthfully represents the reality. One of the possibilities is the ability to preserve the past and to keep reports about historic events and persons. In this way the media teaches us about our own past.⁹³

⁹⁰ Gunilla Hultén, *Främmande sidor*, Stockholm: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) 2006, p. 46 (Löfgren Orvar, 1997, "Att ta plats: Rummets och rörelsens pedagogik", in red. Gunnar Alsmark, *Skjorta eller själ? Kulturella identiteter i tid och rum*. Lund: Studentlitteratur

⁹¹ Gunilla Hultén, *Främmande sidor*, Stockholm: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) 2006, p. 47-49

⁹² Gunilla Hultén, *Främmande sidor*, Stockholm: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) 2006, p. 46-49

⁹³ Ulf Hannertz, *Medier och kulturer*, Stockholm: Carlsson, 1990, p. 17-18

5. Research question

“Lesbians are more accepted because the male mind says so” / 24 year old Jamaican woman

How are LGBT-persons described in the Jamaican press?

Does the press reflect or oppose the homophobia in the society?

In what ways?

6. Methods

“It’s abnormal. For example if my daughter got raped that would be horrible, but if my son got raped that would be even worse because that is much more far from a natural behaviour.”

/ 23 year old Jamaican man

We use three different methods in our research. To gain a general view of all the articles in the newspapers that in some way handles LGBT, we use a quantitative content analysis. From these articles we select four which are interesting to analyse deeper, for that we use the method of making a qualitative text analysis. As a complement to the article we make interviews with one editor in chief and one senior lecturer of media and communication using the method of qualitative interviewing. The three different methods will be presented in their own subchapters.

When selecting a method for our research, we use a social constructive approach, where language is looked upon as a tool for how to create a concept of the world. By doing that, we presume that language is not an objective picture of reality, but that everything observed is dependent of the person doing the observation. As a consequence of that, we argue that media creates constructions of reality, more than showing the reality itself.

We decided to use the method of quantitative content analysis to examine the media coverage of LGBT and homophobia in their articles. The method of analytical research isolates a phenomenon, splits it down and divides it to expose open and/or closed patterns and meanings. In this way we want to sum up the overall characteristics in the reporting of the

newspapers. Both in the qualitative and the quantitative parts of the study we will use Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis as a ground for our work. Van Dijk describes his method as a discourse "with an attitude", and means by that a research perspective which reacts against repression and misuse of power.⁹⁴

Roger Silverstone from Great Britain, specialised in research in media, reminds us of the fact that the study of texts explains neither how they are received by, nor how they influence the readers. However, he considers the text analysis as a good way to find out the function of the media, in other words what they offer and how they offer it. The fact that the text analysis never can explain how the text can influence society and individual readers and only can describe the nature about the actual text is not a problem for us, since that is not the purpose of our study. We want to find out about the media and for that, we do believe that quantitative content analysis in combination with qualitative research is the most adequate for us to use.⁹⁵

6.1 Quantitative content analysis

Quantitative content analysis means systematic, objective and quantitative description of the concept in a message. To be considered systematic requires that general rules are formulated for how to treat the material. The concept of objectivity means that the influence of individual scientist's /researcher's assessments is minimized as far as possible. Individual opinions and specific views must be kept away from the treatment of the examined material. The optimal situation is that other scientists, doing the equal research over the same material, will come to the same conclusion.

Therefore there is a high claim on the level of accuracy for the rules of how the material is treated. The ambition to be objective does not mean that our results give totally correct pictures of the reality. As media researcher it is important to be very sceptical towards everybody presenting him or her as truly objective and it is the same in the case of content analysis. Our limited definition of objectivity means that there has to be the same coherence between separate individuals when doing the coding of the same material. That is something that can be measured, while coherence with reality is a much more complicated matter. The label "quantitative" indicates that the description of the material is made in numbers. That

⁹⁴ Hultén Gunilla, *Främmande sidor*, Stockholm: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) 2006, p. 38

⁹⁵ Hultén Gunilla, *Främmande sidor*, Stockholm: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK) 2006, p. 39

does not imply exclusion of qualitative characteristics, since we also intend to cover variables and categories showing the qualitative parts of the material.⁹⁶

Quantitative content analysis is a method of collecting data, which was developed by the social scientist media researchers, but which to a certain degree also was used by media researchers in the field of humanity studies. The progress of the method of quantitative content analysis has a close relation to the interest for propaganda after the First World War and during the Second World War.⁹⁷

The quantitative content analysis requires that the data material is organized into units, variables and values and that the governing of the data is finalized with a data matrix. The definitions of the units, the variables and the values turn out to be different in the use of quantitative content analysis compared to investigations performed with questionnaires, and the divisions can result in special problems for the units as well as for the variables. It is almost impossible to do a quantitative content analysis without rather exact predictions about what someone is going to study. Initially, when doing a quantitative content analysis, one has to clarify which units are going to be used, the exact definition of the population, if all units are going to be examined or only a random sample and if the latter, the size of the random sample and how it is going to be performed. It also has to be decided how many and which identities are to be examined and how to do it. We have to choose a level that seems compatible to the questions and to the material.⁹⁸

It is always crucial to motivate the way one makes the selection of the population. This has to be done first of all depending on the questions and the core of what we actually want to study. We have drawn a sample to analyse all articles in four specific newspapers, The Daily Observer, The Gleaner, The Chat and The Star for seven days a week in two weeks. These newspapers are the largest and most widespread newspapers in Jamaica. They are read by a great mixture of the population as the four of them have different target groups. Since there normally are a lot written in the papers about things close to our subject, there will be enough

⁹⁶ Helge Östbye et al., "Kvantitativ innehållsanalys" in *Metodbok för medievetskap*, Malmö:Studentlitteratur, 2004, p. 213-214

⁹⁷ Helge Östbye et al., "Kvantitativ innehållsanalys" in *Metodbok för medievetskap*, Malmö:Studentlitteratur, 2004, p. 214-215

⁹⁸ Helge Östbye et al., "Kvantitativ innehållsanalys" in *Metodbok för medievetskap*, Malmö:Studentlitteratur, 2004, p. 217-218

of material during two weeks and also long enough to make certain the material will be varied.

6.2 Qualitative text analysis

We choose to make a qualitative research of four specifically chosen articles. We use the results from our quantitative research to pick the articles for the qualitative examination. We analyse them following the rhetorical analysis defined by Brigitte Mral. It is also her theories we are using when extracting variables for our quantitative coding schedule. We decided to choose this rhetorical analysis because it does not only ask about the pieces of construction of the text, but also and above all how the text functions in its dedicated context and together with its readers. In this way it is a tool to carefully judge the message. As a ground for the rhetorical analysis lie the classical rhetoric and the school of topic. Here also the theories and methods of the researcher in Media Bengt Nerman will be presented. Eventhough this part touches the theoretical framework of this study we choose to present it here as we mainly uses Nermans theories as a method when analysing.

Rhetoric is a way of effective communication. In a rhetorical analysis it is always the context that is the starting point. The main thing is to find out in which rhetorical situation the messenger is situated. A rhetorical situation can, according to Mral, be seen as a combination of three elements. The first of them is a problem that has to be solved. For a news journalist it could be the never-ending request for news. The second element is the audience, who is going to receive, enjoy and gain a new understanding from the article. The third is the circumstances and the limits set up for the sender (journalist, writer). This can be the requirement for a certain genre. In journalism it is important to consider which type of article it is you are analysing, since there are specific differences between for example news, debates and letters to the editor.⁹⁹

Already Aristotles, the great philosopher in ancient Greece, spoke about the importance of rhetoric, and he indicated three main ways to conviction. Logos is what attracts the understanding and the thinking of the recipient, pathos affects and moves the feelings and ethos is the mediator's own credibility. Ethos is by many researchers ranked as the most

⁹⁹ Brigitte Mral, "Retorikanalys" in *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000, p. 153-154

important, because credibility is a pre-condition for pathos and logos, at the same time as those two can be strengthening ethos.¹⁰⁰

According to the classical rule a speech should consist of a thesis (proposition), a background story (narration), an argumentation (argumentation) and a conclusion (conclusion). The character of the rhetoric analysis is hermeneutic – the classical interpretation school, which states that the understanding of the parts of a text is only possible when reading and understanding the whole text, and to understand the whole text one has to understand each individual part of it. This is called the “hermeneutic circle” and is used to analyse the narrative patterns and the dramatic structure in an article.¹⁰¹

The topic school, which is a part of the classic rhetoric, concerns the places of thought which the speaker is looking for to find arguments for his/her speech. It starts with seven main questions: who, what, why, where, when, how and with the help of what. It is exactly from the topic school journalists pick their five Ws: who, what, why, where and when. We will primarily use the journalist’s topic school to place the texts by geography and by thought as well as to find its actors.

In a total rhetoric analysis the whole text is read as a star, to get a grip of the entirety. After that the different parts of the text will be read. These parts will be examined first separately, part by part and secondly together in its whole context to find out how the parts contribute to the whole text. The interpretation of the text will be fully understood not until all parts of it has been analysed separately and in combination with each other. As critical analysis the rhetoric does not only include the idea of defining the components of the text, but as well to find out refinements, strategies and manipulations of the language. This will be done either they are hidden or open. Important questions to confront the text with are: How does the sender compose the text? What does the sender want to say? Is the message understood? Is the sender reaching his audience? If yes, how come/ what are the reasons he does? How does the text function in a social perspective?¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Brigitte Mral, ”Retorikanalys” in *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Lund: Studentlitteratur 2000, p.154

¹⁰¹ Brigitte Mral, ”Retorikanalys” in *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Lund: Studentlitteratur 2000, p.155

¹⁰² Brigitte Mral, ”Retorikanalys” in *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000, p. 156-157

The researcher in Media, Bengt Nerman, speaks about how media creates social rooms to share with the readers. Through his text the journalist welcomes the reader into his room. The texts are written because of that and are adjusted to fit the fellowship when rooms are maintained. To manage to catch the reader's attention is an art that demands great responsibility, according to Nerman. The reader is supposed to be lead from an idea of the reality into another. Here she will belong to a group which creates a feeling of our world against their. Here the journalist gives a picture of reality that the reader might accept. For this way of communication Nerman shaped a model called the Triangle of communication, in which the text is the central point. In he text there are three branches; the world, the speaker and the listener. These three branches can be connected separately when for example the speaker and the listener, no matter of the text, have certain predetermined pictures and ideas of each other. One text offers different types of identification possibilities depending on whom or on what is existing in the corners of the Triangle of communication.

Nerman also speaks about different screens with unwritten rules and conventions that the text is adjusted to. For a journalistic text, these can be in different genres or characteristics of media. It is through this screen the speaker sees the world and the listener. Through the text the speaker creates a social room which presents a picture of reality that the reader is invited to share. What and how the speaker writes is determined by his ideas on what kind of room he and his listeners could accept and share. To maintain a room four things are important, according to Nerman. The writer has to tell something about an existing reality. He needs to show himself and take a position through a manifestation, he should try to touch the reader and to get her to feel and act. Finally he should offer the reader to share this room with him.

What the text therefore is saying is:

- This is the world
- This is my world
- This should be your world
- Come and share our mutual world¹⁰³

The function of belonging is important for the mass media to be able to offer a text that as many as possible would like to read and share.

¹⁰³ Bengt Nerman, *Massmedieretorik*, Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell/Geber, 1990, p. 16 ff

When doing a rhetorical analysis one should remember that there is, as always when doing qualitative investigations, a risk of subjective judgements. We will use the thinking of rhetorical analysis when choosing variables and also when making the qualitative analysis of chosen articles. The questions we will ask when analysing will be taken from the topic school like for example *Who* speaks in the article and *how* is that person being described. We will search for the three main ways of conviction and what other rhetoric methods the journalist uses to tell his story in a convincing way.

6.3 Qualitative interview

We have made interviews with one editor in chief and one senior lecture in media and communication to broaden our material and by asking questions that cannot be answered in written text. The method chosen is the half structured interview where open questions have been used. A structured interview means that the questions used are written in advance and systematised in a certain order to suit the purpose of the interview. Since we wanted more open questions we chose the half structured method which means that we do not suggest specific alternatives as answers. We do that because we believe that would be the most adequate way of later being able to connect the results from the quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the articles with the answers from the interviews.¹⁰⁴

Qualitative interviews can be used as a complement to the quantitative method, which not always can catch the information desired. It can also be easier with the method of qualitative interview to understand social relations and processes, and one can as well receive comments confirming the results from the research by combining it with other methods. By doing interviews one may also learn things about the person being interviewed, as for example the way they talk and how they use certain concepts. As interviewers we think it is of high importance to behave in a neutral way and to have the interview in a neutral environment to avoid that the interviewed person gets disturbed or biased by impact from the surroundings.¹⁰⁵ With this in mind we chose our locations.

A good interview question should contribute both to thematic knowledge and dynamic interplay between interviewer and the person being interviewed, according to Steinar Kvale in

¹⁰⁴ Helge Östbye et al., "Kvantitativ innehållsanlys" in *Metodbok för medievetenskap*, Malmö: Studentlitteratur, 2004, p. 103

¹⁰⁵ Helge Östbye et al., "Kvantitativ innehållsanlys" in *Metodbok för medievetenskap*, Malmö: Studentlitteratur, 2004, p. 101

his 1997 book "Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun". In an interview the questions should relate thematically to the theory that is the base of the study and to the following analysis. It is important to find a balance between getting a spontaneous answer and a structured answer. This is because spontaneous answers can give a more balanced and detailed description of the person's experiences and views of the subject, than if the questions are strictly asked after a structured schedule. But it is important as well to have structured questions and structured ways of how the questions should be asked. The interview has a purpose and without structure it will be very hard to analyse it and come up with any conclusions.¹⁰⁶ The dynamic between the interviewer and the person being interviewed must be positive so the person being interviewed feels comfortable and safe to talk no matter of the subject.¹⁰⁷

When analysing the interview we use the six steps of analysis that is presented in Steinar Kvale's "Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun". The first step is that the person being interviewed spontaneously answers questions with no extensive interpretation being necessary. In the second step the interviewed person starts to reflect and develop her thoughts and the third step is when the interviewer during the interview starts to interpret what is being said and uses this to follow up with more questions. In this step misunderstandings can be corrected. In the fourth step the interviewer has written down the interview and starts to analyse it either alone or together with a fellow researcher. In our study we will do all parts of analysis together. This step consists of three parts, the first being the structural presentation of the interview. Here the material needs to be summarized to bring forward issues of importance that are essential for the study and to eliminate what is not. The fifth step can be to make a new interview where the interviewer can present the results of the analysis to the interviewed person who will get the chance to comment on the result. Even the sixth step is eligible and is being used to see if the interviewed person has changed her way of acting and living from the new understanding she might have come to following the interview.¹⁰⁸

The questions we will ask to the interviews during analysing them are, among others, who is the person being? Who does he represent? Does he speak only for himself, only for others or for both? What rhetorical methods does he use to convince? What words and examples does he use when telling his story and explaining his view. Why them?

¹⁰⁶ Steinar Kvale, *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997, p. 121

¹⁰⁷ Steinar Kvale, *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997, p. 122

¹⁰⁸ Steinar Kvale, *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997, p. 171-172

7. Material

“I would never let my son play football in the same team as a boy with homosexual parents” /
30 year old Jamaican man

In this chapter we will present our material. First comes the quantitative contents analyses followed by the qualitative analyses and the qualitative interviews we have made.

7.1 Quantitative content analyses

The articles from The Gleaner, The Daily Observer, The Chat and The Star have been handpicked with the demand that their context in some way shall handle LGBT. When reading the papers there is always a risk that one might miss an article or two but we have tried to read as carefully as possible to minimize that risk. During the two week period there have been four great issues discussed in the news: capital punishment, abortion legislation, how to handle the huge amount of children that are being abducted, raped and killed and the U.S. election of the new president Barack Obama. This might have affected the amount of articles on and about LGBT.

The articles are categorised into four main topics. *Sodomy*; whether the article contains the word sodomy, sodomised, sodomite or any other inflection of this word. And if so, in what meaning it is used. *LGBT opinion and letters to the editor*; what the opinions are in the article and who the persons are giving their say. *LGBT news*; what the news is, who gets to speak, if any opinions are manifested, if the article is biased and if anyone is described as the victim or the perpetrator. *LGBT only mentioned*; in what way the word (gay, homosexual or any other word in contact with LGBT) is put in the sentence in an article with a different subject than anything in contact with LGBT. A list of all articles will be enclosed.

Chart over the articles

The chart shows all articles used in this quantitative analysis listed after their main content (Sodomy and LGBT only mentioned) or appearance in the papers (News or opinions and letters to the editor). For example The Star published five articles during the two weeks. One

of them was either opinion or a letter to the editor, in another one LGBT-persons were only mentioned without the article covering that topic and the last three were news articles.

	Sodomy	LGBT only mentioned	Opinions and letters to the editor	LGBT news	All articles
The Star	0	1	1	3	5
The Daily Observer	3	4	2	0	9
The Gleaner	4	1	3	2	10
The Chat	1	0	0	2	3
Total	8	6	6	7	27

There is a widespread in the context and where the articles are being published. Most sodomy articles are also news articles but are only listed in the sodomy column. The reason for that is because these articles will only be analysed for their content not their appearance. The same when it comes to LGBT only mentioned. By listing the articles like this it is also clear that the news articles and the opinion articles are about LGBT-persons and/or homophobia.

7.1.1 Sodomy

In this chapter a discussion about the articles covering sodomy is presented.

The word sodomy is used as sexual assault in the articles and it is very clear because they use them synonymously in the same article. Sometimes the synonym is buggery or rape. Because buggery between men is a criminal act the writer may not have to spell out that it is an act of buggery rape but only need to write buggery to give the same information to the reader when it is a man raping another man/boy. It may seem unnecessary to write the exact word for this act when every reader understands that common word anyway. It may feel even more necessary to write out the everyday word, even though it is not used in the right meaning, if that is the only word the readers will understand. Paedophilia is namely not used or understood by many. The consequence of maintaining the use of an old word meaning altogether paedophilia, homosexuals and having sex with animals, when all you mean is

paedophilia, might be that it maintains the idea of homosexuality being the same as paedophilia and in a category where everything other than normal heterosexual sex is wrong.

7.1.2 LGBT opinions and letters to the editor

In this chapter a discussion about the opinion articles and the letters to the editor will follow.

The opinions towards homosexuality in the articles are mixed. When reading the article “On prejudice” in the Daily Observer, Sunday 16/11, it feels very unexpected because the arguments to increase gay-peoples rights, are at such a high level it could be compared with similar articles in Sweden where there are no laws against the act. The following day the same newspaper published a long article “Is three a crowd? - the threesome debate and its effect on relationships” which also was a surprise compared to other articles. In this article lesbian sex is discussed openly and without judgements. But there is no direct mention about sex between men even though it is mentioned in other terms; “Having already experienced sex with two women together, his greatest fantasy now is to watch another man make love with his wife, then joining in.” To *join in* should mean some kind of sexual act between two men.

Publishing extraordinary opinions and ideas could be the same as publishing sensational news and thereby gain readers. It could be a way of trying to expand people’s minds and ideas for sexuality. But after the interview with The Daily Observer's Editor in chief Vernon Davidson, we understand that they are probably not trying to expand peoples mind. Instead, like Davidson himself says, the newspaper most probably has no intentions to make Jamaicans less homophobic.

An interesting letter was sent to The Star called “Swinging engine”, 18/11, in which a woman asks the pastor who is the counsellor of the newspaper, for advice. The woman is troubled by not knowing whom of the three different partners she should choose, one of them is a woman. She seems neutral towards her relationship to the other woman whilst admitting ”if you go to a club, the things you do with men, you can't do with her.”

The pastor is worried and he tells her to ”stay with him alone” because ”when people live like you, they become depressed and even try to take their lives. You have been in relationships with both males and females. This type of lifestyle is not good.”

The woman does not express her lesbian relationship as more complicated than other relationships more than “if you go out to a club...” Maybe she really has no fear to express being bisexual or maybe she is totally aware of other peoples views but choose to speak her

mind and be open when writing anonymously. The fact that a pastor is the counsellor in the newspaper shows how influential the religion is in this society and that the pastor is not questioned even though he claims “they become depressed and even try to take their lives”.

7.1.3 LGBT news

Here we will present a discussion about the content of news articles.

The articles are neutrally written besides from “Free penis” in The Gleaner, 14/11, in which transsexual men gets free penises in Sweden. The article is put on the page called ”Weird News” and is written humoristically. This shows an attitude towards these matters as ridiculous and worth laughing about.

In “Suspected lovers chopped, burnt” in The Star, 18/11, two men got attacked with machetes in their home and one of them was burnt to death. The police source said the motive might have been the rumour saying the men were gay, but it could also have been a robbery. The police source say they were believed to be gay because ”Thomas who is considered the main man would carry various men into the community to live with him from time to time. Based on this reason, they were rumoured to be gay.”

The article is a bit biased as the ”police source”, anonymous, base his beliefs on rumours about this man who has been murdered. And that is enough for the journalist to make it a sensational news article.

Three of the articles is about gay-right activists critics towards Capleton’s European tour and Bounty Killers London performance, because of their anti-gay lyrics; “Gay activist groups demand apology from Capleton” in The Star, 12/11, “Capleton's European tour in danger?” in The Chat, 10/11 and “UK police defend Bounty” in The Chat, 21/11.

About Bounty Killer in The Chat, Peter Tatchell, who is a leader of a gay rights group, is referring to the police as hypocrites saying they allow homophobic singers but not racist ones. Police say they will deal with any offences and are thereby defending their decision. And the headline defends Bounty; ”UK police defend Bounty”.

In the article about Capleton in The Chat, the article victimize LGBT-persons in one way and the perpetrators are Capleton and other reggae- and dancehall artists singing anti-gay lyrics. On the other hand it could be the gay rights activists who are the perpetrators since they put ”Capleton’s European tour in danger”. In the article about Capleton's tour in The Star, LGBT-

persons get victimized as well. Perpetrators are, quoting Peter Tatchell, artists who sing anti-gay lyrics. The description of who Peter Tatchell is, is poor. He is a leading gay rights activist, that is all. And the information was all taken from a website, from which they also took all the quotes. Contacting Capleton or Bounty Killers themselves were misachieved. They are making a great deal with this news with huge headlines and big pictures. But the articles are quite badly written and researched, quoting only second-hand sources. This was probably seen as great news to attract readers, the mixture of the important subject of Jamaican music artists and the subject of international values trying to affect the Jamaican ones. The music is Jamaica's main trademark. When you criticise anything about the music, the whole nation feels criticised and the effect is probably that their nationalism gets even stronger and strengthens the Jamaican values.

7.1.4 LGBT only mentioned

In this chapter a discussion about the articles where LGBT-persons are only mentioned is presented.

“In case you missed it - entertainment news” in The Star is about a music event and in the last column the journalist informs that on the event there were ”Bounty Killer chanting 'man a bad man so mi no fren fish'.” Fish is a synonym for a homosexual man. Quoting song lyrics in entertainment news and informing which songs were played at some event or party, is common.

“The Audacity of art – Jamaican wins online graphic design contest” in The Daily Observer: A Jamaican won a graphic contest. One of the winner's co-workers congratulated him and said: ”No gay thing, but you inspire me”. That the saying ”you inspire me” between men is a thing only gays are expected to be able to say, clearly shows an idea of predetermined roles. If you step outside the “role” you have to explain you are not what they might think you are even though you did not follow the common behaviour.

7.2 Qualitative text analysis

We chose four articles to analyse qualitatively to get a deeper understanding. The articles are “Suspected lovers chopped, burnt”, “UK police defend Bounty”, “Is three a crowd” and “Waite's anti-gay populist nonsense!”. The analyses of these articles will be presented one at

a time. They have all been chosen because they are either representable for articles we found or because they stand out.

7.2.1 “Suspected lovers chopped, burnt”

This article was published in *The Star* Tuesday, November 18, 2008. It was the main news on the cover that day and the full story can be read on page 3.

The story is about two men who were killed in Airy Hill, Oracabessa, St Mary on the Saturday before the story was published. The men were attacked at their home and one of them was burnt to death. The police says that they have no motive for the men’s death but confirms “hearing rumours that at least one of the men was involved in homosexual dealings.” This is followed by an anonymous police source who are being quoted saying: “Thomas who is considered the ‘main man’ would carry various men into the community to live with him from time to time. Based on this reason, they were rumoured to be gay.” Police also says that the men can have been victims of robbery after being trailed from a party they attended. The next paragraph is headlined “Pursued and chopped” and gives the time of the attack (about 11.30 p.m.) and explains that the men had just come home when a group of men entered their house and attacked them with machetes. The house was then set on fire with one of the men trapped inside. The other man fled to the neighbour’s house but he was followed and chopped several times and killed on the spot. The men also set fire to Thomas’ car and the Port Maria Fire Department put out the fire.¹⁰⁹

As the article is a news article it is being published within the rhetorical situation that the journalist needs to deliver news. The reader of this article are readers of *The Star* that is a sensationalised evening newspaper. Their target group are lower middleclass readers who are interested in the entertainment and want short and fast news. Therefore there is not much space to go deeper into the story than the journalist does and since it is mostly based on rumours the material would not be enough for a wider spread. When answering the five W:s inspired by the topic school one can find that *who* the two men are being killed. One of them are Civian Thomas who is “considered the ‘main man’” and described as a homosexual who carries men into the village to live with him. It is interesting that an anonymous police source are allowed to point out Thomas as a promiscuous gay man based on rumours and nothing

¹⁰⁹ “Suspected lovers chopped, burnt”, *The Star*, November 18, 2008, p. 1, 3

else. It is Thomas who tries to flee the attackers but gets killed at the neighbour's house. The other man is only known as "Malichi". He is said to have been severely injured and trapped in the burning house where he died. Reading between the lines Malichi is one of Thomas' many lovers. *What* is the incident that two men have been murdered. *Why* is the rumour that they might have been killed because of their sexuality. This is the sensation of the news and therefore it is not explained until the last paragraph that they might have been killed for other reasons. *Where* is in Airy Hill, Oracabessa, St Mary at Thomas' house where he is rumoured to keep his lovers. *When* was three days earlier. By having rumours from an anonymous police as a source for the motive weakens the journalist ethos. On the other hand the article, which has not been signed by a name, is very dramatic and does for sure capture the reader's interest by having a strong pathos. The journalist creates a room for the reader to share where homosexuals are promiscuous and where a man carries other men into a community. By quoting the policeman when saying that it is understood that this community contains Jamaicans that, like the readers and the source, does not share this way of living. This room has already been established when other explanations for the killings are shortly being presented. Since both the headline and most of the article assume that the rumours are true the readers are left with that belief as well. By constructing the text like this the journalist delivers the message that two men have been killed, in a *normal* community, just because they were gay. In a newspaper like The Star it is hard to believe that the readers would have time or will to receive the story in any other way than it meant to be received by the journalist.

7.2.2 "UK police defend Bounty"

- Cops give go-ahead for concert on Sunday

This article was published in The Chat, Friday November 21, 2008. It was the main news on the cover that day and the full story can be read on page 3.

The story is based on reports from the United Kingdom that the police are being criticised by gay right activists for allowing a concert by the Jamaican artists Bounty Killer. The police are accused of double standards for allowing the concert since Bounty Killer has not signed the Reggae Compassionate Act, RCA, "which prohibits the performance of any music that encourages or glorifies any form of violence". A police spokesperson is quoted saying that they have had conferences and will "deal with any offences that arise". The story continues with the views of Peter Tatchell, a member of the gay rights group OutRage, who call the police hypocrites as they let Bounty Killer perform when racist artists are banned. His point is

that any kind of music that encourages violence should not be allowed on British scenes. After that the article presents the background of the RCA. Then an article in Britain's Evening Standard suggests people to boycott the concert "hitting Bounty Killer where it hurts". It continues to refer to this article where the writer says that allowing this concert is plain wrong since Bounty Killers homophobic lyrics "have helped to create an ugly culture".¹¹⁰

This article covers most of the first page of *The Chat* this Friday and has a half page spread on page 3. In this article *Who* are Bounty Killer, Peter Tatchell and the UK police force. Bounty Killer has no say in the article and his artistry is described mainly through the eyes of Tatchell and the writer of the article in the Evening Standard. He is called a "homophobic singer", "a singer who urge the murder of gay people" and his music is described by Evening Standard as "Lyrics such as 'bun a fire pon a puff and mister fagoty' and 'you know we need no promo to rub out dem homo' are, quite simply, incitements to murder people because of their sexual orientation." Peter Tatchell is introduced in the fourth out of seven paragraphs as a member of the gay rights group, Outrage and co-ordinator of the Stop Murder Music campaign. He speaks for all gays as the headline of the article is "Gays upset with cops for permitting Killer's concert". The gay activists are said to heavily criticise the police and Tatchell is their spokesman. The UK police force is at the front-page described as heroes as the headlines say "defend Bounty" and "give go-ahead to concert". They are said to be aware of the planned concert and a police spokesman says that they have had conferences between the police, the venue's management and Bounty Killer's manager. He says that "the club has given us full access and we will deal robustly with any offences that arise". Here it is understood that the police is on Bounty Killer's side and are prepared to defend him and his concert. When the other side, Tatchell, is presented another view of the police force is shown. The policemen are now accused of being hypocrites, having double standards and to have broken their promises. This because the police is reported to have stated not to allow artists who have not signed the RCA to perform in the country. Tatchell says that "They have adopted this zero tolerance policy towards white racist bands like Screwdriver. Yet when it comes to straight homophobic singers who urge the murder of gay people, the police take a softer stance". This can be understood as the police in some ways agree with the homophobia or that they cannot handle the "rampant level of homophobia in the black British community" as the Evening Standard writes according to the article.

¹¹⁰ "UK police defend Bounty", *The Weekend Chat*, November 21, 2008, p. 1, 3

What is that the double standard police force saves Bounty Killers concert. *Where* is in London where the concert is going to be held the following weekend. *When* is when the article is written, just before the planned concert.

It is hard to say what side the journalist is on as the article is pretty well balanced with both the police and the gay rights activists to have their say. This strengthens the unknown journalist's ethos. His logos is also strong since he presents facts about the RCA to give a background to the story. On the other hand the story is based on "internet reports" and all quotes are referred to indirectly. This weakens the credibility. The headline with the word "defend" is being used to capture the reader's interest by using a strong pathos. Bounty Killer is one of Jamaica's most famous artists and that he is defended by the UK police is important for Jamaicans.

The journalist presents a room where at first Bounty Killer is defended. It is not until later on in the article that the room changes to present why the gay rights activists are upset and metaphors are being given i.e. when Tatchell says that if racists are not allowed to perform why should homophobic artists be. This change might lead to loss of several readers as they expect to read another type of article than what it turns out to be. But it is very important that the article does present both sides since Jamaicans need to be reminded that the homophobia in their country is not accepted throughout the world. This incident does not take it that far as the police actually is defending Bounty Killer and thereby his homophobic lyrics by saying it is okay for him to perform even though he has not signed the RCA.

7.2.3 "Is three a crowd?"

- The threesome debate and its effect on relationships

This article was published in the Daily Observer, Monday November 17, 2008, as a cover story on page 5 in the "All Woman" supplement.

This article discusses the negative and positive effects a threesome might have on a relationship. The story starts with a lawyer admitting that he has begged his girlfriend to allow him to bring other women into the bedroom. He is quoted saying "she either had to do it or I would get bored". He has earlier experienced threesomes and says they are "the difference between corned beef and a perfectly cooked Christmas ham". His latest fantasy is to see

another man make love to his wife and then join in. After that a policeman tells about his experiments of threesomes with two lesbian women. The story then moves on to talk about how threesomes might harm your relationship. A psychologist named Dr Leachim Semaj defends threesomes as a common fantasy mostly among men but warns that a relationship might not survive such an experiment. Family counsellor Angela Worges says it can lead to jealousy and lowered self-esteem. Dr Semaj continues in the same spirit while saying it can lead to regrets and hatred. But he also points out that threesomes are becoming increasingly popular in Jamaica. The article ends with three threesome tips.¹¹¹

The interesting thing in this article for our study is how the journalist writes about lesbians and that a man admits he wants another man in his bedroom. The policeman is quoted saying “They were lesbians and one of them invited me to her house. I went for the fun of it because I knew she was a lesbian. Her friend was there and they started messing around and invited me to join in the excitement”. Here lesbians are described almost as exotic creatures. The girlfriend of the lawyer who is begging his girlfriend for a threesome with another woman, does not really have anything to say in the matter since he would get bored if she refuses, meaning he would leave her. Spectacular is that the lawyer’s latest fantasy is to see his woman having sex with another man and then join in. This being in some ways a homosexual act is not mentioned. We have noticed while talking to random Jamaicans that lesbians are more accepted than gay men. For instance, in the interview with the editor of *The Daily Observer* Vernon Davidson used the word nasty for homosexual men while he used the word sexy for homosexual women. The acceptance only appears on some settled conditions. As long as it is only about sex it is okay, if it is about equal rights for being a couple, getting married or only wanting to live together, the average attitude among Jamaicans is different. *The Star* published an article December 4th on the front page and on page three about an “undercover lesbian club in Portmore” where women can meet women. The journalist of *The Star* anonymously called the club that had been advertising for memberships and pretended to be someone interested. No address was given and to be a member you are first screened by someone from the club so they will know you are serious. The following week *The Star* published another article in which the club got huge criticism saying people do not want a lesbian club in Portmore.¹¹²

¹¹¹ “Is three a crowd?”, *The Daily Observer*, November 17, 2008, p 1, 5

¹¹² “Undercover lesbian club in Portmore”, *The Star*, December 4, 2008, p. 1, 3

The women in this article are described like sex toys and the sexual fantasies are only described by men, that is why this article's logos is weak. The only woman speaking her mind is the family counsellor, who is interviewed in sake of her profession, and says she would dislike having a threesome. The debate is not fair since the men, with their fantasies of two women together, are the leading speakers. Thereby the journalist's ethos also weakens as she/he does not care to give a fair balance of opinions even though she/he gives the promise of a debate already in the headline. The big picture in the middle of the spread of two women on both sides of one man calls directly for erotic ideas. This mixed with the men's sexual fantasies makes the pathos strong in wanting to give us the same feeling.

7.2.4 “Waite’s anti-gay populist nonsense!”

This editorial article was published in *The Gleaner* on Thursday, November 20, 2008, page 8.

The day before this editorial article was published, a news article was published in the same newspaper about senator Basil Waite wanting a clear definition of the Jamaican family to prevent homosexuals from demanding gay unions. As the headline says *The Gleaner* dissociates itself from Waite’s “anti-gay populist nonsense”. The journalist starts the debate with saying that “Basil Waite, in a not untypical fashion, spouted a lot of heat in the Senate the other day.” He then continues by saying that the senator did not contribute with any light to the discussion about the state of the Jamaican family. He writes that to be able to reflect over the “state and nature of the Jamaican family” one has to think hard. This suggests that the Senator did not do much serious thinking when he “rather than dealing with the substantial issue, he, by and large, went gay bashing.” He then presents Waite’s opinion that the contemplated commission by Warren Newby¹¹³ does not clearly define the Jamaican family which opens the door for homosexuals. The journalist does this by quoting Waite when saying that it won’t “be long before we have some of those same groups (homosexuals) agitating for recognition as a family. So, we need to prevent that...”. He accuses Waite of forming his ideas to fit the homophobic society in Jamaica. This by writing for example “it is easy to buy into bigotry that is so rampant in Jamaica, no matter how backward and regardless of the consequence”. The journalist continues to say that Waite’s opinions are based on the same “acquiescence to the loud, the callow and biblical literalists that informed Prime Minister Golding’s ‘not in my Cabinet’ declaration against homosexuals, rather than a

¹¹³ State minister for information and youth that has recommended the Government to set up a national commission on the Jamaican family.

rational, sophisticated response befitting of a modern, tolerant society.” The journalist suggest that Jamaica has to change and to do so it needs leaders that are not backward thinkers who wants to legislate the nature of people’s relationships. He writes that “neither Golding’s hybris in that BBC television interview nor Waite’s barely disguised Old Testament harrumphing about gays campaigning ‘for specific rights’ is of specific or economic value to Jamaica”. Instead he means that this way of thinking is more likely to be detrimental as it justifies the alienation of people with different lifestyles and entitles harassment of these people as well as take away their fundamental rights. He gives an example: “It is small wonder that two men murdered last week were killed because they were deemed to be gay.” He finishes the article by saying that Jamaica “does not have the luxury of building a cocoon around itself and operating in splendid isolation from the rest of the world”. He states that gay people are everywhere and that it is nonsense to keep the “archaic law against homosexuality. The last sentence makes an important and serious joke about the homophobia “What, after all, is the fear? It is not as if people become gay by contagion.”¹¹⁴

Who in the article is Senator Basil Waite, who’s opinions are described as nonsense. *What* is the Gleaner’s reaction to an article about Waite’s opinions that the Jamaican family needs to be better defined to keep certain groups, as homosexuals, out of this definition. *When* is a day after the first article was published and where is in the editorial column of The Gleaner that day. *Why* is the importance for The Gleaner to show another view of the issue and to present its opinion.

This article represents the new Jamaica where homophobia and the law against buggary are considered archaic. The journalist suggests that it is time for Jamaica to wake up and realize that the Jamaicans cannot hide from the rest of the world and the fact that homosexuals are, and will always be, a part of every society. “Gays operate in all walks of life, in finance, commerce, industry and government around the world.” He uses powerful words when reasoning for his opinion that Waite is wrong, as for example spurious, detrimental, bigotry, gay bashing and rampant as well as saying his debate is an anti-gay populist nonsense. In the second sentence he states that the notion of the Senator did not “generate much, if any, light” to debate in the Senate. Here and already in the headline he dissociates himself from Waite’s article the day before. He continues to say that the light Waite generated was not the specific

¹¹⁴ “Waite’s anti-gay populist nonsense!”, *The Gleaner*, November 20, 2008, page A8

issue but an attempt to gain voters by expressing his own homophobic beliefs. In his description he makes Waite appear as somewhat ridiculous in his attempt to protect Jamaica from homosexuals that might demand to be recognized as families. This might weaken the journalist's logos as he does not give Waite a fair debate but mercilessly beats him down with powerful words and by making fun of him. He then broadens the discussion by comparing Waite's "anti-gay populist nonsense" with the Prime Minister's "not in my cabinet" declaration. By doing this he opens the possibility to discuss the issue in a much wider perspective and after that he can move on to talk about Jamaica being a homophobic country which he sees as problematic. He has many interesting points like that the state does not stand up for the homosexuals as they are being harassed. He writes that they get "little protection from the state". All these and the fact that the writer is a journalist, make a strong ethos even though the logos sometimes is low in arguing with Waite. But it is important to keep in mind that the readers of *The Gleaner* belong to the middle and upper class of Jamaica and also that they do not necessarily share these views. It does for sure reflect the views of *The Gleaner* as it says underneath that all opinions on the Opinion and commentary page, except from "Waite's anti-gay populist nonsense!", do not necessarily reflect the view of the newspaper. In this way a room is created in which the reader is invited to enter. Even if she does not agree she can, in this room, reflect on her own thoughts and beliefs. A risk might be that making fun of the homophobia "It is not as if people become gay by contagion" may upset the reader, which can have the opposite effect and strengthen her already homophobic views even more.

7.3 Qualitative interviews

To answer our main question *How are LGBT-persons described in the Jamaican press?* we wanted to interview the editors of *The Gleaner* and *The Daily Observer*. Since *The Chat* and *The Star* are owned by, and strongly connected to, these daily newspapers we chose to concentrate on them.

7.3.1 Interview with Vernon Davidson

Editor in chief of *The Daily Observer*, December 3, 2008

Booking an interview with Vernon Davidson, the editor of *The Daily Observer*, was easy. We did the interview in a corner of the Pegasus Hotels restaurant in New Kingston. The interview was half structured with open and beforehand prepared questions. It was recorded and we have summarized it to present the most crucial topics discussed. The interview has been

summarized into three topics: homophobia and media, homophobia, sodomy. After every topic a reflection will follow.

Homophobia

Davidson says he thinks homophobia is the wrong word to explain the Jamaican's feelings towards homosexuals. This because the word homophobia contains fear. He says Jamaicans do not fear homosexuals, they despise them. He says that there is a difference between how Jamaicans see lesbians and how they see gay men. When seeing a lesbian couple they just look the other way, he explains. He continues by saying that women who says they have to leave Jamaica because they are lesbians are lying.

- Nobody attacks women, they attack men.

When asked he denies reports saying lesbians get raped because of their sexuality and adds:

- Many women get raped by very nasty men, not only lesbians.

He says that reggae and dancehall lyrics are not about lesbians but only gay men.

- I haven't heard lyrics advocating violence against lesbians, only men.¹¹⁵

Davidson himself reveals his feelings about homosexuals.

- I do not like them (homosexuals), I do not like the act, but if it is somebody's choice that is their business. Just do not push it in my face, and that is the problem we have, I think most Jamaicans really do not care, but once people start pushing it in their faces, then they get upset and react, but frankly I just do not approve of it, I just do not think two men were made to be together, it is nasty.

Davidson has another view when it comes to lesbians. He thinks that two women having sex is all right, just as long as they do not get married.

- A lot of them (lesbians) are very, very aggressive, I do not know what they are eating or drinking. I guess maybe they know no one is going to trouble them.

Why Davidson thinks it is more okay for two women to have sex is explained like this.

- I guess because I appreciate women more. If for instance you (the interviewer) and me had a relationship and you said to me one day 'Vernon, I would like to experiment, I would like to have another man in our bedroom', I would tell you no.(laughs)"

To the question that followed *And another woman would be all right?* he replies.

"Yeah, (laughs) I'm a dirty old man".

¹¹⁵ In the song "Cuyah Cuyah" Capleton sings: Bun confusion! Bun tension! And me seh bun boogaman! Bun lesbian! (Bun means burn). The whole lyric is enclosed.

He thinks class in some cases affect the opinions towards homosexuals. But even stronger is the religion.

- There is a strong deep-rooted Christianity among Jamaicans who have been told homosexuality is wrong and evil and all of that, but you find it is accepted in upper class, but more and more in the working class there are openly gay men living there and no one troubles them. People just know they are gay and they just sometimes say something to them like 'hey batty boy' but that is about it, they do not really attack them, when they attack them is when they are very open on the street, intimate, that is when people will attack.

Davidson also says that it is a matter of education. Persons who are educated are more tolerant. When he went to University he says that there were lots of gay lecturers. He had one himself. Everyone knew that this man was gay and they would laugh behind his back but no one would say they did not want to go to his lectures, because they all liked him. The story of the lecturer came to a tragic ending.

- He was actually killed by his lover. He had this young man who was his lover, I do not know what happened between them but he found this other guy and started dating him, and his first lover went to his house, chopped him up, put him in a bag, took his car and credit card and that is how they caught him. I think he was sentenced for it.

He continues:

- And that is a good thing to remember, the majority of homosexual men who get killed are killed by their lovers, not by anti-gay people, but because of jealous rage.

Davidson does not think there are many transvestites in Jamaica:

- Do we have any transvestites here? I can not remember seeing any, maybe, but if they are here, there are not many of them. There are some girls that are gay and looks like guys.

When saying fear is not a part of Jamaicans' feelings towards homosexuals, Davidson speaks a lot about his own feelings as he admits he does not like homosexuals. Not because he is scared of gay men, they just disgust him. It is interesting that he from the start separates gay men from lesbians with the motivation that lesbians are hot and gay men revolting. When speaking about homosexuals Davidson mainly thinks about the men. Even though attacks and harassments of lesbians do take place in Jamaica, Davidson does not reflect on that. When this was discussed he did not seem to be ignoring the fact, but was simply convinced that it does

not happen. This, we believe, is because he himself has no bad feelings towards lesbians except for the ones who dress and behave like men. He has the same denial toward transsexuals, who he believes do not exist in Jamaica. When explaining the homophobia, which is a conception he quietly accepts to use during the interview, he agrees with it being an effect of religion, class and education. He says educated people are more accepting, he on the other hand is not an example of that since he is educated and has a respected job, but still is homophobic. This can be explained by the religion that has a great part in the socialization in Jamaica. The homophobia is widespread and so common that it hardly gets questioned. A reason for that could be that the bible dissociates itself from homosexuality by establishing it as unnatural and wrong. He tells the story of his lecturer to point out that it is the gay men themselves who kill and hurt each other. This is only part of the truth which is described in the third chapter about homophobia in Jamaica.

Homophobia and media

When talking about homophobia and the media, Davidson tells about a picture they published in 1994 of two gay men kissing on the front page. He says that many upset people called the paper threatening to stop buying the newspaper. The reaction would probably be even worse today, he believes.

- I think because the position has harden so much now against homosexuals particularly because of the response of the international right groups, the lobby groups outrage, and then there is Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, who basically are trying to dictate to us that we should accept this lifestyle, and that is the worst thing you can do, I think their reports are wrong, they should leave us to.. just allow us to.. The acceptance will come, but it will take a long time, and I think Amnesty International are trying too hard to ram (throw) it down our throats, that is the impression that people get, that you are trying to force this behaviour on us and it is going to take a long, long time for people trying to accept that. You see the acceptance is there already, the other night I was at the anniversary party for Asylum¹¹⁶... I saw two very open homosexual men there and off course they were not hugging each other or anything they were just there dancing, having a good time, and people know that they are homosexuals, but they do not bother them.

¹¹⁶ A nightclub in New Kingston

Davidson explains that they do not have any editorial policies about how homosexuality and homophobia are described in the newspaper, but they do not promote the lifestyle, just like they do not promote promiscuity among heterosexuals.

- If we publish something advocating homosexuals, we will get calls asking ‘why did you have to publish that letter?’ It is the same sort of reaction if we would publish something sensitive, but it is our duty to publish it.

He thinks that not writing about the homophobia in the society would not support the anti-gay groups.

- Because whenever the issues come up we report them. We had a lead story last year, one of our reporters went to a homosexual church and sat in the audience and watched and reported what she saw, no opinions, we let just the talking of the public to judge. But what she saw, what she reported, did irritate some people. They were not very happy because there were children in the church and couples of them (homosexuals) got married in the church. The church keeps moving because they are afraid. It (same sex marriage) is illegal in Jamaica.

When asked if any of the journalists on The Daily Observer are homophobic, Davidson replies.

- Of course, and they say so proudly. We have at least one reporter who is gay. Somebody might pass him remarks, but no one really bothers him, he is a little bit obnoxious, so that will get him into trouble, but he produces and our policy is that your personal lifestyle is your own, it has nothing to do with your job. If he breaks the rules of the company, then he is in trouble.

When asked how they write about homosexuality at The Daily Observer, Davidson replies:

- Certainly when we are writing news we do not insert opinion in the news. We have one columnist who disapproves of it, he finds the act disgusting, but other than that there is no negative or positive in regards to (how we write about) homosexuals.

He says they do not mention if someone is being homosexual if it is not crucial for the story and he thinks other newspapers do the same.

Davidson is proud to be part of a newspaper that publishes what should be published. He does not believe that the media should have any restrictions when it comes to describe

homosexuals in the articles when being motivated. That he does not see a problem in having a columnist who is openly homophobic is worth to comment on since a columnist is a person who has the power to speak for the newspaper in his texts. Having such strong feelings about a group of people only because they step out of the heteronorm and then have their say in this daily newspaper is thereby okay according to Davidson. By saying there is a gay man working at The Observer Davidson tries to make a point that the newspaper is accepting even homosexuals. But he does lift a warning finger and says “he is a little bit obnoxious” and that he must behave if he wants to keep his job. Davidson laughs about that the gay man’s co-workers passes him “remarks” because of his sexuality as if that would be something he must accept. When saying that Amnesty International is trying to force change upon the Jamaicans, Davidson refers to a strong nationalism that will take time to change. He means that some changes have been made and that Jamaicans are more accepting about homosexuals today. At the same time he says that a reaction of publishing a picture of two men kissing today would cause an even greater reaction than 15 years ago. This because this proud nationalism is being threatened from abroad and from different organizations.

Sodomy

- I never associated it (sodomy) with paedophilia, but certainly with homosexuality, (both) male and female homosexuality.

That sodomised in the Jamaican media means sexually assault and is often used when young boys are being raped, is something Davidson has not been thinking so much about. He says:

- It may be the wrong use of the word. But I don not think the link is made.

Davidson agrees that the conception of the word sodomy contains an act of homosexuality. In Jamaican media it is often used when a child has been exposed to an act of paedophilia, a word hardly ever being used in Jamaica. It is interesting that Davidson admits that the use of the word might be wrong but still does not want to reflect on the effect this application might get. Instead he says that he thinks the link is not being made.

7.3.2 No interview with The Gleaner

After the interview with Vernon Davidson we spent several days trying to book an interview with the editor of The Gleaner, Garfield Grandison. When finally being told that he would not have time for an interview, we tried contacting other editors. After several calls we eventually got in contact with Phyllis Thomas. When telling her about the subject she refused to

participate in an interview saying that “I know nothing about homophobia and I have nothing to say about it”.¹¹⁷ When asking if she could help us get in contact with any other of the editors she curtly responded that no one at The Gleaner would say anything about homophobia. The rest of the conversation was about us trying to explain the importance of getting a balanced view when writing our study since we had already interviewed the editor of The Daily Observer. Phyllis Thomas still refused to participate. We believe that this do say a lot about the sensitivity of the subject. It also says something about how closed the Jamaican media can be.

7.3.3 Interview with Canute James

Senior lecturer of Media and Communication at University of West Indies, November 19, 2008

After the failure with booking an interview with one of The Gleaners editors we chose to make an interview with Canute James, senior lecturer of Media and Communication at University of West Indies. We met him at his office at the university and had yet another half structured interview with open questions that was recorded. The interview has been summarized into the same four topics as the interview with Vernon Davidson: homophobia and media, homophobia, sodomy. Every topic of this interview will also be followed by a reflection.

Homophobia

James says that there is a very high degree of homophobia in the Jamaican society.
- I would suspect it has to do with a very conservatively religious society, and a lack of exposure, it is a sort of village mentality, this is how we live properly and to do otherwise would be improper and maybe unreligious, immoral and so on.

He agrees that the Jamaicans are exposed to sexualities other than heterosexuality through media from abroad, but that, he is afraid, does not change the socialization.

- In Jamaica the religious beliefs are stronger than the images that you see. That kind of exposure might change some people, but generally the whole group that holds hard to these beliefs I do not think would be that easily changed.

¹¹⁷ Telephone conversation with Phyllis Thomas, December 10, 2008.

James brings forward different reasons for homophobia with the conservatively religious society being the most important. The church teaches the Jamaicans that homosexuality is wrong, which builds up a fear of being immoral. He speaks about a village mentality which is important to point out as Jamaica is a small island with only 2,7 million inhabitants.¹¹⁸ When saying that the exposure of other sexualities from abroad do not change the mind of most Jamaicans, James refer to the same strong nationalism as Davidson. The homophobia is a part of Jamaica and no western country can force their beliefs on them.

Media and homophobia

When asked about how journalists in Jamaica write about homosexuals he says.

- I don't believe someone's sexuality alone becomes an issue in the story. But journalists report on incidents where the sexuality becomes an issue, like for example there was a case several months ago in one of the shopping plazas, I think it was two men who were attacked.

He continues.

- The police believed that the men were attacked because they were thought to be homosexuals, and that statement was made because the police had to give a motive. But I do not believe someone's sexuality alone becomes an issue in the story.

James does not think that the journalists are being homophobic.

- I do not think so, because if they were homophobic it would be fairly obvious in the media.

He does not believe that the homophobia can be seen in the media

- I see no evidence of that. I do not see any advocacy of homophobia, you may get a letter (to the editor) that is homophobic, you may on the talk shows and radio have people who are homophobic and who express their opinion. This is because the media is free to a degree that opens for opinions. I think the question you might want to ask is what the editorial policy of the media houses is as far as homophobia is concerned and that is a question you have to address to the editors.

As James himself says he has not been in an editorial office for years and can thereby only give an overriding picture of the Jamaican media. He says that if the journalists were

¹¹⁸ <http://www.landguiden.se>, Swedish Institute of Foreign politics, 2008-10-29

homophobic it would show and says that he has seen no sign of that. Here he refers to the media he consumes himself and in his position as a senior lecturer of Media and Communication at the University of West Indies, he most probably know enough to make that statement that the homophobia is not shown in the articles.

Sodomy

James says that sodomy is a partly homosexual word that goes back to strong religious beliefs. It refers to a unilateral action and in one level it speaks about maybe being raped and on another level it speaks about an act of homosexuality.

- It is biblical and Jamaicans know exactly what it means.

He says that the word is being used quite often and that the meaning of the word is correct in Jamaican society since the Jamaicans understand it this way. When asked if this use of the word can affect the homophobia James agrees.

- Yes it could affect people's attitudes.

But as a journalist you have to take other things in consideration when choosing what word to use when explaining an incident, like how you get the message across.

- How do you make a Jamaican understand? Paedophilia is not used here. To a degree it has a lot to do with editorial attitudes.

When asked if the common Jamaican know the difference between homosexuality and paedophilia, he answers:

- That very conservative Jamaican mind might put it all together in a category that says it is immoral, it is wrong. All of that is the same thing.

He agrees that it might be dangerous to use the word sodomy in the way it is being used in the media.

- Yes it could.

But he also says that by not using it you will end up with another problem, how to get the message across. It is hard to know how the reader understands the word and how or if he can differentiate it from paedophilia.

- The word is biblical and Jamaicans know precisely what it means because in the bible it has a particular meaning. So you would see for example if they have to express ideas and opinions on sexuality that is a word you would see and hear being used quite often. It is right in the

Jamaican context because this is how Jamaicans understand it, it is common language, so if you say 'a child has been sodomised' Jamaicans understand that the child has been subject to some sort of sexual abuse. At one level it speaks about maybe being raped, at another level it speaks about an act of homosexuality, so Jamaicans understand what it means.

When asked if it might affect the attitudes towards homosexuals he replies.

- Yes it could, then you have to go back to, in the media, how do you get the message across, how do you explain to someone who uses that particular word by using something else?

He does not believe that most Jamaicans know the meaning of the word paedophilia.

- I understand what that means, but I do not think the average Jamaican do.

If Jamaicans understand the difference between paedophilia and homosexuality is hard to say, according to James.

- Clearly some do, but perhaps again that very conservative Jamaican mind would just put everything into a category saying it is immoral, wrong, all of that is the same thing, so yes, and maybe they do not.

Do the journalists know the difference?

- Oh yes.

The most crucial part of this topic is that James agrees on that the use of the word sodomy might have a bad effect on the attitude towards homosexuals. He explains that the word is double natured, which might be confusing. This means that the word is either a part of, or helps strengthen, the homophobia as "that very conservative Jamaican mind would just putting everything together saying it is immoral, wrong". He is convinced that the journalists know the difference between the words sodomy and paedophilia. But as James himself had not reflected on how sodomy is being used before the interview we do not believe in that answer, but think that it is more likely the word is being used routinely. He also points out the journalistic problem of getting a message across if you choose another word that the readers do not understand, meaning that this would be more important than the right conception of the word.

8. Results and discussion

“Sometimes people just fall in love with their own type” / 18 year old Jamaican man

In this chapter our material will be compiled with the theoretical framework. We will present and discuss the results of our study.

In the theoretical framework we discussed theories of one person’s socialization to the society. The primary takes place between the individual and her near ones like family members. The secondary is in the relation to different institutions in the community, like the school, the church, the place of work and through the media. This is clearly shown also in the Jamaican society. The church not only indirect effect people’s way of thinking but even gets to speak directly through media to the public, for example through the Pastor who has the role of a counsellor in The Star. His profession does not just happen to be religious but when giving advice to the people who asks for his help, he is referring to the bible. Through the media the religion can strengthen its imagined community for the reader take part of and feel that they belong to.

Sodomy is a word with origin from the bible that altogether means homosexuality, sex with animals and paedophilia and we have found that in the Jamaican media it is often used to describe a sexual abuse that is a part of a paedophilia act. Our example of this is an article about an eleven-year-old boy who was abducted, raped and murdered. In the media the incident was explained by that the boy had been sodomised. By consequently using a word like sodomy, when its true meaning is not what it is being used for, also indicates how influential the church is. Both Vernon Davidson and Canute James partly explain the homophobia in Jamaica with the people’s religious beliefs. As do many locals we have spoken to. The religion is strongly connected to the whole community appearing in school, in work, in media and everywhere else. The question whether homosexuality is right or wrong, is strongly connected to the bible where the story of Sodomy has its origin when God punished the inhabitants of the city Sodom and Gomorra for spending too much time having non-reproductive sex. Homosexuality is therefore abnormal and wrong according to the men we have interviewed, the locals we have spoken to and the bible. As media reflects the society

it should also reflect this homophobia, which we have found that it does. Like for example when using the word sodomy, when describing a gay man as promiscuous based on rumours and when letting a homophobic columnist represent the newspapers opinion.

In our theoretical framework we talk about the identity as divided in two, the social and the personal identity. Our social identity is created by other people's ideas of which we are, a mix of collective context in which we belong and the social and historical background we come from. Media plays an important role in forming this part of the identity because it is mainly through media that people can meet each other in other ways than physically. In that way we can learn about others and choose where we belong. When describing homosexuality like in the article "Suspected lovers, chopped, burnt" the journalist may only want to report the news. But by describing one of the victims as a gay man who "carries men into the society to live with him" he points out that the man and his sexuality is abnormal and does not fit this society. Also when giving the main possible motive of the murder to be their homosexuality the journalists creates a feeling that heterosexuals are freed from such violence. In that way using information that is only based on rumours the article strengthens the idea that people being gay or in other ways having an "abnormal" lifestyle, are dealing with a bigger risk of getting killed than people having a "normal" lifestyle. Being safe is therefore a matter of a right or wrong way of living conditioned the heterosexual lifestyle is the correct one.

Articles that in some way or another deal with LGBT-persons and the homophobia exist in the Jamaican media. In two weeks we have found them in both editorial columns, in letters to the editor, in the daily news and in the entertainment pages. For example news about how two Jamaican music artists are getting criticized in Europe because of their anti-gay lyrics. These news articles covered the front pages and were the head news the days they were published and one of them also had an article following up the story a couple of days later. It is clear that the music is important in Jamaica and that it is partly seen as a national symbol. When their artists are being criticized it affects the identity of the Jamaicans and the Jamaican nationalism. By using the word defend when describing how the British police handles the accusations against Bounty Killer the newspaper itself defends the artist, even though it does let the activists have their say as well. The nationalism can thereby be strengthen as the Jamaican artist is the one being right and the gay rights activists only try to make it hard for him to perform. As can be read in the chapter of Theoretical framework nationalism is no longer dominated by the state but it is created by the human need of belonging somewhere

and sharing with others. It is namely through media that people who never actually meet, can see themselves as part of the community or the same country as is the case in Jamaica. It is a small country that seems to have a need of confirm its shared beliefs, culture and nationalism. An example might be that they put the news that Swedish government will help operating transsexuals free of charge in the “Weird News”-column. The newspaper thereby creates a room where it is clear that the matter is ridiculous and not a part of the Jamaican way of thinking, a room that most Jamaicans would accept and share.

Vernon Davidson says in his interview that if people get forced into thinking certain things and forced into changing their traditional ideals and values, they will act in the opposite way and be even more against it. This in the combination with the Jamaican past of slavery and racism seem to create a strong need of identification and sense of national belonging. But people in Jamaica are slowly changing their views, as both Vernon Davidson and Canute James say. By watching television and listening to music from abroad and by travelling, people’s minds are broadening, and not to forget, by publishing the newspapers gay-right debates. The editorial article “Waite’s anti-gay populist nonsense!” is a clear example of that the debate is going on. Of course not all Jamaicans are homophobic and some, like in this case The Gleaner, think that it is time for the country to change their attitude toward homosexuals as it “does not have the luxury of building a cocoon around itself and operating in splendid isolation from the rest of the world”. Yet again, a change cannot be forced upon Jamaica it has to come from within the country, in a way that this articles do. This makes this article an example of how the press also oppose the homophobic society and opens for a debate towards changes within the country.

In our theoretical framework we also mentioned that journalism often categorize people into different groups, ethnicity, sex, profession, class and sexuality. Vernon Davidson might say that they do not make someone’s sexuality an issue in the articles but as Canute James says, sometimes the person’s sexuality becomes an issue anyway. Yet again we choose to use the article “Suspected lovers, chopped, burnt” as an example. The possible motive for the two men being murdered are said to be their homosexuality. By categorizing people, phenomena and boundaries between what is abnormal and forbidden is being created. This can and does often when it comes to how homosexuals are described in the Jamaican press create stereotypes based only on preconcieved beliefs. This happens in the already discussed article where the journalist bases an article on the rumours about two victims’ sexuality. It also

happens in the article “Is three a crowd? - The threesome debate and its effect on relationships”. Here the boundaries of the Jamaican mind are being expanded as the article so loud and openly speaks about lesbians and threesomes, something that according to the bible cannot be seen as reproductive sex. But in the other hand this is also creating categories and stereotypes. The men have the main say all through the article whilst the women are mainly described as exotic creatures, especially the lesbians Vernon Davidson shared his thoughts of threesomes and lesbians saying that they are sexy just because they are women, as long as they only have sex and not dress like men. Two women marrying each other would under no circumstances be okay, according to Vernon Davidson. The women are appreciated as sexual objects that can fulfil a man’s sexual fantasy. In this way, the newspaper maintains an old and patriarchal way of thinking and the stereotype of the woman as a sex object. We have found that LGBT-persons are described as different, abnormal and as standing outside the Jamaican society. The stereotype that is created on homosexual men is more negative than the lesbian stereotype whilst transsexuals are almost ignored.

The Jamaican press does in some ways reflect the homophobia in the society. Already in the background we stated, by referring to for example the Human Rights Watch report, different music lyrics and the law against buggary, that the homophobia does exist in the Jamaican society. We feel that this statement can be confirmed by the results of the interviews we have done, the interview that did not happen since the editor of The Gleaner refused to talk about the issue and through the analyses of our articles. We have found several examples of how LGBT-persons are being described as abnormal and stand outside the Jamaican society in all four newspapers. We have also found that the press as part of the media and as one of the institutions that builds the socialization and the nation is a part of this homophobia along side especially the religion that marks the Jamaican society.

By reading the articles we found that homosexuals sometimes are described as victims, in the sense that if you live like this you risk to get hurt. Lesbians are sometimes described as sex objects, exciting women who are well accepted as long as they do not want more, like getting married to each other. Transsexuals are seldom mentioned but when they are, they are sometimes described as ridiculous, funny or not at all understandable. Often LGBT-persons are also described neutrally as with no prejudices. If the newspapers want to be seen as serious ones, like The Gleaner and The Daily Observer, the policy is to write about them in a neutral way. Whilst for the more sensational newspapers, The Star and The Chat, they want to

attract readers by exaggerate some news and as the homophobia is a well debated issue, news in contact with that subject is rewarding to do sensational news about. What is interesting is that even if, in this case The Daily Observer, attracting its readers by being a serious newspaper and writing neutrally, many of the journalists have the same homophobic opinions as the rest of the Jamaicans. Even their columnist, who almost only writes his own opinions, is openly homophobic. Of course this should affect the articles. Vernon Davidson uses the policy of reporting neutrally to explain their way of not writing more in favour of LGBT-persons. It is important for them not to show which side they are on, because if they did they risk to get criticized and loose readers independently on what side they support. This is a distinctive difference from Sweden. A paper that would not support LGBT-persons equal rights would probably get massively criticized in Sweden. It could probably be compared with a statement of racism. But in the Jamaican press we cannot find a comparison between racism and homophobia, except from in some debate articles.

We think it would be interesting and also important to do a similar research of the Swedish press. How do the press in Sweden describe homosexuals? Does homophobia exist even here? We know that certain stereotypes of lesbians, homosexual men and transvestites are maintained in tv-shows and movies etc. But are these stereotypes maintained also in journalism? It would therefore be interesting to compare our study of Jamaican press with a study of Swedish press. An openly homophobic society compared to a society that is believed to be more tolerant than others. Is Sweden really that tolerant and is that to be seen in the press?

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Enclosure 1, list of articles

List of all articles

The words in brackets after the headlines are the decisive contents for choosing that particular article.

Drawing the line against sexual depravity (sodomy), The Gleaner, Saturday 15/11, page A6, opinion and commentary, editorial.

A mother's grief (sodomised), The Gleaner, Friday 14/11, front page and A3, news, headline on front page.

Hung up on hanging (sodomy), The Gleaner, Sunday 16/11, page A9, Opinion, signed by Dr Orville Taylor.

Jamaica still under siege (sodomised), The Gleaner, Monday 17/11, page A6, opinion and commentary, letter to the editor, signed by Nebert Pryce, reader of the newspaper.

Buggery case stalled – suspect in the sodomy of Baby Boy still not charged (sodomy)
The Chat, Thursday 20/11, front page, news

It's not funny (sodomised), The Observer, Sunday 16/11, page 19, letters to the editor, signed Carole Lee, reader of the newspaper.

Mute woman gang-raped, 3 others shot dead, 1 injured (sodomised), Daily Observer, Saturday 15/11, front page and page 3, news, signed Karyl Walker

11-year-old boy murdered; cops believe he was sodomised / Naked mutilated body of 11-y-o boy found in canefield (sodomised), Daily Observer, Friday 14/11, front page and page 3, news, signed Horace Hines.

Upper house targets gay marriage (gay), The Gleaner, Saturday 15/11, page A6, opinion and commentary

Calling for a parent licensing authority (same-sex), The Gleaner, Wednesday 12/11, page A8, opinion and commentary, letter to editor.

Is three a crowd? - the threesome debate and its effect on relationships (lesbian), The Jamaican Observer, The Daily Observer All Woman, Monday 17/11, page 5 and page 11, opinion/debate/feature, cover story.

Swinging engine („relationship with a woman“), The Star, Tuesday 18/11, page 7, letter to the pastor counsellor "Tell me Pastor".

On prejudice (gay), The style of Observer, Jamaican Observer, Sunday 16/11, page 16 and 17, whole page and 18, feature, opinion.

Waite's anti-gay populist nonsense! (gay), The Gleaner, Thursday 20/11, page A8, opinion and commentary, editorial

Gay activist groups demand apology from Capleton (LGBT, sodomite, homophobic), The Star, Wednesday 12/11, page 12, entertainment news.

No Waite-and-see! (homosexual, gay), The Gleaner, Wednesday 12/11, page D12, news

Capleton's European tour in danger? (LGBT), The Chat, Monday 10/11, front page and page 3, news

Transamerica (transsexual), The Gleaner, Friday 14/11, page C3, entertainment news, movie review.

Free penises (transsexual), The Star, Monday 17/11, page 4, weird news.

Suspected lovers chopped, burnt (homosexual, gay), The Star, Tuesday 18/11, front page and page 3, news

UK police defend Bounty – cops give go-ahead for concert on Sunday (LGBT, homophobia), The Chat, Friday 21/11, front page and page 3, news

Crowd decides clash for Rebel T (fish), The Star, Tuesday 18/11, page 17, entertainment news.

Ashamed off being a 27-y-o virgin (gay), The Gleaner, Saturday 15/11, page 10, Saturday life.

Hope eternal (homosexual), The Daily Observer, Sunday 23/11, page 36, Leisure, signed Tony Robinson

The Audacity of art – Jamaican wins online graphic design contest (gay), The Daily Observer, Thursday Life, Thursday 20/11, page 12, signed Roland Henry.

Punishment or revenge? (homosexuals), The Daily Observer, Thursday 20/11, page 10, opinion, signed Michael Burke.

In case you missed it - entertainment news (same-sex), The Daily Observer, Tuesday 18/11, page 10 in Teen supplement, signed Ishena Robinson.

Enclosure 2, code translating

Participants

Who speaks in the article?

Who is the subject?

Who is the object?

How are they described?

Are there any victim, perpetrator, hero?

News

What is the news in the article?

Where does the news take place?

How is the news described?

Political opinions

Are there any political opinions? Which ones?

Who speaks?

How are they described?