

Attitudes towards homosexuality in 29 nations

Where has the sexual revolution taken us? Do falling marriage rates mean that people are eschewing traditional pair-bonded heterosexual unions in favour of a kaleidoscope of casual sexual affairs with a wide variety of heterosexual and homosexual 'partners'? In particular, has homosexuality—regarded as loathsome through much of history—come to be widely practiced and to be received with tolerance, if not with approbation, by the broader community?

First, as to behaviour, homosexuals are few. The best estimates indicate the prevalence of homosexuality at 2.3 to 2.8 per cent of men and at 1.2 to 1.4 per cent of women (Cameron and Cameron 1998; Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels 1994). There appears to be relatively strong residential concentration of homosexuals, so residents of homosexual enclaves and their neighbours may perceive the prevalence to be much higher (Hilliard 1997; Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels 1994).¹

Second, as to attitudes, Australians tend to have permissive views towards marriage-oriented sex, to view it as a part of the courtship process and hence as acceptable. This is also true in many other countries throughout the developed world. But even after the sexual revolution, adultery and casual sex still attract opprobrium (Kelley and Evans 1995). As late as the middle 1990s, attitudes towards homosexuals were still quite negative in Australia (Evans 1996).

The issue of attitudes matters because, Australia being a democracy, the consent of the governed is the ultimate benchmark. Public attitudes need to be taken into account on such questions such as whether laws should be changed to enable homosexual pairs to wed and enjoy the legal rights and financial privileges of spouses, whether the public purse should support gay-oriented groups, whether employment discrimination is legitimate, on levels of funding for diseases like AIDS that disproportionately afflict homosexuals, and the like.

Moreover, community attitudes are the key criteria in deciding whether it is defamatory to label someone a 'homosexual'—an important issue in several recent court cases, and in ongoing controversies over 'outing' homosexuals. If the community views homosexuals neutrally, or with approbation, the term is not defamatory. On the other hand, if the community ab-

hors them, applying such a term will necessarily damage reputations.²

This paper investigates public attitudes towards homosexuality using data from the 1999/2000 International Social Science Survey/Australia, which obtained the views of a large random sample of Australian citizens. More details on the IsssA surveys are available on the data page (page 26), or in (Kelley and Evans 1999). To assess changes over time, we compare these data to the 1984 IsssA survey.³ For an international perspective, we compare Australia to the 28 other countries that took part in the International Social Survey Program's 1998–1999 Religion-II survey (see www.issp.org for details).

Description: Australia 1999

There are a wide range of well established and validated measures of tolerance of homosexual behaviour available,⁴ and of these we used:

Do you think it is wrong or not wrong ... sexual relations between two adults of the same sex?

<i>Not wrong at all</i>	28%	[100 points]
<i>Wrong only sometimes</i>	15%	[67 points]
<i>Almost always wrong</i>	9%	[33 points]
<i>Always wrong</i>	48%	[0 points]
	100%	(1,223 cases)
		(Mean = 41 points)

Fully 28 per cent of Australians think that homosexual behaviour is 'Not wrong at all'.⁵ 15 per cent take a slightly more censorious view, declaring it to be 'Wrong only sometimes'. Only 9 per cent say 'Almost always wrong'. But fully 48 per cent say that homosexual behaviour is 'Always wrong'. Scoring the answers on a tolerance gradient at equal intervals from 0 (always wrong) to 100 (not wrong at all), the mean is 41 points, rather below the middle point.

Surprisingly, the answers to this question are among the most strongly polarised ever reported on an attitude item in this country: the vast majority of Australians are either unambiguously tolerant or unambiguously censorious, with very few holding ambivalent or nuanced views in the middle. The usual pattern is for answers to be concentrated in a single peak, with smaller numbers on either side of the peak.

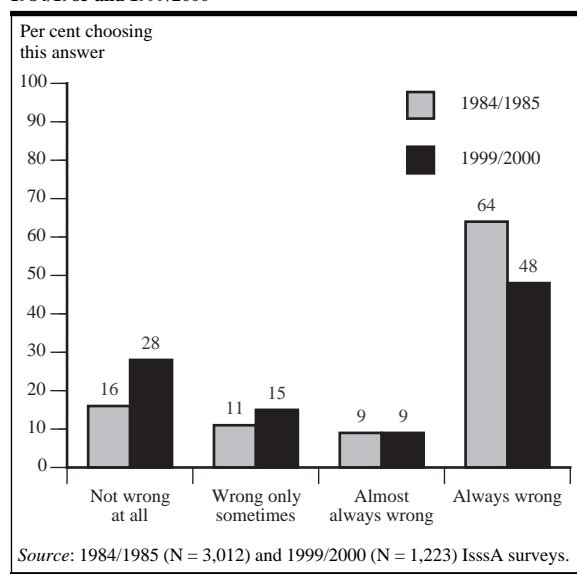
In sharp contrast, views on homosexuality are concentrated in two peaks, with smaller numbers between the two peaks.

Changes over time?

In 1984, homosexual behaviour was clearly morally condemned by a substantial majority of the population (Figure 1). Moral censure of homosexual behaviour declined drastically between 1984 and 2000—fully 64 per cent of Australians held that homosexual behaviour to be ‘always wrong’ in the middle 1980s, but at the beginning of the new century only 48 per cent of Australians took that view. Interestingly, there was little drift into the middle—to the ‘shades of grey’ moral feelings—but instead, a near-doubling in the percentage thinking that homosexuality is ‘not wrong at all’.

Moreover, this was a period when scapegoating of homosexuals might well have been expected because a new and mortal disease—AIDS—was spreading apparently unchecked through gay sex networks and posing a threat of unknown magnitude to the broader society. Despite that, attitudes were warming, perhaps through compassion.⁶

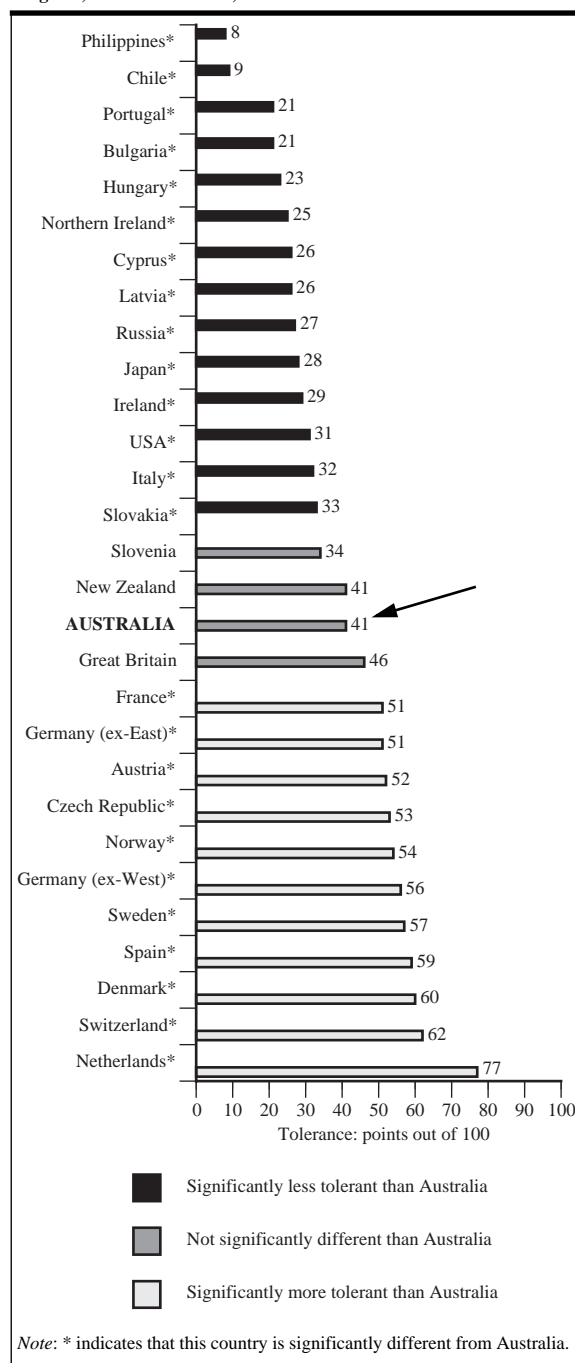
Figure 1
Changes over time in moral views on homosexual behaviour, Australia 1984/1985 and 1999/2000



Opinion in other nations

Nations differ enormously in their views about homosexuality (Figure 2). While homosexuality is to some degree morally tainted in every country considered here, opinion ranges from only mild reservations to vehement rejection:

Figure 2
Tolerance of homosexual behaviour. International Social Survey Program, 1998/1999. N = 34,557



- Distinctively tolerant are the **Dutch**, averaging 77 points out of 100. That is rather above the ‘wrong only sometimes’ point on the scale towards ‘not wrong at all’. The Netherlands is fully 15 points more tolerant of homosexuality than is the next most tolerant country, Switzerland at 62 points, closely followed by the Danes at 60.
- Then comes a large group of countries with scores in the 50s, still significantly more tolerant than

Australia. This includes Spain (surprisingly at 59),⁷ Sweden (unsurprisingly at 57), ex-West **Germany** (56), Norway (54), Czech Republic (53), Austria (52), ex-East Germany (51) and **France** (also 51). Opinion in all these countries is a bit closer to ‘wrong only sometimes’ than to ‘almost always wrong’.

- Somewhat less tolerant are Britons, with tolerance scores averaging 46. **Australians** and **New Zealanders** come next, both averaging 41. Slovenians have scores of 34.
- Slightly, but significantly less tolerant with scores in the low 30s are Slovakia (33), **Italy** (32), and the **USA** (31). In these countries, the average opinion is very close to ‘almost always wrong’.
- Scores in the 20s are typical for Ireland (mean score of 29), Japan (28), **Russia** (27), Latvia (26), Cyprus (26), Northern Ireland (25), Hungary (23), Bulgaria (21) and Portugal (21).
- Finally, by far the least tolerant of homosexuality are Chile (9) and the Philippines (8). Those scores are not very far above ‘always wrong’.

Thus, throughout the wide spectrum of countries investigated here, every nation has moral reservations about homosexuality, but the intensity of those reservations varies greatly from mild distaste in the Netherlands to intense revulsion in Chile and the Philippines. This is in keeping with prior research suggesting that attitudes towards homosexuality are more variable across developed countries than attitudes towards premarital sex (Widmer, Treas, and Newcomb 1998).

Social differences in views about homosexuality

I assess social differences in views about homosexuality by a series of regression analyses. First, to get the broad picture, I analyse a pooled sample of all 30,000 cases in the 29 ISSP nations (see Table 1 in the Technical Notes). Then to see how things do—or do not—vary between nations, I analyse each nation separately (Table 2 in the Technical Notes). The model considers age, gender, education, church attendance, religious belief and, for the pooled analysis, the nation’s gross domestic product and whether or not it was formerly Communist. Results from the regression analysis show the influence of each factor, adjusting statistically for all the others. Thus, for

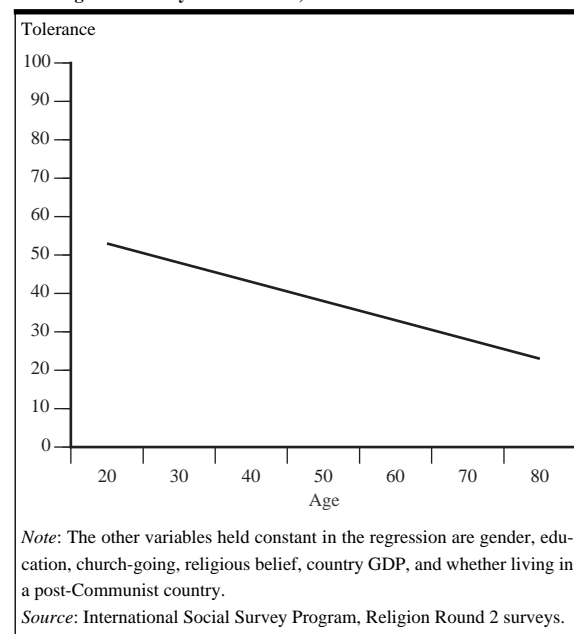
example, the estimates of the effects of age separate it from the effects of education and religion (adjusting for the fact that younger people tend to be better educated and less religious than older people).

Age

Age differences are striking (Figure 3). Net of other influences, the predicted level of tolerance for young people age 20 would be 53 points—about half way between ‘wrong only sometimes’ and ‘almost always wrong’. Those entering middle age have tolerance scores of 43 points by age 40. Their predecessors entering senior middle age are less tolerant yet, with scores averaging 33 at age 60. And their elders now entering old age hold yet more conservative attitudes, with scores averaging 23 at age 80. This ageing pattern shows up clearly in almost all of the 29 nations in the ISSP study (see Table 2 in the Technical Notes). The sharpest age difference is in Spain (which is now quite tolerant, despite its past reputation). The weakest age differences are, curiously, in the Netherlands (the most tolerant nation) and in Chile and the Philippines (the least tolerant).

These results are in keeping with prior research showing increasing tolerance during the late twentieth century in Australia (Evans 1996); Britain (Scott 1998); and the USA (Yang 1997). They probably mainly indicate a trend towards tolerance, although one cannot discount a conservatising effect of age.⁸

Figure 3
Age differences in attitudes towards homosexuality, predicted values from regression analysis. 28 nations, 1998–2000

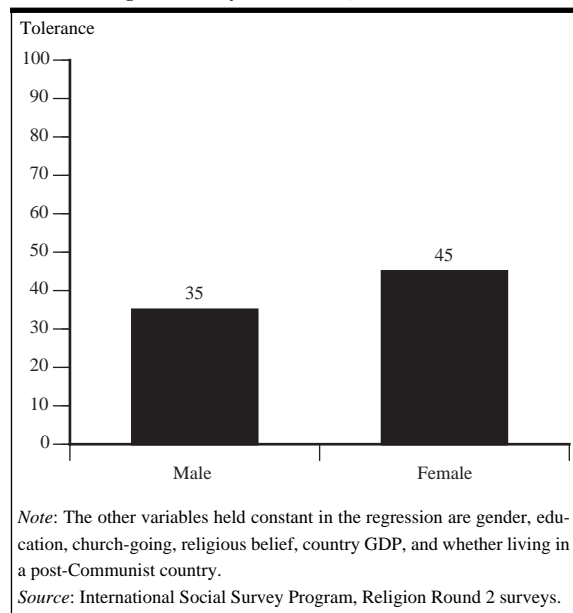


Gender

Both men and women are somewhat cool towards homosexuals, but men are much more negative than women, by about 10 points out of 100 (Figure 4). The gender effect in these data is not small (and robust across sensitivity tests)—it is as large as the generation gap in attitudes towards homosexuals of people two decades apart in age. Gender differences are rather variable cross-nationally, almost always with men less tolerant than women but by widely varying margins. For example, differences run around 20 points in the Scandinavian nations; around 15 points in Australia, Britain and the USA; and 10 points or less in Austria, Germany, and France. In a few countries, including Russia, Chile and the Philippines, there is virtually no difference between men’s and women’s views.

Prior research reports a wide spectrum of effects, ranging from no significant difference (Cotten-Huston and Waite 2000; Kane and Schippers 1996; Lippincott, Wlazelek, and Schumacher 2000); mixed results (Jones 2000); to a significant difference of the sort found here (Evans 1996; Hoover and Fishbein 1999; Kite and Whitley 1996; LaMar and Kite 1998). The studies finding no gender difference tend to have small sample sizes, so that may be the source of the diversity.

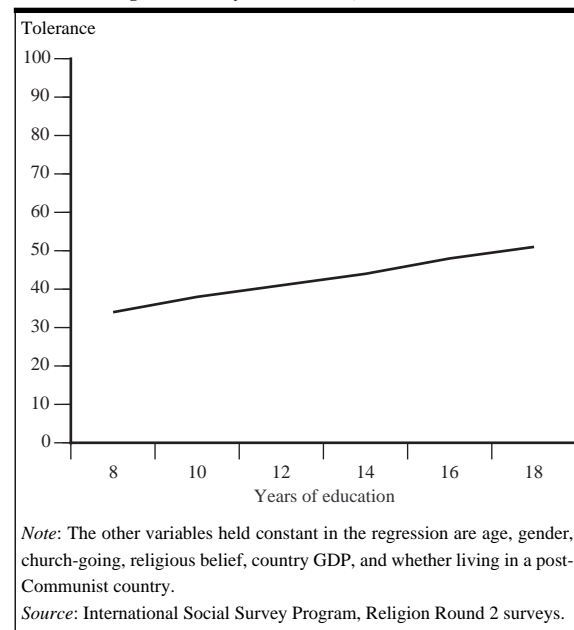
Figure 4
Gender differences in attitudes towards homosexuality, predicted values from regression analysis. 28 nations, 1998–2000



Education

Education strongly increases tolerance towards homosexuals (Figure 5). Otherwise typical respondents with 8 years of education—the minimum for much of

Figure 5
Education differences in attitudes towards homosexuality, predicted values from regression analysis. 28 nations, 1998–2000



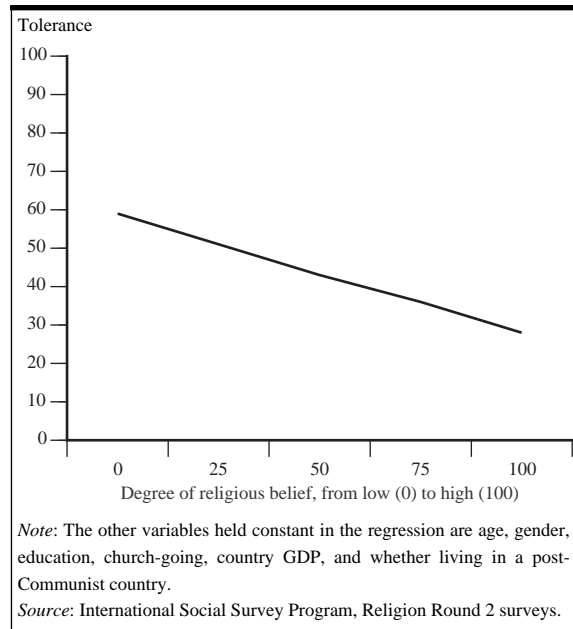
the prior century in many of our countries—tend to censure homosexual behaviour: they average a chilly 34 points out of 100, very close to ‘almost always wrong’. Those with 10 years of education are more tolerant: if otherwise typical, they would average 38 points. As one continues up the education ladder, tolerance for homosexuals increases steadily, reaching 51 points for otherwise typical people who have completed a two-years master’s degree after a four year bachelor’s degree). Thus the gap between the least educated and the most educated is 17 points. Note that this tolerance-enhancing effect of education is net of other forces—importantly it is independent of age, so the lesser censure of homosexuality among the highly educated cannot be attributed to a changing social climate. The age effects themselves suggest that there is a changing social climate, but the education effects are in addition to that.

These results are consonant with prior findings of substantial education effects (Evans 1996; Jones 2000). They appear in almost all the ISSP nations, most strongly in the USA, Scandinavia, Australia, and New Zealand.

Religion

Religious belief makes a huge difference to tolerance, other things being equal.⁹ Ardent believers in a personal God would rate homosexual behaviour at 28 points, on average (Figure 6). That is fully 31 points lower than the ratings given by staunch atheists: people who completely reject the idea of a personal God

Figure 6
Differences in attitudes towards homosexuality according to degree of religiosity, predicted values from regression analysis. 28 nations, 1998–2000



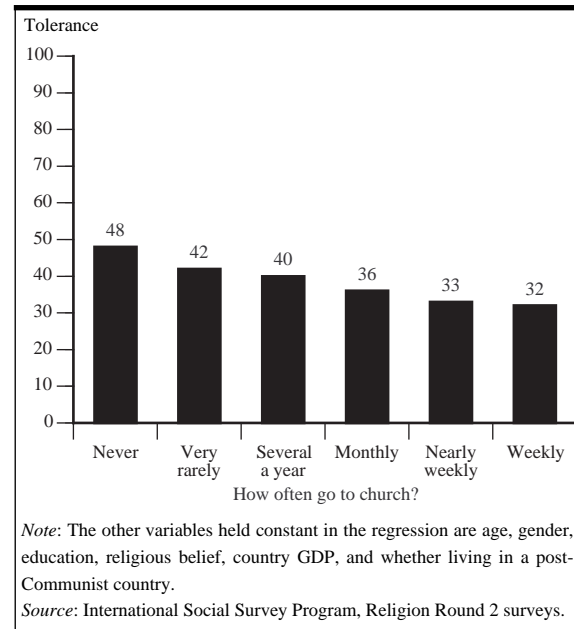
rate homosexuality at 59 points, on average and all else equal. These results are from a model that separates out the influences of religious belief and church attendance, so the large effects have to do with the consequences of religious belief per se rather than with attitudes and values of clergy or other parishioners that one meets in church.

Even apart from their stronger religious beliefs, churchgoers are less tolerant of homosexuality than are those who never darken a church's door (Figure 7). Otherwise typical people who entirely shun the churches would, on average, rate homosexual behaviour at 48 points, just a bit below the neutral point. By contrast, regular churchgoers would give homosexual behaviour only 32 points, on average. That makes for a gap of 16 points between regular churchgoers and unchurched people who match them on other characteristics.

These results are in keeping with prior research which invariably reports strong effects of religiosity (Cotten-Huston and Waite 2000; Evans 1996; Fulton, Gorsuch, and Maynard 1999; Laythe, Finkel, and Kirkpatrick 2001; Morrison, Parriag, and Morrison 1999; Scott 1998).¹⁰ Evans (1996) found large, distinct effects of both religious belief and church-going in Australia.

Effects of religious belief and church attendance are found in almost all the ISSP nations (see Technical Notes Table 2). In the pooled sample, church attendance is the more important factor, with a standardised regression coefficient of -0.22 , twice the

Figure 7
Differences in attitudes towards homosexuality according to church attendance, predicted values from regression analysis. 28 nations, 1998–2000



size of church attendance's -0.10 . But the relative importance of the two varies greatly from country to country, with religious belief the most important in some; belief and church attendance equally important in others; and church attendance more important in yet others.¹¹

Economic development

Richer countries, as indicated by their level of gross domestic product per capita, tend to be more tolerant of homosexuals (Technical Notes Table 1). The effect is clear and statistically significant ($t = 26.7$, $p < 0.001$). In standardised terms, it is about as important as age or religious belief, and more important than education or gender.

If this pattern persists into the future—and we have no reason to doubt that it will—it implies that tolerance of homosexuality will gradually increase in the future, in line with economic growth.

Discussion

Social differences in the tolerance of homosexuality are quite large. This can help explain why people living in different social circles have very different perceptions of what 'the average Australian' thinks.¹² For example, a typical 70-year-old man who had left school at the end of year 10, and who holds strong religious beliefs and attends church regularly would rate homosexual behaviour at just 1 point out of 100

on average,¹³ or ‘always wrong’. If he is surrounded by others similar to himself, small wonder if he thinks that ‘the average person’ loathes and despises homosexual behaviour.

By contrast, a young woman of 25 who is a university graduate, a firm atheist, and a strict shunner of churches would rate homosexual behaviour at 88 points out of 100, seeing it as only slightly morally tainted.¹⁴ Generalising to the world from her circle of like-minded university friends, she might well think that ‘the average person’ experiences only a mild frisson of moral revulsion towards homosexual behaviour.

In their view of homosexuals, Australian opinion is unexceptional. It is not as tolerant as some prosperous, irreligious nations (like the Netherlands), nor as intolerant of some poor, religious nations (like Chile and the Philippines). Rather it is middle of the road. Over time, Australian opinion, like that in other nations, is likely to shift slowly but steadily towards greater tolerance.

Jonathan Kelley

International Survey Program, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University

Technical Notes

To assess attitudes towards homosexuality, we use this single item because it is the only one available in the international data set. Fortunately, items measuring moral views of homosexuality tend to be very highly correlated (e.g. Morrison, Parriag and Morrison 1999; Wright, Adams, and Bernat 1999); so there is less risk of distortion of results by random measurement error than in areas where the individual items are weak.

To assess **religious belief**, we use Kelley and de Graaf’s (1997) scale of belief in a personal God. There are 3 items.(1) ‘Please indicate which statement below comes closest to expressing what you believe about God: I don’t believe in God/ I don’t know whether there is a God and I don’t believe there is any way to find out/ I don’t believe in a personal God, but I do believe in a higher power of some kind/ I find myself believing in God some of the

time, but not at others/ While I have doubts, I feel that I do believe in God/ I know God really exists and I have no doubts about it.’ (2) ‘Which best describes your beliefs about God? I don’t believe in God now and I never have/ I don’t believe in God now, but I used to/ I believe in God now, but I didn’t use to/ I believe in God now and I always have. (3) ‘There is a God who concerns Himself with every human being, personally. (Answers): Strongly agree/ Agree/ Neither agree nor disagree/ disagree/ Strongly disagree. The correlations and factor analyses justifying this scale are in Kelley and de Graaf (1997).

Other measurement is conventional. **Education** is in years. **Church attendance** is the natural log of number times attended per year. **Male** is a dummy variable, scored 1 for men and 0 for women. **GDP** is gross domestic product per capita in 1995, using ILO figures. **Post-communist** is a dummy variable scored 1 for countries that formerly had Communist governments, and zero otherwise. Estimates are by ordinary least squares regression.

Endnotes

¹Minority status isn’t the whole story. For example, the Anglican Church in Sydney continues opposition to any homosexual behaviour and vehement opposition to promiscuous homosexual life styles even though Sydney has one of the largest residential concentrations of homosexuals (Hilliard 1997).

²Whether it is just that allegations which are true, but damaging, should be forbidden by law is another question. If taken too literally, it would outlaw all frank criticism and all formal ratings.

³The 1984 survey was originally entitled the ‘National Social Science Survey’, but is now known as the ‘International Social Science Survey/Australia 1984/85’ or the *IsssA* 1984/85.

⁴Fortunately, extensive qualitative question-wording work validated by analytic pretests and subsequent full scale surveys has established that these items are highly correlated (Herek 2000; Morrison, Parriag and Morrison 1999; Wright, Adams, and Bernat 1999). In general, it is much better to conduct research using multiple items to reduce the havoc wreaked by random measurement error. In this paper we focus in the single item because it gives us comparability with the first question the *IsssA* ever asked in attitudes towards homosexuality which was in 1984, back before the AIDS scare, and comparability with the 27 other countries which took part in the *ISSP*’s ‘Religion, Round 2’ Survey. The question was asked in all these countries as a part of a block of questions on sexual morality and abortion.

⁵Respondents found this an easy question to answer. There were only 6.6 per cent missing data on this item. The data shown are the cases that were received and processed in time to be included in the *ISSP* project. Over the next six months or so, a further three hundred cases came in, bringing the total answering this question to 1,562. Including these late cases, the per cent saying ‘always wrong’ is 2 percentage points lower, the per cent saying ‘not wrong at all’ is correspondingly 2 percentage points higher, and the mean also 2 points higher.

⁶This warming of attitudes doesn’t necessarily mean that the general population welcomes homosexuals into all occupations. For example, it is not clear whether objection to homosexual teachers comes about because parents are mainly concerned about the possibility of homosexual seduction; or about the possibility of behavioural contagion—of unwitting adoption of mannerisms and body language that would be read later, by others, as indicating homosexual orientation; the or about possibility of role modelling or emulation—that children will admire their teacher, desire to be like him, and pervasively imitate the admired teacher; or about the possibility that children will imbibe a taste for non-family-centred lifestyles (Archer 1996; Gallup 1995). The possibility that parents are concerned about imitation seems especially likely, given frequent parental interventions attempting to exclude materials on homosexuality from the sex education curriculum (Jones 1999).

⁷This finding of rather high tolerance in Spain is perhaps contrary to stereotypes, but is in line with more in-depth research there (Sotelo 2000).

⁸Prior research on ageing effects per se is more equivocal (Hoover and Fishbein 1999; Cotten-Huston and Waite 2000).

⁹The countries that took part in this survey are all largely Christian or post-Christian countries, so it is possible that this would be different in other religious traditions. The items we have chosen to represent religious belief are, in fact, general to the ‘people of the book’ so they can be used in future comparative studies including countries where Judaism and Islam hold sway.

Technical Notes Table 1
Influences on tolerance of homosexuality: Ordinary least squares regression analysis for 29 nations pooled. N = 31,326; R² = 0.25

Variable	Metric coefficient	Standard error	Standardised coef.	t	Significance
Age	-0.50	0.014	-0.20	-36.92	0.000
Male	-10.02	0.439	-0.11	-22.83	0.000
Education	1.69	0.064	0.14	26.42	0.000
Church attendance	-2.53	0.146	-0.10	-17.30	0.000
Religious belief	-0.30	0.008	-0.22	-36.33	0.000
Gross domestic product	0.00	0.000	0.19	26.71	0.000
Post-communist	-3.38	0.714	-0.03	-4.73	0.000
(Constant)	50.96	1.438	-	35.44	0.000

Source: *ISSP* (International Social Survey Programme) Religion, Round 2 surveys.

Technical Notes Table 2

Influences on tolerance of homosexuality: Metric partial regression coefficients for 29 nations separately

	Age	Male	Education	Church attendance	Religious belief	(Constant)	R ²	(Cases)
USA	-0.39	-13	3.7	-3.9	-0.44	48	0.25	1,149
Switzerland	-0.58	-13	1.7	1.8	-0.55	101	0.24	960
Norway	-0.42	-20	3.6	-8.3	-0.30	52	0.27	1,342
Japan	-0.52	-2	0.8	-1.8	-0.02	46	0.13	1,127
Denmark	-0.46	-18	2.6	-7.2	-0.07	68	0.24	1,039
Austria	-0.69	-10	1.9	-2.4	-0.19	85	0.18	842
France	-0.67	-10	2.1	-6.8	-0.19	69	0.35	966
Germany-W	-0.74	-7	3.1	-3.6	-0.12	71	0.25	782
Germany-E	-0.49	-3	3.2	-4.0	-0.03	43	0.11	730
AUSTRALIA	-0.57	-15	2.7	-2.5	-0.37	71	0.28	1,223
Netherlands	-0.13	-11	1.4	-6.7	-0.21	85	0.26	1,857
Italy	-0.25	-8	2.0	-4.8	-0.18	49	0.20	905
Britain	-0.84	-14	3.4	-2.7	-0.25	69	0.29	694
N Ireland	-0.58	-11	2.6	-1.0	-0.43	62	0.22	704
Sweden	-0.33	-22	3.4	-3.9	-0.20	54	0.21	1,034
Cyprus	-0.66	-3	0.9	2.7	-0.51	84	0.27	960
Ireland	-0.60	-5	-0.1	-6.7	-0.27	102	0.26	883
New Zealand	-0.67	-6	3.0	-6.0	-0.30	61	0.31	883
Spain	-0.92	-11	1.1	-2.5	-0.25	115	0.32	2,256
Portugal	-0.36	-16	1.3	-1.7	-0.21	55	0.18	1,179
Slovenia	-0.46	-14	1.1	-2.8	-0.11	58	0.13	778
Chile	-0.10	-1	0.9	-0.2	-0.25	26	0.08	1,452
Czech Republic	-0.67	-13	1.6	-5.3	-0.07	74	0.17	945
Slovakia	-0.47	-7	1.7	-2.6	-0.15	49	0.12	1,081
Hungary	-0.21	-13	0.9	-2.1	-0.13	38	0.08	925
Bulgaria	-0.55	-2	2.0	-1.5	-0.04	30	0.14	938
Russia	-0.54	2	0.8	0.1	-0.05	43	0.08	1,483
Latvia	-0.47	-2	0.3	0.1	-0.26	58	0.09	1,016
Philippines	-0.13	0	0.2	-0.3	-0.06	17	0.01	1,193
(Mean)	-0.50	-9	1.9	-3.0	-0.21	62	0.20	1,080

Source: ISSP (International Social Survey Programme) Religion, Round 2 surveys.

¹⁰Many of these studies are based on small convenience samples, e.g. students in a university class, so their results need to be taken as suggesting hypotheses rather than as establishing facts. The only samples from which one can securely generalise to the whole population are representative samples chosen at random.

¹¹Religious belief and church attendance are of course correlated, $r = 0.56$ in the pooled sample for example. But this multicollinearity is not large enough to make for major statistical problems in sorting out the effect of the two in our large samples.

¹²This may apply to a wider range of social differences than those examined here, but note that social class differences are basically nil—neither family income, nor being self-employed, nor being unemployed, nor working on a farm (net of being rural), nor being in or out of the workforce makes any differences (Evans 1996). The only social class related difference (net of education and location) that makes any difference is collar-colour: blue collar workers are a little less tolerant than are white collar workers—the difference is only 3 points out of 100, but significant (Evans 1996). Future research might be more likely to find connections to gender role attitudes (Basow and Johnson 2000; Cotten-Huston and Waite 2000; Whitley and Aegisdottir 2000) to rurality (Evans 1996); to political party preferences (Evans 1996), and to charity work (Evans 1996).

¹³This is a predicted value from the regression equation with the causal variables set to the values described in text. This hypothetical person is scored 100 on religious belief, and attends church 52 times a year.

¹⁴This is a predicted value from the regression with all the causal variables set to the values specified in text. This hypothetical person has a zero score on the religious belief scale, and is assumed to attend church 0.1 times a year. Because one cannot take a natural log of zero, it is conventional when doing computations of this kind to take a very small number near zero, so we have chosen 0.1.

References

- Archer, J. 1996. 'Attitudes Toward Homosexuals: An Alternative Darwinian View.' *Ethology and Sociobiology* 17(4): 275–280.
- Basow, S.A. and K. Johnson. 2000. 'Predictors of Homophobia in Female College Students.' *Sex Roles* 4 (5–6): 391–404.
- Cotten-Huston, A.L., and B.M. Waite. 2000. 'Anti-homosexual Attitudes in College Students: Predictors and Classroom Interventions.' *Journal of Homosexuality* 38(3): 117–133.
- Evans, M.D.R. 1996. 'How Much Tolerance For Homosexuals?' *WwA: Worldwide Attitudes* 1996.07.29: 1–8.
- Fulton A.S., R.L. Gorsuch, and E.A. Maynard. 1999. 'Religious Orientation, Antihomosexual Sentiment, and Fundamentalism Among Christians.' *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 38(1):14–22.
- Herek, G.M. 2000. 'Sexual Prejudice and Gender.' *Journal of Social Issues* 56 (2): 251–266.
- Herek G.M. and J.P. Capitanio. 1999. 'Sex Differences in How Heterosexuals Think About Lesbians and Gay Men.' *Journal of Sex Research* 36 (4): 348–360.
- Hoover R., and H.D. Fishbein. 1999. 'The Development of Prejudice and Sex Role Stereotyping in White Adolescents and White Young Adults.' *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology* 20(3): 431–448.
- Jones, L.S. 2000 'Attitudes of Psychologists and Psychologists-in-Training to Homosexual Women and Men: An Australian Study.' *Journal of Homosexuality* 39(2):113–132.
- Jose, J. 1999. 'Drawing the Line: Sex Education and Homosexuality in South Australia, 1985.' *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 45(2): 197–213.
- Kelley, J. and M.D.R. Evans. 1995. 'Sexual Permissiveness: Evidence From 14 Nations.' *WwA: Worldwide Attitudes* 1995.07.23: 1–8.

Kelley, Jonathan and M.D.R. Evans. 1999. 'Australian and International Survey Data for Multivariate Analysis: The Issa.' *Australian Economic Review* 32:298-302.

Laumann, Edward O., John H. Gagnon, Robert T. Michael, and Stuart Michaels. 1994. *The Social Organization of Sexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Laythe, B., D. Finkel, and L.A. Kirkpatrick. 2001. 'Predicting Prejudice From Religious Fundamentalism and Right-Wing Authoritarianism: A Multiple-Regression Approach.' *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40 (1): 1-10.

Lippincott J.A., B. Wlazelek, L.J. Schumacher. 2000. 'Comparison: Attitudes Toward Homosexuality of International and American College Students.' *Psychological Reports* 87(3,Part 2):1053-1056.

Sotelo M.J. 2000. 'Political Tolerance Among Adolescents Towards Homosexuals in Spain.' *Journal of Homosexuality* 39(1): 95-105.

Weston W.J. 1999. 'The Presbyterian "Fidelity and Chastity" Competition As a Loyalist Victory.' *Review of Religious Research* 41(Dec): 207-222.

Whitley B.E. 1999. 'Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation, and Prejudice.' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 77(1): 126-134.

Whitley B.E. and S. Aegisdottir. 2000. 'The Gender Belief System, Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation, and Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men.' *Sex Roles* 42 (11-12): 947-967.

Wright L.W., H.E. Adams, and J. Bernat. 1999. 'Development and Validation of the "Homophobia Scale".' *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment* 21(4): 337-347.

Gender and self-employment

To examine whether self-employment trends differed for men and women, I show trends in self-employment of men and women separately in five selected industries (Figures 1 and 2), using data on the unincorporated self-employed from the ABS's Time Series (ABS 2000). These data necessarily focus on smaller-scale, possibly newer and less successful businesses than if we were able to include owner-managers of incorporated businesses, but they are the only historical data with a sufficiently

large case base to examine trends in the smaller industries.

Overall, changes in self-employment within industries have been in the same direction and of the same size for both genders. Although the proportion of men and women in self-employment differs, the decrease in agricultural self-employment has been very similar among male and female self-employed, once we take into account changes in numbers of all the employed in this industry (Figures 1 and 2). Self-employment in construction grew briefly in the early nineties, only to drop down at the end of the nineties; the trend is similar for both men and women. The decrease in self-employment within the retail trade industry has been also similar among men and women, although, in this industry, self-employment is more common among men than among women (Figures 1 and 2). The rates of self-employment in personal services have been very similar for men and women—stable, perhaps even minimally rising, but showing no clear increase over this time period. The only industry experiencing rising rates of self-employment over this period has been Communication Services and here also the trend is very similar for men and women.

The similarity in self-employment trends by gender across a wide range of industries suggests that the determinants producing these changes are not connected to gender differences in employment decisions. There is no sign that self-employment in particular industries is more attractive to women as one way of coping with conflicting family and work pressures (Arai 2000; Boden 1999).

Joanna Sikora

References

ABS, Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2000. *Time-Series Tables: Labor Force*, ABS Cat. no: 6291.0.40.001. Canberra.

Arai, A. Bruce. 2000. 'Self-Employment as a Response to the Double Day for Women and Men in Canada.' *Revue Canadienne de Sociologie et d'Anthropologie/ Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 37:125-142.

Boden, Richard-J., Jr. 1999. 'Gender Inequality in Wage Earnings and Female Self-Employment Selection.' *Journal of Socio Economics* 28:351-364.

Figure 1
Male self-employment rates in selected industries. Australia, 1984-1999

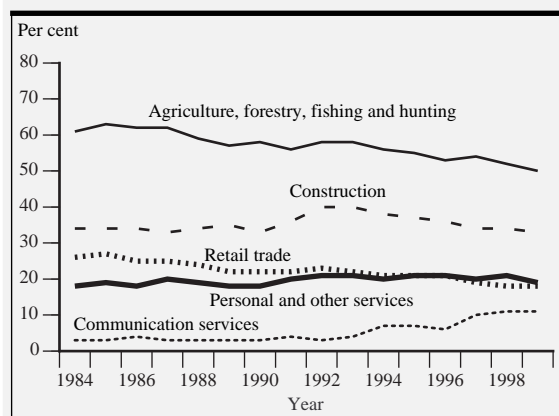


Figure 2
Female self-employment rates in selected industries. Australia, 1984-1999

