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"Here Every Creed and Race Find an Equal Place":

Public Perceptions of LGBTQ Policymaking in Trinidad & Tobago

by

Krystoff Kissoon

Papers

submitted in partial fulfillment

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To the Graduate Faculty:

The members of the committee appointed to examine the dissertation of KRYSTOFF KISSOON find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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Sincerely,
Ralph Baergen, PhD, MPH, CIP
Human Subjects Chair

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAISO   The Coalition Advocating for Inclusion of Sexual Orientation

CARDI   The Caribbean Agricultural Research & Development Institute

FPATT   The Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago

IRB   Institutional Review Board

IGDS   Institute for Gender and Development Studies

LGBTQ   Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning, and others

MSM   Men Who Have Sex With Men

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

PNM   The People's National Movement

TTPAC   The Trinidad and Tobago Pride Arts Committee

UNC   The United National Congress

"Here Every Creed and Race Find an Equal Place":
Public Perceptions of LGBTQ Policymaking in Trinidad & Tobago

Dissertation Abstract -- Idaho State University (2022)

In the past decade, the LGBTQ Rights movement in Trinidad & Tobago (TT) gained national attention and advances in policymaking unlike previously seen. TT presents an interesting case to examine LGBTQ Rights given its British colonial history, which criminalized the gender and sexual fluidity practiced by pre-colonial cultures, and the ethnic and religious diversity of its population. This research investigates the factors influencing the expansion and contraction of LGBTQ Rights in TT. By drawing on the Institutional Design, Scope of Conflict, and Morality Politics literatures, I argue that these theories of policymaking play out differently in unitary systems such as TT than federal systems where they have been mostly examined. Utilizing an original dataset of online survey responses including TT citizens, interest group leaders, and elected officials, I investigate how public opinion of local and national government, independence of institutions, venue shopping, framing, media coverage, and the role of interest groups and political parties influence personal support for LGBTQ rights, and perceptions trust and value-sharing with institutions to pursue a variety of LGBTQ policies. This research has important theoretical implications, bridging knowledge across LGBTQ Rights, Political Science, and Caribbean Studies, and practical implications, providing insight to actors on the ground that can help refine their strategies of LGBTQ advocacy.

Keywords: LGBTQ Rights, Trinidad & Tobago, Caribbean, Caribbean Studies, Political Science, Institutional Design, Scope of Conflict, Morality Politics, LGBTQ activists.

Chapter 1: Introduction

"Forged from the love of liberty,

In the fires of hope and prayer,

With boundless faith in our Destiny,

We solemnly declare,

Side by side we stand,

Islands of the blue Caribbean Sea,

This our Native Land,

We pledge our lives to Thee,

Here every creed and race finds an equal place,

And may God bless our Nation,

Here every creed and race finds an equal place,

And may God bless our Nation."

- Trinidad & Tobago National Anthem (Office of the President of TT 2022)

Like in most countries, citizens of Trinidad & Tobago (TT) memorize these words early in their primary school education. The national anthem is performed at the beginning of virtually every public function in Trinidad & Tobago, including government-sponsored celebrations commemorating religious festivals such as Diwali and Eid-Ul-Fitr, as well as ethnic holidays such as Indian Arrival Day and Emancipation Day. According to the website of the Office of the President of the Republic of T&T (2022), "the words of the National Anthem reflect the nature and strength of the people of Trinidad and Tobago and our courage as one nation working

towards living in unity despite our diversity." As a result of the colonial legacy of forced labor

migration under British rule, TT like many of the "islands of the blue Caribbean Sea*"* has a very

racially and ethnically diverse population today. According to the 2011 Population and Housing

Census Demographic Report (Central Statistics Office), the ethnic composition of TT is: East

Indians (35.4%), Africans (34.2%), Mixed - African/East Indian (7.7%), Mixed – Other (15.1%),

Caucasian (0.6%), Chinese (0.3%), Indigenous (0.1%), Syrian/Lebanese (0.1%). East Indians

and Africans constitute roughly 70% of the population of TT, and they are relatively equal in

size to each other. Individuals who are Mixed represent the next largest ethnic group, at roughly

23%. According to the 2011 Census (Central Statistics Office), the religious composition of TT

is: Roman Catholic (21.6%), Pentecostal/Evangelical (12%), Anglican (5.7%), Baptist (6.9%),

Hinduism (18.2%), Islam (5%), Orisha (0.9%). Roman Catholics, Non-Denominational

Christians, and Hindus represent the largest religious factions in TT. Therefore, it makes good

sense that the postcolonial government of Trinidad & Tobago would enshrine ideas of "unity"

and "diversity" in its national anthem once it secured independence from the British and became

a republic in 1962.

Whereas diversity in countries such as the United States can seem more like a "salad

bowl" where ingredients are tossed together but retain their structural independence in the dish,

diversity in Trinidad & Tobago certainly better fits the description of a true "melting pot". Ethnic

and religious groups have participated not only in various forms of cultural exchange since the

colonial period, but they have combined their cultural traditions and practices to create entirely

new, hybridized cultural forms. For example, "Chutney", a popular genre of local music in

Trinidad & Tobago, is a syncretism of East Indian and African music. "Orisha", like Vodoun in

Haiti or Santeria in Cuba, is a hybridized religion comprising African and Catholic spiritual

elements. Popular local cuisine such as "Pelau" and "Callaloo" integrate African and French culinary practices. The 22.8% of the population who identified as ethnically "Mixed" in the 2011 census is yet another example of the legacy of cultural hybridization in Trinidad & Tobago (Central Statistics Office). The "melting pot" diversity of TT makes contemporary buzzwords like "cultural appropriation" difficult for TT citizens to digest, as it is a norm in TT society for ethnic and religious groups to publicly participate in each other's traditions. For example, Africans wear East Indian cultural dress and eat Indian foods to celebrate Indian festivals such as Diwali, and Indians wear African cultural dress and eat African foods to celebrate African festivals such as Shouter Baptist Day. Furthermore, Trinidad & Tobago Carnival, or "The Greatest Show on Earth" as it is known around the world, is an annual two-day public spectacle of revelry where virtually "every creed and race" of T&T citizen can be found carousing in the streets of the capital city, Port-of-Spain.

Of course, all of this is not to suggest that Trinidad & Tobago has achieved "diversity utopia" where discrimination and prejudice between ethnic and religious groups cease to exist. Diversity is typically a double-edged sword, and where opportunities for "unity" are maximized by some citizens and institutions, others exploit racial, ethnic and other societal cleavages to maintain or reinforce power. In response to the public execution of George Floyd in the United States in May 2020 and the global resurgence of the Black Lives Matter movement, TT citizens held protests of their own highlighting similar inequalities in police brutality against African men in TT compared to Indians and other ethnic groups (Newsday 2020). The kidnapping and murder of Andrea Bharatt in January 2021, a 23-year-old East Indian girl, sparked protests and vigils around the island shining a light on violence against women, particularly from lower-income backgrounds (Trinidad Express 2021) The influx of refugees from Venezuela into Trinidad &

Tobago in recent years led to increased incidents of xenophobia, discrimination, and violence against Venezuelan migrants (Caribbean National Weekly 2019). Furthermore, party politics in TT continue to be dominated by racial, religious, and socioeconomic differences. Thus, although it may seem like TT citizens are tolerant and accepting of some differences, at least on the surface, Trinidad & Tobago has not yet fulfilled the promise in its national anthem: "Here every creed and race finds an equal place."

Perhaps nowhere is this more evident in the 21st century in Trinidad & Tobago than in the situation of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning, and others (LGBTQ) community. TT citizens who identify as LGBTQ continue to experience various forms of social, economic, and political invisibility, discrimination, and violence. Caribbean culture on a whole is pervaded with homophobia and anti-LGBTQ attitudes, a legacy that goes back to "massa" using sodomy and other forms of sexual and psychological punishment to humiliate and emasculate Enslaved African males. It resonates in the lyrics of popular Dancehall icons such as Buju Banton, Beenie Man and Sizzla. Buju Banton's "Boom Bye Bye" was the target of gay rights activists in the early 2000s for advocating for the shooting and burning of gay men: "*Boom bye bye. Inna batty bwoy head. Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man. Dem haffi dead*" (The UK Guardian 2007). Whereas countries in both the developed and developing world have made significant advances in LGBTQ rights in the past two decades, the LGBTQ rights movement in TT is just beginning to make headway. In 2018, the Trinidad & Tobago High Court of Justice struck down Sections 13 and 16 of the Sexual Offences Act, colonial-era laws that punished "buggery" or "serious indecency" among same-sex individuals with up to 25 years imprisonment (The Guardian 2018). The law was never enforced but had a primarily symbolic effect, directly linking LGBTQ sexual activity to criminal activity. Although non-profit organizations have been

raising awareness and advocating for LGBTQ rights in TT since the early 2000s, this ruling can be considered the first real pro-LGBTQ policy change adopted by the national government of TT. The fact that this policy change was centered around the right to same-sex consensual sexual activity—the bare minimum in the range of social, economic, and political rights that should be afforded to LGBTQ individuals in any country—indicates just how much work there is to be done by policymakers before the LGBTQ community "finds an equal place" in TT society. In addition, the fact this policy change occurred through the courts because of a lawsuit filed against the TT government by a LGBTQ Trinidadian immigrant to the United Kingdom, Jason Jones, speaks to the dearth of legislation on the LGBTQ situation generated by elected officials—the principal legislators—within the legislative and executive branches. There have been no pro-LGBTQ policy changes by the TT government since the 2018 Jones ruling. This dissertation is concerned with understanding why LGBTQ rights in TT appears to be stagnated and at the bare minimum.

This research proceeds as follows. In Chapter 2, I will first provide a brief historical overview of LGBTQ rights in Trinidad & Tobago, focusing on the role of British colonization in shaping the values held around gender and sexuality by TT citizens today. This discussion is important to my research question because homophobia and anti-LGBTQ attitudes are not indigenous to the Caribbean, but the result of colonial processes. In the pre-colonial era, ethnic groups that had already settled in or were eventually labor trafficked to the Caribbean understood and practiced gender and sexual fluidity, including Amerindians, East Indians and Africans. These values and practices were criminalized by the British government via colonial laws such as the "buggery" law in TT, and became part of the larger campaign of non-white cultural erasure. By understanding the colonial origins of anti-LGBTQ attitudes in TT, citizens and

policymakers can begin the work of decolonizing their ideas about gender and sexuality and avoid the trap of further colonization in the modern era by automatically importing ideas about LGBTQ rights from the white, western, industrialized world. In a sense, LGBTQ rights in TT are not about moving forward to an entirely new place, but a return back to the original state of things. The emergence and cascade of LGBTQ rights in TT will be more effective if it comes from the bottom-up rather than top-down, allowing LGBTQ citizens of TT with all their varied intersectionality to decide what kind of LGBTQ rights they want for themselves and when. In the second half of Chapter 2, I will bring history into the present and provide a basic introduction to the social, political, and economic context surrounding the contemporary state of LGBTQ rights in TT. I will explore some relevant laws and legal cases, public opinion, the evolution of activism, public events, service establishments, political parties, crime statistics, and instances of discrimination as they relate to the LGBTQ community. This cursory information will inform my theoretical approaches in Chapter 3 and methodological approaches in Chapter 4, 5, and 6. We need to paint a picture of what life is like for LGBTQ individuals in TT in order to understand the forces that are influencing the situation and treatment of the LGBTQ community.

There are many different scholarly perspectives and methodologies that can be utilized to help answer this question. However, it is perhaps most important to undertake research on LGBTQ rights in TT and other parts of the Caribbean first through an intersectional lens. Kimberlé Crenshaw first coined the term in 1989 to describe the layered oppression black women experience on account of their gender and race (Crenshaw 2017). However, intersectionality has been broadened to include virtually any aspect of social identity—sexuality, class, ability, nationality, citizenship, religion, body type etc.—that can lead to oppression, or privilege. Given the ethnic and religious diversity of the population of Trinidad & Tobago,

LGBTQ individuals in TT are inherently intersectional in their identities and lived experiences. Their lives as members of the LGBTQ community cannot be accurately described without understanding their lives as members of distinct ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic groups. The intersectional reality of life in TT makes terms like "coming out" unsuitable at best and problematic at worst for LGBTQ individuals, who experience "outness" in a more non-linear fashion than their counterparts in more homogenous societies. LGBTQ individuals in TT are often embedded in many different networks, such as extended families and professional or religious organizations, which they value just as much as they value their LGBTQ identity and relationships. They are constantly and strategically negotiating their identities in different spaces for survival and to maximize opportunities, and can practice "outness" in one area of their lives while "masking" or "passing" in other areas. This does not mean that they are any less "LGBTQ" than individuals in other countries who are less intersectional, or whose intersections afford them more privilege than oppression. An intersectional approach becomes critical, for example, when evaluating which types of pro-LGBTQ policies and lobbying strategies should be prioritized by advocates and policymakers, since these are likely to advantage or disadvantage LGBTQ individuals in TT differently based on other aspects of their identity.

Although intersectionality is the fundamental assumption this research operates out of, I will draw on three distinct literatures in political science in Chapter 3 to investigate the opportunities and barriers to LGBTQ policymaking in TT: institutional design, scope of conflict, and morality politics. Firstly, institutional design is important because the nature of political systems tend to structure policymaking processes. Trinidad & Tobago is a unitary system, where there are only two levels of government—national and local—with the former holding most of the authority and controlling the latter. In addition, TT is a parliamentary system, where the

executive and legislative branches are combined, and the party that wins the majority of seats in parliament gain automatic control over the executive branch. As a result, the national government and the party that rules it are the only points of entry for advocates of any policy to lobby for substantive change. This becomes even more significant for advocates of LGBTQ policies which are highly controversial in Trinidad & Tobago compared to other policies, and tend to be met with silence or inaction by the national government. Secondly, scope of conflict is important because it helps us understand how the institutional design of TT works to keep LGBTQ rights as a minimum. First articulated by E. E. Schattschneider in 1975, scope of conflict argues that coalitions who are winning certain policy debates tend to keep the scope of actors who are involved small, whereas coalitions who are losing tend to expand the scope in order to break up the power of the winning coalition (Schattschneider 1975). In a unitary, parliamentary system, it is easier for the winning coalition to keep the scope narrow and gatekeep the points of entry than in a federal, presidential system such as the United States where are three levels of government and greater separation of powers. Thirdly, LGBTQ rights has long been considered by scholars a morality politics issue, where at least one coalition frames the issue in terms of morality rather than human or civil rights, leading to a highly salient, value-based discourse. Given the overall religiosity of the population of TT, LGBTQ policies fit the description of morality politics. In addition, morality politics has been examined mostly in federal systems at the local and state level, where policies are expected to be more congruent with the preferences of constituents. In a unitary system like TT where the policymaking powers of local government are restricted, can LGBTQ morality politics occur at the national level? Thus, the main research question of this dissertation is: ***Does Scope of Conflict and Morality***

Politics help explain the expansion, or contraction, of LGBTQ rights in Trinidad & Tobago's Unitary System?

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 represent the substantive data chapters of this dissertation to empirically investigate my research question. In Chapter 4, I present how I collected my data, including a description of my survey instrument, how I distributed the survey, and the IRB approval process. Utilizing a snowball method, I conducted an online survey of 80 TT citizens exploring their perceptions of various concepts derived from the institutional design, scope of conflict, and morality politics literatures. These concepts represent my primary independent variables and include perceptions of local government power, national government power, independence of institutions and groups, venue shopping, heavenly chorus, privilege, morality, framing, media coverage, the influence of religion, the role of interest groups, the role of political parties, and the policy environment. In addition, I investigated respondents' personal support for a variety of LGBTQ policies (Chapter 5), and perceptions of trust in and value-sharing with institutions and groups (Chapter 6). These represent my primary dependent variables. Investigating citizens' personal support for a wide variety of LGBTQ policies such as the right to same-sex marriage and same-sex adoption, protections against discrimination in education and employment, and access to LGBTQ specific healthcare services is important to my research question because it highlights what kinds of LGBTQ rights TT citizens are currently interested in and willing to prioritize. Understanding citizens' level of trust in and perceived value-sharing with institutions and groups is important to my research question because it provides some indication of where citizens are likely to go within TT's unitary system to make their voice heard on LGBTQ issues. I analyze how my independent variables influence my dependent variables utilizing Tobit Regression analyses in STATA.

In Chapter 7, I discuss the implications of my results in Chapters 4 and 5 and contextualize them within my broader understanding of the evolution of LGBTQ rights in TT. In Chapter 8, I provide a brief summary of all chapters in the dissertation and offer some recommendations for LGBTQ advocates and policymakers in TT based on my findings. Finally, I identify some limitations of this research and some directions for future research on LGBTQ rights in TT. Overall, this research has important theoretical contributions by bridging knowledge across LGBTQ Rights, Political Science, and Caribbean Studies scholarship. This research examines how policy theories such as scope of conflict and morality politics can be utilized to help explain policy change, or the lack thereof, in unitary systems, rather than federal systems to which they have been mostly applied by scholars. In addition, this research has practical contributions by providing insight to key actors and groups on the ground in the LGBTQ rights movement to help refine their strategies of LGBTQ advocacy and improve their chances of success in fulfilling TT's promise in its national anthem: "Here every creed and race find an equal place."

Chapter 2: History and Background

2.1: History of Gender and Sexuality in the Caribbean

                Many historians in the 21st century have examined the relationship between gender and sexuality in the Caribbean and the colonial process (Kempadoo 2004; Alexander 1994; Phillips, 2007; Alturi 2001). The historical record shows that homophobic and other anti-LGBTQ attitudes are not indigenous to the Caribbean region, as in other regions that were heavily colonized such as Africa and South Asia. These attitudes were introduced and woven into the social, economic, and political fabric of Caribbean society by colonial institutions. In particular, scholars have noted how British colonization impacted ideas and practices of gender and sexuality in the Caribbean. British colonies, including Trinidad & Tobago, adopted the 1861 British buggery law in various forms during the colonial project. However, despite this adoption, ideas concerning sexuality were originally more relaxed and liberal in many parts of the Caribbean, than in Great Britain, until the end of the 19th century. British settlers were offered greater space and separation from traditional moral and family values in the metropole, and lived in a predominantly male society with little access to heterosexual relationships, as well as limited restrictions on sexual behaviors (Gaskins 2013, Hyam 1991, Upchurch 2009, Dunn 1972). As a result, Caribbean colonies often served as sex havens for the colonial elite, where sexual license was widely practiced (Kempadoo 2004).

      Historical analysis suggests that sexual liberties were not limited to the colonizer, but the spiritual traditions of West and Central African societies transplanted in the Caribbean created a sociocultural space for male and female homosexuality (Sweet, 1996; Phillips, 2007). British settlers in the Caribbean, or 'British West Indians', formed their own distinctly colonial version of British identity within the new Caribbean society created and controlled by slave-owners.

British West Indians called for the metropole to recognize their claims to full British identity, law, and citizenship. This call, although accepted in the Caribbean, was often met with resistance by British subjects at home. Moreover, with the rise of the Victorian era and perceived threats to the British empire at the end of the 19th century, Britain attempted to import British morality into the colonies to "protect" colonial settlers. A main focus of this "protection" from corruption was subjecting them to anti-sodomy laws (Jackman, 2017; Gupta and Long, 2008). It was this era and these laws that largely racialized and sexualized the displaced and colonized groups in the Caribbean, such as Africans, Indians, and indigenous Amerindian peoples. Colonial laws naturalized male whiteness and heterosexuality, and allowed slaveholders to practice violent expressions of colonial masculinity, such as rape of both men and women, without persecution inside or outside of the law.

Colonial constructions of sexuality erased many non-white sexualities. This included indigenous Amerindian sexualities (Alexander 1994). Haynes-Robinson (2012) and Kempadoo (2004) examine the Amerindian experience of fluid gender and sexual expression as well as the overtly negative reactions of the colonizers upon contact. The colonial image of Amerindians rooted their inferiority in their inability to discriminate in their sexual habits, leading to the selection of "wrong" mates and producing sexual deviations in society such as bestiality, sodomy, and incest (Kempadoo 2004). Colonialism also framed black female sexuality as wild and unruly, black male sexuality as hypersexual and oppressive, Indentured Indian female sexuality as mysterious and wanton but domesticable, Indentured Indian male sexuality as violent and androgynous, and free colored women as sexually 'loose' but acceptable as potential mates (Alexander 1994, Saunders 1990). Social respectability in Caribbean colonial society was ultimately tied to sexuality, masculinity, virility, and ideas of normalcy, and shaped colonial

middle-class values in which the nuclear, white conjugal family triumphed above all else (Alexander 1994, Mosse 1985). Interracial sex and marriage were perceived as "polluting" white British identity and destabilizing British power (Newman, 2010). Centuries of slavery and colonization produced and reproduced this "hegemonic repertoire of images," which left a legacy for Caribbean black nationalist leaders after independence (Alexander, 1994; Mercer and Julien, 1988). Colonial sexualities were transformed into neocolonial sexualities, with the modern Caribbean nation-state continuing to sexualize and subordinate women and persecute homosexuals in favor of "natural" and "superior" heterosexuality and masculinity (Alexander 1994, Alturi 2001). Even today, black masculinity continues to police "unnatural" sexualities and prolong the colonial fiction, as a means of legitimizing their competence to rule post-independence. As a result, homophobia and anti-LGBTQ attitudes are not indigenous to the Caribbean region, but the result of a legacy of colonized race, gender, and sexuality that have been upheld post-independence.

Scholars have examined the impact of colonization on gender and sexuality in other regions such as North America, Africa, and South Asia. Similar to the Amerindian tradition in the Caribbean, gender and sexual fluidity was part of the Native American tradition in North America prior to colonization and the institutionalization of white Christian morality (Fulton and Anderson 1992; Jacobs et al. 1997; Blackwood 1984). In pre-slavery Africa, many civilizations recognized gender and sexuality as a spectrum rather than a binary (Epprecht 2009; Arnfred 2004; Msibi 2011). In pre-colonial India, LGBTQ identities did not appear in the caste system. Hinduism evolved to include "Queer" gods and goddesses which were worshipped by millions of Hindus and celebrated in mythological scripts. The British colonial government policed and punished these behaviors and attitudes, including making the worship of some "Queer" gods

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illegal, particularly among the lowest castes (Chatterjee 2018; Puri 2002; Hinchy 2019). Many of these low-caste Hindus were eventually transplanted to Trinidad & Tobago and other British colonies in the Caribbean under the Indentureship system, a reincarnation of African slavery designed to provide a new labor force for the agro-industrial plantation complex after Emancipation was granted. These Indentured Indians brought these "Queer" gods and goddesses to the Caribbean where they could be worshipped in a greater capacity than in India (Pattanaik 2014; Gharti Chhetri 2018; Adur and Bandana 2017). As a result, the legacy of colonization is a legacy of homophobia and anti-LGBTQ attitudes, steeped in white Christian morals and values. Various groups and cultures across regions understood, practiced, and celebrated gender and sexual fluidity prior to colonization and forced assimilation to white conservative ideals. It is important to understand the colonial origins of anti-LGBTQ attitudes in TT because LGBTQ rights progress can be framed as part of the ongoing decolonization project rather than the introduction of western ideas about gender and sexuality in the 21st century. Whether this frame will be more successful in advancing LGBTQ rights is a question reserved for future research. However, I will theorize in my discussion in Chapter 7 how this frame might influence public opinion toward LGBTQ rights, strategies of LGBTQ advocacy, and the kinds of LGBTQ policies we might see in the near future. The lack of LGBTQ rights in Trinidad & Tobago is shaped by its British colonial history, however there is some progress being made in the 21st century to decriminalize and decolonize gender and sexuality, such as some noteworthy legal rulings, the proliferation of LGBTQ advocacy groups, and the achievement of LGBTQ visibility in the public sphere.

2.2: Contemporary State of LGBTQ Rights

Not only were homophobic and anti-LGBTQ attitudes introduced to Trinidad & Tobago through colonization, but these attitudes were upheld in law by the postcolonial government. As a result, TT little to no rights or protections for LGBTQ individuals today. Before we can understand what might be influencing the lack of LGBTQ rights in TT, we need to get a lay of the land and basic overview of what is happening in the 21st century regarding the situation and treatment of LGBTQ individuals. In this section, I will provide a basic exploration of the social, economic, and political context surrounding the LGBTQ community. This includes a brief description of some relevant laws and legal cases, existing public opinion data, the proliferation of LGBTQ rights activism, LGBTQ events and service establishments, and the political climate.

2.2.a: Laws and Legal Cases

There are two anti-LGBTQ laws that have been challenged so far, both at the national level. The first goes back to the original British buggery law 1861 that was adopted in various forms during the colonial project. When Trinidad & Tobago gained independence 1962, the constitution provided that all laws in force prior to independence would remain in force after independence. The TT parliament did not retain the original buggery law, but repealed it in 1986 when it passed the Sexual Offences Act which criminalized same-sex intimacy in clearer terms (Gaskins 2013). Sections 13 and 16 of the Sexual Offences Act criminalized "buggery" or "serious indecency" i.e. oral and anal sex between any sexes with up to 25 years imprisonment. Theoretically, these laws applied to heterosexual intimacy as well. However, they made clear that "vaginal sex is the only and most 'natural' option for sexual intercourse" (Gaskins 2013).

These laws were rarely enforced to prosecute individuals exclusively on the basis of their sexual orientation, but have been used in limited historical cases that involve other serious crimes such as pedophilia, rape, incest, violence, and adultery (The State vs. Steve Williams; The State v. Patrick Wellington and Kelvin Persad). In 2011, three men were charged with buggery after kidnapping and raping a 14-year-old boy (Gaskins 2013; Trinidad and Tobago Guardian Online 2011). In December of 2011, a 58-year-old man was sentenced to 24 years for the buggery of a 12-year-old school boy (Gaskins 2013; Trinidad and Tobago Newsday 2011). As a result, these laws have a primarily symbolic effect, and "by conflating same-sex relations with these types of crimes, the psyche of homosexuality becomes the psyche of criminality" (Alexander 1994).

The homophobic provisions of the Sexual Offences Act were challenged in February 2017 when Jason Jones, an openly gay TT national who fled to the UK to escape severe discrimination, filed a suit against the TT government to strike the sections of the Sexual Offences Act. He claimed in his lawsuit that the buggery laws forced him to abstain from consensual sexual relations with a male partner or risk imprisonment, and they were unconstitutional and a violation of his right to privacy and freedom of expression (Human Rights Watch, 2018; The Guardian, 2018). The judgement was delivered by Justice Devindra Rampersad on April 12, 2018 declaring the two sections ""unconstitutional, illegal, null, void, invalid and are of no effect to the extent that these laws criminalize any acts constituting consensual sexual conduct between adults" (Loop News 2018). Justice Rampersad noted that the ruling was not decided based on moral or religious grounds, but the human right to dignity, freedom, and protection under the Constitution. Rampersad wrote:

"The Court feels compelled to state in conclusion that it is unfortunate when society in any way values a person or gives a person their identity based on their race, color, gender, age or sexual orientation. That is not their identity. That is not their soul. That is not the total value to society or their value to themselves. To now deny a perceived minority their right to humanity and human dignity would be to continue this type of thinking, this type of perceived superiority based on the genuinely held beliefs of some.

This conclusion is not an assessment or denial of the religious beliefs of anyone. This court is not qualified to do so. However, this conclusion is a recognition that the beliefs of some, by definition, is not the belief of all and, in the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, all are protected, under the Constitution. As a result, this court must and will uphold the Constitution to recognize the dignity of even one citizen whose rights and freedoms have been invalidly taken away." (Loop News 2018).

Before and after the ruling came down, religious leaders representing 90 percent of the TT population that is either Christian, Hindu or Muslim urged the government to keep the buggery laws intact and deny LGBTQ individuals basic rights because it would violate their religious beliefs (Religion News 2018). In July 2018, leaders representing the Catholic Church, Muslim and Hindu groups, Seventh-day Adventists, the TT evangelical council, and an umbrella group, the Faith Based Network, were convened by Port-of-Spain Archbishop Jason Gordon to show solidarity in opposition of LGBTQ rights (Religion News 2018). In particular, they called on the government to amend TT's Marriage Act to state that only a biological man and a biological woman can marry. They also called on the government not to amend the Equal

Opportunity Act to accommodate and extend protections against discrimination to LGBT+ people. The act prohibits specific forms of discrimination and doesn't currently offer protection for gays and lesbians (Religion News 2018). Archbishop Gordon stated that the religious leaders joined forces because the "fabric of society was at risk", and when the United States legalized same-sex marriage in 2015, it "infected" TT citizens into believing that same-sex unions were permissible (Religion News 2018). President of the TT Council of Evangelical Churches, Dr Desmond Austin, stated that marriage should be defined as between one biological man and one biological woman "because the family is the basic unit of society and a strong force of social cohesion, and as such should be strengthened. The family is entitled to comprehensive protection from society and the State" (Jamaica Observer 2018). General secretary of the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha, Sat Maharaj, stated that "homosexual activities are prohibited according to the Hindu religion" and that many Hindu scriptures "expressly support the prohibition of such kind of activity" (Jamaica Observer 2018). Vice President of Christian group, T&T Cause, stated that homosexuality is "unnatural and illegal. As the LGBTQI … whatever other letter, it is not a human right. It is a human wrong" (TV6 News 2018). In response to the show of solidarity among religious leaders, Jason Jones stated:

> "*Most of the homophobic religious organizations and other organizations - even the man on the street - If they believe that it is illegal [to be gay], they feel that they are entitled to discriminate against us. They think the law protects them. The death threats and other negative messages that I have been receiving on social media proves that fact. People are showing their faces and names on Facebook and making their death threats, and they feel*

entitled, that is because of this law. This law entitles them to discriminate. So, for me,

changing the law is where everything has to begin." (OutRight International 2017)

The second anti-LGBTQ law that has been challenged in TT, also at the national level, is an immigration law. Section 8 of the Immigration Act includes homosexuals in the "prohibited class" of immigrants along with drug addicts, alcoholics, carriers of infectious diseases, and any person suspected of coming to TT for "immoral purposes". The law has not been enforced; however, in 2007, a highly vocal campaign led by the local Anglican Church opposed the entry of British musician Elton John into the country to perform at the Tobago Plymouth Jazz Festival because "his visit can open the country to be tempted towards pursuing his lifestyle" (The Register, 2007). The Tobago House of Assembly rejected these claims and permitted the singer entry. In 2014, a Jamaican attorney, gay rights activist and immigrant to Canada, Maurice Tomlinson, filed a lawsuit against the governments of TT as well as Belize to remove their travel bans on homosexuals (The Guardian, 2016; CARICOM Today, 2016). Tomlinson argued that his right of freedom of movement had been violated "and it is an affront to his dignity to be obliged to limit his movement within the Caribbean Community because of his sexual orientation. He said it would be offensive to him to be subjected to questioning by state officials about the details of his sexual orientation and private life simply for purposes of determining whether he should be permitted to enter a country to which he has the right to enter under the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas." (Jamaica Gleaner 2013). In June 2016, the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) dismissed the case since the bans had never been enforced and there was no evidence that Tomlinson had experienced any difficulties moving within the Caribbean Community based on his sexual orientation or otherwise (CARICOM Today 2016). However, the Caribbean Court

agreed that if the travel bans were ever to be enforced by TT or Belize, this would effectively violate the treaty obligations of freedom of movement for Caribbean citizens under the Caribbean Community. The Court advised all member states "to ensure that national laws and administrative practices are consistent with the right of free movement of all CARICOM nationals" (CARICOM Today 2016).

There are no national laws in TT recognizing same-sex marriages or civil unions. However, there has been one legal case at the local level signaling support for same-sex partnerships. In July 2018, Justice Frank Seepersad of the San Fernando High Court approved an order to resolve a property dispute between two gay men who had a personal and a business relationship. In his ruling, he highlighted the unequal treatment of same-sex couples who are denied statutory protections afforded to heterosexual partners particularly in propriety and inheritance matters, and called for greater equality for the LGBTQ community (Newsday 2018). Justice Seepersad stated that:

> "*Equality of treatment before the law ought to be a cornerstone of any democratic society, but for many citizens the law deprives them of basic protection as they are denied the requisite degree of statutory protection which is afforded to heterosexual partners.*
>
> *There exists an urgent need for this untenable state of affairs to be rectified. The society must engage in introspective reflection and determine whether those who feel compelled to deny same-sex partners equality of treatment, operate under such heightened levels of insecurity that for them there is no room for tolerance, and the apodictic entitlement to equality of treatment should only be applied to heterosexual persons. Discrimination, in*

any form should be categorically rejected, and in this Republic equality of treatment

before the law must prevail." (Newsday 2018).

There has also been some movement within the private sector to support same-sex partnerships. In April 2021, Scotiabank TT expanded its health care benefits to include the same-sex partners of employees. Managing Director, Stephen Bagnarol, stated:

"*Being the best bank means taking bold action. We value and respect all our employees for their character, passion and integrity and encourage everyone to be their authentic selves. When we engage in bias free practices, we are able to help unlock employees' full potential. They consistently rise to the challenges faced, continue to deliver excellence to our customers and contribute to the bank's overall success.*" (Newsday 2021)

There has been some discussion at the national level regarding same-sex partners and domestic violence. In June 2020, the Senate refused to support the inclusion of same-sex couples into its definition of a "household" in its Domestic Violence Bill (Daily Express 2020). The amendment was proposed by Independent Senator, Hazel Thompson-Ahye, and was supported by four Independent senators, but was ultimately rejected by Government senators whereas Opposition senators abstained from the vote. According to the Daily Express 2020, "many citizens took to social media to pour scorn on those who rejected the amendment for being "cowardly", with some people expressing the belief that the change was rejected for fear of upsetting potential votes in the 2020 general election later this year." As a result, there is some

perception among TT citizens that the lack of support for LGBTQ rights among political officials is influenced by pressures of getting re-elected.

There are no national laws allowing same-sex couples to legally adopt. However, single individuals are allowed to adopt, and there are no laws specifying their eligibility for adoption based on gender or sexual orientation. There are also no national laws providing access to reproductive health services for either single LGBTQ individuals or same-sex couples such as IVF, surrogacy, and fertility treatments. However, at the local level, the Barbados Fertility Centre operates a clinic in St. Augustine that offers in vitro fertilization and artificial insemination treatments to lesbian couples as well as gestational surrogacy arrangements to gay male couples (Barbados Fertility Center 2019). In addition, the Trinidad & Tobago IVF & Fertility Centre with locations in Maraval and St. Joseph offers fertility treatments to lesbians via donor sperm; however, they do not provide services for those requiring surrogacy where "the lack of regulation becomes a serious impediment" (TT Wellness Connect). In January 2020, a lesbian couple in TT welcomed a baby daughter named "Miracle" that was conceived via at-home insemination utilizing sperm donated by a gay friend (Daily Express 2020). The couple stated that they used at-home insemination to avoid the exorbitant costs of doing IVF in a fertility clinic and the lack of guarantee that it would work (Daily Express 2020). The baby was delivered at Mt Hope Women's Public Hospital. Gynaecologist and obstetrician, Dr. Sherene Kalloo, stated that it was the first time she had heard of an at-home insemination done in TT, and when asked if she would advise other lesbian couples to do the same, responded that "if it can be done without a doctor's assistance, why not? You're saving money. If it's somebody that they know, the only advice I would give is that they get the donor to ensure that they are tested for HIV and to make sure they are not smoking" (Daily Express 2020).

In terms of censorship, there are no laws restricting the discussion or promotion of LGBTQ topics in TT. There are also no laws preventing LGBTQ individuals from openly serving in military. These are the only other policies that can be considered pro-LGBTQ. In terms of the Transgender community, there are no laws recognizing the right to change legal gender identity, or providing access to transgender health services such as hormone therapy and gender-affirming surgery. There are no protections for LGBTQ individuals against discrimination in education, employment, healthcare, housing, and law enforcement. There are no laws banning conversion therapy. Finally, Men who have sex with other men (MSMs) are prohibited from donating blood for life, and women who have had sex with a MSM are prohibited from donating blood for one year (Equaldex 2022; Newsday 2022).

2.2.b: Public Opinion

There is some limited public opinion data on LGBTQ issues in TT. In 2010, a poll conducted by the Vanderbilt University found that 15.4% of the TT population supported same-sex marriage (AmericasBarometer 2010). Another poll conducted in 2015 showed that support for same-sex marriage rose to 16.4% (AmericasBarometer 2015).

In 2013, a UNAIDS survey found that 78% of TT citizens believed that homosexuals should not be treated differently, 56% considered themselves either accepting or tolerant of homosexuals, 60% of young people and 62% of women had positive attitudes towards homosexuals, 64% said that violence against gays is discrimination, and 78% said it is not acceptable for people to be treated differently on the basis of sexual orientation (UNAIDS 2013).

In 2013, a national survey by Caribbean Development Research Services found that 33% of respondents "hate" homosexuals, 45% "tolerate" homosexuals, and 14% "accept"

homosexuals (Beck et al. 2017). In addition, the survey found that 54% of respondents would not be willing to "lime" or "hang out" with a gay person, whereas 38% stated they would be willing. 75% of respondents stated that violence against gays or sexual minorities constitutes discrimination, and 85 percent of respondents said they were opposed to discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (Beck et al. 2017). According to the TT Guardian (2013), "the CADRES survey also showed if there were legislative change about homosexuals, it would not affect voters and would have no significant negative impact for a political party."

In 2016, a survey on "Bullying and Gender Based Violence in Secondary Schools" conducted by the Silver Lining Foundation found that 28% of students engaged in verbal bullying based on a person's perceived sexual orientation and gender expression, and LGBTQ students experience bullying at higher rates than non-LGBTQ students (School Climate Report 2016). The survey found that the most common insults that students hear are homophobic insults e.g. "battyboy", "bullerman", "faggot", "you so gay!" and "you like boys, awa?" (School Climate Report 2016). The survey also found that sexual orientation and gender expression each represent 14% of the reasons why students engage in bullying (School Climate Report 2016).

In 2019, a follow up survey with a larger sample size conducted by the Silver Lining Foundation found that boys were more likely to engage in bullying based on appearance, race, sexual orientation and religion than girls (School Climate Report 2019). The 2019 report also showed that students lack proper sex education and rely on other means such as peers, media, and pornography (School Climate Report 2019). The report found that including comprehensive sex and sexuality education is essential to breaking cycles of child sex abuse, incest and sexual bullying (School Climate Report 2019). 61% of students said they had met LGBTQ people before, and 60% noted the presence of LGBTQ students at their school (School Climate Report

2019). 37% of students felt that LGBTQ people they knew or saw were treated with respect, whereas 32% disagreed (School Climate Report 2019). Homophobia was associated with significant perpetration of acts of harm and violence (School Climate Report 2019).

2.2.c: LGBTQ Activism

There has been a proliferation of pro-LGBTQ advocacy groups in TT in the 21st century. For example, The Coalition Advocating for Inclusion of Sexual Orientation (CAISO) is a coalition of individuals and groups connected to LGBT communities in Trinidad and Tobago. They aim to "to foster a forward-thinking, visionary and humane approach to sexual orientation and gender identity; secure full inclusion in all aspects of national life, social policy and citizenship; develop capacity, leadership and self-pride in communities; and mobilize an advocacy movement for social justice" (CAISO 2022). They participate in "everyday lawyering" with the long-term goal of building up documentation for a decriminalization case and seek to include sexual orientation in legal protections from discrimination (CAISO 2022). In 2011, CAISO partnered with the University of the West Indies to create a new mental health service with the Eric Williams Medical Sciences Complex Psychiatry Unit (CAISO 2022). In 2017, CAISO secured a funding partnership with the Institute for Gender & Development Studies to provide support for longstanding and new local efforts to transform approaches to partner violence, homophobia, bullying and policing, while building partnerships and organizational capacity (CAISO 2022). CAISO is the lead convener of the Alliance for Justice and Diversity (AJD), which is a social justice coalition of LGBTI+ organizations (CAISO 2022). CAISO is also a regular partner of the NGC Bocas Lit Fest and organized an annual festival event that takes writers into LGBTQ communities and features and celebrates Caribbean LGBTQ writing (CAISO 2022). In addition, CAISO has spearheaded "A Sexual Culture of Justice: Strengthening

LGBTQI & GBV Partnerships, Capacity & Efficacy to Promote & Protect Rights in T&T', a human rights project funded by the European Union and implemented by The University of the West Indies, Institute for Gender and Development Studies (IGDS), in collaboration with six LGBTI and feminist organisations in Trinidad and Tobago: CAISO, Friends for Life, I Am One, The Silver Lining Foundation, Womantra and The Women's Caucus (CAISO 2022).

I Am One is a community-based organization "which seeks to address the needs of LGBTQIA persons through research and building community, as well as providing safe spaces, education and expressive platforms for empowerment." It was founded by Jason Jones who won the case to decriminalize the buggery laws (I am ONE 2022). I am One created "The King Show", "a pageant for transgender men and masculine-presenting lesbian, bisexual and queer women, and an artistic performance of non-toxic forms of masculinity defined by and performed to community members" (I am ONE 2022). I am One then developed the regional "King Conference" in 2017, "a space that helps to document, develop and theorize the experiences of transgender men and masculine-presenting lesbian, bisexual and queer women, which is under-explored in the region" (I am ONE 2022). I am One has also pursued "The Your Story" research project which "captures the lived experiences and legal, health, and community supportive structures available to Caribbean LGBTQ people in a comprehensive survey questionnaire designed by members of I Am One" (I am ONE 2022).

The Silver Lining Foundation began as a youth led Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) in 2011 "to deal with issues of youth sexuality, suicide and bullying prevention. Special emphasis has been placed on the area of addressing bullying and violence within the framework of sexual diversity due to the lack of attention it receives" (Silver Lining Foundation 2022). The vision of the organization is to "create an environment conducive to respect and self acceptance,

and to provide a support system for marginalized youth regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity/expression, leading to a sustainable and functional life" (Silver Lining Foundation 2022). In 2013, the Silver Lining Foundation received international funding to launch a Caribbean youth LGBT movement known as "Generational Change", an initiative "to assemble a coalition of young voices throughout the Caribbean calling on regional leaders to consign to their promises of equality for and inclusion of LGBT people in their countries" (Silver Lining Foundation 2022). In 2015, the Silver Lining Foundation released the film "A Safe Space" documenting "the harsh realities and inspiring testimonies from local and international families and individuals dealing with issues faced by the LGBTQ community" (Silver Lining Foundation 2022). In 2015, the Silver Lining Foundation published "A Parent's Guide to Understanding & Acceptance" to help parents navigate the complex realities of having a child that identifies as LGBTQ in TT (Silver Lining Foundation 2022). The Silver Living Foundation also developed and published the 2016 and 2019 School Climate Report to assess student perceptions of bullying and homophobia.

The Trinidad and Tobago Transgender Coalition has been advocating for 22 years for the recognition and rights of the local Transgender community, persons living with HIV, and sex workers in TT. In April 2021, the community liaison officer, a transgender woman known as Xoë Sazzle, organized a digital demonstration which featured professionals across disciplines to commemorate the12th International Transgender Day of Visibility (Newsday 2021). In May 2021, the President of the Coalition, a transgender woman known as Brandy Rodriquez, received the Commonwealth Points of Light Award in 2021 from Queen Elizabeth in recognition of her activism (Newsday 2021). In October 2021, Brandy Rodriquez passed away. The Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago (FPATT) stated that ""Brandy fought fearlessly

against discrimination. And in this fight, she didn't just ask for recognition or plead for equal access to quality healthcare, but she made the point that it was a right that must come without conditions. She was determined to settle for nothing less" (Loop News 2021). CAISO stated "we honor her work and continue the struggle against stigma and discrimination that she fought courageously to end. We celebrate the life and legacy of our sister and comrade Brandy Rodriguez, and we honor her passion and dedication to human rights and sex and gender justice" (Loop News 2021).

2.2.d: LGBTQ Events & Establishments

According to a 2015 report on the situation and treatment of sexual minorities in TT by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, "Gay Pride had been celebrated in Trinidad and Tobago for almost 20 years; however, the celebrations were neither outdoors nor public, so they did not look like festivals. There are also numerous gay events within Carnival masquerade but they are not publicly advertised." Following the buggery ruling in 2018, the Trinidad and Tobago Pride Arts Committee (TTPAC) was commissioned to coordinate and organize Trinidad and Tobago's very first national Pride Parade which took place in the capital, Port-of-Spain. The Pride festival included five weeks of events including workshops, movie screenings, talent shows, and parties (CNC3 2018). The TT Pride Committee unified many NGOs, CBOs, and other advocates under a single banner to pursue LGBTQ rights (TT Pride 2018). The second Pride Parade was held in July 2019 also in the capital and was dedicated to the transgender community. Brandy Rodriguez, President of the TT Transgender Coalition, who spoke at the event said that strides have been made to address gender-based violence and "even police officers are willing to hear what's going on." Eva Chavez, head of the TT Women's Caucus, said it was the first time the TT Pride Committee was able to meet with the Police Commissioner

Gary Griffith, and praised him for his efforts in assisting the LGBTQ community organize the parade and committing to move forward with no discrimination (TT Guardian 2019).

There are very few gay service establishments in TT. According to the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada Report (2015), "gay bars and clubs exist in Trinidad and Tobago. GlobalGayz reported in 2012 that "at any one time there may be more than one gay club but there has never been more than four operating in the entire country." Currently, Euphoria Lounge is a nightclub and Drink Lounge & Bistro is a restaurant and bar that caters to LGBTQ individuals. Fuzion Nightclub has hosted some gay parties. Studio Lounge was a popular LGBTQ nightclub for many years but it closed down in 2019. All of these establishments are located in the capital. In addition, party promoters such as Boycode and D'Sistahood hold parties for the LGBTQ community at different locations within the capital. There do not appear to be any openly LGBTQ service establishments located in other parts of Trinidad. However, individuals have been working to create visibility and safe spaces for LGBTQ individuals in rural areas such as Southern Trinidad. According to Founder of the South Trinidad LGBTQIA, Jewan Bissoondial, "In keeping with the current nationwide celebration of Pride 2019, the south community has embarked on creating this safe platform in south TT so as to engage in social and civic activism that advances the cause of protecting the rights and freedoms of members of this community. We will be hosting a series on public discussions on the issues of equity and equal access to opportunities for members of our community" (Newsday 2019).

Neither the People's National Movement (PNM) or the United National Congress (UNC) has taken an official stance on LGBTQ rights. There is no mention of LGBTQ people or issues anywhere in the most recent PNM manifesto (2015) and UNC manifesto (2010). However, leaders of both political parties have made statements in support of the LGBTQ community. In December 2012, UNC leader and former Prime Minister Kamla Persad-Bissessar stated "I do not support discrimination in any form against any individual, regardless of their gender identity or sexual orientation. I share your view that the stigmatisation of homosexuality in T&T is a matter which must be addressed on the grounds of human rights and dignity to which every individual is entitled under international law" (TT Guardian 2012). In June 2016, PNM leader and Prime Minister Dr. Keith Rowley stated that "every citizen of Trinidad and Tobago, regardless of who he or she may be, will have the protection of the written Constitution. All State agencies have a duty to protect every citizen of Trinidad and Tobago regardless of whom they sleep with."

Following the 2018 Jason Jones buggery ruling, President of TT, Paula-Mae Weekes "lamented "escalating tensions" as the country mulls its buggery laws and urged people not to incite victimisation, bigotry, and violence on the issue, but instead to become properly informed of the facts and express themselves civilly" (Newsday 2018). President Weekes stated:

> "*It is with growing concern that I have been following in the media, both traditional and social, the escalating tensions surrounding Sections 13 and 16 of the Sexual Offences Act and the recent judgment of our Court on the constitutionality of those provisions.*

I urge those participating in the debate to bear in mind that while all of us are entitled to hold and express robustly our point of view, we must be careful not to damage the national psyche by inadvertently inciting victimisation, bigotry, and violence." (Newsday 2018)

LGBTQ activists and groups also expressed that they were "overlooked" in the most recent national election in 2020. According to CAISO, voters in this year's election had to "endure an unbroken stream of commess from both major parties as campaigning content, instead of discussion of the serious issues facing the nation," even going as far back to last year's local government elections" (Newsday 2020). CAISO also noted that "the People's National Movement (PNM) and its Women's League repeatedly raised political figures' sexuality, in a way reminiscent of the 2015 comments made by former minister in the Ministry of the People and Social Development Vernella Alleyne-Toppin about the Prime Minister." CAISO argued that these salacious and bullying comments had no bearing on policy or governance and more than likely had "targeted politicians who are gay" (Newsday 2020). During the campaign there was no "substantive discussion" of the leading issues that touch LGBTQIA voters' lives and this was why the organization joined its fellow NGOs to raise issues voters would like politicians to start talking about on the campaign trail (Newsday 2020).

Chapter 3: Literature Review

There are many theoretical lenses that can be utilized to help explain the expansion or contraction of LGBTQ rights in TT. This research focuses on three primary literatures in political science: Institutional Design, Scope of Conflict, and Morality Politics. All policymaking occurs within the context of the political structure of any given country, and therefore LGBTQ policymaking in TT is fundamentally shaped by the unitary, parliamentary system. Institutional Design is particularly important to this research because the two other theoretical lenses have been mostly examined by scholars in federal systems such as the United States. Scope of Conflict is the foundation of all other policy theories, since it helps explain why certain coalitions of interests are more successful than others in any given policy arena. Finally, in countries such as TT which are strongly religious and where there has been significant religious opposition to LGBTQ rights based on moral argumentation, LGBTQ politics in TT takes on the Morality Politics model of policymaking rather than the traditional interest group model.

3.1: Institutional Design

The unitary-federal dichotomy has been relevant as an analytical concept in the institutional design literature for decades (Baldi 1999; Bermeo 2002; Breton and Fraschini 2003; Dahl 1983; Fisch 2018; Hallerberg 2002; O'Boyle and Shilbury 2017; Rao 2020). In unitary systems, power is concentrated in the central government, which delegates responsibility, devolves power, and gives direction to subnational governments to carry out local administration. In federal systems, power is divided among the federal or central government and subnational governments, often through constitutional separation of powers (Rao 2020; Fisch 2018). The central government is not necessarily superior to subnational units.

Scholars have argued that the line between federal and unitary systems have become increasingly blurred as a result of the changing nature of the state and economy, with most countries today containing some institutional mechanisms that are federal and some that are unitary (Rao 2020). Some have called into question the utility of the dichotomy entirely in the modern era, arguing that it has lost its ability to classify the complex nature of multi-level government as a result of new political developments and institutional arrangements (Baldi 1999). Baldi (1999) proposed an alternative classification tool based on two analytical dimensions: federalism, which describes the nature of relationships between levels of government, and centralization, which describes the actual distribution of power between units of government in terms of the policymaking process. Breton and Fraschini (2003) further criticized theories of federalism for failing to clearly distinguish between horizontal and vertical competition, overemphasizing the former. They argued that citizens evaluate the performance of subnational governments by comparing them across jurisdictions as well as to other tiers of government, influencing the behavior of politicians (Breton and Fraschini 2003).

Despite scholarly criticism of the unitary-federal dichotomy, a broad literature has theorized and documented differences between unitary and federal systems across a variety of issue areas (Bermeo 2002; Dahl 1983; Fisch 2018, Hallerberg 2002; O'Boyle and Shilbury 2017; Rao 2020). There are few comparative studies of unitary and federal systems; however, Bermeo (2002) provides some preliminary and suggestive comparisons of data including that minorities in federal states engage in fewer acts of armed rebellion, experience lower levels of economic and political discrimination, and harbor lower levels of grievance concerning political, economic, and cultural policy. Fisch (2018) finds that the political system of states structures advantages and disadvantages in effective environmental protection. Federal systems possess strengths in

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innovation and laboratory federalism as well as proximity and adaptability, whereas unitary states possess strengths in developing economies of scale and standardizing (Fisch 2018).

O'Boyle and Shilbury (2017) documented differences between the unitary and federal models at the level of sport governance networks. They argue that unique benefits of unitary governance include the sharing of knowledge and resources across all unified units, building shared understandings by working in one common strategic direction, and creating a more stable financial position for states within the unitary network (O'Boyle and Shilbury 2017). At the same time, scholars have recognized that in no means is the imposition of federalism onto non-federal states a viable or desirable solution to any social, economic or political issue (Bermeo 2002; Fisch 2018; Dahl 1983). Dahl (1983) argues that based at least on purely theoretical reasoning from democratic principles, federal and unitary systems are no more or less desirable than the other, since the only real difference between them is the appropriate unit or level of government prescribed by each system at which majorities should prevail (Dahl 1983), which has no inherent significance.

A few scholars have specifically examined the role of political parties in the unitary-federal dichotomy (Alderighi and Feder 2014; Hallerberg 2002). Alderighi and Feder (2014) argue that depending on the political system, local as well as central parties declare their electoral agenda for the allocation of power. They present a detailed plan of the set of public goods they want to retain under their control and those they want to delegate to the other government level. It is the self-interested nature of the parties, rather than the level of decentralization, which induces parties to conform to or deviate from the optimal allocation of power. Parties in federal systems are more likely to conform to the optimal allocation than in unitary systems, facing greater punishment from voters for the resultant welfare losses of

deviations. Hallerberg (2002), examining the allocation of economic power, argues that a crucial issue for political parties and party players is whether voters can readily attribute the benefits, and the costs, of their manipulation of the economy directly to them. The parties that constitute the central government have less control over fiscal policy in federal rather than unitary systems, leading to policy preferences such as independent rather than dependent central banks.

Most studies investigating the influence of institutional design on LGBTQ rights is limited to federal systems (Knauer 2020; Taylor et al. 2020; Smith 2020). Knauer (2020) and Taylor et al. (2020) examines the LGBTQ Equality Gap in the United States, where LGBTQ rights is an uneven and fragile patchwork of local, state and federal laws that produce vast disparities in outcomes for the LGBTQ community. Knauer (2020) attributes this to laboratory federalism and policy diffusion in the US. Taylor et al. (2020) argues that local government innovation in LGBTQ policy in the US is a result of national gridlock. Smith (2020) examines the relationship between federalism and LGBTQ rights in Canada, highlighting the role of litigation in LGBTQ policy diffusion.

There is a small institutional design literature on Caribbean states, including Trinidad & Tobago (Monteil 2015; CLFG 2018; Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007). Trinidad and Tobago adopted the Westminster system of parliamentary democracy or "responsible government" in 1976. Under this model, executive power is drawn from the Lower House and is dependent upon it for its authority. The leader of the political party that wins the majority of seats in the House of Representatives becomes Prime Minister, and the leader of the opposing political party becomes Leader of the Opposition. TT has a bicameral legislature and its Parliament comprises the President, a nominated Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate is appointed by the President in accordance with the Prime Minister and Opposition

Leader. As a result, Monteil (2015) suggests that the Senate "is sub-optimal as an independent constitutional 'check and balance' on all hasty or misconceived legislation." In addition, like some Caribbean states, the number of parliamentary members who can be made government Ministers is unlimited, which can prevent constitutional sanctions, such as a no-confidence vote, despite any abuse of government power (Monteil 2015).

Caribbean scholars have also examined the role of local government and potential for reform in Trinidad & Tobago (Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007). According to Ragoonath (2009), the Caribbean has a long history of local government, but by the end of the 20th century, the capacity of citizens to effectively participate in the 'self-government' of their communities was severely limited. Trinidad & Tobago passed reforms that sought to further empower the central government rather than local government councils. Schoberg (2007) states that "where local government exists it is not perceived as a threat, or permitted to challenge the predominance of central government" and "local government is an extension of central government in the field whose functions and areal responsibilities are defined by law." Ragoonath (2009) concludes that "serious concerns remain as to whether foreseeable local government reform in the Caribbean is likely to ensure inclusiveness and true participatory democracy, whereby groups of people or political parties in opposition to the central government would have some genuine capacity to influence policy as it affects their community and their local environment."

The Municipal Corporations Act 1990 and the Tobago House of Assembly Act 1996 are the primary legislation establishing local government in TT (Richards 2010; CLFG 2018). Local government comprises a single authority in Tobago, the Tobago House of Assembly, and 14 municipal corporations in Trinidad, including two city corporations, three borough corporations,

and nine regional corporations. The main difference between cities, boroughs and corporations is the combination of factors which contribute to making the cities and boroughs more urbanized. The corporations are generally more rural with scattered, smaller communities, but which in aggregate constitute larger populations than the cities and boroughs (Richards 2010).

The Ministry of Rural Development and Local Government directly oversees the municipal corporations in Trinidad, whereas the Office of the Prime Minister oversees the Tobago House of Assembly. The Ministry of Rural Development and Local Government is headed by a cabinet minister who is responsible for the policy directives of the ministry, and can give general or specific directions to municipal councils in relation to government policy on any matter (Richards 2010; CLFG 2018). Regular meetings are held between corporations and the minister, usually focusing on implementation of projects, management, and operational issues. The ministry's fundamental functions in relation to the corporations include: monitoring, evaluation and adjudication; technical services, engineering and project management; drafting legislation relevant to local government; developing policy frameworks; and oversight of financial transfers from national government (Richards 2010; CLFG 2018).

All municipal corporations have the same powers and responsibilities and are empowered to make policies and by-laws in relation to their functions for the local area. Municipalities must set up committees for finance, personnel, public health, and infrastructure. Further discretionary committees can include leisure, civic amenities, planning development and security (Richards 2010; CLFG 2018). The municipalities in Trinidad have statutory responsibility for: policing; street management; nurseries and childcare; homes for the elderly; bus and taxi shelters; maintenance and management of street markets, slaughterhouses and common and recreation grounds; waste removal and management; and corporation cemeteries and crematoria. They have

discretionary powers for: libraries; management and improvement of the physical environment, including parks, open spaces, recreation areas and burial grounds; and development, trade fairs and events (Richards 2010; CLFG 2018).

Municipal corporation councillors are elected for each municipality using the first-past-the-post system, followed by a secondary election where councillors elect aldermen. Mayors and chairpersons are then indirectly elected from among the aldermen and councillors for a three year term. The latest elections for municipal corporations in Trinidad were held in 2016 with a turnout of 34.3%, down from 43.5% in 2013 and from 39.5% in 2010 (CLGF 2018). In 2015-2016, local government expenditure was 7% of total government expenditure, down from 7.7% in 2009-2010 (CLGF 2018). Municipal corporations are responsible for collecting revenues; however, the majority of funding comes from grants from the national government. Mayors and chairpersons and their deputies are considered part-time salaried posts. There is also a pay structure for councillors and aldermen. Staff in the regional municipalities are paid directly by the national government (CLGF 2018). As a result, local government in Trinidad & Tobago is restricted in its ability to experiment with policies that might go against the central government. How the policymaking process in TT is structured by conditions of the unitary system can in part be explained by Scope of Conflict theory (Schattschneider 1975), which is the foundation of all other policymaking theories.

E. E. Schattschneider first put forth the Scope of Conflict in his 1975 seminal work, *The Semisovereign People*. The essential idea is that every political game is a fight among competing interests seeking to pursue different policy outcomes. There is always more than one player when it comes to politics. As a result, individuals and groups with similar goals and interests come together to form coalitions, combine their lobbying resources, and coordinate their lobbying strategies to influence the government to pass legislation that favors their interests. If this coalition is 'winning' and successful in shaping government policy on this issue area, they will seek to keep the scope of conflict small and exclude other individuals and groups from the conversation that may have opposing goals and interests. If these alternative viewpoints were allowed to enter the policy arena, it would break up the majority coalition's power monopoly, and reduce their chances for success in pursuing their favored policy. If the scope expands too much, and there are too many players with too many divergent interests to persuade, negotiate and bargain with, the voice of the winning coalition can be drowned out and they will lose. Alternatively, when the majority coalition is winning, those individuals and groups with opposing interests who are 'outsiders' and losing will try to expand the scope at the expense of the winning coalition, bringing more individuals and organized interests into the conversation to support them in their fight against the majority. Thus, winners seek to contract or privatize the scope, and losers seek to expand or socialize the scope.

Schattschneider (1975) also noted in his research that those who tend to dominate the scope of conflict and win their favored policy outcomes tend to have an "upper class accent", constituting a "heavenly chorus" of elites who have shaped the status quo, benefit heavily from it, and seek to maintain it throughout government (Schlozman 1984; Danielian and Page 1994;

Strolovitch 2006). For example, Schlozman (1984) that business interests are overrepresented among organized interests in the United States in terms of both the number of interest organizations as well as the structure of interest representation, which takes place at the expense of the representation of the interests of broad publics and the poor. Danielian and Page (1994) finds similar trends of business interest overrepresentation in news coverage of interest group activity. Strolovich (2006) shows that organizations are substantially less active when it comes to issues affecting disadvantaged subgroups than they are when it comes to issues affecting more advantaged, and frame issues accordingly to benefit advantaged subgroups.

Schattschneider (1975) also introduced the idea of "venue shopping", where interest groups carefully and strategically choose among different venues such as jurisdictions or levels of governments to lobby based on where their message might be best received (Holyoke et al. 2012; Buffardi et al. 2015; Ley and Weber 2015). For example, many civil rights groups in the U.S. took to the Court to get legislation such as ending racial segregation passed after being unsuccessful in lobbying the executive and legislative. Similarly, the LGBTQ movement in Trinidad & Tobago only achieved its first real policy success in 2016 via a Court ruling legalizing 'buggery'. Venue-shopping has been widely documented in federal systems where the benefits of laboratory federalism are high. Buffardi et al. (2015) finds that interest groups and nonprofit organizations in the U.S. venue-shop among both executive and legislative branches as well as among elected and bureaucratic domains, but tend to specialize in one level of government. Insufficient scholarly attention has been paid to the venue-shopping process in unitary systems. In Trinidad & Tobago, interest groups working across a variety of policy arenas have access to less viable venues for lobbying given the predominance of the national

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government over local government authorities, as well as the combined nature of the executive and legislative.

Scope of Conflict has been illustrated in a variety of policy arenas such as environmental protection (Ley and Weber 2015) and education (Holyoke et al. 2012), as well as morality issues such as gambling (Lindaman 2007) and abortion (Mooney and Lee 1995). Several scholars have also examined the role of Scope of Conflict in LGBTQ policymaking (Haider-Markel 1999; Haider-Markel 2001; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Haider-Markel et al 2000; Lewis 2011; Takao 2017; Wald et al 1996). Most of this scholarship has focused on the U.S. and investigated the adoption of LGBTQ policies across local, state and federal jurisdictions under conditions of laboratory federalism (Haider-Markel 2001; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Haider-Markel et al 2000; Lewis 2011; Wald et al 1996). For example, Haider-Markel (2001) shows that the policy diffusion of same-sex marriage bans in the U.S. in the 1990s was influenced by the geographical expansion of the scope of conflict by national coalitions of organized interests. Haider-Markel and Meier (1996) find that when the scope of conflict can be kept narrow, interest group pressure can influence gay and lesbian politics at the local and state level; however, when the scope of conflict is expanded by anti-LGBTQ interests, morality politics becomes activated. Takao (2017) further documented this pattern in Japan's unitary system, where the adoption of same-sex partnership in the city ward of Shibuya, Tokyo was shaped by a limited group of actors keeping the scope of conflict narrow and minimizing politicization of the issue. We may see similar trends in Trinidad and Tobago's unitary system where the Scope of Conflict might influence the activation of morality politics to shape LGBTQ rights.

Scope of Conflict can help explain why the TT LGBTQ movement might be having such a hard time getting more, and more substantive, policies passed such as protections in

employment, access to LGBTQ-competent healthcare, implementing LGBTQ education into

school curriculums etc. Since Trinidad and Tobago is a unitary system, there is only one real

level of government: national. Local government agencies such as municipal councils have very

small budgets and little discretion when it comes to policymaking, there are simply there to

provide public infrastructure and carry out the will of the national government. Thus, since

LGBTQ rights leaders in Trinidad only really have one access point: the national government,

they cannot "venue shop" like LGBTQ leaders in the US where there are multiple access points

e.g. lobbying cities, states or the federal government. Furthermore, since the national government

is dominated by two political parties that are equally religious, these elites work to keep the

scope of conflict small and exclude LGBTQ individuals from freely and openly participating in

politics, particularly at the highest levels.

In TT, all regional corporations report directly to the Ministry of Rural Development and

Local Government and carry out the policy directives of the Minister. As such, the Minister may

be the single most-important actor shaping local government policies. And groups that seek to

influence local government may be targeting the Minister and the entire Ministry in their

lobbying efforts. However, given the low financial benefits and time constraints that come with

local office, municipal officials in general may lack the incentive to seek complex policy change

such as LGBTQ issues. Most interest lobbying should be directed at the national level, where it

is more effective to create change since any new policy can be unanimously implemented by all

local government agencies at the same time. In addition, religious groups opposing LGBTQ

rights may be able to take advantage of the single venue and either maintain the status quo, or

seek anti-LGBTQ laws, from one place. It is also worth noting that voter turnout in local

government elections is only 34.3% and declining, suggesting that TT citizens are generally less

interested in what local government is doing and subject it to less scrutiny. There may be a national perception that local government is powerless in certain issue areas such as LGBTQ rights, and thus citizens do not put pressure on their local officials to take policy stances or pass new laws in the same way as national politicians.

Local government in TT has very limited autonomy from the national government, and is only tasked with carrying out basic functions and service delivery such as infrastructure, health and sanitation, and community services (TT Connect 2019). Given their lack of resources and scope, local government officials and agencies cannot or do not have the incentive to experiment with social and economic policies on the same scale as in the United States. As a result, especially when it comes to controversial morality issues such as LGBTQ policy where the costs of experimenting might be high, there is less variation across local and national policies. The national government may be the only available venue for interest groups and policy entrepreneurs to seek policy change. There is generally less public interest in and scrutiny of what local government is doing, and local officials can justify inaction on issues based on the national government's inaction whom they directly report to. The result of these conditions under a unitary system like TT has been very few LGBTQ rights across all levels of government. Although homosexuality became legal at the national level in 2018, there are still no local or national provisions for same-sex marriage, same-sex adoption, or protections from discrimination in housing and employment (Equaldex 2019). If such pro-LGBTQ policies are to be adopted in the future, it will likely be at the national level in the same fashion as the ruling to decriminalize homosexuality.

LGBTQ politics has long been considered a morality politics where at least one advocacy coalition portrays the issue as one of morality or sin and works to expand or contract the Scope of Conflict to influence policy (Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Lax and Phillips 2009; Stone 2016). The pattern of morality politics has been shown in LGBTQ policy change in a number of U.S. cities and states, where theoretically citizen preferences can more closely align with policy outcomes (Mucciaroni 2011; Haider-Markel 1999; Tucker-Worgs 2014; Mooney 2001). Whereas scholars have examined the relationship between morality politics and LGBTQ rights primarily in federal systems such as the U.S. and in Europe (Cravens 2015; Camp 2008; Grummel 2008; Engeli and Varone 2012; Siegel et al 2020), there is insufficient literature on morality politics in unitary systems. This research seeks to understand whether morality politics theory can be applied in combination with scope of conflict theory to explain LGBTQ rights progress in TT's unitary system.

Morality policy is a form of redistributive policy where one segment of society attempts to impose their values on the rest of society through government, redistributing values rather than economic or material benefits (Tatalovich and Daynes 2014; Mooney 2001; Sharp 2005; Gusfield 1963). It is distinct from other issue areas, and therefore other theories of policymaking, because citizens' fundamental deeply-held values are threatened, leading to a passionate, highly salient style of politics that is characterized by simplified value-based discourse and a lack of willingness to compromise on solutions. Scholars have highlighted the importance of issue framing in morality politics, where coalitions introduce competing frames of the issue in an attempt to control the scope of conflict and win the morality policy debate (Doan and Kirkpatrick 2013; Miceli 2005; Mucciaroni 2011; Stone 2016).

LGBTQ rights fits this type of politics as at least one coalition frames the issue as morality or sin and utilizes moral arguments to justify their policy positions. Whereas LGBTQ advocates tend to frame LGBTQ issues as civil rights issues, their opponents frame them as moral issues and frequently cite religious literature to justify criminalization and unequal treatment of LGBTQ individuals (Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Sharp 2005). As a result, there is a significant morality politics literature on the role of religious preferences as well as religious institutions in the LGBTQ policymaking process, in particular conservative Christian organizations (Camp 2008; Campbell and Wheatle 2020; Fairbanks 1997; Grossman 2015; Hurka et al 2018; Miceli 2005). Religious groups can attempt to influence public policy directly, or indirectly by manipulating public opinion (Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Sharp 2005). The pattern of morality politics has also been shown in abortion policy (Luker 1984; Goggin 1993; Kreitzer 2015), drugs and alcohol (Gusfield 1963; Meier 1994), gambling (Morgan and Meier 1980; Nelson 2013), prostitution (Weitzer 2009), education (Vergari 2000; Wald et al 2001), vaccine legislation (Doan and Kirkpatrick 2013), assisted reproductive technology (Engeli and Varone 2012), stem cell research (Mondo and Close 2018), and physician assisted suicide (Tatalovich 2020).

In a morality politics environment, there is little need to acquire information or technical expertise because virtually everyone is an expert on morality. As a result, bureaucratic institutions and interest groups cannot bring their prime resource and are generally less influential in morality politics, whereas citizens become highly active and influential in these policy arenas. Scholars have long compared the morality politics model to the interest group politics model, where interest groups typically try to keep issue salience low and the scope of conflict small to limit broad public involvement in policy formulation (Haider-Markel and Meier

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2003; Haider-Markel 1999; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996). Under these conditions, it is the

resources of interest groups and their ability to discretely lobby sympathetic policymakers and

political elites to pursue incremental policy changes that best predict overall policy change

(Haider-Markel and Meier 2003; Haider-Markel 1999; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996).

Politicians and political parties find morality issues attractive because they are a

convenient way to build support from the electorate and they face little to no barriers and costs to

participate. Politicians tend to adhere to their political parties' positions on specific morality

issues (Doan and Kirkpatrick 2013; Haider-Markel 2001). As a result, morality politics tends to

be partisan, focus on non-incremental solutions, and thrive in competitive party systems (Ripley

and Franklin 1991; Lowi 1969). Partisanship has been linked to LGBTQ politics particularly in

the US where the Democratic Party tends to be more inclusive and supporting of LGBTQ

minorities than the Republican Party. In unitary systems such as TT, partisanship and party

conflict when it comes to morality issues may be high when it comes to national government

elections, but not at the local government level. Politicians and political parties may be more

likely to participate in morality politics debates to build electoral support and win national seats,

from which they can control both local and national government (Mooney 2001; Sharp 2005).

They will have less incentive to take stances on LGBTQ issues in local election campaigns since

voter turnout is generally lower and there is a smaller electorate from which to gain support

(Tatalovich and Daynes 2014).

In addition to citizen and political forces, morality politics is also impacted by the policy

environment which structures political processes and provides advantages or disadvantages to

various coalitions (Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Meier 1994; Sharp 2005). Urbanism is

included as a measure of tolerance in many morality politics studies as those living in urban

areas tend to be more diverse, tolerant, and LGBTQ (Hofferbert and Urice 1985; Meier 1994; Wilson 1995). In addition, levels of education have been linked to levels of tolerance (Seltzer 1993; Gibson 1987). Urbanism and levels of education may influence LGBTQ rights in unitary systems such as TT, but not at the local level. Even if these conditions exist within a municipal corporation to create a more tolerant population and local support for LGBTQ rights, local government agencies still lack the incentive, authority, and resources to pass policies in this direction. And it is likely that these more tolerant attitudes will be focused at the national level to create top-down change for LGBTQ people.

Political responsiveness to morality issues is also conditioned by whether the issue involves non-morality interests, particularly economic ones (Doan and Kirkpatrick 2013; Haider-Markel & Meier 1996; Lax & Phillips 2009; Mooney & Lee 2000; Sharp 2005). Organized economic interests typically supplant morality interests in the policymaking process when both determinants are present. In Sharp's (2005) analysis of LGBTQ morality policy in U.S. cities, places that have or aspire to have successful high-tech development and new economy are more likely to adopt LGBTQ-friendly policies. LGBTQ employees are highly correlated with high-tech businesses, and new economy firms often provide the amenities, diversity, and inclusive cultures that attract LGBTQ people as the creative and innovative class. The impact of economic interests on LGBTQ rights will also be more apparent in TT at the national rather than local level. Municipal corporations do not have the autonomy to experiment with economic policies such as high-tech development and new economy firms which attract LGBTQ employees and bring pro-LGBTQ policy change. And they cannot experiment with the social policies such as expanding LGBTQ rights that would draw these companies to their municipality. On the other hand, the national government can experiment with both social and economic policy, and can

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attract high-tech business for economic reasons which then lead to pro-LGBTQ policy change, or implement this change first in order to attract them.

Cultural differences were also shown to impact LGBTQ policy change. Cities that show strong postindustrial trends such as increases in tertiary education and the number of nontraditional households produce a counterculture that challenge traditional societal values and are more supportive of social movements and liberal ideology (Sharp 2005). These "unconventional" cities are more likely to adopt pro-LGBTQ policies such as nondiscrimination ordinances and domestic partner benefits. In terms of a unitary system like TT, a counterculture that challenges traditional societal values can emerge in a municipality with strong industrial trends, but they will focus their advocacy at the national level since local government lacks the power to create the change they demand. In addition, it is likely that a national counter culture will influence support for LGBTQ rights more than local countercultures.

Chapter 4: Methods

Drawing on the Institutional Design, Scope of Conflict, and Morality Politics literatures, the main research question of this dissertation is: **Does Scope of Conflict and Morality Politics help explain the expansion, or contraction, of LGBTQ rights in Trinidad & Tobago's Unitary System?** To investigate this overarching research question, I collected data by designing and distributing an online survey of TT citizens, elected officials, and interest group leaders. In this chapter, I will describe my survey instrument, the methods I utilized to market and distribute the survey, and the IRB certification process.

4.1: Survey Instrument

After reviewing the Institutional Design, Scope of Conflict, and Morality Politics literatures, I identified several key concepts that should be included in the survey instrument as my dependent, independent, and control variables. I created questions measuring each of these variables and then built them into a survey instrument via Qualtrics. The average length of the survey was 30 minutes, and it was organized into 4 sections. The first section included a Consent and Information Sheet with the IRB Approval Date and Study Number. I introduced myself and the nature of the research to potential participants, explained that the survey is voluntary, confidential, and anonymous, described eligibility requirements to participate, and provided contact information for any questions. I included 4 eligibility screening questions in this section including whether they are at least eighteen years of age, they currently live in TT, they read the Consent/Information Sheet, and they agree to participate in the project. I formatted these questions in Qualtrics so that any participant who answered "No" to any of these screening questions would automatically be skipped to the end of the survey.[1]

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[1] A full copy of the survey can be found in Appendix A.

In the second section of the survey, I presented questions measuring my three dependent variables: 1) Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights; 2) Trust in Institutions/Groups, and 3) Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups. In the third section of the instrument, I then presented questions measuring my 11 independent variables from the Institutional Design, Scope of Conflict, and Morality Politics literatures. These variables are listed and defined below in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Definition of Independent Variables	
Independent Variables	**Definition**
National Government Power	The extent to which respondents believe national government is more powerful than local government.
Local Government Power	The extent to which respondents believe local government is more powerful than national government.
Independence of Institutions	The extent to which respondents believe government institutions are independent of each other.
Venue Shopping	The extent to which respondents go to government institutions and organizations to make their voice heard on general government policy and LGBTQ policy.
Heavenly Chorus	The extent to which respondents believe that national government, local government, and elite organizations are deciding LGBTQ policy.
Privilege	The extent to which respondents believe LGBTQ policies benefit the most privileged and the government prioritizes religious beliefs over LGBTQ rights.
Morality	The extent to which respondents believe their personal as well as others' religious beliefs, secular beliefs, and human rights beliefs influence their beliefs toward LGBTQ rights.
Media	The extent to which respondents believe that news coverage of LGBTQ issues in their community and other communities has increased, is factual, or is covered too much.
Influence of Religion	The extent to which respondents believe they regular attend services of their religion, share

	their religious beliefs with their closest personal connections, individuals with different religious and ethnic backgrounds should be allowed to get married, the teachings of their religion matter to local and national government regarding LGBTQ policy, and religious organizations influence local and national government decisions regarding LGBTQ policy.
Influence of Interest Groups	The extent to which respondents believe interest groups influence local and national government decisions in general and regarding LGBTQ policy.
Policy Environment	The extent to which respondents believe they live in a generally diverse area and a LGBTQ diverse area.

Finally, the fourth section of my survey instrument included questions measuring 12 standard demographic/control variables and alternative theoretical explanations to my independent variables from the literature. These variables are listed and defined below in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Definition of Control Variables	
Control Variables	**Definition**
LGBTQ Social Contact	The extent to which respondents have personal and professional connections to LGBTQ individuals.
Marital Status	Whether respondents are married or not.
Race/Ethnicity	Whether respondents identify as African or East Indian.
Religion	Whether respondents identify as Catholic, Muslim, Hindu or Atheist.
Gender	Whether respondents identify as Female.
Sexual Orientation	Whether respondents identify as Non-Heterosexual.
Education	The extent to which respondents are educated.
Foreign Education	Whether respondents received education outside of TT.
Income	Average monthly household income.
Political Ideology	The extent to which respondents are Conservative or Liberal.
Political Party Identification	Whether respondents support the People's National Movement or United National Congress.

Urbanism	Whether respondents live in an urban or rural area.

In the subsequent substantive data chapters, I will describe each of my dependent, independent, and control variables in more detail, justify why they were included in my models based on the literature, explain how I operationalized them in my survey, and propose my hypotheses on how each of these variables might influence my models.

4.2: Survey Distribution & Marketing

The survey was launched on October 26, 2021, and closed on February 21, 2022. The survey was distributed through my personal Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram accounts. I utilized a snowball convenience sampling method, asking individuals who took the survey to share it on their social media as well as with their personal and professional networks. There were 80 participants who completed the survey. I began the survey distribution process by creating a graphic advertising the survey with a TinyURL link that was easier to share, and publishing this graphic with accompanying language on all three social media platforms. I reshared the original posts on all three platforms every 2 weeks until the survey was closed. The graphic is displayed in Figure 4.1 below. The original posts on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter are displayed in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.1: Social Media Graphic

Note: The graphic was posted on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter with accompanying language encouraging individuals to take and share the survey, and a direct link to the survey website.

Figure 4.2: Original Posts on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter
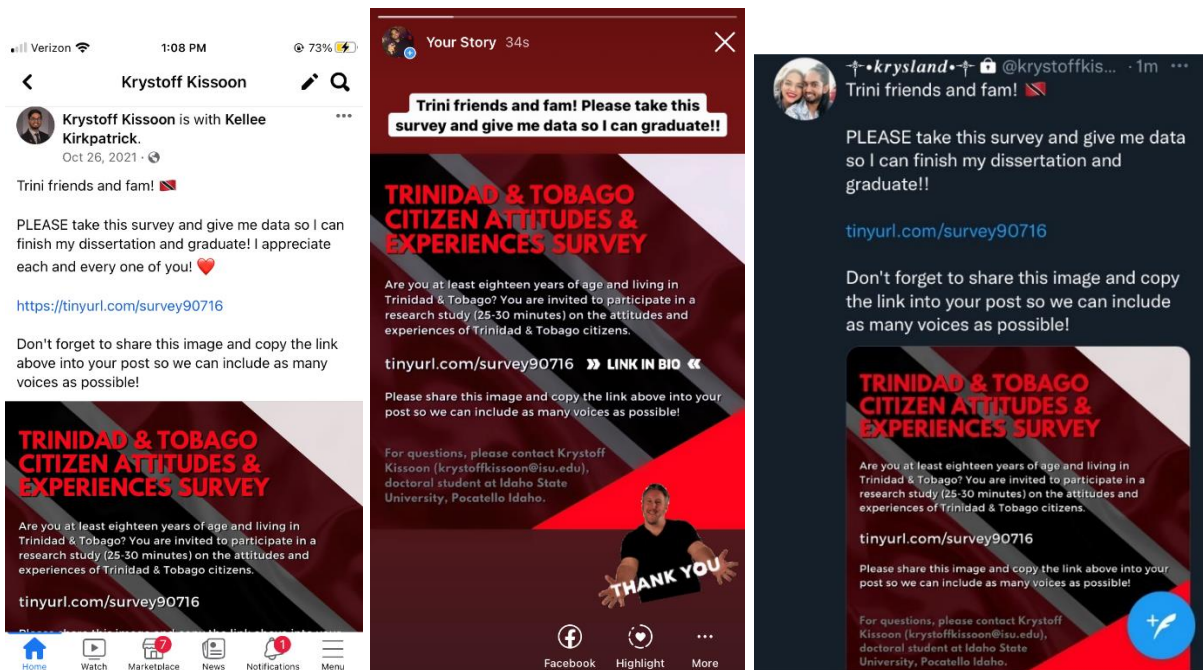
Note: These images illustrate my original posts of the graphic on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter with accompanying language encouraging individuals to take and share the survey, and a direct link to the survey website.

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The Facebook Post was reshared 18 times, the Instagram Post was reshared 2 times, and the Twitter Post was reshared 5 times. Examples of the reshares are displayed in Figure 4.3. below.

Figure 4.3: Reshares on Facebook and Instagram
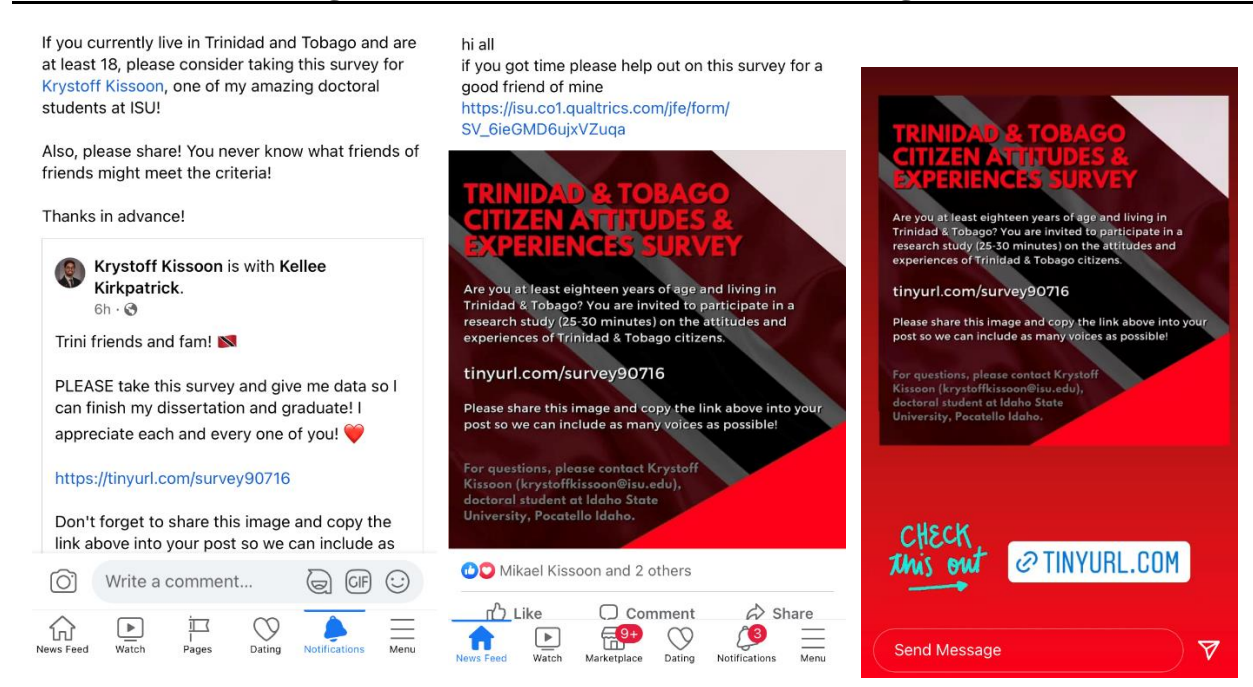
Note: These images illustrate reshares of the graphic on Facebook and Instagram with accompanying language encouraging individuals to take and share the survey, and a direct link to the survey website.

In addition to sharing and resharing the post on my social media feeds, I sent 170 direct messages on Facebook encouraging individuals to take and share the survey. The survey was also distributed by two contacts in Trinidad & Tobago: 1) Kennedy Maraj, former Director of the Silver Lining Foundation, and 2) Videsh Steven, statistician at the Caribbean Agricultural Research & Development Institute (CARDI). I also visited Trinidad & Tobago in December 2021 and was able to encourage people to take the survey in person. I printed out 20 surveys, distributed them to individuals on the ground, and collected their paper responses. I then

manually entered their answers into Qualtrics to generate electronic versions of their survey

responses and destroyed the paper responses.

4.3: IRB Approval

I initially submitted my project for Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval on

September 15, 2021. After several rounds of edits with the Idaho State University Human

Subjects Institutional Review Board, my project was approved on October 13, 2021, with the

study number IRB-FY2021-215. This research project qualified for Expedited Review. I was

listed as Principal Investigator and Principal Contact, and my advisor, Dr. Kellee Kirkpatrick

was listed as an Investigator.[2]

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[2] A fully copy of the IRB approval notice can be found in Appendix B.

Chapter 5: Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights

As introduced in Chapter 4, this dissertation seeks to investigate the overarching

question: **Does Scope of Conflict and Morality Politics help explain the expansion, or**

contraction, of LGBTQ rights in Trinidad & Tobago's Unitary System? However, before we

can understand how concepts from the relevant literatures influence LGBTQ rights in TT, we

first need to understand how TT citizens perceive LGBTQ rights. LGBTQ rights are a broad

phenomenon, and there are many ways that individuals in different countries place value on

which rights and protections should be afforded to LGBTQ individuals based on the historical

and contemporary social, economic, and political context of their respective countries. As a

result, this chapter is concerned with investigating TT citizens' level of support or opposition

toward a variety of LGBTQ policies that policymakers are experimenting with across the world.

More specifically, I focus on understanding *what factors influence whether or not an individual*

might support LGBTQ rights in TT.

To achieve this, my dependent variable in this chapter is the Personal Support for

LGBTQ Rights Index. This variable was created by finding the average of citizens' agreement or

disagreement with 22 different policies that affect the lives of LGBTQ individuals. I collected

the data for this variable by asking survey respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree

or disagree with a number of statements regarding the LGBTQ community. These statements are

listed in Table 5.1 below, and they were coded on a scale of 1 to 5 with "1" representing

"Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing "Strongly Agree". When averaged together to create

the Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index, this variable is still on a scale of 1 to 5 where "1"

equals low support for LGBTQ rights, and "5" equals high support for LGBTQ rights.

Table 5.1: Questions Comprising the Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index

LGBTQ Sex	Same-sex adults should have the legal right to have consensual sex.
Domestic Partnership Benefits	Same-sex couples should have domestic partnership benefits(e.g. health insurance, tax benefits, death benefits) even if they are not married.
Same-sex Marriage	Same-sex couples should have the legal right to marriage.
Legal Gender Identity	Individuals should have the right to change their legal gender identity.
Discrimination in Schools	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ youth in schools.
Discrimination in Workplace	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in the workplace.
Discrimination in Housing	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in housing.
Discrimination in Healthcare	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in healthcare.
Discrimination by Law Enforcement	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals by law enforcement.
Serve in Military	LGBTQ individuals should be allowed to openly serve in the military.
Same-sex Adoption	Same-sex couples should have the legal right to adoption.
Single LGBTQ Adoption	Single LGBTQ individuals should have the legal right to adoption.
Same-sex Reproductive Health	Same-sex couples should have the legal right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy or artificial insemination).
Single LGBTQ Reproductive Health	Single LGBTQ individuals should have the legal right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy or artificial insemination).
MSM Donate Blood	Men who have sex with other men should be allowed to donate blood.
Transgender Health	Individuals who identify as Transgender should have the legal right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy).

Transgender Children Health with Parental Consent	Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) with the consent of their parents/guardians.
Transgender Children Health without Parental Consent	Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) without the consent of their parents/guardians.
Ban Conversion Therapy	The government should ban conversion therapy designed to change a person's sexual orientation.
LGBTQ Sex Education	Schools should provide comprehensive sex education that includes information relevant to the LGBTQ community.
Hate Crimes	Protection for LGBTQ individuals from violent hate crimes should be a priority of law enforcement.
LGBTQ Businesses	There should be more businesses that cater to the LGBTQ community (e.g. gay nightclubs).

**Note:** Responses to each of the above prompts were averaged to create the Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index. Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community."

5.1: Descriptive Statistics

Before explaining my model, I will first present some visual representations of descriptive statistics of the Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index highlighting trends in support or opposition for each of these policies, as well as for the average of all 22 policies.

Figure 5.1: Support for Same-Sex Relationships
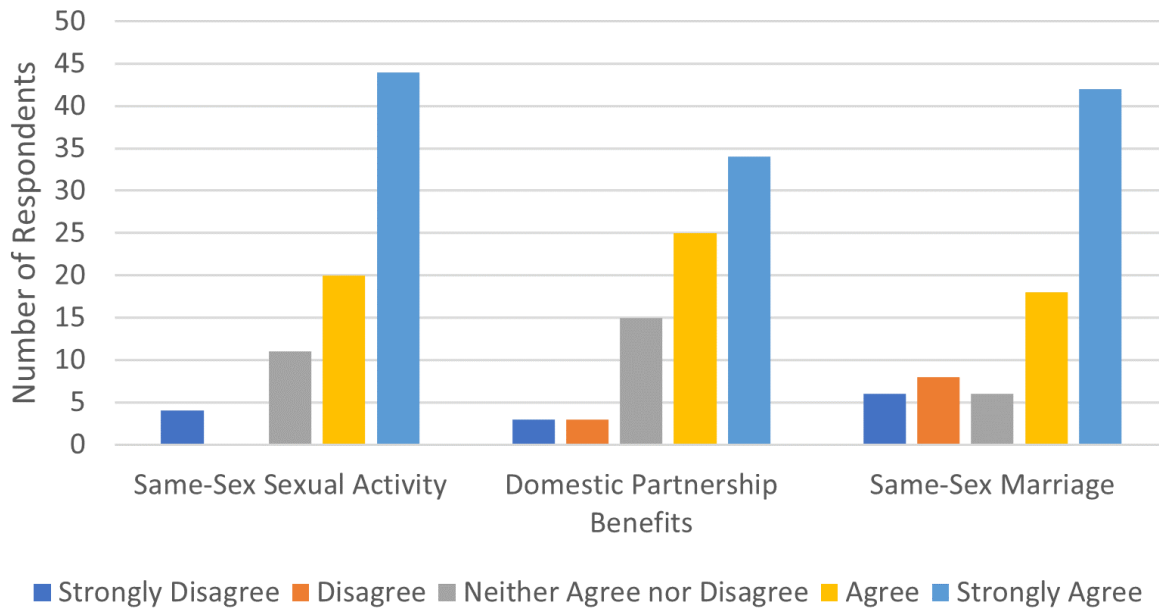
Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community."

Figure 5.1 illustrates citizens' support or opposition for 3 policies in the index regarding Same-Sex Relationships: 1) Same-sex adults should have the legal right to have consensual sex; 2) Same-sex couples should have domestic partnership benefits (e.g. health insurance, tax benefits, death benefits) even if they are not married; 3) Same-sex couples should have the legal right to marriage. The graph shows that most respondents agree or strongly agree with these 3 LGBTQ policies.

Support for Anti-Discrimination Protections
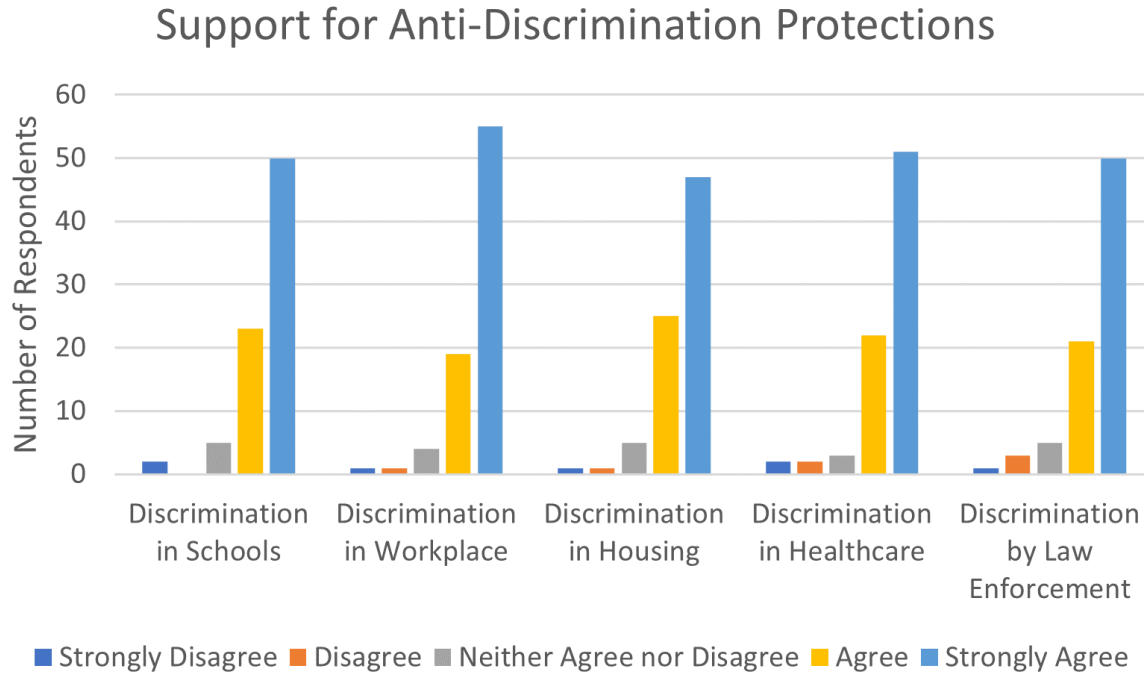
Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community."

Figure 5.2 shows citizens' support or opposition for 5 policies in the index regarding anti-discrimination protections for LGBTQ youth in schools, LGBTQ individuals in the workplace, LGBTQ individuals in housing, LGBTQ individuals in healthcare, and protections from discrimination against LGBTQ individuals by law enforcement. The graph shows that most respondents agree or strongly agree with all 5 anti-discrimination protections.

Figure 5.3: Support for LGBTQ Family Policies
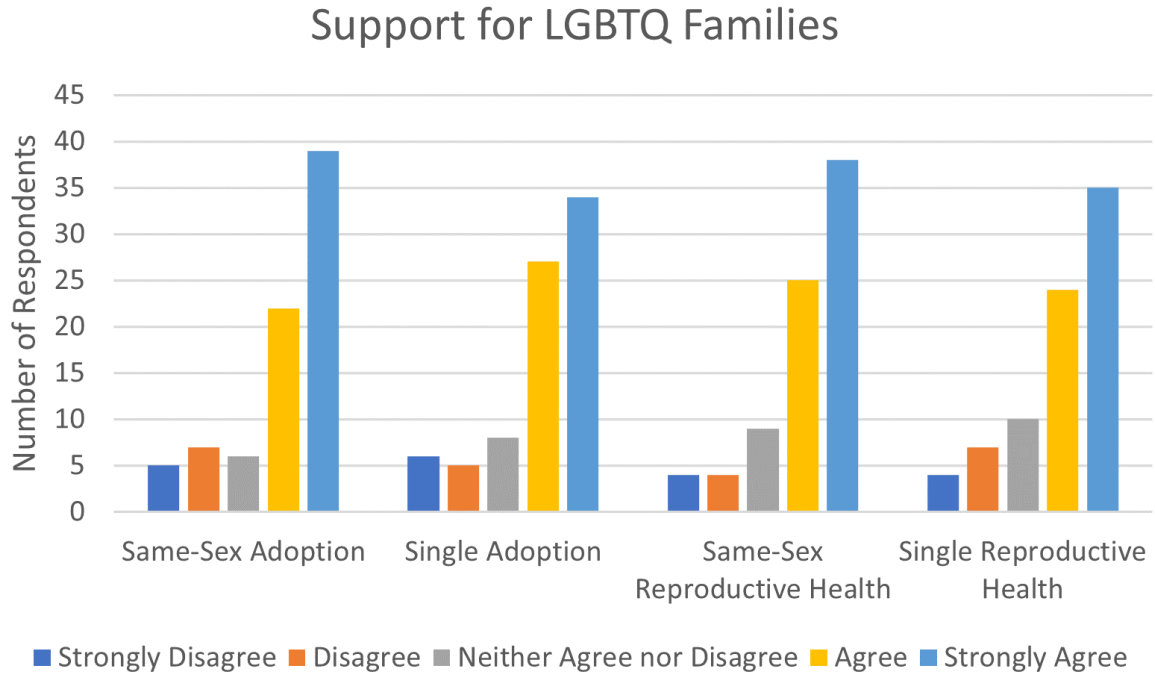
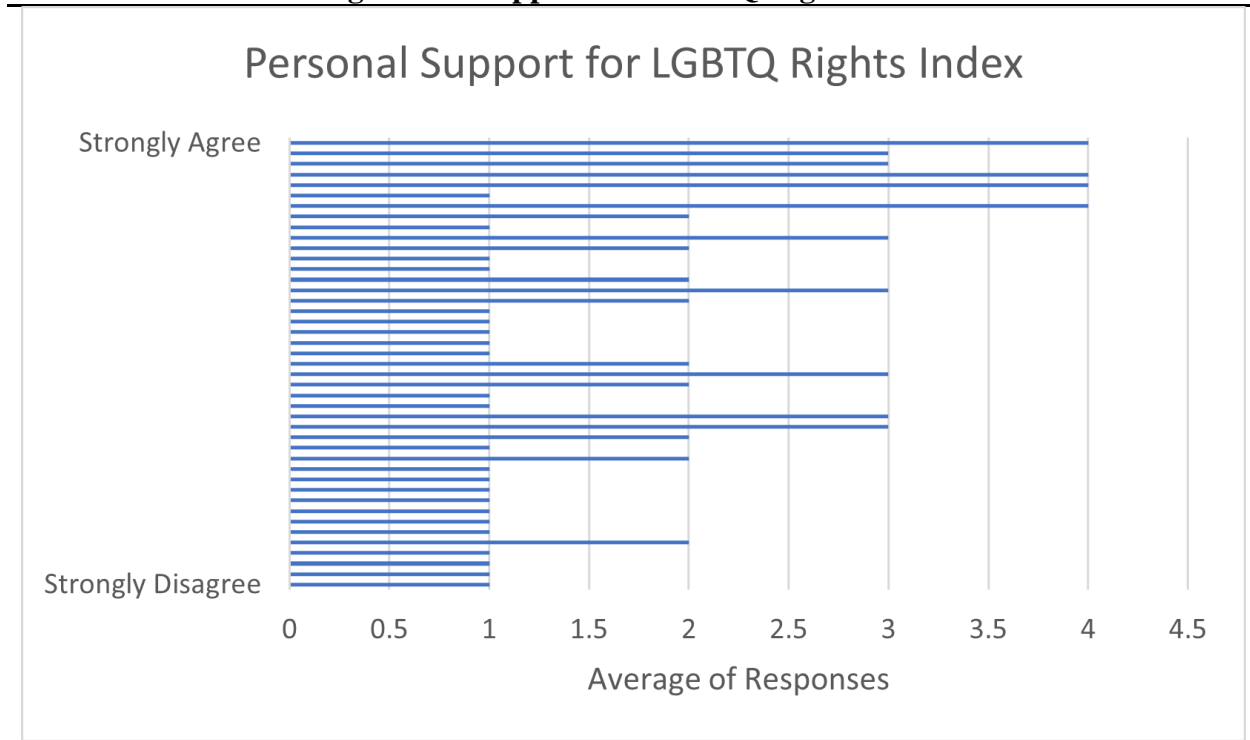## Support for LGBTQ Families

Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community."

Figure 5.3 displays citizens' support or opposition for 4 policies regarding LGBTQ families: 1) Same-sex couples should have the legal right to adoption; 2) Single LGBTQ individuals should have the legal right to adoption; 3) Same-sex couples should have the legal right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy or artificial insemination); 4) Single LGBTQ individuals should have the legal right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy or artificial insemination). The graph shows that most respondents agree or strongly agree with these 4 LGBTQ policies.

Support for Transgender Policies
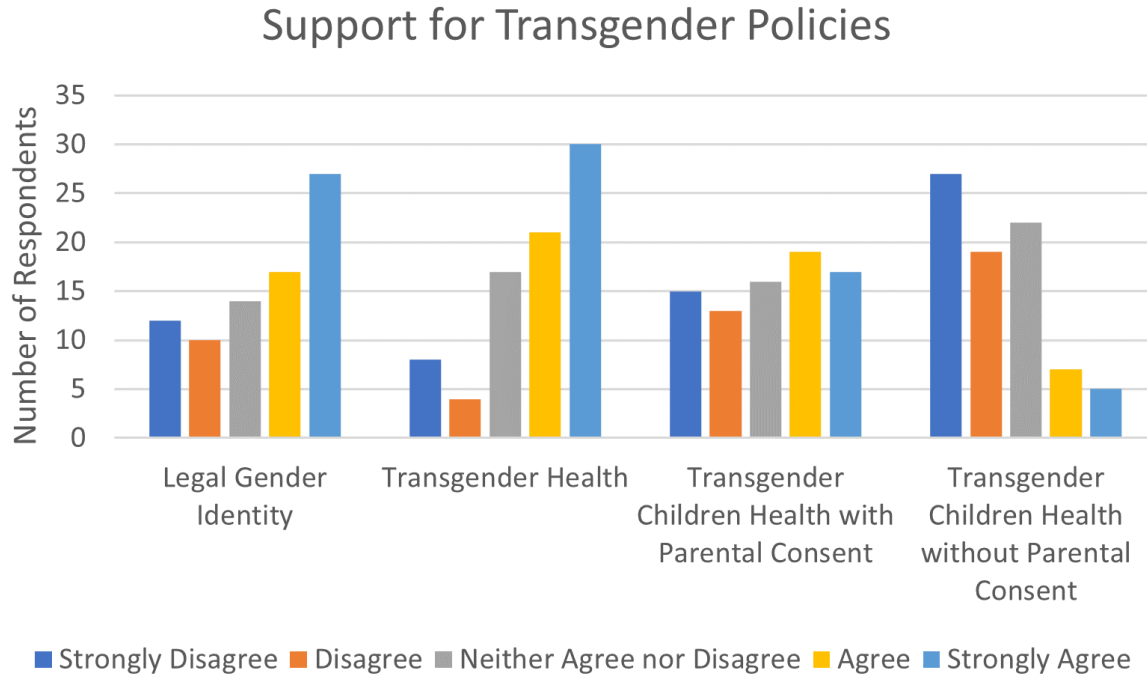
Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community."

Figure 5.4 illustrates citizens' support or opposition for 4 policies regarding the Transgender community: 1) Individuals should have the right to change their legal gender identity; 2) Individuals who identify as Transgender should have the legal right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy); 3) Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) **with** the consent of their parents/guardians; 4) Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) **without** the consent of their parents/guardians. The graph show that's most respondents agree or strongly agree with the right for Transgender individuals to change their legal gender identity and the right for Transgender adults to access Transgender-specific health services. However, when it comes to Transgender children accessing Transgender-specific health services with or without

parental consent, support was much lower. Whereas most respondents are more supportive of Transgender children accessing these health services with parental consent, most respondents were neutral, disagreed, or strongly disagreed with Transgender children accessing services without parental consent.

Figure 5.5: Support for Other LGBTQ Policies
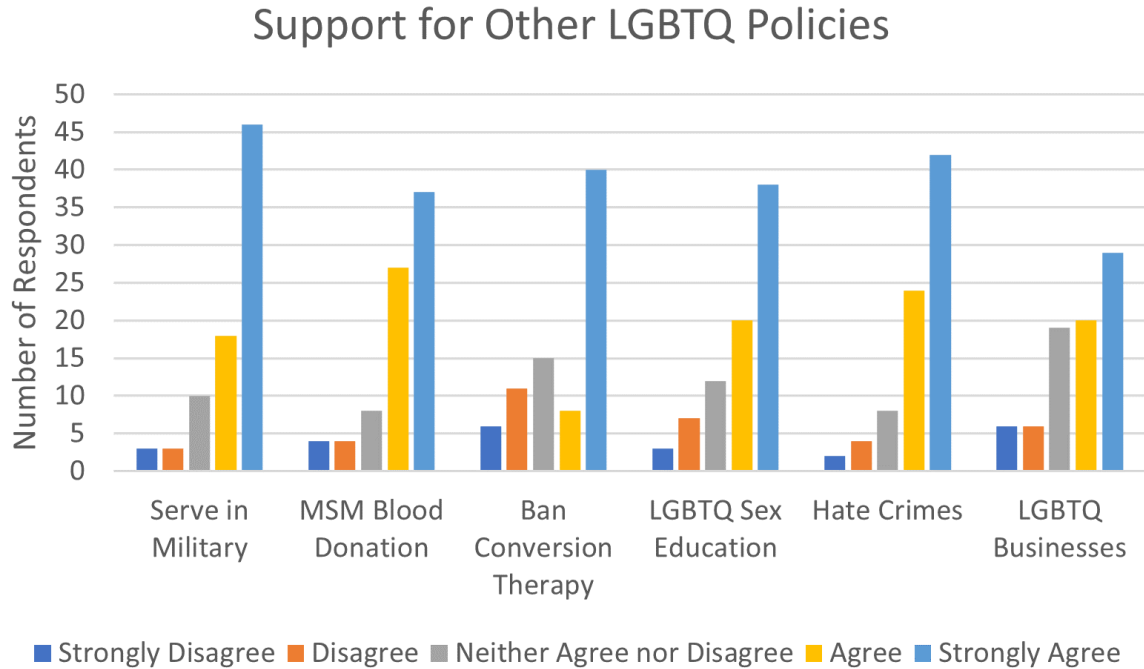
Support for Other LGBTQ Policies

Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community."

Figure 5.5 shows citizens' support or opposition for the final 6 LGBTQ policies: 1) LGBTQ individuals should be allowed to openly serve in the military; 2) Men who have sex with other men should be allowed to donate blood; 3) The government should ban conversion therapy designed to change a person's sexual orientation; 4) Schools should provide comprehensive sex education that includes information relevant to the LGBTQ community; 5) Protection for LGBTQ individuals from violent hate crimes should be a priority of law enforcement; 6) There should be more businesses that cater to the LGBTQ community (e.g. gay nightclubs). This graph shows that most respondents agree or strongly agree with all 6 additional LGBTQ policies.

Figure 5.6: Support for LGBTQ Rights Index

Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index

Note: This graph illustrates the average of responses for all 22 LGBTQ policies based on the survey question, "On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community."

Figure 5.6 shows the average of citizens' support or opposition for all 22 LGBTQ policies included in the Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index. This graph shows that most respondents agree or strongly agree with all 22 LGBTQ policies.

Now that I have presented some descriptive trends in the data regarding the Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index, I will turn to an explanation of my model which examines *what factors influence whether or not an individual might support LGBTQ rights in TT*. In this model, my dependent variable is the Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index, which as defined earlier is the average of citizens' support or opposition for all 22 LGBTQ policies assessed in the survey. I included 10 Independent Variables in this model. Based on the coding of my dependent and independent variables, I ran a Tobit Regression in STATA. I will now explain my independent variables, justify their inclusion in this model based on the literature,

describe how I measured them, and propose hypotheses indicating how each independent variable might influence Personal Support for LGBTQ rights.

National Government Power

According to the Institutional Design literature, the national government holds all the power in unitary, parliamentary systems such as TT (Monteil 2015; CLFG 2018; Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007). Local government is restricted in its responsibilities and resources, is interdependent with national government, and exercises very little discretionary power in the policymaking process (Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007). Since all policymaking, including LGBTQ policymaking, in TT is reserved for national rather than local government authorities, I argue that citizens' perceptions of National Government Power influence Personal Support for LGBTQ rights, which are most likely to be passed through policy actions of the national government. As a result, I included a question in the survey measuring respondents' perceptions of National Government Power. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree, "1" representing "Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing "Strongly Agree", with 6 statements listed below. I created the independent variable, National Government Power, by finding the average of all statements listed in Table 5.2 below. Once averaged, the variable is on a 1 to 5 scale where "1" equals the belief that the national government is weak, and "5" represents the view that the national government is strong.[3]

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[3] A full copy of the Codebook can be found in Appendix C.

Table 5.2: Statements Comprising National Government Power
National government is more powerful than local government.
National government has grown more powerful in the past ten years.
National government seeks to limit the resources of local government.
National government seeks to limit the responsibilities of local government.
National government seeks to control local government.
National government officials are responsible for the changes in your neighborhood.

I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that national government is powerful are less likely to support LGBTQ rights, since they may take their cues toward LGBTQ policy from the national government which has largely adopted a policy of "silence" that is passed down institutionally to local government authorities and interpreted by citizens as lack of support for LGBTQ rights (Monteil 2015; CLFG 2018; Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007)

Local Government Power

Whereas the Institutional Design literature in TT illustrates the power of national government over local government under the unitary system, scholars have highlighted the potential for local government authorities to influence each other as well as national government (Monteil 2015; CLFG 2018; Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007). Local government is unique from national government in its ability to create basic infrastructural change within local communities which it is primarily responsible for, as well as its potential to pass policies that are more closely aligned with the preferences of citizens within their jurisdictions and spread these policies to other local jurisdictions (Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007). As a result, local government authorities in TT, even with constrained resources and responsibilities under the unitary system, may be able to informally exercise discretionary powers to influence LGBTQ rights. Thus, I argue that citizens' perceptions of

Local Government Power influence Personal Support for LGBTQ rights. I measured Local

Government Power by asking citizens to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree, "1"

representing "Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing "Strongly Agree", with 5 statements

listed below in Table 5.3. I created the independent variable, Local Government Power, by

finding the average of all statements listed in Table 5.2 below. Once averaged, the variable is on

a 1 to 5 scale where "1" equals the belief that the local government is weak, and "5" represents

the view that the local government is strong.

Table 5.3: Statements Comprising Local Government Power
Local government can go against the wishes of national government.
Local government has grown more powerful in the past ten years.
Local government institutions have equal authority to pass policies that reflect the preferences of their constituents.
Local government institutions frequently influence each other.
Your local government officials are responsible for the changes in your neighborhood.

I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that local government is

powerful are more likely to support LGBTQ rights, since they may understand the ability and

potential for local government to assert itself within the LGBTQ policymaking process which is

most often dominated by the silence, or lack of support for LGBTQ rights, of national

government authorities (Monteil 2015; CLFG 2018; Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg

2007).

Independence of Institutions

Not only is local government subservient to national government in unitary systems such

as TT, but there is less separation of powers than in federal systems such as the US. TT is a

parliamentary system, where the executive and legislative branches are combined (Monteil 2015;

CLFG 2018; Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007). As a result, in a unitary,

parliamentary system like TT, there is less vertical and horizontal separation of government

powers. Essentially, the national government can control not only local government but also

multiple branches of government at both the national and local levels of governance. This further

restricts the democratic power of citizens who support and advocate policies which fall outside

of the realm of the policy agenda of the national government such as LGBTQ policies. Thus, I

argue that citizens' perceptions of the Independence of Institutions influence Personal Support

for LGBTQ rights. I measured Independence of Institutions by asking respondents to evaluate

the extent to which 10 pairs of government institutions listed in Table 5.4 are independent of

each other, with "0" representing "Not At All Independent" and "10" representing "Completely

Independent." I created the independent variable, Independence of Institutions, by finding the

average of all 10 pairs of government institutions. Once averaged, the variable is on a 0 to 10

scale where "0" equals the belief that government institutions are not at all independent of each

other, and "10" represents the view that the government institutions are completely independent

of each other.

Table 5.4: Statements Comprising Independence of Institutions
The Executive Branch & The Legislative Branch
The Judicial Branch & The Executive Branch
The Legislative Branch & The Judicial Branch
The Prime Minister & The House of Representatives
The Prime Minister & The Senate
The Prime Minister & The Cabinet
The Prime Minister & the President
The House of Representatives &The Senate
Local Government & National Government
The High Court of Justice & The Lower (Magistrate) Courts

I hypothesize that individuals who believe that government institutions are more

independent of each other are more likely to support LGBTQ rights, given that citizens may take

their cues toward LGBTQ rights from the national government which controls most government

institutions and has adopted the stance of "silence" that may be perceived as an anti-LGBTQ stance.

Venue Shopping

Departing from the Institutional Design literature, scholars of the policymaking process have highlighted the significance of Venue Shopping to policy outcomes, particularly in the Scope of Conflict literature (Schattschneider 1975; Holyoke et al. 2012; Buffardi et al. 2015; Ley and Weber 2015). Given that certain coalitions of interests tends to dominate the Scope of Conflict and keep the scope small when they are winning, coalitions tend to choose among different government venues where they can be most be effective in making their voice heard. As a result, I argue that citizens who are part and parcel of either winning or losing coalitions strategically choose among government venues to make their voice heard on government policy in general as well as LGBTQ policy, influencing their Personal Support for LGBTQ rights.

I measured Venue Shopping by asking respondents to indicate how frequently they go, with "0" representing "Never" and "10" representing "Very Frequently", to 5 different Interest Groups/Political Parties listed in Table 5.5 below to influence general government policy and LGBTQ policy. I generated new variables for both General Policy and LGBTQ Policy Venue Shopping by finding the average of statements. Once averaged, the variables are on a 0 to 10 scale where "0" equals the belief that they never go to Interest Groups/Parties to make their voice heard on general and LGBTQ policy, and "10" represents the view that they frequently go to Interest Groups/Parties to make their voice heard on general and LGBTQ policy.

Table 5.5: Statements Comprising Venue Shopping
Private Sector/Industry
Religious Organizations
LGBTQ Organizations
The People's National Movement
The United National Congress

I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to go to Interest Groups/Political Parties to make their voice heard on both general and LGBTQ government policy are more likely to support LGBTQ rights, since they may recognize that both local and national government venues are dominated by the coalition governing the national government which is largely silent of LGBTQ rights, and they may be less successful at these venues.

Heavenly Chorus

The Scope of Conflict literature has explored how winning coalitions in policy domains tend to have an "upper class accent" and create policies that reinforce the status quo and reinforce their privilege (Schlozman 1984; Danielian and Page 1994; Strolovitch 2006). In TT's unitary parliamentary system where the status quo on LGBTQ rights is the silence of national government, I argue that citizens' perceptions that a Heavenly Chorus exists in local government, national government, and elites/interest groups influence their Personal Support for LGBTQ rights.

I measured Heavenly Chorus by asking respondents on the survey to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree, with "1" representing "Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing "Strongly Agree", that National Government ("A small, like-minded group of individuals within national government"); Local Government ("A small, like-minded group of individuals within local government"); and Elites/Interest Groups ("Wealthy Elites, Educated Elites, Business/Corporate Interests, LGBTQ Organizations, Religious Organizations") are deciding

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LGBTQ policy. Whereas variables for National Government and Local Government were based on a single statement, I generated a new variable for Elites/Interest Groups by finding the average for all statements within that category. Once averaged, Elites/Interest Groups is on a 1 to 5 scale where "1" equals the belief that Elites/Interest Groups are not deciding LGBTQ policy, and "5" represents the view that Elites/Interest Groups are deciding LGBTQ policy.

I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that a heavenly chorus in national government, local government, and elites/interest groups are deciding LGBTQ policy are less likely to support LGBTQ rights, since they may perceive that they have little political agency or autonomy to influence LGBTQ rights given that the policy domain is dominated by a small, like-minded group that remains silent, or unsupportive, toward LGBTQ rights.

Privilege

As described in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, the fundamental assumption of this research is Intersectionality (Crenshaw 2017). Given the colonial history of Trinidad & Tobago, citizens of TT are intersectional in their identities and experiences, and they experience different layers of oppression or privilege regarding any policy outcome. As a result, I argue that citizens' perceptions of Privilege influence their Personal Support for LGBTQ rights. I measured Privilege by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree, with "1" representing "Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing "Strongly Disagree", that "LGBTQ policies tend to benefit more privileged LGBTQ individuals (e.g. wealthy, white, educated)." I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to agree with this statement are less likely to support LGBTQ rights, since they may perceive that such policies will only benefit members of the LGBTQ community who have privilege rather than the majority of the Queer TT population whose intersectionality creates more layers of oppression.

Departing from the Scope of Conflict and Intersectionality literatures, I included independent variables in my model on Personal Support for LGBTQ rights derived from the Morality Politics literature. Most Morality Politics scholars have utilized religion as a proxy for morality (Tatalovich and Daynes 2014; Mooney 2001; Sharp 2005; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996). However, in the 21st century, individuals are increasingly separating their most deeply held morals and values from religion, as secularism and Atheism/Agnosticism are on the rise globally. I argue that the source from which individuals derive their morals regarding the LGBTQ community influence their Support for LGBTQ rights. As such, I measured Morality by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which 6 statements influence their personal beliefs towards LGBTQ rights displayed in Table 5.6 below, with "1" representing "Does Not At All Influence" and "5" representing "Strongly Influence". Each statement represents an independent variable included in the model of Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights.

Table 5.6: Statements Comprising Morality
My religious beliefs
My secular/non-religious beliefs
My belief that LGBTQ rights are a human/civil rights issue influence my beliefs towards LGBTQ rights
Other people's religious beliefs
Other people's secular/non-religious beliefs
Other people's belief that LGBTQ rights are a human/civil rights issue influence my beliefs toward LGBTQ rights

I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that their religious beliefs and other people's religious beliefs influence their beliefs toward LGBTQ rights are less likely to support LGBTQ rights. I also hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that their secular/non-religious beliefs and human/civil rights beliefs, as well as other people's

secular/non-religious beliefs and human/civil rights beliefs, influence their beliefs toward

LGBTQ rights are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Media

In the morality politics model, LGBTQ rights becomes a particularly salient issue where

citizens' most deeply held morals and values dictate the policymaking process (Haider-Markel

and Meier 1996; Lax and Phillips 2009; Stone 2016). Salience is communicated through Media,

where news coverage of policy issues provide cues to citizens regarding which issues are most

important to pay attention to. I argue that Media coverage of LGBTQ issues influence Personal

Support for LGBTQ rights. I measured Media by asking respondents to indicate the extent to

which they agree or disagree, with "1" representing "Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing

"Strongly Agree, with 6 statements regarding media coverage of LGBTQ rights displayed in

Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7: Statements Comprising Media

Salience
  ➢ News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in my community has increased in the past ten years
  ➢ News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in other communities has increased in the past ten years)

Factual Coverage
  ➢ News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in my community is factual
  ➢ News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in other communities is factual

Too Much Coverage   ➢ News media covers LGBTQ issues too much.

Whereas Too Much Coverage was based on a single statement, I generated new variables

finding the average of statements for Salience and Factual Coverage. Once averaged, Salience is

on a 1 to 5 scale where "1" equals the belief that news coverage of LGBTQ issues has not

increased, and "5" represents the view that news coverage of LGBTQ issues has increased.

Factual Coverage, once averaged, is on a 1 to 5 scale where "1" equals the belief that news

coverage of LGBTQ issues is not factual, and "5" represents the view that news coverage of LGBTQ issues is factual.

I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that news coverage of LGBTQ issues has increased and is factual are more likely to support LGBTQ rights, given that greater representation in media of LGBTQ issues condition individuals to normalize LGBTQ individuals and issues. On the other hand, I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that there is too much coverage in news media on LGBTQ issues are less likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Influence of Religion

The morality politics model of policymaking also emphasizes the influence of religion since citizens tend to derive their attitudes toward morality policy issues from religion (Camp 2008; Campbell and Wheatle 2020; Fairbanks 1997; Grossman 2015; Hurka et al 2018; Miceli 2005). I argue that citizens perceptions of Religion influence their Support for LGBTQ Rights. I measured Influence of Religion by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree, with "1" representing "Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing "Strongly Agree", with a number of a statements listed in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8: Statements Comprising Influence of Religion
Religiosity ➢ I regularly attend services of my religion.
Insularity ➢ I have the same religious beliefs as members of my immediate family. ➢ I have the same religious beliefs as my closest friends. ➢ I have the same religious beliefs as my neighbors.
Marriage Tolerance ➢ Individuals with different religious backgrounds should be allowed to get married. ➢ Individuals with different ethnic backgrounds should be allowed to get married.
Religious Organizations Influence Local LGBTQ policy

> ➢ Religious organizations influence the decisions of local government regarding LGBTQ policy.

Religious Organizations Influence National LGBTQ Policy
> ➢ Religious organizations influence the decisions of national government regarding LGBTQ policy.

Whereas Religiosity, Religious Organizations Influence Local LGBTQ policy, and Religious Organizations Influence National LGBTQ Policy were based on a single statement, I created new variables for Insularity and Marriage Tolerance finding the average of all statements within those categories. Once averaged, Insularity is on a 1 to 5 scale where "1" equals the belief that the respondent does not share their religious beliefs with their closest personal connections, and "5" represents the view that the respondent shares their religious beliefs with their closest personal connections. Marriage Tolerance, once averaged, is on a 1 to 5 scale where "1" equals the belief that individuals from different religious/ethnic backgrounds should not be allowed to get married, and "5" represents the view that individuals from different religious/ethnic backgrounds should be allowed to get married.

I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to agree with Religiosity and Insularity are less likely to support LGBTQ rights. Individuals who are more likely to agree with Marriage Tolerance are more likely to support LGBTQ rights. Individuals who are more likely to agree with Religious Organizations Influence Local LGBTQ policy, and Religious Organizations Influence National LGBTQ Policy, are less likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Policy Environment

The morality politics model accounts for factors of the policy environment, such as diversity, which shape attitudes towards morality issues (Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Meier 1994; Sharp 2005). I argue that Diversity influences Support for LGBTQ rights. I measured Diversity by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree, with "1"

representing "Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing "Strongly Agree", with a number of

statements regarding the area where they live displayed in Table 5.9 below.

Table 5.9: Statements Comprising Policy Environment

General Diversity
   ➢ There are many university-educated people.
   ➢ There are many high-income families.
   ➢ There are many non-traditional households e.g. blended families, intentionally single parents, common-law marriages.
   ➢ It is religiously diverse.
   ➢ It is ethnically diverse.
   ➢ It is culturally diverse.

LGBTQ Diversity
   ➢ There are many openly LGBTQ individuals.
   ➢ There are many businesses that openly cater to the LGBTQ community.
   ➢ There are frequent community events celebrating the LGBTQ community.

I created new variables by finding the average of all statements for General Diversity and

LGBTQ Diversity. Once averaged, General Diversity is on a 1 to 5 scale where "1" equals the

belief that the respondent does not live in a generally diverse area, and "5" represents the view

that the respondent lives in a generally diverse area. LGBTQ Diversity, once averaged, is on a 1

to 5 scale where "1" equals the belief that the respondent does not live in a LGBTQ diverse area,

and "5" represents the view that the respondent lives in a LGBTQ diverse area. I hypothesize

that individuals who are more likely to agree with General Diversity and LGBTQ Diversity are

more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Now that I have explained my dependent and independent variables, I will now turn to a

description of my control variables, alternative explanations that might influence Personal

Support for LGBTQ Rights.

LGBTQ Social Contact

According to Intergroup Contact theory, individuals from an outgroup who interact with individuals from ingroup are more likely to have either positive or negative attitudes towards the ingroup (Reimer at al. 2017; Lytle 2018; Hassler et al. 2020). Scholars have demonstrated the moderating effect of Intergroup Contact on attitudes towards to the LGBTQ community (Hoffarth and Hodson 2018; Hoffarth and Hodson 2020; Zingora and Graf 2018). As a result, I included a question in the survey measuring respondents' intergroup contact with LGBTQ individuals. Participants were asked to indicate "Yes" or "No" to a number of statements regarding their personal connections to LGBTQ individuals displayed in Table 5.10 below, and I created the control variable, LGBTQ Social Contact, by finding the average of these statements. Once averaged, LGBTQ Social Contact is on a 0 to 1 scale where "0" represents the belief that the respondent has low social contact with LGBTQ individuals, and "1" represents the view that the respondent has high social contact with LGBTQ individuals.

Table 5.10: Statements Comprising LGBTQ Social Contact
Immediate family member(s) identify as LGBTQ
Close relative(s)identify as LGBTQ
Close friend(s) identify as LGBTQ
Co-worker(s) identify as LGBTQ
Member(s) of my religious organization identify as LGBTQ
Member(s) of my social clubs/civic groups identify as LGBTQ

I hypothesize that respondents who have personal connections to LGBTQ individuals are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Martial Status

Scholars have also demonstrated a moderating effect of marital status on attitudes towards the LGBTQ community, particularly among heterosexuals regardless of their race/ethnicity (Herek and Glunt 1993; Herek and Capitanio 1995; Whitley and Ægisdóttir 2000). I measured

Marital Status on the survey by asking respondents to indicate their status from 7 categories

listed in Table 5.11 below.

Table 5.11: Statements Comprising Marital Status
Never Married
Domestic Partnership/Common Law Marriage
Married
Legally Separated
Divorced
Widowed
Other (Please Specify)

Married was coded as "1" and all other categories were coded as "0". I hypothesize that

individuals who are married are less likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Race/Ethnicity

The majority of public opinion studies control for Race/Ethnicity, since different racial and

ethnic groups tend to have different attitudes on a wide spectrum of social and political issues as

a result of historical experiences as well as socioeconomic and cultural differences (Gabbidon

and Higgins 2009; Cooper et al. 2021; Forney and Lacy 2022). I measured Race/Ethnicity on the

survey by asking respondents to identify which ethnic group they belong to from 9 categories

listed in Table 5.12 below.

Table 5.12: Statements Comprising Race/Ethnicity
African
Caucasian
Chinese
East Indian
Indigenous
Mixed - African and East Indian
Mixed - Other (Please Specify)
Syrian/Lebanese
Other (Please Specify)

The language for this question was adopted from the Trinidad & Tobago 2010 Census. I created 2 new variables from this question: African and East Indian, which were individually coded as "1" and all other categories were coded as "0". African and East Indian were selected from all the categories to be included in my models because they represent the two largest racial/ethnic segments of the TT population. I hypothesize that Africans are less likely to support LGBTQ rights given the historical legacy of homophobia entrenched in postcolonial Afro-Caribbean politics (Alexander 1994; Mercer and Julien 1988), and East Indians are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Religion

Not only do the majority of public opinion studies include Religion as a control variable given the differences in attitudes towards a variety of issues across religious groups, religion has particular importance in Morality Politics theory. In Morality Politics issues such as gambling, prostitution, and LGBTQ rights, citizens' support or opposition for these policies are constructed based on their moral and ethical beliefs most often derived from their religious preferences and doctrines (Sharp 2005; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Camp 2008; Campbell and Wheatle 2020). I measured Religion in the survey by asking respondents to identify their religion from 7 categories listed in Table 5.13 below.

Table 5.13: Statements Comprising Religion
Christian/Protestant
Christian/Catholic
Muslim
Hindu
Jew
Atheist/Agnostic
Other (Please Specify)

I generated 4 new variables for Catholic, Muslim, Hindu, and Atheist coding each category as "1" and all other categories as "0". Catholic, Muslim, and Hindu were selected from all the categories to include in my models because they represent the largest religious factions of the TT population. In addition, Catholicism and Islam have doctrinal basis for anti-LGBTQ attitudes (Cervantes-Altamirano 2015; Ruiz 2019). Although there is no specific doctrinal basis for anti-LGBTQ attitudes in Hinduism, colonization criminalized gender and sexual fluidity among Hindus in both India and the Caribbean (Chatterjee 2018; Puri 2002). Atheist was also selected to include in my models because they tend to hold secular beliefs toward the LGBTQ community (Brewster 2013). I hypothesize that Catholics and Muslims are less likely to support LGBTQ rights, whereas Hindus and Atheists are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Gender and Sexual Orientation

Gender is also a standard control variable included in most public opinion studies because women tend to have different positions on a variety of issues compared to men, including LGBTQ rights (LaMar and Kite 1998; Herek 2002). I measured Gender by asking respondents to identify which gender identity best fits them from 6 categories listed in Table 5.14 below.

Table 5.14: Statements Comprising Gender Identity
Male
Female
Transgender Male
Transgender Female
Non-binary/Third Gender
Other (Please Specify)

I created a new variable coding Female as "1" and all others as "0". I hypothesize that Female respondents are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Sexual Orientation was also included as a control variable because heterosexuals and members of the LGBTQ community have different attitudes toward LGBTQ rights. I measured Sexual Orientation by asking respondents to which sexual orientation best fits them from 8 categories listed in Table 5.15 below.

Table 5.15: Statements Comprising Sexual Orientation
Heterosexual
Gay
Lesbian
Bisexual
Asexual
Pansexual
Demisexual
Other (Please Specify)

I created a new variable coding Heterosexual as "1" and all the other categories as "0". I hypothesize that Heterosexuals are less likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Education & Foreign Education

The public opinion literature has demonstrated the moderating effect of education levels of individuals' attitudes towards a variety of issues (Berinsky et al. 2011; Priest 2000). The effect of educational attainment has been shown in attitudes toward the LGBTQ community (Hancock and Haskin 2015; Jacobson et al. 2015) I measured Education by asking respondents to identify their highest level of education from 10 categories listed in Table 5.16 below.

Table 5.16: Statements Comprising Education
Primary School
Secondary School - GCE/CXC
Secondary School – CAPE
Diploma/Equivalent
Associate's Degree
Bachelor's Degree
Master's Degree
Post-Graduate Degree

Doctoral Degree
Other (Please Specify)

I created a new variable coding Primary School as "6", Secondary School - GCE/CXC as "11", Secondary School – CAPE as "12", Diploma/Equivalent as "12", Associate's Degree as "14", Bachelor's Degree as "16", Master's Degree as "18", Post-Graduate Degree as "22", Doctoral Degree as "22', and dropping Other (Please Specify). I hypothesize that more educated individuals are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

While all citizens of Trinidad & Tobago receive free, public elementary and secondary education, as well as government-subsidized Bachelor's degrees, many citizens pursue education programs outside of TT and return to the country with transformed attitudes and perspectives toward a variety of issues as a result of the international education and temporary migration experience. As a result, I measured Foreign Education by asking citizens to indicate whether or not they received any formal education outside of Trinidad & Tobago. I created a new variable coding "Yes" as "1" and "No" as "0". I hypothesize that individuals are received education outside of TT are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Income

Public opinion studies typically include Income as a control variable as a result of the conditioning effect of socioeconomic status on attitudes toward a variety of issues (Andersen 2005; Kelly and Enns 2010). I measured Income by asking respondents to indicate their average monthly household income from 4 options listed in Table 5.17 below.

Table 5.17: Statements Comprising Income
Less than $5000
$5001 - $10,000
$10,001 - $15,000
More than $15,001

These options were coded from "1" to "4". The language for this question was provided by a correspondent in Trinidad & Tobago working at the Caribbean Agricultural Research & Development Institute (CARDI) who utilizes this language for most surveys of TT citizens. I hypothesize that individuals with a higher average household income are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Party Identification and Political Ideology

In the United States, there are distinct differences in stances between the two main political parties, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, regarding LGBTQ rights. However, in Trinidad & Tobago, there are no obviously identifiable differences in support for LGBTQ rights between the two main political parties, the People's National Movement (PNM) and the United National Congress (UNC). However, these parties do differ in terms of race/ethnicity. PNM is a historically African party whereas UNC is a historically Indian party. As a result, Party Identification was included as an alternative explanation in my models because racial differences along party lines might influence differences in LGBTQ attitudes between PNM and UNC supporters. I measured Party Identification by asking respondents to identify their preferred political party from 7 categories listed in Table 5.18 below

Table 5.18: Statements Comprising Party Identification
People's National Movement (PNM)
United National Congress (UNC)
Congress of the People (COP)
Democratic Party of Trinidad & Tobago (DPTT)
Movement for Social Justice (MSJ)
Independent Liberal Party (ILP)
Other (Please Specify)

I created a new variable for People's National Movement coding PNM as "1" and all others as "0", and a new variable for United National Congress coding UNC as "1" and all others as "0". I selected PNM and UNC to be included in my models because they are the two largest and most powerful parties in TT. I hypothesize that individuals who support PNM are less likely to support LGBTQ rights given the entrenchment of homophobia by black nationalist leaders in the Caribbean (Alexander 1994; Mercer and Julien 1988). I hypothesize that individuals who support UNC are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Many public opinion studies also include measures of Political Ideology to supplement Party Identification (Clarke et al. 2015; Frederico 2012). This is because supporters of a single political party may hold ideological differences that need to be accounted for, and individuals may not support any party but hold ideological positions toward a variety of issues. I measured Political Ideology by asking respondents to identify their political orientation from 5 options listed in Table 5.19 below.

Table 5.19: Statements Comprising Political Ideology
Very Conservative
Conservative
Moderate
Liberal
Very Liberal

These options were coded from "1" to "5". I hypothesize that individuals who identify as more liberal are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Urbanism

Morality Politics scholars have demonstrated the conditioning effect of Urbanism on LGBTQ attitudes (Sharp 2005; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Camp 2008). Individuals who live in urban areas tend to have more positive attitudes toward LGBTQ rights. I measured

Urbanism by asking respondents to identify the area in which they live from 3 options listed in

Table 5.20 below.

Table 5.20: Statements Comprising Urbanism
Rural area
Something in between
Urban area

These options were coded from "1" to "3". I hypothesize that individuals who live in urban areas

are more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

5.2: Quantitative Analysis

Now that I described my dependent, independent, and control variables, I will now turn

to an explanation of my model. Based on the coding of my dependent variable, I ran a Tobit

regression on Personal Support for LGBTQ rights, the results of which can be found in Table

5.21 and 5.22: Determinants of Support for LGBTQ Rights.

Table 5.21: Determinants of Support for LGBTQ Rights

	Support for LGBTQ Rights	
	Coefficient	Probability
National Government Power	.109 (.199)	.592
Local Government Power	-.095 (.324)	.773
Independence of Institutions	-.095 (.049)	.076
Venue Shopping		
General Government Policy	.064 (.082)	.447
LGBTQ Government Policy	-.129 (.089)	.170
Heavenly Chorus		
Elites/Groups	-.073 (.100)	.475
National Government	-.167 (.167)	.334
Local Government	.377 (.185)	.061
Privilege	.008 (.085)	.918
Morality		
Individual Religious Beliefs	-.067 (.063)	.303
Individual Secular Beliefs	-.108 (.045)	.029
Individual Human/Civil Rights Beliefs	.327 (.096)	.004
Others' Religious Beliefs	.224 (.114)	.069
Others' Secular Beliefs	-.062 (.149)	.682
Others' Human/Civil Rights Beliefs	-.071 (.061)	.266
Media		
Salience	-.047 (.072)	.525
Factual Coverage	.604 (.203)	.009
Too Much Coverage	-.134 (.091)	.164
Influence of Religion		
Insularity	-.048 (.040)	.250
Religiosity	.026 (.103)	.806
Marriage Tolerance	.495 (.110)	.000
Organizations & Local LGBTQ Policy	-.320 (.120)	.018
Organizations & National LGBTQ Policy	.399 (.207)	.074
Policy Environment		
General Diversity	-.149 (.157)	.359
LGBTQ Diversity	.481 (.131)	.002
Number of Observations	57	
F	32.14	.000
Pseudo R^2	0.825	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-12.079	

Note: Models were estimated using a Tobit Regression Model with Robust Standard Errors. The dependent variable, Support for LGBTQ Rights, is an average of 22 LGBTQ policies based on the survey question, "On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community."

Table 5.22: Determinants of Support for LGBTQ Rights Continued

	Support for LGBTQ Rights	
	Coefficient	Probability
LGBTQ Social Contact	-.024 (.336)	.943
Race		
African	-.407 (.231)	.098
East Indian	.910 (.304)	.009
Religion		
Catholic	.794 (.266)	.009
Muslim	-.627 (.251)	.025
Hindu	.087 (.127)	.501
Atheist	-.215 (.182)	.256
Gender & Sexual Orientation		
Female	.152 (.089)	.111
Non-Heterosexual	.590 (.251)	.033
Party Identification		
People's National Movement	.551 (.176)	.007
United National Congress	-.525 (.169)	.007
Other Demographics		
Married	.148 (.168)	.392
Education	-.036 (.027)	.201
Foreign Education	.546 (.204)	.017
Income	.162 (.094)	.105
Political Ideology	.015 (.100)	.879
Urbanism	-.225 (.179)	.229
Number of Observations	57	
F	32.14	.000
Pseudo R^2	0.825	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-12.079	

Note: Models were estimated using a Tobit Regression Model with Robust Standard Errors. The dependent variable, Support for LGBTQ Rights, is an average of 22 LGBTQ policies based on the survey question, "On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community."

As shown in Table 5.21 and 5.22, National Government Power and Local Government Power did not achieve statistical significance in this model. However, Independence of Institutions did achieve significance. Respondents who believe that government institutions including the executive, judicial, and legislative branches, Prime Minister, President, Cabinet, House of Representatives, Senate, High Court of Justice, and Lower Magistrate Courts are independent of each other are more likely to support LGBTQ rights. In terms of Venue

Shopping, Influence of Parties/Interest Groups on General Government Policy and LGBTQ Government Policy did not achieve significance. In terms of Heavenly Chorus, Influence of Elites/Interest Groups and Influence of Chorus in National Government did not achieve significance; however, Influence of Chorus in Local Government was statistically significant. As a result, respondents who believe that a small, like-minded group of individuals within local government are deciding LGBTQ rights are more likely to support LGBTQ rights. LGBTQ Policy Benefits the Privileged did not achieve significance; however, several Morality variables were statistically significant. Respondents who stated that their personal secular/non-religious beliefs influence their attitudes towards LGBTQ rights are less likely to support LGBTQ rights. Respondents who stated that their personal beliefs that LGBTQ rights is a human/civil rights issue influence their attitudes toward LGBTQ rights were more likely to support LGBTQ rights. In addition, respondents who stated that other people's religious beliefs influence their personal beliefs about LGBTQ rights were more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

In terms of Media, Salience and Too Much Coverage did not achieve significance; however, Factual Coverage was statistically significant. As a result, respondents who believe that News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in their community is factual, and News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in other communities is factual, were more likely to support LGBTQ rights. In terms of Influence of Religion, Insularity and Religiosity did not achieve significance. However, Marriage Tolerance, Religious Organizations Influence Local LGBTQ Policy, and Religious Organizations Influence National LGBTQ Policy were all statistically significant. As a result, respondents who believe that individuals with different religious backgrounds should be allowed to get married, and individuals with different ethnic backgrounds should be allowed to get married, were more likely to support LGBTQ rights. Respondents who

believe that religious organizations influence the decisions of local government regarding LGBTQ policy were less likely to support LGBTQ rights. On the other hand, respondents who believe that religious organizations influence the decisions of national government regarding LGBTQ policy were more likely to support LGBTQ rights. In terms of Policy Environment, General Diversity did not achieve significance, but LGBTQ Diversity did. As a result, respondents who stated that there are many openly LGBTQ individuals, there are many businesses that openly cater to the LGBTQ community, and there are frequent community events celebrating the LGBTQ community in the area in which they live were more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

In terms of the control/demographic variables included in this model, LGBTQ Social Contact did not achieve significance. However, Race was statistically significant. The results of this model suggest that Africans are less likely to support LGBTQ rights, while East Indians are more likely to support LGBTQ rights. In terms of Religion, Hindu and Atheist did not achieve significance. However, Catholic and Muslim were statistically significant. Whereas Catholics are more likely to support LGBTQ rights, Muslims are less likely to support LGBTQ rights. In terms of Gender and Sexual Orientation, female did not achieve significance. However, non-heterosexual individuals including gay, lesbian, bisexual, asexual, pansexual, and demisexual individuals are more likely to support LGBTQ rights. Party Identification achieved significance; individuals who identify with the People's National Movement are more likely to support LGBTQ rights, whereas individuals who identify with the United National Congress are less likely to support LGBTQ rights. Marital Status, Education, Income, Political Ideology, and Urbanism did not achieve significance in this model; however, Foreign Education was

statistically significant. As a result, individuals who received any formal education outside of

Trinidad & Tobago were more likely to support LGBTQ rights.

Chapter 6: Trust/Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups

        Whereas Chapter 5 was concerned with providing descriptive statistics of Personal Support for LGBTQ rights and explaining my model, the focus of Chapter 6 is how TT citizens perceive their level of trust in local government institutions, national government institutions, and interest groups/political parties to influence government policy in general as well as LGBTQ policy. In addition, Chapter 6 seeks to understand how TT citizens perceive their level of value-sharing with these different groups when it comes to LGBTQ policy. As described in Chapter 5, the main research question of this dissertation is: **Does Scope of Conflict and Morality Politics help explain the expansion, or contraction, of LGBTQ rights in Trinidad & Tobago's Unitary System?** As a result, any expansion or contraction of LGBTQ rights in TT is dependent on citizens' perceptions of their level of trust and value-sharing with governmental and non-governmental institutions regarding general government policy and LGBTQ policy. Regardless of whether citizens have high or low levels of personal support for LGBTQ policies and the determinants that influence these attitudes, as examined in Chapter 5, active and substantive policy change regarding LGBTQ rights in TT is only likely to occur through citizens' perceptions of their trust and value-sharing with institutions and groups. Ultimately, TT citizens' support or opposition for LGBTQ rights will be filtered through their perceptions of the capacity and potential for existing political structures under the unitary system to influence LGBTQ rights. More specifically, this chapter is concerned with understanding *how TT citizens perceive the role of institutions and groups in the LGBTQ policymaking landscape*.

        To answer this question, this chapter focuses on two main dependent variables, Trust and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups. Whereas scholars typically examine "Trust" as a combination of "Trust" and "Value-Sharing", I analyze these variables separately in this chapter

to provide more nuance. In future research, I will re-examine these variables by combining them into a single model as is standard in the Trust literature. I created three categories of Institutions/Groups based on the average of statements as displayed in Table 6.1: Local Government, National Government, and Groups/Parties.

Table 6.1: Statements Comprising Trust/Value-Sharing with Institutions and Groups
Local Government
➢ Local Government
➢ Lower Magistrate Courts
National Government
➢ National Government
➢ The House of Representatives
➢ The Senate
➢ The Prime Minister
➢ Leader of the Opposition
➢ The President
➢ The High Court of Justice
Interest Groups/Political Parties
➢ Private Sector/Industry
➢ Religious Organizations
➢ LGBTQ Organizations
➢ The People's National Movement
➢ The United National Congress

I measured Trust in Institutions/Groups by asking survey respondents to "rate your level of trust in each of these groups to influence government policy in general" with "0" representing "No Trust At All" and "10" representing "Completely Trust". Once averaged, Trust in Institutions/Groups was coded on a "0" to "10" scale, with "0" representing the belief that the respondent does not trust Institutions/Groups at all to influence general government policy, and "10" representing the view that the respondent completely trusts Institutions/Groups to influence general government policy.

Similarly, I measured Value-Sharing by asking respondents to "rate how much each group shares your values toward LGBTQ policies (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services)" with "0" representing "Does Not At All

Share Your Values" and "10" representing "Shares Your Values Completely". Once averaged,

Value-Sharing was coded on a scale of "0" to "10", with "0" representing the belief that the

respondent does not at all share their values with Institutions/Groups regarding LGBTQ policy,

and "10" representing the view that the respondent completely shares their values with

Institutions/Groups regarding LGBTQ policy.

6.1: Descriptive Statistics

Now that I have explained how my dependent variables in this chapter, Trust and Value-

Sharing with Institutions/Groups, were operationalized in the survey and coded, I will present

and describe some visual representations of descriptive statistics of both dependent variables.

Figure 6.1: Trust in Local Government Institutions
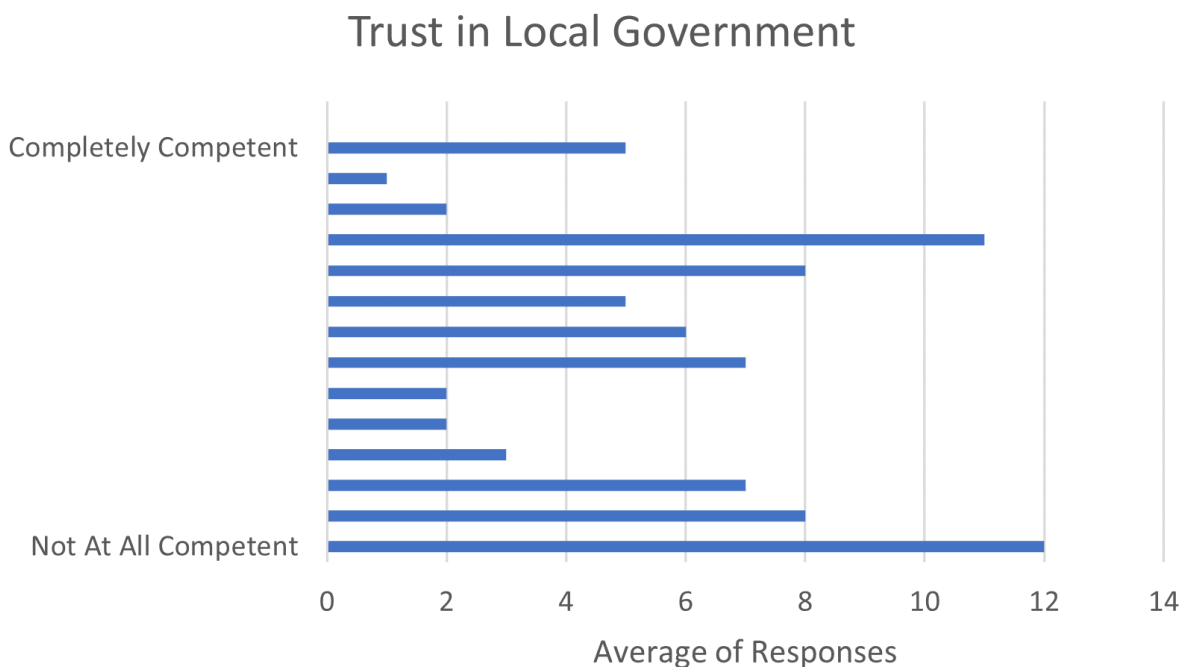
Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (Not At All Competent) to 10
(Completely Competent), please rate your level of trust in each of these groups to influence
government policy in general."

Figure 6.1 illustrates the distribution of responses regarding whether Local Government Institutions are competent in influencing government policy in general. The graph shows mixed results, suggesting that most respondents believe that Local Government is not at all competent, whereas the next largest segment of respondents believe that Local Government is somewhat competent.

Figure 6.2: Trust in National Government Institutions
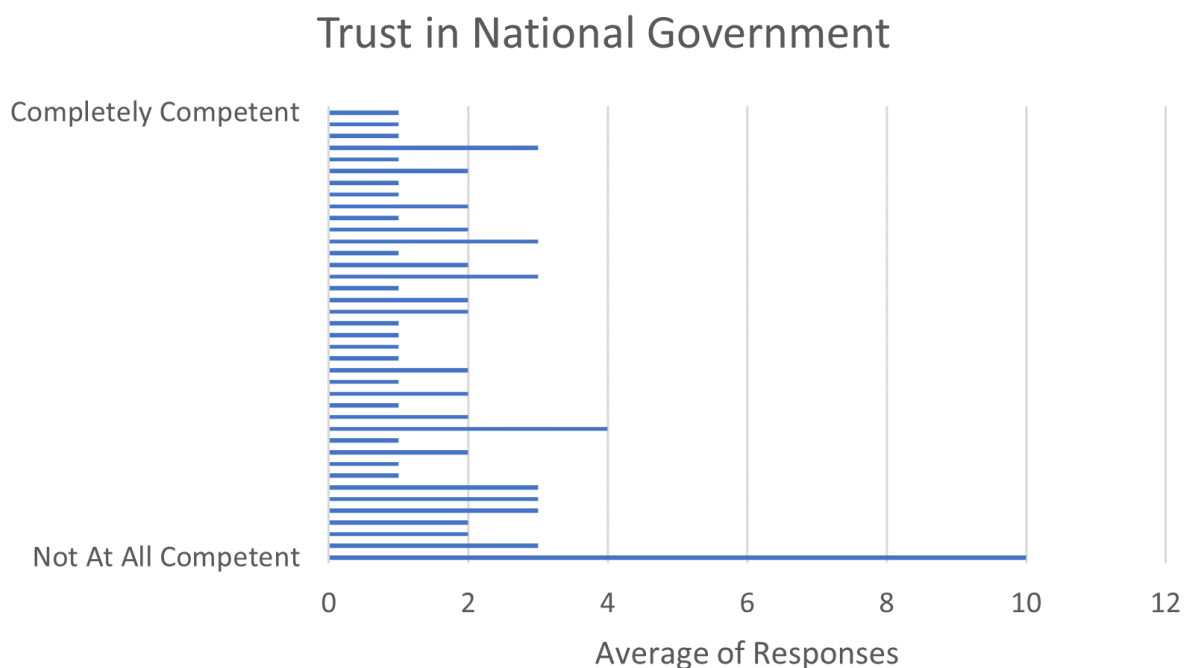
Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (Not At All Competent) to 10 (Completely Competent), please rate your level of trust in each of these groups to influence government policy in general."

Figure 6.2 illustrates the distribution of responses regarding whether National Government Institutions are competent in influencing government policy in general. The graph shows that the majority of respondents believe that national government institutions are not at all competent.
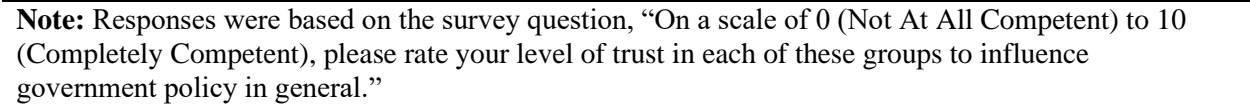
Figure 6.3: Trust in Groups/Parties
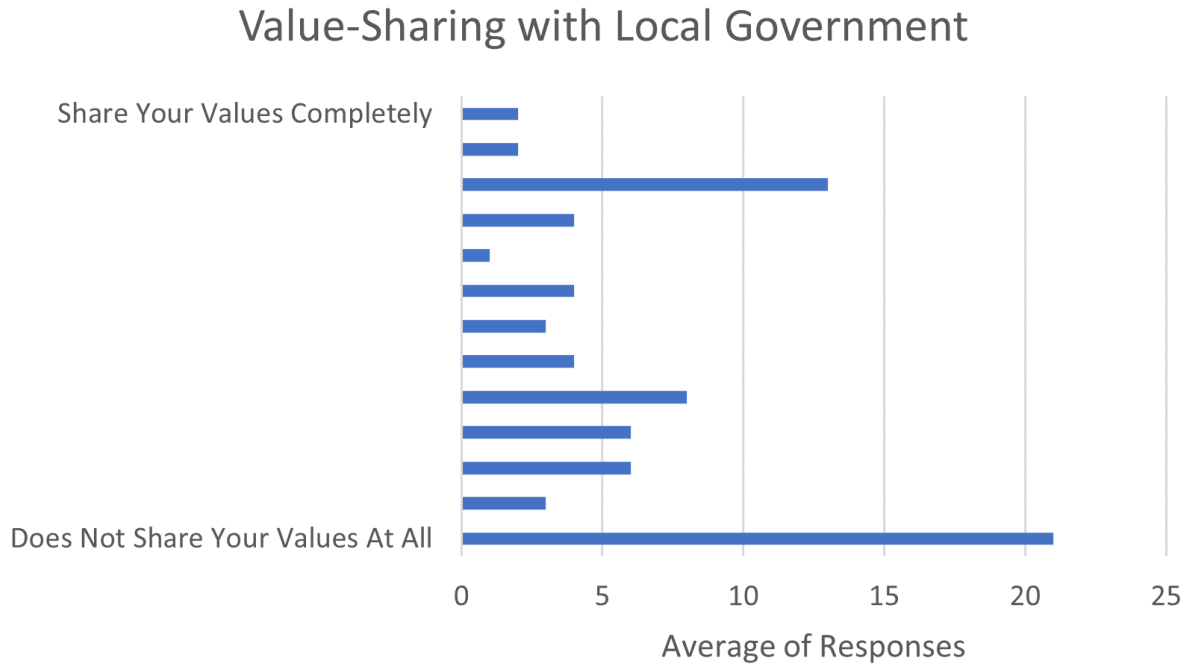
Trust in Groups

Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (Not At All Competent) to 10 (Completely Competent), please rate your level of trust in each of these groups to influence government policy in general."

Figure 6.3 illustrates the distribution of responses regarding whether Interest Groups/Political Parties are competent in influencing government policy in general. The graph portrays mixed results, suggesting that the majority of respondents believe that Groups/Parties are not at all competent or somewhat competent.

Value-Sharing with Local Government

Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (Does Not At All Share Your Values) to 10 (Share Your Values Completely), please rate how much each group shares your values toward LGBTQ policies (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services)."

Figure 6.4 demonstrates the distribution of responses regarding whether Local Government Institutions share respondents' values toward LGBTQ policies. The graph suggests that most respondents believe that Local Government Institutions do not share their values at all regarding LGBTQ rights.
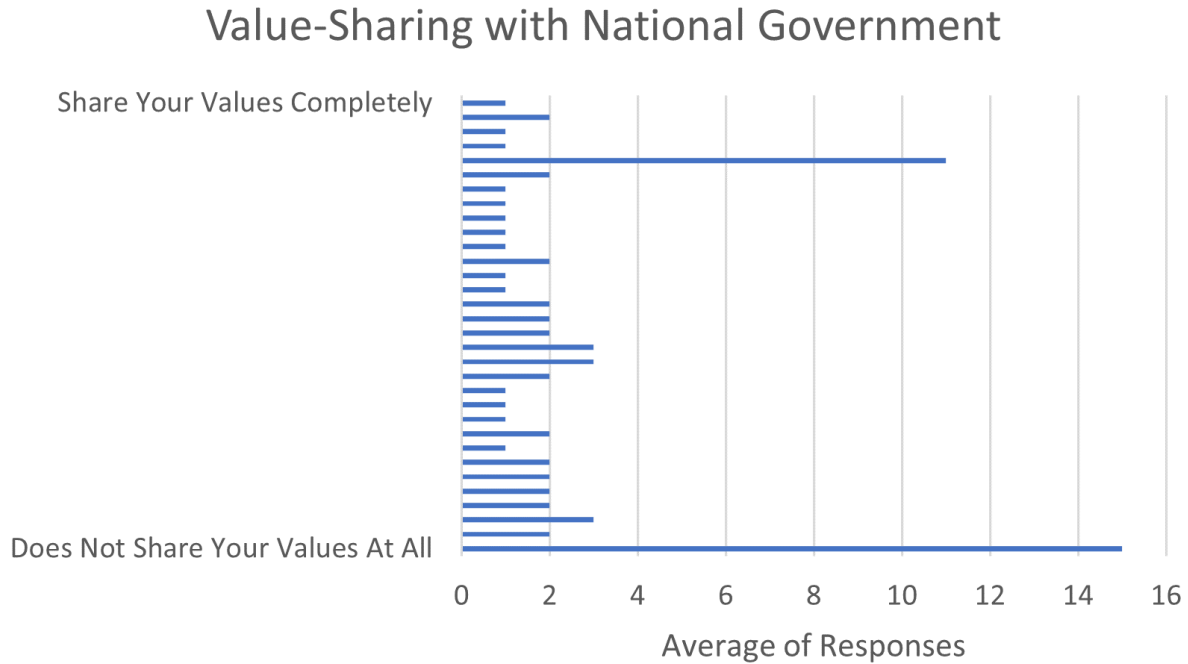
Value-Sharing with National Government

Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (Does Not At All Share Your Values) to 10 (Share Your Values Completely), please rate how much each group shares your values toward LGBTQ policies (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services)."

Figure 6.5 demonstrates the distribution of responses regarding whether National Government Institutions share respondents' values toward LGBTQ policies. The graph presents mixed results, suggesting that the majority of respondents believe that National Government Institutions do not share their values regarding LGBTQ rights, but the next largest segment of respondents believe that National Government Institutions significantly share their values toward LGBTQ rights.
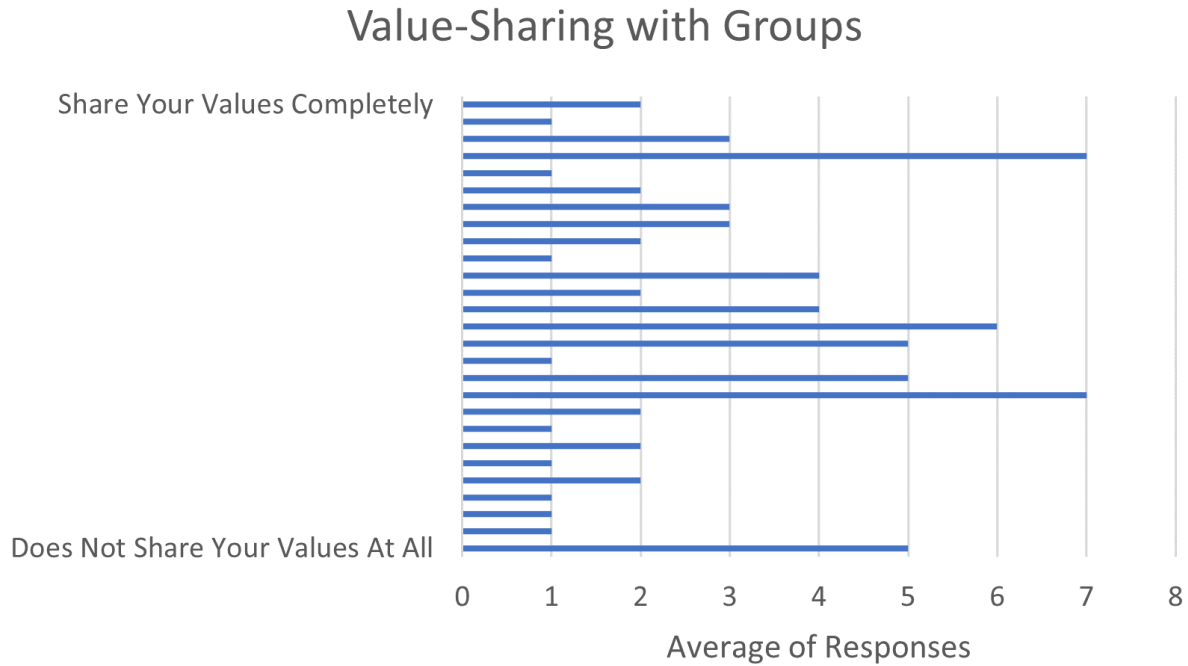
Note: Responses were based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (Does Not At All Share Your Values) to 10 (Share Your Values Completely), please rate how much each group shares your values toward LGBTQ policies (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services)."

Figure 6.6 demonstrates the distribution of responses regarding whether Interest Groups/Political Parties share respondents' values toward LGBTQ policies. This graph presents mixed results, suggesting that the two large segments of respondents believe that Groups/Parties somewhat shares their values toward LGBTQ rights and significantly shares their values toward LGBTQ rights.

6.2: Quantitative Analysis

Now that I have presented and explained some visual representations of descriptive statistics of my dependent variables in this chapter, Trust and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups, I will turn to an explanation of my model which examines *what factors influence whether or not an individual might perceive trust in Institutions/Groups to influence general government policy and value-sharing with Institutions/Groups to influence LGBTQ policy*. I ran separate models for Trust and Value-Sharing utilizing Tobit Regressions in STATA. My dependent variable in the Trust model is an average of statements measuring the respondent's level of trust in Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Interest Groups/Political Parties to influence government policy in general. My dependent variable in the Value-Sharing model is an average of statements measuring the extent to which respondents believe that Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Interest Groups/Political Parties share their values toward LGBTQ rights.

I included 7 Independent Variables in both models, which are listed and defined in Chapter 4 in Table 4.1. National Government Power, Local Government Power, Independence of Institutions, and Heavenly Chorus (Elites/Groups) were used in the same way in the Trust and Value-Sharing models in this chapter as the Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights model in Chapter 5. Since I have already explained these variables and how they were operationalized in Chapter 5, I will justify why they were included in the Trust and Value-Sharing models in this chapter and propose my hypotheses for how they might influence my dependent variables. On the other hand, I included some independent variables in these models that were not included in the same way in Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights model: Venue Shopping (All Venues & LGBTQ Policy), Influence of Religion (Religion & Local Government, Religion & National

Government), and Interest Groups. As a result, I will explain these variables and how I measured them, justify their inclusion in my models on Trust and Value-Sharing, and propose hypotheses indicating how each independent variable might influence my models.

National Government Power

Since all policymaking, including LGBTQ policymaking, in TT is dominated by the national government under the unitary system, I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that national government is powerful are less likely to have trust in Local Government, more likely to have trust in National Government, and less likely to have trust in Groups/Parties to influence government policy in general. In terms of Value-Sharing, I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that national government is powerful are less likely to believe that Local Government shares their values toward LGBTQ rights, more likely to believe that National Government shares their values, and less likely to believe that Groups/Parties shares their values (Monteil 2015; CLFG 2018; Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007).

Local Government Power

Since local government institutions are constrained in their resources, responsibilities, and discretionary policymaking powers, I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that local government is powerful is more likely to have trust in Local Government, less likely to have trust in National Government, and less likely to have trust in Groups/Parties to influence government policy in general. When it comes to Value-Sharing, I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to believe that local government is powerful are more likely to believe that Local Government shares their values toward LGBTQ rights, less likely to believe

that National Government shares their values, and less likely to believe that Groups/Parties

shares their values (Monteil 2015; CLFG 2018; Ragoonath 2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg

2007).

Independence of Institutions

Since there is less vertical and horizontal separation of powers across government

institutions in TT under the unitary system, I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to

believe that government institutions are more independent of each other are more likely to have

trust in Local Government, less likely to have trust in National Government, and more likely to

have trust in Groups/Parties to influence government policy in general. As far as Value-Sharing,

I hypothesize that individuals who believe that government institutions are more independent of

each other are more likely to believe that Local Government shares their values toward LGBTQ

rights, less likely to believe that National Government shares their values, and more likely to

believe that Groups/Parties share their values (values (Monteil 2015; CLFG 2018; Ragoonath

2009; Richards 2010; Schoberg 2007).

Heavenly Chorus

Given that the Scope of Conflict literature demonstrates how elites and interest groups

tend to dominate policymaking processes, I hypothesize that individuals who believe that

Elites/Interest Groups (Wealthy Elites, Educated Elites, Business/Corporate Interests, LGBTQ

Organizations, Religious Organizations) are deciding LGBTQ policy are less likely to have trust

in Local Government, less likely to have trust in National Government, and more likely to have

trust in Groups/Parties to influence government policy in general. In terms of Value-Sharing, I

hypothesize that individuals who believe that Elites/Interest Groups (Wealthy Elites, Educated

Elites, Business/Corporate Interests, LGBTQ Organizations, Religious Organizations) are

deciding LGBTQ policy are less likely to believe that Local Government shares their values

toward LGBTQ rights, less likely to believe that National Government shares their values, and

more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values (Schlozman 1984; Danielian and

Page 1994; Strolovitch 2006).

Venue Shopping

      The Scope of Conflict literature has highlighted the importance of Venue Shopping to the

policymaking process, where individuals strategically choose among government venues to

make their voice heard on particular issues. Since LGBTQ rights remains off the policy agenda

at most government venues in TT, individuals who shop at all venues are more likely to be

politically engaged, influencing their Trust and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups. In this

chapter, I measured Venue Shopping by asking respondents to indicate how frequently they go,

with "0" representing "Never" and "10" representing "Very Frequently", to a variety of

government institutions and groups listed in Table 6.2 below to make their voice heard on

LGBTQ policy. I created the variable, All Venues & LGBTQ Policy, by finding the average of

all statements. Once averaged, the variable is on a 0 to 10 scale where "0" equals the belief that

they never go to All Venues to make their voice heard on LGBTQ policy, and "10" represents

the view that they frequently go to All Venues to make their voice heard LGBTQ policy.

Table 6.2: Statements Comprising Venue Shopping
Local Government
National Government
The House of Representatives
The Senate
The Prime Minister
The President
The High Court of Justice

Lower (Magistrate)Courts	
Private Sector/Industry	
Religious Organizations	
LGBTQ Organizations	
The People's National Movement	
The United National Congress	

I hypothesize that individuals who are more likely to go to All Venues to make their voice heard on LGBTQ policy will be more likely to have trust in Local Government, National Government, and Groups/Parties to influence general government policy. In terms of Value-Sharing, individuals who are more likely to go to All Venues to make their voice heard on LGBTQ policy are more likely to believe that Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Groups/Parties share their values toward LGBTQ rights (Schattschneider 1975; Holyoke et al. 2012; Buffardi et al. 2015; Ley and Weber 2015).

Influence of Religion

The Morality Politics literature has highlighted the importance of values derived from religion to morality issues in the policymaking processes, such as LGBTQ rights (Tatalovich and Daynes 2014; Mooney 2001; Sharp 2005; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996). In TT's unitary system where the national government dominates LGBTQ policymaking, individuals may have different views of how their religious views impact local and national government decisions regarding LGBTQ rights. As a result, I measured Influence of Religion in this chapter by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree, with "1" representing "Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing "Strongly Agree", with two statements: Religion & Local Government ("The teachings of my religion matter to local government when it decides LGBTQ policy"), and Religion & National Government ("The teachings of my religion matter to national government when it decides LGBTQ policy.") These variables are coded on a 1 to 5

scale where "1" represents the belief that the teachings of their religion does not matter to local and national government, and "5" represents the view that the teachings of their religion matters to local and national government when it decides LGBTQ policy.

I hypothesize that individuals who believe that the teachings of their religion matter to local government will be more likely to have trust in Local Government Institutions, less likely to have trust in National Government Institutions, and less likely to have trust in Groups/Parties to influence general government policy. Individuals who believe that the teachings of their religion matter to national government will be less likely to have trust in Local Government, more likely to have trust in National Government, and less likely to have trust in Groups/Parties to influence general government policy. When it comes to Value Sharing, I hypothesize that individuals who believe that the teachings of their religion matter to local government are more likely to believe that Local Government shares their values toward LGBTQ rights, less likely to believe that National Government shares their values, and less likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values. I also hypothesize that individuals who believe that the teachings of their religion matter to national government are less likely to believe that Local Government shares their values toward LGBTQ rights, more likely to believe that National Government shares their values, and less likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.

Interest Groups

The Scope of Conflict literature has demonstrated the role of interest groups in determining policy outcomes (Schlozman 1984; Danielian and Page 1994; Strolovitch 2006). I measured Interest Groups in this chapter by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree, with "1" representing "Strongly Disagree" and "5" representing "Strongly Agree" with 4 statements listed in Table 6.3 below. Once averaged, the variable, Influence

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Government, is coded on a 1 to 5 scale with "1" representing the belief that interest groups do not influence local and national government decisions in general and regarding LGBTQ policy, and "5" representing the view that interest groups exert significant influence in local and national government decisions in general and regarding LGBTQ policy.

Table 6.3: Statements Comprising Interest Groups
Interest groups influence local government decisions in general.
Interest groups influence local government decisions regarding LGBTQ policy
Interest groups influence national government decisions in general.
Interest groups influence national government decisions regarding LGBTQ policy.

I hypothesize that individuals who believe that interest groups influence local and national government decisions in general and regarding LGBTQ policy are less likely to have trust in Local Government and National Government, and more likely to have trust in Groups/Parties to influence general government policy. In terms of Value-Sharing, I hypothesize that individuals who believe that interest groups influence local and national government decisions in general and regarding LGBTQ policy are less likely to believe that Local and National Government shares their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.

Now that I have explained my dependent and independent variables, I will now turn to a description of my control variables that might influence Trust and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups. I included the same control variables listed and defined in Table 4.2 in Chapter 4, and they were used in the models in this chapter in the same way as the Personal Support for LGBTQ rights model in Chapter 5. Thus, since I have already justified these variables based on the literature and explained how I measured and coded them in the previous chapters, I will now propose my hypotheses listed in Table 6.4 below illustrating how each

control variable might influence my models on Trust and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups

in this chapter.

Table 6.4: Control Variable Hypothesis for Trust and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups	
Control Variables	**Hypotheses**
LGBTQ Social Contact	➢ Individuals who have high social contact with LGBTQ individuals are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy. ➢ Individuals who have high social contact with LGBTQ individuals are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values toward LGBTQ rights.
Marital Status	➢ Individuals who are married are more likely to trust Local Government, National Government, and Groups/Parties to influence general government policy. ➢ Individuals who are married are more likely to believe that Local Government, National Government, and Groups/Parties share their values toward LGBTQ rights.

Race/Ethnicity	➢ Africans
	     o Africans are more likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and less likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	     o Africans are more likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and less likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
	 ➢ East Indians
	     o East Indians are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	     o East Indians are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.

Religion	➢ Catholics
	     o Catholics are more likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and less likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	     o Catholics are more likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their

	values toward LGBTQ rights, and less likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
	➢ Muslims
	o Muslims are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	o Muslims are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
	➢ Hindus
	o Hindus are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	o Hindus are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
	➢ Atheists
	o Atheists are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	o Atheists are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
Gender	➢ Female
	o Females are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	o Females are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
Sexual Orientation	➢ Non-Heterosexual
	o Non-Heterosexuals are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	o Non-Heterosexuals are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share

	their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
Education	➤ More educated individuals are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy. ➤ More educated individuals are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
Foreign Education	➤ Individuals who received foreign education are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy. ➤ Individuals who received foreign education are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
Income	➤ Individuals who have a higher income are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy. ➤ Individuals who have a higher income are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.

Political Ideology	➤ Conservative
	   ○ Conservatives are more likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and less likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	   ○ Conservatives are more likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and less likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
	➤ Liberals
	   ○ Liberals are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	   ○ Liberals are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.

Political Party Identification	➢ PNM
	o PNM Supporters are more likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and less likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	o PNM Supporters are more likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and less likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
	➢ UNC
	o UNC Supporters are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	o UNC Supporters are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
Urbanism	Whether respondents live in an urban or rural area.
	➢ Urban
	o Individuals who live in urban areas are more likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and less likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	o Individuals who live in urban areas are less likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and more likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.
	➢ Rural
	o Individuals who live in rural areas are less likely to trust Local Government and National Government, and more likely to trust Groups/Parties to influence general government policy.
	o Individuals who live in rural areas are more likely to believe that Local Government and National Government share their values toward LGBTQ rights, and less likely to believe that Groups/Parties share their values.

Now that I described my dependent, independent, and control variables, I will now turn

to an explanation of my models. Based on the coding of my dependent variables, I ran Tobit

regressions on Trust in Institutions/Groups, the results of which can be found in Table 6.5 and

6.6, and I ran Tobit regressions on Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups, the results of which can be found in Table 6.7 and 6.8.

Trust in Institutions/Groups to Influence General Policy

       I ran three models on Trust in Institutions/Groups which can be found in Table 6.5 and 6.6: Determinants of Trust in Institutions/Groups to Influence General Policy. I ran one model investigating the influence of my independent variables on Trust in Local Government (Local Government; Lower Magistrate Courts), one model on National Government (National Government; The House of Representatives; The Senate; The Prime Minister; Leader of the Opposition; The President; The High Court of Justice), and one model on Interest Groups/Political Parties (Private Sector/Industry; Religious Organizations; LGBTQ Organizations; The People's National Movement; The United National Congress) to influence government policy in general.

Table 6.5: Determinants of Trust in Institutions/Groups to Influence General Policy						
	Trust in Local		**Trust in National**		**Trust in Groups**	
	Coef.	Prob.	Coef.	Prob.	Coef.	Prob.
National Government Power	.606 (.499)	.231	.931 (.545)	.095	.437 (.425)	.310
Local Government Power	.877 (.543)	.114	.140 (.556)	.802	.338 (.439)	.445
Independence of Institutions	-.007 (.157)	.963	.023 (.132)	.858	-.146 (.155)	.351
Venue Shopping						
All Venues & LGBTQ Policy	.253 (.161)	.124	.290 (.133)	.036	.435 (.124)	.001
Heavenly Chorus						
Elites/Groups	.092 (.378)	.808	.601 (.353)	.097	.331 (.286)	.255
Influence of Religion						
Religion & Local Government	2.39 (.872)	.009	1.036 (.827)	.218	.067 (.584)	.909
Religion & National Government	-1.092 (.847)	.205	-.085 (.807)	.916	.876 (.584)	.141
Interest Groups						
Influence Government	.117 (.375)	.755	.160 (.312)	.610	-.380 (.272)	.170
LGBTQ Social Contact	.337 (1.027)	.744	-.290 (.981)	.769	.966 (.819)	.245
Race						
African	-1.020 (.865)	.246	-.124 (.821)	.880	-.651 (.739)	.384
East Indian	-1.860 (.555)	.002	-2.602 (.527)	.000	-1.81 (.524)	.001
Number of Observations	66		64		66	
F	10.59	.000	9.78	.000	5.92	.000
Pseudo R^2	.206		.287		.217	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-111.193		-100.993		-108.586	

Note: Models were estimated using a Tobit Regression Model with Robust Standard Errors. The dependent variables, Trust in Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Groups/Parties, are an average of statements based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (No Trust At All) to 10 (Completely Trust), please rate your level of trust in each of these groups to influence government policy in general."

Table 6.6: Determinants of Trust in Institutions/Groups to Influence General Policy Continued

	Trust in Local		Trust in National		Trust in Groups	
	Coef.	Prob.	Coef.	Prob.	Coef.	Prob.
Religion						
Catholic	-1.183 (.544)	.036	-2.017 (.480)	.000	-1.120 (.419)	.011
Muslim	.224 (.543)	.681	1.374 (.547)	.016	1.373 (.498)	.009
Hindu	.224 (.543)	.681	-.428 (.409)	.302	-.510 (.355)	.159
Atheist	1.034 (.497)	.044	.805 (.371)	.037	.022 (.375)	.952
Gender & Sexual Orientation						
Female	-.462 (.242)	.063	-.334 (.228)	.150	-.045 (.227)	.842
Non-Heterosexual	-.317 (.608)	.604	.025 (.477)	.958	-.020 (.495)	.968
Party Identification						
People's National Movement	.341 (.552)	.540	.918 (.435)	.041	.690 (.402)	.094
United National Congress	-.387 (.543)	.480	-.968 (.425)	.028	-.718 (.401)	.081
Other Demographics						
Married	.880 (.661)	.190	.709 (.594)	.240	.265 (.526)	.616
Education	-.169 (.074)	.029	-.098 (.074)	.193	.016 (.081)	.837
Foreign Education	1.21 (.578)	.042	.822 (.563)	.153	.537 (.499)	.288
Income	.816 (.272)	.005	.525 (.221)	.023	.209 (.218)	.202
Political Ideology	.207 (.279)	.463	.145 (.265)	.587	.209 (.247)	.404
Urbanism	.596 (.471)	.213	1.66 (.413)	.000	1.314 (.332)	.000
Number of Observations	66		64		66	
F	10.59	.000	9.78	.000	5.92	.000
Pseudo R^2	.206		.287		.217	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-111.193		-100.993		-108.586	

Note: Models were estimated using a Tobit Regression Model with Robust Standard Errors. The dependent variables, Trust in Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Groups/Parties, are an average of statements based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (No Trust At All) to 10 (Completely Trust), please rate your level of trust in each of these groups to influence government policy in general."

As shown in Table 6.5 and 6.6, National Government Power achieved statistical

significance in one model, Trust in National. Respondents who believe that national government

is more powerful than local government, national government has grown more powerful in the

past ten years, national government seeks to limit the resources of local government, national

government seeks to limit the responsibilities of local government, national government seeks to

control local government, and national government officials are responsible for the changes in

their neighborhood are more likely to trust national government institutions (National

Government, The House of Representatives; The Senate; The Prime Minister; Leader of the

Opposition; The President; The High Court of Justice) to influence government policy in general.

National Government Power did not achieve significance in the Trust in Local and Trust in

Groups models. Similarly, Local Government Power and Independence of Institutions did not

achieve statistical significance in any of the three models.

However, Venue Shopping was statistically significant in two of the three models. As a

result, respondents who indicated that they frequently go to local and national government

institutions, as well as interest groups and political parties to make their voice heard on general

government policy are more likely to have greater trust in national government institutions and

interest groups/political parties on general government policy. In terms of the Heavenly Chorus,

this variable achieved statistical significance in one model, Trust in National Government

Institutions. As a result, respondents who believe that Wealthy Elites, Educated Elites,

Business/Corporate Interests, LGBTQ Organizations, Religious Organizations are deciding

LGBTQ policy are more likely to trust National Government Institutions to influence

government policy in general. In terms of the Influence of Religion, this variable achieved

significance in only one model, Trust in Local Institutions. As a result, respondents who believe

that the teachings of their religion matters to local government when it decides LGBTQ policy are more likely to trust Local Government Institutions to influence government policy in general.

Although Interest Groups and LGBTQ Social Contact did not achieve significance in any of the three models, Race was statistically significant. East Indians are less likely to trust Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Interest Groups/Parties to influence government policy in general. In terms of Religion, Catholics are also less likely to trust Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Interest Groups/Parties. However, Muslims are more likely to trust National Government Institutions and Interest Groups/Political Parties. Atheists are more likely to trust Local Government Institutions and National Government Institutions to influence government policy in general.

In terms of Gender, women are less likely to trust Local Government Institutions. Sexual Orientation was not significant in any of the three models. In terms of Party Identification, respondents who support the People's National Movement are more likely to trust National Government Institutions and Interest Groups/Political Parties. At the same time, respondents who support the United National Congress are less likely to support National Government Institutions and Interest Groups/Political Parties.

In terms of Education, respondents who are more educated are less likely to trust Local Government Institutions. In addition, respondents who have received formal education outside of Trinidad & Tobago are more likely to trust Local Government Institutions. In terms of Income, respondents who have a higher average household income are more likely to trust Local Government Institutions and National Government Institutions. Political Ideology did not achieve significance; however, Urbanism was statistically significant in two models. As a result,

respondents who live in more urban than rural areas are more likely to trust National

Government Institutions as well Interest Groups/Political Parties.

Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups to Influence LGBTQ Policy

I ran three models on Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups which can be found in

Table 6.7 and 6.8: Determinants of Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups to Influence LGBTQ

Policy. I ran one model investigating the influence of my independent variables on Trust in Local

Government (Local Government; Lower Magistrate Courts), one model on National Government

(National Government; The House of Representatives; The Senate; The Prime Minister; Leader

of the Opposition; The President; The High Court of Justice), and one model on Interest

Groups/Political Parties (Private Sector/Industry; Religious Organizations; LGBTQ

Organizations; The People's National Movement; The United National Congress) to influence

government policy in general.

Table 6.7: Determinants of Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups to Influence LGBTQ Policy

	Values Local		Values National		Values Groups	
	Coef.	Prob.	Coef.	Prob.	Coef.	Prob.
National Government Power	-.055 (.476)	.908	.154 (.407)	.707	-.632 (.307)	.046
Local Government Power	-.479 (.704)	.500	-.577 (.546)	.296	-.007 (.411)	.985
Independence of Institutions	.167 (.237)	.483	.109 (.207)	.602	-.011 (.188)	.950
Venue Shopping						
All Venues & LGBTQ Policy	.330 (.106)	.003	.380 (.103)	.001	.416 (.083)	.000
Heavenly Chorus						
Elites/Groups	.088 (.374)	.815	.240 (.308)	.440	.154 (.211)	.469
Influence of Religion						
Religion & Local Government	1.492 (.742)	.051	.705 (.643)	.280	.492 (.454)	.285
Religion & National Government	-1.112 (.618)	.079	-.623 (.591)	.298	-.148 (.432)	.732
Interest Groups						
Influence Government	.505 (.356)	.163	.493 (.288)	.094	-.014 (.224)	.950
LGBTQ Social Contact	-1.967 (1.219)	.114	-2.436 (.971)	.016	-.526 (.786)	.507
Number of Observations	67		66		66	
F	9.69	.000	7.72	.000	8.46	.000
Pseudo R^2	0.215		0.245		0.188	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-103.304		-101.624		-100.564	

Note: Models were estimated using a Tobit Regression Model with Robust Standard Errors. The dependent variables, Trust in Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Groups/Parties, are an average of statements based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (Does Not At All Share Your Values) to 10 (Share Your Values Completely), please rate how much each group shares your values toward LGBTQ policies (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services)."

Table 6.8: Determinants of Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups to Influence LGBTQ Policy
Continued

	Values Local		Values National		Values Groups	
	Coef.	Prob.	Coef.	Prob.	Coef.	Prob.
Race						
African	-.740 (.698)	.295	-.456 (.600)	.452	-.573 (.565)	.316
East Indian	-1.495 (.686)	.035	-1.753 (.554)	.003	-.307 (.400)	.447
Religion						
Catholic	-.791 (.512)	.130	-.339 (.437)	.441	-.481 (.417)	.255
Muslim	.778 (.593)	.197	1.010 (.468)	.037	.680 (.333)	.048
Hindu	-.136 (.433)	.754	-.205 (.360)	.571	-.701 (.429)	.110
Atheist	.205 (.646)	.753	-.314 (.449)	.488	.452 (.351)	.206
Gender & Sexual Orientation						
Female	-.007 (.261)	.978	-.295 (.213)	.174	-.078 (.183)	.669
Non-Heterosexual	-1.863 (.810)	.027	-1.574 (.705)	.031	-1.162 (.544)	.039
Party Identification						
People's National Movement	-.548 (.467)	.248	-.351 (.405)	.391	.256 (.323)	.432
United National Congress	.455 (.485)	.353	.259 (.409)	0.530	-.335 (.310)	.286
Other Demographics						
Married	-.694 (.751)	.361	-.379 (.609)	.537	.206 (.549)	.709
Education	-.077 (.100)	.443	-.023 (.090)	.800	.017 (.079)	.823
Foreign Education	-.270 (.618)	.664	-.607 (.540)	.268	.157 (.444)	.725
Income	1.108 (.269)	.000	.810 (.224)	.001	.239 (.177)	.184
Political Ideology	-.129 (.339)	.705	-.077 (.259)	.768	.070 (.203)	.732
Urbanism	1.611 (.660)	.019	1.351 (.575)	.024	1.201 (.322)	.001
Number of Observations	67		66		66	
F	9.69	.000	7.72	.000	8.46	.000
Pseudo R^2	0.215		0.245		0.188	
Log Pseudolikelihood	-103.304		-101.624		-100.564	

Note: Models were estimated using a Tobit Regression Model with Robust Standard Errors. The dependent variables, Trust in Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Groups/Parties, are an average of statements based on the survey question, "On a scale of 0 (Does Not At All Share Your Values) to 10 (Share Your Values Completely), please rate how much each group shares your values toward LGBTQ policies (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services)."

As shown in Table 6.7 and 6.8, National Government Power achieved significance in one model, Value-Sharing with Groups. As a result, respondents who believe that national government is more powerful than local government, national government has grown more powerful in the past ten years, national government seeks to limit the resources of local government, national government seeks to limit the responsibilities of local government, national government seeks to control local government, and national government officials are responsible for the changes in their neighborhood are less likely to believe that Interest Groups/Political Parties share their values toward LGBTQ rights. Local Government Power and Independence of Institutions did not achieve significance in any of the three models for Value-Sharing.

However, Venue Shopping was statistically significant in all three models. As a result, respondents who indicated that they frequently go to local and national government institutions, as well as interest groups and political parties to make their voice heard on LGBTQ government policy are more likely to believe that all of these institutions and groups share their values toward LGBTQ rights. Heavenly Chorus did not achieve significance in any of the models. However, in terms of Influence of Religion, Matters to Local Government and Matters to National Government was statistically significant in the Value-Sharing with Local Government Institutions model. As a result, respondents who believe that the teachings of their religion matter to local government when it decides LGBTQ policy are more likely to believe that Local Government Institutions share their values toward LGBTQ rights. On the other hand, respondents who believe that the teachings of their religion matter to national government when it decides LGBTQ policy are less likely to believe that Local Government Institutions share their values toward LGBTQ rights.

Interest Groups achieved significance in one model, Value-Sharing with National Government Institutions. As a result, respondents who believe that interest groups influence local government decisions in general, interest groups influence local government decisions regarding LGBTQ policy, interest groups influence national government decisions in general, and interest groups influence national government decisions regarding LGBTQ policy are more likely to believe that National Government Institutions share their values toward LGBTQ rights. Similarly, LGBTQ Social Contact only achieved statistical significance in the National Government Institutions model. As a result, respondents who indicated that their immediate family member(s) identify as LGBTQ; close relative(s)identify as LGBTQ; close friend(s) identify as LGBTQ; co-worker(s) identify as LGBTQ; member(s) of their religious organization identify as LGBTQ; and member(s) of their social clubs/civic groups identify as LGBTQ are less likely to believe that National Government Institutions share their values toward LGBTQ rights.

In terms of Race, African was not significant; however, East Indians are less likely to believe that Local Government Institutions and National Government Institutions share their values toward LGBTQ rights. In terms of Religion, Catholic, Hindu and Atheist were not significant. However, Muslims are more likely to believe that National Government Institutions and Interest Groups/Political Parties share their values toward LGBTQ rights. Female was not significant; however, Non-Heterosexual individuals are less likely to believe that Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Interest Groups/Political Parties share their values toward LGBTQ rights. Party Identification, Married, Education, and Foreign Education was not significant in any of the three Value-Sharing models.

However, Income was statistically significant in two models. As a result, respondents who have a higher average household monthly income are more likely to believe that Local

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Government Institutions and National Government Institutions share their values toward LGBTQ rights. Political Ideology did not achieve significance, whereas Urbanism was statistically significant in all three models. As a result, respondents who live in more urban than rural areas are more likely to believe that Local Government Institutions, National Government Institutions, and Interest Groups/Political Parties share their values toward LGBTQ rights.

Chapter 7: Discussion

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate **Does Scope of Conflict and Morality Politics help explain the expansion, or contraction, of LGBTQ rights in Trinidad & Tobago's Unitary System?** I ran three models, Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights, Trust in Institutions/Groups, and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups, and presented descriptive statistics of my dependent variables and the results of regression analyses in Chapter 5 and 6. In this chapter, I will discuss and contextualize my results.

In Chapter 5, I presented visual representations of my first dependent variable, Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights. I found high levels of support among respondents for 20 out of 22 LGBTQ policies, including Same-Sex Relationships, Anti-Discrimination Protections, LGBTQ Family Policies, Transgender Policies, and Other LGBTQ Policies such as LGBTQ Sex Education and LGBTQ Businesses. There were only 2 policies that received low levels of support in the Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index: Transgender Children Health with and without Parental Consent. As a result, these descriptive statistics illustrate that TT citizens who participated in my survey have generally high levels of support for a wide variety of LGBTQ policies, except those that affect the lives of Transgender Children.

There are two interesting takeaways from this data. First, since respondents appear highly supportive of LGBTQ rights in general, it raises the question of why the TT government, a parliamentary, unitary democracy, has not passed any LGBTQ rights apart from the decriminalization of same-sex intimacy in 2018. Based on my data, if local or national government deviated from the status quo of silence on LGBTQ issues and attempted to pass any LGBTQ policy in the index except those regarding Transgender children, TT citizens are likely to support these policies. Therefore, it appears that citizens' attitudes toward LGBTQ rights is

not the driving force behind LGBTQ policymaking in TT. Rather, the current lack of LGBTQ

rights in TT is being determined by factors other than public input and democratic choice. In

TT's unitary, parliamentary system where the two main political parties, the People's National

Movement (PNM) and the United National Congress (UNC), have largely chosen silence as their

stance on LGBTQ rights and essentially dominate all three branches of local and national

government, the overall lack of LGBTQ rights in TT can be better attributed to will of the parties

than the will of the average TT citizen.

Understanding why the parties have taken a vow of silence on LGBTQ issues is a

question reserved for future research. However, I speculate that the parties, given their roots in

distinct racial communities, continue to prioritize racial identity over other characteristics such as

gender identity and sexual orientation. Essentially, as long as PNM and UNC continue to "take

care" of Africans and East Indians respectively, whether they are the majority party or the

opposition, they will continue to receive support from their respective voting bases and therefore

have no real incentive to take on controversial morality politics issues such as LGBTQ rights.

LGBTQ individuals who support either party likely constitute a minority of each voting base,

and their need for rights and protections are easily outweighed by the needs and preferences of

the heterosexual majority, at least as the parties perceive those needs and preferences. My data

illustrates high levels of support for LGBTQ rights even among heterosexual and

heteronormative supporters of PNM and UNC, and I argue that each party is unlikely to change

their stance from silence/opposition to support for LGBTQ rights until the other party does so.

The second major takeaway from my descriptive statistics on Personal Support for

LGBTQ rights is regarding Transgender Children. The 2 policies that received the lowest levels

of support in the index are: "Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender

should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) with the consent of their parents/guardians"; and "Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) **without** the consent of their parents/guardians." It is not particularly surprising that respondents were less supportive of rights for Transgender children, given that Transgender individuals generally face the most discrimination compared to other sectors of the LGBTQ community, and the issue of children identifying as Transgender is a particularly sensitive issue for heterosexual individuals who often question whether a child "can really know" if they are Transgender or not. Questioning the authority of children to determine their gender identity leads to serious, real life repercussions for these individuals, since it is much harder to change one's physical gender after they have undergone puberty rather than before through therapy such as hormone blockers. However, perhaps the most interesting aspect of my data on policies regarding healthcare services for Transgender children is in the distinction between parental consent and non-parental consent. Although support for both iterations of the policy were low, individuals were far less supportive of allowing Transgender children to access Transgender-specific healthcare without parental consent. Again, this has serious implications for Transgender youth in the real world, since many children who identify as Transgender grow up in Transphobic homes where they are not legally allowed to access healthcare services without parental consent until they reach the age of 18 and are "liberated" from their parents, and accessing these healthcare services earlier in their child development can make their transition easier than in adulthood.

Now that I have explained and contextualized some trends in my descriptive statistics on Personal Support for LGBTQ rights, I will turn to a discussion of my model presented in Table 5.20 in Chapter 5. Several independent variables achieved significance: Independence of

Institutions, Heavenly Chorus (Local Government), Morality (Individual Secular Beliefs; Individual Human/Civil Rights Beliefs; Others' Religious Beliefs), Media (Factual Coverage), Influence of Religion (Marriage Tolerance; Organizations & Local LGBTQ Policy; Organizations & National LGBTQ Policy), and Policy Environment (LGBTQ Diversity). Respondents who believe that government institutions are independent of each other are more likely to support LGBTQ rights, suggesting that TT citizens are aware that the majority party in national government controls local government as well as all three branches of government, and since the national government's stance on LGBTQ issues is silence or opposition, this resonates throughout the unitary system. However, if government institutions are independent of each other, this would create more potential for LGBTQ rights to be passed, as in the case of the High Court ruling in 2018 decriminalizing same-sex intimacy.

The model also shows that respondents who believe that a Heavenly Chorus within local government is deciding LGBTQ rights are more likely to support LGBTQ rights. They may be more supportive of LGBTQ rights in order to counteract the impact of the Heavenly Chorus which maintains the status quo of silence or opposition to LGBTQ issues. In terms of Morality, the finding that respondents whose personal secular/non-religious beliefs influence their attitudes towards LGBTQ rights are less likely to support LGBTQ rights is surprising. I expected that individuals who hold secular beliefs regarding LGBTQ rights would be more supportive, since their views are divorced from religious doctrine which propagates anti-LGBTQ attitudes. However, it may be the case that these individuals have adopted their secular beliefs from socializing institutions other than religion, such as family, education or media, which have proliferated anti-LGBTQ attitudes. More research needs to be done in this area, investigating how citizens define "secular/non-religious beliefs" and where they acquire these beliefs. My

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findings that citizens who believe that LGBTQ rights is a human/civil rights issue and other

people hold religious beliefs about LGBTQ rights are more likely to support LGBTQ rights is

more consistent with my hypotheses. The human/civil rights argument for LGBTQ rights yields

greater support because it emphasizes the equality of all human beings, regardless of their gender

identity or sexual orientation. In addition, respondents who perceive that other people frame

LGBTQ rights within their religious and often anti-LGBTQ beliefs may be more supportive of

LGBTQ rights to offset the impact of religion.

In terms of News Coverage, respondents who believe that coverage of LGBTQ issues is

factual are more likely to support LGBTQ rights because the news media might be portraying

LGBTQ issues in a positive light, thereby conditioning individuals to hold positive attitudes

toward the LGBTQ community, or the mere representation of LGBTQ individuals in media

produces a socializing effect. On the other hand, respondents who are predisposed to supporting

LGBTQ rights may only perceive positive news about the LGBTQ community as factual. Future

research should unpack the black box of news coverage and support for LGBTQ rights by asking

respondents to indicate the sources from which they consume news, and how they perceive

LGBTQ representation across sources. Another particularly interesting finding in the model is

that respondents who believe that individuals from different religious and ethnic backgrounds

should be allowed to get married are more likely to support LGBTQ rights. This finding suggests

that individuals who are supportive of diverse unions, and diversity in general, include LGBTQ

individuals in their definition of diversity, an ideal echoed in the words of TT's national anthem:

"Here Every Creed and Race Find an Equal Place". Similarly, my finding that respondents who

perceive that the area in which they live has a large LGBTQ community are more likely to

support LGBTQ rights substantiates Intergroup Contact theory. Finally, in terms of the influence

of religious organizations, respondents who believe these organizations influence local government LGBTQ policy may be less likely to support LGBTQ rights because their views either align with these organizations, or they might perceive that the hold of these organizations over local government is so strong that even if they did support LGBTQ rights, it would make little difference. On the other hand, respondents who believe that religious organizations influence national government LGBTQ policy may be more likely to support LGBTQ rights because they recognize that national government is the only real venue that matters, and supporting LGBTQ rights at the national level will yield a greater return on the investment of their political engagement than at the local level.

In Chapter 6, I presented descriptive statistics of my dependent variables and the results of my models on Trust and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups. My data shows that most respondents either do not trust Local Government at all, or highly trust Local Government, to influence government policy in general. This finding, despite being mixed, is highly revealing because it suggests that TT citizens recognize that local government is constrained in resources, responsibility, and discretionary power when it comes to policymaking under the unitary system, and at the same time, recognize the ability and potential for local government to impact society given that they interact most closely with this level of government in their daily lives. On the other hand, the majority of respondents reported that they do not trust National Government at all, suggesting that TT citizens are either highly disillusioned with the majority party that currently rules national government, or with the institution of national government itself. Lack of trust in the institution might indicate that TT citizens recognize the authoritarian power of national government under the unitary system and its ability to unilaterally pass whatever policies it wants. Like Trust in Local Government, Trust in Groups/Parties is mixed, with most

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respondents falling somewhere between "Not At All Competent" and "Completely Competent."

This finding suggests that TT citizens might recognize the ability of Interest Groups and Political

Parties to influence government policy in a way that is contrary to the policy agenda of national

and local government, but at the same time, are ultimately constrained in their influence by the

unitary system.

In terms of Value-Sharing, most respondents believe that Local Government does not at

all share their values regarding LGBTQ rights. This suggests that regardless of whether

respondents have positive or negative values toward the LGBTQ community, they perceive

Local Government as largely incompetent in translating these values into substantive policy

action. When it comes to National Government, results are mixed, with most respondents either

believing that National Government completely shares their values or does not share their values

at all. This finding suggests that while many respondents agree with the national government's

stance of silence or opposition to LGBTQ rights, even more respondents disagree. Results are

also mixed for Value-Sharing with Groups/Institutions, with most respondents falling

somewhere between "Share Your values Completely" and "Does Not Share Your Values At

All." This suggests that while many respondents agree with the stance of Interest

Groups/Political Parties on LGBTQ rights, many respondents also disagree and recognize the

potential for Groups/Parties to create policy change independent of the influence of government.

Now that I have explained my descriptive statistics for Trust and Value-Sharing with

Groups/Institutions, I will turn to a discussion of my models. As presented in Chapter 6, I ran

three models on Trust in Institutions/Groups, and several independent variables achieved

significance: National Government Power, Venue Shopping, Heavenly Chorus, and Influence of

Religion. Respondents who believe that national government is powerful are more likely to trust

national government to influence government policy in general because they may recognize that the national government holds all the power under the unitary system. In terms of Venue Shopping, respondents who go to all venues to make their voice heard on general government policy are more likely to trust national government and interest groups/parties because they are highly politically engaged, and they recognize the utility of national government venues in the unitary system as well as groups/parties as viable venues to influence government decisions. Heavenly Chorus also achieved significance, and respondents who believe that a Chorus outside of local and national government is deciding LGBTQ policy are more likely to trust national government institutions because the effect of this Chorus is likely to manifest in national government policies. Another interesting finding is that respondents who believe their religion matters to local government when it decides LGBTQ policy are more likely to trust local government to influence policy in general. If citizens feel that their local government authorities care about their personal and religious beliefs, they will trust these authorities more.

Several independent variables also achieved significance in the Value-Sharing model: National Government Power, Venue Shopping, Influence of Religion, and Interest Groups. Respondents who believe that national government is powerful are less likely to believe that Interest Groups/Political Parties share their values toward LGBTQ rights because they recognize that Groups/Parties have a minimal influence on the policymaking process dominated by the national government. In terms of Venue Shopping, respondents who frequently go to local and national government institutions, and groups/parties to make their voice heard on LGBTQ policy are more likely to believe that all these institutions and groups share their values toward LGBTQ rights. This finding suggests that citizens are strategic and likely to shop at venues where they feel that their policy preferences will be prioritized. When it comes to the Influence of Religion,

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respondents who believe that the teachings of their religion matter to local government LGBTQ policy are more likely to believe that local government shares their values toward LGBTQ rights because they recognize the ability of local government institutions to more closely reflect the preferences of their constituents. At the same time, respondents who believe that their religion matters to national government LGBTQ policy are less likely to believe that local government shares their values, since they recognize that national government holds all the power in the policymaking process and the alignment of their values with national government is more important than with local government. Another interesting finding in the Value-Sharing model is that respondents who believe that interest groups influence local and national government decisions in general and regarding LGBTQ policy are more likely to believe that national government shares their values toward the LGBTQ community. This suggests that while TT citizens recognize the ability of interest groups to influence government policy, they understand that national government holds all the power and the alignment of their values with national government is what matters most.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This dissertation has investigated **Does Scope of Conflict and Morality Politics help explain the expansion, or contraction, of LGBTQ rights in Trinidad & Tobago's Unitary System?** In Chapter 2, I explore the History of Gender and Sexuality in the Caribbean, highlighting the fact that indigenous peoples of the Caribbean and groups of laborers who were transplanted to the Caribbean to work on plantations during the colonial project understood, practiced, and respected gender and sexual fluidity prior to colonization. I then bring history into the present and provide a brief description of the Contemporary State of LGBTQ Rights in TT, including Laws and Legal Cases, Public Opinion, LGBTQ Activism, LGBTQ Events and Establishments, and the Political Climate. In Chapter 3, I present a review of the literature on Institutional Design, Scope of Conflict, and Morality Politics from which I derive my hypotheses on how these concepts might influence the expansion or contraction of LGBTQ Rights in TT. In Chapter 4, I explain how I collected my data to test these hypotheses including a description of my survey instrument, the methods utilized to distribute the survey, and the IRB certification process. In Chapter 5, I present some descriptive statistics and the results of my model on Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights. In Chapter 6, I present some descriptive statistics and the results of my models on Trust and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups. In Chapter 7, I discuss and contextualize the findings of my descriptive statistics and models in Chapter 4 and 5.

There are several interesting takeaways from the data presented on Support for LGBTQ Rights and Trust/Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups. However, these findings should be taken with a grain of salt, given the small sample size of 80 respondents and the potential that sample bias was introduced since the survey was distributed through my personal social networks. For example, my descriptive statistics in Chapter 5 show high levels of support for 20

out of 22 LGBTQ policies, which might seem unusually high given the prevalence of anti-LGBTQ attitudes in TT. This might reflect the fact that my personal social networks are predisposed to support LGBTQ rights, the survey did not reach individuals who are more likely to oppose LGBTQ rights, or anti-LGBTQ individuals did not complete the survey and only submitted partial responses that could not be included in my models. Without a clearer understanding of exactly what kinds of individuals received the survey, how they received it, and their likelihood to complete the survey, my descriptive statistics in Chapter 5 may not necessarily be representative of the broader TT population which might be more opposed to LGBTQ rights than my sample suggests. As a result, my findings only provide an indication of how a small segment of the TT population perceives LGBTQ rights and a framework for how Support for LGBTQ rights can be tested in a larger, more representative sample. At the same time, in terms of my quantitative analysis in Chapter 5 which focuses on individual level analysis of Support for LGBTQ rights, I controlled for several demographic factors and alternative theories that scholars have shown to influence Support for LGBTQ rights in other contexts. Therefore, the findings of my model has slightly more ground to stand on than my descriptive statistics, but again, their generalizability to the broader TT population should be questioned until a larger sample can be acquired.

We should approach the generalizability of my descriptive statistics and quantitative analysis in Chapter 6 with the same cautiousness. However, they can provide at least a baseline indication of how a small segment of the TT populations perceives Trust and Value-Sharing with Institutions/Groups. A particularly interesting takeaway from this chapter is that respondents' views toward Trust and Value-Sharing is highly mixed, suggesting that the individuals included in my sample have polarized perceptions toward the competence of Institutions/Groups to

influence general government policy and the extent to which Institutions/Groups share respondents' values toward the LGBTQ community. The generalizability of these findings cannot be validated without a larger, more representative sample, but they provide an indication that there at least some TT citizens who see the importance of local government and its potential to make change even in a unitary system like TT where the national government holds all the power. At the same time, there are some TT citizens who do not see the importance of national government. This raises interesting questions about the potential for local government reform and empowering local government authorities which should be examined in future research utilizing a larger sample and more rigorous empirical techniques.

My findings in Chapter 5 and 6, while taking their limitations into account, provide a jumping point to theorize how LGBTQ activists might be able to more successfully navigate the LGBTQ policymaking environment in TT. First, LGBTQ activists in TT can work to empower local government institutions and grant them more resources, responsibilities, and discretionary policymaking power to influence LGBTQ rights. In TT's unitary, parliamentary system where the national government holds all the power, increasing the powers of local government can lead to more substantive policy change when it comes to LGBTQ rights and other policy areas, similar to the federal system in the US where local government can experiment with a variety of policies and spread these policies horizontally to other local government jurisdictions as well as vertically to national government. Second, LGBTQ activists can encourage the two main political parties, PNM and UNC, to coordinate and "come out" in support of LGBTQ rights at the same time, since neither party has incentive to take on a controversial stance on a morality issue if the other party does not, out of fear of losing votes. The two-party system in TT is based on racial differences, with PNM being a historically African party and UNC being a historically

East Indian party. If PNM comes out in support of LGBTQ rights, it is unlikely that their African

voting base will "cross the aisle" to UNC over an issue such as LGBTQ rights, for which my

descriptive statistics in Chapter 5 show high levels of support among both African and East

Indian citizens. The same may be true if UNC deviates from the status quo of silence or

opposition, on LGBTQ issues. However, each party is unlikely to take on this controversial

morality issue and risk losing any votes to the other party. As a result, both parties coming out at

the same time in solidarity with the LGBTQ community might be an effective way to get rights

and protections for LGBTQ individuals passed, since either one of these parties hold

authoritarian control at any given time over the national government, local government, and

interest groups, the key actors in the policymaking process in TT's unitary system.

Third, LGBTQ activists can push for more accurate and authentic LGBTQ

representation in news coverage and entertainment media, which is likely to condition TT

citizens to have more support for LGBTQ policies. Representation matters, and LGBTQ citizens

in TT who see themselves reflected positively, or at least neutrally, in media will be more likely

to have confidence and put themselves forward for public office where they can make

substantive change. At the same time, greater LGBTQ representation will normalize the

existence of LGBTQ individuals in TT for non-LGBTQ individuals and inspire them to be better

allies and live up to the promise in TT's national anthem: "Here Every Creed and Race Find an

Equal Place." Fourth, LGBTQ activists can consider adopting the argument that Generation Z is

the most diverse generation in history in terms of ethnicity, religion, gender identity and sexual

orientation, nationality, and other identity characteristics, given the impact of globalization and

exposure to different worldviews via social media. This suggests that in order for local and

national government in TT, as well as interest groups/parties, to achieve political sustainability

and remain relevant to the incoming generation of TT citizens, it may be in their best interest to incorporate more diversity and diverse perspectives into the government's policy agenda. Again, given the limitations and potential lack of generalizability of my findings, these suggestions should be taken with a grain of salt and are only meant to represent the beginning of a broader, more empirical conversation about how LGBTQ activists can improve their advocacy strategies.

This dissertation has only begun to peel back the curtain on LGBTQ rights in TT and the wider Caribbean. Given the lack of research on this topic, and the lack of funding available for research of this nature, this study is limited in several ways. I collected my data by distributing an online survey through my personal networks, potentially introducing sample bias, about a topic that TT citizens are predisposed to ignore because of the general homophobic and anti-LGBTQ tone of Trinidadian and Caribbean culture. In future iterations of this research, I will provide financial incentives for respondents to take and complete the survey, and focus on distributing the survey toward individuals who might be less likely to support LGBTQ rights such as members of various religious organizations in TT to produce a larger, more representative sample. I also collected my data during the COVID-19 pandemic, where human beings around the world are struggling to overcome a variety of physical, financial, mental, emotional, and spiritual barriers that take up energy they might have otherwise dedicated to the completion of surveys like mine. Furthermore, given the lack of previous research on LGBTQ rights in TT, my survey was built and designed starting from zero. Future research in this area will build on, and improve, my survey instrument to more accurately measure the factors that influence LGBTQ rights in TT, and incorporate other factors from the many other theories that have been excluded from this research for reasons of time and space. In addition, my future research agenda includes comparing LGBTQ rights in TT with other Caribbean countries such as

Jamaica and Barbados, comparing LGBTQ rights in TT with other unitary systems in other regions such as South Asia, as well as comparing LGBTQ rights in unitary systems with federal systems. However, every wall that was ever built started with a single brick, and that brick is all that this dissertation is meant to represent. I have stated the purpose of this research many times throughout this dissertation in the form of my research question; however, the *hope* of this research is that Trinidad & Tobago will, one day, live up to its promise in its national anthem: "Here Every Creed and Race Find an Equal Place."

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Appendices

Appendix A: Survey Instrument

Launch - ISU POLS Kissoon Dissertation Survey

QA: Consent Sheet This study has been approved by the Idaho State University Human Subjects Institutional Review Board.
Approval Date: October 13, 2021
Study Number: IRB-FY2021-215

Consent and Information Sheet

My name is Krystoff Kissoon and I am a doctoral candidate in Political Science at Idaho State University. I am a native of Trinidad & Tobago (TT), and I am currently completing my dissertation to better understand the opinions of TT citizens on TT policy regarding LGBTQ issues.

As a researcher, I am committed to the protection of human subjects participating in research. This research has been approved by the Idaho State University Institutional Review Board and also satisfies requirements for research in TT. The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

I am conducting this study to better understand your opinion on current issues. Your participation will entail completion of a questionnaire. The questionnaire is expected to take 25-30 minutes to complete.

The information that you provide will be kept confidential and anonymous. This means that I will not be collecting your name unless you choose to disclose it, and your name will not be associated with your answers. I will only use the survey data for research and educational purposes.

Completion of the survey indicates your willingness to participate in this project and that you are at least 18 years of age. If you would like additional information concerning this study, before or after it is completed, or if you have additional questions about your rights as a research participant, please feel free to contact the principal investigator, Krystoff Kissoon, by email. Thank you for your assistance with this important study!

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QA: Age Screen Are you at least eighteen years of age?

○ No (1)

○ Yes (2)

QA: Live Screen Do you currently live in Trinidad & Tobago?

○ No (1)

○ Yes (2)

QA: Read Consent Did you read the Consent and Information Sheet?

○ No (1)

○ Yes (2)

QA: Give Consent Do you agree to participate in this project?

○ No (1)

○ Yes (2)

End of Block: Consent/Info Sheet

Start of Block: Block 1: DVs (Personal & Active Support)

QB: Transition1 Thank you for reading the Consent and Information Sheet and agreeing to participate in this survey!

First, I would like to understand your opinions towards a variety of government policies that affect the LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning) community.

Q1: Personal Support On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
Same-sex adults should have the legal right to have consensual sex. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Same-sex couples should have domestic partnership benefits (e.g. health insurance, tax benefits, death benefits) **even if they are not married**. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Same-sex couples should have the legal right to marriage. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Individuals should have the right to change their legal gender identity. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ youth in **schools**. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in the **workplace**. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ	○	○	○	○	○

individuals in **housing**. (7)

There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in **healthcare**. (8)

○   ○   ○   ○   ○

There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals **by law enforcement**. (9)

○   ○   ○   ○   ○

LGBTQ individuals should be allowed to openly serve in the military. (10)

○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Same-sex couples should have the legal right to adoption. (11)

○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Single LGBTQ individuals should have the legal right to adoption. (12)

○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Same-sex couples should have the legal right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy or artificial insemination). (13)

○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Single LGBTQ individuals should have the legal right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy or artificial insemination). (14)

○   ○   ○   ○   ○

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Men who have sex with other men should be allowed to donate blood. (15)	○	○	○	○	○
Individuals who identify as Transgender should have the legal right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy). (16)	○	○	○	○	○
Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) **with** the consent of their parents/guardians. (17)	○	○	○	○	○
Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) **without** the consent of their parents/guardians. (18)	○	○	○	○	○
The government should ban conversion therapy designed to change a person's sexual orientation. (19)	○	○	○	○	○

Schools should provide comprehensive sex education that includes information relevant to the LGBTQ community. (20)	○	○	○	○	○
Protection for LGBTQ individuals from violent hate crimes should be a priority of law enforcement. (21)	○	○	○	○	○
There should be more businesses that cater to the LGBTQ community (e.g. gay nightclubs). (22)	○	○	○	○	○

Page Break

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Q2: Action Steps For each of the following policies, please check each of the actions you would be willing to take in support of the LGBTQ community (Check all that apply).

	Vote in a Local Election (1)	Vote in a National Election (2)	Try to Influence How Others Vote in a Local Election (3)	Try to Influence How Others Vote in a National Election (4)	Attend a Political Meeting (5)	Work for a Political Party or Candidate (6)	Wear a Button or Put a Sticker on Your Car (7)	Donate Money to a Political Party or Candidate (8)	Share Information on Social Media (9)
The right to consensual sex among same-sex adults. (1)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Domestic partnership benefits (e.g. health insurance, tax benefits, death benefits) for **unmarried** same-sex couples. (2)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The right to marriage for same-sex couples. (3)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The right to change legal gender identity. (4)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Protections preventing discrimination against LGBTQ youth in **schools**. (5)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Protections preventing discrimination against LGBTQ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

individuals in the **workplace**. (6)									
Protections preventing discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in **housing**. (7)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Protections preventing discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in **healthcare**. (8)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Protections preventing discrimination against LGBTQ individuals by **law enforcement**. (9)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The right for LGBTQ individuals to openly serve in the military. (10)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The right to adoption for **same-sex couples**. (11)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The right to adoption for **single LGBTQ** individuals. (12)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy and artificial	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

insemination) for **same-sex couples**. (13)

The right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy and artificial insemination) for **single LGBTQ** individuals. (14)

The right to donate blood for men who have sex with other men. (15)

The right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) for Transgender individuals. (16)

The right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) for **Children** who identify as Transgender **with** parental/guardian consent. (17)

The right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) for **Children** who identify as Transgender **without**

parental/guardian consent. (18)									
Banning conversion therapy to change a person's sexual orientation. (19)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Comprehensive sex education in schools that includes information relevant to the LGBTQ community. (20)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Protection for LGBTQ individuals from violent hate crimes by law enforcement. (21)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q3: LGBTQ Baseline On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
Being LGBTQ is something a person is born with. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Being LGBTQ is due to a person's upbringing/environment. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Conversion therapy is effective at changing	○	○	○	○	○

someone's sexual orientation. (3)

QB: Transition2 Now we would like to understand your opinions toward various institutions of government.

Q3: Trust/See Change
On a scale of 0 (No Trust At All) to 10 (Completely Trust), please rate your **level of trust** in each of these groups to influence **government policy in general**.

	No Trust At All (0) (1)	(1) (2)	(2) (3)	(3) (4)	(4) (5)	(5) (6)	(6) (7)	(7) (8)	(8) (9)	(9) (10)	Completely Trust (10) (11)
Local Government (1)	◯	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◯
National Government (2)	◯	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◯
The House of Representatives (3)	◯	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◯
The Senate (4)	◯	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◯
The Prime Minister (5)	◯	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◯
Leader of the Opposition (6)	◯	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◯
The President (7)	◯	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◯
The High Court of Justice (8)	◯	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◖	◯

Lower (Magistrate) Courts (9)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
Private Sector/Industry (10)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
Religious Organizations (11)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
LGBTQ Organizations (12)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
The People's National Movement (13)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
The United National Congress (14)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○

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Q4: Shared Values

On a scale of 0 (Does Not At All Share Your Values) to 10 (Share Your Values Completely), please rate how much each group **shares your values toward LGBTQ policies** (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services).

	Does Not At All Share Your Values (0) (1)	(1) (2)	(2) (3)	(3) (4)	(4) (5)	(5) (6)	(6) (7)	(7) (8)	(8) (9)	(9) (10)	Share Your Values Completely (10) (11)
Local Government (1)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
National Government (2)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
The House of Representatives (3)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
The Senate (4)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
The Prime Minister (5)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
Leader of the Opposition (6)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
The President (7)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
The High Court of Justice (8)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
Lower (Magistrate) Courts (9)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
Private Sector/Industry (10)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
Religious Organizations (11)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○
LGBTQ Organizations (12)	○	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	⊂	○

| | The People's National Movement (13) | ○ | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | ○ |

| | The United National Congress (14) | ○ | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | 〔 | ○ |

Q5: National On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the **national government**.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
National government is more powerful than local government. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
National government has grown more powerful in the past ten years. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
National government seeks to limit the resources of local government. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
National government seeks to limit the responsibilities of local government. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
National government seeks to control local government. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
National government elected officials	○	○	○	○	○

are typically underpaid. (6)					
National government civil servants/public employees are typically underpaid. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
National government officials are responsible for the changes in your neighborhood. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
I vote in national government elections. (9)	○	○	○	○	○
I make an effort to learn more about national government election campaigns. (10)	○	○	○	○	○
I attend political meetings/rallies during national government elections. (11)	○	○	○	○	○
I donate money to political parties/candidates during national government elections. (12)	○	○	○	○	○
I share election information on social media during national government elections. (13)	○	○	○	○	○

Q6: Local On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding **your local government**.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
Local government can go against the wishes of national government. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Local government has grown more powerful in the past ten years. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Local government institutions have equal authority to pass policies that reflect the preferences of their constituents. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Local government institutions frequently influence each other. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Local government elected officials are typically overpaid. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Local government civil servants/public employees are typically overpaid. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Your local government officials are responsible for the changes in your neighborhood. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
I vote in local government elections. (8)	○	○	○	○	○

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I make an effort to learn more about national government election campaigns. (9)	○	○	○	○	○
I attend political meetings/rallies during local government elections. (10)	○	○	○	○	○
I donate money to political parties/candidates during local government elections. (11)	○	○	○	○	○
I share election information on social media during local government elections. (12)	○	○	○	○	○
There should be a constitutional amendment to grant local government more power/autonomy. (13)	○	○	○	○	○
The national government should pass policies that give local government more power/autonomy. (14)	○	○	○	○	○
Local government should sue the national government for more power/autonomy in the TT High Court of Justice. (15)	○	○	○	○	○
Local government should sue the Lower	○	○	○	○	○

(Magistrate) Courts for more power/autonomy in the TT High Court of Justice. (16)					
Local government should just take more power/autonomy for themselves and wait for the national government to react. (17)	○	○	○	○	○

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Q7: Sep. of Powers

On a scale of 0 (Not At All Independent) to 10 (Completely Independent), please evaluate the extent to which each of the following pairs are **independent of each other**.

	Not At All Independent (0) (1)	(1) (2)	(2) (3)	(3) (4)	(4) (5)	(5) (6)	(6) (7)	(7) (8)	(8) (9)	(9) (10)	Completely Independent (10) (11)
The Executive Branch & The Legislative Branch (1)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○
The Judicial Branch & The Executive Branch (2)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○
The Legislative Branch & The Judicial Branch (3)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○
The Prime Minister & The House of Representatives (4)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○
The Prime Minister & The Senate (5)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○
The Prime Minister & The Cabinet (6)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○
The Prime Minister & the President (7)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○
The House of Representatives & The Senate (8)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○
Local Government & National Government (9)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○
The High Court of Justice & The Lower (Magistrate) Courts (10)	○	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	(	○

Q8: VenueGeneral One a scale of 0 (Never) to 10 (Very Frequently), please indicate how frequently you go to the following individuals/institutions/organizations to make your voice heard on **general government policy**.

	Never (0) (1)	(1) (2)	(2) (3)	(3) (4)	(4) (5)	(5) (6)	(6) (7)	(7) (8)	(8) (9)	(9) (10)	Very Frequently (10) (11)
Local Government (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
National Government (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The House of Representatives (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The Senate (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The Prime Minister (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The President (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The High Court of Justice (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Lower (Magistrate) Courts (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Private Sector/Industry (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Religious Organizations (10)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
LGBTQ Organizations (11)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The People's National Movement (12)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

	Never (0) (1)	(1) (2)	(2) (3)	(3) (4)	(4) (5)	(5) (6)	(6) (7)	(7) (8)	(8) (9)	(9) (10)	Very Frequently (10) (11)
The United National Congress (13)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○

Q9: VenueLGBTQ One a scale of 0 (Never) to 10 (Very Frequently), please indicate how frequently you go to the following individuals/institutions/organizations to make your voice heard on **LGBTQ policies** (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services).

	Never (0) (1)	(1) (2)	(2) (3)	(3) (4)	(4) (5)	(5) (6)	(6) (7)	(7) (8)	(8) (9)	(9) (10)	Very Frequently (10) (11)
Local Government (1)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
National Government (2)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
The House of Representatives (3)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
The Senate (4)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
The Prime Minister (5)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
The President (6)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
The High Court of Justice (7)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
Lower (Magistrate) Courts (8)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
Private Sector/Industry (9)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
Religious Organizations (10)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○

LGBTQ Organizations (11)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
The People's National Movement (12)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○
The United National Congress (13)	○	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	○

Q10: Chorus One a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree that the following groups are **deciding LGBTQ policy**.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
A small, like-minded group of individuals within **national** government (1)	○	○	○	○	○
A small, like-minded group of individuals within **local** government (2)	○	○	○	○	○
A large, diverse group of individuals within **national** government (3)	○	○	○	○	○
A large, diverse group of individuals within **local** government (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Wealthy Elites (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Educated Elites (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Business/Corporate Interests (7)	○	○	○	○	○

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LGBTQ Organizations (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Religious Organizations (9)	○	○	○	○	○
A group of Elites that exclude LGBTQ individuals (10)	○	○	○	○	○

Q11: Privilege One a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding **who benefits from government policies**.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
Government policies that benefit a minority group tend to benefit more privileged members of that group (e.g. wealthy, white, educated). (1)	○	○	○	○	○
LGBTQ policies tend to benefit more privileged LGBTQ individuals (e.g. wealthy, white, educated). (2)	○	○	○	○	○
The government prioritizes religious beliefs over individual rights when deciding	○	○	○	○	○

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policies in general. (3)

The government prioritizes religious beliefs over individual rights when deciding **LGBTQ policy**. (4)

○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○

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QB: Transition3 Now we would like to understand more about your beliefs.

Q12: Gen. Support On a scale of 1 (Completely Oppose) to 5 (Completely Support), please indicate the extent to which you **oppose or support LGBTQ rights**.

○ ⊗ Completely Oppose (1)

○ ⊗ Oppose (2)

○ ⊗ Neither Oppose nor Support (3)

○ ⊗ Support (4)

○ ⊗ Completely Support (5)

Q13: Framing On a scale of 1 (Does Not At All Influence) to 5 (Strongly Influence), please indicate the extent to which each of the following influence **your beliefs toward LGBTQ rights**.

	Does Not At All Influence (1) (1)	(2) Influence (2)	(3) Neither Influence nor Does Not Influence (3)	(4) Does Not Influence (4)	(5) Strongly Influence (5)
My religious beliefs (1)	○	○	○	○	○
My secular/non-religious beliefs (2)	○	○	○	○	○
My belief that LGBTQ rights are a human/civil rights issue (3)	○	○	○	○	○

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Q14: Others Framing On a scale of 1 (Does Not At All Influence) to 5 (Strongly Influence), please indicate the extent to which each of the following influence **other people's beliefs toward LGBTQ rights**.

	Does Not At All Influence (1) (1)	(2) Influence (2)	(3) Neither Influence nor Does Not Influence (3)	(4) Does Not Influence (4)	(5) Strongly Influence (5)
Other people's religious beliefs (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Other people's secular/non-religious beliefs (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Other people's belief that LGBTQ rights are a human/civil rights issue (3)	○	○	○	○	○

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QB: Transition4 Now we would like to understand your opinions about the importance of LGBTQ rights.

Q15: Salience On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the **importance of LGBTQ rights**.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
Local government should pursue policies in support of LGBTQ rights. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Support for LGBTQ rights has become a more important issue to **local** government in the last ten years. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
National government should pursue policies in support of LGBTQ rights. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Support for LGBTQ rights has become a more important issue to **national** government in the last ten years. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
LGBTQ rights is an important issue to me. (5)	○	○	○	○	○

LGBTQ rights has become a more important issue to me in the **last ten years**. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Print newspapers frequently cover LGBTQ issues that happen in **my** community. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
Print newspapers frequently cover LGBTQ issues that happen in **other** communities. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Online news frequently cover LGBTQ issues that happen in **my** community. (9)	○	○	○	○	○
Online news frequently cover LGBTQ issues that happen in **other** communities. (10)	○	○	○	○	○
News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in **my** community has increased in the **past ten years**. (11)	○	○	○	○	○
News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in **other** communities has increased	○	○	○	○	○

in the **past ten years**. (12)					
News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in **my** community is **factual**. (13)	○	○	○	○	○
News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in **other** communities is **factual**. (14)	○	○	○	○	○
News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in **my** community is **biased**. (15)	○	○	○	○	○
News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in **other** communities is **biased**. (16)	○	○	○	○	○
I seek out **news** that is friendly to the LGBTQ community. (17)	○	○	○	○	○
I seek out **entertainment** that is friendly to the LGBTQ community (18)	○	○	○	○	○
News media covers LGBTQ issues too much. (19)	○	○	○	○	○

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QB: Transition5 Now we would like to turn your attention to religion.

Q16: Rel. Influence On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding **religion**.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
I regularly attend services of my religion. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
I regularly participate in holidays/festivals of **other** religions. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
My personal beliefs align with the tenants/doctrine of my religion. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
I have the same religious beliefs as members of my **immediate family**. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
I have the same religious beliefs as my **closest friends**. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
I have the same religious beliefs as my **neighbors**. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Individuals with different **religious** backgrounds should be allowed to get married. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
Individuals with different **ethnic** backgrounds	○	○	○	○	○

should be allowed to get married. (8)					
The teachings of my religion matter to **local** government when it decides LGBTQ policy. (9)	○	○	○	○	○
The teachings of my religion matter to **national** government when it decides LGBTQ policy. (10)	○	○	○	○	○
The teachings of **other** religions matter to **local** government officials when it decides LGBTQ policy. (11)	○	○	○	○	○
The teachings of **other** religions matter to **national** government officials when it decides LGBTQ policy. (12)	○	○	○	○	○
Religious organizations influence the decisions of **local** government in **general**. (13)	○	○	○	○	○
Religious organizations influence the decisions of **national** government in **general**. (14)	○	○	○	○	○
Religious organizations influence the	○	○	○	○	○

| decisions of **local** government regarding **LGBTQ** policy. (15) | | | | | |
| Religious organizations influence the decisions of **national** government regarding **LGBTQ** policy. (16) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

QB: Transition6 Now we would like to understand your opinions about interest groups (e.g. non-profit organizations, community associations).

Q17: Interest Groups On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the **influence of interest groups** (e.g. non-profit organizations, community associations).

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
Interest groups influence **local** government decisions in **general**. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Interest groups influence **local** government decisions regarding **LGBTQ** policy. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Interest groups influence **national** government decisions in **general**. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Interest groups influence **national** government decisions regarding **LGBTQ** policy. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
In the past ten years, interest groups have increased their attempts to influence **local** government decisions regarding LGBTQ rights. (5)	○	○	○	○	○

In the past ten years, interest groups have increased their attempts to influence **national** government decisions regarding LGBTQ rights. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
In the past ten years, the **number** of interest groups attempting to influence **local** government decisions regarding LGBTQ rights has increased. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
In the past ten years, the **number** of interest groups attempting to influence **national** government decisions regarding LGBTQ rights has increased. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Local government should seek broad input from the public before making decisions on LGBTQ rights. (9)	○	○	○	○	○
National government should seek broad input from the public before making	○	○	○	○	○

decisions on LGBTQ rights. (10)					
Private/Industry interest groups influence **local** government decisions in **general**. (11)	○	○	○	○	○
Private/Industry interest groups influence **local** government decisions regarding **LGBTQ** rights. (12)	○	○	○	○	○
Private/Industry interest groups influence **national** government decisions in **general**. (13)	○	○	○	○	○
Private/Industry interest groups influence **national** government decisions regarding **LGBTQ** rights. (14)	○	○	○	○	○

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QB: Transition7 Now we would like to turn your attention to political parties and candidates.

Q18: Parties On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the **influence of political parties**.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
The People's National Movement is a historically ethnic African party. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
The People's National Movement is strongly religious. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
The People's National Movement supports LGBTQ rights. (3)	○	○	○	○	○
The United National Congress is a historically ethnic Indian party. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
The United National Congress is strongly religious. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
The United National Congress supports LGBTQ rights. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
My political party aligns with my	○	○	○	○	○

personal beliefs regarding LGBTQ rights. (7)					
In a **local** election, I would support the opposing political party if that party aligned more with my beliefs regarding LGBTQ rights. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
In a **national** election, I would support the opposing political party if that party aligned more with my beliefs regarding LGBTQ rights. (9)	○	○	○	○	○
In a **local** election, I would vote for a candidate that supports LGBTQ rights. (10)	○	○	○	○	○
In a **national** election, I would vote for a candidate that supports LGBTQ rights. (11)	○	○	○	○	○
Local candidates for office typically conform to the position of their **political party** on LGBTQ policies. (12)	○	○	○	○	○
National candidates for office typically	○	○	○	○	○

conform to the position of their **political party** on LGBTQ policies. (13)					
Local candidates for office typically conform to the position of their respective **constituencies** on LGBTQ policies. (14)	○	○	○	○	○
National candidates for office typically conform to the position of their respective **constituencies** on LGBTQ policies. (15)	○	○	○	○	○
Political parties intentionally avoid taking a position on LGBTQ rights in **local** government elections. (16)	○	○	○	○	○
Political parties intentionally avoid taking a position on LGBTQ rights in **national** government elections. (17)	○	○	○	○	○

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Q19: Policy Env. On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding **the area where you live**.

	(1) Strongly Disagree (1)	(2) Disagree (2)	(3) Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	(4) Agree (4)	(5) Strongly Agree (5)
There are many university-educated people. (1)	○	○	○	○	○
There are many high-income families. (2)	○	○	○	○	○
There are many non-traditional households (e.g. blended families, intentionally single parents, common-law marriages). (3)	○	○	○	○	○
It is religiously diverse. (4)	○	○	○	○	○
It is ethnically diverse. (5)	○	○	○	○	○
It is culturally diverse. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
There are many openly LGBTQ individuals. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
There are many businesses that openly cater to the LGBTQ community. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
There are frequent community	○	○	○	○	○

events
celebrating the
LGBTQ
community. (9)

Q20: Intergroup Please indicate "Yes" or "No" to the following statements regarding your personal connections to LGBTQ individuals.

	No (1)	Yes (2)
Immediate family member(s) identify as LGBTQ. (1)	○	○
Close relative(s) identify as LGBTQ. (2)	○	○
Close friend(s) identify as LGBTQ. (3)	○	○
Co-worker(s) identify as LGBTQ. (4)	○	○
Member(s) of my religious organization identify as LGBTQ. (5)	○	○
Member(s) of my social clubs/civic groups identify as LGBTQ. (6)	○	○

Q21: Age What is your age?

_____

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Q22: Married What is your marital status?

○ Never Married (1)

○ Domestic Partnership/Common Law Marriage (2)

○ Married (3)

○ Legally Separated (4)

○ Divorced (5)

○ Widowed (6)

○ Other (Please Specify) (7) _____

Q23: Children How many children do you have?

_____

Q24: Ethnicity To which ethnic group do you belong?

○ African (1)

○ Caucasian (2)

○ Chinese (3)

○ East Indian (4)

○ Indigenous (5)

○ Mixed - African and East Indian (6)

○ Mixed - Other (Please Specify) (7)

_____

○ Syrian/Lebanese (8)

○ Other (Please Speciy) (9) _____

Q25: Religion What is your religion?

○ Christian/Protestant (1)

○ Christian/Catholic (2)

○ Muslim (3)

○ Hindu (4)

○ Jew (5)

○ Atheist/Agnostic (6)

○ Other (Please Specify) (7) _____

Q26: Gender Which of the following gender identity categories best fit you?

○ Male (1)

○ Female (2)

○ Transgender Male (3)

○ Transgender Female (4)

○ Non-binary/Third Gender (5)

○ Other (Please Specify) (6) _____

Q27: Sexuality Which of the following sexual orientation categories best fit you?

○ Heterosexual (1)

○ Gay (2)

○ Lesbian (3)

○ Bisexual (4)

○ Asexual (5)

○ Pansexual (6)

○ Demisexual (7)

○ Other (Please Specify) (8) _____

Q28: Education What is the highest level of education you have received?

○ Primary School (1)

○ Secondary School - GCE/CXC (2)

○ Secondary School - CAPE (3)

○ Diploma/Equivalent (4)

○ Associate's Degree (5)

○ Bachelor's Degree (6)

○ Master's Degree (7)

○ Post-Graduate Degree (8)

○ Doctoral Degree (9)

○ Other (Please Specify) (10)

_____

Q29: Intl Education Have you received any formal education outside of Trinidad & Tobago?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Q30: Income What is your average household monthly income?

○ Less than $5000 (1)

○ $5001 - $10,000 (2)

○ $10,001 - $15,000 (3)

○ More than $15,001 (4)

Q31: Political ID How would you describe your political orientation?

○ Very Conservative (1)

○ Conservative (2)

○ Moderate (3)

○ Liberal (4)

○ Very Liberal (5)

Q32: Party ID What is your preferred political party?

○ People's National Movement (PNM) (1)

○ United National Congress (UNC) (2)

○ Congress of the People (COP) (3)

○ Democratic Party of Trinidad & Tobago (DPTT) (4)

○ Movement for Social Justice (MSJ) (5)

○ Independent Liberal Party (ILP) (6)

○ Other (Please Specify) (7) _____

Q33: Nationality Were you born in Trinidad & Tobago?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Q34: Urbanism Please select the category which best describes the area where you live.

○ Urban area (1)

○ Rural area (2)

○ Something In Between (3)

Q35: Constituency1 What constituency do you currently live in?

○ Arima (1)

○ Arouca/Maloney (2)

○ Barataria/San Juan (3)

○ Caronia Central (4)

○ Caroni East (5)

○ Chaguanas East (6)

○ Chaguanas West (7)

○ Couva North (8)

○ Couva South (9)

○ Cumuto/Manzanilla (10)

○ D'Abadie/O'Meara (11)

○ Diego Martin Central (12)

○ Diego Martin North/East (13)

○ Diego Martin West (14)

○ Fyzabad (15)

○ La Brea (16)

○ La Horquetta/Talparo (17)

○ Laventille East/Morvant (18)

○ Laventille West (19)

○ Lopinot/Bon Air West (20)

○ Mayaro (21)

○ Naparima (22)

○ Oropouche East (23)

○ Oropouche West (24)

○ Point Fortin (25)

○ Pointe-a-Pierre (26)

○ Port of Spain North/St. Ann's West (27)

○ Port of Spain South (28)

○ Princes Town (29)

○ Moruga/Tableland (30)

○ San Fernando East (31)

○ San Fernando West (32)

○ Siparia (33)

○ St. Ann's East (34)

○ St. Augustine (35)

○ St. Joseph (36)

○ Tabaquite (37)

○ Tobago East (38)

○ Tobago West (39)

○ Toco/Sangre Grande (40)

○ Tunapuna (41)

Q36: Constituency2 What constituency do you consider to be your "home" constituency? (E.g. where you were born, where you grew up, where your parents/grandparents live)

○ Arima (1)

○ Arouca/Maloney (2)

○ Barataria/San Juan (3)

○ Caronia Central (4)

○ Caroni East (5)

○ Chaguanas East (6)

○ Chaguanas West (7)

○ Couva North (8)

○ Couva South (9)

○ Cumuto/Manzanilla (10)

○ D'Abadie/O'Meara (11)

○ Diego Martin Central (12)

○ Diego Martin North/East (13)

○ Diego Martin West (14)

○ Fyzabad (15)

○ La Brea (16)

○ La Horquetta/Talparo (17)

○ Laventille East/Morvant (18)

○ Laventille West (19)

○ Lopinot/Bon Air West (20)

○ Mayaro (21)

○ Naparima (22)

○ Oropouche East (23)

○ Oropouche West (24)

○ Point Fortin (25)

○ Pointe-a-Pierre (26)

○ Port of Spain North/St. Ann's West (27)

○ Port of Spain South (28)

○ Princes Town (29)

○ Moruga/Tableland (30)

○ San Fernando East (31)

○ San Fernando West (32)

○ Siparia (33)

○ St. Ann's East (34)

○ St. Augustine (35)

○ St. Joseph (36)

○ Tabaquite (37)

○ Tobago East (38)

○ Tobago West (39)

○ Toco/Sangre Grande (40)

○ Tunapuna (41)

Q37: Corporation1 What local government corporation do you currently live in?

○ Arima Borough Corporation (1)

○ Chaguanas Borough Corporation (2)

○ Couva/Tabaquite/Talparo Regional Corporation (3)

○ Diego Martin Regional Corporation (4)

○ Mayaro/Rio Claro Regional Corporation (5)

○ Penal/Debe Regional Corporation (6)

○ Point Fortin Borough Corporation (7)

○ Port of Spain City Corporation (8)

○ Princes Town Regional Corporation (9)

○ San Fernando City Corporation (10)

○ Sangre Grande Regional Corporation (11)

○ San Juan/Laventille Regional Corporation (12)

○ Siparia Regional Corporation (13)

○ Tunapuna/Piarco Regional Corporation (14)

Q38: Corporation2 What local government corporation do you consider to be your "home" corporation? (E.g. where you were born, where you grew up, where your parents/grandparents live)

○ Arima Borough Corporation (1)

○ Chaguanas Borough Corporation (2)

○ Couva/Tabaquite/Talparo Regional Corporation (3)

○ Diego Martin Regional Corporation (4)

○ Mayaro/Rio Claro Regional Corporation (5)

○ Penal/Debe Regional Corporation (6)

○ Point Fortin Borough Corporation (7)

○ Port of Spain City Corporation (8)

○ Princes Town Regional Corporation (9)

○ San Fernando City Corporation (10)

○ Sangre Grande Regional Corporation (11)

○ San Juan/Laventille Regional Corporation (12)

○ Siparia Regional Corporation (13)

○ Tunapuna/Piarco Regional Corporation (14)

Q39: InterviewScreen Please check all the categories that describe you.

☐ Upper management/leadership in a religious organization (1)

☐ Upper management/leadership in a LGBTQ organization (2)

☐ Upper management/leadership in a government bureaucracy (3)

☐ Local government elected official (4)

☐ Skip (5)

Skip To: Q41: Thank You! If Please check all the categories that describe you. = Skip

Page Break ——————————————————————————————————————

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Q40: Contact Us Would you be willing to sit down and have a conversation with me so I can get a better understanding of your important role in these issues? As a native researcher of Trinidad & Tobago, I am very interested in your unique perspective on the intricacies of TT policy.

If you would like to provide further insight, you can leave your contact information below. Note that providing your contact information below means that your survey responses will remain confidential, but will no longer be anonymous. While the researcher will know your name, your name will never be connected to your answers from the survey. This information will never be shared. If it is, it will be under a pseudonym such as "Religious Organization Leader X" or "Local Government Elected Official Y".

If you would like to have a conversation with me but would also like your survey responses to remain both anonymous and confidential, please email me your contact information instead at krystoffkissoon@isu.edu

_____

Page Break ——

Q41: Thank You! Thank you so much for your participation in this survey! My name is Krystoff Kissoon, and as a native researcher of Trinidad & Tobago, your opinions on TT policy are very valuable to my research on TT development. I am committed to protecting human subjects, and your answers in this survey will be kept completely anonymous and confidential.

If you would like additional information concerning this study, or if you have additional questions about your rights as a research participant, please feel free to contact the principal investigator, Krystoff Kissoon, by email.

Krystoff Kissoon
Principle Investigator
Department of Political Science
Idaho State University
921 South 8th Avenue Pocatello, ID 83202
krystoffkissoon@isu.edu

_____

Kellee J. Kirkpatrick, Ph.D.
Faculty Sponsor
Department of Political Science
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921 South 8th Avenue Pocatello, ID 83202
kelleekirkpatrick@isu.edu

_____

Human Subjects Committee
Institutional Review Board
Idaho State University
921 South 8th Avenue
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humsubj@isu.edu

_____

End of Block: Block 6: Controls

IRB #: IRB-FY2021-215
Title: D.A. Political Science Dissertation - LGBTQ Rights in Trinidad & Tobago
Creation Date: 4-9-2021
End Date:
Status: Approved
Principal Investigator: Krystoff Kissoon Review Board: Human Subjects Committee Sponsor:

Study History
Submission Type

Initial

Review Type

Expedited

Decision Approved

Key Study Contacts

Member   Krystoff Kissoon   Role   Principal Investigator Contact
        kisskrys@isu.edu

Member   Krystoff Kissoon   Role   Primary Contact   Contact
        kisskrys@isu.edu

Member   Kellee Kirkpatrick   Role   Investigator   Contact   kirkkell@isu.edu

Initial Submission

Use this form for new submissions of research projects to the Human Subjects Committee (HSC, also known as the Institutional Review Board or IRB). This form is used for studies eligible for a Certificate of Exemption or for expedited review, and for those requiring full-board review.

Office location: 1651 Alvin Ricken Dr., Pocatello, ID 83201 | Mailing: Stop 8046

To obtain IRB Review of a research project with human participants, submit this completed form with all of the indicated attachments. Allow sufficient time for review before starting the project. Please consult the IRB website and contact irb@cayuse.edu or (208) 282-2179 with any questions before submitting an application.

Research as used here means a systematic investigation designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge. This includes research, development, testing, and evaluation. This does not typically include classroom exercises, demonstrations, or other course requirements that receive grades. Research does not include customer satisfaction surveys or similar data collections designed to improve the operations of a single institution.

Human Participants The Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviews all research projects at Idaho State University involving human participants. This means living individuals about whom and investigator obtains data through intervention or interaction with the individual or obtains identifiable private information from a separate source such as medical or school records or other individuals such as relatives.

*required
✓ New Submission Revision/Resubmission
Select this only if you have previously submitted this study to the Human Subjects Committee and have been asked to make changes before it can be approved.
If you are revising a study that has already been approved, use the Modifications form.

*required
Name of Study
1.
Do not exceed 150 characters including spaces
LGBTQ Rights in Trinidad & Tobago

*required
Principal Investigator

Please identify the PI for this project. Please note that the appropriate CITI training; i.e. Human Subjects Social/Behavioral, Data/ Lab Specimen or Biomedical must be
2.   completed before the study will be approved. This can be done by answering question 1 or 2 when adding a course in CITI (Responsible Conduct of Research, RCR, DOES NOT satisfy HSC requirements.)
Name: Krystoff Kissoon Organization: Political Science
Address: 921 S 8th Ave Stop 8073, Pocatello, ID 83209 Phone: (208) 530-1797
Email: kisskrys@isu.edu

*required
3.   Is the Principal Investigator a current student?

✔ Yes
*required
Student Principal Investigators are required to include an endorsement from their faculty advisor. The signature below certifies that the faculty advisor has reviewed and approved this complete Application and its attachments and accepts responsibility to supervise the work described herein in accordance with applicable institutional policies.
Name: Kellee Kirkpatrick Organization: Political Science
Address: 921 South 8th Ave., Stop 8073 , Pocatello, ID 832098046 Phone: 208-282-2550
Email: kirkkell@isu.edu

No unknown

*required
4.   Are there Co-Investigators on this project?

Yes
✔ No

Other Research Staff

5.   Identify any others who will be involved as research personnel for this study. Please note that the appropriate CITI training; i.e. Human Subjects Social/Behavioral, Data/ Lab Specimen or Biomedical must be completed before the study will be approved. (Responsible Conduct of Research, RCR, DOES NOT satisfy HSC requirements.)

For any research staff not available on the drop-down list above, please provide names (and institutional affiliation, if other than ISU).

*required
Please identify a primary administrative point of contact for this submission (note: for some submissions, it may be appropriate for the Principal Investigator and Primary Contact to be the same person)
6.
Name: Krystoff Kissoon Organization: Political Science
Address: 921 S 8th Ave Stop 8073, Pocatello, ID 83209 Phone: (208) 530-1797
Email: kisskrys@isu.edu

*required
Lay Language Summary

Briefly describe the purpose and procedures of the proposed research so that someone outside your field would readily understand it. Avoid abbreviations and technical language.
The purpose of this proposed research is to understand some of the factors that might be influencing the contraction and expansion of LGBTQ Rights in Trinidad & Tobago. By drawing on the political science literatures of institutional design, scope of conflict, and morality politics theory, this dissertation investigates how factors that have been shown to influence support for LGBTQ rights in
7.   federal systems such as the United States might also be operating in unitary systems such as
Trinidad & Tobago. Some of these factors include public opinion, trust in institutions, media coverage, framing, the policy environment, and the role of interest groups and political parties. The primary methodological procedure that will be utilized in this study is a survey instrument administered online via Idaho State University Qualtrics to Trinidad & Tobago citizens including elected officials and interest group leaders. The survey will be distributed through my personal social media and email, as well as the networks of associates in Trinidad & Tobago such as LGBTQ activist leaders working on the ground. I also plan on conducting some interviews with elected officials and interest group leaders who take the survey and are willing to have a conversation with me to provide more nuanced description and insight into the LGBTQ policymaking process in Trinidad & Tobago.

*required
Collection of human tissues and bodily fluids

7a.

Will this study involve the collection of any human tissues and/or bodily fluids (i.e. blood, urine, etc.)?

This study DOES INVOLVE the collection of human tissues and/or bodily fluids
✓ This study DOES NOT INVOLVE the collection of human tissues and/or bodily fluids

*required
8.   Has this project requested or received external funding?

Yes, external funding has been confirmed
If your proposal has been submitted in Cayuse SP, please enter the proposal identification in the box below.

8.1.   Please identify current or proposed sponsors

If your sponsor is not included in the drop-down list above, enter the sponsor's name and contact information in this box

External funding has been requested, but it's uncertain at this point whether it will be received
✓ No
Check here if this study is funded by an industry sponsor (e.g, pharmaceutical company, marketing firm, manufacturer, etc.).

*required
Do any of the researchers (principal investigator, co-principal investigators, or associated researchers) have any financial, non-financial, or commercial interest in the research?
9.

Research team members must submit an updated Conflict of Interest disclosure within 30 days of discovering or acquiring a new significant conflict of interest (financial or non-financial).

Yes
✓ No

*required
Study site(s)
10.

Where will study procedures be carried out?

Idaho State University (including the Pocatello, Idaho Falls, and Meridian campuses)
✓ Internet research Other

*required
11.   Are you applying for a Certificate of Exemption or for expedited review? Or does your study require review by the full board?

I am applying for a Certificate of Exemption.
✓ I am applying for expedited review.
*required
Select the appropriate category of expedited review.

Expedited review is available for some categories of research involving minimal risk, and for minor changes to studies that have already been approved by the Human Subjects Committee.
Category 1
Clinical studies of drugs and medical devices only when either:
an investigational new drug application (21 CFR 312) is not require, or
either an investigational device exemption application (21 CFR 812) is not required or the medical device is cleared/approved for marketing and the medical device is being used in accordance with its cleared/approved labeling.

Category 2
Collection of blood samples by finger stick, heel stick, ear stick, or venipuncture as follows:
from healthy, nonpregnant adults who weigh at least 110 pounds. For these subjects, the amounts drawn may not exceed 550 ml in an 8-week period and collection may not occur more frequently than 2 times per week, or

from other adults or children, considering the age, weight, and health of the subjects, the collection procedure, the amount of blood to be collected, and the frequency with which it will be collected. For these subjects, the amount withdrawn may not

exceed the lesser of 50 ml or 3 ml per kg in an 8-week period and collection may not occur more than 2 times per week.

Category 3
Prospective collection of biological specimens for research purposes by noninvasive means. E.g., (a) hair and nail clippings in a nondisfiguring manner; (b) deciduous teeth at time of exfoliation or if routine patient care indicates a need for extraction; (c) permanent teeth if routine patient care indicates a need for extraction; (d) excreta and external secretions (including sweat); (e) uncannulated saliva collected either in an unstimulated fashion or stimulated by chewing gumbase or wax or by applying a dilute citric solution to the tongue; (f) placenta removal at delivery; (g) amniotic fluid obtained at the time or rupture of the membrane before or during labor; (h) supragingival and subgingival dental plaque and calculus, provided the collection procedure is not more invasive than routine prophylactic scaling o f the teeth and the process is accomplished in accordance with accepted prophylactic techniques; (i) mucosal and skin cells collected by buccal scraping or swab, skin swab, or mouth washings; and (j) sputum collected after saline mist nebulization.

Category 4
Collection of data through noninvasive procedures (not involving general anesthesia or sedation) routinely employed in clinical practice, excluding procedures involving x-rays or microwaves. Where medical devices are employed, they must be cleared/approved for marketing. (Studies intended to evaluate the safety and effectiveness of the medical device are generally not eligible for expedited review, including studies of cleared medical devices for new indications.) Examples: (a) physical sensors that are applied either to the surface of the body or at a distance and do not involve input of significant amounts of energy into the subject or invasion or the subject's privacy;
(b) weighing or testing sensory acuity; (c) magnetic resonance imaging; (d) electrocardiography, electroencephalography, thermography, detection of naturally occurring radioactivity, electroretinoraphy, ultrasound, diagnostic infrared imaging, Doppler

blood flow, and echocardiography; (e) moderate exercise, muscular strength testing, body composition assessment, and flexibility testing where appropriate given the age, weight, and health of the individual.

Category 5
Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected solely for nonresearch purposes (such as medical treatment or diagnosis). NOTE: Some research in this category may be eligible for a Certificate of Exemption (see above). Select this category only if your research is not eligible for it.

Category 6
Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

✓ Category 7
Research on group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies. NOTE: Some research in this category may be eligible for a Certificate of Exemption (see above). Select this category only if your research is not eligible for it.

If an accidental breach of confidentiality could put participants at risk (because the study deals with sensitive issues or information), then the study does not qualify for Expedited Review. Select Full Board Review instead.

Category 8
Continuing review of research previously approved by the Human Subjects Committee (using full board review) as follows:

the research is permanently closed to enrollment of new subjects;
all subjects have completed all research-related interventions; the research remains active only for the long-term follow-up of subjects; or where no subjects have been enrolled and no additional risks have been identified; or where the remaining research activities are limited to data analysis.

Category 9
Continuing review of research not conducted under an investigational new drug application or investigational drug exemption where categories 2 through 8 (above) do not apply but the Human Subjects Committee has determined at a convened meeting that the research involves no greater than minimal risk and no additional risks have been identified.

This study requires full board review.

*required
Please identify the types of participants for this study

12.

Please check all that apply

Adults aged 90 or older Minors (less than 18 years)
Medical or other clinical patients/clients Patients receiving emergency medical care Terminally Ill Patients
Mentally or Developmentally Disabled or Impaired Non-English Speaking or Limited English Proficiency
Prisoners, Parolees, or Incarcerated Persons (including people in court-mandated treatment programs)
Pregnant Women
Students (including university students) to be recruited by teachers or school administrators/staff
Residents of nursing homes or other "total institutions"
Employees of the investigator (or sub-investigator) or of the study's research site or sponsor
Military personnel to be recruited by military personnel
Others vulnerable to coercion or undue influence
✓ None of the above

*required
Are any of the participants in this study people over whom the investigator has some
13.   sort of authority? (E.g., the investigator's students, patients, clients, employees, supervisees, etc.)

Yes
✓ No

*required
Explain how participants will be identified and recruited for this study.

If you plan to use mass emails to ISU students or faculty, then be sure to get permission for this from ISU's Marketing & Communications office. IRB approval to conduct research does not automatically authorize you to use the ISU email system for recruiting.

14.

If posters, billboards, radio or TV ads, internet ads, or other recruiting materials will be used, include an explanation of where these will be placed. Also, contact ISU Marketing & Communications for guidance about how to format your material. 208-282-4407 Trinidad &

Tobago citizens, elected officials, and interest group will leaders will be recruited to participate in this study by distributing the survey instrument via my personal social media and email, as well as the networks of personal contacts in Trinidad & Tobago including LGBTQ activist leaders working on the ground. Utilizing a snowball sample method, participants who take the survey will be asked to share the survey instrument with their networks to broaden reach. Participants must be a citizen of Trinidad & Tobago and currently living there, at least eighteen years of age, and have read the Consent and Information Sheet and agreed to give consent. This will be enforced via a series of screening questions at the beginning of the survey which are the only questions that force a response from participants on Qualtrics. Survey data will remain anonymous and confidential, unless an interest group leader or elected official wishes to disclose their name and contact information at the end of the survey so I can follow up with them for an interview. In that case, their survey responses will be confidential but no longer anonymous. If they want to participate in an interview but keep their survey data both confidential and anonymous, they are given the option of emailing me their information instead.

Attach any recruiting posters, email messages, letters, advertisements, etc. to be used. Include any recordings or videos to be used for radio, television, or internet.
(This is NOT the place for attaching consent forms; that comes later.)

14(a)   Will you use any posters, radio or TV advertisements, billboards, etc. for recruiting patients outside of the ISU campuses?

Yes
✓ No

15.   Will subjects be paid or given anything of value in return for their participation?

✓ Participants will NOT receive anything of value in return for their participation.
Participants will be paid (cash, check, or gift card) Participants will receive a non-monetary item or service
Participants will be entered into a drawing for something of value. Participants will only be reimbursed for the costs of participation.
Participants will receive research participation credits as part of an ISU course (e.g., using the SONA system).

*required

16.   Will participants in this study have to pay for anything (e.g., parking, medical services).

Yes
✓ No

*required
Study population

A.   Describe what sorts of subjects will be involved in the proposed study. Explain your inclusion and exclusion criteria.
Trinidad & Tobago citizens, elected officials, and interest group leaders who are at least eighteen years of age, currently living in Trinidad & Tobago, and have read the Consent and Information Sheet and agreed to give consent.

*required
Number of subjects

B.   How many people do you intend to recruit for your study? If you do not have a specific number in mind, provide a reasonable estimate or range. If research subjects will be divided into 2 or more groups, specify numbers (or estimates) for each group.
I intend to recruit at least 150 participants.

*required
C.   Will this study use existing data, documents, records, and/or biological specimens?

Yes
✓ No

*required
Study description

Describe what participants in your study will do. If participants will be divided into 2 or more groups, be sure to make clear the procedures for each group.
If you will be using questionnaires, tests, or other data collection instruments, describe them here and attach them below. Explain how long it will take to complete each one. Also explain the setting in which they will be administered
D.   (e.g., classroom, mailed questionnaire, internet).
If you will be conducting interviews, focus groups, etc., include the specific questions to be asked. If an open-ended approach is used, indicate the kinds of issues likely to be discussed.

In this study of LGBTQ issues and policies in Trinidad & Tobago, participants will be asked to complete a 25-30 minute internet survey via Idaho State University Qualtrics. Elected officials and interest group leaders who complete the survey and are willing to participate in an interview will be asked about issues such as the inner workings of the policymaking process and their experiences attempting to contract or expand LGBTQ rights in Trinidad & Tobago. The survey consent and information sheet and survey instrument is attached below under "E". The interview consent and information sheet, and list of interview themes is attached under "H".

Attach any questionnaires or other data collection instruments to be used in this study.
E.   (Do NOT attach consent forms here.)

Krystoff Kissoon Dissertation - Survey Information and Consent Sheet and Survey Instrument.pdf

*required
F.   Will participants be identifiable (names, photo or video images, recordings of voices, addresses, email addresses, etc.)?

✓ Yes
*required
Explain how you will maintain participants' confidentiality.

For interest group leaders and elected officials who complete the survey, are willing to do an interview with me, and choose to disclose their name and contact information at the end of

the survey, these participants will no longer by anonymous but remain confidential. If they choose to remain both anonymous and confidential, they are given the option of emailing me instead to set up an interview. Citizens who complete the survey and are not elected officials or interest groups leaders will remain both anonymous and confidential by not collecting their

names. Interviews will be conducted and recorded via Zoom which automatically generates a transcript. I will be the only person with access to the Zoom recordings and my faculty sponsor will have access to the de-identified transcripts. Each transcript will be given a pseudonym such as "Interest Group Leader X" and "Elected Official Y".

No

*required
G.   Will you make audio or video recordings of any participants?

✓ Yes
*required
Explain what photos/videos/recordings will be made, and any steps you plan to take to conceal participants' identities.

For interest group leaders and elected officials who choose to do an interview with me, I will conduct and record these interviews via Zoom which automatically generates a transcript. I will be the only person with access to the Zoom recordings and my faculty sponsor will have access to the de-identified transcripts. Each transcript will be given a pseudonym such as "Interest Group Leader X" and "Elected Official Y". The interview recordings will be stored on ISU Box for 3 years and will then be destroyed. The de-identified transcripts will be stored indefinitely since they are anonymous.

No

*required
Explain how you will obtain the INFORMED CONSENT of participants.

This might involve a consent form, information sheet, survey cover letter, script for
H.   verbal consent, letter (or email) to participants, etc.

The survey consent form and information sheet, and eligibility screening questions are displayed at the beginning of the survey instrument. Participants must give informed consent before being able to access the rest of the survey.

Attach any consent form, information sheet, survey cover letter, verbal consent script, etc. that you plan to use.

Krystoff Kissoon Dissertation - IRB Application (Interview Themes).docx Sample documents:

Krystoff Kissoon Dissertation - Interview Consent and Information Sheet.docx

SampleParentalConsentForm.doc ,

SampleMinorAssentForm.doc ,

SampleAdultConsentForm.doc

*required
H.1   Are you requesting a waiver of documentation of informed consent? (I.e., Participants will provide verbal consent but will not sign a consent form)

Yes
✓ No

*required
H.2   Are you requesting a waiver of informed consent? (I.e., the study will be conducted without obtaining even the verbal consent of participants)

Yes
✓ No

*required
Risks

What risks will participants be exposed to? What protections are in place to minimize those risks?
I am taking every measure to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Participants will not be asked to
I.   disclose their names on the survey, unless they are an elected official or interest group leader who wishes to participate in an interview. If they disclose their name and contact information on the survey, their survey responses will remain confidential but will no longer be anonymous. They are also given the option of emailing me instead of disclosing their name on the survey to maintain both
confidentiality and anonymity. Any time their interview data is referred to in the study, it will be under pseudo names such as "Interest Group Leader X" and "Elected Official Y".Human sexuality and gender can also be a sensitive topic, and a potential risk is that participants might

be triggered by the nature of the research. To minimize this, participants are made aware that they can stop taking the survey at any time without penalty.

*required
Benefits

How will participants benefit directly from participation in this study?
Don't assume that the study intervention will work if the purpose of the study is to test its efficacy.
Don't include payments made to subjects; describe only benefits arising from the study procedures themselves.
J.   If there are no direct benefits to participants, then say so.
What benefits will there be to others (society, your field of study, etc.)? (Be realistic) There are no direct benefits to participants. This study contributes to the field of political science by applying theories of public policy making such as institutional design, scope of conflict, and morality politics which have been most widely tested in federal systems such as the United States to understanding the LGBTQ policy making process in unitary systems such as Trinidad & Tobago. The study contributes to Trinidad & Tobago society by providing deeper insight to citizens, elected officials, and interest group leaders on how the political system of Trinidad & Tobago structures the contraction and expansion of LGBTQ rights, and how they can retool their strategies to be more effective in their advocacy.

*required
Data Storage & Final Disposition

Be sure to address all of the following:
How will the data you collect be stored? What steps will be taken to protect it?
Who will have access to it?
K.   What will be done with it at the end of the storage period?
Survey data will be stored on the ISU Qualtrics cloud as well as the ISU Box cloud. Survey data will be stored indefinitely since they are de-identified. Dr. Kirkpatrick will have access to this data for the duration of the dissertation period. Once the dissertation is completed, they will no longer have access to this data. Zoom recordings of the interviews will be stored on the ISU Box cloud for 1 year in case they need to be re-transcribed, and then destroyed. Zoom automatically produces transcripts, which will be de-identified and given pseudonyms, and then will become accessible to Dr. Kirkpatrick. Once the dissertation is completed, they will no longer have access to this data. The de-identified transcripts will be stored indefinitely since they are anonymous.

Certification

By signing below, the Principal Investigator and co-Principal Investigators (if any) assure the IRB that all procedures performed during this project will be conducted by individuals legally and responsibly entitled to do so, and that any significant systematic deviation from the submitted protocol (for example, a change in principal investigator, sponsorship[. research purposes, participant recruitment procedures, research methodology , risks and benefits, or consent procedures) will be submitted to the IRB for approval prior to its implementation

By signing below, the Principal Investigator and co-Principal Investigators (if any) certify the following:

1. The information in this application is accurate and complete
2. I/we will comply with all federal, state, and institutional policies and procedures to protect human subjects in research
3. I/we understand the ethical responsibilities of research investigators and have received the required training in human research participant protection as specified at the IRB Website
4. I/we will assure that the consent process and research procedures as described herein are followed with every participant in the research
5. I/we will promptly report any deviations or adverse events to the IRB.
6. If a faculty advisor is required (see below), then I/we agree to meet regularly with the faculty advisor listed below to discuss the progress of the study and to address research issues as they arise.

*required

✓ I, and all others identified herein as members of the research team, have read and understand the above statement.

Faculty Advisor

Applicable only when the Principal Investigator is not an assistant professor, associate professor, or professor (or their clinical counterparts) at Idaho State University.

As faculty advisor for this study, I certify that I have read this application and that the information contained in it is complete and accurate. I will ensure that the principal investigator(s) listed above is/are competent to perform the procedures described. I agree to meet regularly with the principal investigator(s) to discuss the progress of the research and to address research issues as they arise. I will ensure that the research is carried out as described (including storage and destruction of data as described in the protocol), and that all applicable laws and policies will be followed.

✓ I, as faculty advisor, have read and understand the above statement.

Variable Name	Survey Question	Coding
Dependent Variables		
Trust in Institutions/Groups	Question Stem: On a scale of 0 (No Trust At All) to 10 (Completely Trust), please rate your level of trust in each of these groups to influence government policy in general.	0 = No Trust At All 10 = Completely Trust
Local Government	Average of Statements: Local Government Lower (Magistrate)Courts	0 = No Trust At All 10 = Completely Trust
National Government	Average of Statements: National Government The House of Representatives The Senate The Prime Minister Leader of the Opposition The President The High Court of Justice	0 = No Trust At All 10 = Completely Trust
Groups/Parties	Average of Statements: Private Sector/Industry Religious Organizations LGBTQ Organizations The People's National Movement The United National Congress	0 = No Trust At All 10 = Completely Trust
Value Sharing with Institutions/Groups	Question Stem: On a scale of 0 (Does Not At All Share Your Values) to 10 (Share Your Values Completely), please rate how much each group shares your values toward LGBTQ policies (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services).	0 = Does Not At All Share Your Values 10 = Share Your Values Completely
Local Government	Average of Statements: Local Government Lower (Magistrate)Courts	0 = Does Not At All Share Your Values 10 = Share Your Values Completely
National Government	Average of Statements: National Government The House of Representatives The Senate The Prime Minister Leader of the Opposition The President The High Court of Justice	0 = Does Not At All Share Your Values 10 = Share Your Values Completely
Groups/Parties	Average of Statements: Private Sector/Industry Religious Organizations LGBTQ Organizations The People's National Movement	0 = Does Not At All Share Your Values 10 = Share Your Values Completely

	The United National Congress	
Individual Support for LGBTQ Rights	On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the LGBTQ community.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
LGBTQ Sex	Same-sex adults should have the legal right to have consensual sex.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Domestic Partnership Benefits	Same-sex couples should have domestic partnership benefits(e.g. health insurance, tax benefits, death benefits) even if they are not married.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Same-sex Marriage	Same-sex couples should have the legal right to marriage.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Legal Gender Identity	Individuals should have the right to change their legal gender identity.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Discrimination in Schools	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ youth in schools.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Discrimination in Workplace	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in the workplace.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Discrimination in Housing	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in housing.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Discrimination in Healthcare	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals in healthcare.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Discrimination by Law Enforcement	There should be legal protections to prevent discrimination against LGBTQ individuals by law enforcement.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Serve in Military	LGBTQ individuals should be allowed to openly serve in the military.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Same-sex Adoption	Same-sex couples should have the legal right to adoption.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Single LGBTQ Adoption	Single LGBTQ individuals should have the legal right to adoption.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Same-sex Reproductive Health	Same-sex couples should have the legal right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy or artificial insemination).	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Single LGBTQ Reproductive Health	Single LGBTQ individuals should have the legal right to reproductive health services (e.g. surrogacy or artificial insemination).	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
MSM Donate Blood	Men who have sex with other men should be allowed to donate blood.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Transgender Health	Individuals who identify as Transgender should have the legal right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy).	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Transgender Children Health with Parental Consent	Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) with the consent of their parents/guardians.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Transgender Children Health without Parental Consent	Children under the age of eighteen who identify as Transgender should have the right to transgender health services (e.g. hormone therapy) without the consent of their parents/guardians.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Ban Conversion Therapy	The government should ban conversion therapy designed to change a person's sexual orientation.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree

LGBTQ Sex Education	Schools should provide comprehensive sex education that includes information relevant to the LGBTQ community.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Hate Crimes	Protection for LGBTQ individuals from violent hate crimes should be a priority of law enforcement.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
LGBTQ Businesses	There should be more businesses that cater to the LGBTQ community (e.g. gaynightclubs).	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Personal Support for LGBTQ Rights Index	Average of all 22 statements	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Independent Variables		
National Government Power	Question Stem: On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the national government. Average of statements: National government is more powerful than local government. National government has grown more powerful in the past ten years. National government seeks to limit the resources of local government. National government seeks to limit the responsibilities of local government. National government seeks to control local government. National government officials are responsible for the changes in your neighborhood.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Local Government Power	On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding your local government. Average of statements: Local government can go against the wishes of national government. Local government has grown more powerful in the past ten years. Local government institutions have equal authority to pass policies that reflect the preferences of their constituents. Local government institutions frequently influence each other. Your local government officials are responsible for the changes in your neighborhood.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Independence of Institutions	On a scale of 0 (Not At All Independent) to 10 (Completely Independent), please evaluate the extent to which each of the following pairs are independent of each other. Average of statements: The Executive Branch & The Legislative Branch The Judicial Branch& The Executive Branch The Legislative Branch & The Judicial Branch The Prime Minister & The House of Representatives	0 = Not At All Independent 10 = Completely Independent

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	The Prime Minister & The Senate The Prime Minister & The Cabinet The Prime Minister & the President The House of Representatives &The Senate Local Government & National Government The High Court of Justice & The Lower (Magistrate) Courts	
Groups/Parties & General Policy	Question Stem: One a scale of 0 (Never) to 10 (Very Frequently), please indicate how frequently you go to the following individuals/institutions/organizations to make your voice heard on general government policy. Average of Statements: Private Sector/Industry Religious Organizations LGBTQ Organizations The People's National Movement The United National Congress	0 = Never 10 = Very Frequently
All Venues & LGBTQ Policy	One a scale of 0 (Never) to 10 (Very Frequently), please indicate how frequently you go to the following individuals/institutions/organizations to make your voice heard on LGBTQ policies (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services). Average of statements: Local Government National Government The House of Representatives The Senate The Prime Minister The President The High Court of Justice Lower (Magistrate)Courts Private Sector/Industry Religious Organizations LGBTQ Organizations The People's National Movement The United National Congress	0 = Never 10 = Very Frequently
Groups/Parties & LGBTQ Policy	One a scale of 0 (Never) to 10 (Very Frequently), please indicate how frequently you go to the following individuals/institutions/organizations to make your voice heard on LGBTQ policies (e.g. same-sex marriage, protections in employment, access to reproductive health services). Average of statements: Private Sector/Industry Religious Organizations LGBTQ Organizations The People's National Movement	0 = Never 10 = Very Frequently

	The United National Congress	
Heavenly Chorus	Question Stem: On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree that the following groups are deciding LGBTQ policy.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
National Government	A small, like-minded group of individuals within national government.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Local Government	A small, like-minded group of individuals within local government.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Elites/Groups	Average of statements: Wealthy Elites Educated Elites Business/Corporate Interests LGBTQ Organizations Religious Organizations	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Privilege	Question Stem: One a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding who benefits from government policies. LGBTQ policies tend to benefit more privileged LGBTQ individuals (e.g. wealthy, white, educated).	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Morality	Question Stem: On a scale of 1 (Does Not At All Influence) to 5 (Strongly Influence), please indicate the extent to which each of the following influence your beliefs toward LGBTQ rights.	1 = Does Not All Influence 5 = Strongly Influence
Individual	My religious beliefs My secular/non-religious beliefs My belief that LGBTQ rights are a human/civil rights issue	1 = Does Not All Influence 5 = Strongly Influence
Other	Other people's religious beliefs Other people's secular/non-religious beliefs Other people's belief that LGBTQ rights are a human/civil rights issue	1 = Does Not All Influence 5 = Strongly Influence
Media	Question Stem: On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the importance of LGBTQ rights.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Salience	Average of statements: News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in my community has increased in the past ten years. News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in other communities has increased in the past ten years.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Factual Coverage	Average of statements: News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in my community is factual. News coverage of LGBTQ issues that happen in other communities is factual.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Too Much Coverage	News media covers LGBTQ issues too much.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree

Religious Influence	Question Stem: On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding religion.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Religiosity	I regularly attend services of my religion.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Insularity	Average of statements: I have the same religious beliefs as members of my immediate family. I have the same religious beliefs as my closest friends. I have the same religious beliefs as my neighbors.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Marriage Tolerance	Average of statements: Individuals with different religious backgrounds should be allowed to get married. Individuals with different ethnic backgrounds should be allowed to get married.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Matters to Local Government	The teachings of my religion matter to local government when it decides LGBTQ policy.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Matters to National Government	The teachings of my religion matter to national government when it decides LGBTQ policy.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Religious Organizations Influence Local LGBTQ Policy	Religious organizations influence the decisions of local government regarding LGBTQ policy.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Religious Organizations Influence National LGBTQ Policy	Religious organizations influence the decisions of national government regarding LGBTQ policy.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Interest Groups	Question Stem: On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the influence of interest groups (e.g. non-profit organizations, community associations).	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Influence Government	Average of statements: Interest groups influence local government decisions in general. Interest groups influence local government decisions regarding LGBTQ policy. Interest groups influence national government decisions in general. Interest groups influence national government decisions regarding LGBTQ policy.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Policy Environment	Question Stem: On a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the area where you live.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
General Diversity	Average of statements: There are many university-educated people. There are many high-income families.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree

	There are many non-traditional households (e.g. blended families, intentionally single parents, common-law marriages). It is religiously diverse. It is ethnically diverse. It is culturally diverse.	
LGBTQ Diversity	Average of statements: There are many openly LGBTQ individuals. There are many businesses that openly cater to the LGBTQ community. There are frequent community events celebrating the LGBTQ community.	1 = Strongly Disagree 5 = Strongly Agree
Demographics		
Social Contact	Question Stem: Please indicate "Yes" or "No" to the following statements regarding your personal connections to LGBTQ individuals. Average of statements: Immediate family member(s) identify as LGBTQ. Close relative(s)identify as LGBTQ. Close friend(s) identify as LGBTQ. Co-worker(s) identify as LGBTQ. Member(s) of my religious organization identify as LGBTQ. Member(s) of my social clubs/civic groups identify as LGBTQ.	1 = No 2 = Yes
Married	What is your marital status? Never Married Domestic Partnership/Common Law Marriage Married Legally Separated Divorced Widowed Other (Please Specify)	1 = Married 0 = Others
Ethnicity	To which ethnic group do you belong? African Caucasian Chinese East Indian Indigenous Mixed - African and East Indian Mixed - Other (Please Specify) Syrian/Lebanese Other (Please Specify)	1 = African 0 = Others 1 = East Indian 0 - Others
Religion	What is your religion? Christian/Protestant Christian/Catholic Muslim Hindu Jew Atheist/Agnostic	1 = Catholic 0 = Others 1 = Muslim 0 = Others 1 = Hindu 0 = Others

	Other (Please Specify)	Atheist = 1 Others = 0
Gender	Which of the following gender identity categories best fit you? Male Female Transgender Male Transgender Female Non-binary/Third Gender Other (Please Specify)	1 = Female 0 = Others
Sexuality	Which of the following sexual orientation categories best fit you? Heterosexual Gay Lesbian Bisexual Asexual Pansexual Demisexual Other (Please Specify)	0 = Heterosexual 1 = Others
Education	What is the highest level of education you have received? Primary School Secondary School - GCE/CXC Secondary School - CAPE Diploma/Equivalent Associate's Degree Bachelor's Degree Master's Degree Post-Graduate Degree Doctoral Degree Other (Please Specify)	6 = Primary School 11 = Secondary School - GCE/CXC 12 = Secondary School - CAPE 12 = Diploma/Equivalent 14 = Associate's Degree 16 = Bachelor's Degree 18 = Master's Degree 22 = Post-Graduate Degree 22 = Doctoral Degree
Foreign Education	Have you received any formal education outside of Trinidad & Tobago?	1 = Yes 2 = No
Income	What is your average household monthly income?	1 = Less than $5000 2 = $5001 - $10,000 3 = $10,001 - $15,000 4 = More than $15,001
Political Orientation	How would you describe your political orientation?	1 = Very Conservative 2 = Conservative 3 = Moderate 4 = Liberal

		5 = Very Liberal
Political Party	What is your preferred political party? People's National Movement (PNM) United National Congress (UNC) Congress of the People (COP) Democratic Party of Trinidad & Tobago (DPTT) Movement for Social Justice (MSJ) Independent Liberal Party (ILP) Other (Please Specify)	1 = PNM 0 = Others 1 = UNC 0 = Others
Nationality	Were you born in Trinidad & Tobago?	1 = Yes 2 = No
Urbanism	Please select the category which best describes the area where you live.	1 = Rural area 2 = Something In Between 3 = Urban area