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HIV/AIDS Health Policy, Feminism, Backlash, and Anti-LGBT Attitudes in Uganda

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HIV/AIDS HEALTH POLICY, FEMINISM, BACKLASH, AND ANTI-LGBT
ATTITUDES IN UGANDA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

By

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B.A., Anthropology, Wright State University, 2010

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY MICHAEL WILSON ENTITLED "HIV/AIDS Health Policy, Feminism, Backlash, and Anti-LGBT Attitudes in Uganda" BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

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As LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) community organizing becomes increasingly common internationally, backlash also increased in frequency. This research examines the observed increase in violence against the Ugandan LGBT people from 2006-2014 as well as how this violence was exacerbated by international pressures in response to HIV/AIDS and local actors. This research also focuses on how those pressures from international agents affected the successes of the Ugandan feminist movement.

Keywords: LGBT, Uganda, HIV/AIDS, feminism, constructivism, health policy, homosexual, women's movement

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABC: Abstain, Be faithful, use a Condom

ACFODE: Action for Development

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

CCRC: Crimes Against Children Research Center

CDC: Center for Disease Control

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CiPHR: The Center for Innovative Public Health Research

GLSEN: The Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IGO: intergovernmental organization

IRMA: International Rectal Microbicide Advocates

LGBT: lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

LGBTI: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex

LGBTQ: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer

LGBTQ+: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and additional identities

MSM: men who have sex with men

NGO: non-governmental organization

NRM: National Resistance Movement

PEPFAR: The United States President's Plan for Emergency AIDS Relief

PrEP: pre-exposure prophylaxis

SMUG: Sexual Minorities Uganda

UN: United Nations

UNDATA: Data Access System to UN Databases

UNAIDS: Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

US: United States

UWC: Ugandan Women's Council

UWOPA: Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association

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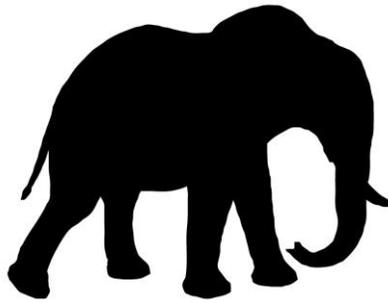
First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge the chair of this thesis research, Dr. December Green. I remember the first time I signed up for one of her classes as an undergraduate student and was told to “be ready” by a friend of mine. Already intimidated, I sat near the front of the class and watched as she entered the classroom. I was honored when she placed her materials down, looked over at me and said, “I like your glasses’ frames.” I gushed and told her I liked her boots. I knew then that this would be a class I would enjoy. But I had no idea that it was a class that would fundamentally change my education and ignite a passion in me for academia and human rights. Thank you Dr. Green. I would also like to acknowledge my other two committee members: Dr. Judith Ezekiel, or rather “Aunt Judith” as she has become family, and Dr. Julianne Weinzimmer, who saw me through some of the toughest parts of my academic career. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Kelli Zaytoun, who provided additional comments around theory that proved vital for the completion of this thesis. These four women shaped my education with their skill, guidance, expertise, and passion and I am greatly indebted to each of them.

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated Mama Yojo, a mother, a survivor, and a gift to the world who taught me to be gentle, loving, and strong, like an elephant. May you rest in peace.



Chapter One: Case Selection, Theory, and Gaps in Literature

Discourse on the intersection of gender and sexuality has increasingly become a part of multiple academic disciplines as well as human rights advocacy. As states continue to debate the legitimacy of sexual rights and as transnational and grassroots movements work to secure, and in some cases hinder, gains, the research of social scientists becomes all the more imperative. The purpose of this research is threefold: first, to apply a social constructivist analysis to the widespread violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) peoples in Uganda, second, to advocate for a necessary interdisciplinary dialogue, and finally, to apply those theoretical insights to advocate for social change.¹ The overall timeframe for this research will focus on 1979-2014, which includes the height of the Ugandan feminist movement and the period of highest reported violence against LGBT Ugandans.

1.1 Central Research Questions

This research will take an interdisciplinary approach, but will still hold true to a feminist, constructivist methodology of process tracing and qualitative content/discourse analysis which will argue that the current violence against gays and lesbians in Uganda is a byproduct of the importation of the legitimization of the politics of homophobia from the George W. Bush administration's 2001-2009 health policy changes. That is to say, changes in international aid distribution in the form of religious-influenced, abstinence-only health policy put power in the hands of heterosexist, anti-feminist individuals who

¹ The acronym "LGBT" is used in this research to identify the overall lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community in the various contexts it is brought up in. Other acronyms for the community exist include queer-identifying individuals and other members of the community who do not identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBTQ or LGBTQ+) and intersex individuals (LGBTI). For simplicity, this research uses LGBT to reference the community.

actively redefined Ugandan sociopolitical norms and led to an increase in violence against LGBT people as well as an increased backlash against feminism. This will counter the null hypothesis that would argue that the homophobic politics of contemporary Uganda represent intrinsic, pre-colonial norms as Uganda seeks to redefine itself socially and politically in a post-colonial world. It will focus on actors within larger social institutions as the primary units of analysis that will attempt to answer the question: why is Uganda such an extreme case for discrimination and violence against LGBT people, particularly gay men, especially when the Ugandan feminist movement has been identified as one of the most successful domestic feminist movements in the world? Does the current anti-LGBT violence and violence against women represent a larger sociopolitical backlash against gains made by the Ugandan feminist movement?

This research provides an additional theoretical discussion of the construction of social relations, particularly of those related to sexual identities. However, the more applicable function of this research is quite simple: the violence against LGBT peoples in Uganda represented a dire situation. As more of the international community becomes, at least rhetorically, less homophobic, now is the perfect time for more research on the struggles faced by the global LGBT community. This research will conduct analysis through a constructivist lens and will simultaneously attempt to reconcile the problematic divides between historically-contingent identities and transnationalism. The concept of bias-avoidance and advocacy within mainstream constructivist paradigmatic thought will be discussed.

1.2 Research Trends on Constructivism and Sexuality

Contemporary understandings of oppression against LGBT individuals focus on social privilege arguments (Davies 2004; Dean 2006; Pascoe 2007). These arguments emphasize the concept of hegemonic masculinity which places masculinity at the top of the social hierarchy. Femininity, especially the concept of emphasized femininity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), sits opposite of masculinity in the Western dichotomous hierarchy of social privilege. Due to the disadvantaged level of femininity, women being socially labeled as “lesbians” does not represent as much of a threat to hegemonic masculinity. Gay men, however, represent a greater threat to hegemonic masculinity as they socially step away from their privilege. That viewpoint, however, is controversial and will not serve as the specific frame of reference, but rather as an explanatory model to be examined in the context of the Ugandan crisis. Instances of specifically homophobic violence in the West are therefore most often directed at gay men over lesbians (Dean 2006; Mason 2002; Pascoe 2007). Natalie Oswin (2006) also points out, as Western gendered norms diffuse, those norms often become the norms internationally. Not only does gender socially fit into a Western dichotomous framework of a masculine/feminine divide, this also applies to social understandings of the category of sex (Fausto-Sterling 2000; Lorber 2005; Stoltenberg 2005). Sex, a more-or-less biological understanding of the male/female divide, is still ripe with social constructions of understandings (Fausto-Sterling 2000). Sex is often tied directly to gender and the two are treated as synonymous in the West. However, specifically within the fields of anthropology (Voss 2005) and sociology (Steele 2005), the distinction

between sex and gender has repeatedly been illustrated. However, as J. Samuel Barkin (2010) illustrates, many political scientists, steeped in an ontological realism and by default seemingly naturalist-based notions of identity, only recently pay attention to this distinction. Yet an understanding of the construction of the sex/gender divide and its intersection with sexuality should be at the forefront of both academic and sociopolitical discourse when examining and explaining violence against LGBT people.

Social constructionism, influenced most heavily by post-modernist epistemology and feminism, deconstructs the notion of ahistorical identities by illustrating the myriad of identities that existed throughout human history. Social constructionists, therefore, view identities as fluid, historical entities that are less about biology, to degrees, and more about the coalescence of social norms and institutions acting on individual agents (Steele 2005; Anstee 2011). According to social constructionists, all identities are subject to this process and sexuality is no exception. This research will function under a social constructionist viewpoint.

At this point, there are four important, yet subtle, points about constructions to make and each expands on the others. First, simply because constructions are not biologically-based does not necessarily mean that they are individual choices. Constructions are based on social norms and interactions with other individuals, groups, and institutions (Anstee 2011). Because constructions are essentially “larger” than individuals, an individual does not necessarily choose his or her identity. Individuals can, and do, resist social differentiation, but being labeled is less often the choice of the individual and more the “choice” of the system. That viewpoint has a large range among constructionists. Particularly as Annamarie Jagose (1996) challenges the lack of choice

in her analysis of queer theory as individuals often push against the identities and labels thrust upon them. However, many social constructionists, even within queer theory, would contend that to some degree, individuals lack the agency to construct identity independently of social space even if one does not simply mirror the norms and expectations around him or herself (Anstee 2011). In the realm of application, the issue of choice and identity complicates the debate as Donald Haider-Markel and Mark Joslyn (2008) show that, at least in the case of the United States, the higher perceived degree of choice in relation to a marginalized identity, the less favorable attitudes will exist towards that identity. This appears to hold true across marginalized identities in the US according to Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2008). When it comes to human rights advocacy, social constructionists potentially run into difficulty as many that are unfamiliar with social constructionism may assume a dichotomy, which lacks a biological framework, which then requires identity to be a “choice.”

Haider-Markel’s and Joslyn’s 2008 research has a narrow focus on attitudes in the United States. Those attitudes logically affect how the US government distributes foreign aid in countries where marginalized communities face social, political, and medical disparities. It can be argued that foreign aid disbursement that relates to bolstering those marginalized communities continues the diffusion of values from the West, as Oswin (2006) points out. That sociocultural diffusion can leave non-Western nations that receive aid from Western nations feeling as if cultural and political sovereignty is being violated by the West. And, as a result of that feeling, many non-Western leaders argue that Western values are being imported into their respective

countries. That is particularly true of how non-Western leaders react to Western countries denouncing homophobic policies.

Secondly, under a constructionist viewpoint, all identities are constructions (be they sexual, gendered, ethnic, racial, national, and so on). While that statement may not seem significant at first glance, it is highly important to stress. Within the constructed understanding of sexuality, the emphasis tends to be placed heavily on homosexuals over heterosexuals (Rust 2005). Homosexuality is understood and discussed as constructed, but heterosexuality is also a construction (Katz 1995) even though many heterosexuals refuse to recognize it as such. Because these categories are constructions and therefore historical it becomes possible to say that there have not always been heterosexuals and homosexuals. While there has always been same-sex and opposite-sex sexual behaviors, none of those *behaviors* can be labeled as heterosexual or homosexual *identities*, because the identities themselves are not eternal concepts (Katz 1995).

Thirdly, even using the terms “heterosexual” and “homosexual” reinforces dichotomous methods of understanding in the West (Lorber 2005). Under a strict dichotomy, identities are understood as one or the other with no overlap. Categories that fall in between respective identities are often regarded with suspicion by not only the hegemony (Fausto-Sterling 2000), but also by the oppressed. Within the discussions of sexuality, bisexuality specifically is met with confusion and sometimes an outright sense of “biphobia” (Esterberg 2006; Udis-Kessler 2005) within both the respective heterosexual and homosexual social groups. It is also of note that sexuality is not the only area in which social power is distributed across a dichotomy (as with the

male/female divide that ignores the intersexed (Fausto-Sterling 2000) and the relatively recent “biracial” category with regards to race).

Lastly, the homosexual/heterosexual dichotomy is a Western construct. Applying socially-constructed identities of Western origins onto non-Western peoples risks devaluing the social identities of non-Western peoples. As Paula Rust (2005) points out, academic scrutiny in the realm of sexuality tends to value the experiences of white, cisgender gay men. Academically privileging the experiences of Western, white gay males constructs the debate on LGBT rights for a rather narrow group and downplays the experiences of women, non-Western peoples, and communities of color. As a result, many non-Western political leaders denounce homosexuality as a “white disease” (Rust 2005). Kathy Davis (2002) also points out how taking the viewpoints of Western feminists and privileging them over the viewpoints of non-Western writers twists feminism into cultural imperialism. This is an issue that needs to be addressed, but it is also significantly more complicated.

Until relatively recently, little is written about sexual identities of non-Western peoples, particularly those in Africa. That is certainly not because of a lack of interest, but rather as a direct result of the fact that the histories of indigenous peoples were often erased as a product of Western colonialism; both through government action and through the action of missionaries (Amory 1998; Epprecht 1998). As discussed previously, just as heterosexual and homosexual identities were constructed in the United States and replaced previous forms of sexual identities (Katz 1995), indigenous sexual identities were replaced with Victorian forms of “virtuous” or “chaste” sexuality, typically by missionaries, and later by both the homosexual and heterosexual identity and male and

female binaries (Epprecht 1998; Lugones 2007; Oyewumi 1997; Phillips 2004).

However, as a transnational LGBT rights movement continues to advocate for change globally, new interest in the pre-colonial sexual norms, social relations, and identities of non-Western peoples and their histories has increased with vigor in academia and political spheres.

Societies do not only change by force through war or colonialism but as Oswin (2006) discusses, societies and cultures are constantly changing, particularly as cultures interact with each other and change through a process of diffusion. Change in societies is natural and those changes will undoubtedly affect social identities and relations. This is also true of identities related to sexual orientation as Jonathan Katz's 1995 book, *The Invention of Heterosexuality*, and Donald Donham's 2005 ethnographic work on sexuality in Soweto post-Apartheid. Treating Western cultures and societies as those that change, but viewing the roles, identities, and behaviors of non-Western cultures as completely static places them in the ethnographic present and treats them as "primitive" in comparison to Western societies and cultures. While change in societies is indeed natural, Oswin's (2006) discussion of the Westernization of societal change and Donham's (2005) documentation of how non-Western individuals adapt Western identities begs the question: if non-Western individuals embrace Western identities as individuals and as groups, then does the diffusion of social identities represent social and cultural imperialism of the West? That issue will be the focus of the next section.

1.3 The Social Creation of the “Homosexual” and the Transnational Question

Many contemporary LGBT rights groups are specifically interested in anthropology and history in an attempt to construct a “gay history” of the human sexual experience (Voss 2005) in order to show the ahistorical nature of homosexuality. Cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians use evidence from explorer and missionary accounts, examination of artifacts from the archaeological record, and oral history to construct cultural histories of same-sex sexual behaviors (Aldrich 2003; Amory 1998). On the one hand, constructing a “gay history” is attractive in that it offers the viewpoint that homosexuality has always been, and will always continue to be, around. Homosexuality, just like heterosexuality, is simply a part of the human experience. In that framework, all same-sex sexual behavior in history represents homosexual identity.

However, social constructionists take a different route. To the social constructionist, being homosexual, or heterosexual for that matter, comes with a certain degree of social weight and understandings that transcend only sexual encounters (Katz 1995). To the social constructionist, identity defines behavior. This makes the notion of a “gay history” significantly less useful. While social constructionists would not deny that there was same-sex sexual behavior in human history, they cannot really categorize that behavior as homosexuality given that homosexuality is a constructed identity of a particular social and historical framework (Voss 2005). Therefore, any scholarship that does not differentiate between behavior and identity does not pay full attention to larger social norms and relations. While it may seem advantageous for the human rights advocate or policy maker to contend a biological definition of identity as Haider-

Markel's and Joslyn's previously discussed 2008 research argues, Katz (1995) points out, that an adherence to physiological definitions is what initially coded homosexuality as medical, social, and psychological problems. Biological arguments that are incapable of explaining identity formation risk a potentially dire situation for any "sexual deviant" – as deviance is still ultimately defined in terms of social norms that appear "natural" (Roach 2008). Therefore, academic silence on the legitimacy of identity construction reinforces systemic, oppressive modes of thought that are uncritical of the perceived "natural" social hegemony.

Numerous scholars contend that the rise of homosexuality as an identity has often been connected with the Western development of a capitalist, individualistic, "pleasure-based" economy (D'Emilio 2005). The concept is relatively straightforward: in early Western society, there was an economic need to marry and have children. For survival a large family was needed in order to work on a farm or homestead, whether or not an individual took pleasure in marriage and procreation is irrelevant as a family was the imperative (Hall, Leloudis, Korstad, Murphy, Jones, and Daly 1987). However, with the start of mass industrialization, families begin to matter less in the economic sector. Wage labor moved into the center and the power of individuals as economic units over the family unit drastically increased. Because economic power shifted to the individual, the individual can now pursue his or her interests over the necessity of a large group (D'Emilio 2005). It is often argued that the individual-based model allowed people to break away from the heterosexual imperative and pursue their legitimate sexual interests (Steele 2005).

However, as other scholars point out, the rise of capitalism also led to a legitimization of the sexual division of labor and patriarchy, particularly as capitalist and colonial economic systems were forced onto non-Western peoples (Lugones 2007). As Maria Lugones points out, many Marxist feminists highlight the gendered inequality of Western, capitalist norms. This paints a very different picture than both John D’Emilio and Jacquelyn Hall et al. portray with regards to a “pleasure economy.” Lugones highlights that capitalist norms typically emphasize the work of men and ignores the non-wage reproductive labor of women as her explanation of the economic nature of gender violence gives pause to D’Emilio’s “pleasure economy” argument. Even while women were expected to take in boarders or cook for pay, their work was largely devalued in comparison to the wage-labor of men. While D’Emilio does offer a compelling argument on the construction of contemporary sexuality identity, his approach is ultimately about the experiences of men.

As same-sex intimacy became all the more common in the West, it was termed “homosexuality” in the late 1930s with “heterosexuality” as an identity appearing years later as a “reactionary identity” (Katz 1995). Homosexual identity represents a category created and defined by the West. While same-sex sexual behavior is ahistorical, homosexual identity is a historical conception, as discussed thoroughly above. Yet there is a potential problem with constructions. If homosexual identity is not biological and is instead a product of the coalescence of sexual and social norms from the West, specifically the United States, is it inherently ethnocentric to even think of applying this construction to non-Western peoples? Does this result in a new form of cultural imperialism? And who is to say that these identities will not continue to shift? This is

the major criticism lobbied at social constructionism theorists that engage in human rights advocacy and has not yet been sufficiently answered by social constructionists and constructivists alike. This research will call for a larger theoretical dialogue that has been taken for granted, until relatively recently, by many constructivists.

As stated previously, same-sex sexual behavior has always been a part of the world's history. Sub-Saharan Africa is no exception. In fact, sub-Saharan Africa represents an area ripe for transnational sexuality research. As Robert Aldrich (2003) and Deborah Amory (1998) have each shown, countless missionary accounts of pre-colonial central Africa discuss non-procreative sexual acts that not only involved men and women, but men and men as well as women and women as well as accounts by explorers that document peoples with similar social and sexual behaviors. Missionary accounts focused on the dangers of same-sex sexual practices while explorers were not concerned with the morality of said cultural practices (Aldrich 2003).

There was an incredible amount of diversity in the organization of pre-colonial sexuality in all areas of sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, oral history and the written accounts of missionaries and explorers document the presence of at least fourteen sexuality categories for men in northeast Africa alone that were defined along social lines and in several cases religious lines as well (Amory 1998). That is to say, some men were ritualistic homosexuals for religious practices which were used, and highly socially-respected as a means, to get around the required celibacy of political leaders during certain times of the year. Other men were simply organized within the various social categories which actively revolved around the act of penetration or sexual positions. This diversity of identities gave pre-colonial Ugandan men much more freedom of

sexual expression over the Western heterosexual/homosexual (or the Victorian virtuous/sodomite) dichotomy (Amory 1998; Epprecht 1998; Phillips 2004). As this scholarship includes pre-colonial Uganda, an area that today represents an extreme case of violence against LGBT people it becomes all the more imperative to deconstruct contemporary acts of violence.

Those sexually-fluid categories represent the context in which Western ethnocentric viewpoints came into play and in which the contemporary politics of homophobia emerged. Western explorers documented strange, possibly "savage" behavior, while Christian missionaries documented a problem of social and moral significance (Amory 1998; Lugones 2007). Christian missionaries often specifically worked to "fix" the problem of same-sex sexual intimacy through the enforcement of Western, Victorian gendered norms, norms that painted men as dominating and women as subject to the man's social, spiritual, and even political hegemony (Aldrich 2003; Epprecht 1998). The importation and implementation of the Western religious and moral convictions of the time paved the way for the homophobic politics in the past and it is possible that the same thing is occurring today.

Those redefining modes of gender were applied across all African societies. In many African societies some form of gender stratification did already exist, but European cultural imperialism amplified the inequality by contending that moral men and moral women were meant to be unequal because of their very identity as male or female. This dichotomy played into the implementation of specific gendered sexual norms resulting procreative sexual relations labeled as morally superior and all same-sex sexual behavior as inherently immoral (Fischer 2006; Steele 2005). Lugones (1997) and

Oyeronke Oyewumi (1997) contend, in some African societies, no real form of gender stratification, or in some cases differentiation, existed. The respective social norms and roles of those groups were also reconstructed under European hegemony.

That scholarship on its own represents the problematic pursuit of a “gay history.” However, the strength of such inquiry is its ability to discuss constructions. Culture is non-static. Models of understanding identity limited solely to biological explanations become unable to account for identity change in society as identities that would be considered intrinsic would also likely be immalleable. Looking at identity formation through a constructivist lens not only accounts for diversity, but also recognizes the historical identities of non-Western peoples without treating more common forms of sexual identities as “normal”. This would mean that part of the beauty of these multiple understandings of sexuality indicates that the contemporary culture of homophobia in many areas of sub-Saharan Africa is something recently constructed in the greater African sociopolitical consciousness. As this research will argue, if homosexual identity was indeed imported into Africa, then the gendered politics of homophobia were as well.

It can then be argued that when African political leaders make remarks that homosexuality was brought to Africa by Westerners there is a very slight grain of truth to those claims. However, if the African political leaders meant same-sex sexual behavior, their statement would be considered not only foolish, but ignorant of their own respective histories (Epprecht 1998; Phillips 2004). In fact, it could be argued that same-sex sexual norms were stolen from Africa by Europeans. Yet, if the contemporary leaders are making the claim that homosexual identity was imported from Europeans into Africa, then that is probably a fair claim. Because sexuality in Africa was constructed

and defined from European categories during and after colonialism, there is an extent to which it can be argued that homosexuality as an idea was imported. However, that would also mean that other Western constructions were imported into Africa, specifically those of gender, race, and heteronormativity. To be fair, it is doubtful that African political leaders, or any political leaders for that matter, are arguing the feminist and queer theoretical distinctions between behavior and socially-constructed identity. Therefore, it is likely that the African examples are about cultural denial of pre-colonial norms and the use of divisive identity politics through scapegoating homosexuals (Mason 2002).

1.4 Scapegoating and the Politics of Homophobia

Michael Neocosmos (2008) points out that scapegoating is the process of blaming social ills on a marginalized population in an effort to foster larger group solidarity against the marginalized group. Scapegoating is a political method designed to both control and coerce populations in an effort to take political attention away from the ruling elites (Neocosmos 2008). While Neocosmos (2008) focuses on South Africa and ethnic divides, there are conceptual applications that can be made to issues of sexuality. The politics of homophobia is essentially another version of the process of scapegoating (Mason 2002). Social ills are blamed on known and perceived homosexuals who suffer not only being socially ostracized but suffer violent retaliation as well. However, homophobia is reactionary by its very nature. For homophobia to be a sociopolitical reality there must be an increased social visibility of homosexuals (Adam et al. 1999) or an anxiety about a perceived visibility (Mason 2002).

A primary purpose of scapegoating is distraction, whether it be social or political (Weaver 1986). For social and political leaders, usage of scapegoating helps to maintain power in a system as it pits groups against each other and serves to take attention away from problems the leader has. Scapegoating, in some contexts, is very similar to the underlying idea behind the British method of colonialism: divide and conquer. Through a system of divide and conquer, groups pitted against each other in an effort to keep colonial leaders in charge. Scapegoating works in a similar fashion, by uniting “the people” against a marginalized group blamed for a social issue, political and social leaders can claim to have found “the reason” an issue exists, which gives the leader continued legitimacy, but ultimately distracts from the larger issue or other issues a group or society is facing (Neocosmos 2008).

Scapegoating of LGBT people, particularly of gay men, commonly manifests in the health policy reactions of governments and health organizations to HIV/AIDS. Many political and religious leaders, at least initially, including those in the United States, blamed gay men for the spread of HIV/AIDS throughout their respective countries. Initial documentation of HIV/AIDS treated it as a “gay cancer” that either manifested in gay men as part of the “disease of homosexuality” or was spread through a gay man engaging in sexual intercourse with a chimpanzee (Padgug 1989) --- either of those myths are used as a means to socially and politically ostracize gay men and as a means to treat homosexuality as a medical and psychological disease to be “cured.”

Due to the classification of HIV/AIDS as a “gay disease,” men who were infected with HIV/AIDS were simply viewed as “gay” (Padgug 1989). While it is a reality that gay men were, and still are, disproportionately affected by HIV, many heterosexuals,

particularly women, were also greatly impacted, and still are impacted, by HIV/AIDS. During the height of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, Western leaders outright ignored those infected with HIV/AIDS as the situation only grew increasingly dire. By the time Western leaders finally began combating HIV/AIDS it was far too late to reverse much of the damage done (Herek and Capatano 1999). What is important to note here is that even though it is completely false that only gay men contract HIV/AIDS, the stigma has not faded away. Uganda's unique response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, one which did not stigmatize gay men, will be discussed thoroughly in the remaining chapters.

1.5 Towards a Transnational LGBT Community

Whether a Western conception or not, the fact is that there does exist, at least, an idea of a global LGBT community. As some scholars contend (Altman 1996; Adam et al. 1987; Donham 2005), this sense of community is the product of technology, appearing to be in contrast from the word-of-mouth work done earlier in various feminist movements. As technology and globalization increases, the ability to transcend national borders becomes increasingly easier (Glasionov, Hage, Stevenson, and Tallman 2015). Just as religious groups can cut across borders to recognize a global Muslim community or a global Christian community, other groups are able to define their identities in the global sense. Women in the Central African Republic are able to identify with all other women throughout the world. Members of the Arab community in Sudan are able to identify with Arabs throughout the world. Christians in the Democratic Republic of Congo are able to recognize directly with Christians in the United States. And the list of these types of "global identity networks" could go on and on. Yet, there are relatively

few critics that claim that identifying at the social level of gender, race, or creed is ethnocentric. This almost seems strange considering the fact that an identity as homosexual is so heavily criticized. An identity as a lesbian is just as equally socially-constructed as an identity as Arab or as a woman – in fact, there are individuals that would identify personally as a lesbian Arab. These identities are fluid and are capable of cutting across borders because of increased technological and communicative innovations. Especially with the rise of the internet, it is becoming quite simple for an individual to get online and recognize the identities of other and create a shared sense of group solidarity that transcends borders (Adam et al. 1999; Rupp 2011). As Adam et al. (1999) point out, increased globalization brought on by the internet has been a major force in the proliferation of identity norms. The case of the internet and burgeoning transnational identity is especially relevant when discussing cases of identity-based violence that are not contingent upon state identity (as in Uganda). And, ethically, as Ugandans embrace an LGBT identity, they should not be denied inclusion into the global community.

While it is true that these categorical identities were initially developed by the West, there has been an application of LGBT identity to Africa by Africans, as Donham thoroughly discusses in his 2005 ethnographic account *Freeing South Africa: the “Modernization” of Male-Male Sexuality in Soweto*. For the anthropologist to toss out identity issues because they are initially Western-defined misses the point that no identity exists in a vacuum, it should be clear that it would be more ethnocentric to dismiss members of the African LGBT community as “not really LGBT” because the African style and development of LGBT categories were initially developed by Western

categories. The legitimacy of LGBT identities has been uniquely questioned by Westerners and Africans alike as homosexuality exists in a constant flux between “something other, something traditional and something moral” (Phillips 2004). This becomes even more unsettling in the hands of the political scientist, because if one ignores the presence of transnational sexual identities then there is real harm that can be, and has been, done to individuals that recognize themselves as LGBT in non-Western cultures. The fact remains that individuals in Uganda define themselves as LGBT, and if they define themselves as LGBT, both the threat and presence of violence itself represents a need for advocacy.

1.6 Methodology and Case Selection

As mentioned above, the proposed research project represents a combination of approaches from various academic disciplines. While Timothy Lim (2010) clearly states the importance of defining comparative politics in an effort to know what is and what is not included in the field, it is important to note that politics is not only studied by political scientists – anthropologists, historians, sociologists, psychologists, and scholars within women’s studies have also solely focused their respective research on politics. While each field has their respective areas of focus, they each will also have the limits of those foci, which is why combining these disciplines should be a priority. Recently, combinations of these fields have been conducted with political science and anthropology (Epprecht 1998; Lewellen 2003), psychology (Shannon and Kowert 2011), sociology (Katzenstein 1996), history (Gordon and Gordon 2007; Hamilton and Shopes 2008; Harbeson and Rothchild 2009; Power 2002; Thompson 2000), and women’s

studies (Bose and Kim 2009; Bystydzienski 1992; Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010; Lee and Shaw 2011; Riccietelli et al. 2004; Tripp 2000). For the most part, those works share an adherence to the constructivist methodological practices held up by Amir Lupovici (2009): qualitative content and discourse analysis, process tracing, and usage of counterfactuals as well as psychological methods that examine the workings of individuals in the system. Counterfactuals are often conceived of by critics as simply creative writings which lack any degree of falsifiability necessary for scientific inquiry. While suggestions for future policy change will be made in the concluding chapter, the research throughout chapters three and four will focus solely on the usage of qualitative discourse and content analysis and process tracing for the creation of an ethnohistory while examining both the impacts of individuals on the system and systemic influences on individuals. The sources for this project will typically be human rights reports as initial starting points to better establish a timeline of events. From these reports, key actors can be identified and examined as needed. A key actor will be any politician or grassroots group that directly engages with the violence perpetrated on LGBT Ugandans whether positively or negatively. At this point, qualitative content and discourse analysis will also serve as a way to examine how the crisis is explained to members of the general public.

Given the wealth of gay history research that has been done in sub-Saharan Africa, selecting cases from sub-Saharan Africa should then be a natural starting point. As discussed above, constructivists and social constructionists alike have had trouble accepting the legitimacy of a gay history given the historical construction of identities. While social constructionists can deconstruct the notion of a gay history, the research

that has been conducted provides an already wonderfully pieced-together history of sexuality of the African diaspora. At the very least these oral histories, explorer and missionary accounts, and artifacts show how sexual identities in Africa have shifted, been marginalized, and changed. Therefore, process tracing becomes an essential tool for examining a country's history in order to see the development of contemporary gendered and homophobic politics. Sub-Saharan Africa also represents a departure from the patriarchal lack of diversity that Rust (2005) and Daisy Hernandez and Bushra Rehman (2002) point to when examining research on LGBT groups that focus primarily on the experiences of white men over other groups.

The first step in selecting potential cases is to examine human rights reports of international human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, and domestic human rights organizations, such as Sexual Minorities Uganda, or SMUG, for instances of violence and/or structural discrimination against LGBT individuals. Uganda has been heavily criticized by many human rights groups for its extreme levels of oppression against LGBT individuals culminating in the Ugandan parliament's multiple attempts to pass the "Anti-Homosexuality Bill," starting in 2012, which would make homosexuality punishable by death and force prison sentences on those that promote homosexual conduct. The Ugandan case is extreme, but what is striking about this particular case is that it represents exactly how many social constructionists describe violence against gays and lesbians. As indicated previously, the respective works of Michelle Davies (2004), James Dean (2006), Mason (2002), and C.J. Pascoe (2007) all discuss the politics of homophobia within the framework of hegemonic masculinity and R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt (2005) go further to

discuss emphasized femininity. Therefore, Uganda is the perfect case for studying their respective ideas on the politics of homophobia and heterosexism. The year 2000 serves as a convenient academic benchmark as that is when most scholarship on Uganda that celebrates the successes of the Ugandan feminist movement was completed. In recent years, more scholars turned their attention to Uganda as violence against the LGBT community grew to extreme levels.

Uganda's history is also incredibly important in a discussion of the continuing anti-LGBT crisis. As Jill Bystydzienski (1992), J. Oloka-Onyango and Sylvia Tamale (1995), Bystydzienski and Joti Sekhon (1999), Tamale (1999), and Aili Mari Tripp (2000) point out in each of their respective works, the Ugandan feminist movement post-independence and post-Idi Amin represents a success of feminist ethics on policy formation. Yet all three of these works were written prior to 2001 before the Bush administration in the United States drastically changed foreign aid disbursement in fighting the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In 2004, Luciana Ricciutelli, Angela Miles, and Margaret McFadden discuss the state of feminism in Africa, specifically Uganda, and paint a picture ranging from "threatened" to "a mess", meaning that the status of women in various African nations grew to severely concerning levels. Tamale (2008) laments the challenges African feminism faces in a post 9/11 international system and writes to advocate for the basic rights of women, which seems to be directly opposite the celebratory nature of her previous writings. Another important part of an examination of Ugandan feminist movements must also include a more critical reading to examine continuities with LGBT issues.

By 2014 in Uganda, homosexuals, particularly gay men, faced widespread violence, potential passage of a legal death penalty being passed by the Ugandan parliament was in sight, and women who pushed for rights were humiliated and assaulted by police and government officials. Even in the midst of such terror, women still dare to protest and members of Uganda's LGBT community still push for forms of community solidarity through public groups such as Sexual Minorities Uganda who had their first Pride Parade in 2012. So the ultimate question here becomes, why was Uganda so extreme? What changed since 2000 in Uganda that has led to the dire conditions of today? How might displays of community reflect an influence of the transnational LGBT rights movement? The method of process tracing to establish an ethnohistory will be especially important in this research as it will help to establish a timeline and frame of reference from which key actors in the crisis can be identified. This research will re-examine the scholarship on Ugandan feminist movements and also attempt to look further back at the importation of the gendered and sexual divides promoted through colonialism and capitalist norms. Attention will then be turned to understanding and deconstructing the development of the height of anti-LGBT violence in Uganda in 2012.

Chapter Two: Feminism Post-Independence

This chapter will examine the feminist movement and actions for women's rights in Uganda during the post-independence period. As discussed previously, the Ugandan feminist movement is well-regarded by experts as one of the most successful feminist movements of its kind in all of sub-Saharan Africa, if not the world. The Ugandan feminist movement did indeed re-open access to social and political spheres for Ugandan women. The primary purposes of this chapter are to examine how this movement influenced gendered norms in Uganda, the degree of inclusion for LGBT Ugandans, and to critically examine the gains made by Ugandan feminists. This chapter will primarily utilize the method of process tracing to establish a time line of events to put Ugandan feminism and the eventual changes related to HIV/AIDS policy in context. Process tracing is particularly important in this chapter as it combines the academic inquiries regarding the post-independence Ugandan feminist movement with health policy initiatives focused on HIV/AIDS.

2.1 Ugandan Feminism and Feminist Influences in Context

First, it is important to note that feminism did not begin in Uganda at independence in 1962. The term "feminism" is applied to groups whose participants advocate for philosophies in which equality and empowerment of women, as a group, were a part of the values of the individuals that made up leadership or the group; self-identifying as "feminist" is not a requirement. As H. F. Morris (1957) and Tripp (2000) discuss, pre-colonial, traditional Uganda was rife with feminist influences as women wielded tremendous social, economic, and political power and it was only with the

onslaught of colonialism that the sociopolitical power was stripped from Ugandan women. Power was wielded by women in pre-colonial Uganda in more ways than in the home, but in some cases, women were ruling monarchs and wielded tremendous influence (Kaggwa 1971 [1904]). While the Western Pan-African and second-wave feminist movements certainly influenced contemporary Ugandan feminism, those movements cannot be credited with starting Ugandan feminisms. In a similar vein, not only were feminist influences an integral part of pre-colonial societies, but as both Amory (1998) and Marc Epperecht (1998) each point out, sexual identities were not organized within a strict heterosexual-homosexual dichotomy, rather sexual positions and sociopolitical power of partners were the focus of the organization of sexual identities. Under that cultural system, which was nearly eradicated by missionaries prior to colonialism, identities that involved same-sex sexual experiences or identities that involved women's power over men, were fundamentally changed or outright disregarded as "savage" behavior (Epperecht 1998).

This reinforces observations made in other areas of the world as Lugones (2009) points out, that the concepts of patriarchy and heterosexualism were often products of colonialism and capitalism being forced upon indigenous peoples in Latin America. Lugones argues that colonialism, as a sociopolitical system, redefined gendered norms within a conquered society through overt or subtle means, redefining what it meant socially and politically to be a man or a woman. And as Oyewumi (1997) adds, this was especially detrimental to pre-colonial African systems that defined gender in completely different ways. While it is impossible to say that there were no patriarchal influences in pre-colonial Ugandan societies, patriarchy as a sociopolitical system had not dominated

the lives of women prior to colonialism (Oyewumi 1997). Although pre-colonial sexual and gendered norms of Uganda represent an immense and diverse set of identities, this research will focus in on the revival Ugandan feminism and feminist influences post-1962 as that time period represents a “formal” social and political movement (Tripp 2000).

2.2 Post-Independence Uganda under Obote, 1962-1971

As with much of sub-Saharan Africa, politics in post-independence Uganda was fraught with violence as various groups fought for control of the country as well as waged war with outside nations. Uganda gained independence from the British in 1962, four years after being given internal self-government (Tripp 2000). While Milton Obote was elected as the first prime minister of Uganda in 1966, regional influences and identities were deciding factors of Ugandan politics. As such, the Baganda people held considerable power within Ugandan politics and Edward Mubeki Mutesa II handily seized victory in the 1963 elections. However, in 1966 Obote seized power from and ousted Mutesa II, who fled to London. Obote, as president, named Idi Amin Dada as chief of staff of the military (Bobby-Evans 2013). During this time, Obote also challenged the autonomy and influence of Buganda by separating the Buganda territory into four sections and stripping regional leaders of their political power, a clear method of divide and conquer that echoed British colonial rule (Tripp 2000).

Obote’s time as prime minister was corrupt and used as a means of gathering support for his eventual seizing of power (Tripp 2000). During his time in power, the Ugandan Women’s Council (UWC) formed, which was made up primarily of wives of

influential men in power. Along with Obote, the UWC was instrumental in expanding women's access to political, economic, and health-related resources in Uganda (White 1973). While women were not given the right to vote under colonial rule, or while Uganda maintained self-governance prior to independence, the UWC pushed Obote for greater access for women to sociopolitical resources. In response, Obote pushed for the right to vote for women. In the 1962 constitution, women were given access to limited political rights. Along with this, the UWC advocated for equal pay for women under the law. Obote also pushed for this and after seizing power, he not only signed equal pay into law but agreed that women ought to receive 120 compulsory days of paid maternity leave under the law (White 1973). While this did grant women greater economic access, the requirement of 120 days of paid maternity leave was especially difficult on poorer women who worked from home (Tripp 2000). However, all things considered, political and economic access for women was expanded under Obote. Even though women were given the right to vote, access to running for public office was scarce. This does not mean that Obote fully supported women's rights and organizations and it is arguable that rights granted to women as a group was a means of maintaining political division within the Buganda region and other areas (Bystydzienski and Sekhon 1999). At the very least, Obote courted women as a group through some political and social gains. As mentioned previously, colonialism had deeply entrenched patriarchal norms into Ugandan society and elements that were once traditional became infused with patriarchal understandings of the roles for women in society. For Obote, pushing for the rights of women was an effective mean to maintain power as empowering women could ultimately lead him to be identified as a traditionalist.

2.3 Uganda under Amin, 1971-1980

Through a military coup in 1971, Idi Amin seized power from Obote which led to a reign that to this day still remains notorious in international politics. Amin's bloody and chaotic reign was most heavily punctuated by the expulsion of foreign influences from Uganda, notably Ugandans and individuals with British passports. His common usage of rhetoric aimed to defy European influences simultaneously kept Ugandans in fear and raised nationalist sentiments (Moghul 2010). Women's organizations particularly suffered under Amin's rule as women, as a group, were more supportive of the improvements made under Obote. Along with this, Amin claimed to support a traditional Ugandan power structure but ironically held onto the patriarchal norms established by foreign oppressors that were not a part of pre-colonial Ugandan cultures (Bystydzienski and Sekhon 1999). While Amin did remove the requirement that all women take 120 days of maternity leave, which removed some of the burdens faced by lower class women, and created a Council of Women within his government, women's access to the political sphere became fundamentally limited (Tripp 2000). Private groups of women that organized to advocate for various women's issues during Amin's reign were often seen as opposition to Amin's rule, as they were often critical of many policies, and were either quickly disbanded or co-opted by the state. State co-option by the state involved a public backing of support by the state, but privately included the addition of women loyal to Amin into those groups to sway the group's decision-making processes. After being co-opted, organizations would begin to mirror the rigid patriarchy and policies of Amin's dictatorship that only catered towards the desires of the dictator

(Tripp 2000). As the influence of women's organizing continued to grow more critical and vocal of Amin's policies, Amin outright banned private organizations and only allowed the government-sponsored versions including his Council of Women, which Amin later disbanded as well. Like Obote, Amin used women as a group to divide, and arguably conquer, traditional regions by giving the appearance of a means of political influence while actually silencing dissent (Tamale 1999). Unlike Obote, Amin courted women solely through rhetoric, as women did not receive any significant additional political, social, or economic rights under Amin that they already received under Obote's reign (Tamale 1999). Amin had strong, sympathetic words for women, rather than including them in legitimate social empowerment.

2.4 The National Resistance Movement and Uganda under Museveni, 1980-Present

As groups sought to challenge Amin, and later Obote after his return to rule from 1980-1985, for power, some women in Uganda began to take up arms and join the fight (Byanyima 1992). Sensing this as an opportunity to increase his following, Yoweri Museveni and the other leaders of the National Resistance Movement (NRM), began to call for greater gender equality as a part of their party's ideology. Museveni began to call for greater access for women in political space as well as access to health and educational resources (Tripp 2000). As mentioned previously, as Amin appeared to be increasingly uninterested in little more than strong words in favor of women's empowerment and not action, Museveni's NRM offered tangible opportunities for women (Tamale 1999). While it is not clear how Museveni sought to achieve these goals, many women readily followed the leadership of the NRM. Those women

recognized that not only were women suffering under the rule of Amin and Obote but that Uganda was suffering as well and it was therefore considered both feminist and nationalist to take part in the overthrow of Amin and Obote throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s (Byanyima 1992). Women's involvement in the NRM became such a force that, after his return to power, Obote even went as far to sign, though not push for ratification of, the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) treaty in 1980 (Tripp 2000). The attempts by Amin and Obote to pander to women, however, fell on deaf ears as women continued to be enticed by Museveni and the NRM.

Upon taking power in Uganda in 1985, Museveni kept his word. The CEDAW treaty was ratified in Uganda and three dozen women, specifically those loyal to Museveni, became active members of parliament including Gertrude Njuba, Betty Bigombe, Victoria Sekitoleko, Miria Matembe, and Mary Maitum (Tamale 1999, Tripp 2000). As women advocated for leadership positions under the organization of the Action for Development (ACFODE) they generated a manifesto linking the National Council of Women to Uganda's government (Goetz 2000). Other programs were also opened to women: women became active in health policy implementation, girls were encouraged to continue to stay in secondary school, universities began women's studies programs and brought on additional female students and staff, and economic access increased for women (Tamale 1999). Uganda, with such increased university access, even hosted the 2002 Women's World Congress (Kwesiga and Ahikire 2006). Specifically, throughout 1985-1987, many women in parliament pushed for health and educational programming for rural communities which involved basic health information

for community members as well as midwives. These programs, with leadership from the Uganda Parenthood Association and a network of nearly 60 clinics throughout Uganda, provided women and girls with preventative and prenatal needs (Tamale 2010).

A major part of the influential hold that Museveni, and those loyal to him as he established power, has on Ugandan national politics was the implementation of a “no-party rule” on elections. As a first official act of the NRM upon seizing power, a “no-party” system allowed for individuals to run for office without having to be connected to a political party, however, this benefited members of Museveni’s NRM and essentially handed political positions to them (Goetz 2002). To justify the continued favoritism of NRM members, NRM leaders developed a “no-party system” for the purpose of “broad-based governance.” The result intends to embrace the diversity of the NRM by including members from all of the organization while simultaneously keeping out the ethnic identity politics that would drive rural elections. However, this diversity never clearly had parameters placed on it and usually seems to be at Museveni’s discretion (Besigye 2000). Essentially, Museveni’s “no-party system” became a one-party system for the benefit of the NRM. Women in parliament united under the Women’s Caucus, with strong support from Ugandan feminists. The Women’s Caucus lobbied for continued additions of gender equity laws in Uganda’s Constitution (Goetz 2002), specifically the political gains mentioned previously.

In 1997, the Women’s Caucus pushed through the Local Government Act which included a one-third reservation of seats in Uganda’s parliament for women to bring about greater gender parity in government (Goetz 2002). While increased women’s involvement in parliament has improved, the one-third requirement has not quite been

met. The following chart compares data from the 2016 United Nations Statistics Division on the number of parliament seats for women over a twenty-year span:

Table 2.1: Seats for Women in Parliament, 1990-2010

Year	Number of Women in Parliament	Percentage of Women in Parliament
1990	34	12.2%
1997	50	17.9%
2000	50	17.8%
2005	73	23.9%
2010	102	31.5%
2014	111	29.1%

Note: Adapted from “Seats Held by Women in National Parliament,” by UNDATA. 26 February 2016.

The dates in Table 2.1 reflect specific benchmarks and not annual parliamentary elections for specific seats. 1990 is set as an initial benchmark near the start of Museveni’s reign, 1997 is added for the year of implementation of the Local Government Act, 2000 is prior to health policy changes (detailed in chapter three) related to HIV/AIDS policy, 2005 and 2010 are to simply show change over the span, and 2014 serves as the final date for this research. As the date shows, actual seats for women in parliament have increased steadily, but the percentage has not quite reached one-third of all seats.

The way in which the attempt at parliamentary gender equity was carried out left many voters questioning the legitimacy of the women elected to parliament. The one-third reservation was not applied to existing seats in government, but rather additional

seats were created, with some singular women's seats responsible for representation of multiple districts (Goetz 2002). This led many elected women, and those who voted for them, to be confused about whether they represented only women or the overall populations of their respective wards which often led constituents to address most problems towards their male representatives as their "real" representatives (Ahikire 2001). Due to the increased confusion, voter turnout was also incredibly low for the women's seats which only added to concerns of legitimacy from voters (Tripp 2000). Initially, elections for women's seats were added to the ballots for standard district seats in parliament, but voters were often unaware of seats being reserved for women. That confusion often resulted in ballots being recast for only women's seats several weeks after an initial election (Ahikire 2001). While gains were made for women in political circles, these gains were simultaneously mired in issues of social legitimacy resulting in a mixed bag of results as women gained access to political power and influence, but did not seem to be actual representatives in the eyes of their respective districts. However, some elected women, in particular, Speaker Rebecca Kagada, wield tremendous political legitimacy and have emerged as major political leaders in contemporary Uganda as they became outspoken allies for many working class Ugandans and their families. The road there was certainly not an easy one.

2.5 HIV/AIDS Policy under Museveni

Health policy and related issues were areas of particular concern to women in parliament, especially HIV/AIDS. In the 1980s, the HIV/AIDS pandemic was devastating sub-Saharan Africa. During this time, many governments specifically

blamed gay men for the disease, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Whether this blame was a rhetorical scapegoating or an actual belief varies by country and case, but a real stigma was attached to homosexuality in general, and gay men in particular (Padgug 1989). However, the women who had established themselves in Uganda's parliament and were responsible for health policy took a different approach to understanding how to combat HIV/AIDS. Their approach primarily focused on the actions of men and how those actions affected women's health (UNAIDS 2009).

Part of the stigma associated with gay men, in general, and in relation to HIV/AIDS, is that gay men are inherently promiscuous and have multiple sex partners. This notion has a major impact on the social understandings of gay men and permeates into a number of social spaces resulting in HIV/AIDS to be regarded as a "gay disease" (Padgug 1989). This usage of scapegoating gay men in response to HIV/AIDS has been common internationally and has drastically affected the infection rates for people, LGBT or otherwise, across the world, especially in Africa as heterosexual women represent the most new infections each year (IRMA 2010).

As mentioned earlier, women in Uganda's parliament took a different approach to combating HIV/AIDS in their country. Instead of targeting gay men, Ugandan health policy focused on advocacy towards all men (Tripp 2000). Infidelity by married men was seen as the primary reason that women were being infected with HIV/AIDS and initial advocacy efforts focused heavily on upholding monogamy as a means of prevention. As all men were perceived of as vectors of the disease, women were also encouraged to promote condom usage (UNAIDS 2009).²

² Identifying heterosexual men as the primary vectors of HIV/AIDS over gay men and sex workers takes into account a very important biomedical reality in the transmission of HIV/AIDS. In order to transmit, bodily fluids containing

The HIV/AIDS policy approach from Uganda differed greatly from other countries, not only within sub-Saharan Africa, as it broke patriarchal norms within heterosexual relationships by placed emphasis on the actions of men and empowering women to negotiate condom usage (IRMA 2010). This also fell in line with Museveni’s ABC Program (Abstain, Be Faithful, and Use a Condom) as the emphasis within relationships focused on being faithful to one’s partner, and not specifically faithful in a religious sense, as well using a condom in extramarital relationships (Cohen and Tate 2005). Again, this placed the bulk of the responsibility on heterosexual men. These approaches on their own were incredibly successful in reducing infection rate in Uganda in the 1980s and 1990s as Uganda emerged as a regional leader of eastern Africa as a success story in HIV/AIDS prevention. The following chart compares the most populous countries of eastern Africa in terms of their respective HIV/AIDS prevalence rates:

Table 2.2: HIV/AIDS Prevalence Rate in Eastern Africa Among Adults Ages 18-49, 2000

Country	2000 HIV/AIDS Prevalence Rate
Uganda	6.9%
Kenya	8.5%
Tanzania	7.2%

HIV (blood, semen, vaginal secretions, or breast milk) need to either travel through a break or a tear or through a mucous membrane (CDC 2016). Mucous membranes are the primary sites of transmission during sexual contact, as they do not have to be torn for HIV to be able to transmit, and are located in the vagina and the rectum. There are no mucous membranes in the penis, so HIV can only transmit to an insertive male partner during sexual intercourse if there are sores or scratches that cause a tear on the penis or in the urethra. Receptive partners, specifically women, are therefore at an increased risk of infection from their cisgender male partners (CDC 2016). HIV/AIDS prevention policies that recognize this biomedical reality can begin to tackle that disparity.

Central African Republic	8.1%
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Note: Adapted from “Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic,” by UNAIDS. 2000.

This also raises an important question about the extent to which patriarchy had become entrenched in Ugandan society. As mentioned earlier, women particularly suffered under the colonial system as gender roles were rewritten in a manner to more closely mirror the norms of the colonizers (Lugones 2007). On the one hand, it is impossible to deny the influence of patriarchy on Ugandan society as the status of women was dragged down with the onslaught of colonialism and continually trampled upon, even with some gains, in the years following independence. However, as women became involved in health policy and fundamentally shifted policy, along with Museveni’s ABC Program, it is clear that many more women were able to negotiate condom usage within their relationships. While these gains are important, it is also imperative to question as to how much these entrenched gender norms as a product of colonialism actually influenced approaches by the women writing policy, as will be discussed throughout the remainder of this chapter.

At this point, it is easy to come to the conclusion that the Ugandan feminist movement, specifically in terms of HIV/AIDS prevention and health policy, represented a large success. Women were heavily involved in health programs, government, and education and as such were able to advocate for increased access to all areas of social life. Clearly gains had been made for Ugandan women. However, while this movement was successful, it did not go far enough to secure those gains for women specifically in terms of health and HIV prevention strategies as Uganda’s success in preventing HIV drastically plummeted and led central Africa in terms of infection rates, particularly

among poor women (Kron 2012, UNAIDS 2010).

In terms of prevalence rate within its region, in 2014 Uganda had the highest prevalence rate of adults, ages 18-49, living with HIV/AIDS and is the only country in the eastern and central Africa to increase that rate over a ten year period. The following chart compares the data from Chart 2.2 with the 2010 UNAIDS report data:

Table 2.3: HIV/AIDS Prevalence Rate in Eastern Africa Among Adults Ages 18-49, Comparison Between 2000 and 2010

Country	2000 HIV/AIDS Prevalence Rate	2010 HIV/AIDS Prevalence Rate
Uganda	6.9%	7.4%
Kenya	8.5%	6.0%
Tanzania	7.2%	5.1%
Central African Republic	8.1%	4.6%

Note: Adapted from “The Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic,” by UNAIDS. 2000; “UNGASS Country Progress Report Uganda January 2008-December 2009,” by UNAIDS. 2010.

2010 is specifically chosen as the start of this chart as it represents the most pronounced changes in health policy under the Obama administration. What is also of note is that while the change in prevalence rate between 2000 and 2010 in Uganda has only increased 0.5%, and increased additionally to 7.6% by 2013 (AVERT 2015), that seemingly small increase is actually quite substantial. The 2014 UN-AIDS “Gap Report” confirms this increase as well and notes that by the end of 2013, Uganda had 140,000 new cases of HIV infection. Those new infections represented 7% of all new infections in the world from 2000-2013, resulting in the third largest increase of any country during that period (UNAIDS 2014).

As highlighted previously, the Ugandan approaches to HIV/AIDS advocacy focused primarily on heterosexual couples. While it is notable that Ugandan health policy did not stigmatize and blame gay men, LGBT peoples were rendered completely invisible at the same time. In fact, no mention of the rights and experiences of LGBT Ugandans were included in any of the advocacy by mainstream Ugandan feminists and women in parliament (Tamale 1999). This lack of representation reinforced a politics of heterosexism in which heterosexuality was the only discussed form of sexual behavior. The social and political silencing of LGBT peoples not only renders them invisible but actually increases new HIV infections (IRMA 2010).

By the end of 2010, gay, bisexual, and other men who have sex with men (MSM) in Uganda are living with an HIV/AIDS prevalence rate estimated at 13.2% (Uganda Ministry of Health 2010). That is a further reminder that policies which render gay men invisible, make it all the more difficult for gay men to engage in care. Coupled with the rise of overt political and social homophobia in Uganda, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, the stigma associated with being gay will make many men fearful of discussing their sexual behavior with medical providers, thus furthering the rise of HIV/AIDS in Uganda. The ability to conduct research on HIV and MSM in Uganda is also severely limited as police often harass organizations that conduct studies by claiming that the organizations are promoting homosexuality by conducting research (Nakkazi 2014).

This approach to HIV/AIDS prevention also held problems for the same heterosexual women that advocated for and created policy. Health policy for women that focuses on the actions of men still makes the health of Ugandan women dependent

on the actions of men. Rather than empowering women to enforce condom usage in their sexual activity or to leave abusive or problematic relationships, all advocacy was placed on being a devoted wife and changing the behavior of men (UNAIDS 2009). As Ugandan women are the primary victims of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and represent many of the new infections, it becomes all the more imperative to empower women to make informed choices regarding their own sexual health and to aid them in having control over the health of their own bodies. By contending that Ugandan women were by nature sexually pure and only victims, the makers of Ugandan health policy unknowingly further damaged Ugandan women's sexual autonomy --- women were again being understood in terms of their relationships to men and not as individuals with their own identity and value independently from men. While Uganda may have had success lowering HIV/AIDS infection rates for married women, little was done to prevent HIV/AIDS in non-heterosexual people and for female sex workers. In fact, by 2013, female sex workers in Uganda reached an HIV/AIDS prevalence rate of a staggering 34.2%, higher than Swaziland's national prevalence rate at 27.4%, which ranks above any of the national averages in all of sub-Saharan Africa (AVERT 2014). This assumed nature of fidelity in women and assumed heterosexuality of all Ugandans inherently increases the stigmatization of LGBT people by removing their experiences and needs from public health policies. It is because of the perceived passivity of women in their relationships and the assumption of heteronormativity that the health policies pushed forward did not fully curtail HIV/AIDS in Uganda, but only delayed it as health policy norms began to change after 2001.

Uganda's feminist movement did provide significant gains for women in Uganda.

This chapter, while celebrating gains made for women, did detail some of the shortcomings of the Ugandan feminist movement, particularly with regards to HIV/AIDS policy and its effects on gay men and sex workers. This chapter specifically utilized process tracing, as described by Lupovici (2009), by establishing a thorough timeline of events to examine the impacts of the feminist movement as described by previous scholars of the Ugandan feminist movement up until the year 2001.

Establishing this timeline is necessary in order to not only use a constructivist lens but to better understand Uganda's unique case in context and to better understand why such drastic changes were able to occur. The purpose of this chapter is not to minimize the gains of the Ugandan feminist movement, but rather sets the stage for the changes that come after 2001. The following chapter will examine how international and domestic actors impacted HIV/AIDS policy, by scapegoating LGBT people, which lead to the dire numbers described above.

Chapter Three: Health Policy Changes and a Growing Politics of Homophobia

This chapter will shift focus to changes in health policy after 2001 and the effects up to 2012. This choice of time is deliberate for two reasons: first, as discussed in chapter one, the vast majority of academic work focused on the feminist movement in Uganda and health policy focuses on successes prior to 2001. Secondly, changes in international aid distribution from the United States during the George W. Bush administration from 2001-2009 had a ripple effect on health policy norms and strategies in non-Western countries, including Uganda. This chapter will focus primarily on how those changes in international health policy both from governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations both internationally and domestically impacted actors in Uganda. This resulted in not only an increase in the HIV infection rate as well as led to an increasingly dire situation for LGBT Ugandans. This chapter builds upon the context established in chapter two. As with the previous chapter, this chapter heavily utilizes process tracing, but this time with a lens more focused on HIV/AIDS policy. The continued usage of process tracing is necessary to show the timeline of events that led to increase in anti-LGBT violence in Uganda. This chapter also utilizes the method of qualitative discourse and content analysis to examine common threads in the anti-LGBT attitudes in Uganda.

3.1 The George W. Bush Administration and HIV/AIDS Policy

After an eventful election, George W. Bush took over the presidency in the United States in 2001 from Bill Clinton and like his predecessors, distribution of foreign aid was a start of his presidency. Two acts of legislation drastically affect issues related to sexual

health: first, the 1973 Helms Amendment, prohibiting the use of US foreign assistance funds for abortion, and second, the 1984 Global Gag Rule, prohibiting organizations which receive US funding to advocate for access to abortion to the public and their respective government or even mention abortion as an alternative for women. As a result, under a Republican president, the US did not fund any programs that included any abortion services, including providing abortion services in situations of rape or incest (Center for Gender and Health Equity 2013). This was no different under Bush's presidency as his administration's policies continued this decades-long trend in aid disbursement for Republican leadership. Prior to Bush, Bill Clinton issued an executive order to rescind both the Helms Amendment and the Global Gag Rule and advocated for abortion to be accessible and safe as an alternative for women. Barack Obama pursued a similar standpoint after the Bush administration (Blanchfield 2016).

Adherence to the Helms Amendment remained the same under the Bush administration as with previous Republican administration. Bush prided himself on his Christian values, and being a vocal born-again Christian these values translated into his policies, particularly after the September 2001 terrorist attacks (Suskind 2004). It is also worth noting that, by 2001, the United States was beginning to be more heavily criticized regarding its near mute response to HIV/AIDS on the international stage (Epstein 2005). An area of particular importance to Bush was sexual health and education and he greatly favored an approach that focused on abstinence-only education for not only pregnancy prevention, but for HIV prevention as well (Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States 2008) and in 2003, Bush championed the inclusion of \$15 billion in funds specifically for HIV-related health policies internationally (Epstein

2005).

In particular, the Bush administration pushed for relief from HIV/AIDS through the creation of The United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). In 2003, the Bush administration sought to turn the tide on HIV/AIDS in non-Western countries, specifically sub-Saharan Africa where HIV/AIDS infection and prevalence rates were exceedingly high. The creation of PEPFAR was widely celebrated as it was an incredibly vocal response by the United States in confronting HIV/AIDS. By the end of 2004, Uganda was receiving \$90.8 million in funding through PEPFAR which increased to \$283.6 million and, later, the Obama administration increased funding to \$323.4 million by the end of his first term (PEPFAR 2011). Initially, funding from PEPFAR appeared to be a huge step for US policy as internationally the United States would be pouring aid solely into HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, research, and programming. However, the reality of the situation not only narrowly focused its approach towards abstinence-only policy but dictated that policy to governments as a requirement for funds (Lancaster 2008). PEPFAR's approach then, and currently, aims at recognizing local programs within respective countries receiving aid and bolstered those local responses through grants. By economically empowering local responses to HIV/AIDS, PEPFAR aims for those same responses to eventually become stable enough to become independent of PEPFAR to provide for individuals in their respective countries (PEPFAR 2016). Much of the initial response in Uganda involved getting important anti-retroviral (ARV) treatments to individuals, particularly women as they were disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS, to reduce viral loads and improve both life expectancy and quality (PEPFAR 2011). There is no doubt that getting ARVs to the

people of Uganda had a major impact on the lives of many individuals living with HIV as PEPFAR estimates that by 2011 257,000 individuals are receiving ARV treatment, 55,400 pregnant women living with HIV received ARV treatment, and 16,742 infant infections have been averted (PEPFAR 2011), but these numbers still have barely scratched the surface of Uganda's increasing prevalence rate discussed in chapter two. As Lancaster (2008) points out, with a reliance solely on treatment and abstinence without full counseling on harm reduction many individuals will lack proper knowledge of adherence, viral suppression, and prevention for their sexual partners. The approach from PEPFAR also specifically focused attention on women in Uganda. While women were, and still are, disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS, this approach still rendered gay men, another group with exceedingly high infection and prevalence rates, invisible as needs were continued to be left unmet.

While the Bush administration's ambition provided a solid structure and means of support, the educational programs offered by organizations that received support through PEPFAR were often not comprehensive in nature and quite often valued abstinence and a faith-based approach for prevention (Lancaster 2008). Without giving individuals proper education on transmission and prevention and only educating those already infected, only half the equation for ending the spread of HIV/AIDS is met (IRMA 2010). While organizations that provided treatment options were often medical institutions that could properly discuss adherence, organizations that focused on prevention were often led exclusively through places of worship (Lancaster 2008) and with health policies in place that already render gay men and female sex workers invisible, as discussed in chapter two, HIV/AIDS prevalence and infection rates will only

continue to climb.

For Uganda, an approach that focuses almost entirely on abstinence was particularly problematic. As discussed in the previous chapter, a more comprehensive health policy, particularly for women, was a major portion of advocacy for many of the women in parliament and was a part of Museveni's bargain to gain the support of women in his push for power in the 1980s. This push for a more comprehensive health policy in preventing new HIV infections was quite successful as Uganda fared better than most of sub-Saharan Africa in the early decades of the HIV pandemic, particularly under Museveni (Kron 2012).

This led to somewhat of an impasse between the Bush administration and the Ugandan parliament, an impasse that Museveni often found himself in the middle of. While the Bush administration pushed internationally for an abstinence-only health policy and the distribution of aid based off of that strategy, the Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) and health officials who had previously crafted health policy in Uganda were vocally dissenting from the US government's intrusion into their policies (Kron 2012). That was also a strange turn in policy by the United States as Museveni was raised up by many HIV/AIDS organizations as a leader in sub-Saharan Africa in the fight against HIV/AIDS (Kron 2012). This put Uganda in a tough situation. As with many states in sub-Saharan Africa, Uganda is dependent on foreign aid and, with the exception of adherence to the Helms Amendment and Global Gag Rule by Republican leadership, previous administrations have not held such a tight grip on sexual health policy. To not radically alter health policy would risk foreign aid. Museveni continued to push for his ABC Program (Murphy, Greene, Mihailovic, and

Olupot-Olupot 2006), as discussed in chapter two, which may have been well-tailored to the Bush administration's desires, with the first emphasis on abstinence before condom use. But his approach fell on deaf ears. This was because the Bush administration was being dazzled by another voice in Uganda: Martin Ssempe (Lancaster 2008).

3.2 The Emergence of Martin Ssempe on the International Stage

Relatively unknown on the international stage prior to 2004, Martin Ssempe, who considers himself a Pan-African champion of the family in a fight against HIV/AIDS, is a now notorious name in Ugandan politics and international discourse on homosexuality and the law. It can be argued that his rise to fame began in 1997 when he began speaking publicly on a political radio program where he began to speak openly about his religious viewpoints and personal stories of family members dying of AIDS (Ssempe 2010). His conservative ideals struck a chord with well-known American evangelical Rick Warren. With Warren's help, American churches were giving money in droves to support Ssempe's vision of building a new ministry in Kampala and in 2002 the Makerere Community Church had opened its doors (Lancaster 2008).

As Museveni worked with governmental health ministers to find a compromise between the Bush administration's demands and his parliament, many of the members of which helped Museveni rise to power, Ssempe had already locally, and internationally, made a name for himself as a charismatic leader and staunch advocate of abstinence-only sexual education. Not only were his sermons and *Sunday Vision* broadcasts increasing in popularity as he gained funding from Western missionaries and churches, but he also denounced condom usage and burned condoms publicly as a statement of faith (Kaoma

2014). Members of the Bush administration was enthralled with Ssempe's passion for sexual purity and, much to the dismay of Museveni, began funding Ssempe to advocate for health policy changes in Uganda (Epstein 2005) as his ministry offered support to those living with HIV/AIDS which met PEPFAR guidelines for a community-based response to HIV/AIDS treatment adherence education (Lancaster 2008). Museveni, not to be cast as a puppet of the United States by his parliament and the Ugandan people, maintained his ABC Program as a means to fight HIV/AIDS as well as a means to still claim moral authority in the fight over the intersection of religion and health policy (Lancaster 2008).

What is perhaps one of the best looks into Ssempe's mission comes from a short interview with Michael Brown, an American Religious Right talk show host, that is archived on his blog (Ssempe 2010), which will be the subject of discourse analysis here. The interview is specifically framed, by Ssempe, as a discussion on his church's mission in relation to HIV/AIDS and homosexuality. Early on in the interview, Ssempe explains that passage of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill is necessary because of four reasons: (1) breaks laws of culture, (2) condemned by Biblical scripture, (3) breaks laws of nature, and (4) that it is already illegal. Ssempe explains, specifically with reference to point one that many Ugandans "know" that homosexuality was not something that was ever practiced in Uganda prior to colonization by Europeans. He goes on to explain that the Netherlands and France are using the United Nations to "promote homosexuality" in Uganda through the media and through political pressure to violate Uganda's sovereignty. As mentioned previously, this is the most common claim made by anti-LGBT leaders in the non-Western world. Ssempe, like many other social and political

leaders in Uganda, uses the term “un-Africanness” to denounce it outright. Ssempe then goes further to explain that homosexuals indoctrinate and harm children, a claim that is used by publications, like *Rolling Stone* and *Red Pepper* in Uganda, and is used commonly as a form of scapegoating to enrage and unite community members against an enemy, in this case, the Ugandan LGBT community. Ssempe does insist that he feels as if a death penalty is “too harsh” as a way to differentiate himself from political leaders and adds a point that he does not “hate homosexuals” as the “pro-gay media outlets” have tried to make his stance about. Ssempe is quick to remind the interviewer that his approach focuses on compassion and rehabilitation, but again reminds the interviewer that he considers homosexuality “un-African”. Ssempe is then asked about American churches, which he tries to distance himself from by claiming that Rick Warren and Scott Lively are not really involved in the Anti-Homosexuality Bill. He asserts that a “pro-gay media” is pushing this to trick people into thinking that the Anti-Homosexuality Bill is a form of cultural influence from the West and not inherently Ugandan. Ssempe reasserts his point that Western governments are meddling in Uganda and that is furthering the HIV/AIDS crisis. Throughout this interview, there are key common threads seen throughout anti-LGBT discourse internationally. Specifically, this refers to his continued claim that homosexuality is “un-African”, that media in Uganda and internationally is actually pro-gay, that LGBT people are preying upon children, and that Western countries are violating cultural and political sovereignty.

It is wholly likely that any religious leader could have caught the attention of the Bush administration as Ssempe is not exactly unique. There are plenty of religious leaders in Uganda that are vocally anti-gay and also promote faith-based, abstinence-

only education in response to HIV/AIDS and many religious leaders in Uganda actively speak out against HIV/AIDS. And many religious leaders in Uganda, who consider themselves to be on the front lines of the fight against HIV/AIDS truly view not only homosexuality but HIV itself as imported from the West (Ssempe 2010). Ssempe simply happened to catch the eye of American evangelicals, specifically Rick Warren and Scott Lively, and if Ssempe had not, someone else likely would have. What is also of note is that Ssempe's talk show ministry previously interviewed Janet Museveni in 2003 about her marriage to President Museveni. She was also a regular guest to the White House (Blumenthal 2009). An influential religious leader in the United States, Warren, and an influential political leader in Uganda, Janet Museveni, were natural facilitators of a meeting between the Bush administration and Ssempe.

Domestically, Museveni was not only pressured from angered members of parliament at attempts to change health policy, but Museveni's hold on power began to crack as an economic recession, governmental corruption, stories of police brutality against women and LGBT people, and an increasing rate of HIV infections took their toll on his reign. The combination of those factors made the legitimacy of Museveni's leadership appear weak in the eyes of representatives in parliament and the Ugandan people (Lancaster 2008). Museveni no longer seemed to be the strong man he was previously. It is not clear whether or not Museveni really cared about HIV/AIDS, but emerging as a leader in the fight against HIV/AIDS does bring with it an additional sense of legitimacy on both the domestic and international stages. But the Bush administration's moving of funds from governmental agencies to private organizations, notably churches, added to the pressures Museveni faced (Lancaster 2008). While

money shifted from governmental organizations to private, faith-based institutions, the social perception of legitimacy of leadership also began to shift. And while foreign aid poured into private, religious organizations, voices from the evangelical Christian community in Uganda grew louder as Museveni tried to compete. As Ssempe's popularity in political and social spheres grew, Museveni and his wife often attended events hosted by the pastor (Ssempe 2010).

While many churches were bolstered by American evangelicals, Ssempe also received hefty levels of governmental funding. Money from these sources, in principle, had two distinct purposes. Money from the Bush administration was intended for health policy, though mixed with the religious ideals of Bush, and money from American evangelicals was intended for the broad purpose of expanding his church's influence in Kampala. To Ssempe, these goals were the same (Kaoma 2014).

Abstinence-only policy was a part of Ssempe's church mission in not only the fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic but he, like many church leaders in Uganda, viewed abstinence-only education as central to an individual's health (Cohen and Tate 2005). This is likely due to his family background in which Ssempe lost his two siblings to AIDS-related complications - which he ultimately blamed on what he perceived of as promiscuity (Epstein 2005). The Bush administration's centralized focus on abstinence-only education was certainly a perfect pairing for his ministry. Ssempe used funding from PEPFAR to expand his church ministry that also included his radio broadcast, *New Vision*, in which he and his wife would discuss marriage and provide marriage counseling and other related programs (Lancaster 2008). With the bolster from foreign aid, both from Bush and American churches, he not only expanded his church but began

lobbying government officials to change health policy (Kaoma 2014). Ssempe also began using funds to get members of his church body and other allies elected to office or pushed into local leadership positions to have greater influence in policy (Lancaster 2008). Ssempe also began using funds to print accusations of promiscuity, notably homosexuality, which attacked other local religious leaders including Pastor Robert Kayanja and Father Anthony Musaala, both rival religious leaders that actively challenged Ssempe's hold on political power and seeming usage of religion to further his own celebrity status (Burroway 2009).

Ssempe's policy pushes were not only limited to advocacy against condoms but extended to areas that dealt with issues of female modesty and homosexuality. His focus on homosexuality began to grow as foreign aid helped to make his voice louder as he was able to fund regular print media and access to more media outlets (Oliver 2013). A charismatic church leader, Ssempe began to increase anti-gay sentiment in his church body often by exposing church members to "gay propaganda" and pornography specifically used to incite feelings of anger and disgust among his congregation. These calls against "immoral" aspects of Ugandan culture were expanded outside of his sermons and into his radio broadcasts. These viewpoints that weren't necessarily focused on health policy also became an outlet for lobbying for legislation to prevent homosexual behavior and other behaviors considered immoral by Ssempe and his followers (Cheney 2012; Kaduuli 2013). As the popularity of these propaganda pieces grew, other tabloids, including the now infamous *Red Pepper*, formed and followed suit (Lancaster 2008).

As the reach of Ssempe's voice grew, his ability to inspire crowds grew to a level

that often ended with mobs seeking out “immoral” elements of Ugandan society. Mobs would usually take place quickly and would involve either the publication of names or a church service that would encourage community members to use violence against “homosexuals” who would be sought out and attacked with fists, clubs, machetes or whatever else was available at the moment. Research has also indicated that these attacks have become much more common, with 19 incidents reports in 2012, 8 incidents in 2013, and 162 reported incidents in 2014 - this extreme spike arguably due to the passage of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill (Bowcott 2014). With the increased funding, Ssempe was also able to regularly publish the names, and often addresses, of would-be targets (Dicklitch, Yost and Dougan 2012).

The label of “homosexual” or “gay” often had little to do with the sexuality of the targeted individual and more to do with their perceived degree of “un-Africanness.” Yes, people who identified personally as LGBT were attacked, but other individuals had the label of “homosexual” cast upon them if they represented something that was an affront to Ssempe’s ministry including feminists and church leaders that disagreed with Ssempe all of whom often found themselves named on Ssempe’s programming (Oliver 2013).

As Ssempe’s reach into government intensified, so did attacks on LGBT people. Museveni, having been caught in the previously discussed difficult political situation domestically, found himself jumping on a bandwagon and echoing Ssempe’s viewpoints, though in a quieter voice than the church leader, to maintain favorability among the increasingly loud anti-gay mobs. Using “homosexuals” which came to be viewed as anyone who was “un-African” as a scapegoat became all the more necessary for

Museveni's hold on power and with his jump on the bandwagon, police harassment of LGBT peoples increased in frequency (Cheney 2012). By adding his voice to the fervor, Museveni was able to distract opponents to economic and health woes within the country by casting blame on a socially unpopular group.

For the remaining years of the Bush administration, funding from the US government and American evangelicals continued to such an extent that tabloids grew as a form of naming known and suspected homosexuals, as well as supporters of homosexuality. As mentioned previously, as early as 2003 Ssempe's radio programming and online writings commonly gave names and addresses, but by 2006 print media, most notably the *Red Pepper* and *Rolling Stone*, began regularly printing the same names and addresses, often with taglines like "Hang Them!" or other such statements that encouraged violent action (Oliver 2013).

The Bush administration remained silent on these increasingly common attacks on LGBT Ugandans and their allies as Bush was dealing with his re-election campaign and the increasingly unpopular wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. This silence, and his continued funding of, only continued to deepen the roots of a culture of virulent homophobia in Uganda (Lancaster 2008). However, it is not completely fair to insist that Bush blatantly ignored this issue as the Bush administration's hands were full with the War on Terror and the wars in Afghanistan and later Iraq. Bush was not asked to address anti-LGBT violence in Uganda, but he did not avoid championing his abstinence-only policy and push for the sanctity of marriage (Cheney 2012).

3.3 The Barack Obama Administration and HIV/AIDS Policy

In 2009, Barack Obama took office in the United States, and like his predecessor, changes were made to international aid distribution. It became increasingly clear that Uganda was now drastically failing in its fight against HIV/AIDS with infection rates that ranked among some of the highest in the world by 2009 (Kron 2012). Unlike Bush, Obama did not continue to fund private organizations and churches within Uganda for prevention work. Instead, the Obama administration favored governmental organizations and more comprehensive approaches to sexual health (Cheney 2012). However, the damage at this point was done. While losing money from the American government, Ssempe's church and other tabloid-based publications already had an ample following. Ugandan evangelical churches were also able to directly appeal to American churches for additional funding by citing how "big government" was hurting Christians in Uganda (Cheney 2012). In an effort to still appeal to an increasingly vocal anti-LGBT portion of the population in Uganda, Museveni largely backed the mob violence that threatened LGBT Ugandans and their allies. While Obama did champion himself as a leader with a focus on human rights, LGBT rights and issues were pushed to the back burner for much of the 2008 election. On the domestic front, same-sex marriage was opposed by Obama and his opponent, John McCain, though Obama opposed a Constitutional ban (Seeyle, Carter, Ellis, Hossain, and McLean 2008). In fact, in the run-up to the 2008 presidential election, McCain and running mate, Sarah Palin, actually brought up same-sex marriage and gay adoption rights more often as a means to motivate their conservative base. Because LGBT rights domestically were not a priority in the 2008 election, as they would be in the following 2012 election, it is no surprise that the

Obama administration did not respond immediately to the cases of violence in Uganda and also avoided discussing, or possibly passively condoned, the involvement of American churches by allowing Rick Warren, the man credited with the “discovery” of Ssempe, to deliver the inaugural prayer (Blumenthal 2009). To many LGBT activists, allowing Warren to deliver the address came as a harsh reminder that American influences in anti-LGBT laws ran deep. However, throughout Obama’s first term, his administration became increasingly outspoken about LGBT rights both domestically and internationally eventually leading up to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s declaration that “gay rights are human rights and human rights are gay rights”. So, at least rhetorically, the global LGBT community does have an ally in the Obama administration’s policies.

Specifically, with regards to funding through PEPFAR, the Obama administration renewed PEPFAR but also widened the scope to consist of pre-natal needs and malaria risk reduction, with \$323.4 million provided in HIV/AIDS relief to Uganda by 2012 (PEPFAR 2016). Like under the Bush administration, many programs that focused on treatment did provide services most readily to women, and their children, who were living with HIV/AIDS as women were, and still are, the most disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS. However, unlike Bush’s administration, Obama’s administration pushed for increased access to testing and counseling services, which provided comprehensive sexual education to HIV-negative individuals which led to nearly one billion HIV tests being performed by the end of his first term in office (PEPFAR 2016). This change in prevention education provided funding that allowed organizations that previously only focused on treatment to also focus on prevention work

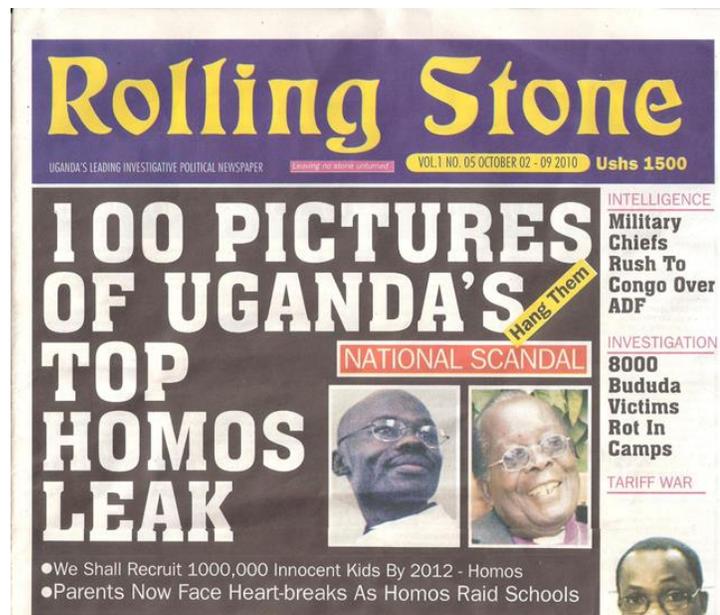
with high-risk HIV-negative people (PEPFAR 2011). Which ultimately took funding away from many faith-based organizations and provided ammunition for church leaders to rail against Obama's policies, which decimated some church funding in Uganda (Cheney 2012).

It became clear that foreign aid policy had to change. In March 2009, David Bahati, a popular member of Uganda's parliament, with support from Speaker Rebecca Kagada, pushed his new Anti-Homosexuality Bill. The bill included a death sentence for people convicted of homosexuality as well a prison term, set for eight years, of anyone that promoted homosexuality. "Promotion of homosexuality" was left deliberately vague and included more than vocally supporting LGBT rights and included such things as not releasing information of known acts of homosexuality, which would make the parents of a gay child "homosexual promoters" simply by not reporting their child to the police. While the international community had largely ignored the increasingly homophobic nature of Ugandan culture, the Anti-Homosexuality Bill drew harsh criticism from world leaders and activists alike (Cheney 2012). This forced the Obama administration to make their position public on the state-sanctioned violence against LGBT people.

Many governments focused on cutting foreign aid as a means to deter passage of the bill. Early in 2010, President Obama denounced the Anti-Homosexuality Bill as "odious" at a National Prayer Breakfast. His administration quickly changed foreign aid policy to redistribute aid through PEPFAR back to international NGO's and away from the Ugandan government as the Obama administration viewed both the faith-based organizations and governmental organizations as each adding to the growing stigma

against LGBT people (Cheney 2012; Spetalnick 2010). However, as Museveni had continued to ride on the anti-homosexual bandwagon, it was unclear whether this change in aid would even help to alleviate the deepening trend of violence and homophobia (Cheney 2012).

The following image, as a subject of qualitative content analysis, is the now infamous, “Hang Them” cover from the *Rolling Stone* publication in Uganda. This particular cover, published in October of 2010, is not the first to feature the “Hang Them” tagline, but is rather one of many in a long stream of publications naming Ugandan homosexuals, suspected homosexuals, and homosexual promoters:



Note: Image courtesy of “U.S. exporting homophobia to Uganda - part II,” by Jack Rodolico. 15 September 2011.

This image from the *Rolling Stone* publication reminds readers that it is “Uganda’s leading investigative political newspaper” that “leaves no stone unturned”. The main image is fairly simple with a focus on grabbing the reader’s attention by leaking the names, and in this case pictures, of individuals believed to be homosexual. What is

supposed to be a statement from the LGBT community, “We shall recruit 1000,000 innocent kids by 2012” is included as well as how this is affecting parents of those children. This is likely used to incite violence against those named in the image and is common rhetoric used in Uganda against members of the LGBT community, as seen in countless other articles and headlines from *Rolling Stone* (Lancaster 2008) and in regular postings on Ssempe’s church blog (Ssempe 2010). The phrase “hang them” is again included in this publication as a call to members of the community to cause harm to people suspected of being gay or promoting homosexuality. This particular issue included names, addresses, and photos of those who are mentioned to provide community members the ability to find the people identified as “homosexuals” or “homosexual promoters.” What is most striking of this particular image is that the man pictured on the left is David Kato, who at the time was the leader of Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG). Kato was a very vocal member of the LGBT community in Uganda at the time and soon after this publication he was beaten to death in January of 2011 in what police called “a robbery gone wrong” (Gettelman 2011).

Qualitative content analysis here shows parallels with the qualitative discourse analysis performed on Ssempe’s blog. Both show an underlying notion of homosexuality being “un-African” and something that needs to be (violently) eradicated from Ugandan civil society. Those themes commonly appear in anti-LGBT media and rhetoric and are a reminder of the hold that the politics of homophobia has on Uganda.

There was a major victory for LGBT Ugandans during this time. As mob-style attacks against accused homosexuals and promoters of homosexuality increased in Uganda, SMUG’s Frank Mugisha along with three other individuals whose information

was included in the *Rolling Stone* publications sued the newspaper and its chief editor in 2010. Representatives for *Rolling Stone* insisted that under Section 145 of the Ugandan Penal Code, homosexuality was a crime and that since the applicants had all admitted to being homosexuals, they were criminals (Goitom 2011). Surprisingly, the court argued that Section 145 of the Ugandan Penal Code prohibits specific acts and therefore does not make actually being gay a crime resulting in a verdict against the *Rolling Stone* which now prohibits the publishing of contact information of known or suspected homosexuals (Throckmorton 2011). While sadly, the court case did not prevent the death of Kato, this case did at least prevent publications like *Rolling Stone* and *Red Pepper* from printing the names of individuals.

Whatever the initial reasoning, the Ugandan parliament backed off of its intended passage of the bill as international pressure through human rights organizations and governments grew. Foreign aid through PEPFAR has redistributed away from Ssempe and other religious leaders, but this move was viewed among US evangelicals as an attack on Christian values by the Obama administration. American churches pushed their respective congregations to give to Ugandan churches that had already grown significantly from the previous years of funding (Oliver 2013).

Throughout 2009-2012, the Anti-Homosexuality Bill was repeatedly brought up in sessions of parliament by Bahati, with the support of Speaker Kagada, only to inevitably be shelved after a major outcry from the international stage. This would lead many supporters of the bill to yet again claim that Western nations were still meddling in the affairs of Uganda. As a wildly popular representative, Speaker Kagada often takes to social media outlets, typically her Facebook page, with strongly-worded arguments for

the passage of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill. Usually, her points most readily highlight the belief that Western nations are engaging in colonial practices by “forcing” homosexuality on Uganda and that her defense of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill is rooted in her love for Africa. Her arguments sound familiar in comparison with other African leaders. This is another reminder that homophobic politics and scapegoating have become deeply-entrenched in Ugandan civil society as the themes discussed previously with Ssempe’s blog post and the *Rolling Stone* image are also regularly present in Kagada’s social media platform. While the themes are similar, the only difference here is that Kagada is an elected official.

What is also significant about Kagada is that she has been one of only several of the women elected to parliament positions that do not still run into the social issues of legitimacy discussed in chapter two. Kagada is a fierce advocate for women’s issues in parliament and as such made a name for herself as someone who has a direct impact on the lives of everyday Ugandans. What has likely propelled her into such high esteem is increasingly vocal support of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill and incredibly strong anti-LGBT stance as she emerges as a leader who pushes for the rights of women and girls while simultaneously being critical of perceived Western influences (Oliver 2013).

This chapter focused specifically on changes to international aid distribution from the United States and the impact that had on HIV/AIDS policy in Uganda. The drastic impact, which empowered faith-based communities to react to HIV/AIDS prevention continued to amplify the disparities in infection and prevalence rates of LGBT Ugandans, and female sex workers, as anti-LGBT attitudes affected the crafting of policy. That was done through process tracing of the policies enacted by the Bush and

Obama administrations while simultaneously reviewing the actions taken by Uganda's parliament. Qualitative content and discourse analysis in this chapter provided an additional representation of the common themes in anti-LGBT rhetoric from community leaders and publications. The coupling of examining a sequence of events and identifying common anti-LGBT rhetoric used in Uganda helps to paint a vivid picture of the situation LGBT Ugandans faced in the lead up to 2014.

Aside from the previously discussed court case which ruled against the *Rolling Stone* publication, there has been some social progress for LGBT Ugandans. In the face of an increasingly dire situation, in 2012 LGBT Ugandans, under the leadership of SMUG, held their first Gay Pride Parade. The parade drew protests and police but was overall a peaceful demonstration in which members of the Ugandan LGBT community were able to declare their presence and express solidarity in the face of an increasingly chaotic political time. The following image, the final subject of qualitative content analysis for this chapter, is one of the most popular images shared on social media of the event:



Note: Image courtesy of SMUG (Photographer). 2012. Retrieved from <https://sexualminoritiesuganda.com/>.

The image shows a group of marchers walking through a field. Many are wearing rainbow colors, an international symbol of the LGBT community. What is most striking about this image is the sign that the young man in the front is displaying: “African and gay, not a choice”. This image, widely circulated online, is a strong reminder that homosexuality and “African-ness” are central to the debate around the legitimacy of LGBT rights in Africa. Parallels from this image can easily be drawn to Pride celebrations across the globe and in the ethnographic work from Donham (2005). Images, such as this image of a Ugandan Pride celebration, are important in the overall dialog on LGBT issues in Uganda because it presents homosexuality as something that is indeed African.

What is also of particular importance regarding this image gets back to a central question raised in chapter one: is labeling non-Western peoples with identities constructed in the West a form of cultural imperialism? It is clear from the image that people in Uganda relate to the identity “homosexual.” The embracing of that identity, as shown above, by non-Western peoples establishes homosexual identity as a transnational identity. Not recognizing an individual who identifies as “homosexual” would be ethnocentric and risks isolating a section of the global LGBT community. Again, identities and societies change throughout history, as discussed thoroughly in chapter one, and in an increasingly globalized world identities will cross borders. The final chapter will deal primarily with the online presence of the Ugandan LGBT community, and the online backlash, and will close with suggestions for moving forward.

Chapter Four: Moving Forward, Seeking Change

As a result of social media outlets led by SMUG, news of Kato's horrific death quickly spread across the world and in a unified voice human rights organizations condemned the murder. The international gaze fell upon Uganda and the levels of scrutiny towards anti-LGBT lawmakers and policies grew to staggering degrees. This final chapter will examine two major issues. First, how international responses and pressures helped and hindered LGBT peoples in Uganda and second, to continue to highlight the relationship of gay stigmatization and HIV infection rates. This is done in this chapter through a review of the literature on social media and marginalized populations and on stigma and HIV --- with applications to Uganda. This chapter will conclude with suggestions for moving forward.

4.1 Social Media and the LGBT Community in Uganda

As social media makes the world more and more connected every day, the potential for social media as an organizing, political force becomes all the more expected. Anyone who uses Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, or any other social app can be immediately connected to people that they may have never met otherwise. In the United States, social media has shown to be an important tool for many LGBT people as many have described being to talk openly about their identity but simultaneously remain "closeted" for their safety (Curry 2013). This has enabled LGBT people and communities to define their identities, especially in areas of the country that have very few resources and spaces dedicated to LGBT populations (GLSEN, CiPHR, CCRC 2013). And it is not only in the United States where social media has helped LGBT-

identifying individuals meet other people like them (Glasionov, Hage, Stevenson, and Tallman 2015).

This is important for a number of reasons. Take the example of a gay male. On the individual level, a young man who is having trouble understanding his sexual identity in a heteronormative society will likely grow to feel isolated. This young man might also fear openly talking about these feelings, particularly if he resides in an area that it could be dangerous to do so. By using social media, the young man is able to protect his personal self, while simultaneously forming relationships with people that are perhaps hundreds of miles of way. On the individual level, this young man is able to seek out people that he can identify with and be able to identify with others like himself will give his identity personal legitimacy. If this young man knows that there are other people like him in the world, even if they are not physically near him, it can increase his sense of belonging and remove feelings of isolation. On the social level, these young men are able to support each other and are able to organize. It can connect these young men to not only a safe, social online space but can also give these men an outlet for the potential of political organization. As social media has made it easier for LGBT communities to form and grow, it has also been shown to be a strong part of social movements (Curry 2013).

For LGBT Ugandans, this means several things. A gay man in Uganda is able to communicate more easily with other gay men, whether they are in Uganda or another country. As a result, he is able to talk more openly about his identity, and seeing that there are other men like him, this gives his identity a sort of self-legitimacy. When he connects with other LGBT people in Uganda they are able to share stories of what kinds

of things they have faced. They are able to unite into a cohesive group when they otherwise would not have been to push for change in their country. They are also able to reach out to LGBT people in other countries. These people are able to form online campaigns to educate their leaders about the problems LGBT populations face in Uganda.

And in Uganda, this has been a major part of the movement for LGBT rights. SMUG, which David Kato previously led, uses social media to not only organize its members but also to reach out to people in other countries to turn their collective gaze to Uganda. And in many ways, this has helped the Ugandan LGBT community as the international backlash against any anti-LGBT legislation, including the Anti-Homosexuality Bill, has caused many international leaders to denounce such legislation (SMUG 2016). Social media has been, and likely still will be, an incredibly useful tool at the disposal of LGBT Ugandans.

In some ways, this online organizing and usage of social media to meet and engage politically is very similar to feminist consciousness groups that would form in areas to organize for change to improve a situation or issue that affected women (Wilkinson 1998). Through organization during the feminist movement, individual women could share experiences and input with each other to work towards collective action for change. And with the wide-spread usage of the internet in the late 1990s, political consciousness groups, particularly within the feminist movement would use online listservs to mobilize individuals and connect them as a part of a larger group to organize, even across borders, for change. For LGBT individuals, feminist consciousness groups serve as a solid example of how technology and the importance of

group organizing around a particular issue are of the utmost importance for social movements (Ayers 2003).

Social media also has shown itself to be a weapon against LGBT Ugandans, this is both true in domestic politics and among the international response. On the domestic side, when an LGBT Ugandan posts on social media, that Facebook post, or tweet, or Tumblr blog, or whatever means is used often becomes viewable to the general public, even postings with strict security can make it to unintended audiences (SMUG 2016). On the one hand, items made viewable to the general public can recruit other members to their cause, but it also raises the potential that there could be an unsafe situation. If a member of SMUG posts the location for a meeting, anti-LGBT individuals could show up and harm group participants or threaten the group.

What is perhaps the most disturbing trend coming from anti-LGBT activists in Uganda is the usage of social and print media to publish the names and addresses of suspected, or known, homosexuals and “homosexual promoters.” Tabloid publications like *The Red Pepper* and *Rollingstone* depend on finding information about LGBT Ugandans online to use to encourage anti-LGBT to attack the individuals named, including David Kato. The Red Pepper, in particular, regularly used its Facebook page, before Facebook eventually pulled the plug, to publish information on LGBT Ugandans (Red Pepper Uganda 2015). This culture of fear makes it incredibly dangerous for LGBT Ugandans to not only politically and socially organize, but even live their lives authentically (Glasionov, Hage, Stevenson, and Tallman 2015).

Social media also creates a major issue on the international stage, albeit specifically a political problem. In chapter one, the major response used by African

political leaders of homosexuality being imported or wholly “un-African” is often reinforced for by international social media backlash by western countries. When the response on social media comes specifically from Western nations, this gives credence to anti-LGBT political leaders to declare homosexuality as western and when western leaders criticize African political leaders the claim that this is a form of cultural imperialism and a violation of state sovereignty can be levied against calls for LGBT protections.

Any progress for LGBT Ugandans will have to take a multilateral approach. It is important that people on the international stage continue to call attention to their respective leaders about the situation facing LGBT Ugandans. Yet, to combat the idea that “homosexuality was imported” it is all the more necessary to make sure that the voices and experiences of LGBT Ugandans are being lifted up and recognized because if the voice for change begins within Uganda than assertions of cultural imperialism begin to lose their ground (SMUG 2016).

4.2 The Current State of HIV/AIDS in Uganda

As discussed in chapters two and three, a culture of heterosexism reinforces HIV stigma and raises HIV infection rates. If an individual can be imprisoned or risks fear of death by disclosing that he is homosexual, then he cannot be honest with a doctor, a nurse, or someone providing HIV testing care. If someone cannot be honest with a medical provider, then they will not get specialized care that is needed to prevent HIV. For example, if a medical provider only talks to men about using condoms for vaginal sex because the client feels uncomfortable disclosing his sexual orientation or the doctor

assumes the male is only having vaginal sex, then discussing prevention of HIV and STIs from anal sex does not happen.

In the United States, the most at risk population for new HIV infections is men, particularly those of color, who have sex with other men (Center for Disease Control 2016). In sub-Saharan Africa, where anal sex is rarely discussed with medical providers, MSM are still at increased risk of HIV transmission, but women are the most disproportionately affected as vaginal intercourse is often all that is discussed with medical providers due to the social stigma associated with anal sex. This gap in medical prevention services keeps women and men who have sex with men from getting medical information crucial to their sexual health and thus increases the infection rate of HIV (IRMA 2010).

As Uganda was previously considered a “success story” for the prevention of HIV/AIDS, the framework to turn back this tide of increased infections is somewhat already in place (Kron 2012). From an international perspective, with the Obama administration not funding abstinence-only organizations, like those of Ssempe, as the Bush administration was monetary pressure is at least on some of those organizations; although many receive private donations through church organizations. However, focusing on IGOs and NGOs that focus on HIV/AIDS from a more comprehensive standpoint does help (Kaduuli 2012).

With women being at highest risk for contracting HIV in Uganda, policies that focused on men as the primary vectors of the disease fall in line with standard biomedical levels of risk, simply meaning that women who have sex with men are more at risk of contracting HIV than are the men they have sex with; the risk of transmission

increases if the woman is engaging in receptive anal sex. Empowering women to insist on condom usage and mutual monogamy, as Uganda's health policies previously focused on, goes a long way in HIV prevention (Kaduuli 2012). Simply put, when individuals have the ability to insist on protection, it is easier to use protection. Similarly, with the development of Truvada as pre-exposure prophylaxis, or PrEP, as well as vaginal and rectal microbicides women will be able to protect themselves from acquiring HIV without needing to convince the men they have sex with to protect them (IRMA 2010).

Uganda's previous successes with HIV prevention were because of a culture of medical and social empowerment of women, as discussed thoroughly in chapter two. By focusing funding on organizations which use that approach that can be a reality again. However, these approaches can only do so much in terms of HIV prevention if some of the similar limits continue to exist, specifically, if women are only focused on in the context of their relationships to the men around them and if approaches that only focus on vaginal sex are highlighted. As argued thoroughly in chapter two, by only defining women's health needs in relation to the men they have sex with, women's health becomes wholly dependent on the decisions of the males that put them at risk.

A health policy that empowers women to insist on condom usage does still make the woman dependent on the actions of a man to actually wear the condom, but going a step further and empowering those women to have the bodily autonomy to refuse sex if a male does not want to wear a condom would allow women to protect themselves. However, within a patriarchal, heterosexist system women often do not often have the social power to negotiate condom usage and refuse sex at any point. PrEP and vaginal and rectal microbicides allow women to protect themselves from HIV infection

regardless of a partner's feelings on condoms and monogamy. A health policy that focuses on the empowerment of women in society coupled with easing access to prevention and treatment medications will begin to stem the tide of HIV infections in Uganda.

Health policy approaches that also erase the experiences and needs of men who have sex with men will not be enough to curb HIV transmission (IRMA 2010). As mentioned previously, if a country criminalizes a specific sexual behavior, specifically homosexuality in Uganda's case, then individuals will not be able to speak with health care providers about their sexual practices. Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Law makes talking with medical providers even more difficult as those who do not report acts of homosexuality can be labeled as a "homosexual promoter" which also risks jail time. Therefore, a medical provider is compelled to report clients who engage in homosexual behaviors. The only way for Uganda to turn the tide against HIV transmission is through a coupled approach that both empowers women and decriminalizes homosexuality (Kaduuli 2012).

There is certainly hope that HIV can be reversed in Uganda, but that hope hinges upon a return to the empowerment of women and a new devotion to the legitimate decriminalization of homosexuality. The increased violence against LGBT individuals in Uganda will only compound the current health crisis. It is of the utmost importance that individuals continue to bring attention to the situation in Uganda, that the United States continue to prosecute anti-LGBT activists who have committed crimes against humanity, and, most importantly, that the voices of LGBT Ugandans are being lifted up.

4.3 Closing Remarks

As this research shows, identities that are based on same-sex sexual behaviors were a part of African societies prior to colonialism and the idea that homosexual behavior was brought into Africa, specifically Uganda, could not be further from the truth. African sexual and gendered identities prior to colonialism were diverse and were replaced with a gendered binary that redefined social roles and interactions for decades to come. However, what is most important to stress is that as the world becomes more and more connected, the construction of transnational identities makes global communities a reality.

This research also serves as a reminder that HIV/AIDS policies that render vulnerable communities invisible, or scapegoat them, or outright punish those communities will have major effects on overall national infection and prevalence rates. Leading up to the year 2000, Uganda was set to be a success story in the fight against HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, but international influences that altered strategies changed the direction of that success and took Uganda down a very dangerous path. That change called into question the impact of some of the Ugandan feminist movement's response to HIV/AIDS and its ability to elevate the social and political status of women in Uganda. Changes made by women in Uganda's parliament did not stem the tide of HIV/AIDS infections as only one type of woman, the virtuous, monogamous wife, was advocated for while ignoring the ever-increasing infection rates of female sex workers and gay men. A health policy that only defines women by their

relationships to men cannot empower women to negotiate for safer sex or make informed decisions regarding their health within a patriarchal system.

What is most important as a takeaway from this research is that while the situation in Uganda for the LGBT community is indeed dire, there is hope. As members of the Ugandan LGBT community found ways to organize and show solidarity, many social and political leaders in Uganda declared homosexuality as “un-African”, but if the international community continues to recognize and celebrate the voices and experiences of *Ugandans* who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender change can, and will, happen.

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