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At the Juncture of Homonationalism and Homophobic Nationalism: Sexual Justice Organizing in Uganda and the Paradox of Transnational Advocacy

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Abstract of the Dissertation

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The Anti-Homosexuality Bill of 2009 propelled Uganda to the forefront of global media. In its initial manifestation, the Bill threatened to penalize "aggravated homosexuality" with the death penalty. The media attention earned by the proposed legislation opened avenues for transnational cooperation and communication between US-based Human and LGBTI Rights organizations and Ugandan kuchus – a Ugandan identity that encapsulates various identities of same gender loving or gender nonconforming peoples. This project focuses on this transnational relationship as it interacts with the dynamic of organizing in the midst of a national project of sexual repression.

This dissertation asks how kuchu organizing functions from a position dually marginalized by homonationalism, the process through which dominant, Western nations deploy a normativized, nationalist homosexuality for global legitimacy, and homophobic nationalism, the domestic process of making a state 'straight.'" This question divides into three constituent questions:

1) Is the human rights regime a vehicle of homonationalism?
2) How does homonationalism interact with homophobic nationalism in Uganda?
3) How does this intersection affect local organizing strategies and alliance building?

I detail how the structure of transnational advocacy, which aims to empower global human rights activism, restructures and, in some cases, limits local movements. Specifically, I find that and explore how the funding practices and strategies of US organizations and foundations can create economic and political inequalities in Uganda. This analysis complicates and contributes to theories of sexual and gendered citizenship, nationalisms and transnational social movements. In the conclusion, I propose reimagining the politics and goals of transnational cooperation between the two countries.

DEDICATION PAGE

To my love, to the revolution, to the way each inspires the other in me;

To my ancestors;

To Jada and Jasmine; Sarai and Sage – the generation that follows

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHA – Anti-Homosexuality Act

AHB – Anti-Homosexuality Bill

DNMC - District Non-Governmental Organizations Monitoring Committee

GNC – Gender Non-Conforming

GRIM – Gay Rights International Movement

INGO – International Non-Governmental Organization

L/G/B/T/I/Q – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer

MP – Member of Parliament

MSM – Men who have Sex with Men

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NPIC – Non-Profit Industrial Complex

NYC – New York City

POC – People of Color

PRO – Progressive Religious Organization

QPOC – Queer People of Color

SGL – Same-Gender Loving

SMO – Social Movement Organization

SNMC - Subcountry Non-Governmental Monitoring Committee

TSMO – Transnational Social Movement Organization

UN – United Nations

WSW – Women who have Sex with Women

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Our Black, lesbian, mother, warrior, poet: Audre Lorde

Thank you.

CHAPTER 1

QUEER ORGANIZING FOR FULL CITIZENSHIP

Mama[1] and her daughter sat next to me on the second and third leg of my flight from New York City to Entebbe, Uganda. Their trip began in London, but our flights connected in Amsterdam. Our massive plane featured 10-seat rows and was nearly full, dropping off and picking up passengers in Rwanda before we all unloaded in Entebbe. Mama, her daughter and I were, however, some of only a handful of people of African descent on the flight. I couldn't help but notice that all around us were groups of white, European and American young people, many of which had matching t-shirts or jumpsuits.

They were in groups of roughly ten 14-18 year-olds with one to three accompanying adults. At the gate in Amsterdam and at the stop in Kigali, where we were not allowed off of the plane unless it were our final destination, they stretched their legs, chatted, or formed hand-holding circles. *They prayed.* A number of them got off the plane in Kigali, but twenty minutes later were replaced by similar groups of passengers, loading from the Rwandan airport.

The sight of youth prayer groups was a familiar one: having grown up in a highly religious, Southern town, I remembered the devout teenagers and their Christian conviction. I thought of one classmate in particular, who had become a missionary. She moved to central Africa while I attended university. This new context stunned me, though. I had not anticipated the visual significance of their numbers – even though, of course, I knew the qualitative significance of their continued presence in the region.

Mama, noticing that I was flying alone, struck up casual conversation. She and her daughter were wearing hijabs and have noticeably different accents. As I had hoped, Mama was born and raised in Uganda; her daughter is from London, where they live now. They asked general questions: Where am I heading? Do I have family in Kampala? She was concerned about

[1] All names in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

how I would get around while in Kampala and offered me several phone numbers, remarking that her family has multiple cars.

I made a promise to call them when I had bought a phone and to visit their family home when I've settled in. When I called, several days later, her nephew Hassan arrived to retrieve me. We became friends quickly. Soon, I grew close with the entire family – which I found incredibly warm and generous; me, they often remarked they found "nice" and "different."

One day, well after meeting and growing accustomed to each other, Hassan and I walked through Kansanga. I was heading to the guesthouse in which I had been staying for the summer and he agreed to show me a curiously long "shortcut." The area is not exceptional, relative to some Kampala neighborhoods that are perhaps atop one of the many hills or nearer to Lake Victoria. So when I saw a building with an architectural particularity, it caught my attention. It was multistory, strikingly white, with beautiful exterior moulding, and looked very out of place. Hassan noticed me noticing it.

"That is where the gays go," he abruptly offered, unsolicited.

Having successfully caught me off guard, as he so often enjoys doing, I asked what he meant.

"I mean that is a nightclub and gays party there… at the top." He nodded in its direction.

Not completely believing him, as he is a straight, Muslim-practicing cisgender[2] guy who often pulls my leg, I asked, "how do you know that? It looks like a place for rich people."

"Everyone knows this. All gays are rich."

"All gays are not rich, Hassan. Why would you say that?"

"Gays *are* all rich, Sasha. Whites come and pay them like prostitutes."

[2] Cisgender, or cis, means *not transgender*. The gender that he identifies with normatively aligns with the sex that he was ascribed at birth.

I probed Hassan a bit, but not too much after this. In the brief conversation that unfolded, Hassan shared with me that "whites" pay Ugandans to be or to say that they are gay and share money for the identity to popularize. As a result, Ugandans who say that they are gay have a particular opportunity to get European/American money, and therefore are rich enough to colonize expensive nightclubs.

Most of Hassan's political opinions provided the foundation for our quickly forming friendship. He wasn't just kind like his family; he was sharp-witted, brutally honest, bold and politically angry (in a way that reminded me of myself and of *home*). His politics, even those related to sexuality, were largely nuanced. So when he relied on this dogma for homosexuality, the moment struck me; I made note of it. He neither enlisted a religious claim, nor a trope about health implications. Instead, he argued here that racial outsiders fund it. I cannot help but conclude that it must, in his eyes, be therefore rooted in inequality.

Instead of brushing this off as "untrue" because my experience with this identity that I have adopted (as lesbian) is so different, I chose to keep it in mind and to honor his understanding – not by accepting and agreeing with it – but at least by thinking it through; giving merit to its formation and its implications. And I have done so with a deep questioning of association and identity.

Therefore, I inscribed this tension in each chapter of this dissertation. The politics of homosexuality, as it relates to international intervention and development, has created a newfound struggle for those seeking sexual justice in African cities. The research question that guides this dissertation is how does sexual justice organizing in Uganda work, when it must contend with domestic and international political processes that are, in and of themselves, conflicting.

I have used the theoretical frameworks "homophobic nationalism" and "homonationalism" in order to explore these thoughts in a way that situates the current politic in a historical and global interface. Homophobic nationalism was the impetus of Hassan's comments: it is a complex assemblage of racial and economic tensions that is bolstered by historical memories of imperialism and current status within the world system.[3] Homonationalism becomes that reminder of Uganda's economic and political situation as a peripheral nation. It is a particular "gay rights" politic that reconstitutes global power.

Homophobic nationalism explains the postcolonial, historical development in global context as well as a particular trajectory that Uganda began, over two decades after independence. It accounts for "the transnational" in a way that is very different than its Western political corollary, which was a nation-state model that began earlier and in relatively isolated ways. This narrative captures the differences that form when the national project of sexual repression begins in a later, more technologically advanced and more globalized structure of governance, due to a peripheral nation's relationship to structural adjustment and foreign aid.

Homophobic nationalism, in this way, can explain the tendency of impoverished, recently decolonized states to respond to globalized identities such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, etc. with the hostility generally reserved for imperialist projects. Altogether, combing through the literature that connects sexual citizenship, the World System, and transnational social movements advances the literature by recognizing how homophobia as a national project proxies as anti-imperialism. It also provides a basis from which we can understand how Western homonationalism interacts with and bolsters homophobic nationalism.

[3] The "world system" describes the analysis of the world economy by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974a and b), in which he explains the global division of labor. National contributions to the world-market are hierarchized. It names Western nations "the Core" and all others "Semi-Periphery" or "Periphery." The system maintains the extraction-based relationship that the Core has to Africa.

From Sexual Citizenship to Homonationalism

Sexual citizenship literature, although not yet denoted as such, experienced its infancy with Kate Millet's Sexual Politics (1970), inspired by The Second Sex (de Beauvoir 1949). Modern and contemporary citizenship in Western nations, in terms of for whom rights and regulations are written, is sexed. Men are the subject, the understood actor in the public sphere; women are something other. Multidisciplinary, feminist scholarship has recognized that citizenship is sexed (Cossman 2007; Evans 1993; Lister 1997). Our sexed bodies, the bodies as distinguished by our genitalia, serve to designate our role in society. Bodies assigned male are subject to the law.

The state intended for (white) men to be the wage laborers; taxpayers; the property protectors; the flag bearers in times of crisis and war. Females began *as* property and now, due largely to global woman empowerment movements, constitute varied hybrid positions, dependent on the state. Female citizens work, consume, and vote with a modicum of protections to ensure access to these dimensions of citizenship, but are still relegated to the private sphere – defined in complete contrast to public citizenry (Pateman 1988). Therefore, although women may gain access to aspects of citizenship, the constitution of citizenship condemns women to a lesser position. To refer to a citizenship that is sexual necessarily inheres this sexed dichotomy (Lister 1990, 1996, 1997; Pateman 1988, 1989).

Bell and Binnie (2000) argue that "the foundational tenets of being a citizen are all inflected by sexualities": the state also assigns the citizen a sexual orientation (pp. 10). In this

regard, we may recognize the subject of the state as heterosexual. Multidisciplinary works have produced a grounded understanding of the ways in which the state disables homosexual citizenship (Bell 1995; Bell and Binnie 2000; Evans 1993; Richardson 1998; Seidman 2001). In the Western model, citizenship develops through immigration, naturalization, and access to participation and benefits. For example, Eithne Luibheid (1998) and Margot Canaday (2003) investigate the exclusionary immigration policies of the United States, which targeted gays and lesbians throughout various points of the 20th century, yet undoubtedly exist today (Robson and Kessler 2007). These and similar works provide an understanding of the historically state sanctioned practice of assigning citizenship solely to the "healthy" heterosexual.

Richardson (2000-2007) contends that citizenship excludes lesbian and gay people in that it relies on erotic and romantic narratives of reproduction. The reproductive citizen is able to reproduce not only generations of future citizens, but through that process, able to reproduce norms and mores of how to relate to the state. This heterosexism renders lesbian and gay people "other" than citizen. They are granted partial citizenship, in that they could not legally marry, could not openly serve in the military or openly enter the workplace, or adopt children. Sexual citizenship, in this regard, refers to the repressive levels of access that gays and lesbians in the state have to taking part reproduction of the state.

Coloring Citizenry: Racialized Sexual Politics around the World

Whereas the foundational assumptions of sexual citizenship imagine a sexed dichotomy as the primary dynamic of separation in nationhood, scholars of color critiqued this early

perspective meticulously in order to complicate the early understandings. This literature stresses that the importance of an intersectional analytic (Crenshaw, Collins, hooks, McCall) is the analytic that writers need to depend on in order to create more comprehensive theory. This intersectionality recognizes that black men (especially) were never intended to be said flag bearers or taxpayers. Although they, from the beginning, were meant to die for the welfare of this country, this country never intended to confer rights to them.

Therefore any analysis of citizenship, especially *sexual* citizenship, needs to situate the racialization of both citizenship and sexuality. Patricia Hill Collins (2004) outlines the intersections of this form of citizenship with the racialized experience of living in the United States. Her work exposes the undue standard of social regard that black Americans hold in the United States, considering their history of slavery, medical apartheid (a term coined Harriet A. Washington), and cultural stereotyping in the present day. To this day, black men are paid less (on average) than white women, incarcerated at purposefully higher numbers than any other identity group, and with those accumulated issues, much less likely to be afforded safe and reliable housing. Therefore, the fundamental issues of sexual citizenship are racialized. This relationship to the male counterpart in the racial groups undoubtedly changes what Black women and white women consider feminist political issues.

Continuing this narrative, Thaddeus Russell's "The Color of Discipline" (2008) shows the inverse relationship between racial liberation and sexual conservatism. As the "heterosexual family was the most effective vehicle through which to create citizens" (pp 118), Russell argues that the civil rights movement's push for full citizenship abetted conformity to the accepted norms of white sexuality. He shows that, from roughly the 1920s to the 1950s, black culture was relatively open to homosexuality and then maps out how movement leaders cloaked themselves

in the language of heteronormativity. Homosexuality became inimical to "the ethic of self-sacrifice and communal responsibility at the core of citizenship (104)." The movement sacrificed homosexuality in order to "remove the image of black deviancy and show that African Americans could be good citizens (118)." Although the works of Somerville (2005) and Russell (2008) are geopolitically limited to the recent history of the United States, various works have modeled similar 19th and 20th century citizenship projects elsewhere in the world (Bacchetta and Haritaworn 2011; Epprecht 2005, 2008; Hoad 2007).

Siobhan Somerville (2005) draws attention to the imagined naturalized citizen or person who "desires America," noting that as naturalized means "to make native." The abstract subject, in the US imaginary, is both white and sexually reproductive. M. Jacqui Alexander (2006) navigates this intersection, showing the racial, geographic, political, and classed boundaries that divide access to erotic autonomy. Being a lesbian in Trinidad, (made illegal in 1986) and then a Trinidadian lesbian in the United States, (which is rendered illegible due to the whiteness of homosexuality) means living with marginal access to citizenship in both her native state, which proclaims to be staunchly anti-homosexual, and in her receiving state, which proclaims staunch acceptance (2006). Crossing both refers to the transatlantic slave trade, which brought blacks to the Americas and to the boundaries that one disrupts by assuming "contradictory" identities – such as black and lesbian. At the intersection of a marginalized race and a marginalized sexuality, neither state will permit access to full, participatory citizenship.

As colonialism served as the major apparatus to spread Western models of governance, we can witness similar legislative processes occurring in formerly colonized regions. The diversity of sexual practices that coexisted before postcolonial transfer of power was often sacrificed to constitute the state (Epprecht 2005). Therefore, similar regulatory politics of

sexuality and gender in the United States (Canaday 2003; Somerville 2005) can be seen in nations across the world (see examples from Epprecht 2005, 2008 and Jeater 2007 for Zimbabwe; Keating 2007 for India; Alexander 2006 for the Caribbean islands; Jayawardena 1986 for the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific). In regard to gender relations, Kumari Jayawardena (1986) excavates the postcolonial sexual contract while retracing the ways in which the alliance between male and female comrades in the several third world independence struggles[4] were severed in the postcolonial nation-building project. For example, Indian politicians entrenched gender inequality through similar legislation to that of their colonial overseers. For a contemporary example, Uganda's legislative project of "straightening" citizens can be witnessed through legislative changes in the Penal Code to further define or criminalize sodomy (between 1990 and 2000).

Mark Epprecht (2005) reviews the history of British anti-gay legislation in African colonies. The work not only highlights the ways in which hegemonic masculinity (what he calls "the 'cowboy' culture") influenced colonial attitudes on Black competency, but also calls for attention to historical missionary attack on African sexuality and the effects of these attacks on contemporary ideology. As the hegemonic culture of White Rhodesia imposed itself into the African nationalist movement, a movement to "hone" a civilized self-image arose (Jeater 1993; see Epprecht 2005).

Various scholarly works reinforce this racialized and sexualized dynamic of the imperial project to "civilize" Africans (Cohen 1970; Stoler 1995, 2002). Becoming more European became an *achievement,* something accomplishable with the rejection of so-called African perversion. The parallels to the African American project are undeniable - The ethic of

[4] Jayawardena (1986) investigates Egypt, Turkey, Iran, India, Sri Lanka, China, Indonesia, Vietnam, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines.

independence and restraint is institutionalized as "the price of admission" to citizenship (Russell 2008, pp 124). Stoler's critique of Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* explains that this distancing from African sexuality defined, through morality, the parameters of European citizenship (1995). Authentic Europeanness stressed "clarified notions of Whiteness" that were reified by the ethics of formal labor, white colonial masculinity, and Victorian ideals (Epprecht 2005; Stoler 1995).

Therefore, this international literature has produced analyses that inform us of the myriad of ways that states use legislation to produce, regulate, and protect a sexually and racially "pure" citizen. In the context of the historically imperial powers, this citizen is heterosexual, monogamous, and white. In the postcolonial Ugandan context, I argue that analyzing the development of sodomy legislation shows that this ideal citizen is heterosexual, monogamous, and yet untarnished by contemporary Western ideals (which is undoubtedly paradoxical). This anti-Western focus is not only a reactionary result of colonialism, but of the anti-globalization ideology that pervades Ugandan leadership.

This exclusionary sexual politic heightens a full citizen's cultural identification with the governing state. Young states, such as Uganda, a country only around fifty years old, struggle immensely with nation building as a project. As the process of "making the state straight" (Somerville 2005) proves integral to the Western model of nation building, I argue that this form of homophobic nationalism (a nationalism that literally fears incorporating gays) not only exists in Uganda, but also exists in a way contingent upon its history with British colonialism.

In Uganda, we can witness the overlap of the actions of state, religious, and civil society in the formation of the heterosexual state. For this reason, we not only see Uganda stand alone in the world with a government position for Minister of Ethics and Integrity – but we also see

religious organizations acting as powerful coalitions for legislative change. Operating off of the fear of neocolonial Western imposition, Ugandan anti-gay agents are able to mobilize both parliamentarians and regular citizens to fortify homophobic nationalism. Therefore, for peripheral countries (most specifically those who have recently become nations, such as Uganda) homophobic nationalism is in a state of constant interaction with the global, both rhetorically and materially. The Ugandan kuchu rights movement interacts not only with this homophobic nationalism, but also with its contemporary, antagonistic model of sexual regulation, called homonationalism.

Homonationalism, as developed by Jasbir Puar (2007), describes the process of normativizing homosexuality in a way that advances a nationalist agenda. This homosexuality, similar to the straight state, reproduces the established patterns of consumption and regulation. When granted various civil rights that centralize work ("discrimination") and taxpaying ("marriage") to homosexual nationals, the citizen is able to complement the straight state, rather than contradict it (Puar 2007). Therefore, as the perception of this population grows as an international market (Chasin 2000) and as a diaspora (Puar 1998) it increasingly becomes a state interest to integrate the population into state norms. This interest serves to boost the credibility of the state both on national and international scales, as citizens hold both their own *and* other nations accountable for gay rights. Therefore cultural capital that the gay rights movement earns for its constituents fuels homonationalism.

Expanding the theories put forth by sexual citizenry scholars, Puar posits that homonationalism legitimizes dominant states with minimal risk to the state. The United States and other Core countries capitalize on this form of nationalism by strategically deploying the "gay rights" discourse to retain and leverage power over Peripheral nations. Puar juxtaposes the

liberal events of gay rights victories in the early 2000s (i.e. the federal overturn of sodomy legislation in 2003) with what she refers to as simultaneous conservative imperial conquests (i.e. the 2003 US invasion of Iraq).

Puar understands categories such as "race" and "gender" as events in this work as they are encounters or experiences with analytic power. She then theorizes the *conviviality* of racial and political events. In particular, she asserts that the conviviality of conservative imperial ventures and the mainstream gay rights undertakings divert attention from the real, racial domination experienced within US borders. The United States turns to celebrate white sexual diversity while it denounces black and brown sexual perversion. Although not explicitly mentioned in her literature, evidence of this is seen through the simultaneity of encouragement for whites to "come out of the closet" and demonization of blacks "on the down low."

White American exceptionalism elevates the experiences of whiteness, while erasing the contributions of all other ethnic or racial groups. This erasure is seen through the ways in which American cultural memory of Lawrence and Garner v. Texas actually erases race: as Lawrence is an older white man, and Garner is a young black man. The historic trial became known as Lawrence v. Texas through the custom of shortening legal case names. This erasure is more than symbolic; it is a demonstration of the simultaneous process of erasing black experience while using black trauma for the advancement of white citizenry.

The Transnational Human Rights Regime in the Age of Homonationalism

The Anti-Homosexuality Bill of 2009 propelled Uganda to the forefront of global media. In its initial manifestation, the Bill threatened to penalize "aggravated homosexuality" with the death penalty. The media attention earned by the proposed legislation opened avenues for transnational cooperation between US-based Human (or more specifically, LGBTI) Rights organizations and Ugandan kuchu activists. With this project, I contribute an understanding of how homonationalism thrives in transnational social movements. As transnational human rights networks operate in collusion with international governance systems, controlled by Core nations, I argue that it is especially enabled to spread homonationalist ideology.

In its most basic contemporary formation, we can understand human rights as the ideal protections that human beings are granted, indiscriminate of their national identities. However, for the relative weakness of its enforcement mechanism, human rights experiences drawbacks. Unlike civil rights, which are granted and enforced by the nation state, human rights rely on international bodies of governance, treaties, and inter- or non-governmental policing. In order to strengthen a global enforcement mechanism, international bodies, such as the UN, grant status or recognition to certain non-governmental organizations (NGOs) seeking to bureaucratize and defend human rights. Accordingly, these organizations form institutionalized, transnational advocacy networks.

As explored in depth in Chapter 5, formalized transnational advocacy networks seek to defend human rights by 1) identifying global abuses; 2) enabling small, local organizations to become self-sustaining; and 3) reporting the state of global affairs to either more powerful

governments, or to international bodies such as the UN. With intention of running effectively and efficiently in a global arena, this bureaucracy largely features "NGO-centered, single-issue policy networks, that run centrally organized campaigns, based on brokered coalitions, aimed mainly at extracting policy reforms from institutional targets" (see Bennett 2005 pp 213 on Keck and Sikkink 1998).

Keck and Sikkink (1998) posit that a short, compelling *causal chain* need exist in order for issue-specific campaigns to survive. A movement must establish a clear "bad guy" that is immediately relevant. In this case, MP David Bahati, Ugandan parliament, and US evangelical missionaries have all been referenced as the cause of anti-gay fervor. The campaign then points to the issue that will garner the most international monetary support and attention. As the transnational network already makes effective use of claims of bodily harm to vulnerable peoples (Keck and Sikkink 1998) – pointing out the interpersonal hate violence that Ugandan kuchus face serves the campaign. Lastly, the network establishes a short causal relationship: Parliament is responsible for the deaths of LGBTI people in Uganda. This simple formula grants heightened international attention, large donations, and the establishment of transnational cooperation between kuchu organizations and LGBTI Rights groups in Core nations.

Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest (2005) provide a quantitative exposition of the effect of national privilege on the transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs). Smith and Wiest's data show that privileged nations – those with high income, high levels of democracy and large populations have significantly higher rates of participation in TSMOs. In a different work, Smith shows that human rights are the main motivation of TSMOs (Smith 1997). Therefore, literature has shown that privileged, or Core nations over-represent the TSMOs that form the transnational human rights regime. This over-representation is critiqued for resulting in

a regime that circulates methods of advocacy in ways that are often out of touch with local needs (Tarrow 2001 or see Jensen and Szulanski 2004 for broader institutional theory). As regime analysis can "at minimum be useful in organizing what we know, expanding our perspective, and helping us to avoid some standard analytic traps and pitfalls" (Donnelly 1986, pp 639), I interrogate the inequities within and created by the transnational human rights regime.

Primarily in dialogue with Bennett (2005), Keck and Sikkink (1998), and Smith and Wiest (2005), I examine a transnational advocacy network that may help us understand how TSMOs both contribute to and complicate local movements. I posit that a ground-up (or local-transnational) examination of transnational activism will provide a necessary, qualitative look at the pitfalls and possibilities of the international human rights regime. A ground-up examination of the effects of human rights activism, in this case, foregrounds the experiences and reflections of kuchu rights organizers and is accomplished by interviewing both sides of the transnational arrangement.

The Lasting Importance of Sexual Citizenship Inquiries throughout a Globalized Gay Rights Movement

The increasing inclusion and openness toward gays in a few Western nations does not render sexual citizenship anachronistic. On the contrary, the "increasing inclusion" that we see in some Western nations, and the push for global uniformity in regards to sexual minority rights, reignited the field. In the United States, there is no federal protection from workplace discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. This limits the ability of

LGBT people in the country to serve in the public sphere: the crux of citizenship. The marriage debate also settles well into the fold. In fact, the vast majority of "Western" states do not offer full citizenship to gays and lesbians, much less trans* and queer people outside of these identities. More importantly, Phelan's (2001) theory cites physical safety as the most basic form of citizenship. As trans* and queer people of color are harassed, assaulted, and murdered regularly by cisgender, heterosexual males, they are fully excluded from a cultural and social inclusion to the public.

I connect homophobic nationalism and homonationalism despite their different contexts. They are, in this case, reciprocal processes. Also, both rely on racialization processes intended to strengthen their respective nations. Deviant sexual beliefs and practices are connected to globalization and exposure to racial others. In this case, homophobic nationalism in Uganda relies on the assumption that the white or Western foreign agent spreads a destructive sexuality. Homonationalism in the US assumes that there are unproductive ways to be gay (non-monogamous, non-procreative, and non-nationalist). It aligns homonormativity with a national production and securitization. Historically white matters of homosexuality become of national importance, which further erases and problematizes black queerness.

Ultimately, there are several instances of amnesia[5] at play, here. Homophobic nationalism relies on a large population forgetting the colonial implications of anti-sodomy legislation. However, it thrives with a memory of the agenda-setting white presence. Homonationalism relies on a large, transnational population forgetting black experience (with sexual demonization, with colonization, with queerness, etc.), but ultimately persisting with blanketed, culturally irrelevant methods of advocacy. In order to navigate this theoretical situation, I've chosen as a case the

[5] See Cheney 2012 for an analysis of "postcolonial amnesia" in relation to the argument that protecting Ugandan "cultural tradition" necessitated the Anti-Homosexuality Bill.

Anti-Homosexuality Act and the organizing that has occurred in Uganda and between Uganda and the United States. This manuscript provides an analysis of the gap between a) the bureaucratic methods and stated goals of transnational NGOs and b) the experiences, needs and goals of the local organizations.

The Aims and Contributions of the Dissertation

This manuscript offers an investigation that recognizes differentials in power on each level of interaction: kuchu and anti-gay domestic relations (Chapters 3 and 4), transnational LGBTI-kuchu relations (Chapter 5), and between kuchu organizers (Chapter 6). This departure is a contribution to the literature, which thus far has recognized the power dynamic inherent in Core-Peripheral cooperation, but has not recognized the local group privilege created by transnational advocacy.

I divide my arguments into three main findings: 1) transnational NGOs employ Core-based methodologies to grant liberalized rights to those seeking full Ugandan *citizenship;* 2) the physical and material presence of transnational NGOs reifies nationalist fears and 3) in the process of making small, local movements large international campaigns, certain activists gain disproportionate material and symbolic compensation. I argue that these dynamics problematize regime presence and work. Instead of supplying the immediate goods that the kuchu movement demands, such as food, work, shelter, and community, the regime instead redirects the movement and movement-makers toward liberalized, rights-based work.

Although rights-based work serves an important function in any nation, a model of advocacy that centers liberalized rights does not benefit the majority of kuchus. Unlike high income and strongly democratic Core nations, underemployment and other economic obstacles in Uganda limit citizens' consumptive and taxpaying capabilities (irrespective of their sexuality) and restrict the political agency of individuals. Therefore, those with already minimal access to economic and political privilege do not reap the benefits of these legal achievements. Chapter 5 supports the first finding and explains this process in detail.

The second finding is explored largely in Chapter 3. The physical appearance of transnational NGOs is often read as an invasion; this reading heightens anti-imperial fears and nationalist sentiment and is inscribed in the very legislation that caught the transnational NGO's attention.

The third finding is explored largely in Chapters 4 and 6. This advocacy structure creates high profile celebrity-activists, (such as David Kato or Kasha Nabagesera) which may limit the movement both by intensifying nationalism (against anti-nationals, in the palm of the United States) and by diverting attention from the general kuchu population in need. This, however, interplays with the second finding – the effect that the presence of advocacy networks has on nationalist sentiment. Both the material power that the networks provide (such as funding organizations or university clubs) and the ahistorical approach necessary for *causal chains* to be established become impediments created by regime cooperation. If so, the function of anti-gay nationalism is to ensure that (neo)imperialist messages do not divide the Ugandan majority.

This nationalist discourse may be anti-imperialist if it rests on the belief that the regime seeks to divide a small minority of the population, regard them with a status separate from the "barbaric other," and then divest material goods according to this difference, all while

economically dominating the region. This anti-imperialist dynamic is one reason that an interrogation of citizenship matters.

I investigate the structure of transnational advocacy in order to contribute a better understanding of the ways in which the human rights regime's agenda to empower local organizing counterproductively limits local movements. The qualitative exploration of local dynamics created by US funding practices and strategies enables insight into the multidimensional facets of violence that kuchus face at the hands of the state and those citizens who believe themselves to be guardians of the nation. Also importantly, this dissertation provides a novel exploration into the inequalities created in local organizing by the foreign economic presence of US-based funders.

The Outline of the Forthcoming Chapters

In this dissertation, I focused on the work of the LGBTI organizations in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, and their partnerships with transnational human rights organizations based in New York, the location of headquarters of the United Nations. I interviewed organizers from the majority of active kuchu groups in Kampala (n=7) and with nine collaborative organizations from the United States. The Ugandan groups included two organizations for all kuchu identities (LGBTI); one organization specifically for bisexuals; one organization for female or woman identified Ugandans (LBTI); and one for all transgender and gender non-conforming Ugandans. The American organizers represented one progressive religious organization; three human rights foundations (not specific to LGBTI rights); three gay rights

organizations (one of which is exclusively international); and one well-known "independent" advocacy group. In order to protect their identities and relationships to each other, I have neither named the participants nor their organizations, where names appear I have used pseudonyms.

Of these seven organizations, only one has had a (materially) successful partnership with transnational foundations in the United States. This organization is referred to as "the umbrella" in this manuscript as well as in the networks. The dynamic created by this uneven funding is mostly explored in Chapter 6. Ultimately, however, I've attempted to capture some of the nuances of organizing in an economically repressed setting, where the presence of foreign donors confounds the processes of creating a salient identity for the constituency, alliance building, and defining movement strategies.

Chapter 2 outlines the methodological considerations foregrounding this manuscript. I explain the role that connection, disconnection, and shifting play in the formation of this analysis. The experiences presented in this dissertation occurred mostly between 2012-2014. However, I began the collection of data at the end of 2010. This earliest research retraces the colonial and postcolonial histories necessary to forming this analysis. These histories are predominantly explored in Chapter 3.

In that third chapter, I argue that the project of creating a Ugandan citizenry rested on mutually constituting projects of classed and racialized implications in the colonial era. Contemporarily, this project continues in a formation of that colonial legacy. I argue that the AHA has developed in a globalized sphere where heightened ethnic tensions have led to a similar nationalist project of controlling the sexuality of citizens. As previously mentioned, the data presented in this chapter make evident the anti-imperial considerations that lawmakers have when debating queer organizing. The content analysis here excavates, very practically, the

themes invoked in the materials examined; discourse analysis concerns the way in which "power relations structure, constrain, and produce systems of meaning" – that is, *why* the themes dominate the materials (Herrera and Braumoeller 2004). For example, content analysis allows me to suggest that, due to the number of times that "sodomy" and "children" appear near each other in the texts of parliament meetings in the year and a half immediately preceding the proposal of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill, preventing sexual assault on children was a primary concern of the parliament of Uganda in 2007. However, discourse analysis of the texts allow for an understanding that the *conflation* of "sexual assault on children" (man-boy sodomy) with "homosexuality" is the reason that the primary concern of the parliament actually became an effort to prevent homosexuality.

This third chapter addresses theories of sexual citizenship and sexed and gendered nationalisms. I introduce and explore "homophobic nationalism" and the evolution of colonial anti-sodomy legislation. The narrative I produce will demonstrate the racialized, gendered and classed implications of colonial sodomy legislation. I triangulate the content, context and discourse of legal texts, particularly the 1950 Uganda Penal Code and the Anti-Homosexuality Bill; transcripts of parliament sessions; and popular media in order to do this. I have collected transcripts of parliamentary record using Hansard (official reports of the proceedings). As Uganda is a former British colony, the Parliament of Uganda has collected verbatim record of the parliament processions in similar form as Great Britain, since it became available. These records are published online. I searched for transcripts with any of the following words: sodomy, homosexuality, homosexual, anti-homosexuality, gay, lesbian, kuchu, Bahati (Anti-Homosexuality Bill author), and Ssempa (well known anti-gay activist), which yielded parliament transcripts from 1999-2013.

In the fourth chapter, I address how this homophobic nationalism influences kuchu organizing. Primarily, I discuss how decision-making around visibility is influenced by nationalist tensions. Reciprocally, I also explore how nationalist tensions are affected by the visibility of kuchu organizing. This chapter considers individual and group visibility in public, public knowledge of organized activities, and decisions around media. It relies on ethnographic methods as well as a reading of the Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) Bill of 2015.

Although "the transnational" is present in each preceding chapter, Chapter 5 shifts our focus really define what is occurring on this level. In it, I ask the role of transnational organizing – how is it structured? What are the racial dynamics that rouse or are borne from this tension? By interviewing the actors in institutions that theoretically spread homonationalism (within the "Global North") and the passive or active receivers of homonationalism (in the "Global South"), I have the opportunity to provide evidence for the claims that there exists a radically asymmetrical relationship between the two (Nichols 2012).

In the Spring of 2013, while in Interviewing Methods at the New School for Social Research, I conducted interviews with nine organizations in the United States that "worked transnationally" to advocate for LGBTI rights in and around Africa. Six of the participants interviewed work in NYC, one in San Francisco, CA, one in Washington DC and one in Boston, MA. The sample of US-based organizations is a mixture of "general" human rights organizations, LGBT-specific rights organizations, and foundations. Each began or continued working with Ugandan organizations in the last five years. They work in different capacities in Uganda, some are very hands-off donors; others have structures that allow for more accountability. These interviews largely helped to shape my understanding (and critique) of transnational LGBTI organizing and the data produced by them largely appears in this chapter.

Chapter 6 then asks what local dynamics are problematized by transnational advocacy. My analysis is built upon ethnographic observations and engagements in New York City and Kampala, Uganda from 2012-2014. The "field" sites were largely sites of every day life in these locations: for New York they were restaurants, organizing centers, organizational events (such as a political education mixer/Pride/panels/conferences), protests, activist mixers; for Kampala they were bars, organizations' offices, events and parties, protests. Recording and analyzing "everyday practices, narratives, and cultural productions allow us to investigate how mass-mediated messages become localized, re-packaged, and deployed by historically and socially situated agents (Parikh 2004). Therefore, participant observation in everyday locations as well as organizational sites provided similarly powerful insight into the political realities of queer and kuchu organizing.

In Chapter 6, I present the "economies of queer inclusion" in order to give a language to the class divisions created by kuchu integration into transnational advocacy. These economic tensions are the result of the disproportionate material compensation that the umbrella receives. However, as the transnational cooperation rests on an ethnic as much economic divide, this analysis encompasses the symbolism of queerness and coalition building, and the strategy-making of a new and fractured movement.

I conclude, in Chapter 7, with a proposal of a form of organizing that I believe would counter this current mainstream formation. I suggest a reformation of transnational cooperation, but not that it is ended. Alternatively, I propose "Diaspora-Centered organizing" in attempt to envision a form of organizing that decenters financial connections. It is inspired by my participation with Safe OUTside the System, a collective of the Audre Lorde Project in New York City. Instead of material relationships, diaspora-centered organizing emphasizes the shared

political analyses and strategies engaged with and created by queer people of the African diaspora.

Although each chapter will explain its respective method, the following chapter introduces my methodological development and considerations. I explain the departure I make between *methodology* and *methods* and invite a more common re-separation of the two in qualitative sociological research. I then share the praxis I developed over the research process for this dissertation. Finally, I provide examples of "connection" as a tool that counters what I have argued is problematically "disconnected" research. This methodology centers interconnectedness between scholar, environment, and participant – categories that I believe are more porous than most training admits.

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CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS A METHODOLOGY OF CONNECTION

Aren't you terrified? Don't you fear for your life when you go out there?

A few people, people who love me, sincerely asked this question before, around, and after my trips to Kampala, Uganda. The question is typically followed by an earnest reminder *you're gay, Sasha*. *They're persecuting gays.*

At first, I wasn't sure how to handle this interaction. In 2013, shortly before I went to Uganda that June, this question came up again and again: people who cared brought it up (often only one time per person, but since there are a few of them, I felt like I had to answer this every day for the month leading up to my trip).

Each iteration added shape to my response. The asker mattered at first; whether they were white or not, male or female, older or younger, straight or not, etc. Eventually, however, I realized that certain groups of my friends and loved ones didn't ask this at all. That it didn't even occur to them. But before I get into the who and why, I'll write my standard answer:

Yes, I am gay. I'm also Black. I'm also read as a woman. I'm also young (often read as a minor). There is not a day in my [then] 25 years that I haven't feared for my life because of my identity.

I grew up Black in white supremacist territory in rural Florida, where the combination of property and gun "rights" trump my right to live. I was born and later returned, a queer woman, to New York City, where violence against and murder of trans and queer women occur regularly. Our anti-black justice system – the law and the enforcers – targets me, my family, my closest friends everyday. Vigilantes target me, my family, my closest friends everyday. It never occurred to me to be "extra" afraid about spending time in Kampala. If anything, I thought perhaps I could finally take my skin off. (This didn't happen, but I anticipated it.)

It was mostly those who haven't had more than one axis of oppression who asked this. And only one axis of oppression is what I consider a privilege. Straight white women, white LGBTQ men, and straight black men astounded me with their concern. My puzzlement, in turn, was always unexpected. We had an unmistakable disconnection. *Didn't you realize my life was in danger when I traveled to your office, favourite restaurant, neighborhood? When the police at Jay Street-Metrotech stopped me as I threw my trash into the waste receptacle?*

With some, particularly with an uncle of mine, I took the time to remind of connection. *Do you fear for your life in this country, as a Black immigrant man? When you walk into your all white workspace, in the middle of opulent NYC, do you fear anti-black violence and harassment that comes along with being seen as a trespasser?* He remembered and nodded. To be Black in this world is to live with terror, whether you are in the poorest nation or the richest. The option is slow death[6] or a meaningless one, but regardless Black death is largely discounted.

In New York, I fear for my life and bodily integrity when I walk home. When I hear a knock on the door. When cops see me. When people question my gender performativity. In Florida, I fear for my life when I pass by land that have hand painted "no entry" signs, even when they're public. I fear for my life when I pass the unpaved roads that lead into woods. I fear for my life when the sheriff's deputies follow me. There were many Daniel Holtzclaws before that name meant anything to anyone: white police who abuse black women with impunity, because black women, in particular are framed as not "perfect victims," not credible and in other words, deserving.[7] And these Holtzclaws are scattered throughout this country. They were the

[6] Slow death, according to Berlant (2007), is the physical wearing out of the population through capitalist, structural subordination and governmentality.

[7] Daniel Holtzclaw is an Oklahoma City police officer who, in December 2015, was found guilty of five counts of rape and 13 counts of sexual assault – all against black women. Notably, an Associated Press report found that 1,000 officers a year lose their badges for rape, sexual assault, or sexual misconduct: a number unmistakably undercounted, as it only accounts for who is found out and punished.

boogieman of my youth; lessons about not driving at night, or having a phone on if a police car tails mine on a dark or quiet street.

These experiences inspired my conversation about methodology. I aspired to and eventually practiced what I consider a methodology of connection. This methodology informed the way I approached my participation, observation, and engagement with queer and nonqueer communities in Uganda and New York City. Recognition of this embeddedness was crucial if my aim were to combat what I understood as a fundamental disconnect between Western social analysts, actors and activists and Ugandan analysts, actors and activists.

How I entered the research

I began my research in 2010, shortly after the December 2009 proposal of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill. As I read the (dreaded) comments sections on article after article, saw exchanges on social media newsfeeds, and engaged in conversations with Americans about the proposed legislation in Uganda, I became more and more agitated by the xenophobia and misunderstandings: the disconnection.

I entered this research with personal understanding and experience with the effects of British colonialism on queer self-determination. These conversations stemmed from before I entered adulthood, as I struggled for familial acceptance, love, support and guidance in my life (as a young lesbian). By 15, I felt like I had already heard it all: nationalist, religious, and racial anti-gay discourse; discourse that invoked criminality, immorality, and racial self-hatred. The Ugandan sentiments were redundant to me.

However, they were brand new to (mostly white) Americans! What was worse than that newness is that those who had the least knowledge and experience had the most power and greatest profile. Predictably, that power was thrown around pre-emptively and long before any situational analysis or contextualized advice we heard *Cut their aid! Sanction them! Arrest the homophobes for incitement to violence!* Every power play that the US could have was debated or threatened in 2010. Accordingly, and perhaps feverishly, I began to collect them all.

I began to question the effect of these disjointed, public, American sentiments on the very legislation against which they cried out. *How is this transnational politic inscribed in legislation?* I also questioned how American exceptionalism informed the US-based LGBT advocacy that sought to empower or protect Ugandans. *How do American activists, specifically the ones "working on this issue" understand their positionality; their work? How do they imagine themselves as helping or hurting?* Then, I turned to question the movement borne from this interplay. *How does the movement function at the intersection of a disfiguring transnational politic and a harmful nationalist politic?* This dissertation, and the methodologies that I relied upon in order to write it, follow the evolution of these questions.

What I mean by methodology…

But I'd like to explain how I use the word "methodology." Although I am a sociologist and this is a sociological work, I am quite inspired by multidisciplinary training. Paola Saukko, for example, explains the following about ethnographic (and qualitative) work (2003):

> The difference made by the Greek epithet 'logos' (knowledge) is that, whereas methods refer to practical 'tools' to make sense of empirical reality, methodology refers to the wider

> package of both tools and a philosophical and political commitment that come with a particular research 'approach'. Methods and methodology often go together, so that a hermeneutic methodological approach, which aims to gain a 'thick' understanding of other people's experience, often goes with a method… However, same methods can also support different methodological commitments.

Methodology encompasses the logic behind both my questions and my methods: it is the motivation of my work. Therefore, this chapter in which I discuss methodology will not read as strictly a procedural guide, although the procedures I have taken will appear at the end. It will foremost guide you to understand the logic that predicated and continued my questioning; that took me to Kampala; and that granted me entry to the precious politics of my participants.

I attended a workshop hosted by Melissa Forbis and Jeffrey Juris, for "Militant (or Engaged) Ethnography" in 2014. These two anthropologists helped me understand methodology as this convergence of theory and methods; it was the first time that I had received this explanation – despite having taken many Sociological "methods" courses. It is through this (un)learning that I felt affirmed for having embedded myself within the project, both practically (in terms of the movement) and ontologically (in terms of the systems, the world, etc.). This "nexus of embeddedness" should guide my work and my criticality. After fighting through the sociological distancing between "researcher" and "subject" (words that I cannot identify with and that make me instinctively recoil), I had a convening of people who understood the significance of rooted, activist methodologies and who guided me (albeit briefly) toward an understanding, myself.

I then sought out a community of those with similar understandings, but largely found that that community is made of young, scattered, largely academics of color who have little to no disciplinary seniority. Regardless, this gave me both hope and perspective. Between these

anthropological, interdisciplinary or newer sociological communities, I gathered resources to guide my methodology.

Perhaps most important for me were Chela Sandoval's *Methodology of the Oppressed;* Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* and the anthology *Racing Research; Researching Race.* These works I devoured, looking for support of my methodological growth: a type of support that wouldn't leave me disjointed, as a (growingly) decolonial feminist and anti-imperialist thinker. How would I do this research in a way that didn't reproduce violence? I decided to increase and systematize reflexivity: to inscribe my anxieties. Borne from advice that I received by Melissa Forbis and Jeffrey Juris, I would begin to "treat uncertainty as an important tool."

As disciplinarily incorrect (if I may…) as this may be, I am not an expert. I will never be an expert on a struggle that I do not contend with daily. What I have aimed to accomplish with this analysis is a contribution to our (QPOC/activist-academic) collective understanding of what hurts and what helps our movement (against Western imperialism and for the advancement of queer lives in the Black diaspora); what we need to continue fighting against; what tools we need in order to sustain our battle.

I offer this as one dimension of how to survive.

The thread of this narrative, hopefully conveyed both in the way I have written/seen and in the content provided, is that there are certain connections to which we need to remain true and there are critical disconnections of which we should remain aware. I have not yet read a work that details this, and so it is here that I envision my contribution to our movement.

Militant Ethnography: Engagement and Feeling in Inquiry

> "Compassion hurts. When you feel connected to everything, you also feel responsible for everything. And you cannot turn away. Your destiny is bound with the destinies of others. You must either learn to carry the Universe or be crushed by it. You must grow strong enough to love the world, yet empty enough to sit down at the same table with its worst horrors."
>
> ― Andrew Boyd, Daily Afflictions: The Agony of Being Connected to Everything in the Universe

I didn't know this quote before I left for Kampala, but I knew the feeling quite well. Once I heard it, I revisited a moment that I had in Kampala in 2013, when I quite literally sat "down at the same table" and engaged in a conversation that could only be described as both horrible and great. I went out with a group of college students that clustered around 18 years old.

The hostess of my bed and breakfast had a nephew, Daniel, who was kind, sociable, and pretty funny. She told me that he was good looking and that I would like him. He was much younger than me, but had charisma. I had to laugh at this situation, as I had only been there a week at that point and had been set up to meet someone's cousin/nephew/brother several times. I hadn't yet shared my orientation with anyone, so it was an expected accompaniment to the territory.

I got a good sense of his character, through conversation and hanging out at the bed and breakfast a few times. We had a mutual understanding by then (that I wasn't, and would never be interested in him; that we could test each other's politics without any personal fallout). He talked about his polygynous politic, thinking that it would provoke or stir me. I shared my positions on polyamory and provoked him with the concept of a woman with many lovers. We laughed at our disagreements.

After we established this rapport (which didn't take long; he is honestly quite charismatic), he invited me to venture off property with him. We met up with several of his friends from Makerere at a local tiki bar called Fuego in Muyenga. They were engineering and medical students, a familiar-feeling, nerdy crowd of teens. Over beers we chatted about school, their anxiety about finals, and my hopes to connect with "feminist organizers" in Kampala.

After a second round of beers, Daniel came over to me and nudged, *"why don't you talk about what you're really interested in, feminist."* I laughed and whispered, *"how do you think they'll respond?"* He responded along the lines of he hadn't ever broached the subject, but he's interested in what they'd say. I sat pensively, flirting with the idea of a roundtable discussion about homosexuality with this group. Then, Daniel interrupted my deliberation with, *"Guys, Sasha wants to know what you think about the government's current homosexual obsession."* Not quite how I'd phrase it, but fun enough.

The conversation sparked, excitedly.

"I don't want gays to die!"

"I, personally, don't care if they die but I don't want to be responsible for their deaths."

"I don't want a bigger government! They already try to have so much control over us!"

"What kind of freak would I be to care what these people do in their own bedrooms?"

"Yeah, if they consent and want to have fun let them."

"With all the women who are raped? With all the children abused? Why should we care what people do when they don't hurt each other and want to be together?" replied a girl who Daniel was dating and who had a lot of interest in women's movements and groups.

Agitated, however, became Semi, a small guy with a big presence. He interjected *"Well, I personally would kill all gays."* The group, mostly shocked, reminded him that he had just said, in another context, that people should have the right to life and freedom. One student responded incredulously, *"are you kidding me? look at our poverty and starvation, why would you waste the time?!"* Semi continued with the abuse that he had heard gays were committing on children throughout the country. Smugly, he finished with confidence that he could fix both national problems.

I sat next to one 18-year-old engineering student with large glasses on; he had a sweet smile and a shy chuckle and reminded me of a baby cousin I hadn't seen in years. He leaned in, amidst the discussion, and whispered a question with a newfound interest. His shy smile turning slightly suggestive he asked, *"so, have you ever kissed another woman?"* I laughed without responding, giving a subtle wink and jousted *"the real question is have you?"* But wouldn't he have liked to know… I thought.

Curious teenagers; budding political passions; fear, anger, interest, and new realizations of ones citizenship: *this* was connection. I remembered being 13 and having a conversation on a pool deck with an older, Bajan teenager and my 14-year-old, Jamaican brother about whether or not homosexuality was natural or okay. I remembered the decade of conversations that I had had since then, with people in the diaspora, about what they would/could/should do in response to homosexuality. I remembered Brooklyn; I remembered my Caribbean family. And *I heard them all* in these responses, whether they advocated for acceptance, compassion, turning a blind eye, "correction," or even annihilation.

Connection allowed me to receive these responses with strong love and that wide spaciousness that Boyd referred to in the opening quotation. Connection is what I firmly believe

both a movement and a political analysis needs. My people (the people of the African Diaspora) have been "going through it"; figuring out how to love themselves and each other after generations of being convinced they were unworthy of love or compassion. And the way they are figuring this out is through a very different (but always related/sometimes reactive) path than what the colonizers currently take. This is the lens through which I began my work on homophobic nationalism and is detailed in Chapter 3.

The Role of Shifting (as a method) in Connection (as a logic)

> Because nonwhite women have long been multiply oppressed, as part of their political coming-to-consciousness they have had to learn to highlight (or obscure) different aspects of themselves to be able to work effectively within political organizations… U.S. third world feminists have become practiced at shifting their ideologies and identities in response to different configurations of power.
>
> Paula Moya, Learning from Experience: Minority Identities, Multicultural Struggles, 79

> The differential mode of consciousness functions like the clutch of an automobile, the mechanism that permits the driver to select, engage, and disengage gears in a system for the transmission of power.
>
> Chela Sandoval, Methodology of the Oppressed, 57

Differential consciousness requires that we constantly reform our ties – often instantly, but always consciously – in order to create the coalitions necessary for a movement. Gloria Anzaldúa refers to this as weaving "between and among"; Charisse Jones and Kumea Shorter-

Gooden refer to a dimension of this as shifting (2004). I also use shifting, along Moya's thought. Shifting, in her understanding, is the practice that results from U.S. Third World Feminists' experience navigating the power structures reified by the U.S.

This mode of experiencing the world, and the lessons that are gained by it, have important implications that we can use to build analyses. I imagined shifting as a tool in my ethnographic work. It allowed me access to various spaces, for similar purposes: I highlighted and used the language of "the academy" in order to get interviews with American transnational workers of Chapter 5 (who would consider contributing to anything less than Ph.D. leveled work a waste of time). On the other hand, I necessarily avoided this language in most other sites. I found that, Matt for example (INGO employee, Chapter 5), was excited to engage with the sociological theory he had learned in his undergraduate career; whereas, in my exclusively-POC organization, academic language is actually referenced explicitly as a violation of our ground rules during meetings. It is "outside" language: harmful and exclusive. However, in both meetings, the end goal is the same. We want to get to the possibilities and limits of queer justice work.

Shifting was also self-preservation work. A differential mode of consciousness, like the clutch metaphor that Sandoval used, was often the only way to continue moving forward. If I did not shift when meeting with those youth at Fuego, I would have been reduced to a stagnant defensiveness. This is to say, that as a U.S. Third World Feminist, or queer person of the African Diaspora, I have the capacity to connect to various lines of thought; I have experienced a particular convergence of politics that allow me to connect to this work. However, without shifting, I would have forgotten the connection that I had to Semi – injuring the project.

At the Militant/Engaged Ethnography Workshop earlier referenced, the facilitators prompted us to complete a five-minute thinking exercise. We were to quickly reflect and write the "Scene

of the Crime" – our entry point into the analysis we hoped to build. I'll share it here, in hopes that it may provide a useful illumination:

> I came out as a lesbian almost as soon as I grabbed an understanding of the word. It's not that I didn't have SGL or GNC[8] family members, it's that the L word was new and unfamiliar. Between 14 and 15 I told my parents – immigrant parents both with lived histories of British colonialism – that I identified with this word, this imagined identity, category, and community that I had heard about on TV. For this, I was thrown prematurely into a circumstance where I needed to provide for myself – in terms of material and emotional needs. I became a youth activist at 18 years old, after gaining a sense of agency and self-worth. I embedded myself in a "LGBTQ rights" organization and learned and shared a political education that was handed down to me about the civil rights that I should believe in: monogamous unions, worker's rights, aiding the project of militarization. I regurgitated these beliefs and by the time I was 20, shared them with hundreds of other students.
>
> When I graduated, I left the façade of college privilege. After experiencing and witnessing the devastation of poverty I scratched out those ideas, questioning how my struggle ever became that in the first place. My brown skinned, SGL and GNC people were being stabbed, hosed down in the temporary homes they squatted in, raped and robbed by customers. I toned down the PE (political education) and instead listened and watched; I realized a position truer to me.
>
> I now study the ways in which a movement with a recent history of British colonialism and currently situated in purposeful, world systems poverty navigates the

[8] SGL stands for same-gender loving and GNC is gender non-conforming.

transnational hostility of LGBT imperialism (homonationalism) and domestic (anti-homosexual) hostility. Accordingly, I figure in the anti-blackness of homonationalism and the anti-Westernness of homophobic nationalism. I see myself as embedded in each facet of the Ugandan movement, although not necessarily a part of the Ugandan movement.

Over half of the roughly 76 countries that currently criminalize sodomy do so as a result of British colonial law.[9] 34 of these countries are in Africa; 10 are in the Americas. In this way, the movement that I've studied is my own. It is the same movement that I build for in the US; the same movement that my Jamaican and Trinidadian kin build for in the West Indies. Our destinies are bound, connected. Therefore, this is the logic to the methods that I chose and the impetus to my analytical work in this Ugandan case.

To say that I am "not necessarily a part of the Ugandan movement" is, however, to recognize that this is a different iteration, grouping, and manifestation of queer justice building. Therefore, I would do this work a disservice not to detail my own points of disconnection. The following section will explore just that.

Methodological Concerns and Uncertainties: Analytical Disconnections

"Birds eat thousands of snails every day.
Some of those snails survive digestion
and emerge to find
they've traveled the world
in the belly of the beast."

[9] http:///76crimes.com/76-countries-where-homosexuality-is-illegal/ - Sao Tome and Principe, Lesotho, and Mozambique all dropped from this list in the course of writing this dissertation!

This quote I heard on the TV show Hannibal (RIP to a fantastic program). It was said in brief exchange between Hannibal's family's maid, Chiyoh and his eternal lover/mortal enemy, Will. It didn't mean to the characters what it means to me, but I'd like to share my interpretation and how it connects to my experience in Uganda.

In my more melancholy moments, particularly as I walked from Muyenga to Kibuli toward and then over the train tracks, I thought about how I got there. I reflected on what I may be bringing or perpetuating, by being there. I was acutely aware, at all times, that I had traveled on funds granted to me by an American institution. This constant awareness made me center and reaffirm my accountability. *I am here for the movement, I am here for my people. I am not here for a literary contribution, to be inevitably locked in the ivory tower. I am not here for an American university. I am capable of staying true to my agency, my values, this action.* Affirmations and reminders by scholars such as Shanti Parikh (2004) are invaluable: "black feminists, third wave feminist scholars have an obligation to our ancestors, disciplines, communities and ourselves to strengthen alliances and refine theoretical frameworks and tools of inquiry (pp. 87). However, the conflict – the question of how to do this – persisted and often stifled me.

I, the snail, have never been free. My agency is mediated by my (ultimately imperialist) affiliations: my passport, my institution, the money I'd been granted. It felt all-consuming at times. I had this overwhelming awareness that my survival was a fluke and that all that I saw was all that the bird had allowed me to see.

Of course, there was also the consideration that the belly in which I reside had a positive effect on my analysis. It, in many ways, allows me to see the inner workings of imperialism so

clearly. Black Americans and Black immigrants in America have particularized and precious insight into US justice, educational and economic systems. We understand who benefits and how; we understand systematic exclusion. In an unpublished manuscript, in 1985, Aida Hurtado says we "are more like urban guerrillas trained through everyday battle with the state apparatus" (via Sandoval 1991). Couple that with the textbook and community learning that I have sought out and I can affirm that my insight is valuable.

However, there were moments when disconnection overwhelmed me; when my confidence in my analytic and politic faltered. These moments largely stemmed from unanticipated conversations about race (*what are you?* you're not black here! maybe red…?); my incoherent performance of femininity (you are so masculine! why are you so comfortable around the men? you look so pretty, I don't understand why you have these dreadlocks); and assumptions about whether or not I had money like "the whites."

Moments like this appear anecdotally in this work, my interaction with Kai in Chapter 5 is one such example, when they ask "*why is she here?"* Another similar instance occurred as I interacted with Michael. Michael was from a "briefcase organization" (that I will discuss a bit further in Chapter 5) that I had met with in 2013. I sustained a relationship with him for months after, until he shut down the organizational affair in December.

By January, when I was already back in the States, Michael sent me a message requesting money - $82 by tomorrow. The request rang similarly to Peter's (a gay Ugandan teenager, who is introduced in Chapter 6). Peter asked for $100 on 10/31 for November rent and continued to ask for financial support. This financial disconnect ensured that I maintained awareness of my national/economic privilege, but simultaneously aware of my limited ability to be actually helpful. Yes, I could afford to pay Ugandan rent on my American salary; but I couldn't afford to

pay my American rent and support anyone financially. I lived paycheck to paycheck at the time, experiencing inflated New York rent (where a bedroom in a shared apartment easily runs $800 a month in the city or near my university) that ate the actual majority of my university paycheck.

However, beyond not "being able" to help, I debated whether or not I would if I could. I remembered that whole wave of "sponsoring African children" that hit the US in the 90s. The idea itself, of financially helping those in need, never disturbed me, but I did have a substantial critique of the organizations that set up these networks. I was, admittedly, too young to really experience it during the phase. This situation set up huge, conflicting political questions for me.

Jamaicans in the States very commonly experience similar requests. In search for some connection to guide my answers, I remembered distant family members or community members from my mother's rural hometown asking for money consistently. It was very common for my mom to distribute clothing, shoes, toys, electronics when she (or we) went back. However, I couldn't remember for how long she had sent remittances. Had she? How did she feel about it? Uganda clearly isn't "my home country," but at the same time, I've never felt like I had a home country (or a nationality, beyond what my passport technically says). It felt just as much "home" as Jamaica had, or Trinidad, and much more than Lecanto, FL where I actually grew up. Being "first generation" meant that these answers felt rather vague and unformed. They became a consistent source of anxiety.

I didn't, and couldn't, honestly question Michael or Peter's need. Community members who figured their organization out had just threatened Michael and his partners. However, as opposed to Peter, he was more of an adult and had entrepreneurial experience. He could bounce back. Peter, on the other hand, was 18 and dealing with depression and a very low chance of finding "real" employment (due to his inexperience and lack of education). And although I could buy

food and pay for his transportation when we met up and give him change while I was in Kampala – I simply couldn't finance his life from the States.

This, however, caused Peter to grow very disenchanted with me and sever our relationship. His final request came around the time Michael sent his in January. He stopped talking to me until he heard I was back in Kampala in May, saying that he had been angry.

This, which I understand as a major disconnection, caused me to reconsider our transnational "friendship" and camaraderie. It also made me question if my only value to people I had made relationships with in Kampala was in my perceived money and willingness to share or redistribute it. Both Michael and Peter unfriended[10] me after I had said I didn't have any money to send. What was my perceived usefulness? Limitations? Did people only understand me in terms of "worth?" If so, was I worthwhile?

My hesitance also caused me to question my own values, as redistribution of financial resources is exactly what I believe in. What did I have to give? Why did I believe in my own usefulness?

Ultimately, these self-explorations caused me to question sustainability and what role that has in transnational relationships altogether. They guided my interactions and observations throughout the rest of my analytical pursuit. My answer to that final question, of my own usefulness, became the inspiration for Chapter 7, on the potentials of Diaspora-centered organizing. Alternatively, my answers to the true value of financial donations are persistently (even if still incompletely) explored throughout the second section of this dissertation.

[10] This is terminology on Facebook for retracting a relationship on the platform.

It is in this way that even the lack of connection played a role in my methodology. When I put connection at the forefront of my mind during this work, I can not only acknowledge the severe disconnections, but also interrogate them; formulate a better project because of them.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) provided much of the framework for my understanding of methodological and epistemological disconnections in research. I found myself consistently inspired by the insightfulness of her critique. She states that, “from the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary” (p. 1). “Research” as an action, as a word, as an indicator, sounds a lot like imperialism to many indigenous peoples; yet, indigenous research is important. It lends to the obvious question: how do you make “research” work, ethically and respectably, in a way that does not insult, harm, or overshadow your community? This disconnect, between the identity of “researcher” with that of all others, became the most consistently pressing dynamic in my proposal of and engagement with this work.

It leads me to note that historically, my people, my family which is scattered throughout the African diaspora, have had intrusive and parasitic relationships with those who self-define as “researchers,” only to experience infantile analyses of blackness and black sexuality. This has occurred when “the white gaze” perches in Africa, the Caribbean, and in Black America. Tuhiwai Smith’s goal is to guide researchers “who work with, alongside and for communities who have chosen to identify as indigenous” (p. 5) to *challenge* the notion that research in its essence is a liberatory project. One must be aware of the “ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices” (p. 1). Parikh (2004) says that this recent appreciation is the element that has brought “humility and

honesty into ethnographic writing and research methods" (p. 87). One must actively seek and engage transformative methodologies.

In pursuit of a transformative project, I connected with anti-imperial, feminist thinkers and organizers. I've aligned this work with the epistemological tradition that upholds self-determination. Therefore, in direct defiance of objectivity, self-determination of SGL and GNC communities of the African diaspora became my research agenda.

> Self-determination in a research agenda becomes something more than a political goal. It becomes a goal of social justice, which is expressed through and across a wide range of psychological, social, cultural and economic terrains. It necessarily involves the processes of transformation, of decolonization, of healing and of mobilization as peoples. The processes, approaches and methodologies – while dynamic and open to different influences and possibilities – are critical elements of a strategic research agenda.
>
> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies 1999, p. 116

Black peoples, in Africa and throughout the Diaspora, need to decolonize the politics of the GRIM, *gay rights international movement!* In order to conceptualize a project that advances self-determination for SGL and GNC communities, we must engage strategically with our methods and with our language. In this chapter I have primarily detailed my logic in choosing the particular methods that I have used; the following chapters will have their own detailed methods sections, explaining the research question for the chapter and the methods arrangement that I applied.

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CHAPTER 3

HOMOPHOBIC NATIONALISM IN UGANDA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTI-HOMOSEXUALITY ACT

In 2009 the Anti-Homosexuality Bill, often internationally referred to as the Kill the Gays Bill, propelled Uganda to the forefront of global media. The bill earned its international name as reference to the most contentious clause, which would have criminalized "aggravated homosexuality[11]" with the death penalty. After five years, the bill passed as an Act that omitted the death penalty, but retained life imprisonment for those found guilty of either "the offence of homosexuality" or "aggravated homosexuality."

Within the international media the Anti-Homosexuality Act (AHA) had been framed as a manifestation of natural and timeless African homophobia and a surprisingly draconian measure for a country typically concerned with human rights. Although these frames contributed to the sensationalism that granted the bill international attention, they simultaneously contributed to the international pervasiveness of anti-African xenophobia. Local, Ugandan media also understood the AHA as a righteous stance against an "un-African" import: Western sexual deviance (Mwikya 2014; SMUG 2014a). In concert, both local and international media missed the ways in which this form of sexual policing derives from colonial projects of controlling and defining a gendered and racialized African subject.

Alternatively, a large body of academic and activist works have contested this, documenting the ways in which same sex intimacies and gender nonconformity have existed throughout Africa (Epprecht 1998, 2008; Hoad 2007; Nyanzi 2013; SMUG 2014a). Others have demonstrated the cultural means through which this policing was effected (Sadgrove, Vanderbeck, Andersson, Valentine, & Ward 2012; Stoler 1995, 1997, 2002).

[11] The Anti-Homosexuality Act, as passed, defined the offence of homosexuality as touching or penetrating a person of the same sex with any body part or sexual contraption. Aggravated homosexuality can occur through several crimes, including repeat offences; same sex pedophilia; same sex parent-child incest; living with HIV; administering a drug to enable sex; or the "victim" has a disability.

I draw on sexual citizenship literature to show how post-colonial societies developed a model of citizenship largely influenced by the colonial culture of hegemonic masculinity and heterosexuality. Yet, I supplement sexual citizenship literature with homophobic nationalism as an analytical framework that may help us understand the ways in which young nations develop citizenship projects in relation to the struggle for economic and cultural sovereignty. I define homophobic nationalism as a state project that propagates a fear of homosexuality among its citizenry, in order to cohere a sense of patriotism and bolster belief in the nation's competence and independence.

While sexual citizenship theories focus largely on the internal processes of a nation, homophobic nationalism places emphasis on the external, global factors that contribute to the construction of anti-gay nationalist movement.

Thus, this chapter contributes a contextualized, legislative case study to a larger body of works on homophobic nationalism (or heteronationalism [Gosine 2009; Lazarus 2011], political homophobia [Weiss and Bosia 2013], the "anti-queer animus" [Thoreson 2013] or "homosexual panic" [Mwikya 2014] within African and African Diasporic states). This contextual analysis of the development of anti-sodomy legislation illuminates the interplay of nationalism with postcolonial anxieties surrounding globalization and the economic vulnerability accompanying development.

Methods

I begin by situating this analysis in the literary body that explores sexuality, citizenship and nationhood. I then engage the legacy of gendered and racialized colonial constructions with secondary analyses in order to present the AHA as a continuation of a historical project to define and control African sexuality. Empirically, I offer a discourse analysis of colonial legislation, most notably the Ugandan Penal Code Act of 1950. I triangulate this with the AHB and AHA and parliamentary record from 1999-2013. The data substantiates my analysis of the development of sodomy and homosexuality as a concept and as a threat to Ugandan national interests.

I use a content analysis the Ugandan Penal Code of 1950, the Anti-Homosexuality Act both as a drafted bill and as a passed Act, and reports documented by social movement organizations in Uganda. To supplement these data and to engage with the contemporary anti-globalization discourse, I also extract from parliamentary transcripts. I use the Hansard, the official reports of the proceedings. As Uganda is a former British colony, the Parliament of Uganda collects verbatim record of the parliament processions in similar form as Great Britain, since it became available online. I searched for records with any of the following words: sodomy, homosexuality, homosexual, anti-homosexuality, gay, lesbian, *kuchu*,[12] Bahati (Anti-Homosexuality Bill author), and Ssempa (well known anti-gay activist), which yielded parliament transcripts from 1999-2013. This methodology supports the analysis of the Anti-Homosexuality Act as a step integrated in an evolutionary development of sodomy legislation, as

[12] *Kuchu* is a term used by Ugandans that encompasses each SGL and GNC identity. It was popularized in the late 2000s by activists of Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG).

opposed to an isolated or arbitrary measure in a recent "homophobic wave" (which, as Thoreson (2014) contests, homogenizes complex, disparate incidences throughout African contexts).

From Sexual Citizenship to Homophobic Nationalism

Although sexual citizenship literature traditionally addresses the ways in which access to full citizenry is sexed and gendered (Lister 1990, 1996, 1997; Pateman 1988, 1989)– designed for male privilege – it has also recognized that the state assigns the full citizen a sexual orientation. The subject of the state is heterosexual, which means that for all public purposes, the subject participates exclusively in opposite-sex relationships for the purpose of reproduction (Richardson and Turner 2001; Turner 2008).

Multidisciplinary works have produced a grounded understanding of the ways in which the heterosexist state disables homosexual citizenship (Bell and Binnie 2000; Evans 1993; Richardson 1998, 2000; Seidman 2001). In Western states, citizenship has been denied through processes restricting immigration, naturalization, and access to state benefits. For example, Eithne Luibheid (1998) and Margot Canaday (2003) investigate the exclusionary immigration policies of the United States, which targeted gays and lesbians throughout various points of the 20th century, yet continue to exist today (Robson and Kessler 2007). These and similar works provide an understanding of the historically state sanctioned practice of assigning citizenship (and bestowing the benefits of citizenship) to the "healthy" heterosexual.

As colonialism served as the major apparatus to spread Western models of governance, we can witness similar legislative phenomena occurring in formerly colonized regions. The

diversity of sexual practices that coexisted before postcolonial transfer of power was often sacrificed to constitute the state (Epprecht 2005). Therefore, regulatory politics of sexuality and gender similar to those in England or the United States (Canaday 2003; Somerville 2005) can be seen in nations across the world (see examples from Epprecht 2005, 2008 and Jeater 2007 for Zimbabwe; Keating 2007 for India; Alexander 2006 for the Caribbean islands; Jayawardena 1986 for the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific). In regard to gender relations, Kumari Jayawardena (1986) excavates the postcolonial sexual contract while retracing the ways in which the alliance between male and female comrades in several third world independence struggles[13] were severed in the postcolonial nation-building project. For example, Indian politicians entrenched gender inequality through similar legislation to that of their colonial overseers. For a contemporary example, Uganda's legislative project of "straightening" citizens can be witnessed through legislative changes in the Penal Code to further define or criminalize sodomy (between 1990 and 2000).

Although the works of Somerville (2005) and Russell (2008) are geopolitically limited to the recent history of the United States, various works have modeled similar 19th and 20th century citizenship projects elsewhere in the world (Bacchetta and Haritaworn 2011; Epprecht 2005, 2008; Hoad 2007). Mark Epprecht (2005) reviews the history of British anti-gay legislation in African colonies. The work not only highlights the ways in which hegemonic masculinity (what he calls "the 'cowboy' culture") influenced colonial beliefs of Black incompetency, but also calls for attention to historical missionary attacks on African sexuality and the effects of these attacks on contemporary ideology. As the hegemonic culture of White Rhodesia imposed itself into the

[13] Jayawardena (1986) investigates Egypt, Turkey, Iran, India, Sri Lanka, China, Indonesia, Vietnam, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines.

African nationalist movement, a movement to "hone" a civilized self-image arose (Jeater 1993; Epprecht 2005).

Various scholarly works reinforce this racialized and sexualized dynamic of the imperial project to "civilize" Africans (Cohen 1970; Stoler 1995, 2002). Becoming more European became an *achievement,* something accomplishable with the rejection of so-called African perversion. The ethic of independence and restraint is institutionalized as "the price of admission" to citizenship (Russell 2008, pp 124). Therefore, the parameters of citizenship were defined through a moral distancing from African sexuality and an embrace of Victorian gender and labor ideals (Stoler 1995).

When homosexuality is viewed as unproductive and unpatriotic, it becomes inimical to the ethic of self-sacrifice and communal responsibility: the core of citizenship. The African nation that has internalized the colonial project of sexual restraint sacrifices homosexuality in order to remove the image of black licentiousness. Therefore, homophobic nationalism is useful for reestablishing the communal sensibilities of the true citizen.

Homophobic nationalism stems from a sexual citizenship project of increasing state functionality and national cohesion by propagating a civil fear of homosexuality. This fear not only reproduces normative heterosexuality, it also allows for citizens to band together under one particular patriotic goal: supporting the development of the nation, by calling to attention the problems that would arise with accepting or recognizing any form of homosexuality.

Along this vein, homophobic nationalism is also, very often, framed in sake of protecting traditional family values. Particularly interesting about this is that traditional family values are understood in the monogamous, nuclear family formation, which is very new and untraditional for Ugandan families (Cheney 2012; Jjuko 2013; Nyanzi 2013; Tamale 2009). The family values

narrative has been transnationalized through the very strong Christian conservative movement, but has recently created coalitions with Muslim and Jewish conservatives (Buss and Herman 2003). This movement has, since 2001, infiltrated international bodies of governance such as the UN and sought strong presence in the formation of international law and conference agendas (Buss and Herman 2003).

The analyses produced by studies on sexuality, citizenship, and nationalism has informed us of the myriad of ways that states use legislation to produce, regulate, and protect a sexually and racially "pure" citizen. In the context of the historically imperial powers, this citizen is heterosexual, monogamous, and white. In the postcolonial Ugandan context, the development of sodomy legislation shows that this ideal citizen is heterosexual, monogamous, and yet untarnished by contemporary Western ideals (which is undoubtedly paradoxical) (Cheney 2012; Nyanzi 2014). I argue that this anti-Western focus is not only a reactionary result of colonialism, but that it is also demonstrative of the anti-globalization ideology that Ugandan leadership uses for a heightened national pride. The process described here will explain how "anti-homosexuality" nationalism actually proxies for anti-globalization standpoints.

Using the case of Uganda and the development of the Anti-Homosexuality Act, I argue that a historicized narrative of homophobic nationalism advances the literature on anti-gay legislation in African nations. This narrative also intervenes in the xenophobia inherent in the Western media, which presents anti-homosexuality and state repression as a remote and unpredicted challenge, as opposed to one created by colonial conquests and fueled by neocolonial relationships throughout the world. While the state repression of same sex intimacies and creation of a hegemonic heterosexuality have been the topic of works in various national

contexts (Canaday 2009, Epprecht 2005, Hoad 1999, Jayawardena 1986, Ndjio 2012, Somerville 2005)

Unpacking "Uganda": Contextualizing African Colonial Projects

To begin, although references to a monolithic "African" sexuality, sexual culture and history often go accepted uncritically, numerous scholars have dedicated research to remind us that what is and is not African is contextually based and ever evolving (Epprecht 1998, 2005; Hoad 1999, 2007; Jeater 2007; Khapoya 1994). The continent is home to more than 800 distinctive cultures (Khapoya 1994), each with different sexual histories, practices, rituals, and configurations. Each, perhaps more importantly, with different understandings of what constitutes "sexual." Although there exists cross-cultural continuities, the idea of the homogenous "African" is a 19th century construction. Africa was divided up —almost arbitrarily – into regions and governed by various North Atlantic empires seeking excessive resources (Pakenham 1992). The result now shows more than 50 countries – all, with the exception of Ethiopia – once ruled by Britain, France (these two ruling the geographical majority), Denmark, Portugal, Germany, Spain, and Belgium.

The land area now called Uganda was once comprised of multiple kingdoms, then taken over by force by the British in 1888 (officially in 1894), and as of 1962 considered one independent nation. Racist colonial ideation allowed for the rest of the world to render a very essentialized idea of the multiple ethnicities within this colony (and the continent, at large). The "native," in this sense, became every non-white person in any given area. Due to the indirect rule of the British, these "natives" would be governed as a group of non-citizens (workers) until

1962.[14] That is to say, they would never be integrated into British citizenship. They, instead, *became* Ugandans.

In this sense, what is now accepted as Ugandan or African follows a relatively short (120 year) construction. Indeed, colonialism constructed the dichotomized race relations to which the world commonly refers. Although the relationship of colonizer/colonized is often reduced to a racially white/black divide, there continue to exist many ethnicities, cultures, and languages in Uganda, many of which experienced colonial authority very differently (Doornbos 1976).

For example, the British used ethnic stratification purposefully. The cultural diversity in Uganda allowed for the British to pick and choose the most collaborative races. The Bahima, at the end of the 19th century was a group of pastoralists, accustomed to extended social networks and the hierarchy of chiefdom. Therefore, although they were a numerical minority in Ankole (a district of Uganda), they were chosen disproportionately as administrators in the region, once colonized. The British identified them as "born gentlemen" and a "superior race" (563) to the neighboring Bairu, who were farmers. The British favored what they identified as the collaborative essence of the Bahima culture and then recruited them into a disproportionate number of leadership positions in order to assume indirect rule (566). In this structure where no ethnic rivalry existed between the two groups, the British merged various ethnicities into a blanket race, and then constructed intergroup hierarchies.

Similarly, in Buganda, the neighboring kingdom, this process of hierarchical recruitment ensured the political domination by the Baganda people over other clans in the district. Baganda culture, in particular, stressed an ethos of individualism and the benefits of empire (Khapoya

[14] Indirect rule was the system that the British used to regulate the colonies with low levels of settlement. They set up agencies for "Native Affairs"; appointed certain people to positions of leadership, such as judges to enforce the Penal Code or Customary Law; and largely contracted labor from afar.

1994; Mukuthuria 2006). As the British used indirect rule to use native leaders as proxies for British regulation, they relied on a system that could reinforce ethnic stratification while giving the appearance of valorizing Ugandan leadership. Therefore, by 1901, the Baganda were recruited into the Ankole district to assume leadership positions. By 1907, of 74 chieftainships in Ankole, the Bahima had 30 positions; the Baganda had 22 (Doornbos 1976, p. 560). Although both of these groups constituted numerical minorities, they were determined to have character traits most readily transferrable to the needs of the British.

This formation created a stratification system that would last throughout Uganda's history as a colony. So although Ugandans could not achieve similar social standing to the British, certain sociocultural characteristics created a conduit for the transfusion of European values. Particularly for those categorized as men, this conduit provided a template for social mobility in the colony that would later continue in postcolonial formations. Because of indirect rule, "native men" could aspire to positions of leadership and public service to the colony. Indirect rule transferred the message that one could transcend his primitive ethnicity, and become a loyal colonist, with certain sexed, classed, and economic aspirations. Most notably, the transcendence involved the imperative to subordinate his newly gendered, native woman counterpart.

Great Britain enacted policies in each colony in order to repress sexual expression. The strategies of domination that transferred Victorian morality extend to all former British colonies of Africa (Cage and Evans 2003; Epprecht 2005; Gupta 2008; Stoler 2002). Although each colony differed, the British compensated with regionally structured organizations and overarching ideals for all of the Empire. The population of white settlers or the severity with

which the British ruled may vary, but the project was the same throughout the colonies: civilize Africans in the image of the "proper Brit" and extract the resources of their land and labor.

White power existed as the only legitimate power in the colonies. European authority reinforced the division of labor by the valuation of those most "civilized" and the denigration of those most "uncivilized." An analysis of socioeconomic status only furthers our understanding of the illusory application of civility. The acquisition of European goods became signs of class and value, leading African men to aspire to afford them (Epprecht 2005; Newbury 1998). In this way, material culture and status coalesced as a strong impetus for "betterment." Combining material status, proper religious affiliation, and education, an African man could aspire for position or favor in his locality, even if he would never "achieve" a British identity (Doornbos 1976; Stoler 1997).

The project of colonization is necessarily a gendered one. Betterment, superiority, and authority all existed as gendered configurations: governing subjects was a *man's job,* and colonization introduced the particularities of this gendering system (Oyewumi 2005). In training, or "bringing" the African male to the status of a *man,* British figures sharpened a monolithic image of their masculinity (Stoler 1997). This masculinity, which presupposes heterosexuality, demands the acquisition of materials and status. Its valuation played a strong role in the adoption of European ideals and rejection of deviant or "feminine" sexualities (Epprecht 2005). For "real" men, this status also requires distancing oneself from primitivity and blackness – and as such, taking on the identity of the ruling class becomes a multifaceted task.

Early Sodomy Legislation and the Making of Degenerate Sexualities

In 1860, British colonial governors created and enacted Section 377, "unnatural offences" of the Indian Penal Code (Baudh 2008). This law punished "carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animal" and, for 150 years, did not distinguish between consensual, nonconsensual, adult-adult, or adult-child sexual relationships.[15] These laws spread throughout the Empire at the height of the Victorian era, during which norms of sexual purity and Christian morality were instituted internationally (Baudh 2008). The scale of the reign of the Christian (and British) Empire ensured that these norms and mores reached each corner of the world.

Section 145 of Uganda's criminal code, originally enacted in the last years of the 19th century, is the direct descendent of India's 377. Although Uganda switched from the Indian Penal Code to the Queensland Criminal Code in the 1930s, the latter Code had integrated the same legislation. The blanketed approach to policing sexual practices was thinly veiled. Therefore, when Uganda retained the section "unnatural offences," it did so with the language that any male commits sodomy when he "has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature; has carnal knowledge of an animal; or permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him against the order of nature" (The Penal Code Act, Section 145).

In 1860, however, the word "homosexuality" did not exist (Katz 1990); as such, today's narrow policing of "homosexual" sex was not entirely relevant at the time. Instead, the government sought to control certain acts (as opposed to groups of people). The action of

[15] In July 2009, through the efforts of the Indian NGO the Naz Foundation, India revised the Penal Code to exclude homosexual consensual sex between adults from Section 377. However, in 2013, the Indian Supreme Court struck down the revision, choosing to uphold Section 377.

sodomy, versus the identity of homosexuality, should be understood separately. The language of these laws chooses "debauchery" (Egypt), "buggery" (many Caribbean islands) and "carnal knowledge/intercourse" (such as in India and Uganda) following respective translations of Christian Biblical passages. These terms are now grouped into what we call sodomy. With this and similarly coded language, British colonial law thinly disguised the vast penetration of a completely unified legislative process. Commonwealth Africa and colonies on every other continent were subjected to a cohesive Penal Code.

The novelty and ambiguity of "sodomy" as a term signifies two developments: (1) the codification of particular *illegal* – as opposed to merely inappropriate – behaviors and (2) the mid- 20th century specification that these practices are only criminal if they are shared between two people of the same sex. Once a term to combine all non-procreative sexual activity, "sodomy" evolved into a practice shared between people of a particular pathology or disorder. By the mid 19th century, psychiatrists, politicians, and clergymen began to target homosexuality as sodomy in isolation, as opposed to the general understanding of "debauchery" that we see in the language of the 1860 writing of sodomy legislation (Greenberg 2007).

Mark D. Jordan (1997) traces "sodomy" and its pertinence to culture in *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology*. In the 11th century, the Catholic Saint Peter Damian first used Sodomy, as a proper noun, as a term for the actions of Sodomites – the inhabitants of the Biblical city of Sodom (Jordan 1997). Some theologians describe this as gluttonous and playful (non-procreative) sexuality involving men. Jordan (1997) retraces the document which first identifies the practices. He states the following:

> "The booklet [by Peter Damian] begins by identifying the [Sodomitic] vice's four species: self-pollution, mutual grasping or rubbing of "manly parts" (*virilia)*, pollution

> "between the thighs" (*inter femora)*, and fornication "in the rear" (*in terga*)" (Jordan 1997; 46).[16]

After specifying the practices, Jordan highlights that Damian proceeds to "mock the claim that only those guilty of 'fornication in the rear' should be deposed" (47). This quote directly undermines the contemporary understanding of sodomy that we have reached. This "playful" sexuality refers to releasing sperm anywhere except into a vagina, for procreative purposes, as "pollution." This definition encompassed both same- or other-sex participation.

Jordan continues to trace other theologians who later use the word "sodomy" and the various appropriations they have used for their specific agendas. He argues that, "from the beginning, 'Sodomy' has meant whatever anyone wanted it to mean" (163). It is this abstractive power that allows it to survive as a useful term. The fluidity has since proved particularly useful in courts of law across the world.

England was the first kingdom to create laws against sodomy for its general citizens.[17] The Buggery Act of 1533, enacted by Henry VIII made "buggery" punishable by hanging. Sir William Blackstone, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, notes the following, regarding the "malignity" of sodomy:

> "I will not act so disagreeable a part to my readers as well as myself as to dwell any longer upon a subject the very mention of which is a disgrace to human nature. It will be more eligible to imitate in this respect the delicacy of our English law, which treats it, in its very indictments, as a crime not fit to be named" (Blackstone 1916: 2422)

[16] Jordan cites Peter Damian *Liber Gomorrhianus* (Reindel 1:287.19-21) and refers to the text as Liber throughout his notes.

[17] Two other instances of penalty for male-male sex are known, both with different (arguably irrelevant) stipulations: the Roman Republic penalized adult male sex with male minors when the minor was not a prostitute or slave; and the Middle Assyrian Code criminalized sex between comrades in the military (Code of Assura, as copied by J.S. Arkenberg; Boswell 1980).

Blackstone continues to assure that the most severe punishments may be issued to perpetrators (and "consenting parties") for a crime not to be named among Christians (p. 2422-2423). This revisits the ambiguity Jordan alludes to and demonstrates the power of conviction with which law makers and commentators disapprove of these crimes.

The British Kingdom was not alone for long. France, too, enacted anti-sodomy laws until Napoleon amended them to solely criminalize rape in 1791, and then abolished legislation using the term sodomy altogether in 1806 (Kirby 2011). Prussia – the Christian kingdom controlling mostly modern Germany until 1947 – had proposed a law against "unnatural fornication" in 1852 (Johansson and Percy 2006). This law included sex "between males" or of "human and beast." The Nazi regime intensified this law, resulting in the conviction, castration, and/or murder of thousands of men in the 1930s (Plant 1986).

The Victorian era, the period in which Uganda became a colony of Great Britain, solely embraced sexuality within the context of procreation between two married individuals. Accordingly, as seen today, although cultural marriages allow polygyny, marriages with official, legal recognition is between a man and a woman. Laws that guide relationships and procreation remain an especially relevant and acceptable means to control sexuality. The Victorian project focused on ruling bodies *and* minds: actions and ideology.

Controlling degenerate or pagan sexualities on the continent proved an important mission for white colonial authority (Stoler 1997). Civilizing natives allowed for a more subservient demographic, which in turn aided Europeans in fulfilling their preordained mission to expand. The colonizers' Christian beliefs also backed legislation ensuring that Africans and whites did not have sex, so that they did not breed a race that would challenge the racial hierarchies. In this

way, the projects of African Christianity and colonialism developed along similar paths, both securing the other's prevalence.

Policing gender and sexuality through the institutions of marriage and family proved a crucial precondition to stabilizing colonialism. In particular, the European formation of capitalist nation-states relies on a masculinity that privileges attaining financial resources. These resources serve the dual purposes of contributing to the reconstitution of the state – the public– and the home – the private. These domains of social life change the applicability of sodomy and degeneracy; which signifies the classed and raced understanding of proper sexuality as well as the differences in policing that one experienced due to their race and class.

The Classed and Raced Implications of Appropriate Sexuality

The Queensland Code of 1899, the standard penal code that the protectorate adopted in the 1930s, defines a private act as any of the following:

> (a) showering or bathing; or
> (b) using a toilet; or
> (c) another activity when the person is in a state of undress; or
> (d) intimate sexual activity that is not ordinarily done in public.

The Code renders these private acts illegal when committed publically. Although *de jure* sodomy can be committed in public or in private, according to the Ugandan Penal Code Act of 1950, sexual activity is only legal when committed as a private act. Sodomy heightens state policing and renders the idea of the private meaningless. Sodomy, referred to as the "unnatural

offence" in the Penal Code, becomes spectacle. Enforcing anti-sodomy legislation, therefore, becomes a matter of keeping the public in order.

However, various economic factors contribute to whether or not one can access the "private" in order to engage in sexual activity. Said otherwise, one must contribute to the public sphere – the sphere that, for reasons stated earlier, is largely denied to nonwhites and people of sexes other than male. With the exception of those few African males who had already ascended into the proxy leadership positions, most Africans could not afford their own property. Those who cannot afford to access privacy become degenerates whenever they act sexually. In this sense, sexual morality serves as much of a classed and raced distinction.

Native became analogous to degenerate and therefore harmful to nationality or civility. This analogue substantiated active policing through legislative and cultural means. Therefore, as historically demonstrated (Epprecht 1998 is one such work)[18] when labor divides align with racial difference, the powerless grow to be perceived as the bearers of lawlessness, and the hands of the law are disproportionately applied to nonwhite bodies.

Continuing Sexual Policing as an "Independent" Nation

When Milton Obote assumed his position as Prime Minister in 1962, the mere weeks that had led up to independence had accommodated virtually no change to the Ugandan Penal Code; colonial constructions of criminality remained in tact. Both Idi Amin and Milton Obote's disregard for the Western model of homophobic nationalism, for using legislation to police

[18] Epprecht notes that between 1892-1923, 90% of the 300 cases of sodomy that came before the white magistrates in Rhodesia involved sex between native Africans.

sexuality, may be symbolized through the lack of changes to sodomy legislation during their combined, 24 year reign. There also may have not been the necessary political climate, globally and locally, for the prioritization of such legislation. Although the gay rights movement had begun in the United States and in Great Britain, there is no evidence that Amin or Obote were concerned with these changes. Instead, national cohesion occurred through an authoritarian regime maintained through both strategic and arbitrary violence. Intricate policy changes were rather unimportant before what Aili Mari Tripp (2004) refers to as the "softening" of authoritarianism in Africa. Anti-sodomy legislation in Uganda remained unchanged from colonial periods, until 1990, at which time Yoweri Museveni had four years of service as the president.

In 1990, Ugandan legislators began to re-spark the homophobic nationalist project in response to the HIV/AIDS crisis and the diffusion of homophobic policies of the United States. Uganda fronted as Africa's success story for its aggressive response and reported reduction of HIV/AIDS prevalence. Two unfortunate realities coexist with these tactics. First, the reduction of prevalence has been shown to result, at least in part, from the high number of AIDS related deaths and unreliable sampling in the southern and urban regions (Pakhurst 2002). Secondly, and most relevant, the ABC program (Abstinence, Be faithful, and use Condoms) paralleled an attack on the LGBT population.

HIV was "discovered" by US scientists within the first year of the 1980s. US health centers began to receive isolated reports of Kaposi's sarcoma, a cancer, and Pneumocystis Pneumonia, a rare fungal pneumonia, in previously healthy men in New York and California. As the occurrences were initially found solely in a small group of gay men the ailment became known as GRID: Gay Related Immune Deficiency (Altman 1982). Stigma immediately attached

itself to this disease, as American media sensationalized the particularity of homosexual transmission. The prejudicial stigmatization of the disease carried the national climate and interfered with progressive research. Avert, the international AIDS charity, informs us of the following interaction in a press briefing at the White House in 1982 (2011a):

> …a journalist asked a spokesperson for President Reagan *'…does the President have any reaction to the announcement – the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, that AIDS is now an epidemic and have over 600 cases?'* The spokesperson responded – *'What's AIDS?'*

As the American government ignored the impending crisis, HIV began to spread at an alarming rate. The first cases of heterosexual transmission were recorded in 1982, but the stigma of HIV as a "gay" disease created a legacy that would last through the decades. This year, 1982, also recorded the first HIV infection in Uganda (Allen and Heald 2004; Mugerwa and Serwadda 1996).

Heterosexual sex has served as the main mode of transmission in Uganda since the beginning of the epidemic. In response to the crisis, Uganda president Museveni very successfully navigated the global funding environment to prevent the epidemic from spreading (Allen and Heald 2004). He endorsed the "A" and "B" of the aforementioned prevention campaign ABC beginning in the last years of the 80s and aligned well with the American Republican sensibilities that promoted abstinence until monogamy. In the mid 90s, accompanying the presidency of Bill Clinton, Uganda began to advertise the "C" of the campaign – condoms. As faith-based organizations materially helped organizational efforts, the agenda of ABC held markedly similar ideals to the abstinence-only campaigns in the United States (Timberg 2007). The rejection of "promiscuity" and support for monogamous marriage was a decidedly moral response to HIV.

Although homosexual sex was not as strong a local factor in the spread of HIV, the US association of HIV and homosexual sex influenced the rest of the world. In 1990, Uganda strengthened the penalty for committing sodomy to life imprisonment (Gupta 2008; Hollander 2009). Advancing and reinforcing anti-sodomy legislation became a pre-emptive strike, a way for the government to ensure that its people do not engage in crude sexual activities. This fear of homosexuality doubled as a fear of HIV/AIDS and of admission that such sexual activity occurred in Uganda. In 2003, Honorary Jane Alisemera reported to parliament:[19]

> As we fight AIDS, we know very well that AIDS spreads fast through homosexuality, through the anal canal. Even as Ugandans, as Africans, we have never promoted homosexuality. You would look at homosexuality like you look at a goat and a human being. I want to tell you that in this era of AIDS, we should stop talking about homosexuality and we only concentrate on prevention of AIDS through the heterosexual route rather and not the anal route.

As such, Uganda combats HIV (read: homosexuality) by refusing healthcare for anyone who admits to having had a same sex sexual relationship. Sexual Minorities Uganda, the premier organization for same-gender loving and gender non-conforming (SGL and GNC) Ugandans has reported (2005) how the Ugandan healthcare system became openly hostile as a result of this anti-gay rhetoric. The misguided argument that LGB people contract AIDS through illegal activity and therefore need not be treated directly conflicts with the fact that even intravenous drug users and inmates are eligible for treatment (as reported by SMUG 2005). The stigmatization set by the US that regards homosexuality as a *cause* for the disease complicated the process of treatment for SGL and GNC people in Uganda.

Importantly, the Penal Code Amendment (Gender References) Act 2000 had already revised the "unnatural offences" for gender-neutral language (such as "any person" instead of any male, and "him or her"), by this time. This change, which extended throughout The Penal

[19] November 06, 2003; Hansard Parliamentary Report

Code, also effectively criminalized female-female sex. The feminist organizations behind this act intended to foster gender equity in the law by de-gendering the pronouns used. Therefore, sodomy, assault, or rape, which at one point could only be perpetrated by males, could now occur between "a person" and "him or her" – allowing legal recognition of perpetrators of any sex or gender. This gender ambiguity effectively sparked the beginning of legal recognition of lesbian sex. Therefore this feminist act, ironically, realized equality as the ability to penalize a woman the same way as a man, in terms of the law.

This history of the Ugandan HIV/AIDS politics and policies play an important role in the empirics of the Anti-Homosexuality Act. As the 1990 change to life-imprisonment for sodomy offense came on the heels of HIV/AIDS politics, one must recognize that regardless of whether or not Ugandans consider it a "gay disease" (which, I have shown, they do not), the discussion of homosexuality (such as that which Alisemera wanted to end) did affect politics. The Anti-Homosexuality Act passed with a clause that ensured that if one has "homosexual sex" while living with HIV, they would be charged with aggravated homosexuality. Therefore, recognizing the complex interplay of HIV status and identity is crucial to understanding the changes in anti-sodomy legislation.

Towards Comprehensive Measures: The Development of the Anti-Homosexuality Act

The interpretive flexibility of the language in the Ugandan Penal Code Act of 1950, which remained after independence, allowed for the penalization of an array of same sex intimacies. Until the passage of the Anti-Homosexuality Act (February 2014) and after it was annulled (in

August 2014), Uganda could recognize an unnatural offence as any "carnal knowledge of any person [or animal] against the order of nature." This offence, as previously stated, was already punishable by life imprisonment. Sections 146 and 148 of the Penal Code also sentenced those who commit acts of gross indecency and those who *attempt* (unsuccessfully) to commit unnatural offences with up to seven years of imprisonment. Acts of gross indecency are understood as intimate practices that fall short of sex; therefore, the code leaves room for interpretation meanwhile casting a large net for criminal actions.

Chapter XIV of 120, titled "Offences against morality," hosted the various sections regarding sodomy. The ambiguous wording, "carnal knowledge," "indecent practices," "[gross] acts" allowed for legal reconfiguration. Instead of criminalizing unnatural actions, Uganda shifted into criminalizing groups or identities considered gross or unnatural. This reconsideration occurred interactively, with a global sphere that created transnational identities such as *lesbian* or *gay.* For this reason, a law that used to target a particular set of actions – actions connected to non-procreative (and therefore immoral) sex – morphed into laws targeting a particular set of "immoral" people. The other "immoral" people included in this chapter of the Penal Code are rapists, the incestuous, zoosexuals, and child molesters.

Although the slippery wording of the code allows for the penalization of a larger breadth of acts, it also, counterproductively, has a weak enforcement mechanism. From the perspective of the anti-gay mobilisers and parliamentarians, the criminal code was "defected" and in need of a reformation.

> All this time that we have had these laws in place, have we successfully even prosecuted two people who have been engaged in homosexuality or has the whole set of laws in place been a failure? If they are a failure, it is very urgent that we immediately change these laws to address the need of our society.
>
> **Ms. Beatrice Anywar Atim, FDC, Woman Representative, Kitgum, April 2009**

For Section 145, one must be caught in the act or confess to having had consensual gay or lesbian sex. For clear reasons, the judiciary had difficulty sentencing those who have been arrested. As the wording exists currently, due to the unlikelihood of an official confession, undercover police would need to sleep with a suspect in order to convict him/her (McClelland 2012; Tamale 2009). Therefore, no one in Uganda's postcolonial history had been sentenced for sodomy before the AHA. Instead, anti-sodomy legislation had been used more as a tactic of terror – to arrest suspected deviants, put them in holding, harass, torture or blackmail SGL and GNC Ugandans (SMUG 2014b).

The reformation, the "comprehensive measures" that many within the Parliament had hoped for aims to strengthen the enforcement mechanisms. The Anti-Homosexuality Act ensured measures that would 1) protect the sovereignty of Uganda against globalizing forces; 2) inoculate impoverished citizens against homosexual bribery; and 3) end the progress that the sexual justice organizations had begun to make. Therefore, the AHA has a section on the "Promotion of Homosexuality" to specifically accomplish each.

The AHA began as what was commonly referred to as the "Kill the Gays Bill." The intention behind the draft was to distinguish sodomy from other "unnatural offences," define and punish "aggravated homosexuality" with the death penalty, and increase the enforcement mechanism so that citizens could hold other citizens and NGOs accountable for preventing the spread of gay positive messages. Ugandan parliamentarians and anti-gay mobilizers alike had been noting the presence of openly homosexual citizens, organizations by and for kuchu Ugandans, and foreign NGOs that promote safe-sex practices and cultural empowerment for SGL and GNC Ugandans. Section 13, "Promotion of Homosexuality" disallows a) the flow of gay pornography; b) funds to sponsor the promotion of same sex sexual acts; c) offering a

premise for same sex sexual acts to occur within; d) browsing gay pornography; or e) acting as an accomplice or abetting related practices. If a person were to be found guilty of Promotion, they could be fined up to 100,000, 000 UG shillings (nearly 40,000 US dollars), or serve between 5 to 7 years in jail, or be both fined and imprisoned. If an NGO or a corporate body is found guilty of Promotion, the business certificate of registration will be canceled and the director may serve seven years in jail.

Creating this crime of Promotion of Homosexuality attends to the cries of parliamentarians who have expressed anger about the open presence of LGBTI and/or kuchu identified organizers for years before drafting the bill. Between 2003 and 2009, parliamentarians discussed their concern of the effect created by kuchu organizers when they cooperate with richer nations or INGOs. Repeatedly, they mentioned that these organizations were gaining more support and visibility with the effort. The clause on the "Promotion of Homosexuality" would ensure that citizens reported known homosexuals, for fear of persecution through alliance. This clause would send the message that the country was serious about preserving heterosexual norms.

> I rise on a matter of public concern. Today in the *New Vision* newspaper, there was an article with the headline, _*Donors want Gay rights*_ ... This information was given by the Executive Director of Foundation for Human Rights Initiative, Mr Livingstone Sewanyana. He said that donors are currently pressurising Uganda to legalise homosexuality.
>
> Mr Speaker, I do not have to read the whole article, but the same article continues to say that recently, Ugandan homosexuals submitted to donors a proposal of US$1 million for mass mobilisation…
>
> We know very well that the religious people here have condemned homosexuality, and we know it is against our culture. Now I am calling upon this august House to condemn this act. (*Applause).*
>
> **Mr. Henry Basaliza Araali, MP, Fort Portal Municipality, November 2003**

> Homosexuality was unheard of; today we have a section of our people who are pushing for homosexuals to be defended, that the law must be in place that provides for people to enjoy the freedom to exercise homosexuality.
>
> **Dr. James Nsaba Buturo,**
> **Former Minister of State for Ethics & Integrity in the Office of the Vice President,**
> **July 2006**

> Madam Speaker, I rise on a point of national importance. In today's *New Vision*, there is a front page picture showing gay activists addressing a press conference. To the best of my knowledge, homosexuality is illegal. I know that our cultural norms, our religious norms, and even our Constitution do not allow homosexuality. However, these people have now been given the opportunity to address press conferences.
>
> **Mr Latif Sebaggala, DP, Kawempe Division North, April 2009**

As demonstrated here, many Ugandans question both the cultural and economic capital of some kuchu organizations. Western donors are seen to have unlimited resources for the particular issues that they value, issues such as homosexuality are imagined to receive more finances than poverty or hunger, which creates resentment within the majority. The same donors are also imagined as responsible for the spotlighting of such activists, organizing press conferences and media appearances.

Ugandan parliamentarians seek legislative redress to these errors. Creating the Promotion of Homosexuality criminalizes the work of international organizations in Uganda, that fund and train domestic organizations to advocate for safe sex practices. It also creates a nationalist unity against homosexuality, and legally ensures the buy in and participation of regular citizens. As the first of these parliamentarians, Henry Basaliza Araali, said in 2005, Uganda "needs people who are nationalistic and committed to realise tangible development." When citizens can unify under specific moral and cultural values, the economy benefits. It was in that year that Uganda passed the Prohibition of Same-Sex Marriages. Although such unions were already "unlawful" – or not

recognized by the state – the prohibition explicitly criminalized them in July with a vote of 111 For – 17 Against – 3 Abstentions. This prohibition became Article 31 of the constitution.

Although this is not a clause related to unnatural offences, it is particularly curious in that it exists simultaneously with the strong sodomy laws. A country, one that already regards homosexuality as criminal, felt the need to specify that same sex marriages would be unlawful.

The logic behind this vote proved Ugandan lawmakers' omnipresent fear of cultural globalization. The Western struggle for gay marriage proved meaningful enough for the parliament to enact this overstatement, reaffirming their anti-gay and simultaneously anti-Western stance. This dual purpose concretizes homophobic nationalism, as lawmakers enact legislation in order to preserve "Ugandan morality" in the wake of what is understood as a growing Western influence. This action exposes the true nature of the nationalist logic, as anti-homosexuality endeavors come to proxy as anti-globalization actions.

The attempt to expand jurisdiction (Part IV, 16) and apply extradition (Part IV, 17) in the bill shows another important move toward "comprehensive measures." Clause 16(a)-*Extra-Territorial Jurisdiction* proposes to apply the AHA "to offences committed outside Uganda" if one person is a Ugandan national. This clause was debated and retracted shortly before the passage of the bill into an Act, because the parliamentarians in attendance believed they wouldn't have the power to enforce it. However, this attempt implicates parliamentarian's anxieties about emigration – long-term exposure to Western-ness – or shorter-term travel and the need to hold Ugandan nationals accountable for protecting the sexual politic while abroad.

Anti-Imperialism and the Importation of Homosexuality to Vulnerable Peoples

> We now have a new phenomenon where external interests are taking advantage of the poverty of our people to introduce these new values that are mostly unwelcome in this land, and prostitution is in that category of homosexuality and pornography.
>
> **Dr. James Nsaba Buturo, April 2006**

> I think we must have the courage to make a statement regarding the influence of homosexuals and the people with money who want to influence our children and mislead our nation…
>
> **Alice Alaso, FDC, Woman Representative, Soroti, April 2009**

When speaking of homosexuality, members of parliament also invoked an anti-imperialist discourse years before the proposition of the bill. This is demonstrated by the concerns that parliamentarians shared regarding the economic power of foreigners who advocate for gay rights and acceptance in the nation. Parliamentarians have held this anxiety regarding economic vulnerability on both an individual and national level. The message continues to exist that government actors understand the vulnerability of the people, due to economic devastation, as a motivating factor for halting the spread of homosexuality. Government agents see themselves as responsible for being "courageous" defenders of the people against the threat that powerful, wealthy nations wish to impose.

Conversely, individuals in more economically empowered positions are believed to be protected from the vice. In December 2013, as parliament finally debated the bill, MP Katoto rose to object to the Prime Minister Mbabazi exclaiming, "*Our kids are not protected, yours are protected because they move with escorts. Do you want other people to sodomise…* "[20] before the chairperson interrupted him. This belief that money can protect individuals from homosexuality

[20] December 20, 2013; Hansard Parliamentary Report

invokes a counterintuitive logic when one considers that “the West” is understood as the agent of homosexuality and the most economically empowered. However, it exposes the firmness of the belief that some hold that Africans, at their most natural state of being, are heterosexual. Notably, many people who support anti-homosexuality, do not necessarily believe this, such as President Museveni himself, who in 1999 spoke of the *ebitingwa* (homosexuals) in Ankole, who existed without interaction with Westerners.

Along those lines, the March 2009 seminar "Exposing the Truth Behind Homosexuality and the Homosexual Agenda" in Kampala occurred in effort to restore “traditional” Ugandan values by blocking the importation of Western homosexuality. Framing homosexuality as a symptom of American moral decline, American evangelicals pushed for awareness of the global gay agenda (Kaoma 2009). Although the American evangelists have since taken various positions to distance themselves from the bill, the conference and its speakers played a crucial role in popularizing support for the creation of the bill (Kaoma 2009), as well as the anti-globalization framing of anti-gay mobilisers’ sensationalized perspectives on homosexuality. As this data shows, these particular American evangelicals were neither the impetus nor innovators of the anti-gay fervor. However, the presence of American “testimonials” against American moral decline garnered additional popular support throughout Kampala. It also spurred continuous debate in parliament leading up to the proposal of the bill, creating a consistency that cannot be witnessed in the years before the seminar (conversed April 1, April 6, April 15, and April 29).

Framing the “homosexual agenda” as moral decline backed by rich Whites had begun long before this conference, as even the earlier quote shows that this concern existed in 2006. Thoroughly sensationalized, international media centered the American evangelical involvement

in the creation of this severe bill, which in turn allowed for outraged, American attention. This attention, however, led to the dehistoricization of anti-sodomy legislation in Uganda, and did not mention the life imprisonment penalty already on the books. The media ultimately contributed to the egregious missteps in international relations that led to sanctions, aid cuts, and other fuel to the anti-imperialist fire, as it did not attend to the ways in which the global, political economy influences the legislation.

When originally drafted, the Anti-Homosexuality Bill opened with the principle and objectives; made an effort to define homosexuality both in its standard and "aggravated" forms and related offenses; and then followed with changes to jurisdiction. The following is excerpted from the principle of the original Anti-Homosexuality Bill:

1.1. The principle

The object of this Bill is to establish a comprehensive consolidated legislation to protect the traditional family by prohibiting (i) any form of sexual relations between persons of the same sex; and (ii) the promotion or recognition of such sexual relations in public institutions and other places through or with the support of any Government entity in Uganda or any non governmental organisation inside or outside the country.

This Bill aims at strengthening the nation's capacity to deal with emerging internal and external threats to the traditional heterosexual family.

This legislation further recognises the fact that same sex attraction is not an innate and immutable characteristic.

The Bill further aims at providing a comprehensive and enhanced legislation to protect the cherished culture of the people of Uganda; legal, religious, and traditional family values of the people of Uganda against the attempts of sexual rights activists seeking to impose their values of sexual promiscuity on the people of Uganda.

There is also need to protect the children and youths of Uganda who are made vulnerable to sexual abuse and deviation as a result of cultural changes, uncensored information technologies, parentless child developmental settings and increasing attempts by homosexuals to raise children in homosexual relationships through adoption, foster care, or otherwise.

Figure 3: The Principle. Sectioned from the original draft of the Bahati bill

The Principle elucidates the mobilisers' anti-imperialist standpoint. It introduces the "external threats" of people who seek to "impose their values of sexual promiscuity on the people of Uganda." Noting that those people are in direct opposition with the people of Uganda highlights that the bill opposes the efforts of various, foreign peoples and organizations with the power to impose an ideology contrary to conservative religious mores. As the Principle points out, these threatening agents operate through public institutions, NGOs, and even sometimes with the cooperation of the Ugandan government (ii). This ambitious bill would prohibit all forms of promotion and recognition of a homosexual populace.

The claim that foreign funds promote homosexuality in universities relates to the idea that recruitment takes place in classrooms and organizations. Western gays monetarily sponsor homosexuality through sexual exchanges with youth, courses that include homosexuality and internationally funded scholarships for African LGBT identified students. A guest writer for The Observer fervently supports the Anti-Homosexuality Bill for the belief that highly funded gay student organisation at Makerere University secretly bribes students into spreading homosexuality. He asserts that the organisation serves as a "blatant attempt at whitewashing homosexuality and brainwashing Ugandan university students who ordinarily might be turned off by the vice" (Jabo 2011).

The bill also shifted legal attention to nongovernmental organizations. As anti-gay members of politics consider healthcare services for LGBT people "recognition of such sexual relations," the introduction of this bill further declined the relatively inexistent HIV/AIDS care available for SGL or GNC Ugandans (SMUG 2005). A healthcare provider's aid to a gay person that does not lead to an arrest could potentially count as "aiding and abetting" or "failure to disclose" a homosexual, which the bill makes illegal. Clause 7 of Part II states that "a person

who aids, abets, counsels or procures another to engage in acts of homosexuality commits an offence and is liable on conviction to imprisonment for seven years"; clause 14 of the same Part penalizes the failure to disclose with a fine or a sentence of less than three years. Although this bill had not yet passed, the threat alone furthered the severe decline in willingness to treat homosexual patients that began immediately after the conference (HRW 2014).

In response to the proposal of the bill, a number of Western nations preemptively spoke out against Uganda. The Swedish Development Assistance minister Gunilla Carlsson threatened to withdraw the $50 million of aid that Sweden had given to Uganda every year. A number of European countries mirrored this threat. British Prime Minister David Cameron followed, albeit sluggishly, and two years later joined the other nations in "reconsidering" its aid policy in the case of Uganda, if the country does not rescind the bill (BBC 2011). After the passage of the AHA, the World Bank and several European countries cut, postponed, or redirected between US$110-140 million in loans to Uganda.

The threats to cut aid have, counterproductively, worked to the benefit of the anti-gay fervor. This response could have been preempted, as it is similar to the 2003 statement by MP Matembe who, in response to global recognition of same sex marriage said she needed "to get clarification and confirmation from Government that [they] shall mobilise the people of Uganda and under no circumstances shall [have] the donors intimidate [them]." Economic threats cause a reactive mobilization. In December 2009, after the Swedish government threatened to cut their aid, parliamentarians discussed the necessity of passing the bill "expeditiously" and "head on," rather than reconsidering the anti-gay stance itself.[21] Threats add fuel to the anti-imperialist fire, restating a definitive understanding of economic power in global, political relationships.

[21] December 15, 2009; Hansard Parliamentary Report

Parliamentarians, including the Speaker of the House Rebecca Kadaga, note that if President Museveni were to veto the bill, he would do it based off of Western cultural values, essentially because Western nations would *pay for him to do so.* This response echoed throughout Ugandan anti-gay segments of society, and re-sparked the frame that Uganda must not be made vulnerable due to their economic situation; the nation must provide symbolic strength as a message for the impoverished people that they believe are made vulnerable to bribery and foreign investment in homosexuality. After receiving reports from Ugandan scientists that there has been no proof in the science community that homosexuality is immutable, genetic, or biological, President Museveni signed the legislation (Kasasira 2014). At the public signing, he declared his action to be in opposition to Western cultural imposition.

> "We have been disappointed for a long time by the conduct of the West, the way you conduct yourselves there… Our disappointment is now exacerbated because we are sorry to see that you live the way you live, but we keep quiet about it. Now you say 'you must also live like us' -- that's where we say no."
> **Karimi and Thompson, CNN World, 2014**

Conclusion

Exclusionary sexual politics can serve to intensify nationalism, citizens' cultural identification with the governing state. Young states, such as Uganda, a country only around fifty years old, struggle immensely with nation building as a project. As the process of "making the state straight" (Canaday 2009) proves integral to the Western model of nation building, I have shown how this form of homophobic nationalism, a nationalism that literally fears incorporating homosexuality, exists in Uganda, in a historically contingent way. The interplay between state

action and the action of civil society in the formation of the heterosexual state developed from a model of nationalism bestowed upon Uganda during the colonial project. This model couples national and individual economic development with heterosexual coupling and reproduction.

The narrative that I have developed is one that describes the co-constitutive natures of nationality, sexuality, and ethnicity. In the postcolonial context, as M. Jacqui Alexander observes, "Not just (any) body can be a citizen any more, for some bodies have been marked by the state as non-procreative, in pursuit of sex only for pleasure, a sex that is non-procreative of babies and of no economic gain" (Alexander 1994, p. 6). Citizenship in colonies was built upon a "template" meant to dignify and imitate the "white bourgeois heterosexual man"; it is now, in Alexander's words, in its black male "configuration" (p. 35). Ugandan sexual citizenship is imagined as "black masculine men whose sole sexual desire is for their black feminine women" (Nyanzi 2014, p. 34).

I continue and expand upon this understanding of homophobic nationalism. It is the process of dejecting homosexuality, feminine masculinities, and other formations that subvert the masculine nation (such as individualism, polyandry, and masculine femininities). Upholding the masculine nation is a priority for nations seeking to reproduce their cultural values, social standing and economic virility. Homophobic nationalism, in this way, is a model begun by Western empires and continued through the legacies of those countries colonized by such empires in the 20th century. The development of the AHA demonstrates the continuation of two unfortunate colonial legacies: first, the "civilizing" of African sexuality through conformity to the heterosexist gender binary in the colonial order and second, the reliance upon legislative changes for a formalized, nationalist policing. Importantly, this chapter presents a new and

contextualized analysis of the logics that inspire this form of nationalism, as well as the mechanisms through which it is used.

When compared to the nationalist policies of the Western empires – specifically the United States, France, Britain, Portugal, Spain, Belgium and the Netherlands – the nations that are now struggling with this process do so with very different globalized contingencies. Whereas these powerful nations used certain territorial processes to secure their nationalist identities– securitization of borders, domestic segregation, and differentiating public from private concerns (Canaday 2009; Luibheid 2002; Somerville 2005) – the challenges of newer nations invert these migratory patterns. As demonstrated by the jurisdiction clause, international travel, emigration, return migration, and the cultural changes that occur when righteous peoples enter foreign lands become challenges unique to this postcolonial context. For these reasons, we see the Anti-Homosexuality Act procuring "comprehensive" territorial measures: it demands homosexual Ugandan expatriates to return to be tried and imprisoned.

The legislation also exposes worries regarding the ways in which technology undermines spatial boundaries. The wording of the Principle, as well as within the Act and within debate, stress the damage caused by exposure to "uncensored information technologies." As the Anti-Pornography Bill became an Act the day before the AHA, a thorough attempt to limit the spread of technology that promotes homosexuality can be witnessed.

Whereas much of the literature on sexuality and citizenship has thus far focused on contemporary Western processes, this work has focused on the legislative development with a postcolonial context that has much to contribute. Therefore, what is largely understood about the geography of sexual citizenship is the way in which the increased presence of foreign peoples – through immigration – changes the legislative landscape of a nation and exposes national

anxieties around race, sexuality and gender. This research shows how postcolonial conditions change this nationalist understanding and experience. Information technologies, foreign organizational bodies, economic vulnerability and international exposure are blamed for moral degradation. The infiltration in this circumstance is not the presence of alien peoples, but the implantation of alien ideology into vulnerable, native peoples. Accordingly, this legislation advanced in order to address these simultaneous processes. It holds analytical value regardless of whether or not it ever becomes or remains law.

Thirty-eight countries in Africa, alone, criminalize same sex sexual acts. Over half of the 76 countries across the world that currently criminalize sodomy do so as a result of British colonial law (Gupta 2008). As Great Britain did not decriminalize same sex relations until 1967, the anti-sodomy laws in countries that achieved independence from Britain before this process, such as Uganda in 1962, were unchanged. That is, the British enacted this law and enforced it on their colonies, and left with it intact. Therefore, Uganda becomes an important case: exemplary for the hyper-visible way through which it has experienced these changes, but comparable for its history with anti-sodomy legislation, its current concerns of cultural imperialism, and its effort to utilize homophobic nationalism in order for development. Understanding the ethno-racial and geo-social politics of sexual citizenship can help shed much needed light on the nations that currently debate similar legislative developments such as the Anti-Homosexuality Act.

The next chapter questions how this nationalism, particularly the legal concept of "promotion" of homosexuality and the framing of homosexuality as "un-African" affect kuchu self-determination and decision making around visibility. How does this context complicate "visibility" – a concept commonly understood as both a strategy and an end goal for queer movements?

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CHAPTER 4

NATIONALIST VIOLENCE AND KUCHU VISIBILITY

Cracking Down on Kuchu Organizing

The previous chapter showed the evolution of a particular form of nationalist violence: anti-sodomy legislation in the name of protecting the state. However, violence against kuchus, in the service of statehood, sovereignty or retaining the culture of Uganda occurs in various ways. I'm not going to typify them, but from the testimonies of kuchu Ugandans, we know interpersonal violence and communal threats exist (SMUG 2014). In this chapter I question how this nationalist violence affects kuchu visibility.

This chapter will help to advance an understanding of queer visibility in Africa, specifically in East Africa where the organizing of kuchu activists has not yet been considered in sociological literature. Primarily in dialogue with Ashley Currier (2007, 2012), I question how nationalist violence affects kuchu visibility. What are the strategic choices and dilemmas of visibility in queer organizing? As Currier (2007) broke down:

> Strategic choices can encompass deciding whom to recruit (Gamson 1975; McAdam 1988), which tactics to use (Carmin and Balser 2002; Downey 1986; Taylor and Van Dyke 2004), which audiences to target (Gamson 1975), how to present a collective identity publicly (Bernstein 1997; Einwohner 2006), and whether and how to respond to political opportunities (Blee and Currier 2006).

By looking at the interaction between nationalism and visibility, this chapter necessarily includes the third and the final of the aforementioned: which audiences to target and whether and how to respond to political opportunities. Currier convinces us that visibility decisions include both the management of visibility *and invisibility* as organizing tools for queer empowerment, as a group

may use "simultaneous strategies of visibility and invisibility when it wants to work with certain organizations in coalitions, for instance, but not be publicly visible to everyone" (2007, pp. 25). This articulation of the importance of strategic invisibility matters especially for kuchu Ugandans, as they, for obvious reasons, battle involuntary exposure and the violence that often occurs in response to their presence in public.

Therefore, a consideration of the effects of kuchu visibility is important at this stage of the movement, when the legislative and cultural pushback against support or normalization of homosexuality has reached two peaks (with the proposal of the AHB and passage of the AHA). The implications of the AHA stifled the activists' ability to work publically in Kampala. "The Promotion of Homosexuality" clause, as explained, did not pass into law; however, "Promotion" as a legal concept did continue to develop. This development is equally detrimental to kuchu visibility.

The "Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) Bill," which Parliament passed on November 26, 2015, still awaits Museveni's assent (as of January 2016). The NGO Bill (2015) recognizes that NGOs assist the government in providing "services like health, education and water" but offers that the existing law has a gap, through which "subversive activities" thrive (Memorandum, 2). Therefore, the Bill proposes to increase the government's ability to monitor and "dissolve" such organizing. It establishes a "District Non-Governmental Organizations Monitoring Committee (DNMC)" and a "Subcountry Non-Governmental Monitoring Committee (SNMC)" (3, c) and requires that each NGO registers with the committees. The boards would "issue or revoke permits" (4, II, b); and "guide and monitor organizations in carrying out their activities" (4, II, d), among other responsibilities.

The NGO Bill gives the DNMC and SNMC disciplinary powers. Such powers include the ability to "summon and discipline organizations" through suspension, blacklisting, and "exposure of the affected organization to the public" (7, b, ii/iii/iv). This Bill also, notably, allows the DNMC or SNMC to restrict the employment of foreign nationals. Therefore, we see the continuation of many of the Principles and provisions of the unsuccessful AHB.

The NGO Bill is an attempt to manage the NGOization of gay rights and the spreading of the message that homosexuality and other "subversive activities" are natural, okay, or healthy. Although the Promotion of Homosexuality is no longer a functioning legal concept, organizers (kuchu and otherwise) understood the NGO Bill as an extremely invasive and limiting national effort. It consolidates what "Uganda" stands for and against by coordinating civil society in such a way that its focus may always complement that of the government.

Kuchu organizers know that the required registration of all organizations would push them further into clandestinity. An organization, by the NGO Bill, is defined as a "private voluntary grouping of individuals or associations" and cannot legally operate without registration with the Board. Each organization must devolve information about the whereabouts of meetings and activities and its operations and purpose.

If an unregistered group is discovered in meeting, they are vulnerable to government scrutiny. If an organization meets or acts without a valid permit, it is liable, on conviction to a fine. There is also the possibility that, if this law is broken, the organization's director or officer serves a sentence not exceeding eight years in prison (VIII, 31(11), b). Therefore, the legislation criminalizes coordinated kuchu visibility; the Promotion of Homosexuality essentially passed in a more insidious way.

The tension created by the nationalist focus on abating "the Promotion of Homosexuality" necessarily prompts a questioning of kuchu organizing and strategies of visibility and invisibility at this time of heightened scrutiny. A particular memory rests in the forefront of my mind as I navigate these questions. The moment is when John, a bisexual cisgender man, crassly tells me, a few days before I finally met with Cherish, a transwoman, that "that man will get us in trouble. He brings all the bad attention with his dressing and his fake woman-shit. You cannot meet that one here."

Despite the obvious offensiveness, at the root of John's words is a concern for the type of visibility that his business would receive. The inclusion of trans* and gender non-conforming people (and bisexuals, for that matter) into movements for the rights and safety of lesbian and gay people, has been a challenge in many geographic contexts. Therefore, unlike my previous two meetings, where we had the safety of John and Isaac's walls or at least proximity to it, Cherish and I had to choose another setting.

"Kensington Gardens and Golf" I say to Samuel, who has become my trusted boda-boda driver. Samuel looks at me, puzzled, and I'm worried that he's having a hard time understanding my accent again.

"Ma'am?" he responds. I repeat it, to no avail.

"Which neighborhood?" he asks for clarification. It was the same neighborhood as I had visited the day before, so I asked him to just drop me where I had met John and Isaac, with hopes that I would get more information from Cherish by the time we reached.

I tell him everything that Cherish told me, but honestly I'm worried that she hasn't given me a real meeting place. It's our third attempt at meeting up and she stood me up each time before. I don't understand why - if it is an organizational issue, or if she doesn't want to meet with me –

but the last worry (and most present at the time) didn't quite make sense, since she had eagerly reached out for us to make a connection.

I had met Cherish in New York in October 2013, between my trips to Kampala. She attended an event that my organization hosted, where two Argentinian transmen shared with us their successful campaign for a national gender identity law. We spoke briefly and excitedly after the event, and I promised her I would look for her when I returned to Kampala.

After an hour of riding around (for what should have been a fifteen minute commute) and of conversation about my accent, religion, and how I'm not yet engaged, Samuel pointed into the distance *"maybe it's that!"* We saw a beautiful sign grounded in vast gardens that covered the hill. I asked him if he had ever seen the area before, *"no ma'am, it is beautiful but I've never noticed it. Perhaps it is for the Europeans?"*

I understand immediately what he means, but it strikes me that not one Ugandan person from whom I had asked directions had ever been to this place. It is large and beautiful and has an air that makes me think of The Plantation Inn, a country club where white people (the few middle class ones, at least) that I grew up with had often dined and always responded incredulously when I had said that I hadn't been – hadn't seen it – didn't want to visit – wasn't interested.

It's curiously situated. There is a normal, residential Kampala area ("normal" meaning for working class residents– not upper class, not for tourists). Then, seemingly out of nowhere, there is this high investment commercial property, where people are celebrating a wedding and others are enjoying (relatively) high priced meals.

Samuel tells me it is best, if I am only to stay for an hour or two, for him to stay in the area and for me to pay for his time and the ride home. I think this is good advice, since I look around

and it is completely open. There are no boda stands around and walking back to the main road would take quite some time, only to have to get a driver from there. I count the amount of cash I have, to make sure that I would have a little left over if I agree. I'm leaving for New York the next day and am at the point of the trip when my funds have been measured to last for just the trip home and final meal.

I call Cherish when I'm at the entrance. Cherish lives nearby and had walked over when I had indicated that I was close. I join her at the bar in the front, where she was sitting with the beer she had ordered to justify being in this commercial space. It was clear however that she didn't intend on paying for it; a vibe that the server undoubtedly picked up on and looked relieved when I showed up. I let Cherish know that I actually didn't have enough shillings on me to buy her more than two drinks since I had to pay more than I had anticipated for the ride. She didn't intend on spending money, so I imagine it was assumed that I'd have enough.

We begin talking about various topics. Mostly, we focus on the history and future of her organization and what my intentions are for my writing. We also, in light of a conversation that I had with others about my desire to meet with her, broach the subject of coalition building. After a pause in the largely casual, honest and relaxed conversation, I look at the picturesque sign on the hill; observe the wedding bustle; and eventually I catch the eyes of the server, who was watching us, more confused than hostile.

We, together, are visibly strange. We are exposed but likely illegible in this environment. Cherish is clearly trying to manage the visibility of her queerness – she's dressed "as a man" (her words), but she can't be read as manly. Her vibrancy, her sass, her sway, her effeminate gestures are giving her away. She's somewhere in between, in this moment, in this overwhelmingly cis-space and we both sit here, in a completely unreadable relationship.

I imagine the server's confusion. Why am I with her? Why is she acting this way/dressed this way? Why does she expect me to pay for her drink? Why don't I have enough money to drink myself? Or for us to eat? Why has she brought a laptop; me a notebook? We are clearly not a couple. There is an economic power dynamic that is likely obvious. We are comfortable enough to laugh together, but not close enough for any affection. We also don't look like an average pair of professionals: I look young and I'm underdressed in my blue jeans and simple t-shirt. She maybe smiles too much; is too flamboyant.

It's all "queer" and I'm hyperaware of our strangeness, as everyone stares. We're uncovered, unprotected, but our interactions are genuine and comfortable and it is clear that we share a likeness or familiarity. Although I do help her write a travel concept, she doesn't ask me for money (as I, at this point, have experienced in several meetings). She isn't presumptuous about our meeting. I have a sense that she's happy to hang out and talk with another queer woman (even though, at times, I'm uncomfortable with that identification ["woman"], myself). It occurs to me that this is the type of organizing experience that I value, the very beginning of a collaborative relationship. However, this is also a formation that is growing increasingly subjected to scrutiny by government and ordinary citizens like the server.

Both the NGO Bill and John's actions serve dual purposes. They define belonging. The NGO Bill forces groups and organizations that are deemed "beneficial to the nation" into visibility and those understood as harmful into obscurity. John's act of excluding Cherish renders transwomen invisible; it states the terms on which she can be incorporated into a publically visible association. It is a similar violence occurring on different scales. However, the effect has a crucial intersection – which Cherish and I experienced as she navigated a clearly inauthentic masculinity in order for us to meet in a public space. Cherish's choice, to forego a trans*

experience for a potentially gay one is telling: in a place where effeminate men experience heightened tension, she still chose it over the peril of being read as a transwoman or cross-dresser.

The visibility decisions of trans-feminine kuchus require an extended elaboration. However, what is made clear here is that when visibility and nationalist violence go hand-in-hand, transmisogyny problematizes coalition building. The possibilities for an alliance are diminished by the violence enacted on transwomen and feminine kuchus, when told that they must compromise their identity or expression in order to have a public, or visible, association. Although John spoke to me – and not to Cherish directly about our meeting in a unassociated location, Cherish knew exactly why she needed to choose Kensington Gardens, as opposed to one of the (admittedly very few) established kuchu locations.

It feels thick and suffocating to listen to the anti-woman and anti-femininity rhetoric that John and Isaac casually toss around. And although it's wonderful to see that Jessie (a transman) and a "female-bodied" solidarity network (in Chapter 6) exist and in relation to John and Isaac's group, I'm attempting to wrap my head around transphobia and transmisogyny at large in this space. On one hand, the fact that such a small movement has trans* representation and leadership (such as Pepe Onziema of SMUG) is exceptional – but on the other, it is notable that Pepe identifies as a transman. Transmasculinity and transmen notably experience less structural disadvantages due to their gender (explored in Western cases but not yet in African contexts, see Schilt 2006). What opportunities are afforded to transwomen to organize? Is their visibility deemed "dangerous" to the movement and therefore shunned or hidden in the professionalized activism? It's impossible, at this point, to really tell, given that there are none in the formalized advocacy networks; however, the question is worth consideration.

We know that *individual* and *group* visibility dilemmas take separate paths (Currier 2007, pp. 21); individual autonomy or access to the public view does not correspond directly to group, political autonomy. However, when individuals are involuntarily associated with the group, it is clear that the two have interwoven implications. This occurs and can be seen through the current dilemma presented by the politics of kuchu asylum-seeking after the introduction of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill.

Visibility and Refuge

The anti-gay sentiment that "homosexuality is unAfrican" relies upon the belief that inherent in the kuchu identity is a *desire* to leave Uganda (or Africa) and live in proximity to white or European others. It is, as I've explained, a truly nationalist argument that reverses the order of refuge; centering desire as opposed to an imminent *need* to leave. It also doesn't take into account the shared national oppression in the world system: that the majority of even kuchu Ugandans experience limited access to other countries. These perspectives are undoubtedly affected by the visibility of high-profile kuchus in international outlets and the association of queerness with white/Western privilege.

However, I can't help but remember words that Keza[22] shared with me: "I couldn't even go to my cousin's wedding in the United States! They rejected my visa because I don't have children. I have a job, I have enough money to fly back, I have family there; still, they're afraid that we will all come to visit and never leave. Honestly, though, I'm not interested in your

[22] Keza is neither an activist nor a participant in this work, but is instead a dear friend of mine. For this reason, I have not disclosed any identifying information and have used a pseudonym.

country." These words became especially significant in my notes when, not even six months later, Keza had to seek asylum in a European country. She had lived in Uganda her entire life and never considered moving anywhere outside of East Africa, but she had been "outed" at her work. With the rapidly spreading knowledge of her relationship with a woman, it was no longer safe for her to stay in Kampala.

There's a tough divide here. On one hand, the threat of violence becomes unbearably high, especially for those affiliated with the movement. They are seen and recognized, associated with the breakdown of national morality and morale. On the other hand, everyone in the movement (that I've spoken with) says that asylum in and of itself is not what the movement should be about; that the amount of funds dedicated to "evacuating" gays surmounts the amount of support that self-sustaining projects receive. This, of course, is because nationalist violence is more visible, more recognizable/obvious to Westerners than the globalized economic violence of the World System.

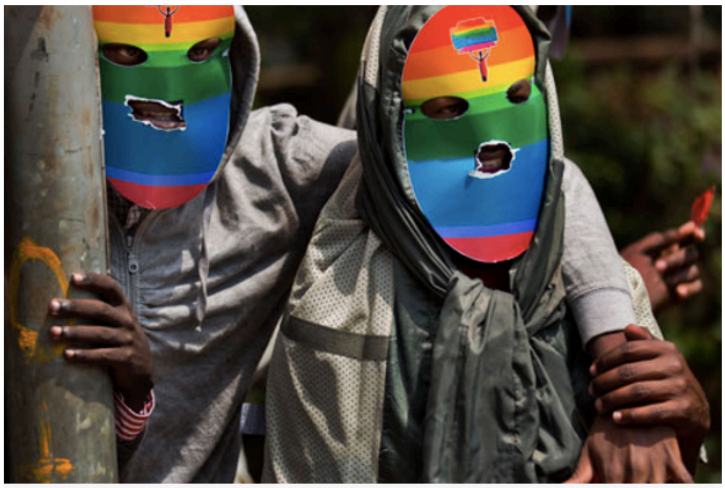
> "*You cannot evacuate a community that keeps being born.* These (projects that focus on getting gays out of Uganda) guzzle money and do not help."

Isaac

One such project was named "The New Underground Railroad." This effort began with the organizing efforts of American Quakers who call themselves the "Religious Society of Friends." They had reportedly "coordinated passage" out of Uganda for 107 kuchus as of 2014 (Schlanger 2014). The project received backlash, on as widely-known of an outlet as Buzzfeed, which

featured an extensive and well balanced critique. “In order to run a program like that successfully … you have to invest tremendous resources to understand the situation on the ground,” Neil Grungras, of the Organization for Refuge, Asylum, and Migration (ORAM), which works on LGBT refugee issues, told Buzzfeed. “If you’re trying to take [donors’] money responsibly, you [really] have to do that work.” However, even ORAM admitted to shutting down their own LGBT refuge project (Schlanger 2014).

These evacuation attempts incite nationalist backlash because it makes it seem as though gay Ugandans do not want to be Ugandan; do not identify with the country. For this reason, kuchu groups in Uganda try to minimize the amount of projects dedicated to this effort, as well as the amount of visibility that each effort receives. However, many “Save Gay Ugandans” fundraisers popped up after the AHA to “help LGBT people escape Africa.”



Rescue Fund for Gays, Lesbians, Bisexual and Transgender people persecuted and trapped in African countries that criminalize their sexuality

$14,025 USD
raised by **153 people** in 1 month

72% funded — No time left

$19,500 USD goal
Flexible Funding

CAMPAIGN CLOSED
This campaign ended on March 17, 2014

Select a Perk

$5 USD
A big thank You
because 20 $5 amounts will pay for a passport.

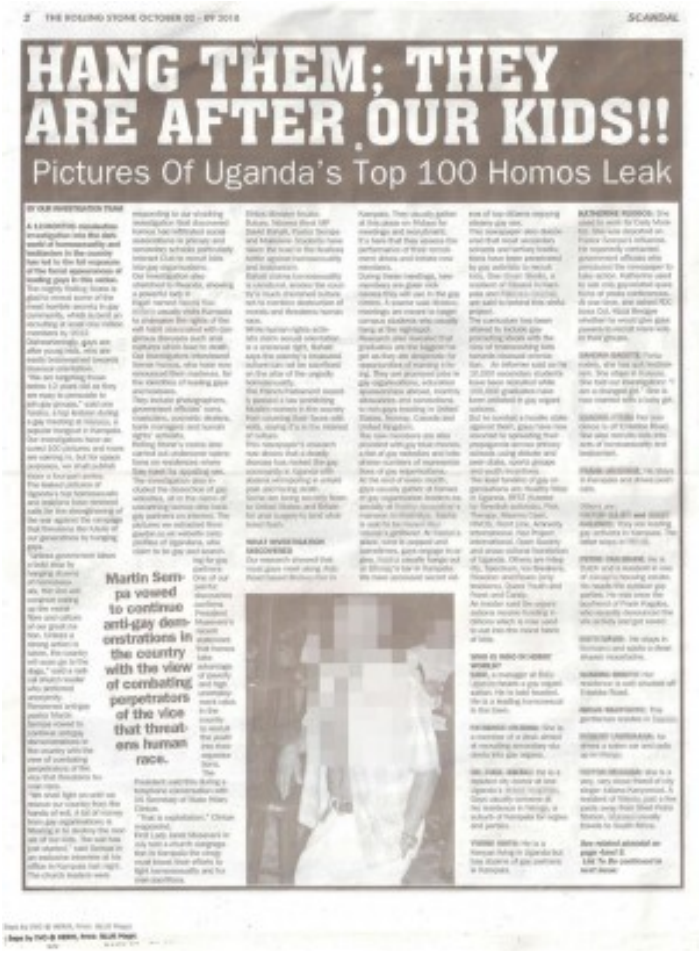
The “Rescue Fund to Help LGBT People Escape Africa” raised $14,025 in one month and was one of three similar fundraisers.

> Since the Red Pepper Tabloid outed 200 gays in the most widely read paper in Uganda, LGBT people cannot go home, nor walk on the streets -the threats have increased dramatically. The need for support is now tenfold of what I had originally anticipated. This fund has already sent money to help more than 15 people in hiding. Some have received money for safe houses, food, passports, transportation, and more… the requests at this time for help are overwhelming.
>
> "Rescue Fund to Help LGBT People Escape Africa," indiegogo.com

Oliver tells me about the lack of accountability that these fundraisers have… His organization has attempted to follow the numbers for how much the founder makes from these and cannot see where the money actually goes, whether or not gay Ugandans receive it and who they are. The founder, on the other hand, publically defends that she has contacts that are not affiliated with Oliver's organization and that this is a way to make sure that Oliver's organization does not monopolize the resources.

Isaac tells me, "they (kuchus who reach out to transnational advocates) sell lies to donors; that it is impossible to live here." However, Isaac is of a particularly different situation: he is bisexual and is married with children. This may be the "right" way to do things, in a nationalist sense, as it doesn't interfere with procreation and a heterosexist image. His opinions are certainly colored by this perspective, but he has a point. Western donors (who likely have never experienced Uganda) don't realize the nuance in the gendered experience there.

Men hold hands and show affection outwardly. I traveled to Mbarara in a van and appreciated the unmistakable queerness of a heterosexual (homosocial) relationship between two



HANG THEM; THEY ARE AFTER OUR KIDS!!

Pictures Of Uganda's Top 100 Homos Leak

Martin Sempa vowed to continue anti-gay demonstrations in the country with the view of combating perpetrators of the vice that threatens human race.

men – close friends – who rode with one's arm around the other; who held hands as they walked – all without a blink from anyone around. I couldn't help but wonder how many "closeted" men and boys would have been able to have some semblance of public intimacy. Or, conversely, how many men have been harassed, assaulted, or killed for sharing this type of intimacy in the States. So it is not so much that male homosocial affection is outlawed, at least not to the severity of the US.

Rather, the problem arises when the person is associated with a queer identity. The identity has become well known and more recognizable to the Kampalan public through a series of media releases that occurred in and after 2009. The Rolling Stone tabloid leaked photos of "Uganda's Top 100 Homos" with a heading that says "Hang them; they are after our kids" in 2010. Radio and television outlets constantly debated the "homosexual issue." The Red Pepper, another tabloid, continued the campaign of outing kuchus in 2014. This heading instead exclaiming that they have "EXPOSED!" the "200 Top Homos" with new photographs.

This exposure defies self-determination for kuchus who desire to design the narrative around their identities and opt into when, where or how they are visible. It allows those who are actively against queerness to determine the narrative from which the majority learns about

"homosexuality" or queer identities. The Red Pepper magazine, after several issues featuring news about homosexuality, included an issue that shared "insight" on how these top gays "became homos" (Burroway 2014). Importantly, I should note that these are not isolated events, but a barrage of messages by a widely read circulation (albeit, often read with a cynical eye). It is a constant warning about the political agenda, sodomitic rape (particularly of youth), and the debauchery of wild, decadent parties. The Red Pepper also "revealed" the NGOs that fund such activities on a March 2nd issue in 2014.

Queer Visibility in Media

Ashley Currier questioned the "universality of visibility as a necessarily desirable quality of and outcome for LGBT social movement organizations" in her extended study of The Visibility of Sexual Minority Movement Organizations in Namibia and South Africa (2007). She doesn't focus on media in that work, but instead considers visibility strategies in a much larger context. However, there is an approach taken by organizers that relies on the assumption that "all press is good press," but this is actually more complicated for social movements. On Mobilizing Ideas, a production of the social movements journal *Mobilization,* Tarun Banerjee shared insight into when "Bad Coverage is Good Coverage" for movements, which led me to think on whether or not good press is bad. I realize that whereas the all-press-is-good axiom may work for the counter movement (the "anti-gay" animus in Uganda), it has not held true for kuchu groups.

In chapter 3, I offered an excerpt of parliamentary text that shows lawmakers' concern with kuchu visibility in media.

> Madam Speaker, I rise on a point of national importance. In today's *New Vision*, there is a front page picture showing gay activists addressing a press conference. To the best of my knowledge, homosexuality is illegal. I know that our cultural norms, our religious norms, and even our Constitution do not allow homosexuality. However, these people have now been given the opportunity to address press conferences. I am quite disappointed that the Minister of Ethics and Integrity can allow these activists to address journalists and at the same time we are saying that this is contrary to our cultural and religious norms.
> … What these people are doing is contrary to our Constitution, cultural norms and religious beliefs. I believe that next time these people will be addressing journalists at the Media Centre.
> **Mr. Latif Sebaggala, DP, Kawempe Division North, April 2009**

It was the fact that kuchus had staged a press conference that had upset DP Sebaggala. This is the earliest stage of what happens when an identity based on a crime, ascends out of its criminality. "Sodomites" developed, as explained in the previous chapter, into "gays" and in this case, "lesbians." However, the former relies on committing the crime; the latter identity, on the other hand, can be embraced regardless of any "doing": virgins can identify as gay or lesbian. Many of these same activists have given public accounts that reveal that they embraced the identity long before actually finding partners. The government therefore responds by proposing the AHB, which in many ways returns the identity to a criminal status. The crime committed becomes adoption of an illegal identity, or promoting the crime of homosexuality. This has important implications for kuchu visibility, as the visibility itself becomes criminal.

Popular media, for this reason, is perilous territory for the goal of awareness raising. For organizing, there are counterintuitive results of even positive media support, although we assume that positive media equals success and negative media equals de-legitimation. In particular, with this case, there is an important question that mediates the answer: *from whom does a mobilizer seek support?*

Positive, international media for LGBTI rights mobilizers *de-legitimizes* the LGBTI rights movement locally. This is particularly relevant to the Ugandan heterosexist mainstream. The

mobilizers' willingness to appear in Western media outlets (take for example, Pepe Onziema on Last Week Tonight with John Oliver) allows their opposition to gain support from the community when they claim that Ugandan LGBTI individuals are sponsored by whites. The argument here is that these identities are un-African, originating from the West, and are currently being imported and supported (financially and ideologically) by Europeans and Americans in ways that undermine "African culture" and national sovereignty. Appearing on Western media to share grievances against your country creates a nationalist backlash that reifies "LGBT" as anti-Ugandan or un-African, even if it helps your movement to gain much needed attention and support.

Contrastingly, negative, international media for Ugandan anti-gay mobilizers *legitimizes* the anti-homosexuality movement locally. American media that covers the anti-gay perspective (not just action) occurs rarely, in relation to the coverage of the LGBTI individuals. It also, often ridicules heterosexual Ugandan beliefs, actions, or manner of speech. The most ridiculous receive the most media (for example, Pastor Martin Ssempa's viral video about how homosexuals "Eat da poo poo")[23]; the most pointed arguments do not interest Americans and only appear locally.[24] A fine example of this was the recent press coverage of Speaker of the Parliament Rebecca Kadaga's performance in Canada in 2012, when she told off Foreign Minister John Baird for his condemnation of Uganda's (then) Anti-Homosexuality Bill. The same action that was covered extremely negatively in the Americas and Europe was lauded as brave in Uganda. Her name has been hailed as a great defender and was celebrated in signs and speech in the March 2014 "Thanksgiving" Rally.

[23] Found on Youtube, world Star Hip Hop, and many more social media outlets.

[24] Such as seen here, on *The Monitor*: http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/Insight/-/688338/1301408/-/s5qqw8/-/index.html

Ugandan local dialogue stresses the ways in which the US uses its "commitment" to international LGBTI rights incongruously, as shown by the number of countries that do not receive negative press for their anti-gay laws. This inconsistency furthers the belief that the US has nefarious reasons for the attention to Uganda (most notably, surveillance, anti-black racism, and control of finances). Therefore, this movement relies on the grievance that Westerners seek to use homosexuality for neo-imperial purposes. As such, negative international media actually inflates local support.

Altogether, the support that one seeks – whether international or local – will change the effect of positive or negative media. Effective mobilization can transform the direction of the effect to suit their purposes, depending on how well their frames already align with communal beliefs (this furthers the thesis of Banerjee 2013). The anti-gay movement has thus far relied on people power: the resource that relies on mass mobilization or ideological support. Therefore, when international media "slams" them, the entire locality rallies behind their community – in part because the international media usually distorts the culture of Uganda while it envisions anti-gay violence as ubiquitous. This, from what I see, is when bad press is actually good press.

The more powerful kuchu groups use international media to garner support from "high powered" allies: international organizations, LGBT lobbyists, and largely white Westerners who are disproportionately sympathetic to this one form of oppression. This support often backfires on the ground, as it is a very narrow sympathy that isolates homosexuality and divorces it from the larger range of issues that the Ugandan public (including kuchu Ugandans) battle. So Westerners are seen to remain silent about the violence of neo-imperialism, which undermines African state sovereignty and enriches the West off of the poverty of the African majority;

meanwhile, they fixate on interpersonal and state sanctioned violence against a kuchu minority. This, conversely, is when good press is actually bad.

This short thought on media reveals some complications in our understanding of "audience" and kuchu visibility. A strategic choice, particularly a strategy of visibility, in an organized movement must incorporate these considerations in order to have a more comprehensive success (one backed by the people).

Conclusion

The effort of this chapter clearly does not lie in the devaluation of the kuchu experience of heightened fear, harassment, etc. There is a very real, omnipresent danger with which marked people live. The argument here is there is a reciprocal nature between visibility and nationalist violence that complicates the considerations of what opportunities to take and which audiences to target. On one hand, kuchu organizers in Uganda have stood united against anything that may portray their movement as one that desires whiteness in the physical sense of "evacuating" Uganda. Non-Ugandans instead have led these efforts. However, prominent activists and many non-activists have had to leave. Even if this can be argued as a personal decision, it has occurred in large enough numbers and been made highly visible through international media that it has unintentionally become a reflection of the group politic.

At the heart of the issue presented here is the question *what kind of visibility matters?* In this chapter, I've discussed several problems: 1) the wake of the AHB and AHA has created a condition in which nationalist vigilance compromises kuchu self-determination as it relates to

visibility. This means that often times; such as experienced with Cherish, there is a persistent questioning (in this case in ones gaze or demeanor, but often confrontational) that leads to a feeling of exposure. 2) Associations matter. The association between queerness and Western-ness challenges not the opportunities afforded to kuchus, but certainly the opportunities that should be taken. Also, because kuchu individuals are associated with a queer (and therefore assumedly anti-Ugandan) politic, the interplay between individual and group visibility remains important to consider.

An important and not yet fully considered factor in this nationalism is the ways in which queer identities and politics have been globalized. Globalized, in this sense, means not only homogenized, but also incorporated into global political and power structures. In Chapter 5, I turn to examine these global political and power structures by interrogating the role and structure of transnational organizing. Necessarily, I ask what are the racial and nationalist dynamics that bear or are borne from this tension? These questions set the stage for an understanding of how the transnational has been and can be seen in local dynamics of organizing and contestation.

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CHAPTER 5

TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY: IDENTITY, PRIVILEGE, STRUCTURE

In its most basic contemporary formation, we can understand human rights as the ideal protections that human beings are granted, indiscriminate of their national identities. One problem with this ideal exists in the relative weakness of its enforcement mechanism. Unlike civil rights, which are granted and enforced by the nation state, human rights rely on international bodies of governance, treaties, and inter- or non-governmental policing.

In order to strengthen a global enforcement mechanism, the international bodies, such as the UN, grant status or recognition to certain organizations seeking to spread and defend ideals of basic human needs and protections. Accordingly, these organizations bureaucratize and form institutionalized, transnational advocacy networks that rely on one another for status, recognition and resources. The most powerful of these networks center around the United Nations.

These UN-centered transnational advocacy networks seek to defend human rights by 1) identifying global abuses; 2) enabling small, local organizations to become self-sustaining; and 3) reporting the state of global affairs to other well resourced organizations; to more powerful governments; or to international bodies such as the UN. With intention of running effectively and efficiently in a global arena, this network largely relies on NGOs and INGOs to centralize campaigns and broker coalitions (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Traditionally, organizations within this network focus on policy reform (Bennett 2005).

With this chapter, I look at transnational LGBTI organizing in order to question the racialization and racial implications of bureaucratic, UN-centered advocacy. That is, how do methods and ideologies of transnational LGBTI organizing determine the roles of the organizer or organization and how are these racially delineated? Secondly, I ask what role racial privilege plays in the make up and structure of US-based, transnational human rights advocacy.

Transnational Advocacy, Homonationalism and Anti-Blackness

Global interconnectedness, facilitated by advancing technology, has undermined the ability that distance and state boundaries have to determine the speed with which a message is transmitted (Warkentin and Mingst 2000). Our proclivity to the idea of transnational citizenship and world polity has only grown (Boli and Thomas 1997; Clark, Friedman and Hochstetler 1998) and with this, a global civil society has been imagined (Wapner 1996). Therefore, we anticipate that ordinary "global" citizens, as well as NGOs invest in transnational advocacy. With this global push, we now understand that transnational protest and activism function through various forms (Bennett 2005; Smith and Wiest 2005), often facing any number of constraints by state actors.

Bennett (2005) breaks down these forms of transnational advocacy into two generations: the first generation, which focuses NGO work on single issues; and the second, which uses direct action protest to advocate for multiple issues. Following Donnelly (1986), I refer to the first "generation" as the international human rights regime. The regime legitimates and regularizes the norms and procedures that adhere to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, while centralizing the standards it sets forth, as it holds self-selecting nations accountable.

The regime functions through brokered coalitions and bureaucratization – or formalized rules and decision-making procedures – in order to achieve leverage over individual governments. However, this regime generally "involve[s] people and organizations in structurally unequal positions" (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 121). In the second generation of transnational activism, organizers focus on diverse social justice agendas, emphasize mass

support and communication networks, utilize technology, and are more personally involved (Bennett 2005).

As regime analysis can "at minimum be useful in organizing what we know, expanding our perspective, and helping us to avoid some standard analytic traps and pitfalls" (Donnelly 1986 pp 639), I wish to contribute to this field of social inquiry by interrogating the inequities of access to the transnational advocacy network. Primarily in dialogue with Bennett (2005), Keck and Sikkink (1998), and Smith and Wiest (2005), I posit that a critical examination of the two generations of transnational activism will provide a necessary, qualitative look at the pitfalls and possibilities of the international human rights regime.

The idea that "gay is white and black is homophobic" did not begin with homonationalism, but Puar's analysis explicates the ways in which homonationalism has aided this erasure of black queer subjectivities and existence. Her chapter "Intimate Control, Infinite Detention: Rereading the Lawrence Case" rests on the Lawrence v Texas, 2001 federal overturn of sodomy legislation in the United States. The erasure of blackness in relation to gayness is made evident by a very clear, literal erasure in our memories of the case's actual name: Lawrence and Garner v Texas. Garner, the black male lover of Lawrence, the white man whose case is immortalized. It is Lawrence who earned the right to privacy for consenting adults, it is Garner who is forgotten. The opportunity to remember that in the US – a case involving a black gay man was responsible for overturning historic sodomy legislation was missed.

The idea that blacks are homophobic or anti-gay is perpetuated as mainstream gay rights movements refuse to acknowledge black queer subjectivities (through the continual fervor of campaigns that largely do not affect black queers). It is heightened as they broadcast a narrowly defined image of the "anti-gay" or "bigoted."

The analysis presented here also seeks to expose a relationship between nationalist racism and biopolitics. By focusing its work externally, often exclusively on what transnational organizers commonly call the "Global South" (predominantly black and brown nations of the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa and Asia), the LGBTI rights regime broadcasts the anti-homosexual racial other – the agents of the (black/brown) state and the anti-homosexual "majority" of the countries – while attempting to unite the homosexual minorities in the country with Western ideologies, identities (LGBTI), and methods of protest and work. The regime then penetrates every nation within the "Global South" with seemingly unlimited resources and yet support for limited issues and perspectives of justice.

Methodology

All nine participants included in this chapter considered their work "human rights advocacy," but can be classified in various categories. Using Bennett (2005) as a precedent, I consider my participants to fall into two blanket categories: first generation, operating through the formalized channels of the international human rights regime, and second generation, operating through interpersonal (as opposed to institutional) networks or mass communication.

Their work can also break down into smaller categories, which I group as type of organization. Matt, Joe, Tim, and Diana all work for UN-recognized organizations, although Matt is the only respondent that works exclusively for gay rights. David and Judy work together, for a Progressive Religious Organization (PRO) that David spearheaded. Lucas and Lina both consider themselves activist-academics, and both consult for gay rights organizations: Lucas

consults for an American-based gay rights organization and interns annually; Lina volunteers with a Ugandan trans-rights organization. Alice advocates independently for Ugandan LGBTI rights through several online mediums, from the United States.

I define "cross-world work" as work that exists between the First and Third World, or Global North and Global South, and I use this word to combat the naturalization of the separation that I believe "transnational" permits. That is, using the word "transnational" allows us to forget the differentials in access and privilege that exist between the different groups of nations. The term "cross-world" serves to reinforce our awareness of our different positions of power in the world system. Because human rights advocacy currently operates in a hyper-stratified world system (Smith and Wiest 2005), the possibility of cross-world connection (through the non-traditional avenues that this chapter will develop) is important to emphasize.

I specifically recruited participants who work on initiatives for sub-Saharan African LGBTI rights, from localities within the United States. This targeting inherently creates a pool of workers, based in the Core, who focus on issues within the Periphery, the least developed nations in the world. The targeting proves particularly useful in a few regards: 1) I am able to interview people who work from, at the very least, a geographical position of privilege in relation to their constituencies; 2) there is a very low chance that my sample completely lacks awareness of any national power differential.

As I'll show, my participants seem acutely aware of this stratification, resulting from the nature of their cross-world work. Whereas to some degree, this cognizance permits self-awareness and criticism, it also permits the adoption of certain discourses that, at times, limit these critiques. By interrogating the role of power and access in the leverage of US-based,

transnational human rights advocacy, I can both critique the pitfalls and highlight the potential of the international human rights regime.

This chapter responds to the notable lack of analyses of the effect that homonationalism in transnational advocacy has on black and/or African populations. In particular, I explore the erasure of queer black Americans that occurs while white American organizations attempt to engage black Africans with homonationalist ideology and practices. Although a numerically significant minority in the United States, the lives and oppression of Black Americans remain invisible to the world, due to the nationalist desire to propagate an image of the United States as progressive and stable, opportunity-ridden and egalitarian. I argue that this erasure is not only born of a racist process, grounded in a history of anti-black biopolitics, but that it also results in a misunderstanding of the potential fruitfulness of black diasporic connections.

The UN-Centered Transnational Structure

"Yes, I know what it is like for you Americans to come out, I have seen Will and Grace." Ben, a Ugandan LGBTI organizer, earnestly responds to my question. Although asked rhetorically, I wondered aloud the differences he imagines exist between our histories of telling our parents that we were gay and lesbian. The response catches me so off guard, so confused, that I have no words to tell him the truth of my experience. I am a Black lesbian living in the United States, born to Caribbean parents. I am also a community anti-violence organizer for queer people of color. We are heading to dinner, and his demeanor tells me that he has largely

written me off, as neither my organization nor I have any money to offer him or his. He instead skips forward to chat with a straight, white woman who works for the organization that funded his trip to the States.

The interaction leaves me feeling as though my existence is America's most closely guarded secret. It is in this context, a conversation held about "lesbianness" or "gayness," that my nationality has, for the first time, trumped my race or ethnicity. I am now an American, represented by Will and Grace, something I have never been before. This exchange compels me to question how lesbian, as a signifier, came to represent a lived experience that was never mine.

This erasure prevailed in my short interaction with Ben and continually arose in similar manner, as I engaged with several Ugandan LGBTI organizers who engaged in transnational advocacy. Therefore, I positioned myself to interrogate the structure and make up of transnational advocacy, wondering if it is a symptom of organizational structure, or a larger erasure. I see that it is both.

As they are all UN-centered, the first generation networks traverse highly bureaucratized routes; meaning that the ways these organizations operate are relatively set in stone. This bureaucracy, in turn, provides an extensive reach, or breadth of countries or issues for which the regime may effectively work. This is the access that connected my first generation participants to Ugandan activists. In regard to the regime, quality work is achieved through three steps: 1) receive a request for help from a local organization; 2) build the capacity of the organization to advocate on its own behalf; 3) amplify the local organization's "voice" by appealing to the UN, or using a small network of high power media channels.

1) Receiving a request for help.

I stress receiving a request for help because each of the respondents who have worked within the first generation network - Matt, Joe, Diana, and Tim (and Lucas, who largely works independently, but interns with GROs and HROs yearly) – have all been wary of imposing, or reifying the "Western imposition" idea that resistance thinkers and activists utilize.

> Matt: I think it's really important to us not to seem imperialistic, and the US government has such a bad reputation in so many places that we try not to, or only use that when someone has said "will the US government do this?"

The first step helps the transnational organization to avoid the critique of Western imposition. As reception is passive, it sends the message that the resource ("our organization") is here when, and only when, the local organization wants it. This discourse allows these organizations to describe themselves as receptive addressees, rather than addressers, and therefore avoid the argument that they are imposing an agenda.

> We don't tend to take action that they [the local activists] don't believe is going to be helpful. So we only take advice from activists on the ground discussing with them where we can be helpful and where, sometimes, we would be harmful. In the case of LGBT rights, it can sometimes be more harmful than helpful, so we listen to what people say on the ground and try to develop our policies in accordance.
>
> **Joe**

Each of the four reported this as the first step to beginning a relationship with a local activist or organization.

2) Capacity Building

What occurs during the capacity building that takes place is perhaps the most critical to this analysis. Capacity building is the process of shaping smaller, local organizations to work in a manner recognizable to the regime. This step can mean assisting in writing documentation in proper format (Matt); or helping new organizations to form an effective strategic plan (Tim). As the organizations work to intervene in the midst of various global crises, they largely have blanket strategies and formats to which they do minor tailoring (Joe).

Interviewees who work or have worked within the transnational networks noted that they have a standardized way of advocating for justice. Although they framed their requests as "advice," they have limited ways by which they are empowered to help. After receiving the call for help, funding, or assistance, the transnational organizations help local groups write shadow reports, or document human rights violations *in a way that…can be used for advocacy*" (Matt). Other transnational advocacy organizations help new organizations to form an effective strategic plan (Tim).

The inflexibility of the organization's methods of advocacy is obscured by this discursive practice: Matt's organization "helps" people write in a way that can be recognized and responded to in the few ways that the organization is enabled. There is a standardized way to advocate for "global" justice. Joe straightforwardly said that his organization will "tailor our documentation and reporting [but] a lot of our recommendations across the board tend to be similar."

The similarity of these recommendations allows the work to be efficient and ensures that the effect has been measured in a "similar" case. Capacity building permits local activists and organizations, previously unrecognizable by the regime, to create readable documents and reports. Creating these reports, in turn, make the local organization more eligible for future

funding. This practice ensures broad, global access, but arguably at the expense of locally relevant solutions (Petras and Havemeyer 2001).

After those within the first generation network receive "advice," they inform the requester on how to be productive. This aspect not only demonstrates that the human rights regime utilizes certain discourse to avoid the "imperialist" agenda, but that it is established and routinized in a way which only recognizes certain bureaucratic ways of organizing. Therefore, although the transnational human rights worker may rely on the local activist for information about what human rights abuses occur, why they occur, and when to intervene, the transnational worker is the only person qualified to take productive steps.

The transnational worker becomes an important middleman. After the transnational worker builds the capacity of the local activist, s/he can use the organization's status to grant the local activist access to international bodies of governance or influential nations. Each respondent from the first generation network described this along the lines of amplifying local "voices."

This report-back style of transnational advocacy undoubtedly creates nationalist tensions. As local organizations request help from and write reports for American organizations, who may not be neatly connected to the government (as they are NGOs), but do represent nationalities while convening with the United Nations, they reify a dynamic of moral superiority/inferiority. The image of the state, according to Joe, need be perfect in order to effectively influence other countries, because he believes the US could and should be a "beacon of human rights" and able to "set an example for other countries." They, therefore, play into the "watch-dog" status of US organizations, which creates hostility within the nations under scrutiny.

The appeal for the local organization to engage in this type of transnational work is often the promise of funding. This mainstream advocacy style, in fact, relies on an exchange of funds. It is the impetus for making contact with first generation networks and it is what the "capacity building" of the first generation requires. In order build the capacity of an organization, a local organization must have the financial stability to have an office and an employee who can dedicate their time to being trained to do such work and then to actually do the work. Therefore, we see that although Joe and others present a linear model of how they structure advocacy work, which relies on having no original influence on who appeals to them, we know that many organizations request help because they want or need money. This is why the "western imposition" argument still holds weight, despite the unwillingness of US-based foundations and organizations to acknowledge it.

3) Amplifying the voices of the "Global South"

Step three, which involves, in Joe's words, "amplifying 'voices' of the Global South," has many functions. "Amplifying voices" discourse further establishes the passive position of the international human rights regime. This step enables the transnational human rights worker to provide the global ear for local "voices" to be heard.

> Primarily, our work is to listen to other people in areas that they work and to lift up their voices and to bring the voices back to the US.
>
> **Matt**

> I think there's always a desire for them [his colleagues in DC] to hear [the issues] or for us to channel voices from the ground or to bring those voices.
>
> **Joe**

We can envision that this relationship exists vertically. "Voices" exist on the "ground;" the transnational human rights worker visits the ground (through actual travelling, for Joe and Tim), get an understanding of what human rights abuses occur; and channel those voices upward, to achieve high-leveled, legislative accountability.

Both of these respondents understood these voices as something that they aspire to understand and have others understand. This third step, however, also helps to boost the status of the organization.

> Their voice is unique; they represent the community and another country. They bring a different level of, or allow for a different level of engagement with different actors in Washington. So I think we find it mutually beneficial and it helps our common goals to give them a little bit of profile. It helps us with the work we're trying to do on their behalf.
>
> **Joe**

First generation workers understand amplifying voices as a way to gain legitimacy both for their transnational organization and the local organization; on the other hand, the discourse of amplifying voices may aid the cross-world divide as much as it connects the two. The vertical relationship – from ground, to middleman, to international body – can serve as a hindrance to the possible connection between activists or organizations.

This step provides local activists with talk-time with influential Western outlets. Joe's organization has funded at least three of Ben's trips (either to do a media appearance or to appear before the UN). The flight alone of each trip from Kampala to New York costs roughly $2,000 – the price of housing in Kampala for an entire year.

Mainstream transnational advocacy also, rather importantly, uses this blanketed, three-

step structure to the detriment of alternative forms of organizing that may be more culturally relevant and more efficacious. It stifles the creativity that could arise from cross-cultural connections. For example, ever since Ben's organization began receiving funding from Joe's, it has worked solely on documentation and advocacy through litigation.

Bureaucracy as a Hindrance to Transnational Efficacy

Various participants criticized this bureaucratic advocacy structure as limiting the efficacy of transnational work:

> So that [purposely provoking an anti-gay tabloid, in order to turn the negative attention back on them] is a perfect example of a different level of advocacy: taking the risk, maybe not doing 110% "the right thing"; maybe not listening; but really feeling independently obliged to "out" these people.
>
> **Alice**

Alice understands bureaucracy as often a hindrance to access. The stories that she writes, the sources she has, and the flexibility she has, she grants as tied to her status as a human rights advocate, independent of the regime. Although she communicates with people who choose to ally themselves with the human rights regime, and although she recognizes the value and the necessity of the regime, she chooses to operate in a way that allows her a creative "license."

> You know [my work is] very independent: there's no money behind it; it's not corporate. I'm not beholden to anyone and I do have a network in different arenas. I have my sources, which are grassroots people sometimes in the middle of nowhere that I'm connected to.
>
> **Alice**

Alice has a professional relationship with activists all over sub-Saharan Africa and is very tied to her local politicians in California. She described to me several situations in which she was able to use the flexibility granted to her, to accomplish feats out of the hands of the regime. One of such situations involved a lesbian UK asylum seeker who had nearly been sent back to a country whose main anti-gay figure threatened to imprison all LGBT people. Using a phone call from the notable anti-gay figure, Alice was able to use his words to stop the asylum seeker from being deported. In another situation, Alice was able to stop anti-gay "persecutors" from entering the United States, by convincing her local representative to talk to the Secretary of State. Although the political structures do not grant her formal recognition or status, she can often use or threaten to use global media as a pressure tactic.

The mere connection to a wealth of local activists, or notable anti-gay figures in this case, is a feature of the second-generation networks. As opposed to maintaining brokered coalitions, such as the one Diana's organization has with one notable Ugandan organization, second-generation networks often gather mass support, or form coalitions with various networks. As she has diverse political goals, Alice builds a reputation with various, influential networks, from David Bahati, the author of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill, to universities across the world to the "Executive Office of the United States" to "the government of Sweden" (Alice on the physical geographies of the IP addresses that visit her blog).

Through David's eyes, we can see the bureaucracy as reproducing a hegemonic image of power, and therefore limiting the reach that human rights defenders should have. David ultimately believed that the question that human rights workers should have in this area of Africa is "how can we empower un-empowered black men" so that they need not scapegoat women and sexual minorities. With this view, we can see the bureaucracy, which regenerates disconnected,

racially-privileged workers of the "Global North," stops the human rights regime from asking tough questions that may lead to more effective answers.

The independence, or perhaps self-sustenance, of David's Progressive Religious Organization allows a range of political campaigns in response to these questions. David's PRO focuses on economic development, investment, and theological reconciliation. Although it is an organization, and therefore has bureaucratic mechanisms, David understands that its peripheral status to the human rights regime, due to the religious and racial components, in fact makes it the most potentially effective.

There is a belief, by transnational advocates like Joe, that the bureaucratic mechanisms safeguard the regime against anti-imperial criticism. However, there is a counter-critique by those within (like Matt) and outside of the first generation (like Alice), that the bureaucracy impedes logistic creativity and emboldened steps to defending global human rights. Therefore, the receiving or "listening" discourse may create a more inviting image, but the first-generation network sacrifices the ability to actively pursue human rights abuses. The second-generation network often experience the ability to "go with a more inductive approach" (Lina) and do what seems most effective or necessary. Therefore, those within the second-generation network utilize and access a variety of tactics, a flexible understanding of goals, and interpersonal resonance with the "target group" of advocacy.

Racial Chasms and Connections in Transnational Advocacy

Nearly all of the interviewees (7 of 9) mentioned whiteness in our conversations. Transnational human rights workers, of either generation, often recognize whiteness in a context

of access and agency. Privilege (typically) boosted their ability to learn a specific skill set, attend and graduate college, or move to the United States. This privilege, however, is not noted apologetically, but instead as a motivational factor or as a contributor to increased competency.

> I do find it conflicting that I'm this white guy working in this organization trying to achieve LGBT rights around the world, but I feel like I find peace in that because I feel like I'm more politically aware than most people and can identify these issues whereas some people would be like what I don't find any problem with this like it's fine.
>
> **Matt**

> You know but there's still that internalized projection on to white people like we're the ones that get things done, and sometimes it's true. But, um, if it is true then I need to make sure I can use it to get things done in a positive way.
>
> **Judy**

> …The group that I will be involved with over there (in Uganda) for HIV work, well it's funny because they're an MSM organization, but for practical reasons, it actually makes sense that *someone like me*[25] will be doing that kind of work because, well I just feel like that the hard skills that I have, they'll need because right now they don't have anyone available to dedicate time… like this fulltime job of rolling out initiatives… that they're trying to do. I feel like in some ways that makes me more neutral, or more… or less… I don't know... maybe it's easier…like I'll be more effective … I don't know. [*emphasis mine*]
>
> **Lina**

Although whiteness studies show us that, as a part of white privilege, white people are unlikely to acknowledge their race in their conceptualization of their selves and abilities, my respondents were generally straightforward about their perspectives on how their identities come into play. Matt experiences dissonance working with an all white organization on "Global

[25] I continued with asking Lina what she meant by someone like her and she replied that she is neither an African nor a man who has sex with men (MSM).

South," or black and brown people's issues, but nevertheless feels that his political awareness renders him qualified.

Whiteness, however, does not increase your access to interpersonal connections. Alice and David, in particular, envision themselves as inherently connected to the "voices" on the ground. As opposed to serving as a bridge, disconnected from both the bottom and top levels, second-generation activists often imagine themselves as embedded within the struggle.

David works with an African American faith based organization that reconciles sexuality and Christianity. Joe's organization collaborated with David's PRO with the understanding that "if you can find other unlikely allies, those whose voices will resonate with the advocacy target… sometimes their voices can be more powerful than the US government or another sort of agent that we are working through or with." The demographics represented within Joe's organization, both as largely white and secular, reifies a divide that impedes the resonance of his message.

Joe understands his work as existing on a distinctly separate level from the advocacy target. On another hand, David internalized this "voice," and understood his own as a part of it, not as a tool to use to amplify it. He says to me, "what would really happen if *our* prophetic voices, if *our* truth was ever allowed to be put on center stage?"

David's ideological connection to Africa complicates the modes of governing within the transnational human rights arena; therefore, Joe considered working with him "niche" work: a rare project of working with "unlikely allies." Transnational human rights organizations operate as a disconnected apparatus from the local scenes. The first generation not only premeditates the "Global North" and "Global South," or cross-world division, but also perpetuates it. Therefore, working with "unlikely allies," the allies who likely have the closest connection to the issues and

sites that the transnational organizations work with, is nearly unheard of in the bureaucracy. For this reason, Joe considered his organization's partnership with a religious organization to be very special "niche" work that sets them apart from other organizations in the regime.

Alice, although not a person of color, connects her identity as an African woman to the various struggles within African countries. This connection integrates her identity and struggle with those for whom she works to advocate. She considers African issues "dear to [her] heart." Therefore, unlike the first-generation workers, who often referred to transnational work as an "opportunity" to travel, advance their careers, or use their privilege to help those who have little, she does this work because the issues reflect her own.

> I immigrated to the US and I was always charged with a little bit of guilt, leaving South Africa when I did (during Apartheid). I've always had a strong sense of wanting to see justice and feeling very useless.
>
> It's a labor of love. There's no pay for it and of course it takes many hours of my time. I've never found a way to make it worth my while on a financial level, so getting the validation and seeing that it does help other people, I really appreciate…
>
> I've often thought *I need to become an NGO, I need to be salaried,* but then I stop dead in my tracks and I think *I don't want to become a fundraiser*.
>
> **Alice**

This connection also motivates David. David understands whiteness as a potential hindrance to access within this work:

> They don't like the idea that I perceive, embrace, and push that there is a particular connection that African Americans have to Africa that is different than other Americans. They don't like that because it gives me a certain level of access that they get shut out from. White people aren't used to being shut out of anything. That's problematic for them.
>
> **David**

Judy, who works with David, believed that her race afforded her certain opportunities.

> As my black friends remind me, "you need to use your white power for the moment" …with consciousness. You know? But there's still that internalized projection on to white people like we're the ones that get things done, and sometimes it's true. But, um, if it is true then I need to make sure I can use it to get things done in a positive way.
>
> **Judy**

She believes that being white is the reason why she should be a support person, as opposed to a leader; but also, why ultimately she should remain involved. She believed that her "white perspective," formed in the context of civil rights, is "fraught with pitfalls and landmines and all kinds of possibilities of making huge errors." She actively keeps in mind that her aim is not to be "some sort of colonialist missionary" but also recognizes that "there's no hope in clashing the interface around the cultures."

Overall, although most participants understand whiteness as a privilege, they also believe that it may become a pitfall in perspective. White privilege leads to an increased access of particular skills that complement the structure of the transnational human rights regime, but may also limit resonant frames, transformative strategies, or creative tactics for transnational movements.

I want to also consider whiteness structurally. White privilege grants my respondents access to this type of work, or to the qualifications necessary to do this work. It provides these workers access to the status of a *transnational* worker, distinct from a "local" activist. Particularly in the first-generation network, the activists and organizations that are considered "partners" are only ever considered "regional specialists" or "local" activists. Those from Kenya, working in the East African office of Tim's organization, are only permitted to work on East African issues. The same logic applies for Matt's organization (Diana and Joe's do not have offices or branches in the "Global South").

With the global regime, your citizenship divides you into transnational advocate or local activist. We see this both in the sense of the increased opportunity structure that allows citizens of Core nations to enter this field (Smith and Wiest 2005) and in the discursive separations between "transnational" and "regional" from these interviews. Accordingly, as workers within this regime over-represented the white ethnic or racial category, we can, transitively, understand that whiteness increases your access to the "transnational" status.

The mainstream movement downplays the work and perspectives of queer-identified people of the diaspora. Take, for example, the interaction between Joe's and David's organizations. David works with an African American faith based organization that seeks to reconcile sexuality and Christianity. Although the organization largely focuses on domestic issues, the transnational work focuses on this theological reconciliation alongside economic development and self-sustenance of Black LGBTI people around the world. David has worked with Ben on several occasions, both in the United States and in Uganda. His organization has invested in land for Ugandan LGBTI people to clear, farm and live on.[26] It has worked through religious channels to empower Ugandan ministers who hope to combat anti-gay fervor as well as confronting anti-gay ministers in East Africa.

Joe's organization collaborated with David's, in result of a suggestion made by one kuchu organizer who considers himself very religious. Joe, however, regards religious organizations in the US as distinctly separate group from "leaders of human rights." In his words, this work shows the strength of his organization, which has created a "niche" out of working with those who typical, or larger human rights organizations would not work with.

[26] It feels important to note that although this investment was made, the campaign has yet to be successfully implemented.

> …Working with the faith leaders is a good example of that [niche work]. The human rights community and faith leaders coming together for human rights. That's an example of where human rights and moderate faith leaders, we don't agree on a lot of things, but what we're trying to do is come to a consensus that violence and criminalization is antithetical to the human rights and to Christian values and we all need to speak out against it and promote change in Uganda and elsewhere.
>
> **Joe**

Joe states that their organization has to carve out niches in order for their work to succeed, whereas larger groups such as Amnesty International don't have to bother collaborate with organizations outside of their immediate coalitions. However, this collaboration strengthens their group and often makes their message "more resonant."

> If you can find other unlikely allies, those whose voices will resonate with the advocacy target, you know we may not agree with them on issues, but sometimes their voices can be more powerful than the US government or another sort of agent that we are working through or with.
>
> **Joe**

There is obvious virtue in Joe's organization taking the leap to make this connection. However, on the other side, it is clear that this way of regarding David's organization relies on a presupposition that it their faith-based work is marginal. David's organization is under-sourced. His perspective is sidelined by the mainstream groups, which see him as an "unlikely ally" (because how, if not for the erasure of black queer subjectivity, could David, a gay man of African descent, be an *unlikely* ally to work with LGBTI Africans).

In mainstream, US-based organizing, religion is almost always taken out of the equation and secular work is privileged. This is because powerful white queers are likely atheists. However, black queers are likely religious. Not understanding the racial difference leads to the

marginalization (considering them unlikely, or something to engage with sparingly; a way to carve out their "niche").

Joe alludes to a fear of forming even temporary alliances with these "other" populations: "there's always a fear that you're dancing with the devil or engaging with people that you have serious disagreements with on other issues. I guess there's some controversy and risk involved." And although I know that he is including other types of groups, since his organization also focuses on human rights abuses against refugees, Muslim detainees, and others, I can't help but notice that this "dancing with the devil" explanation is coming up in the isolated context of our conversation on LGBTI rights in Africa. It occurs to me that non-LGBTI Africans and LGBTI African Americans are similarly othered by mainstream organizing. LGBTI Africans are connected to the organizing, but only as "advocacy targets." In this conversation, the "we" that Joe uses is nearly always mainstream, human rights organizers. "Them" describes "advocacy targets," or Ugandan organizers, African American LGBT Christian leaders, anti-gay Christian leaders in Uganda, etc.

Perhaps this is why, through David's eyes, we can see the mainstream bureaucracy as reproducing a hegemonic image of power, and therefore limiting the reach that human rights defenders should have. David ultimately believes that the question that human rights workers should have while working in Africa is "how can we empower un-empowered black men so that they need not scapegoat women and sexual minorities." This view highlights how the mainstream, which relies on disconnected leadership, stops the transnational LGBTI rights work from generating empowering and culturally relevant questions.

Joe and "human rights leaders" work as a disconnected apparatus from the "advocacy target," as I discussed with the linear (and hierarchical) logic upon which the voices discourse relies. He believes *their* voices can be amplified by giving them time with powerful officials and organizations. David rejects this power structure and internalizes the voice. He understands his own as a part of it. Notice how the quote (previously delivered on the use of "our") ends:

> What would really happen if our prophetic voices, if our truth was ever allowed to be put on center stage? …They don't like the idea that I perceive, embrace, and push that there is a particular connection that African Americans have to Africa that is different than other Americans. They don't like that because it gives me a certain level of access that they get shut out from. White people aren't used to being shut out of anything. That's problematic for them.
>
> **David**

The idea of "us" and "them" is an interesting one here. The "they" that David refers to are people within the transnational regime. David doesn't *other* the people he works with; he *is* the people he works with. Joe's organization does. Even Matt's organization, which is all LGBTI but also nearly all white, does.

> I think I'm lucky in our organization because we make it so clear that we're not saviors, we're not there to impart our expertise to help these poor people. We're there to help lift their voices and we understand that everyone can advocate for themselves, they just need a venue to do that.
>
> **Matt**

Mainstream transnational human and LGBT rights organizations operate like this, a disconnected apparatus from the local target of advocacy. Race is an unavoidable dynamic leading to this divide, as many who identify with the African Diaspora imagine the needs of "us" and "we" inclusive of those within other nations; and yet, those of the LGBT Diaspora exclusively imagine "them" in the context of this work.

Conclusion

The "transnational" is imagined as a space created, occupied, and operated by white, Western advocates. Transnational advocates target "local" organizers in order to bolster their efforts, however, fall into several traps. One of which, I hope to have shown, is inherent in this transnational-local divide itself. As these organizations often only target "the Global South," they perpetuate the very same savior complex that Matt decries; they rely on a racial, economic, and national disconnection that assumes that they have expertise and knowledge to impart. It also solidifies the disconnection by not actually redistributing the transnational resources: the salaries, official association, and majority of funds actually are recycled to the Western/first world/global north employee and organization. However, as there is clearly an economic benefit to allying with these mainstream organizations, there is continued appeal to this type of transnational cooperation. The previous chapters have shown how the symbolic association between kuchus and these powerful Western institutions has led to challenging dynamics and setbacks in organizing. The following chapter, on the other hand, will demonstrate how homonationalism constructed this space and reconstitutes it in the transnational efforts. It will also explain how local integration into or support from this structure radically transforms the reality of organizing in Kampala.

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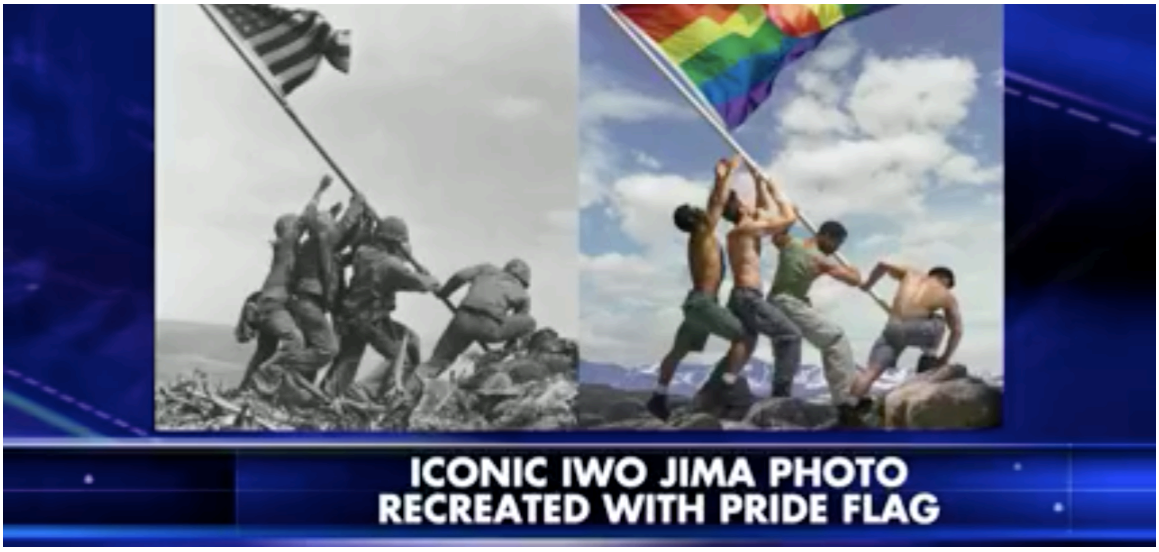
CHAPTER 6

THE ECONOMIES OF QUEER INCLUSION: HOMONATIONALISM, TRANSNATIONAL LGBTI ADVOCACY AND SEXUAL JUSTICE ORGANIZING IN UGANDA

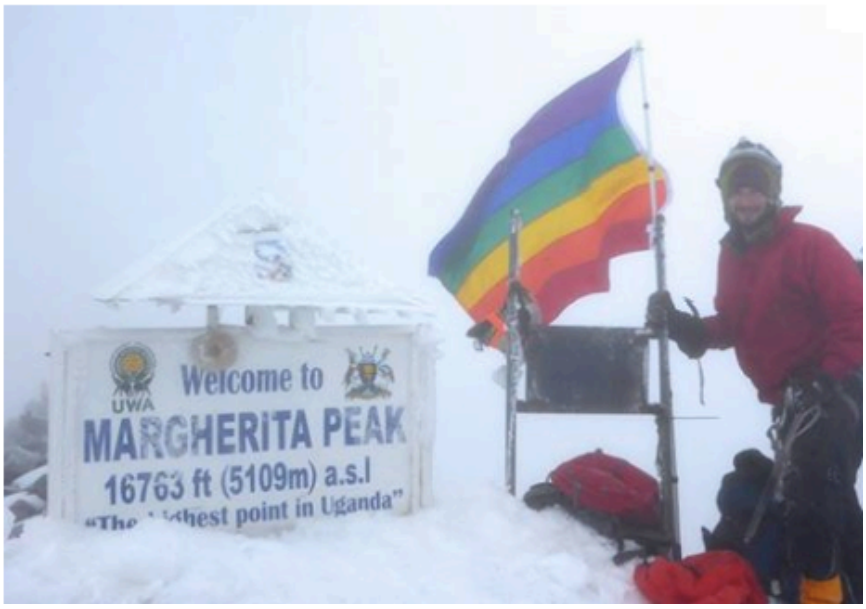
In July 2015, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that same-sex couples would be able to legally marry in all states. In the wake of that ruling and the waves of excitement by lesbian, gay and bisexuals throughout the world, an image, recreating the "iconic Iwo Jima photograph" began to circulate the Internet. In response, Fox News immediately hosted a segment heatedly discussing its creation as problematic.



For Fox News, this was a desecration of an important moment and symbol of American righteousness. For many advocates for social justice in the US, including the anti-war and anti-nuke activists of the Civil Rights Movement, this image symbolizes war and the dominance of American imperialism: taken within the same month that over 25,000 American and Japanese troops died; taken, shortly before the United States used atomic bombs to murder roughly 200,000 Japanese civilians. The radiation from those bombs still causes birth defects and cancers today.

The reproduction of this image with four, masculine, gender binary-conforming men with a rainbow flag, after the ruling of same-sex marriage, leaves a bitter taste in my mouth for a very different reason than the patriotic, Republican broadcasters. For one reason, this photograph accompanies the re-realization that the mainstream gay rights movement has produced a white,

gay corpus that has no regard for the intersections through which American activists before have organized, including the transgender and gender non-conforming (GNC) people of color who began the Stonewall riot that sparked the gay rights movement. It also, interestingly, reminded me of a very real event that I had noted the year before:



Neal Gottlieb, an organic ice cream shop owner in Marin County, one of the richest counties in the United States, traveled to Uganda to mount a flag in Margherita peak. He declared to President Museveni, in a note, "Your country's highest point is no longer its soil, its snow or a summit marker, but rather a gay pride flag waving brilliantly…" Later, in the same letter, he states the following:

> In a country that is dependent on the United States to fund the majority of its HIV/AIDS care, where less than 5% of those with cancer have access to treatment and where those with access to electricity are still a small minority of the populace, does it make any sense to devote precious and limited resources to imprison those who should be free?

Gottlieb's exposition interweaves important signifiers of homonationalism, providing a perfect entry point into this analysis. First, those most privileged within a nation perpetuate

homonationalism, as their capital provides access to not only travel when and where desired, as middle and upper class Americans, but to also unapologetically and apathetically remind others of their relative poverty and reinforce dependency as the more dominant nation sees fit. Second, these nationals uphold American exceptionalism in "gay rights" claims, as the United States only overturned its own federal sodomy legislation in 2003. In order to do this, there has to be a thorough dehistoricization of both American and world history.

Gottlieb's entire demonstration rested on the premise that Uganda should not attempt to imprison "those who should be free" – not realizing that the life imprisonment penalty that he protests against was enacted in 1990, twenty-four years before the Anti-Homosexuality Act (as explained in Chapter 3). The extension of anti-sodomy legislation to life imprisonment went, without much outcry by Americans at that point, because the nascent homonationalist political paradigm had not yet been adopted. Third, homonationalism upkeeps righteous, American imperialism, thereby entitling a man to stake a flag, literally occupying Ugandan land. His statement, that his arrival marks the day that Uganda cannot even claim that anything Ugandan was the height of the nation, symbolically marks the neocolonial repertoire upon which homonationalism builds. He adds in a simple statement, that "if you don't like said flag on your highest peak, I urge you to climb up and take it down," knowing that his privileges (as a white American, rich, able-bodied man) would provide impunity, even as he flies halfway across the world to declare gay identities as belonging in a land that he'd likely never visit otherwise.

This chapter will elucidate how homonationalism and transnational advocacy alter local dynamics of sexual justice organizing. I argue that a new, local economy is created when Ugandan organizers integrate themselves into the US-based transnational advocacy structure. This economy is a microstructure created by four, national and international level steps: First,

Core states create a global, gay superstructure that demarcates "progressive" societies from "primitive" societies. Second, the US-based transnational advocacy structure embeds itself in the superstructure, as they enact "watchdog" methods, working with primarily black and brown nations of "the Global South," rather than the vast criminalization and human rights abuses created by and enacted upon their own nations. Then local activists, in various peripheral nations, apply to fit within the transnational structure in order to gain funding.

I will use the case of Ugandan LGBT (henceforth *kuchu* or *queer*) rights organizing. My analysis relies upon several qualitative methodologies: interviews with transnational human rights workers and Ugandan activists across 15 organizations, and an engaged ethnography between 2012-2014 in Kampala, Uganda and New York City. This, coupled with Chapter 5, demonstrates how "Western" homonationalism forces a narrow definition of what it means to be LGBT through transnational advocacy with impoverished nations. Then, importantly, how adherence to that taxonomy becomes a currency for which "help" may be exchanged. The nascent movement deforms as kuchus – queer Ugandans – fight for the attention of US funders and organize according to these international standards.

Homonationalism and the Regulatory Function of Sexualities

Traditional nationalism relies on heterosexual coupling, as it has been imagined as the only relationship configuration capable of reproducing the nation. This idea of reproduction is first understood in the biological sense of populating the nation through family units. It is also

understood in a conceptual or ideological sense, of reproducing nationalism – the identity of the nation. That is, when a heterosexual couple creates children, they teach the children how to serve the state. This service is meant to contribute to the economic constitution of the state via formal employment; or service in the military; or, if they are women, this service contributes to the private, domestic sphere by raising law-abiding children who intend on serving the state once they are of age.

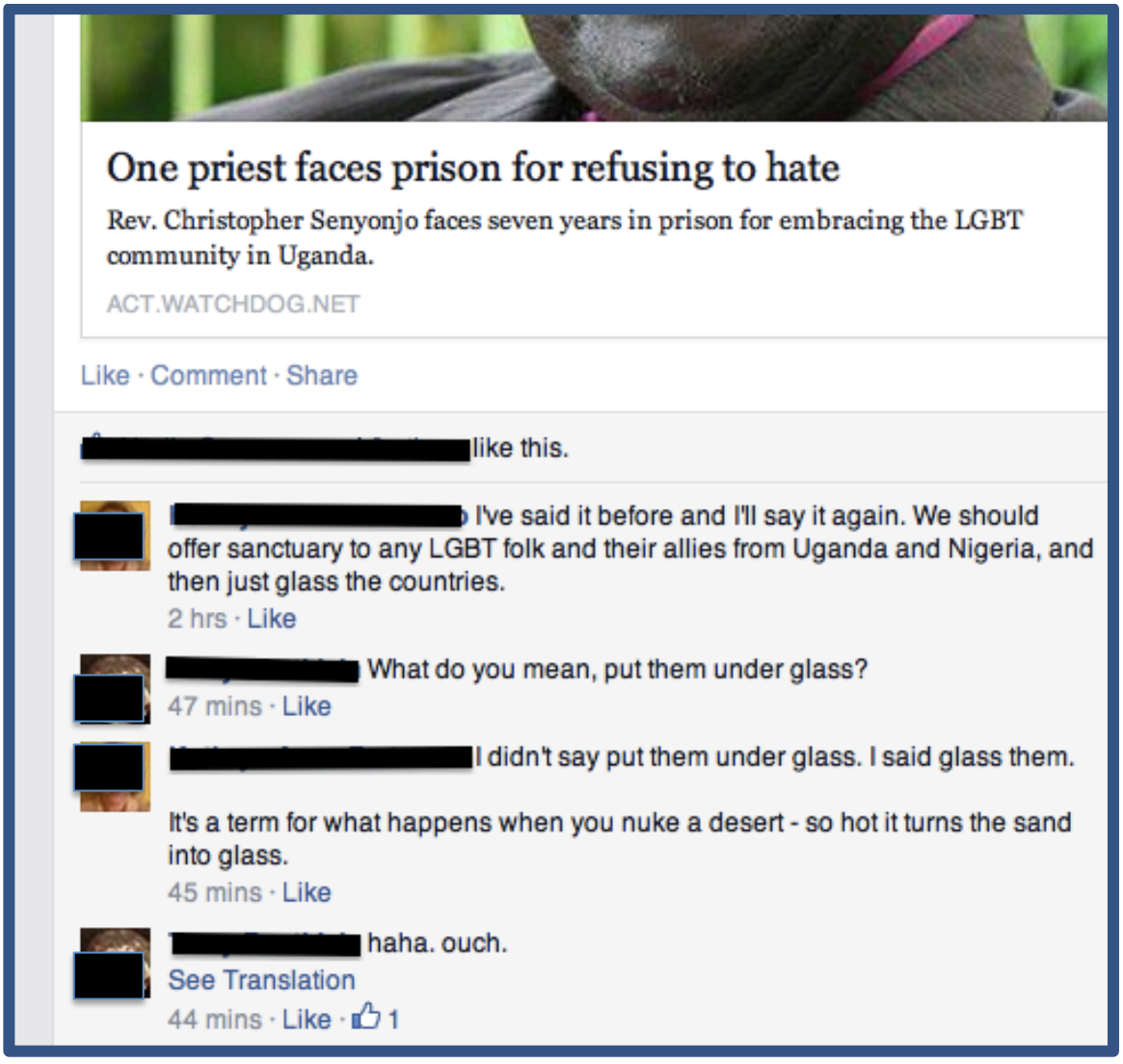
Homonationalism, as developed by Jasbir Puar (2007), describes the process of normativizing homosexuality in a way that advances a nationalist agenda. This homosexuality, similar to the straight state, reproduces the established patterns of citizen service, production and consumption. When granted various civil rights that centralize work ("discrimination") and taxpaying ("marriage") to homosexual nationals, the citizen is able to complement the straight state, rather than contradict it (Puar 2007). Therefore, as the perception of this population grows as an international market (Chasin 2000; Oliveira 2013) and as a diaspora or imagined global community (Puar 1998; White 2013), it increasingly becomes a state interest to integrate the population into state norms. This interest serves to boost the credibility of the state on both national and international scales, as citizens hold both their own and other nations accountable for gay rights. Therefore, by offering minimal rights and protections to homonormative citizens, the state stabilizes more of its citizenry and increases its leverage over weaker states. In its mainstream model, the gay rights movement fuels homonationalism.

Expanding the theories put forth by sexual citizenry scholars, Puar posits that homonationalism legitimizes dominant states with minimal risk to the state. The minimal risk arises from what Ana Cristina Santos (2013) refers to as the politics of containment. The state

expands its boundaries "in order to accommodate and contain new subjects willing to be read as 'normal'." In creating new boundaries of what may be considered respectable, the state "destabilizes power relations within previous oppressed groups" (Santos 2013). That is to say, by integrating a contingent of those formally othered by the standards of normative sexuality, the state contains – or lessens the reverberation of anti-state backlash from such groups. A powerful population of citizens (largely white, upper and middle class homosexuals) continues to expend resources on reconstituting the state, rather than revolting against it. The new "normal" pledge their allegiance to the state, defend its good intentions, and hold others accountable to match the standards. Meanwhile, they exclude those who are not satisfied with the new boundaries.

The United States and other Core countries capitalize on this form of nationalism by strategically deploying the "gay rights" discourse to retain and leverage power over Peripheral nations. Puar juxtaposes the liberal events of gay rights victories in the early 2000s (i.e. the federal overturn of sodomy legislation in 2003) with what she refers to as simultaneous conservative imperial conquests (i.e. the 2003 US invasion of Iraq). Extending Puar's analysis, Nichols (2012) theorizes that "queerness" as a dispositif has a dominant, strategic imperial function to separate and hierarchize national moralities (and therefore nationalities). Sircar and Jain (2012) add that homonationalism divides "Western progress and Eastern primitivity, where constitutional/legal protection of LGBTI rights serves as the marker of how evolved a postcolonial democracy is" (pp 5). This hierarchizing permits the neoimperial powers to appear as beacons of human rights, which then retains (or amplifies) their political leverage. They gain international support even in times of intensified imperial efforts.

In this vein, consider the following interaction. I attended a protest in New York City, in 2014, against the Anti-Homosexuality Act. The protest has a relatively small (~30 people), mixed (sexuality, nationality, and race) crowd. A white, gay man approached me, interested in my sign, which read "Uganda: Why Continue What Colonizers Began?". He later befriends me on Facebook that night, and months later I see the following interaction occur between him and his white, female friend, on his page:



This is how homonationalism delineates the "civilized" from the "savage." Adherence to or belief in the gay right of happiness and personal and communal affirmation demarcates those

who deserve life from those who deserve death. The invocation of death by nuclear weaponry here chillingly ties into the Iwo Jima replication.

This demarcation affects community relations, both between straight and kuchu Ugandans and between kuchu activists groups, as they compete for the attention of the empowered agents of "the West." To continue, figuratively, with the situation that the woman advocates for here on Facebook, if a select few will be saved from nuclear devastation it becomes increasingly important to heighten one's (or one group's) visibility, choose alliances strategically, and distinguish oneself as worthy. These, I argue, are exactly what occur in Uganda in the wake of homonationalism – to the detriment of the sexual justice movement.

Homonationalism, as a political paradigm, allows nations and US nationals to demarcate "progressive" from "backwards/uncivilized" nations on the basis of "gay rights" legislation. As attention to Uganda's gay rights increases, I find an economy emerges. Activists begin to appeal to the US for funding, a process that changes the strategies of the movement, the alliances that are built, and the communal relations. This talk will focus specifically on the alliance building. I argue that, as homonationalism strengthens in the US, the movement for sexual justice weakens in Uganda: lawmakers push for harsher laws; Ugandan nationals disown kuchus; and kuchus vie for financial and administrative connections, as opposed to unified political coalitions.

The Politics of Trickle-Down Philanthropy

"What is the goal of your organization," I begin my interview with Oliver, a self-identified queer man, in the seat opposite of his desk. The office for his organization is clearly converted from what was once a house, the four former bedrooms now serving as individual offices for the employed activists. This meeting already feels remarkably different from the one conducted with Jessie, who advocates for "female-bodied" kuchu Ugandans (lesbians, bisexual women, and transmen). I'm comfortable in the cushioned seat, a comfort that starkly contrasts the feeling I had while meeting with Jessie in a dusty alley, sitting on a concrete block. A comfort that is increasingly uncomfortable.

"Our organization focuses on litigation, advocacy, and documentation of hate violence," Oliver recites. Although we had talked in depth in a more casual setting about what queer organizing *should* look like, Oliver's answer is telling: he knew exactly how to phrase his work when "on the record" with me, and the recitation is not remotely similar to an earlier conversation of ours, in which he spoke about economic empowerment of his people, self-sustenance, peaceful coexistence with the larger community, and reconciliation with families.

Oliver's organization is one of the oldest for LGBTI advocacy in Kampala and, unlike most others, has had success partnering with American foundations. Although at least five kuchu organizations have existed in Uganda for at least a decade, the proposal of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill in 2009, as well as subsequent passage into an Act, allowed for substantial increase in attention from American foundations. The influx of financial support created avenues

for organizing that were not sustainable earlier. Primarily, as the attention was called to the legislation, the financial support was intended for combatting legislative violence.

The organization, however, was originally created for a more comprehensive betterment of kuchu lives. However, the formalized transnational advocacy networks seek to defend human rights by 1) identifying global abuses; 2) enabling small, "local" organizations to recognize and advocate on behalf of these issues; and 3) reporting the state of global affairs to either more powerful governments, or to international bodies such as the UN. The transnational structure features "NGO-centered, single-issue policy networks, that run centrally organized campaigns, based on brokered coalitions, aimed mainly at extracting policy reforms from institutional targets" (see Bennett 2005 on Keck and Sikkink 1998). Therefore, in order to apply to or potentially access funding, first an organization must agree to shift their strategies, at least in part, to litigation, documentation and legal work.

Although many organizations do attempt this in hope for inclusion, not all organizations agree to change. The requirement to reimagine the goals of the organization to be competitive for INGO funding has led to divergent responses. For example, John and Isaac, two bisexual men who created an organization fifteen years ago, refuse to focus their efforts on seeking US-based funding. Their organization is structured to "improve the lives of and increase the visibility of bisexuals in Uganda" through community-based initiatives. Their anxieties about US funding were manifold, but one in particular, which I consider a movement deformation, was that funding is predicated on a shift from the original community-based approach to a legal approach that is newly considered "necessary." This approach, they believe, relies on a separatist visibility

and a different type of identity, as the new allies of funded organizations have little to no knowledge of or care for Ugandan issues.

John and Isaac powerfully communicated a desire for self-sufficiency from the new structures. The organization they build with is another of the longest standing in Kampala, but unlike Oliver's, it has never been funded by a non-African organization. Although it has admittedly gone through several transformations, the goal of their work is, and has always been, to provide services for Ugandans. They have had several business startup ideas: a carwash, mobile advertising (men atop trucks who dance, common in some Caribbean and African countries), the internet café. They said that they would prefer to use foundational support "as Westerners use loans and credit," but that this system is largely unavailable to them.

As we ride from Nakasero to Muyenga, after the second unsuccessful attempt for me to meet with a particular trans activist, John and Isaac share their perspectives of retaining religious faith, family, and business while also advocating for the LGBT community. Both John and Isaac are married, have several children, and identify as bisexual. The internet café that they co-run provides safe, un-perturbed access to gay and bi men. The idea of beginning an internet café occurred to them several years before we met, and it opened in 2010. John's internet activity had been discovered, as he was looking at gay-related informational websites in the internet café they had used at the time. The manager, who cleaned the browser history and cookies after each use or day had tracked the surfing to them, kicked them out, at which point they were harassed and banned. John bribed the manager in order to escape assault.

The mission that guides the internet café is to provide internet to the entire community, to respect the privacy of the users. John and Isaac place this provision as one that serves the

strategy of community-based activism: "when kuchus provide for the larger community, the larger community will accept kuchus," John says while driving. "That is the problem with this new generation, they want to be celebrities. They want to get American money and travel and be known, but they give nothing to Africans, not even us kuchus" Isaac adds.

John and Isaac critique Oliver's organization for the intangibility of its success. As Oliver's organization fights (and often wins) against legislative initiatives and the perceived legal impunity of homophobic officials, Oliver's organization and affiliated leaders increase in status. The benefits accumulate, as does the incentive to continue very narrowly-focused work. Those who successfully appeal to transnational networks become the most privileged. The most privileged are then most empowered to configure the movement, however they do so along the guidelines set by the transnational structure. This begs the question, who has the most say in the movement goals and activities?

For this reason, kuchu groups suffered severe factionalization in the height of the funding flow from the United States (between 2009-2014). Groups have formed to account for the diversity of issues within queer communities: trans* advocacy, trans* advocacy for HIV+ people, queer youth organizations, "WSW" organizations (that include transmen), an organization for bisexual men (which was created because bi-men felt that their needs were ignored and invalidated by gay men's and larger LGBTI organizations), sex workers only organization, etc. In all, Oliver estimates around 30 kuchu organizations existed as of 2014, however, there is no way to account for the amount of activity from the majority of these organizations. Of the five active groups that I met with, four said that they receive no material or economic contributions from the "umbrella organizations" that Western donors support.

The Rise of Umbrella Organizations and the Career Queer

The transnational advocacy between participating INGOs (especially those based in the US and Western Europe) and Uganda's kuchu groups has created what could be understood as a trickle-down philanthropic structure. There is one umbrella organization for "LGBTI non-governmental community based networks" in Uganda. Smaller or newer organizations agree to be recognized as a part of this umbrella in order to be validated as official organizations (not briefcase) by INGOs and international funders.

In the alley with Jessie, Jessie's friend Ilana, and the occasional construction worker passing by, I asked what benefits they've found to signing on as members of the umbrella. He responded immediately, but without upset *"none."* Then he paused and added "but when we apply for money, it is the only way they [funders] will believe that we are real."

Many foundation employees, but certainly not all, will admit that they have never been to Uganda. As the INGOs tend to work in partnership with several countries, they rely on funded organizations and affiliates and "trusted" kuchus to tell them who is and who is not legitimate, rather than witness the work firsthand or build relationships with new organizations. The problem with this, however, is that it stifles the ability of new organizations or individuals outside of the pre-arranged networks to organize. In Jessie's account, much of the ability to build a working relationship with those established organizations relies on mutual personal interests, skills, and ways of navigating shared identities.

The cumulative advantage – the increased likelihood that an organization that receives funding once will receive funding again – creates a financial privilege among kuchu organizations and organizers. This financial privilege most notably shifts the strategies of the recognizable organizations from community-based strategies to those determined by and beneficial to the umbrella organization, their funders, and the individual *career queer.* I refer to those who have created successful careers from queer activism by this term, a bit tongue-in-cheek, after one conversation with John and Isaac. Isaac says the new era of the movement relies on celebrities who believe "being famous is better than being courageous." He summarizes the post AHA, and years immediately preceding its proposal, as an "elite enterprise" in which "mercenaries" aggressively ask for money to do work that ultimately separates them economically from the average Ugandan.

Career queers are a symptom of the non-profit industrial complex (NPIC). Andrea Smith (2001) argues that the NPIC redirects activist energies into career-based modes of organizing instead of mass-based organizing capable of actually transforming society. The NPIC encourages social movements to model themselves after capitalist structures, effectively halting any major critique of those structures. In this case, career queers are more likely to approach activism as a form of business; they are less likely to situate the activism in the perspective of a community, even if they argue that their activism is in and of itself *for* the community.

For example, highly visible career queers seek international media attention to gain the support of Western liberal allies in order to gain support for their organizations. This, however, is highly critiqued by grassroots organizers as they consider it detrimental to the safety of other Ugandan kuchus. Those, like Oliver, who receive funding and attention from US-based

organizations can literally afford visibility. Although they are "outed" on international media, they are also afforded the financial resources for security. That is, they can place gates and fences around their homes, buy personal cars and hire drivers to shelter them while traveling. In addition to these financial resources, they also are afforded social resources that provide accountability. If they disappear over night, there are rich and powerful allies to make noise, or if there is a threat against their lives, they have friends in the Netherlands, the US, England, etc. who can shelter them until the threat dies down. They seek the status increase for the hope of safety in the reality of omnipresent danger.

The decisions about visibility are therefore no longer a communal consideration, they are individualized; the individuals in charge are often the least representative of the economic realities of the community. Importantly, although the decisions are individualized, the effects are still very much communal: when a prominent kuchu speaks on a network, they speak on behalf of all kuchus – whether intentionally or not. When they come home, everyone associated with them is now assumed to be kuchu. As it is a relatively small community, this clearly compromises the safety of anyone in the network: people who attend parties or join in the shared social activities. It is in this way that the career queer, John and Isaac would argue, is as dangerous to kuchu progress as the anti-gay movement itself.

This sentiment echoes Jessie's early complaint. Of all the wealth that they suppose the career queer earns, the community sees none: little to no emergency relief, no opportunities for employment, no physical space provided for cultural or educational events. In my mind I question, as they speak, if even the career queer has anything to give them. Although they achieve fame: they are nominated for large awards; they make tv appearances; they meet

"important" people, including presidents and prominent UN officials, I still wonder do their efforts pay off in terms of money and resources proportionate to the need in Kampala?

I'm left without doubting that whether or not the resources gained are enough, the image that this form of advocacy propagates is harming the intra-LGBT community. As unfunded organizations lose trust in the umbrella (and the career queer), cooperation between domestic organizations suffers. Transnational advocacy is once again seen as supportive of an alliance of the privileged (career queers and whites) and not as supportive of kuchu or African communities.

Community Relations: Who is worthy of extraction?

The AHA put Uganda on the map for many Americans previously disinterested in the country. Initially proposing the death penalty for what was called "aggravated homosexuality," the new images of Ugandans as possibly gay made them relatable (worth saving, paying attention to, or supporting) in ways that they hadn't previously been for liberal US NGOs and citizens. For the first time, people saw empowering images of Ugandans who were trying to make a difference in their community in ways that gay Americans understood: they had a hard time in Christian churches, they fought unjust legislation, etc. Soon after the AHB, appeals to fundraising were made to transnational funders, INGOs and other formalized avenues, and also showed up on informal pages such as Gofundme.

Homonationalism in transnational advocacy determines who is worthy of the "civilized" demarcation. As LGBT rights becomes the most pressing human rights in the eyes of the West, local queers have to make themselves visible to the international queer regime. They do this by integrating themselves into it; establishing organizational legitimacy and securing viable funding from the new opportunity structure led by the US. The attention and funding have adverse effects on the process of building alliances and recognizing opportunities for progress. It also concretizes LGBT identities in ways that are new and not necessarily applicable to East African contexts. Consider the following interaction:

In June 2013, I was in Kampala and hoping to meet with kuchus to get to know activists, artists: like-minded people with whom I could make community. After I had posted on the Facebook page of a local kuchu group, Kai private messaged me. They (the pronoun that I will continue to use for Kai) asked me if I want to meet them, telling me that they build with an organization serving HIV positive sex workers. They suggested that I come to the neighborhood they live in, a well-known slum in Kampala, and offered that I take photographs of them in the slum with their lover. This offer struck me as odd, as it was made casually and without reason that I could see. We instead agreed to meet at Makerere University.

Just before that time, a lesbian woman in the United States had ushered me to connect me with two boys – Peter and Simon - who had recently been discovered together in a sexual situation, by their parents. They were threatened, assaulted and kicked out. They were 17: too old to be orphans, too young to have any prospect of taking care of themselves. The woman in the US, who does her own independent advocacy with gay, lesbian and trans Ugandans, had asked me to meet them to make sure that they were "the real deal" – as in,*

actually gay. As she had never been to Uganda herself, but works very hard to help kuchus secure asylum, she often had people "on the ground" in Uganda verify that those who had requested her help weren't simply pretending.

I wasn't sure how I would do this, as I would not police their intimacy, gender expression, or any other stereotypical indicator of their relationship/identities. However, I agreed to meet them.

On that first meeting, we shared a meal and conversation and I let them use my computer to Skype with her. I asked them if they had sought help with organizations in Uganda, to which they replied yes, but to no avail. I offered that we meet a couple of groups together on a different day, with hopes that maybe it would be more effective if they had a more privileged (older, educated) someone to accompany them. We met with one organization, which gave them some advice about how to begin the process of seeking asylum but swore they had nothing more than the information to offer. They ushered the boys to try one of the bigger kuchu organizations, but also warned us of the small chance of actually receiving material help. After this meeting, we met with Kai at a café at the university.

Kai brought along with them a friend and two European magazines in which photos of them had been published from a gay pride parade. Given the not quite friendly – but formal posture of the interaction, I wondered what expectations Kai had of me and what associations they had with my presence. I also wondered if it were so standard to "prove" or provide evidence for ones gayness in this material way.

Kai began to speak proudly about the organization that they had founded. In the small, empty cafeteria setting, Kai's voice strengthened. They waved around the first magazine with at least six pairs of eyes looking back and forth between Kai and the paper. "This was me last year at the gay pride parade" they begin, "you can flip through it if you'd like, the Europeans interviewed me and loved me. They put my picture here." Two pairs of eyes, those of my young companions, flooded with fear. Several others belonged to the employees of the university's café, whose initial incredulous looks (certainly a response to Kai's queer gender expression) quickly shifted into hostility. The round dining room seemingly provided acoustics for my next words "no, Kai, we don't need to see this here." Simon nervously flipped through a couple more pages before handing it back to Kai.

After an awkward moment of silence, Kai asked me if I had a questionnaire for them. I'm partially stupefied and Kai looks at me with an obvious annoyance growing. I had actually just posted about my interest in meeting up with people, getting to know SGL and GNC people in the city, so I'm wholly caught off guard by both the change in Kai's tone and voice, and then also by the expectation in and of itself. They continue, "this is usually easier if you have a questionnaire or if you've already come up with what you want to ask."

"I don't have anything pointed to ask you, Kai, this isn't an interview. I just wanted to meet and chat…"

Cutting me off and switching to Luganda to speak over me at the table, Kai asks their friend "why is she wasting our time? Doesn't she have money to give us?"

I continue… "I was also hoping you knew an org or two that could help Simon and Peter."

Kai looked at the boys and had a short exchange with them, in Luganda… Later, the boys tell me that Kai and companion did not offer any information, but instead needed to know for sure that they were gay. To my increasingly disappointed face, Peter tells me "they asked if we were together, if we had sex, if we wanted to have sex with them." He continues, "ma'am, they know they have HIV and they still want us to prove that we are gay, even if it means we will have it too."

Mainstream organizing is so focused on helping Ugandans if and only if they are gay or lesbian that this too often becomes the centerpiece of conversation. Their ability to receive help revolves around their willingness to self-identify with these few words and present a sex/gender-discontinuity internationally recognized as queer, homosexual or transgender. In exchange, people go through a number of safeguards to *ensure* that the people they are helping are LGBT, so much so that they often do not help others in need. Attention is diverted away from the national (and therein, queer) experience of extreme poverty and joblessness and is narrowed in on the ability to adopt and prove an identity created in the West, in ways that the West recognizes, such as Kai draped in a dress-sized rainbow flag, as shown in the magazine.

The transnational connection centers on financial alliances. The prospect of funding turned out to be the only reason Kai actively messaged me and (in hindsight) preempted that I would want to verify their poverty by visiting their home and photographing them in the slum. However, it is perhaps only in this transnational context (connecting with the United States, or

Western nations) that this concoction of poverty, gender, and sexuality are so actively policed in order for someone to "deserve" support. In an age when asylum is granted for persecution based on sex or gender, and securing asylum under such terms is precarious at best, it strikes me that it's not coincidental that it is a similar process to seeking asylum: which is explored by scholars such as Cantú, Naples and Vidal-Ortiz (2009), Luibheid (2002), and Somerville (2005).

The economy is a set of relations that foster competition, questions of worthiness. It is modeled after asylum and perpetuated by transnational human rights advocacy, as evidenced by Kai, who *assumes and pursues a very* particular relationship with a person from the United States who demonstrates interest in Ugandans. It's also not coincidental that when I was back in Kampala the following year, I heard that Kai had earned enough money "for their organization" for them to move to South Africa.

Briefcase Organizations

The economy created by this privileged, transnational connection also attracts the attention of opportunists. Oliver refers to them as "briefcase organizations": organizations created specifically to receive funding. These organizations are typically created by straight men that pose as LGBT, under the impression that kuchus get special attention by funders. In Kampala, it is widely believed that "whites give money to people who say that they are gay." As a consequence, straight men looking for a productive enterprise sometimes learn the language of respectable, recognizable homosexuality, and the language of the human rights mainstream. They then use this language to appeal to LGBT foundations and the smaller-scale fundraisers

that have mushroomed since the AHA and syphon money from them. Many do not actually exist as organizations and create fake membership registries.

I meet with at least one such organization, in Bwaise, a large "slum" of Kampala. The organizers ran a slum tour as a cover business for the gay group they refer to as "Treasure" Uganda. I meet them with Peter and Simon, two boys who needed advice on leaving/seeking asylum. Their organization is housed in a tiny, windowless brick building, perhaps 15ft x 20ft, with a huge rainbow flag on one wall. There are two desks, each with its own boxy computer, and nothing else in terms of technology or decoration.

One of the organizers is in the room and notifies me that the other is currently on a tour with predominantly German tour-takers. He tells us that they go through the slum and allow Germans to take pictures of the people living in poverty, of the terrible water, of the sewage that flows in canals less than a foot deep through the neighborhood. The Germans pay for each tour, but more importantly, he says, they're paying for the gay organization to continue.

This is an (academically) interesting alternative to foundational support, I think, as I listen. I cringe a bit at the thought of German embrace of poverty-voyeurism in this context, but I have no negative or positive judgment of the organizers: where there is a demand, there is a person willing to supply. This is opportunistic capitalism in Kampala and in the world more generally.

The second organizer returns about 35 minutes into the meeting. Simon and Peter have already shared their stories and their hopes to flee Uganda and seek a "better" life

in a (literally any) Western nation. The Treasure organizer receives this information and listens sympathetically. When the co-organizer returns, he poses for a few last pictures with the German tourists and tell them to "carefully" walk down one street to where their van awaits them.

The organizers then sit together and listen to Peter and Simon share their stories. I also offered my own, letting them know a few of my identities, experiences, as well as reason for being in Uganda. They offer Peter and Simon advice on getting a meeting with the American embassy, with concrete steps to securing conversation time with the official who was currently working there. They took the boys seriously in a way that I had noticed Kai did not, as well as the way that the boys had told me the major organizations also had not. When we left, they were grateful for the information although admittedly still disappointed in the lack of material help available.

When I recount the experience to Oliver, he responds with, "Treasure? You know those guys are not even kuchu. They are straight people and do this for money."

The economy of queer inclusion creates *jobs* out of queerness. As activism under the non-profit industrial complex veers more and more toward capitalist venture, adopting an LGBTQ identity in Uganda can be truly recognized as work. However, this does not actually differ from the system set in place internationally, as participants such as Joe (straight, white participant from Chapter 5) are also paid to advocate on behalf of LGBT people. The difference is that work is available for Americans who wish to work on "LGBT rights" have access to this form of employment regardless of whether or not they personally identify with the group. In the transnational model, the local activist *must* identify as LGBT. Therefore, "briefcase

organizations" are merely one unintended consequence of this form of transnational collaboration.

Conclusion

As previously shown, the making of "celebrities" or career queers is indicative of homonationalism in transnational advocacy. INGOs create celebrities out of local activists by promoting their causes, personal lives, and image to the UN, in movies and documentaries, or popular media and publications. This promotion bolsters international support for local struggles, raises awareness of movements of countries that do not receive fully representative media attention, and increases acknowledgement for the importance of the INGO's own cause as defenders of human rights (see Joe's account in Chapter 5).

The strategies of local organizing undergo major shifts as result of this international structure. The community-based model of improving lives for LGBT people, through employment, relief, political education, etc. transitions into higher-level advocacy that the community cannot immediately recognize or feel, such as litigation and documentation (Oliver's organization). The advocacy structure creates teleology of local organizational development, where the newest, least developed organizations (least recognized or funded) have a community-based or grassroots approach. In order to gain recognition and funding, the approach becomes more suitable to the advocacy level desired by transnational funding organizations (capacity building, documentation – which serve a statist, homonationalist organizational model). As the

organization gains this funding, it gains recognition, which leads to a cumulative effect of earning funding: a cyclical relationship.

That cycle creates the career queer, the celebrity, and the belief that the funding given to the organization will trickle-down to benefit the entire kuchu community. Madonna Thunder Hawk (c/o Andrea Smith 2001) observes how foundations only give money to well-established NGOs with "expertise." Thunder Hawk also warns that "these purported experts are generally not part of the communities they advocate for and hence do not contribute to building grassroots leadership, particularly in indigenous communities" (10). Thunder Hawk critiques a typical scene, in which an outsider (like myself) becomes regarded as an "expert" on the kuchu movement, although the expertise is a product of textbook and observational learning, as opposed to essential experience. Those with expertise should be embedded within the communities that they advocate for.

However, what does it mean to be part of the community in this case? Can career queers, who experience international travel, have their own apartments, security measures, personal drivers, be considered part of the kuchu community that they advocate for? Or does the experience of economic privilege belie their indigeneity? I don't have a personal answer for or opinion on this, but it occurs to me that this is the impetus leading homophobic nationals to disown queers as un-African. A similar resentment may also usher the critiques that Jonathan and Isaac delivered to me regarding celebrity kuchus.

Trickle-down philanthropy is symptomatic of what Incite! refers to as the *Non-Profit Industrial Complex (NPIC).* The NPIC describes the transition that social movements made in the 20th and 21st centuries from mass-based organizing to formalized modes of employment.

Incite! contributors argue that non-profit organizations, especially those with paid staff, risk losing their livelihoods if the underlying conditions that cause problems such as hunger are changed (2001). Therefore, it's not in the best interest of these INGOs to develop models of advocacy that lead to the self-sustenance of local organizations. Jessie, Oliver, John and Isaac all, uniformly, substantiated this argument with their experiences receiving (or not receiving) funding. All complained about their unfulfilled desire to create a movement for kuchus that ultimately led to the economic autonomy of their community. Their funding statuses (never funded or continually supported) were indicative of their decisions to or not to change the goals of their respective organizations. But altogether, they wove a narrative that demonstrated self-sufficiency as easier to achieve before kuchus began collaborating with US-based foundations.

In conclusion, the transnational advocacy structure in place complicates local organizing in several ways. US-based funding diverts attention from initiatives that most comprehensively and sustainably help the kuchu community to initiatives that ensure that the Ugandan organization is competitive for US donor funding. This largely is seen in the case of the organization Oliver works with, where the earliest strategies of the organization included engaging and educating the community and providing relief for not only victims of hate and interpersonal violence, but also for those of systemic violence (such as starvation and homelessness). The changes in the organization's strategies have shifted gradually, but Oliver notes that they are not any closer to economic empowerment or cultural change for the "everyday kuchu." In turn, the lack of assistance for the community has led to factionalization, intra-group competition, and decision-making that is not rooted in communal needs. The economy also creates competition between groups for the scarce resources provided by

transnational human rights funders and, perhaps most strikingly, requires a one-dimensional focus on what a movement needs in order to sustain itself or be successful.

Atop the strategic shifts experienced by the local movement are the insidious effects of including kuchus in the homonationalist project of US- and European-based funders. Those likely to be paraded as celebrities are those who most readily fit into narratives of the "appropriate" citizen. They fit into relatively rigid gender roles (tending toward masculinity, for cismen, ciswomen and transmen). They can be imagined as the Ugandan corollary to the proper homosexual national of the United States. The career queer aspires to "work" for the movement, for the visibility of international queerness by any means necessary, even if it means allying with the people who would affect sanctions that immediately take away health care and food provisions from your country. It is to this message that the larger Ugandan citizenry responds. The introduction of homonationalism through transnational connections creates an economy out of queerness: that economy, in turn, increases the intra-group competition, decreases the cohesion of the community, and ultimately alters the goals of local movements.

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CHAPTER 7

IMAGINING DIASPORA-CENTERED ORGANIZING: A CONCLUSION

I meet Hassan and his friends in Kabalagala one night to watch a football game. Ghana is playing Egypt to qualify for the next World Cup, and clearly we're going for the Black Stars. I'm not feeling all that well, because the 7 hour time difference is still going strong in my body after a week, and not even my favourite beer (Castle Milk Stout) can make me excited to have to walk the 5km back home after an evening out. During half time, they share a taboo round of beers – given that they are Muslim and do not normally partake in drink.

Hassan's friend Mohammad, whose obnoxious personality particularly contrasts the rest of the quiet, respectful group, asks me if I will "bring a Jamaican woman" for him next time I come: one that looks like me, "red-skinned" and "loose haired" and foreign in this part of the continent. He jokes that Jamaican women are the best – licentious like whites but with better rhythm and more respect.

Hassan eyes him suspiciously, aware of the dualism of this insult-compliment style of his flirtation. He also eyes me suspiciously, because at this point we had only been alone or around family; this is the first time that I'm hanging out with his friends. I know he wants to know how I'll handle it, but I'm also exhausted and annoyed and my fuse is too short for tipsy men and idiotic comments.

Hassan also knows that I am here to work with underground "feminist" organizations, and already suspects that that "feminist" means "homosexual." He makes a quick quip: "Sasha won't be able to bring you any Jamaican women – at least none that are into you. All of Sasha's friends are lesbians."

Mohammad, surprised at the suggestion but not surprised at Hassan's provocative character, laughs heartily and says, "Hassan, please, we all know that Jamaican women don't do that shit! They are black like us."

The omnipresence of this black+queer erasure damages individuals, communities and any movement toward a decolonial queer politic. It is something that I experience consistently, and that is only remedied by deep, honest conversation rooted in connection.

This dissertation attempts several connections: one of blackness with queerness; one of continental Africa with its Diaspora; and one of queer politics with anti-imperialist politics. I have attempted it methodologically, theoretically, and substantively. I have explored a number of questions in approach of analysis that is as robust as it is generative.

I hope to have shown the ways in which homophobic nationalism has developed and re-developed in Uganda. However, more importantly, the overarching thematic of this work is that although homophobic nationalism is an issue of violence that kuchus face, a movement that focuses only on this violence is susceptible to integration into and perpetuating world-systems violence. The transnational organizational structure prioritizes interpersonal violence ("hate violence" enacted by the imagined Ugandan majority) over systemic violence (the starvation and homelessness at the behest of imperialism).

By understanding that homophobic nationalism and homonationalism are two ends of the same project of defining and controlling sexualized and racialized populations, this work has excavated problems that have thus far been missed in literatures on African and/or queer social justice movements, as well as literatures on movements for citizenship more broadly. Importantly, how the symbols, messages, and economic power of the gay rights international bolsters and emboldens anti-gay animus. This is demonstrated as legislative, postcolonial changes against sodomy in Uganda have occurred in response to globalized, political actualizations of homosexuality. These tensions, as shown in Chapter 3, are inscribed in new

legislation. As shown in the many narratives shared throughout the dissertation, they also flow freely in common action and discourse.

The recent "Anti-Homosexuality Act" provided an opportunity for already-established local, kuchu activists to access funding previously inaccessible. It also reconfigured the goals of the movement and the very makeup of organizing body. In its current formation, transnational organizing has empowered individual or small collectives of activists disproportionately to the kuchu community. This economic opportunity has attracted opportunists, described as briefcase organizations in Chapter 6, as well as kuchus who are genuine about their identity but not necessarily about their motivations for organizing. Ultimately, however, it also creates an association of *kuchu* with Western, and therefore inimical to Ugandan national liberation and cultural autonomy. These undercurrents have problematized organizing for sexual justice in Uganda.

Inherent in this dissertation is a challenge of the very notion of citizenship and belonging in queer justice organizing altogether. Who is an ally? How do the associations being made with queer blackness reflect and inform organizing decisions? How do we make dynamic and beneficial associations? These questions have been asked, addressed, and reformulated in each chapter. Although this is a dynamic movement, with so many genuine, talented, and passionate organizers, the aim of this work has been to show the various complexities that trouble organizing.

The predominant transnational advocacy structure disconnects kuchus from Ugandans and disconnects "transnational" history from colonial history; however, it would be a remarkable oversight to neglect the potential fruitfulness of transnational organizing. Therefore, I would like to end by imagining a form of organizing that centers on connections; one that would honor my

participants who dream and work with a similar motivation, like David, who says in our interview:

> We have to get to the point of connection, to get to what it means to connect as a brother from the Diaspora. So you have some [African] people who reject me as an American and some who embrace me as a Black brother… sort of like you're a cousin from the States, let's get to know each other. But, the emotional infrastructure has never been built for that connection between people from the continent and the Diaspora. So my work, then, is not just about LGBT justice or progressive faith building globally. It's also about this kind of healing of the continent and the Diaspora.
>
> **David**

David doesn't *other* the people he works with; he *is* the people he works with. Mainstream transnational human and LGBT rights organizations operate as a disconnected apparatus from the "local" target of advocacy. LGBT rights organizations attempt to fashion an LGBT diaspora, by broadcasting global gay struggles, but in this case, social chasms triumph. Effective sexual justice organizing between the United States and any African country cannot ignore racism, ethnocentrism and economic violence.

I propose an intellectual, financial, temporal and energetic investment in Diaspora-Centered organizing. Diaspora-Centered organizing centers connection: a sense of *us*. The "Diaspora" rooting itself, in an African context, highlights a collective memory of imperialism. It is an alternative to "transnational" that remembers and upholds blackness, and can generate relevant and sensitive organizing methods.

I originally "met" Oliver via Twitter. As is common with a few, well-traveled queer Ugandans and more active queer organizers in New York City, he and I shared several followers, and had a few mutual, "in real life" comrades. I messaged him about a month before I would head back out to Uganda, and he told me that he would actually be here in NYC for a week. As

my collective within the Audre Lorde Project was working on an event called the Community Freestyle, I thought it was actually a perfect chance for him to attend an event where LGBTQ people of color talk/strategize about police violence and staying safe in a rapidly gentrifying Brooklyn.

In this meeting, we shared an analysis of how economic and spatial violence – the forced displacement of people of color through economic means – affects queer Black and Latino people in the neighborhoods. This largely looks like white (LGBT and straight) people moving in and inviting more police presence in order to protect them or their businesses. It also looks like us, very practically, not being able to afford rent and being pushed further east in Brooklyn or outside of the borough entirely.

In a remarkably different mode of interaction than what I had shared with Ben earlier, Oliver was excited to join, help out, and learn about queer black issues in the urban US. We became "in real life" friends and went on to later spend time in Kampala. The basis of our connection is a shared commitment to uplift our people: Africans and people of the African Diaspora. Being such, we've given each other numerous opportunities to connect with organizers doing this work – whether in NYC or in Kampala – and to expand the understandings of what "queer issues" are for anyone in our wake.

It is through this framework that I argue that Diaspora-Centered connections can form organizational strategies that are relevant to an East African context. Organizations such as the Audre Lorde Project have created not just relevant analyses, but also *strategies of protest and organizing* from the intersectionality. These intersectional strategies would "build the capacity" of any organization in the Diaspora to accomplish their goals in a way that a relationship based

on funding simply cannot. For example, if an organization wishes to better the life chances of their local community, sharing campaigns that center wellness is a culturally relevant step.

The Audre Lorde Project is one such organization that has been committed to providing access to wellness spaces, both with traditional healing and Western practices. Urban poverty, as experienced by so many black queer people in Central Brooklyn, exposes the population to slow death – the physical wearing out of the population through capitalist, structural subordination and governmentality (Berlant 2007). This is the intersection of economic and state violence that occurs nationally and globally.

Urban poverty is also the condition through which queer/kuchu organizers in Uganda are working. As Black queer organizations in New York begin to prioritize free access to wellness spaces – we expand our understanding of our being past visions/responses to the inevitability of early death and into the possibility of vitality. We make room to look beyond HIV prevention and into wellbeing – connecting networks of acupuncture and reiki practitioners, massage therapists, yogis and capoeiristas – people of color who ground their work in the desire to uplift those of the African Diaspora.

A model of transnational cooperation that extends beyond homonationalism – spreading marriage and changing laws – recognizes this potential and seeks ways to make it work. Kampala, a metropolitan area of roughly 2 million people, has queer and queer friendly people in all fields of health and wellness. However, necropolitical governmentality and poverty hold most kuchu Africans from accessing these spaces. Transnational cooperation could inspire creative methods of doing, but in its current formation, these connections have no space to be made.

Another organization, Harriet's Apothecary, presents that new possibility within Diaspora-Centered organizing. Stemming from the intention to provide services, skill-shares, and self-sustainable medicinal practices – Harriet's Apothecary provides a great example of transnational connection that is rooted both in identity politic and interdependence. The organization began as a small, pop-up art venture in 2013, with a vision of an apothecary – a center where community members can find natural medicine and holistic health consultations. It has since mushroomed, spreading from a three healer-led grouping in one locale to a mobile village of over twenty Black cis- and trans- identified healers as of December 2015. These healers provide wellness services and counseling to queer people of color in urban neighborhoods. This similar model could be fully realized in other locales, especially if it had the recognition and support it deserved.

Unlike Diaspora-Centered organizing, traditional transnational advocacy reproduces hegemonic, nationalist power, and therefore limits the reach that human and LGBTI rights organizers should have. David's belief that his work is "about this kind of healing of the continent and the Diaspora," in its radical departure from the mainstream, combats homonationalism.

Homonationalism in transnational advocacy transmits the message that sexual justice begins when anti-sodomy legislation is overturned and governments stop rejecting LGBTI people and start acknowledging and integrating them. It also, counterproductively in African contexts, reifies the image that the best allies for LGBTI people are white people; the enemy, or inherently anti-gay, is the Black neighbor, citizen, and government. In this way, homonationalism ignores anti-black *systems* of violence and completely misses the intersections

that create culturally relevant movement strategies. It leads to the symbolic, material and physical abandonment of Black spaces.

If we can re-focus transnational organizing on a greater view of shared politics, we can build alliances that depart from connections that are based in capitalist ventures ("why is she here with no money") and toward connections based in holistic gains for communities.

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