



# **The Quality of Life and Prospects for Change in Bermuda**

**A REPORT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BERMUDA  
ON A SAMPLE SURVEY**

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Northwestern University  
September 1984**



*Premier*

*The Cabinet Office*

*Hamilton 5-24, Bermuda*

7th September, 1984.

Government decided to commission a large scale, broad based Quality of Life Survey following the Report of a group of social scientists in the Fall of 1982. That Memorandum has tentatively concluded that Bermuda had substantial social problems.

However, in presenting their Memorandum, they conceded that their conclusions were matters of opinion about which there was little firm information. Accordingly, they recommended that Government conduct a systematic enquiry into public opinion to determine Bermudians' own perceptions of their Quality of Life, and their related concerns about public issues. The result was that in May and June of 1984 Government undertook what was probably the first Quality of Life Survey ever commissioned by a national Government as a guide to public policy. The results of that Survey have now been thoroughly studied and analysed by Professor Ted Robert Gurr, a distinguished Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

I am proud to report that Bermudians are much more optimistic about their Quality of Life than the 1982 document had suggested. Indeed, Professor Gurr concludes:

"There is little basis for pessimism in this Report, most Bermudians have a positive outlook on their lives and their country and a clear sense of the kind of issues that require public attention".

The Survey shows, in short, high levels of satisfaction with the Quality of Life here.

I have the pleasure of releasing the Report submitted to me by Professor Gurr.

John W. Swan

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The Honorable John Swan  
Premier  
The Government of Bermuda  
Hamilton 5-24  
BERMUDA

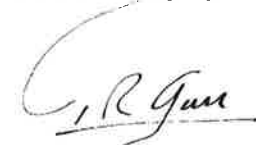
Dear Premier Swan:

I am pleased to forward to you the enclosed report, "The Quality of Life and Prospects for Change in Bermuda: A Report to the Government of Bermuda on a Sample Survey." It is the culmination of discussions begun in September 1982 and survey work which was designed and executed during 1984.

It has been a challenging project and one which, in my view, is well worth repeating in future years. The results of this first survey provide a baseline against which to judge future changes in the attitudes and concerns of Bermudians.

I look forward to meeting you again and to discussions of the results and implications of the study.

Sincerely yours,



Ted Robert Gurr  
Payson S. Wild Professor  
of Political Science

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## Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

By objective indicators Bermuda is one of the most prosperous multiracial societies in the world. Its estimated per capita productivity of \$12,383 in 1981 ranked slightly behind that of the United States (\$12,820 in 1981) but ahead of Canada (\$11,400) and Britain (\$9,110). It was also twice as great as that of Trinidad and Tobago (\$5,670 in 1981), the most prosperous of the larger Caribbean island states<sup>1</sup>. Bermuda has very little unemployment, no districts that Britons or North Americans would recognize as slums, a beautiful and pollution-free environment, and relatively little crime. This survey shows that the great majority of residents are satisfied with the quality of life in Bermuda (Chapter 3, below). Nonetheless, some Bermudians believe that the islands have significant problems and are concerned about the future.

This was the observation of a small group of consultants who visited in Bermuda in September 1982, at the invitation of the Government. Based on conversations with many officials and civil servants, and some people outside government, we suggested that

*Bermuda... has substantial unresolved social problems. Many of them arise from perceptions of black and working-class Bermudians that material goods, notably housing, and opportunities, including educational ones, are inequitably distributed. Other social problems are directly or indirectly related to these perceptions: personal frustration, racial animosities (usually concealed rather than overt), alienation from society, cynicism about government, and a rising incidence of social pathologies such as drug abuse.*

A related issue was whether these social problems translated into a sense of relative deprivation among a significant number of Bermudians. Deprivation which arises from social problems creates a potential for civil disorder which, in Bermuda could have disastrous consequences.

The degree of concern about social problems, and the extent of deprivation, were matters of opinion and dispute about which there was little firm information. As a consequence the consultants also concluded that

*The kinds of information currently gathered by the Bermuda government are inadequate for the diagnosis of many current social issues.*

To determine accurately the dimensions of discontent in Bermuda, we specifically recommended that the Government commission one or more surveys about Bermudians' perceptions of the quality of life and their related attitudes about public issues.

This Report is a summary of the findings of the first such survey done in Bermuda. It is also, so far as we know, the first quality-of-life survey ever commissioned by a national government as a guide to public policy. A representative sample of island residents aged 15 and over was interviewed by telephone between May 28th and June 14th, 1984. Virtually all Bermudian households have telephones and the great majority of residents proved willing to answer questions. These conditions help make telephone interviewing a reliable technique for surveying people's attitudes. The survey results were weighted using demographic variables to bring the sample into correspondence with the published figures in the 1980 Bermuda Census. This is a standard technical procedure used to ensure that the tabulated answers reflect all social groups in proportion to their numbers in the population.

The questionnaire used was designed in consultation among Bermudian officials and social researchers at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. The interviewing was done by trained Bermudians.

1. Bermuda's per capita Gross Domestic Product has been calculated by the Ministry of Finance. The use of Gross Domestic Product leads to a slight underestimation of the Bermuda figure compared with those for other countries, which are per capita Gross National Product, as reported by The World Bank, *World Development Report 1983* (Oxford University Press), p. 149.

The information from the questionnaires has been analyzed and written up by Ted Robert Gurr, Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University.

This is a Report to the Government and the people of Bermuda. It offers a portrait of the current personal and social concerns of a representative cross-section of island residents. It also indicates what they think about Government's priorities and policies in dealing with many public issues. The Report is not the last word on these subjects. Public concerns change, and it is recommended that the Government undertake a series of surveys in coming years as a means of tracking, and responding to, those changing concerns.

This first Report will have served its purpose if it sharpens Bermudians' awareness of one another's concerns and if it helps officials identify issues for public attention. The picture which emerges from these data is more diverse and more positive than the consultants' impressions in 1982. It is evident that Bermuda is a mosaic of people whose experiences and opinions are in agreement on some issues, divergent on others. No one group can assume that its own views are a mirror image of others' views. Perhaps most important, there is little basis for pessimism in this report. Most Bermudians have a positive outlook on their lives and their country, and a clear sense of the kinds of issues that require public attention.

## Chapter 2 PATTERNS OF BERMUDIAN LIFE

This Chapter is a summary of background information that Bermudians provided about themselves and how they work and live. Each table shows the percentages of respondents who gave a particular answer. Table II.1, for example, shows that 81% of all Bermudians reported that they have lived most or all their life in the islands, while 9% moved there less than 10 years ago. Demographic variables significantly affect people's responses to many such questions. Youth may have different views and experiences than adults, black Bermudians sometimes have different concerns than whites, economically prosperous people usually are more content than people from poorer families. On subjects where race, family income, or age significantly affect people's responses, this Report comments on the differences. There also are a number of analyses of differences between the satisfied majority of Bermudians and the dissatisfied minority.

### 2.1 ORIGINS, NATIONAL HERITAGE, AND TRAVEL

Table II.1, shows that while 9% of all people surveyed said they came to the islands more than 10 years ago, 18% of whites gave this response compared with 4% of blacks. The survey also shows that nearly two-thirds of whites report that they have lived on the islands most or all their lives: 63% compared with 92% for blacks. Among blacks from overseas half came more than 10 years ago, half less than 10 years ago. The same is true of whites from overseas.

Comparisons made according to people's family incomes (not in the Table) show that income differences between native Bermudians and immigrants from overseas are not great, and that many native Bermudians do very well economically. For example, of the Bermudians who reported family incomes over \$25,000, 75% said they had lived most or all of their life in the islands while 13% had moved to Bermuda in the last 10 years. People from overseas are about equally likely to be in the middle and higher income categories, but not in the lowest.

Bermuda has been described as a mosaic of diverse people. When asked directly whether they are white or black, 36% say white, 62% black, and 2% other. Asked about their national heritage, however, the results show more diversity than is captured in a simple black-white distinction (Table II.2). While 45% of residents say they are black Bermudians by heritage and 22% say white, one third of them identify other national heritages, the most numerous of which are English (11%), Caribbean (7%), and Portuguese (5%). Another source of

diversity is people's reported status as Bermudians: the non-Bermudian 16% are equally divided between those who have lived in Bermuda more and less than 10 years.

The fact that 67% of people surveyed said their national heritage was black Bermudian or white Bermudian demonstrates the existence of a widespread sense of Bermudian identity. The dimensions and implications of national identity among residents of the islands should be probed in a future survey.

Residents of Bermuda are also widely travelled: more than three-quarters report that they go off the islands at least once a year, while 9% make four or more off-island trips annually (Table II.1). Blacks travel off-island somewhat less frequently than whites. The most notable difference is that fewer blacks make multiple trips each year (whites 45%, blacks 34%). People in higher-income categories travel somewhat more often than others, but even those reporting family incomes less than \$15,000 usually travel: 69% say they go off-island at least once a year.

By far the most common destination for travellers is the Eastern United States (62%). Other parts of the United States plus Canada account for 23% of travel destinations, Britain and Continental Europe together only 10%. The only notable difference by race is that white residents of Bermuda more often travel to Canada and Britain (24% compared with 4% among blacks) while blacks more often travel to the United States (86% compared with 66% among whites).

## 2.2 FAMILY AND CHILDREN

Slightly more than half the respondents reported that they were married (52%), a third were single, the others divorced (9%) or widowed (6%) (Table II.3). Almost all the youth in the sample were single, but so were a great many adults 21-40. Blacks were more likely than whites to be single, 40% compared with 23%. People in the highest family income bracket are considerably more likely than others to be married. This and a few other items resemble questions asked in the 1980 Bermuda census. The survey results should not be expected to agree exactly with the census results because of the passage of time.

More than two-thirds of the respondents say they have children (69%; youths were not asked this question unless married). Approximately equal proportions of whites and blacks reported having 1, 2, and 3-4 children. More blacks (11%) reported having 5 or more children than whites (6%). There also are significant tendencies for higher-income households to have fewer children than low-income households. This pattern is found in virtually all countries of the world and is not at all distinctive to Bermuda.

## 2.3 JOBS AND INCOME

All but 16% of people surveyed said they were employed. Those who were not were mainly youth, many of them still in school, and retired men and women of both races. In the 21-40 age group only 5% of blacks and 9% of whites were not employed, most of them presumably housewives. The distribution by type of employment is shown in Table II.4: professional and technical occupations are the most common (33%), followed by administration (18%), service (12%), and sales (9%).

Racial differences in reported occupations are relatively small by comparison with the United States. Among white Bermudians 59% are in the professional, technical, and administrative occupations compared with 48% among blacks. Blacks outnumber whites in service occupations, 15% to 7%, and even more in manual labour. Comparisons based on reported family income (not in the Tables) show that, while people in professional and administrative occupations are usually in higher-income households, significant portions are in low-income households. People in service occupations have the lowest family incomes.

More detailed information on family income categories, also in Table II.4, shows that a quarter of Bermudians report family incomes over \$35,000 annually. The proportion of whites in that category is

twice as great as blacks. In the middle income categories, \$15-25,000 and \$25-30,000, though, the racial proportions are almost precisely the same. In the two lowest income categories, blacks are proportionately about twice as numerous as whites, 30% compared to 17%. Caution is necessary when interpreting these results because, although people were asked specifically about *family* income, some may have answered about their own personal income. This probably accounts for some of those reporting "under \$10,000".

## 2.4 EDUCATION AND INCOME

In other Western countries education is widely believed to be the means to material success. In Bermuda that belief is consistent with the survey's indirect evidence. The evidence is "indirect" because the people surveyed were asked about their *family* income rather than their own. The inclusion of youths also weakens the relationship, since their own education is not likely to affect their family's income. Nonetheless, the general pattern in Table II.5 is that the higher the education level, the higher the family income. People who have not completed secondary school are most likely to be in the lowest family income category. Those who have completed secondary school, like those who have some college training, are somewhat more likely to be in the middle- and upper-income groups. Virtually everyone who has completed college, white and black, is in the middle- or upper-income bracket.

Comparisons by race show that most black Bermudians in the lowest family income category have only a primary education. Blacks of middle-income families are most likely to have had secondary education. And blacks of high-income families are slightly more likely to have attended college. But many people in high-income black families report only primary education. Some of these presumably are people with better-educated spouses. But there are also a substantial number of black Bermudians who are doing well without having had much formal education. This is noticeably less true of whites. Most whites in middle- and higher-income families have at least a secondary education.

## 2.5 VEHICLES

Eighty-six percent of Bermudians report owning some form of motorized transportation. Those who do not are mainly people in the lowest family income category. Slightly more than half (52%) own a car, 15% motor bikes or cycles, and 18% own multiple vehicles. How they use their vehicles, and the implications for Bermuda's traffic problems, are discussed in Chapter 6, below.

## 2.6 CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

Three-quarters of island residents report that they go to church at least occasionally, 31% saying that they go once a week or more (Table II.6). Black Bermudians are more likely to attend church and to do so more frequently than whites. Women and older Bermudians also are more frequent church-goers. The largest denominations in terms of reported membership are Anglican (25%, racially balanced), Roman Catholic (16%, mainly whites), and African Methodist Episcopal (11%, almost all black).

## 2.7 SPORTS AND EXERCISE

Three-quarters of the people surveyed say they play sports on a regular basis, with 15% mentioning tennis and 14% golf. Cricket (7%) and soccer (5%) are distant seconds, while only 4% say they swim. Presumably many more Bermudians go ocean swimming; they may not think of it as a sport.

More than three-quarters (73%) say that they exercise at least once a week for at least one-half hour; 31% claim to exercise four times or more per week. Well-educated, younger respondents exercise more than others.

## 2.8 SMOKING AND ALCOHOL

Most Bermudians (77%) report that they do not smoke while only 12% say they smoke half a pack or more per day (Table II.8). The

number of cigarettes sold in Bermuda each year suggests a considerably higher rate of consumption, even if tourist sales are discounted, so some respondents probably were underreporting their consumption.

The same may be true of alcohol consumption, which 75% of Bermudians say they use never or only occasionally. Only 9% say they drink every day.

The same groups of people report smoking and drinking most heavily: men more than women, whites more than blacks. Reported alcohol consumption is also higher in upper-income households. An extensive discussion of alcohol problems in Bermuda is given in Chapter 5.

## 2.9 THE MASS MEDIA

Asked about the media, nearly three-quarters of adult Bermudians think that the television news is very fair (19%) or somewhat fair (53%). The *Royal Gazette* is thought to be very or somewhat fair by 59%. Those who think the media are unfair are mainly concerned about racial bias and inaccuracy. For example, 13% of respondents think the *Royal Gazette* is pro-white in its reporting and 11% think it is inaccurate. Only 3% criticize it for being pro-government. There are few differences between blacks and whites in perceptions of fairness or in criticisms of the media.

# Chapter 3 PERCEPTIONS OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE ON BERMUDA

Bermudians have a high degree of satisfaction with the quality of life in Bermuda (Table III.1). Overall, more than three-quarters (77%) are very or somewhat satisfied, 17% somewhat dissatisfied, and only 5% are very dissatisfied. White Bermudians are somewhat more likely to be satisfied than black Bermudians, 90% compared to 69%. The dissatisfied 22% of Bermudians are more likely to be women than men and to be in the 21-40 age bracket. This may reflect the particular discontents of women who are single parents.

While it is generally true that blacks are somewhat less likely to be satisfied than whites, black youths in the 15-21 age bracket are more satisfied than their elders and closer to their white peers in satisfaction than in any other age group. Family income evidently has little to do with overall satisfaction. In families with reported incomes less than \$15,000, the "satisfied" outweigh the "dissatisfied" by 74% to 25%, while for families over \$25,000 the difference is 83% to 17%. This suggests that for poorer Bermudians psychic satisfactions may compensate for less-than-average incomes. Another way to make this comparison is to analyze the income brackets of the "dissatisfied" minority. A third of them are in the upper-income bracket and another third in the \$15-\$25,000 bracket, evidence for the familiar truth that money doesn't necessarily bring happiness.

Most Bermudians, whatever their personal satisfactions, think that life in Bermuda is better than elsewhere (Table III.1). Seventy-two percent think it is better than in the United States, Canada, and Britain; 17% think it is the same and only 7% think Bermuda is worse. Compared with Caribbean island, nearly 80% think Bermuda is better and most of the rest do not know. There is very little difference between blacks and whites or men and women in these general perceptions. Even among the "dissatisfied" 22% of Bermudians, the great majority think that the quality of life in Bermuda is as good or better than elsewhere.

But there is a tiny minority of Bermudians who are both dissatisfied with their quality of life and think life in Bermuda is worse than in North America or Britain. They are only 6% of the total population.

People were also asked about their sense of progress during the last five years and their expectations about changes in the next five years. Table III.2 shows how people rated their past, present, and hoped-for future *standard of living*. The majority, black and white, rate past, present, and future as "good" or "excellent". And there is a sense of progress: "excellent" ratings increase from past to present

to future, while "fair" ratings decline. Blacks are somewhat less positive than whites in their ratings for each point in time, but they share a sense of personal progress.

Peoples' perception of improvement or decline in their standard of living also was measured by comparing their ratings of past, present, and future. The results are strongly positive: three-quarters or more see their standard of living remaining the same or improving. Only 16% rated their present standard of living worse than five years ago, while 23% thought their personal future would be worse than the present. About a quarter of poorer Bermudians – those in the lowest family income bracket – think that their standard of living has gotten worse. But few of them expect it to get worse in the future. In fact they are somewhat more optimistic than people in higher-income households about their future standard of living. When differences in family income are taken into account, black and white Bermudians are very similar in these perceptions of change in their standards of living.

Similar questions were asked about "how things were, are, and will be" in Bermuda generally. These results are less positive than ratings of standard of living (Table III.3). The percentages of excellent and good ratings combined decline from 61% (past) to 50% (present) to 48% (future) while poor ratings go up from 3% who think the past was poor to 17% who think the future will be poor or very poor. Blacks are somewhat less likely to be optimistic than whites in their ratings for each period, but the general pattern of declining optimism from past to present to future holds across all social groups: black and white, prosperous and poor, young and old.

Peoples' perceptions of the direction of change in Bermuda also were measured by comparing their ratings of past, present, and future. The most encouraging of the results, shown at the bottom of Table III.3, is the fact that majority of 55% see no change for better or worse. However, the proportions who see past and future progress are smaller (16 to 18%) than the 28% who think that conditions have worsened in the last five years on the 27% think it will continue to get worse in the future.

This concern about the future may be a local reflection of the sense of crisis in Western societies, which has its origins in the energy, economic, and environmental problems of the last decade. Or it may have specific Bermudian origins which should be assessed in later surveys.

People also were asked to compare their personal quality of life with those of other Bermudians, and to assess their personal freedom and independence. The results are summarized in Table III.4. Virtually no Bermudians, even the most dissatisfied, think that their quality of life is worse than that of other Bermudians. This suggests that very few Bermudians feel a sense of deprivation when comparing their lives with others. More than half think their situation is the same as others, while about a third in every category think they are better off. No significant differences among groups are evident in the answers to this question.

There are detectable differences among groups, however, in freedom and independence. On the positive side, nearly three-quarters of people (77% of whites, 70% of blacks) answered excellent or good. On the other hand, 30 to 35% of adults aged 21-40 (not shown in this table) are people with low incomes thought their freedom and independence were only fair or poor. This may be a consequence of material concerns or lack of personal economic opportunity: it is to be expected that people struggling to keep up with the rising cost of living will feel more constrained than others.

The answers to these questions also provide some insights into the concerns of the 22% who are generally dissatisfied with their quality of life. Comparisons in Chapter 2 showed that they are not significantly poorer than average, something which is confirmed here: they do not think they are any worse off, compared to others, than satisfied Bermudians, and are more likely to be worried about their future standard of living and about Bermuda's prospects in general.

What underlies this "syndrome of discontent" cannot be answered

directly by this survey. Other evidence in this Report shows that most of the attitudes and concerns of the discontented generally resemble those of satisfied Bermudians. No one common cause for their discontent can be identified. In short, they do not seem to share a sense of relative deprivation. Rather, their discontent probably arises mainly from individual situations, for example among single parents struggling to hold a job and raise a child, or ambitious younger men in jobs with few prospects for promotion. In Bermuda, however, discontent is not associated in any consistent way with poverty or material deprivation, or with racial discrimination.

## Chapter 4 THE SOCIAL AGENDA: MOST IMPORTANT PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CONCERNS

The best things about living in Bermuda are psychic satisfactions: the friendliness of its people and its natural beauty. These qualities were said to be most important by 31% and 23% respectively of all respondents, while another 10% mentioned a third psychic satisfaction, personal freedom (Table IV.1). Material aspects of life were mentioned less often: 17% cited the economy, 9% mentioned low taxes, and 6% said security was most important. Bermudians of both races, all age groups, and all income levels were in close agreement on the relative importance of these qualities.

The worst things about living in Bermuda vary with race and age. White Bermudians and young people of both races are most concerned about the islands' small size. As is to be expected, people in the lower income groups are most concerned about the high cost of living. Overall, 27% said cost of living was the worst aspect, 18% cited small size, and 14% said housing. The other specific problems mentioned by 3% or more of people were drugs (6%), unemployment (3%), racial tension (3%), and traffic (3%).

The minority of Bermudians who are generally dissatisfied with the quality of life can be singled out again for special attention: What do *they* think is best and worst about Bermuda? Table IV.1 shows that they are very similar to other Bermudians in what they think is "best" about Bermuda. The worst things for them are only slightly different: they are noticeably more concerned with housing. It also is significant that racial tension is not any more important to these dissatisfied Bermudians than to others and neither is cost of living.

Answers to open-ended questions about the "best" and "worst" of Bermuda reflect people's most immediate concerns. They were also asked how they rated the handling of each of a set of specific issues ranging from the management of the economy to the quality of police services. Their responses are listed in Table IV.2, beginning with the one issue – control of drug abuse – that Bermudians think is being handled most poorly. Forty-five percent think drug abuse is poorly controlled, compared with 38% who are seriously concerned about recreational facilities, 36% with alcohol abuse, and 34% with the outlook for Bermudian youth. The similarity of these percentages does not mean that these four issues are of similar importance to people, only that they are most concerned about policies for dealing with them.

Issues of middling concern to Bermudians are labour relations (23% think they are being handled poorly), the outlook for the elderly (22%), and protection of the environment (18%). People are most satisfied with health care, police service, the management of the economy, and their present housing conditions.

It may seem inconsistent that Bermudians complain about housing and the cost of living in response to one kind of question (Table IV.1 above) but then give a good rating to the management of the economy and their own housing in answer to other questions. Despite widespread discussion of "the housing problem", for example, two-thirds of Bermudians surveyed think their own housing is excellent or good, another 23% say it is fair.

The answer is that different groups of Bermudians have different concerns, as the survey demonstrates. Bermudians in the upper income categories show only mild concern about housing or cost of living in response to any of these questions. These economic concerns are heavily concentrated among people with low family incomes. Similarly, when asked to rate the management of the economy, more than half of black Bermudians (55%) thought it was fair or poor, contrasted with only 21% of whites.

Race also makes a difference in the relative importance of other issues on the social agenda. For example, black Bermudians are more concerned about the handling of drug abuse than whites. Blacks are also sharply more concerned about the outlook for youth: 36% think it is poor contrasted with 17% among whites. Other issues on which there is greater concern among blacks than whites are recreational facilities (black, 45% poor; white, 27% poor) health care, and police service. On the other hand there is approximate agreement about the handling of labour relations (most people think it is fair), the outlook for the elderly (fair to good), and protection of the environment (fair to good).

A brief look at the concerns of the dissatisfied 22% of Bermudians shows that they consistently give worse ratings to the handling of every social issue (not in the tables). What is striking is that they agree almost exactly with the satisfied majority in the *rankings* of their concerns. For example, they give the poorest ratings to control of drug abuse and recreational facilities, and the best ratings to health care, the same rankings as "all Bermudians" in Table IV.2. This indicates that the "syndrome of discontent" mentioned at the end of the previous chapter is not caused by one or a few particular social problems, with the possible exception of housing. The casual connection is probably the other way round: personal discontent makes people less satisfied with the handling of all social issues.

## Chapter 5 THE PERSONAL CONCERNS OF BERMUDIANS

Some of the issues on the social agenda affect people's lives in direct and personal ways. These issues are examined here in detail: Economic Opportunity, Education, Alcohol and Drug Abuse, and Sexual Conduct, Racial discrimination is the subject of a later section.

### 5.1 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Bermudians have a remarkably high level of satisfaction with their jobs. Overall, 86% of people surveyed call themselves satisfied with their jobs while only 14% say they are dissatisfied (Table V.1). This can be compared to 80% of working Americans who said they were satisfied with their jobs in a 1978 U.S. national survey<sup>2</sup>. The high level of satisfaction in Bermuda is evident for virtually all demographic groups. Three-quarters of employed black youths are satisfied, 88% of white youths, and these proportions increase among older groups, so that over 90% of adults over 40, black and white, are satisfied. There are only slight differences between women and men (not shown in Table V.1): 88% of men and 84% of women are satisfied. And there is little difference among income groups: even in the lowest family income category, 82% are satisfied with their jobs. There is virtual consensus that work in Bermuda is satisfying and rewarding.

More detailed questioning underscored this finding. Eighty-one percent of employed people surveyed express satisfaction with their working conditions while only 19% say they are dissatisfied. Again, satisfaction runs across the board: at least 70% in every demographic group was satisfied with working conditions.

Bermudians also think they have fair chances for personal job advancement. More than two-thirds of both whites and blacks share this

2. Angus Campbell, *The Sense of Well-Being in America: Patterns and Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), p. 240.

optimism, and more than 60% of people in every demographic category. The most dissatisfied group are younger adults, aged 21-30, more than a third of whom are not satisfied with prospects for job advancement (not shown in Table V.1). Both blacks and whites in this age group are more dissatisfied on this issue than people in other age categories. This suggests that the problem is mainly one of early and mid-career dissatisfaction, brought about by the "bottleneck problem" of too few senior positions.

Some attitudes about economic opportunity in general are positive, others negative. On the positive side, two-thirds of all Bermudians think that available jobs are interesting and fulfilling, and that Bermuda is an open society (Table V.2). The majority of Bermudians in all demographic and income groups agree with these propositions.

Contrary to these views, two-thirds of all Bermudians believe that some people have more economic opportunities than others. Majorities in virtually every group, black and white, prosperous and poor, think some people have more advantages. They were not asked *which* people or *what* advantages, but their skepticism may be linked to the widespread concern that foreigners are taking jobs that rightfully should go to Bermudians. This can be interpreted as widespread support for policies of Bermudianization.

Also of concern, but in a different way, are inequalities affecting women (not shown in the accompanying tables). There is a widespread belief, held by 55% of all people surveyed, that men are paid more than women for the same type of work. Whites and blacks in all age categories agree in similar proportions. Interestingly enough, so do both men and women: 57% of women agreed that men make more and so did 52% of men. Whether this is objectively the case cannot be determined now, but future surveys can ask more detailed questions about peoples' personal knowledge of inequities in pay.

### 5.2 EDUCATION

The Bermudian educational system, public and private, gets high marks from parents of school children. The survey identifies only a few issues for concern, particularly a desire for more homework and more school discipline.

In all, 49% of the adults surveyed say they have children currently in the school system while another 30% say their children have finished school. Slightly more than half of white respondents with children in school send their oldest child to private schools (55%) while 87% of black respondents have their oldest child in public schools. These differences by race and type of school affect both children's school experiences and parents' perceptions of the Bermudian educational system.

Children's school experiences are shown in Table V.3, as reported by their parents. The heaviest homework loads are required by private schools. Public schools seem to be significantly less demanding but what is striking is the apparent difference between black parents, 45% of whom report less than 3 hours of homework per week, and white parents, 55% of whom report more than 5 hours. If it is true that public schools place fewer homework demands on black than white students, some black children are potentially being short-changed in the race to take advantage of Bermuda's economic opportunities.

Answers to other questions show that about 40% of both white and black parents of public-school children think homework demands are too low. Black families' special concern for their children's education shows up in the help they report providing on homework. They are more likely to help "often" than parents of white public-school children. So are parents of private-school children.

The majority of parents are well-satisfied with their child's school. Discipline is not thought to be much of a problem, although a quarter of black parents and a quarter of parents of private-school children think discipline is too lenient. Almost all whites give a positive rating to the quality of teaching in their child's school. Black parents are somewhat more concerned: one quarter of them say that teaching is only fair. But not a single parent surveyed said discipline was too strict, or the quality of teaching poor.

Given the high level of satisfaction with the schools, it is not surprising that no major problem area emerged when people were asked what aspect of the educational system most needed improvement (Table V.4). The most common answer, for all groups, was teaching, but it was mentioned by only a fifth of parents. White parents are more concerned about discipline, especially in the private schools. A fifth of black parents want examinations improved, one in ten wants better facilities. These two areas are of little concern to white parents.

There is some dissatisfaction with standardized testing, but its critics are about equally divided between the 19% who think there is too much (mainly white parents) and the 15% who think there is too little (white and black). Still, the most important finding may be that 40% of all parents could identify no aspect of the educational system in need of improvement.

The last question shows considerable parental support for helping with recreation. Overall, 56% of parents said they would be willing to supervise playgrounds if kept open after school, including 60% of white parents and 55% of black parents.

### 5.3 ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE

Drug abuse and alcoholism are two issues highest on Bermudians' agenda of problems which are being handled badly (see Chapter 4, above). The survey included a number of questions about these issues, many of which were asked only of youths age 15 to 21.

It was noted in Section 2.7, above, that reported alcohol consumption is highest among whites, particularly older whites. Seventeen percent of whites report drinking every day compared with 5% of blacks. Being drunk is not something people will readily admit, but nonetheless Table V.5 shows that 19% of Bermudians report that they get drunk at least sometimes. More whites (52%) than blacks (36%) report getting drunk, and slightly more people in the upper family income categories. Women (66%) are considerably more likely to say that they never get drunk than men (47%).

Fourteen percent of people surveyed report that they have driven while drinking, whites more than blacks by 19% to 11% and men more than women by 23% to 7%.

Of special concern is the fact that 70% of white youths report that they get drunk. Similarly, while 95% of all Bermudians said that no one in their household had a problem with alcohol, only 90% of young whites gave this response. And when youth were asked whether any friends have a problem with alcohol, a full third said that some do. Evidently a significant, and perhaps growing, part of the drinking problem in Bermuda is concentrated among youth, especially whites. Moreover, comparisons across family income categories point to a greater concentration of alcohol problems in higher-income families – the same ones which reported the highest alcohol consumption (see Section 2.7).

More than a third of young Bermudians (35%) also reported that some of their friends had a problem with drugs, though very few (2%) were willing to acknowledge such problems in their households. White and black youth of lower and upper income families are equally likely to have friends with drug problems<sup>3</sup>. Girls somewhat less likely to have friends with drug problems (28%) than boys (44%).

Bermudians' widespread concern about drugs translates into support for tougher penalties for drug use and especially for pushing. Fifty-five percent of people surveyed want increased penalties for illegal drug use compared with only 10% who want them decreased. Drug-pushing drew an even harsher response, with 81% wanting increased penalties and only 3% wanting them decreased. Youth, who report the greatest familiarity with drug problems, are somewhat less likely than adults to want stiffer penalties for drug use. But they share the overwhelming consensus for greater penalties for pushing.

The youth sample was also asked why they thought their friends

3. The fact that similar proportions of black and white youths have friends with alcohol and drug problems does not necessarily mean that the problems are equally distributed between whites and blacks. We report evidence in Chapter 8, below, that most socializing among youths is interracial.

drank to excess or used drugs (Table V.7). The answers can be assumed to reflect the respondents' own reasons for drinking and drug use as much as their friends' reasons. The most favoured specific explanations were that it was "fun" (45%), and that the people who did so felt pressure from peers (43%). There are four different general themes among the reasons given. One is excitement: alcohol and drugs are "fun", and "exciting", make people "feel good about life", and "rebellious and daring". This was the most common kind of reason given by both black and white youths. On average, 36% of white youths and 41% of blacks thought these were "always" or "most of the time" reasons for taking alcohol and drugs.

The second most common theme is that people do what their friends do: they respond to "peer pressure", drugs and alcohol make them "closer to their friends". Both black and white youths thought these were second in importance only to the "excitement" reasons.

The third theme is "escape", the reverse image of excitement. Drugs and alcohol are used because people are "unhappy", "bored", have "nothing better to do" and "nothing to look forward to". On average 25% of white youth and 34% of black youth agreed with these explanations.

The fourth theme is "problems": people drink and use drugs because of family fights and school problems. On average, 17% of white youths and 20% of blacks thought these were common reasons.

The general pattern is that black youths identify a somewhat larger number of reasons for drinking and drug use, but are in agreement with white youths about the relative importance of alternative kinds of motives. The major reasons are the search for excitement, going along with friends, and escape from boredom. Personal problems are less important than any of these.

#### 5.4 ILLEGITIMACY

The issue of children born outside of marriage was considered an important issue by most people surveyed (no Table). Overall, half of Bermudians said the issue was very important and only about a quarter said it was not very important. Whites were more likely to call it very important than blacks, by 57% to 46%. Another question tapped one source of this concern by asking whether children born out of wedlock face hardships as a result. Bermudians divided equally, 47% to 47%, on this issue. Whites (54%) were more likely than blacks (42%) to feel that illegitimate children will face hardships.

### Chapter 6 PUBLIC ISSUES

Five of the issues on the social agenda are mainly areas of public policy and regulation. They are the economy, housing, recreation, traffic, and crime. Each has a personal dimension but solutions to the problems the pose are largely beyond the individual.

#### 6.1 THE ECONOMY AND HOUSING

When asked about the worst aspects of living in Bermuda generally (Table IV.1, above), two of the conditions people mentioned most often were cost of living (25%) and housing (14%). These answers reflect their personal concerns. When they were asked specifically about the most important economic problem facing Bermuda (Table VI.1), the same two answers were at the top of the list, though in reverse order: housing (35%) and cost of living (23%). These answers reflect their perceptions about the country's problems, which of course are not precisely the same as their personal concerns. Other economic problems mentioned were tourism (8%), unemployment (5%), and labour (3%). Some mentioned problems that are not economic ones in any obvious way: drugs (5%), overpopulation (2%), and crime (1%).

When asked how to resolve such economic problems, the only common response is both obvious and impractical: to lower prices. There were only two concrete recommendations for policy mentioned by more than a handful of people: building houses (11%) and Ber-

mutianization (5%).

The concerns of different social groups were generally quite similar. Worry about the cost of living, for example, was equally widespread across all groups. Housing is something of an exception. Concern about housing, and recommendations that more housing be built, were most common among black Bermudians, in lower-income families, and among large families. Even the dissatisfied minority of Bermudians have similar economic concerns to satisfied Bermudians.

#### 6.2 RECREATION

The need for more recreational facilities is high on Bermudians' social agenda (Tables IV.2 and IV.3), where we found that 38% rated the handling of this issue poor or very poor. In response to a later question (Table VI.2), only a third said that there are enough recreational facilities. A variety of facilities were recommended, with youth centres (25%) and parks (17%) heading the list. Small numbers suggested a sports complex and swimming facilities (9% each).

Black adults and young people of both races express the strongest support for more recreational facilities. There are differences in preferences among groups, though. Youth are equally enthusiastic about youth centres and parks, while others want a sports complex: these three options were mentioned by two-thirds of all respondents in the 15-21 age bracket. Older Bermudians agreed on youth centres but were as interested in swimming facilities as parks.

Providing new recreational facilities could compete with the preference of 65% of Bermudians for "keeping Bermuda's open spaces as they are". This is the majority preference across all social groups. One implication is that most people want to restrict recreation in open spaces to passive uses. Future surveys should explore in greater detail the seeming contradiction between peoples' strong desire for more recreational facilities, and their desire to preserve the environment.

#### 6.3 THE TRAFFIC PROBLEM

Only 4% of people surveyed said that traffic was "the worst aspect" of living in Bermuda (in Table IV.1). Most probably regard it as a nuisance rather than a critical public concern. There is no consensus about what causes "the traffic problem". Respondents (adults only) divided equally according to whether the problem is the result of too many cars, bad driving habits, or both (Table V.3). Almost two-thirds (64%) say they are prepared to accept further restrictions on car ownership as a step toward solution. Higher-income whites favour this approach more than black Bermudians.

Eighty-six percent of adults reported owning one or more motorized vehicles and 86% of them say they use them regularly to go to Hamilton. Thus 74% of adult Bermudians regularly drive a car or ride a motorbike or motorcycle to the city. This 74% were asked if they would be more likely to take the bus to Hamilton if it was cheaper. Only 11% said they would definitely use the bus and another 19% said "probably", most of them being people in the lower income brackets.

Imposing a charge for street parking in Hamilton would not make much more difference in bus usage: 10% said they would definitely use the bus in this case, 19% said "probably". There was only slightly more support for carpools in response to parking fees. Nine percent said they definitely would carpool, 27% said they probably would do so.

It is clear from the responses that whites and upper-income families are less likely to change commuting patterns in response to either reduced fares or increased parking fees. On the other hand these groups do favour further restrictions on car ownership, and by a substantial majority. The unasked question is whether they or any other Bermudians would be willing to give up their present vehicles as part of a solution to the traffic problem. The answer is very probably no.

#### 6.4 POLICING AND CRIME

Crime was not a serious concern for most Bermudians at the time of the survey. Almost two-thirds of the adults asked (64%) said that

the crime rate in their neighbourhood was less than average or very low (Table VI.4). Another 27% said "average", only 8% thought it was above average. On the other hand 26% thought that crime had increased in their neighbourhood in the past few years, while very few (6%) thought it had decreased. Whites are slightly more concerned about crime than blacks: they are more likely to report "average" than "very low" crime rates and slightly more likely to think that crime has increased in their neighbourhoods. In an analysis by parish, concern about crime among adults seems greatest in Warwick (where widely-publicized robberies recently occurred) while it is even lower than the Bermudian average in Hamilton and Southampton.

Studies of the fear of crime in the United States and Britain show that it is substantially influenced by media reporting of crime. Many people take their cues from the news or hearsay rather than personal experience. One result is that fear of crime often is higher in neighbourhoods with relatively low levels of crime, or greater among people who, statistically, are unlikely to be victimized. Thus there is no certainty that changing concerns about crime in Bermuda are necessarily an accurate reflection of real changes in crime.

Bermudians also agree that people in the neighbourhood have some responsibility for the prevention of crime. Only 18% think it is mainly a police responsibility. The remaining 42% say it is a shared responsibility between residents and police. While most industrial societies have experienced sharp crime increases since the 1960s, a few have not - especially Japan, Switzerland, and Austria. The people of these countries generally have a greater sense of personal and neighbourhood responsibility for keeping an eye out for crime. Bermudians' attitudes are consistent with this emphasis on informal social control. Bermudians also show a high potential for co-operating with the police in crime-control efforts.

### Chapter 7 RACE RELATIONS

The evidence reviewed above shows that Bermudians differ somewhat along racial lines in their satisfactions and dissatisfactions, and also in some of their perceptions about social and economic issues. Very few of them (5% of whites, 2% of blacks), however, thought that racial tension was Bermuda's worst problem (Table IV.2).

The survey asked many direct questions about race relations, prejudice, and discrimination. These are the two most positive conclusions. One is that most Bermudians agree that there has been substantial recent progress in race relations. The other is that white and black youths are closer together in nondiscriminatory attitudes and experience, and think that racial discrimination is less a problem, than older Bermudians. But the results also show that, for all social groups, prejudice and discrimination remain a matter of concern.

#### 7.1 ETHNICITY AND RACE RELATIONS

The first issue is whether Bermudians all think about prejudice and discrimination in black-white terms. It was reported in Chapter 2.1 that while 25% of people surveyed say their heritage is black and 22% say white, the remaining one-third say that they are English (11%), Caribbean (7%), Portuguese (5%), other nationalities. When asked about discrimination, however, the pattern of answers among the Portuguese and English are virtually the same as those among whites generally, and people of Caribbean origin respond similarly to blacks generally. The inference is that race is more important than national heritage in shaping Bermudians' perceptions of race relations. Caribbeans or Portuguese may have some distinctive ethnic attitudes and experiences, but evidently think about prejudice and discrimination in racial terms.

#### 7.2 SOCIALIZING

Nearly two-thirds of Bermudians say that they socialize equally with members of both races, 31% mainly with members of their own race (Table VII.1). Blacks and whites report similar experiences,

which helps confirm the accuracy of this portrait of high levels of interracial interaction. The highest levels of interracial socializing are reported by white and black youths. The lowest levels are found among higher-income white men.

#### 7.3 THE EXTENT OF PREJUDICE

Just under half of Bermudians think that most whites are prejudiced against blacks, and that most blacks are prejudiced against whites (Table VII.2). What one group believes about another group is not necessarily true, however. Whereas most blacks (53% vs. 39%) think that most whites are prejudiced, most whites (60% vs. 34%) think that other whites are *not* prejudiced. Whites also are rather hopeful about black attitudes toward them: 51% say blacks are not prejudiced against whites compared with 41% who think blacks *are* prejudiced against them. Among blacks, however, the picture is reversed: 49% of blacks think other blacks are prejudiced against whites, slightly more than the 44% who think blacks are *not* so prejudiced.

The general pattern, in short, is that blacks perceive somewhat more racial prejudice, among themselves and among whites, while whites optimistically see somewhat less prejudice in themselves and in blacks. (The survey did not ask people directly whether they personally were prejudiced because it is not a question which gives reliable results).

#### 7.4 THE FUTURE OF RACE RELATIONS

The groups who consistently perceive the greatest amount of prejudice in blacks and in whites are older blacks (see Table VII.2) and black women. The groups who consistently see the least prejudice are youths, both black and white. These differences offer hope for the future. Older Bermudians carry the burdens of the past, young people have had the experience of growing up in a more open multi-racial society.

The picture of Bermudians' hopes and fears for race relations in future generations is rounded out in Table VII.3. Three-quarters of all people think that relations between black and white children are better than those between adults, while most others think it is the same (16%). The great majority (71%) also think there is more prejudice among adults than among young people. And there are no significant differences among groups in these positive views. The one real basis for concern is that half of Bermudians still think it is easier for a white child to get ahead in Bermudian society, while only 41% think that there is no racial difference. Black youths and younger black adults are the most pessimistic about equal opportunities.

#### 7.5 RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Prejudice, real or perceived, does not necessarily translate into discrimination. But most Bermudians think that racial discrimination *is* a problem; they disagree mainly in how serious (Table VII.4). One person in six (16%) thinks discrimination is a very serious problem - blacks more than whites. A plurality of 44% think discrimination a somewhat serious problem, with no significant differences among groups. Another 38% thinks discrimination is not particularly serious - whites more than blacks. Here again is evidence of generational change: young Bermudians, black and white, tend to think that discrimination is a less serious problem than older people.

Another positive indication is the widespread sense that race relations have improved during the last five years, a point agreed upon by nearly half of every group in the population. Only one in 10 residents thinks they have gotten worse. Those who said they thought race relations had improved were asked how satisfied they were with the rate of progress. Only 13% were dissatisfied with the rate of progress; the great majority of those who think there has been progress, 84%, are very or somewhat satisfied on this count.

#### 7.6 AREAS OF DISCRIMINATION

People also were asked whether they thought there was discrimination in each of eight specific areas of employment and services. Half

or more of all blacks and a quarter or more of all whites say they think there is some discrimination in each area. The problem is thought to be greatest in hiring and promotion by private businesses and hotels. Government is thought to be fairer in hiring and promotions. The most positive ratings are given to fairness in the schools and government services.

These results are not convincing because the survey did not ask what specifics were in the minds of the 40% to 60% of respondents who thought there was "some" discrimination in every area mentioned. Perceptions of discrimination, although a cause for concern, are not the same as the practice of discrimination. Some whites may think there is discrimination by blacks against whites, rather than vice versa. And it is possible that many Bermudians say there is discrimination because other people say it exists. Who discriminates against whom, in what specific ways, needs to be asked in future surveys. It is possible that many Bermudians' perceptions of discrimination are a legacy of the past rather than a reflection of their own contemporary experience.

### 7.7 GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITIES FOR RACE RELATIONS

The 60% who said they thought discrimination was a very or somewhat serious problem (Table VII.4, above) were asked whether government could do anything about it. There was little support for a more active government role. Half of both whites and blacks said "nothing". The other responses show that the most common prescription is "individual change", recommended by 19%, which implies little or no government involvement. A more active public role is supported by those who recommend legal action (10%), Bermudianization and integration (5% each), and "government involvement" generally (11%). Of the 60% who are concerned about discrimination, 33% mention one of these kinds of government action. These 33% make up only 20% of all people surveyed. There is little difference among races in these performances. And youths are the least likely to recommend further government action.

These results should not be interpreted as opposition to any government role in race relations. Rather, most Bermudians evidently do not want government to *add to* its responsibilities in this area. Bermuda probably has followed a similar pattern to the United States, where substantial public support developed during the 1960s for government action against discrimination. Once new civil rights policies were in force, however, support for further government intervention declined<sup>4</sup>.

## Chapter 8 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Bermudians were asked many questions about their attitudes toward government in general and about tactics for influencing what government does. They were not asked for opinions about the present Government, but those opinions may have influenced their answers.

### 8.1 HOW SATISFACTORY IS GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL?

Most Bermudians accept the way in which government spends tax money. Nearly a third (31%) think it is good or excellent. (Table VIII.1), 38% say it is fair, while 25% rate it poor or very poor. Since Bermuda has no income tax, the "fair" and "poor" ratings probably reflect the prevailing fashion in most Western societies to be skeptical of what government does. For some people, though, they may reflect a deeper cynicism about government, which is the subject of the next set of questions.

### 8.2 HOW MUCH DO PEOPLE TRUST GOVERNMENT?

In nine questions the people surveyed were asked whether they

4. See Angus Campbell, *White Attitudes toward Black People* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1971).

understood government and politics, whether they trusted people in politics, and whether they could influence what government does. Similar questions have been used in other countries to measure people's sense of trust in or cynicism about government. The survey shows that majorities of Bermudians think that they *do* have a say and they *can* do something about what happens in governments, attitudes which are consistent with the high levels of turnout in Bermudian elections. There is a measure of cynicism about government, however. Most people surveyed agreed with statements to the effect that politics and government are too complicated to understand, and that government is run by powerful people who "don't care about people like me".

Blacks are more skeptical in answering most of these questions than whites. It is likely that some, perhaps many, people responded thinking not about "government in general" but about the present Government. Therefore the answers, and the differences between groups, reflect a mixture of partisan attitudes and cynicism about, or trust in, government in general.

Bermudians can be divided into three groups based on their answers to the nine questions about government and politics. "Participants" are those who disagree with six or more questions: these people believe that participation generally works and that government and politicians care about them. Table VIII.2 shows that 22% of respondents fall into this category. At the other end of the scale are Bermudians who *agree* with six or more of the questions. The 34% in this category are generally "Cynics" about what government does and their chances of influencing it. The middle group of 44% are positive about some aspects of government and politics, pessimistic about others. Their mixed attitudes are common in most democratic countries; here they are labelled "Citizens".

There are consistent differences between black and white Bermudians in their trust in government. In summary comparisons, whites are more likely to be Participants and blacks are more likely to be Cynics. There are few differences among age groups or between men and women. Family income does make a significant difference, though, in the sense that people from low-income households are three times more likely to be Cynics than Participants. Middle- and higher-income households are more evenly balanced between Participants and Cynics. Economically prosperous people, in Bermuda as in other countries, are more likely to trust government than poorer people, irrespective of race.

Skepticism about government is part of the contemporary political worldview of people in most Western countries. Similar questions asked in the United States show that between 1958 and 1978, those trusting in government decreased from 18% to 19% of the population while cynics increased from 11% to 52%. Cynicism is present but seems somewhat less in Bermuda, perhaps because the population is small enough that ordinary citizens are more likely to know and interact with officials and politicians. Two major qualifications about these results also need to be repeated. First, they may be influenced by partisan attitudes toward the present Government, both pro and con. Second, and more important, majorities of Bermudians agree that they *can* affect what happens in government. This is one of the virtues of politics in a small, democratic country: most people think that their participation can make a difference.

### 8.3 SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL ACTION

Since the 1960s new styles of political action have become common in all democratic societies. Political demonstrations, sit-ins, and violent confrontations between protestors and police are widespread. Bermuda has had its share of the new "politics of protest". Serious disturbances, relative to the small scale of Bermudian society, took place in 1968 and December 1977. Other disruptive demonstrations and strikes occurred in 1965, 1969, 1970, March 1977 and 1981.

5. Angus Campbell, *The Sense of Well-Being in America: Recent Patterns and Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), p. 245. The American results are not exactly comparable to the Bermuda findings because fewer questions and different categories are used.

Some Bermudians also think that disorderly protest is necessary to change government policy. This opinion was expressed by several witnesses before the Pitt Commission (1977, p. 10).

The dimensions of Bermuda's political culture of protest are evident in responses to questions on the kinds of political action people think are and are not justified. They were asked how much they approved or disapproved of six different kinds of action and how productive or unproductive they were as means of bringing about change (Table VIII.3). The great majority of Bermudians approve of signing petitions (82%) and non-violent demonstrations (73%). They also think they are at least somewhat productive means of promoting change: 79% think petitions can work, 73% think demonstrations can work.

Boycotts are also approved of by 56% and an even larger portion, 65%, thinks they are somewhat effective. In other words, some Bermudians don't approve of boycotts but think they work. Damaging property and personal violence, however, are disavowed by the great majority of Bermudians. Nearly 90% strongly disapprove and more than three-quarters think they have very negative effects.

The general picture is one of high levels of support for non-violent forms of political action. Whites are somewhat more likely to draw the line at demonstrations, while the majority of black Bermudians endorse boycotts. Very few people are prepared to endorse violent action. Majorities of blacks and whites agree that the non-violent method are productive, even if they do not necessarily approve of them.

### 8.4 EXPERIENCE OF POLITICAL ACTION

Bermudians' attitudes about political action have some basis in their own experiences. Overall, 57% of blacks and 46% of whites reported that they took part in some kind of political action in the last decade. Nearly a quarter of blacks reported that they took part in demonstrations and 19% in boycotts. Percentages for whites are smaller but still appreciable. Only 3% of people surveyed said they had taken part in damaging property or other violent action. Results of North American studies of people in riot situations suggest that anyone who was on the scene of a violent confrontation is likely to say they took part. If this applies to Bermuda, the 3% (which includes both whites and blacks) probably were in the crowds during some of the disturbances of the 1970s.

Comparison of people's "participation" and "approval" shows a consistent pattern in which the higher the percentage approval, the more likely people are to say they participated in a particular kind of political action. Some are more approved of in principle than practice, however. This is most evidently true of demonstrations and boycotts. They are endorsed by four to ten times as many people as have actually participated. It is likely that most Bermudians have come to regard such tactics as uncommon but more-or-less acceptable features of politics.

### 8.5 POLITICAL ACTION IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Similar questions about political action have been asked in a number of other countries, including the United States and Britain in 1974 and in Denmark in 1979<sup>6</sup>. Bermudians resemble North Americans in their high levels of approval for nonviolent demonstrations and boycotts. With regard to violent action, Bermudians approve of it in about the same percentage (6%) as Danes, a people not known for their political turbulence.

Bermudians do report relatively high levels of participation in political action by comparison with other countries. More say they have signed petitions and taken part in boycotts than anywhere except the United States. They also report higher rates of participation in demonstrations. In general, however, Bermudians are not substantially differ-

6. Surveys of the U.S., Britain, the Netherlands, West Germany, and Austria are reported in Samuel H. Barnes, Max Kaase, et al., *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies* (Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1979). A Danish study, using the same questions, is reported by Ole Borre, "Protest and Ideology in the Danish Public", paper given to the International Society for Political Psychology, Oxford, 1983.

ent from the people of other Western democracies in regards to political action, and such differences as exist probably are due to the passage of time between the 1970s, when other countries were surveyed, and 1984. As of 1984, the political culture of Bermuda supports peaceful political action, but strongly disapproves of violence.

### 8.6 SATISFACTION, POLITICAL ATTITUDES, AND PROSPECTS FOR DISORDER

The survey gives ample evidence that substantial majorities of Bermudians are satisfied with life on the islands and are optimistic about the future.

- are generally satisfied with the quality of life on Bermuda.
- 70% think that their standard of living is good or excellent, 77% think it will be the same or better five years from now.
- 71% think that conditions in Bermuda are the same or better than they were five years ago, 73% think they will be the same or better in five years.
- 86% of employed people are satisfied with their jobs.
- 85% think that race relations are the same or better than they were five years ago.

This widespread satisfaction with life in Bermuda is balanced by concern about a number of social issues, some cynicism about government and politics, and the existence of a minority whose dissatisfactions have been analyzed at a number of points in this Report. This is the information which makes possible a concluding assessment of the prospects for civil disorder.

Much has been made of the *causes* of civil disorder in Bermuda's recent history. The Pitt Commission hearings (1977), as well as recent discussions with Bermudians, reveal a marked concern that social and economic dissatisfactions constitute a potential for future outbreaks of collective violence. Some argue that the roots of future violence are to be found in relative deprivation arising from inequalities in wealth and status. Others have pointed to widespread cynicism about government and to underlying tensions in race relations.

This survey does not have evidence to address all these arguments, but the results do strongly suggest that there is at present no large or explosive potential for disorder. This is why.

(1) Most Bermudians are satisfied with their lives, their work, and prospects for the future. The minority of Bermudians who have what has been labeled a "syndrome of discontent" have no one or two common sources of deprivation. Most of their discontents appear to arise from individual circumstances. In particular, there is no evidence that their discontent arises mainly from racial differences or material deprivation.

(2) Dissatisfied Bermudians are distinctly more cynical about government and politics than satisfied Bermudians. But they are no more likely than other people surveyed to approve of forms of political action like demonstrations and boycotts. Nor are they significantly more likely to approve of political violence. In fact, 90% of the dissatisfied minority do not approve of violent political action.

(3) There is a high degree of support among all Bermudians, discontented or not, for such forms of political action as demonstrations and boycotts. Sizeable minorities have participated in them in the past. But this support for political action is no more closely related to political cynicism than it is to dissatisfaction.

The conventional account of the causes of political disorder in multiracial societies begins with inequalities and poverty, especially along racial lines. These then translate into a shared sense of relative deprivation and feelings of intense discontent. The survey shows that while some Bermudians are discontented, these are not its main sources.

The next step in the explanation links discontent with attitudes of antagonism toward government and beliefs that disruptive political action is justified. The survey shows that among Bermudians, such links are incomplete or nonexistent. While discontented Bermudians are relatively cynical about government, very few approve of violent action.



An alternative link in the explanation of disorder attributes it directly to political cynicism and hostility toward government, whether or not fueled by discontent. This link also is missing in Bermuda: politically-cynical Bermudians are just as unlikely as other Bermudians to endorse violent action.

There is potential for protest in Bermuda in the form of demonstrations and boycotts, just as there is in almost every other Western society. Given the state of the Bermudian psyche in 1984, that potential will be realized, if at all, in situations of political and economic contention. It is unlikely to be a reaction to deep-rooted grievances because such grievances as exist are mostly individual rather than collective. And unless protest organizers misjudge, or authorities over-react, protests are unlikely to lead to riotous violence. The great majority of Bermudians, satisfied or not, disapprove such action and think it counterproductive.

The more significant issue to deal with, because it is intangible, may be the concern that many people have about the future of Bermuda. About one Bermudian in four thinks that conditions are not as good now as they were in the past and will get worse in the next five years. This concern is not distinctive to any one group. It has no obvious cause (from this survey's evidence) and therefore no obvious solution. Almost everyone agrees that life in Bermuda today is at least as good as it is anywhere else. More Bermudians need to be convinced that the future can be as good or better.

TABLE II.1 Length of Time Islanders Report Living in Bermuda and their Travel Habits

|   | RACE  |       |
|---|-------|-------|
|   | Black | White |
| ALL BERMUDIANS  |       |       |
| Length of time lived in Bermuda:                              |       |       |
| 81% --All or most of life                                     | 92    | 63    |
| 9 --More than 10 years  | 4     | 18    |
| 9 --Less than 10 years  | 4     | 19    |
| How many times a year do you go off the island:               |       |       |
| 22% --Never   | 25    | 17    |
| 40 --Once a year  | 41    | 38    |
| 29 --Two to three times                                       | 27    | 32    |
| 9 --Four or more times  | 7     | 13    |
| Where do you go most often (asked only for those who travel): |       |       |
| 62% --Eastern U.S.  | 69    | 51    |
| 23 --Other U.S., Canada                                       | 20    | 28    |
| 10 --Britain, the Continent                                   | 4     | 18    |
| 4 --Other   | 7     | 2     |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because of rounding errors.

TABLE II.2 National Heritage

| ALL BERMUDIANS       | How would you describe your national heritage and origins? |  |
|----------------------|--|--|
| 45%                  | --Black Bermudian  |  |
| 22                   | --White Bermudian  |  |
| 11                   | --English  |  |
| 7                    | --Caribbean  |  |
| 5                    | --Portuguese   |  |
| 11                   | --Other  |  |
| Are you a Bermudian: |  |  |
| 84%                  | --Yes  |  |
| 8                    | --No, in Bermuda 10+ years                                 |  |
| 8                    | --No, in Bermuda less than 10 years                        |  |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because of rounding errors

**PLEASE NOTE THERE ARE NO TABLES FOR CHAPTER 1.**  
**TABLE II.1 indicates first table of the second chapter.**

TABLE II.3 Marriage and Children

|                     | RACE  |       | YOUTHS 15-21       |                    | ADULTS 21-40 |       | ADULTS 41+ |       | FAMILY INCOME |             |           |
|---------------------|-------|-------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------|------------|-------|---------------|-------------|-----------|
|                     | Black | White | Black              | White              | Black        | White | Black      | White | <\$15,000     | \$15-25,000 | \$25,000+ |
| ALL BERMUDIANS      |       |       |                    |                    |              |       |            |       |               |             |           |
| Marital status:     |       |       |                    |                    |              |       |            |       |               |             |           |
| 34% --Single        | 40    | 23    | 96                 | 94                 | 42           | 29    | 15         | 5     | 31            | 34          | 27        |
| 52 --Married        | 46    | 60    | 3                  | 5                  | 52           | 62    | 58         | 67    | 44            | 48          | 64        |
| 9 --Divorced        | 8     | 10    | 2                  | 1                  | 5            | 9     | 14         | 13    | 12            | 13          | 7         |
| 6 --Widowed         | 6     | 7     | 0                  | 0                  | 1            | 0     | 13         | 15    | 14            | 4           | 3         |
| Number of children: |       |       |                    |                    |              |       |            |       |               |             |           |
| 31% --None          | 29    | 34    | Not asked          | Not asked          | 36           | 46    | 21         | 23    | 23            | 36          | 30        |
| 20 --One            | 21    | 18    | of unmarried youth | of unmarried youth | 28           | 20    | 14         | 16    | 13            | 21          | 25        |
| 22 --Two            | 20    | 24    |                    |                    | 23           | 21    | 18         | 27    | 29            | 21          | 19        |
| 18 --Three to four  | 18    | 18    |                    |                    | 11           | 9     | 26         | 26    | 23            | 17          | 17        |
| 9 --Five or more    | 11    | 6     |                    |                    | 3            | 3     | 20         | 8     | 12            | 5           | 9         |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because of rounding errors, and because a few respondents did not answer.

TABLE II.4 Jobs and Income

| ALL BERMUDIANS   | RACE  |       | Current occupation (excluding 6% of respondents with miscellaneous occupations): |       | Family income (excluding 4% of respondents, mostly youth, who did not know): |       |
|--|-------|-------|--|-------|--|-------|
|  | Black | White | Black  | White | Black  | White |
| 16%  | 15    | 18    | 15   | 18    | 10%  | 12    |
| --Not employed   | 32    | 36    | --Professional, technical  | 32    | --Under \$10,000   | 6     |
| 33   | 16    | 23    | --Administrative   | 16    | --\$10-15,000  | 11    |
| 18   | 9     | 10    | --Sales  | 9     | --\$15-25,000  | 27    |
| 9  | 15    | 7     | --Service  | 15    | --\$25-35,000  | 17    |
| 12   | 7     | 1     | --Manual labor   | 7     | --\$35,000+  | 26    |
| 5  |       |       |  |       |  |       |
| Family income (excluding 4% of respondents, mostly youth, who did not know): |       |       |  |       |  |       |
| 10%  | 12    | 6     |  |       |  |       |
| 16   | 18    | 11    |  |       |  |       |
| 28   | 29    | 27    |  |       |  |       |
| 17   | 17    | 16    |  |       |  |       |
| 26   | 19    | 38    |  |       |  |       |

Figures on occupation should not be expected to agree with Manpower Survey data because people's self-classifications are often different from official classifications. Family income figures should not be expected to agree with government statistical data because some of the respondents may have misunderstood the question and answered about their personal income rather than family income.

**TABLE II.5** How Education Affects Family Income among Black and White Bermudians

| Reported Family Income by Race | Highest Reported Level of Educational Attainment (%) |                   |                |                     |              |                   |
|--------------------------------|--|-------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------------|
|                                | Some primary   | Completed primary | Some secondary | Completed secondary | Some college | Completed college |
| Black, less than \$15,000      | 31   | 34                | 27             | 17                  | 17           | 0                 |
| White, less than \$15,000      | 10   | 6                 | 13             | 5                   | 5            | 3                 |
| Black, \$15,000-\$25,000       | 15   | 17                | 22             | 20                  | 16           | 16                |
| White, \$15,000-\$25,000       | 13   | 8                 | 6              | 10                  | 9            | 20                |
| Black, over \$25,000           | 21   | 22                | 15             | 23                  | 24           | 27                |
| White, over \$25,000           | 9  | 11                | 11             | 23                  | 25           | 35                |
| Totals (%)                     | 98   | 99                | 94             | 99                  | 96           | 100               |

Totals do not add down to 100 because the 2% of Bermudians of "other races" have not been included in the analysis. Columns also may not add precisely because of rounding errors.

**TABLE II.6** Church Membership and Attendance

| ALL BERMUDIANS                  | RACE  |       |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|
|                                 | Black | White |
| Frequency of church attendance: |       |       |
| 25% --Do not attend             | 20    | 33    |
| 23 --Less than once/month       | 24    | 20    |
| 22 --Once or twice/month        | 23    | 20    |
| 31 --Once a week or more        | 33    | 28    |
| Church attended:                |       |       |
| 25% --Anglican                  | 22    | 29    |
| 16 --Roman Catholic             | 8     | 29    |
| 11 --African Methodist Episc.   | 17    | 1     |
| 9 --Protestant                  | 9     | 9     |
| 7 --Seventh Day Adventist       | 9     | 3     |
| 6 --Methodist                   | 7     | 4     |
| 27 --others                     | 29    | 25    |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because of rounding errors.

**TABLE II.7** Sports and Exercise

| ALL BERMUDIANS                    |
|-----------------------------------|
| Sports played on a regular basis: |
| 25% --None                        |
| 15 --Tennis                       |
| 14 --Golf                         |
| 7 --Cricket                       |
| 5 --Soccer                        |
| 4 --Swimming                      |
| 30 --Other                        |
| Frequency of exercise:            |
| 23% --None                        |
| 13 --Once a week                  |
| 33 --Two-three per week           |
| 31 --Four + per week              |

**TABLE II.8** Smoking and Alcohol Consumption

| ALL BERMUDIANS                                |
|---|
| Smoking habits:                               |
| 77% --Don't smoke                             |
| 3 --Smoke cigars or pipe                      |
| 9 --Cigarettes, less than half a pack per day |
| 8 --Cigarettes, 1/2 to one pack per day       |
| 4 --Cigarettes, more than one pack per day    |
| Frequency of alcohol consumption:             |
| 33% --Never drink                             |
| 42 --Occasionally                             |
| 15 --Once or a few times per week             |
| 9 --Every day                                 |
| Kinds of alcoholic beverages drunk, if any:   |
| 36% --Wine                                    |
| 24 --Beer                                     |
| 32 --Hard liquor                              |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because of rounding errors, because a few "other" responses are not included, and because a few respondents did not answer.

**TABLE III.1** The Quality of Life in Bermuda

| ALL BERMUDIANS  | RACE  |       |       |       |       |       | FAMILY INCOME |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
|   | Black | White | Black | White | Black | White |               |
| Satisfaction with the general quality of life in Bermuda:                         |       |       |       |       |       |       |               |
| 26% --Very satisfied  | 14    | 45    | 12    | 35    | 18    | 43    | 33            |
| 51 --Somewhat satisfied   | 55    | 45    | 64    | 54    | 56    | 43    | 50            |
| 17 --Somewhat dissatisfied  | 23    | 7     | 20    | 9     | 21    | 11    | 12            |
| 5 --Very dissatisfied   | 7     | 2     | 3     | 3     | 4     | 2     | 5             |
| The quality of life in Bermuda compared with the U.S., Canada, and Great Britain: |       |       |       |       |       |       |               |
| 24% --Much better   | 22    | 27    | 26    | 25    | 21    | 27    | 26            |
| 48 --Better   | 47    | 50    | 49    | 47    | 47    | 48    | 51            |
| 17 --Same   | 18    | 14    | 14    | 17    | 24    | 14    | 15            |
| 7 --Worse or much worse   | 7     | 8     | 8     | 9     | 3     | 10    | 4             |
| The quality of life in Bermuda compared with most Caribbean Islands:              |       |       |       |       |       |       |               |
| 45% --Much better   | 43    | 49    | 42    | 40    | 42    | 45    | 51            |
| 35 --Better   | 36    | 32    | 41    | 35    | 37    | 31    | 29            |
| 9 --Same or worse   | 11    | 5     | 12    | 10    | 11    | 4     | 8             |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because some respondents did not answer, especially the comparisons with the quality of life elsewhere.

**TABLE III.3** Past, Present, and Future Assessment of Bermuda

| ALL BERMUDIANS  |
|---|
| How you think things were generally in Bermuda five years ago (not asked of youth):       |
| 7% --Excellent  |
| 54 --Good   |
| 35 --Fair   |
| 3 --Poor, very poor   |
| How do you think things are going generally in Bermuda today:                             |
| 6% --Excellent  |
| 44 --Good   |
| 42 --Fair   |
| 8 --Poor, very poor   |
| How do you think things will be in Bermuda in five years:                                 |
| 7% --Excellent  |
| 41 --Good   |
| 34 --Fair   |
| 17 --Poor, very poor  |
| Change in Evaluation of Bermuda from Past to Present (calculated from above responses):   |
| 28% --Worse   |
| 55 --Same   |
| 16 --Better   |
| Change in Evaluation of Bermuda from Present to Future (calculated from above responses): |
| 27% --Worse   |
| 55 --Same   |
| 18 --Better   |

Respondents who did not answer these questions have been eliminated from the comparisons. Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because of rounding errors.

**TABLE III.2** Past, Present, and Future Standard of Living

| ALL BERMUDIANS   |
|--|
| How you rate your standard of living five years ago (not asked of youth):              |
| 10% --Excellent  |
| 52 --Good  |
| 32 --Fair  |
| 6 --Poor, very poor  |
| How you rate your standard of living today:  |
| 13% --Excellent  |
| 57 --Good  |
| 24 --Fair  |
| 6 --Poor, very poor  |
| What you think your standard of living will be in five years:                          |
| 16% --Excellent  |
| 53 --Good  |
| 21 --Fair  |
| 10 --Poor, very poor   |
| Change in Standard of Living from Past to Present (calculated from above responses):   |
| 16% --Worse  |
| 57 --Same  |
| 26 --Better  |
| Change in Standard of Living from Present to Future (calculated from above responses): |
| 23% --Worse  |
| 57 --Same  |
| 20 --Better  |

Respondents who did not answer these questions have been eliminated from the comparisons. Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because of rounding errors.

**TABLE III.4** Personal Quality of Life and Freedom

| ALL BERMUDIANS   |
|--|
| Your quality of life compared to that of other Bermudians: |
| 7% --Much better   |
| 31 --Better  |
| 56 --Same  |
| 2 --Worse  |
| The amount of freedom and independence in your life:       |
| 27% --Excellent  |
| 46 --Good  |
| 18 --Fair  |
| 8 --Poor, very poor  |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because some respondents did not answer.

**TABLE IV.1** The Best and Worst of Living in Bermuda

| ALL BERMUDIANS                         | SATISFACTION |           | RACE  |       |
|--|--------------|-----------|-------|-------|
|  | Dissatisfied | Satisfied | Black | White |
| The best aspect of living in Bermuda:  |              |           |       |       |
| 31% --Friendliness                     | 31           | 30        | 31    | 31    |
| 23 --Natural beauty                    | 24           | 23        | 21    | 25    |
| 10 --Personal freedom                  | 11           | 10        | 9     | 10    |
| 17 --Economy                           | 9            | 19        | 15    | 22    |
| 9 --No/low taxes                       | 8            | 9         | 11    | 6     |
| 6 --Security                           | 5            | 6         | 8     | 2     |
| The worst aspect of living in Bermuda: |              |           |       |       |
| 27% --Cost of living                   | 25           | 27        | 30    | 19    |
| 18 --Small size                        | 10           | 21        | 16    | 23    |
| 14 --Housing                           | 20           | 12        | 16    | 9     |
| 6 --Drugs                              | 3            | 6         | 4     | 4     |
| 3 --Racial tension                     | 3            | 3         | 2     | 5     |
| 3 --Unemployment                       | 5            | 3         | 5     | 1     |
| 3 --Traffic                            | 0            | 4         | 2     | 6     |

Totals do not add down to 100 because some respondents mentioned other "best" and "worst" aspects.

**TABLE IV.2** How Bermudians Rate the Handling of Personal and Social Issues

| ALL BERMUDIANS | ISSUE                     | RACE  |       | ALL BERMUDIANS | ISSUE                       | RACE  |       |
|----------------|---------------------------|-------|-------|----------------|-----------------------------|-------|-------|
|                |                           | Black | White |                |                             | Black | White |
| 21%            | Control of drug abuse:    | 18    | 27    | 39%            | Protecting the environment: | 35    | 43    |
| 31             | --excellent, good         | 30    | 33    | 41             | --fair                      | 44    | 36    |
| 45             | --poor, very poor         | 50    | 34    | 18             | --poor, very poor           | 18    | 18    |
| 24%            | Recreational facilities:  | 18    | 35    | 56%            | Quality of police service:  | 47    | 71    |
| 35             | --excellent, good         | 35    | 36    | 29             | --fair                      | 35    | 19    |
| 38             | --poor, very poor         | 45    | 27    | 13             | --poor, very poor           | 15    | 7     |
| 25%            | Control of alcohol abuse: | 22    | 31    | 55%            | Management of the economy   | 43    | 77    |
| 35             | --excellent, good         | 39    | 31    | 30             | --fair                      | 38    | 17    |
| 36             | --poor, very poor         | 37    | 34    | 12             | --poor, very poor           | 17    | 4     |
| 24%            | Outlook for youth         | 20    | 45    | 64%            | Own housing conditions:     | 61    | 72    |
| 34             | --excellent, good         | 43    | 36    | 23             | --fair                      | 23    | 22    |
| 34             | --poor, very poor         | 36    | 17    | 12             | --poor, very poor           | 15    | 7     |
| 26%            | Labor relations:          | 25    | 16    | 62%            | Health care available:      | 57    | 72    |
| 46             | --excellent, good         | 46    | 46    | 27             | --excellent, good           | 32    | 19    |
| 23             | --poor, very poor         | 24    | 22    | 9              | --fair                      | 32    | 19    |
| 39%            | Outlook for the elderly:  | 36    | 41    | 62%            | --poor, very poor           | 57    | 72    |
| 35             | --excellent, good         | 38    | 31    | 9              | --fair                      | 32    | 19    |
| 22             | --poor, very poor         | 23    | 21    |                | --poor, very poor           | 10    | 7     |

**TABLE V.1** Job Satisfaction (Asked only of Employed People)

| ALL BERMUDIANS   | RACE  |       |
|--|-------|-------|
|  | Black | White |
| Rate your overall satisfaction with your job:              |       |       |
| 86% --Very, somewhat satisfied                             | 84    | 91    |
| 14 --Somewhat, very dissatisfied                           | 16    | 5     |
| Your satisfaction with the working conditions of your job: |       |       |
| 81% --Very, somewhat satisfied                             | 77    | 87    |
| 19 --Somewhat, very dissatisfied                           | 23    | 11    |
| Your chances of advancement with your job:                 |       |       |
| 71% --Very, somewhat satisfied                             | 68    | 76    |
| 26 --Somewhat, very dissatisfied                           | 28    | 21    |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because a few respondents did not answer.

**TABLE V.3** Parents' Reports of their Children's School Experiences

| CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS                                      | PRIVATE SCHOOLS |     |
|---|-----------------|-----|
|   | White           | All |
| How many hours of homework received a week:                     |                 |     |
| --Less than 3 hours   | 23              | 22  |
| --3-5 hours   | 23              | 7   |
| --More than 5 hours   | 20              | 71  |
| Is the amount of homework too much or not enough:               |                 |     |
| --Too much  | 0               | 13  |
| --About right   | 52              | 79  |
| --Too little  | 39              | 44  |
| How often do you help your children with their homework:        |                 |     |
| --Often   | 50              | 34  |
| --Sometimes   | 34              | 55  |
| --Rarely  | 17              | 11  |
| How is the discipline in your child's school:                   |                 |     |
| --Too strict  | 0               | 0   |
| --About right   | 75              | 89  |
| --Too lenient   | 25              | 11  |
| How do you rate the quality of teaching in your child's school: |                 |     |
| --Excellent   | 24              | 45  |
| --Good  | 51              | 44  |
| --Fair  | 25              | 11  |
| --Poor  | 0               | 0   |

These questions were asked of the 49% of adults who reported having children now in school in Bermuda. Questions were asked specifically about the oldest school child. Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because some respondents did not answer, especially the questions about homework, and because of rounding errors.

**TABLE V.2** Perceptions of Economic Opportunity

| ALL BERMUDIANS  | RACE  |       |
|---|-------|-------|
|   | Black | White |
| Are jobs that are available interesting and fulfilling for most people:                         |       |       |
| 65% --Interesting   | 63    | 69    |
| 26 --Not interesting  | 29    | 22    |
| Is there economic opportunity for all people in Bermuda or do some people have more advantages: |       |       |
| 32% --Opportunities for all   | 25    | 44    |
| 67 --Some have advantages   | 74    | 55    |
| Is Bermuda an open society in terms of the possibility for the average person to get ahead:     |       |       |
| 68% --An open society   | 63    | 78    |
| 30 --Not open   | 35    | 21    |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because 1 to 9% of respondents did not answer.

**TABLE V.4** Parents' Evaluations of the Bermudian Educational System

| CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS  | PRIVATE SCHOOLS |     |
|---|-----------------|-----|
|   | White           | All |
| What aspect of the educational system needs most improvement:                   |                 |     |
| --Teaching  | 21%             | 23  |
| --More discipline   | 6               | 34  |
| --Better facilities   | 11              | 0   |
| --Examinations  | 19              | 7   |
| --Eliminate drugs   | 6               | 0   |
| --Nothing   | 38              | 35  |
| Is standardized testing too much or too little:                                 |                 |     |
| --Too much  | 14              | 16  |
| --The right amount  | 61              | 49  |
| --Too little  | 20              | 7   |
| Would you volunteer to supervise playgrounds after school hours for recreation: |                 |     |
| --Yes   | 48              | 60  |
| --No  | 52              | 40  |

See the note to Table V.3. Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because of rounding errors and because a number of respondents expressed no opinions.

**TABLE V.5** Problems with Alcohol

| ALL BERMUDIANS   | YOUTHS 15-21 |       | ADULTS 21-40 |       | ADULTS 41+ |       |
|--|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------|-------|
|  | Black        | White | Black        | White | Black      | White |
| When you drink, how often do you get drunk:                |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 3 --Frequently, regularly                                  | 3            | 4     | 2            | 5     | 5          | 1     |
| 16 --Occasionally, sometimes                               | 15           | 11    | 30           | 19    | 10         | 11    |
| 23 --Rarely  | 18           | 31    | 25           | 34    | 13         | 24    |
| 57 --Never   | 64           | 48    | 63           | 30    | 60         | 63    |
| Does anyone in your household have a problem with alcohol: |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 4 --Yes  | 4            | 3     | 5            | 7     | 3          | 1     |
| 95 --No  | 95           | 96    | 94           | 90    | 94         | 98    |
| Have you ever been drinking and driving at the same time:  |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 14 --Yes   | 11           | 19    | 9            | 18    | 13         | 10    |
| 85 --No  | 88           | 80    | 89           | 82    | 87         | 86    |

YOUTH ONLY  
Do any of your friends have a problem with alcohol:  
12 --Most or some  
21 --A few  
66 --None  
QUESTION NOT ASKED OF ADULTS

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because a few respondents did not answer.

**TABLE V.6** Problems with Drugs and Attitudes about Criminal Penalties

| YOUTH ONLY   | YOUTHS 15-21 |       | ADULTS 21-40 |       | ADULTS 41+ |       |
|--|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------|-------|
|  | Black        | White | Black        | White | Black      | White |
| Does anyone in your household have a problem with drugs:                     |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 2 --Yes  | 3            | 1     |              |       |            |       |
| 97 --No  | 97           | 97    |              |       |            |       |
| Do any of your friends have problems with drugs:                             |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 15 --Most or some  | 14           | 11    |              |       |            |       |
| 20 --A few   | 20           | 24    |              |       |            |       |
| 63 --None  | 63           | 63    |              |       |            |       |
| ALL BERMUDIANS   |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| Do you think that penalties for personal illegal drug use should be changed: |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 10 --Decreased   | 12           | 6     | 11           | 17    | 12         | 6     |
| 32 --Remain the same   | 32           | 33    | 35           | 37    | 37         | 27    |
| 55 --Increased   | 53           | 58    | 51           | 43    | 50         | 51    |
| Do you think that penalties for illegal drug pushing should be changed:      |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 3 --Decreased  | 4            | 2     | 9            | 6     | 4          | 1     |
| 13 --Remain the same   | 13           | 12    | 9            | 14    | 19         | 10    |
| 81 --Increased   | 80           | 85    | 81           | 78    | 75         | 81    |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because a few respondents did not answer.

**TABLE V.7** Youths' Reasons Why People They Know Drink Too Much and Use Drugs

| Reason:                    | Youths Answering "Always" or "Most of the time" |        |
|----------------------------|---|--------|
|                            | All Youth                                       | Whites |
| Excitement                 |   |        |
| Fun                        | 45  | 49     |
| Feel good about life       | 37  | 29     |
| Rebellious, daring         | 35  | 34     |
| Exciting                   | 35  | 31     |
| Escape                     |   |        |
| Unhappy                    | 34  | 22     |
| Boredom                    | 33  | 35     |
| Nothing better to do       | 29  | 27     |
| Nothing to look forward to | 25  | 15     |
| Friends                    |   |        |
| Peer pressure              | 43  | 38     |
| Closer to friends          | 26  | 20     |
| Problems                   |   |        |
| Family fight               | 21  | 17     |
| Problems in school         | 16  | 15     |
| Anti-school                | 12  | 10     |

Respondents were asked about each reason separately and often agreed with many of them.

**TABLE VI.1** Bermuda's Economic Problems and How to Resolve Them

| ALL BERMUDIANS  |
|---|
| What is the one most important economic problem facing Bermuda: |
| 35% --Housing   |
| 23 --Cost of living   |
| 8 --Tourism   |
| 5 --Drugs   |
| 5 --Unemployment  |
| 22 --Other  |
| What is the best way to resolve to solve this problem:          |
| 36% --Lower prices  |
| 11 --Build houses   |
| 5 --Bermudianization  |
| 7 --Community solutions   |
| 41 --Others   |

a. Non-economic, non-political solutions, "we should look out for one another," "everyone should help," etc. Totals do not necessarily add to 100 because of rounding errors.

**TABLE VI.2** The Need for Recreational Facilities

| ALL BERMUDIANS   |
|--|
| What additional recreational facilities should be available in Bermuda:                              |
| 32% --There are enough   |
| 25 --Youth centre  |
| 17 --Parks   |
| 9 --Sports complex   |
| 9 --Swimming   |
| 3 --Amusement parks  |
| 5 --Others   |
| Do you favor keeping Bermuda's open spaces as they are or developing them for recreational purposes: |
| 65% --As they are  |
| 31 --For recreation  |

Totals do not necessarily add to 100 because some respondents did not answer.

**TABLE VI.3** Solutions for the Traffic Problem?

| ALL BERMUDIANS (ADULTS ONLY)   |
|--|
| What causes the traffic problem:   |
| 32% --Too many cars  |
| 32 --Bad driving habits  |
| 34 --Both  |
| Further restrictions on car ownership to control the traffic problem:  |
| 64% --Favor  |
| 31 --Oppose  |
| THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WERE ASKED ONLY OF THE 76% OF RESPONDENTS WHO USE A PRIVATE VEHICLE TO GO TO HAMILTON REGULARLY. |
| If bus service was cheaper would you use it instead of your vehicle:   |
| 11% --Definitely   |
| 19 --Probably  |
| 68 --Probably or definitely not  |
| If there were a charge for street parking in Hamilton, would you use the bus:  |
| 10% --Definitely   |
| 19 --Probably  |
| 69 --Probably or definitely not  |
| If there were a charge for street parking in Hamilton, would you start using a carpool:                                  |
| 9% --Definitely  |
| 27 --Probably  |
| 62 --Probably or definitely not  |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because a few respondents did not answer.

**TABLE VII.4** Concern about Crime

| ALL BERMUDIANS (adults only)  |
|---|
| How would you describe the crime rate in your neighborhood:                     |
| 8% --Very high, above average   |
| 27 --Average  |
| 25 --Below average  |
| 39 --Very low   |
| How has the amount of crime changed in your neighborhood in the past few years: |
| 26% --Increased   |
| 63 --Remained the same  |
| 6 --Decreased   |
| Who has more responsibility for the prevention of crime in a neighborhood:      |
| 38% --Residents   |
| 18 --Police   |
| 42 --Both residents and police  |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because a few respondents did not answer.

**TABLE VII.1** Interracial Socializing and Perceptions of Prejudice

| ALL BERMUDIANS  | YOUTHS 15-21 |       | ADULTS 21-40 |       | ADULTS 41+ |       |
|---|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------|-------|
|   | Black        | White | Black        | White | Black      | White |
| Do you socialize only or mainly with people of your own race, equally with both, or mostly with others: |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 4% --Only own race  | 6            | 3     | 5            | 1     | 4          | 2     |
| 31 --Mostly own race  | 29           | 36    | 24           | 17    | 30         | 40    |
| 62 --Both equally   | 64           | 56    | 68           | 68    | 63         | 51    |
| 2 --Mostly other  | 1            | 4     | 3            | 11    | 1          | 5     |
| Do you think most whites are or are not racially prejudiced against blacks:                             |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 45% --Are prejudiced  | 53           | 34    | 43           | 34    | 55         | 37    |
| 47 --Are not prejudiced   | 39           | 60    | 55           | 64    | 37         | 56    |
| Do you think most blacks are or are not racially prejudiced against whites:                             |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 46% --Are prejudiced  | 49           | 41    | 44           | 40    | 48         | 39    |
| 47 --Are not prejudiced   | 44           | 51    | 53           | 55    | 46         | 51    |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because some respondents did not answer.

**TABLE VII.2** The Future of Race Relations

| ALL BERMUDIANS   | YOUTHS 15-21 |       | ADULTS 21-40 |       | ADULTS 41+ |       |
|--|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------|-------|
|  | Black        | White | Black        | White | Black      | White |
| Are relations between black and white children better, worse, or the same as between black and white adults: |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 75% --Better   | 77           | 73    | 69           | 77    | 80         | 67    |
| 16 --Same  | 15           | 17    | 24           | 21    | 14         | 19    |
| 5 --Worse  | 5            | 4     | 5            | 3     | 5          | 5     |
| Is there more racial prejudice among young people or among adults:   |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 71% --Adults   | 73           | 69    | 74           | 76    | 74         | 67    |
| 19 --Youth   | 17           | 22    | 20           | 22    | 18         | 24    |
| 5 --Same   | 6            | 3     | 3            | 1     | 7          | 2     |
| Is it easier for a black or a white child to get ahead in Bermudian society:                                 |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 50% --White  | 61           | 30    | 66           | 36    | 71         | 37    |
| 41 --Same  | 31           | 56    | 24           | 45    | 23         | 52    |
| 5 --Black  | 4            | 7     | 8            | 7     | 4          | 5     |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because some respondents did not answer.

**TABLE VII.3** Problems and Progress in Race Relations

| ALL BERMUDIANS   | YOUTHS 15-21 |       | ADULTS 21-40 |       | ADULTS 41+ |       |
|--|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------|-------|
|  | Black        | White | Black        | White | Black      | White |
| How much of a problem is racial discrimination:                                      |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 16% --Very serious   | 21           | 8     | 11           | 4     | 30         | 10    |
| 44 --Somewhat serious  | 44           | 45    | 46           | 42    | 47         | 46    |
| 33 --Not very serious  | 30           | 38    | 39           | 44    | 18         | 35    |
| 5 --NOT at all serious   | 3            | 8     | 4            | 6     | 4          | 9     |
| Have race relations improved, worsened, or stayed the same over the past five years: |              |       |              |       |            |       |
| 47% --Improved   | 47           | 45    | 51           | 43    | 42         | 42    |
| 11 --Gotten worse  | 10           | 12    | 9            | 6     | 10         | 10    |
| 38 --About the same  | 40           | 37    | 38           | 46    | 45         | 39    |

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because some respondents did not answer.

TABLE VIII.1 Ratings of How Government Spends Tax Money

ALL  
BERMUDIANS

How do you rate the way the government spends your tax money:

3% --Excellent  
28 --Good  
38 --Fair  
16 --Poor  
9 --Very poor

Totals do not add down to 100 because some respondents did not answer.

TABLE VIII.2 Orientations Toward Government

| ALL<br>BERMUDIANS | Participants | Citizens | Cynics | RACE  |       | YOUTHS 15-21 |       | ADULTS 21-40 |       | ADULTS 41+ |       | FAMILY INCOME |             |           |
|-------------------|--------------|----------|--------|-------|-------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------|-------|---------------|-------------|-----------|
|                   |              |          |        | Black | White | Black        | White | Black        | White | Black      | White | <\$15,000     | \$15-25,000 | \$25,000+ |
| 22%               | 17           | 37       | 37     | 17    | 37    | 18           | 37    | 16           | 35    | 15         | 41    | 15            | 25          | 25        |
| 44                | 43           | 44       | 44     | 43    | 44    | 39           | 34    | 48           | 52    | 43         | 40    | 36            | 47          | 46        |
| 34                | 41           | 18       | 18     | 41    | 18    | 43           | 28    | 36           | 13    | 42         | 19    | 48            | 28          | 29        |

"Participants" are respondents who agreed with two or less of the nine questions expressing skepticism about government and politics.

"Citizens" are respondents who agreed with three to five of the nine questions.  
"Cynics" are respondents who agreed with six or more of the nine questions.  
Respondents who did not answer most of the questions are deleted.

Totals do not necessarily add down to 100 because of rounding errors.

TABLE VIII.3 Support for Five Types of Political Action

ALL  
BERMUDIANS

Signing petitions:

82% --Approve of signing petitions  
79% --Productive way of bringing about change  
47% --Report they have participated in the last 10 years

Non-violent demonstrations:

73% --Approve of non-violent demonstrations  
73% --Productive way of bringing about change  
20% --Report they have participated in the last 10 years

Boycotts:

56% --Approve of boycotts  
65% --Productive way of bringing about change  
15% --Report they have participated in the last 10 years

Damaging property (for political purposes):

5% --Approve of damaging property  
12% --Productive way of bringing about change  
2% --Report they have participated in the last 10 years

Violent activity (for political purposes):

6% --Approve of violent activity  
13% --Productive way of bringing about change  
3% --Report they have participated in the last 10 years

Only positive answers are listed here. Almost all other disapproved, thought the tactic was unproductive, or said that they have not participated. Between 1 and 7% of respondents did not answer each question.

