Homosexuality in Perspective

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the International Debate on Homosexuality in Uganda

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Summary

The proposal of the Anti-homosexuality bill in Uganda in 2009 led to a situating of Uganda as the focal point for an international debate on the rights of same-sex people. This thesis uses Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze the debate in relation to discursive and social practice. The thesis argues that the varied perspectives and assertions in the debate form part of three operating discourses: the humanitarian discourse, the national identity discourse and the neo-colonial discourse. These discourses reflect some of the dynamics of power that exist between Uganda and the Western world. The debate on homosexuality thus serves the purpose of a lens, which is used to explore relations of power between the West and Uganda. The relations of power are understood through the theoretical framework of post-colonial theory.

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Abbreviations

AHB – Anti-Homosexuality Bill

BBC – The British Broadcasting Corporation

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

HRW – Human Rights Watch

ILGA – The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association

IRIN – International Regional Information Networks

LGBT – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transsexual

MSNBC – Microsoft National Broadcasting Company

PRF – Pew Research Forum

SMUG – Sexual Minorities Uganda

UDHR – United Declaration of Human Rights

1 Introduction

In October 2009 the Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Act was proposed to the Ugandan Parliament. The bill aimed at increasing criminalization, and proposed the death penalty and life imprisonment for same-sex relations in Uganda. The bill led to situating Uganda as the focal point for an international debate on the rights of same-sex people. One of the consequences of the proposal of the Ugandan bill was the withholding of aid from Western countries as a means of sanctioning the Ugandan government (Shankar, 2014).

Several political leaders and international organizations denounced the bill for being contrary to International Human Rights. The government in Uganda passed the bill in 2013, and remained firm in their position despite economic sanctions from Western countries. Moreover, in the midst of national and international debate, members of the Ugandan government explicitly challenged western involvement, flagging the western history of "colonialism, imperialism and exploitation" (Shankar, 2014).

The global attention on Uganda led to a near international "media frenzy". A range of articles, blog entries, essays, and interviews discussed the issue of homosexuality in Uganda. Several Western-produced documentaries portrayed the situation for gays in Uganda, often referring to Uganda as "the worst place for gays" (BBC, 2016).

The international debate on homosexuality in Uganda was deemed to be a suitable case for a research project. The varied perspectives and assertions that dominated the debate form part of different and, at times, conflicting discourses. The identified discourses, in turn, reflect some of the dynamics in the relationship between Uganda and the Western world. The debate on homosexuality in Uganda thus serves the purpose of a lens, which can be used to explore relations of power between the West and Uganda.

1.1 Research question

This study seeks to explore the operational discourses visible in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. More specifically, the thesis aims to identify and analyze the discursive dynamics in the debate, and the structures of power found in the relationship between these discourses. The research question addressed in the study is as follows:

What are the dominant discourses and key positions of conflict constituting the international debate on homosexuality in Uganda?

How do operational discourses contribute to particular representations of the West and Uganda, and how do these representations play out in the relationship between the West and Uganda?

In response to the research question, the thesis argues that three main discourses can be identified in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda: (1) the humanitarian discourse, (2) the neo-colonial discourse and (3) the national identity discourse. My analysis of these three discourses exposes the various ways in which power operates between the West and Uganda.

1.2 Aim and scope

The thesis will not concern itself with the arguments debating the nature of homosexuality and legislation per se, but rather analyze the debate on homosexuality in Uganda through a post-colonial lens. As such, the aim of this thesis is to identify and engage the various discourses that were invoked in the public media debate with the history of colonialism and oppression in mind. The thesis thus offers a poignant critique of contemporary Western representations of Uganda and Ugandan authorities.

The relations of power between the West and Uganda are a key aspect in this study. As such, post-colonial theory is employed as the primary theoretical framework as it informs, critiques and problematizes the relationship between former colonized countries and Western countries. The debate on homosexuality in Uganda is chosen as the central research 'site' as it is reflective of, or brings into play particular discourses wherein colonial scripts are re-invoked – thus also suggesting asymmetrical relationships regarding authority and power. Key concepts from post-colonial scholars Edward Said (1978) and Homi Bhabha (1994) are employed as theoretically insightful for this thesis. Said's notion of Orientalism is applied in this thesis so as to explore the extent to which a similar discourse is reflected between the West and Uganda in the debate on homosexuality. Bhabha`s notion of colonial identity informs the work in terms of identifying discourses in the debate and to problematize the representations that are produced through discourse.

1.3 Analytical framework

The study employs Critical Discourse Analysis, in particular following Norman Fairclough's (2003) perspective. This study defines discourse as a "particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)" (Philips and Jørgensen 2002:1). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is applied as it emphasizes the role of power and hierarchy in the practice of discourse. Relations of power illuminate how various discursive practices are expressed and form part of social practice.

1.4 Data

The thesis uses a range of different data derived from international media. The data includes news articles, blog entries, documentaries, interviews and essays. The data is not meant to be representative, nor is it exhaustive. In Chapter 4 I provide an overview over the data selected as well as the selection criteria. In short, the data used in this thesis has been purposefully selected so as to illuminate the distinct discourses that centrally function in the debate. The data chosen thus give valuable insights into the debates as well as aid in identifying central discourses in the debate.

1.5 Structure

Chapter 2 provides a contextual backdrop for the thesis, and attempt to account for Uganda as an intersectional site for the local and transnational negotiation of homosexuality. This chapter introduces the colonial discourses in relation to perspective on African sexuality. Sexual theory and terminology is examined in connection to Western hegemony. Religion and religious beliefs are also explored in this chapter, in order to account for these as influential knowledge systems informing the discourse of homosexuality in Africa. Chapter 3 present the theoretical framework for the thesis. This chapter presents post-colonialism and post-colonial theory as a framework for analyzing the discursive dynamics between the West and Uganda. I draw on concepts developed by Edward Said (1978) and Homi Bhabha (1994) in this chapter, seen as these concepts are significant for the Ugandan context. Chapter 4 present the analytical framework of the thesis. The chapter outline Critical Discourse Analysis as the method for investigating the discursive dynamics in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. This chapter explains the term discourse, introduce the field of discourse studies and present

data material and establishes the rationale for sampling, sourcing and producing the data. Chapter 5,6 and 7 present the analytical dimensions of the thesis, through which the research question will be answered. Chapter 5 presents the textual analysis of the data through two categories of texts. The first category consist of the varied responses to the bill as proposed in 2009. The second category consist of the different perceptions of homosexuality among the actors in the debate. Chapter 6 examines the discursive practice in these texts. This chapter analyzes the texts in relation to the discursive patterns. The chapter examine the ways in which the discourses produce knowledge about the West and Uganda. Chapter 7 present the enabling of social practice. I provide an analysis of the social practice with reference to the concepts of power and hegemony. I discuss the hierarchical structure between the discourses and their effect on the relationship between the West and Uganda.

2   Contextual background

This chapter provides an introduction to the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. In particular, I explore Uganda as an intersectional site that illuminate the interworking of local and transnational discourses of homosexuality. Exploring the intersections of local and transnational discourses lay bare particular historical trajectories and situated realities, while also taking into account broader discursive trends and contestations on the African continent, including a critique of neocolonial interests.

Specifically, I engage the development and function of colonial discourses in relation to perspectives on African sexuality. A key theme to be explored in the chapter is the various ways in which imperial notions of "Africans" perpetuated particular understandings of African sexuality. I move on to explore same-sexual practices in Africa. I consider the notion of homosociality and place it in conversation with discourses of gender identity and homosexuality in Africa. The concept of homosexuality is explored drawing on perspectives from the disciplines of gender studies and sexuality studies. Gender and sexuality studies explore concepts of sexuality as they have been and continue to be socially and culturally informed. The study of sexuality is, of course, reflective of its historical context. Thus, I argue that concepts of sexuality are, as such, not innocent categories; rather their meaning and use are steeped in particular historical discourses. In the contemporary period, more nuanced approaches are developed to understand, theorize and analyze issues of gender and sexuality in ways that are responsive to contemporary needs. However, contemporary concepts of sexuality, such as gay and lesbian, are primarily developed in Western contexts, and often dominate the discourse of sexuality internationally. In this section I aim to show whether concepts of sexuality have contributed to the debate about homosexuality in both Western and African culture, as well as the Ugandan context. Particularly I explore connections between sexuality, identity and terminology. An important theme to be engaged is the Western hegemony in the area of sexual theory. Consequently, the terminology employed in sexuality studies is reflective of Western situatedness and localities. This is a key point as to why I have chosen to use the localized terminology in Uganda.

I also briefly explore religion and religious beliefs/persuasions as influential knowledge systems that inform discourses of homosexuality in Africa. First, I briefly present the three

dominant religions in Africa. Second, I outline the relationships between these religions and homosexuality.

2.1 Colonial discourses on African sexuality

Sylvia Tamale (2011: 14) argues that colonialists produced the earliest written records of studies on African sexuality during the 1800s. The reports were commonly constructed around imperial notions of African culture as primitive and inferior to Western culture (Tamale 2011: 14-15). Colonialist perspectives on African sexuality included Africans as "natural and instinctive beings", a perspective in sharp contrast to sophisticated Europeans. This particular colonial perspective also highlighted Africans as highly reproductive beings (Dlamini 2006: 132). The perception of African (non-)culture as un-developed and "wild" incorporated views of Africans as primitive and savage – and included particular notions of Africans sexuality. According to Tamale (2011: 15), colonialists deemed Africans to be highly sexualized and animal-like – thus illuminating their lack of cultured development.

Colonialist representations of African sexuality contributed to the manufacturing of African (non) culture and legitimized imperial conquests concerning the "need" for African people to develop a "civilized" sexuality more in tune with that of their colonizers. Colonial influence in Africa thus included the policing and shaping of African sexual ideals and behavior.

The manufacturing of African sexuality was overlaid with imperialist assumptions of African people, including racialized stereotypes of the African body. African women were sexualized and objectified, and were oppressed and abused by colonial settlers (Epprecht 2013: 40). European settlers in Africa condemned traditional practices like labia stretching, circumcision and same-sex marriage as barbarianism (Epprecht 2013: 40). Several anthropologists, missionaries and colonial officials reported on the practiced of same-sex relationships in African communities (Tamale 2011:15). However, because the colonialist notion of Africans sexuality saw it as centered on reproduction disassociated if from same-sex desires and agencies, ethnographers and anthropologists denied the existence of homosexuality in Africa until the mid-20th century (Lewis 2011: 208).

Tamale argues that the caricatures of African sexuality were reflective of the colonial preoccupation with situating the African body and sexuality as "other" vis-à-vis "Victorian sexuality" (Tamale 2011:16). "Victorian sexuality" signifies, for Tamale, a frigid and

conservative view of sexuality and the body that is overlaid with heavy Christian rhetoric. The Victorian view on civility entailed anti-sexual, moralistic and body-shame edicts that stood in stark contrast to the African expression of sexuality (Tamale 2011: 16).

Generally, research in colonial contexts almost always assumed that researchers elucidated legitimate, objective scholarly knowledge with little or no acknowledgement of positioning of the researchers (Tamale 2011: 29-30). Thus, the reporting of same-sex practices was dominated by the perception of similar practices in Western societies. Research on sexuality during the colonial era was informed by particular politics of empire, hence, not innocent or objective; and African practices were measured against Western norms of what was deemed natural or "developed".

The problem of employing Western ideas of sexuality onto African contexts is also encountered in modern research culture. Same-sex relationships in Western societies are different from the cultural sexual practices seen in many African societies. Western terms may not always be adequate when describing them. An example of this can be found in the work of anthropologist Jane Kendall. She studied the practice of erotic woman-to-woman relationships in Lesotho in the early 1990s. Kendall found that the sexual encounters between the women in Lesotho relationships, in no way were analogous to western relationships between lesbians or homosexuals (Tamale 2011: 20).

The purpose of this first section was to outline how colonial discourse has shaped perspectives on African sexuality, and how colonial residue still inform contemporary studies of sexuality in Africa. I will continue to examine Western dominance further, related to sexual theory and terminology.

2.2 Sexual theory and terminology

The dominance of Western theorizing of sexuality can be seen when examining terminology pertaining to sexuality and sexual identity. According to Norton (2002) the term homosexuality was first used by Austrian Karl-Maria Kertbeny in 1869. Kertbeny used the term in several pamphlets, arguing that male same-sexuality was inborn and unchangeable (Norton, 2002). Kertbeny`s view was, of course, quite controversial in his contemporary society. Societal attitudes toward homosexuality and same-sex relations and practices in the West have only recently changed to a more accepting position. Before the 1970s, most

Western countries had no tolerance or acceptance of same-sex sexuality. Tolerance towards homosexuality is in other words a recent phenomenon in the West.

The abbreviation LGBT is underpinned by Western identity politics. The term was first commonly used by American activists in the 1980s and consists of a collection of terms meant to encompass a complete scale of non-heterosexual identity (Grisham, 2016). LGBT is a collective term for lesbians, homosexuals, bisexuals and transgendered persons, and is an adaption of the initial term LGB, introduced in gay communities most notably in USA during the 1990s (Dictionary of American History, 2003). The term was originally thought to replace the term "gay" as it was argued that the term "gay" excluded women or bisexuals, and as such could not accurately represent all sexual identities the term was meant to encompass. The adding of "T" for Trans-persons and later "Q" for queer/questioning was a continuation of this. "I" for intersex has also been added to the term in order to include people who have the physical features of both sexes. The history of the abbreviation illuminates the difficult process and politics of inclusion, exclusion and visibility in same-sex communities.

The terminology addressed thus far does not necessarily reflect African experiences of sexuality and/or sexual practices in African societies. Western theory consists of a particular history combined with ideas and meanings that is not easily mapped onto sexual identities outside the West. The practice of same-sex relations is undoubtedly diverse and particular to societal norms and cultures. There are reportedly a number of instances of same-sexual practices in several African groups, among them the Azande of the Northern Congo, the Bahima, Banyoro and Baganda in Uganda, the Igbo of Nigeria and Iseto communities in northwest Kenya (Stewart, 2014). Same-sex sexual or intimate bonds may serve tutorial or transitional functions in African culture and thus differ from normative Western conceptions of same-sexual identity, which often will link it to romantic or sexual attractions between members of the same sex.

2.2.1 Homosexuality

The term homosexuality is debated as to whether it works as an umbrella-term attempting to explain all accounts of same-sex sexualities. Many perceive the terminological omission of women in the term as problematic. Deborah Amory compares the difficulties of the claimed universality of the term homosexual with the euro-centered view of the term "woman" and

how this category, historically, only took into account the experiences of Western (white) women (Amory 1997: 8). Terms developed for Western contexts.

The representation of African sexualities may in other words loose meaning when explained by way of the distinct terminology employed in Western discourses. Although commonly used in the field of sexual theory, the term LGBT might sound strange to many Africans when confronted with having to explain same-sex identities or practices. A more recognizable term for many Africans when describing non-heterosexuality is homosexuality. First, homosexuality as a term describing same-sexual relations is widely used in Africa. An example of this is found in the Ugandan newspaper Red Pepper, which published a list publicly exposing the country`s "200 top homosexuals" in 2014 (Brydum, 2014). The publication of this list resulted in the murder of gay activist David Kato, who was one of the homosexuals identified in the paper. Supporters engaging in the fight for equal rights, also evoke the term homosexual in many instances, instead of "LGBT". Ugandan scholar-activist Sylvia Tamale use the term homosexuality frequently when engaging in debates on sexuality and gender politics (Tamale, 2011). Given the widespread use of the term homosexuality I have chosen to employ this term in the study while describing same-sex relations. I will use same-sex relations when deemed more explanatory for the context.

2.3 Same-sex practices in Africa

As previously noted, same-sex practices clearly existed in pre-colonial Africa, filling a number of functions in the societies they were practiced. Mark Epprecht (2013) argues that the expression of these practices could be characterized as open to desire, and thus appeared to be less repressive than that of expressions of same-sexuality in Europe at the same time (Epprecht 2013: 39). Whether homosexuality has been a fundamental human practice among the earliest human beings is disputed. Some of the oldest known depictions of or references to same-sex sexuality in the world come from Africa, including cave paintings dating back at least two thousand years in Zimbabwe, and in Egyptian myths and written histories (Epprecht 2013: 53). Seen as the first humans came from Africa, one can argue that homosexuality has been practiced on the African continent since the dawn of human age. In what follows I will continue to explore some notions of same-sex practices in Africa, beginning with the concept of homosociality.

2.3.1 Homosociality and gender

An aspect of African gender culture that may conflict with Western ideas of homosexuality and what it may entail can be found in the concept of homosociality. Homosociality relates to the functioning of distinct gendered spaces in many African contexts (Epprecht 2013: 59). For example, relationships between men in African cultures may be perceived as affectionate. African men are known to show physical intimacy that in other cultures could be misinterpreted: "African men hug, kiss and hold hands with each other without the implication of romance or sexual attraction" (Epprecht 2013: 59). Epprecht argues that the physical aspect of homosociality means that physical, sexual or romantic same-sex relationships can exist without being deemed as anything other than natural. Examples of homosociality in Africa can be found in the works of writer Tatamkhulu Afrika for example, whose short stories describe such relationships. In his story "The treadmill" (1996) two men challenge stereotypical African macho sexuality by, among other things, sharing showers and sleeping in the same bed (Epprecht, 2013). The story may be interpreted as encompassing notions of homoeroticism. In the story, when one of the men reveals having a sexual relationship with another man while being imprisoned, the other man violently attacks and ends up raping him. Whether the rape is motivated by homophobia or homoerotic desire is not engaged (in Epprecht 2013: 59). Chris Dunton (2004) calls Africa's exploration of male-to male relationships a "testing of masculinity". Dunton perceives male sexual encounters as part of a masculine identity exploring conditions and limits of the masculine man – not the homosexual man (Dunton, 2004).

The relationship between gender and societal expectations are commonly encountered in sexual theory. Gender performance is a focal point in Judith Butler`s work (Butler, 1990). Butler has published a number of works discussing the relationship between power, gender, sexuality and identity. One of Butlers (1990) key arguments is that a female or a male body does not necessarily result in a heterosexual identity. In other words, biological sex does not determine gender or sexual identity. Like Foucault, Butler focuses on context, and argues that gender is to be seen as a fluid variable constantly changing in different contexts rather than a constant property of the body (Butler 1990). Gender is what we do, not who we are. Butler's perspective on gender can help us understand some of the dynamics of gender and sexuality in Africa. However, some African feminists contest Western feminist "obsession" with gender. Nigerian scholar, Oyeronke Oyewumi denies that gender is a fundamental social

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category in all cultures. In her book The Invention of Women (1997) she draws on the view of gender in Yoruba culture and the fact that there is no word for gender in the Yoruba language and that there are no social distinctions in terms of anatomical difference in the Yoruba social institutions and practices (Oyuwumi, 1997).

2.3.2 Homophobia in Africa

Homophobia is the notion of hostile attitudes, stigma and discriminations towards same-sexual orientation. Msibi (2011) argues that homophobia in Africa is exacerbated by the dominant discourse of patriarchy and heteronormativity in African societies: "Increased expressions of homophobia in Africa are not only a reaction to the "personified and visible homosexual identity", but also a tool for sexism, an attempt to solidify men`s position in society". (Msibi, 2011)

Msibi (2011) argues that while there are equal amounts of people with same-sex orientations in the West and in Africa, homosexuality is addressed in different ways due to the distinctive social construction of these societies. It is not accurate to argue that homophobia is un-Western, according to Msibi. Legalization of same-sex marriage is a common debate in many European countries, and same sex-marriage is a recent legal right in the US (BBC, 2015).

Homophobia in Africa is made up of national differences both in extent and intensity of anti-homosexual laws and legislations. South Africa is perceived to outdo several Western countries when it comes to the development of legislation pertaining to the social equality of same-sex peoples. South Africa was the first country in the world to voice sexual orientation as a human right in their constitution (reference). On the other hand, patterns of homophobia throughout the African continent are vividly present. These patterns may be explained by a variety of factors. Patrick Ireland (2013) bases his analysis on conservative religious beliefs, delayed political and economic development, the history of colonialism and resistance to globalization. He states: "A more robust analysis suggests that a British colonial past, a large Muslim population, and the absence of economic freedom and openness explain at least one-third of the variance in sodomy laws" (Ireland 2013: 47).

Homophobia and anti-homosexual rhetoric is widespread across the African continent (Mutua 2011: 452). As noted in the introduction, homosexual acts are deemed illegal in 36 countries on the continent, including Uganda. A common argument is that negative attitudes towards

homosexuality stem from religious doctrines. Several of the major world religions encompass texts and traditions that discourage same-sex practices.

Mutua (2011) explains this by pointing to the deeply socially conservative landscape and religious domination of the political space. Based on the fact that colonialism led to an expansion of Abrahamic religions across the continent, the argument "Homophobia is a Western export" is often used when attempting to explain hostile attitudes towards homosexuals in Africa (Evaristo, 2014). The argument connects religion with conservative views on homosexuality as a key factor for the continuing perpetuation of homophobia in Africa. Consequently, the next section will discuss the relationship between religion and sexuality in Africa.

2.4 Religion on sexuality

Varying in size and propagation, religious systems have shaped and informed the debates on homosexuality in Africa (Mutua 2011: 452). A significant aspect of African sexuality involves the relationship between religion and moral. Religious systems commonly include codes, rules and regulations for accepted moral behavior, which also includes sexual behavior. A common argument is that there are strong correlations between religiosity and negative attitudes towards homosexuality. In 2014 a study of 79 countries found clear differences the in levels of acceptance towards homosexuals among religious and non-religious people (Journal of Homosexuality, 2015).

The study revealed that in countries where religion was central in people's lives there was far less acceptance of homosexuality (Journal of Homosexuality, 2015). In Africa, the multifaceted religious landscape also involves belief systems commonly referred to as traditional or ancestral belief systems (Epprecht 2013: 66).

Traditional or ancestral belief systems have endured in a state of "syncretism" with other religions. Traditional belief systems make up one of the continents largest religious groupings together with Christianity and Islam. Consequently, I will hereby introduce traditional/ancestral religion, Christianity and Islam and note the various ways in which these religious discourses engage homosexuality.

2.4.1 Traditional/Ancestral belief

The system of traditional or ancestral belief in Africa is an expression of the lives of the dominant agricultural and pastoralist peoples (Epprecht 2013:69). It serves spiritual as well as functional needs, and is often expressed through religious practices such as ceremonies and rites.

A key point for the agricultural and pastoral people is the struggle for survival in accordance with the forces of nature. A powerful symbol for survival within this system of belief is sexuality, and in Africa the need to channel sexuality towards reproduction was very strong (Epprecht 2013: 69). In spite of the focus on reproduction, it is not likely that sexual relations without the possibility to reproduce were frowned upon or unaccepted in traditional African societies. Several examples of same-sex practices have been tied to the system of ancestral faith in Africa. As previously noted, several examples of same-sex practices and same-sex sex behavior have been recorded across the African continent (Stewart, 2014).

Epprecht (2013) argues that traditional, pre-colonial African societies perceived same-sex acts as normal. Sexual play was cultivating or tutorial, often with regard to a future marital partner (Epprecht 2013: 74). Aspects of sexual play are common in several contemporary African societies practicing traditions derived from ancestral belief systems. Saskia Wieringa describes the practice in contemporary Mozambique, where sexual play between girls serves an educational purpose of increased heterosexual pleasure in later relationships (Wieringa 2005: 289). A female traditional healer describes the practice as follows: "With the passage of time they get excited and end up seducing each other and having sexual relations. This phenomenon is known as ocecelana (Wieringa 2005: 289)"

However, Wieringa (2005) states that society condemns such relationships if they were to continue later. Epprecht (2013), on the other hand, argues that such intimate relationships could carry on through adulthood without necessarily being condoned in society. He explains this by noting that same-sex relationships in traditional African societies are to some degree invisible due to the functioning of homosociality. Homosociality as such may assist in "hiding" a same-sex relationship.

Male-to male sexual acts were in some traditional societies thought to have medical effects. It was used as a remedy for impotence, to improve soil fertility or to improve political or economic ambitions (Epprecht 2013: 76). It could also be used as a transfer of knowledge.

Among the Yoruba and the Ovimbundu people's a common initiation ritual involved sexual practice between men (Epprecht 2013: 76).

The relationship between homosexuality and traditional/ancestral belief gives insight to the complexity of same-sex practices in Africa and how they are diversely perceived in society.

2.4.2 Christianity

Christianity is one of the most widely practiced religions in Africa. There is a continuous growth in the number of Christians in Africa belonging to a number of different denominations, particularly within the renewal churches such as Pentecostal and Charismatic churches (Phiri and Maxwell, 2007). Views on homosexuality within Christian denominations vary greatly. Some denominations condemn it while others completely accept it. During the colonial period, dominant colonial views on Christianity included negative connotations regarding sexuality. Imperial notions of the African sexuality as primitive next to the "morally superior" European sexuality were linked to European religious convictions (Tamale, 2011). As previously mentioned, colonial heritage brought forth a conservative view on sexuality. This was also true in regard to views on same-sex sexuality.

Today, several accusations lay claim to the idea that homophobia and its origin in Africa is rooted and maintained by American conservative Christians (Walker, 2014). American churches, organizations and missionaries are present in Uganda as well as in a range of other African countries. They perform their mission, converting Ugandans into their highly conservative views. Western media have claimed that American evangelists and missionaries pushed the Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Act (Blake, 2014). Among those Westerners that "fanned the flames for homophobia" was American pastor Scott Lively who was tied to prominent political and religious leaders in Uganda and was in several media reports blamed for lobbying politicians prior to the legislative proposal (Blake, 2014).

The secretary general of the International Lesbian and Gay Association, Renato Sabbadini supports this view:

> What we're seeing is that this surge of homophobia is being encouraged by an active influence of foreign sources and I'm mainly referring to Pentecostal churches in the US. (..) These evangelists are finding that homophobia is a sort of visiting card which

will aid in getting more people to convert to their own version of Christianity (Ayanbunmi, 2012)

Sabbadini argues that American missionaries' use of homophobic rhetoric plays a key role in their spreading of Christianity in Africa (Ayanbunmi, 2012).

Regardless, Christianity has major influence on the population. According to a 2002 census, 85, 2 percent of the Ugandan population adheres to various Christian denominations (PEW, 2013). The huge growth of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches has led to these churches today presenting a prominent feature of the Ugandan religious landscape. Most Pentecostal churches condemn homosexuality, and The International Pentecostal Holiness Church`s for example, hold that:

> We have maintained a strong position against premarital, extramarital, and deviant sex, including homosexual and lesbian relationships, refusing to accept the loose moral standards of our society. We commit ourselves to maintaining this disciplined lifestyle with regard to our bodies. (Cornerstone Conference Ministry Center, 2016)

Commonly, and as seen above, arguments deriving from various Christian denominations are based on moral principles regarding sexuality and religious ethics. An essential argument in this regard is the notion of sodomy; a term with theological connotation describing the (immoral) practice of "anal or oral copulation with a member of the same or opposite sex (Merriam-Webster, 2016).

2.4.3 Islam

The presence of Islam in Africa traces back to the Arabian Peninsula during the 7th century. The majority of Muslims in Africa are Sunni, representing a variety of traditions and schools of thought. Views on homosexuality in Islam in Africa are influenced by the culture, history and legal system in Islam in Africa a the Muslim population in these nations. Commonly, different schools of Islamic law consider homosexuality a sin (Archive Islam Online 2010). In some of the countries where Islamic law is influential, homosexual activity is punishable by law, and several countries practices death penalty for homosexual acts (BBC, 2011).

On the other hand, Anissa Hèlie (2004) argues that the segregation of sexes in conservative Islamic societies allows intimacy between people of the same gender. She argues that same-sex practices are not necessarily considered abnormal:

> For women, cultural patterns may allow particular opportunities for intimacy: it's fairly acceptable to share a bed with your female cousin, your best friend and so on (…) In some traditional travelling theatres and musical groups in Pakistan, the younger men who play female roles sometimes live as a couple with the group leader. Among such communities, male couples may live out love relationships quite openly (Hèlie, 2004)

Hèlie also argues that same-sex attraction is not generally condemned in Islamic societies. One key concern within Islamic law is the public expression of homosexuality. This may explain the regularity of homoerotic themes in Muslim poetry and literature from the medieval period onwards. The concept of pederasty, the erotic relationship between an adult male and a pubescent male, has existed as a variety of customs and practices within different Islamic cultures and societies.

Summarily, religion constitutes a central frame of reference in debates on homosexuality. However, same-sex practices are not unequivocally condemned. Rather, the major religions on the African continent negotiate homosexuality and same sex practices in various ways. The variety of denominations, traditions and histories of religions present a complex picture of homosexuality. Michael Bronski (2013) states:

> The myth that all religions condemn homosexuality passes off one strand of Christian interpretation as a universal moral claim about what "all religions" and "all religious people" believe. In fact, what religions have to say about homosexuality varies considerably not just among religions, but within religions, too (Bronski 2013: 6)

The purpose of this section was to draw on religion as an influence on the discourse of same-sexuality in Africa. The next section will present some additional points regarding the perception of homosexuality in Uganda.

2.4.4 Additional points

A survey performed by Pew Research Forum (PRF) named The Global Divide On Homosexuality (2013) found that it is a widespread idea among the Ugandan population that

homosexual behavior is a threat to traditional family values (PRF, 2013).The majority of the population holds that marriage should only be between a male and a female. In 2007 the statement "Homosexuality is a way of life society should not accept" was supported by astoundingly 96 percent of Ugandan residents (PRF, 2013). A slight alteration was seen in a poll from 2010, where 11 percent of Ugandans supported the statement "Homosexual behavior is morally acceptable" (PRF, 2013). This set Uganda apart from most of their East African neighbors such as Tanzania, Rwanda and Kenya where less than 4 % supported the same statement (PRF, 2013).

The situation for most homosexuals in Africa is certainly different than in some of the Western countries. But, I content that Western media`s consistent perception of Uganda as "the worst place for gays" is un-nuanced. Uganda LGBT organizations are found throughout the country and advocate equal rights and just treatment of people with same-sex orientation.

However, these engagements receive little or no attention in Western media. For example, in the case of the Ugandan tabloid Red Pepper, which published the names and addresses of the alleged "Top 200 Homosexuals" in 2011, Western media did not hesitate to name Uganda "the worst place for gays", but did not report on the fact than Ugandan courts issued an injunction to stop the newspaper (Epprecht 2013:1).

2.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to give an overview of several intersecting topics and relevant issues related to the question. A key factor for the study of same-sex sexuality in Africa is the pervasive Western impact. Western understandings dominate the sexuality discourse in terms of terminology in and through the field of sexuality and gender studies. I have shown that Western ideas of same-sex sexuality are not necessarily parallel to African ideas of same-sex practices.

Particular understandings of religious traditions and teachings impact on the issue of homosexuality and legislation in Africa. I have shown that there are correlations between religiosity and homophobia, especially through the many Christian churches and organizations in Uganda that explicitly condemns homosexuality as a sinful practice. The level of homophobia found among African people is considerate.

Surveys reflecting the majority opinion on homosexuality in Uganda show that most people do not agree that it should be legalized. Simultaneously, the existence of LGBT organizations across the African continent, indicate that the situation is much more nuanced and complex. However, Western media continues to perpetuate the idea of Africa as inhospitable to same-sex practices.

3   Theoretical framework

In this chapter I establish the theoretical framework for the purpose of investigating the topic of homosexuality as it pertains to the discursive dynamics between "the West" and Uganda. The framework is applied as a means for understanding power dynamics in the relationship between the West and Uganda. Post-colonial theory is used as the primary theoretical framework in this thesis. Post-colonial theory challenges Western dominance, explains conditions in former colonies, includes descriptions of relations between former colonies and colonial powers and seeks to explain the effects of colonialism on the former colonies (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffins 2007: 168). In what follows, I explore the historical context of post-colonial theory and present a selection of post-colonial theorists, core concepts and models that underpin my study.

The first section of the chapter examines post-colonialism as the historical context for the emergence of post-colonial theory. The second section presents post-colonial theory. Common critical remarks will be outlined in this section. The next section presents two scholars within the field of postcolonial theory whose concepts I find relevant for the thesis-topic, namely Edward Said and Homi Bhabha. One example is Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, which mainly concerns the relationship between Western countries and Middle Eastern countries. The concept is decidedly significant for the Ugandan context. I also engage outline the term "the West" and how this term is understood and applied in the study. The final section presents a summary of the theory and how it is employed in the analytical chapters in this thesis.

3.1   Colonialism and post-colonialism

In order to grasp the essence of post-colonial theory, it is essential to look at the process of colonialism. The term derives from the Latin word Colonus meaning farmer (Stanford Encyclopedia, 2015). The process of colonization saw the transfer of people to new countries where they lived as permanent settlers while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin (Stanford Encyclopedia, 2015). The practice of colonial rule involved full or partial political control over a country while occupying it and exploiting it economically (Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffin 2007: 40-41). History is full of examples of societies expanding by incorporating adjacent territory and settling people on this territory. It will therefore be wrong

to claim that colonialism is strictly restricted to a specific time or place. However, the term colonialism is most commonly used when referring to the modern European colonial project, an era emerging in the 16th century in tandem with technological improvements and developments paving way for European settlements all over the world (Ashcroft, Griffins and Tiffin 2007: 223). The era, by many deemed ending in 1947 with the dismantling of British rule over the Indian subcontinent, will be the one referred to as the period of colonization in this thesis.

As a reference to a period of time, post-colonialism has similar usage to that of defining an era. Whether countries under former colonial rule have ever fully gained independence is disputed. One can say that the European colonial project came to an end when national liberation movements emerged and succeeded in those countries formerly ruled by colonizers. However, the process of building independence was long. The beginning of the dismantling of colonial rule happened over a course of several years, and followed different paces in different countries. Putting a post- in front of the term colonialism may indicate that the process is fully terminated. Even if most former colonies have gained independence, as of 2012, 16 territories, which are homes to almost 2 million people, are still under colonial rule and labeled by the United Nations as "non-self-governing territories" (United Nations Secretariat, 2015).

The colonial heritage is another factor disputing the full termination of colonialism. Influences from colonial powers are clearly present in the former colonies. In the instance of Uganda, independence from Britain happened in 1962. Today, British influence is present in Uganda through a number of cultural, institutional and legislative systems. And as an example of the notable colonial heritage, the national language for the large Bantu-speaking populations in Uganda is English.

To help clarify the periodization of post colonialism, I turn to Stephen Slemon:

> The concept proves most useful not when it is used synonymously with a post-independence historical period in once-colonized nations, but rather when it locates a specifically anti- or post-colonial discursive purchase in culture, one which begins in the moment that colonial powers inscribes itself onto the body and space of its Others and which continues as an often occulted tradition into the modern theatre of neo-colonialist international relations (in Childs and Williams 1997: 4).

Slemon deems it imperative to use the concept post-colonial as soon as some form of anti-colonial discourse in culture emerges or, to put it differently, as soon as a rejection of colonialist intervention is present. Rejection notably comes in the form of writing. Slemon suggest viewing periodization of post-colonialism as having two archives:

> The first archive here constructs it as writing from countries or regions which were formerly colonies of Europe. The second archive of post-colonialism is intimately related to the first, though not co-extensive with it. Here, the post-colonial is conceived of as a set of discursive practices, prominent among which is resistance to colonialism, colonialist ideologies and their contemporary forms and legacies (in Childs and Williams 1997: 2).

Slemon`s view illuminate anti-colonial writing and practice of colonialism as something that have reverberation, rather than only referring to the period as a legacy of the colonial powers. The position offers a chance to emphasize different perspectives (not only the perspectives of those in power), suggesting that this gives a more nuanced discussion of the concept. The issue of periodization may be complicated even further.

> We use the term post-colonial, however, to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1989: 2).

This usage of the term post-colonial provides an understanding of the term as a process – the process being characterized by anti-colonial cultural practices and writings. This definition does not necessarily present post-colonialism as something that chronologically follows colonialism, but rather as an overlapping of two processes taking place simultaneously, parallel or independent to each other.

Several critics deny entirely that colonialism as a process has passed. Anne McClintock calls the idea that colonialism has passed "amnesiac". She argues:

> There may be nothing "post" about colonialism at all. Is South Africa "post-colonial"? East Timor? Australia? By what fiat of historical amnesia can the United States of America, in particular, qualify as "post-colonial" – a term which can only be a

monumental affront to the native American peoples currently opposing the confetti triumphalism of 1992? (McClintock 1992: 294).

Childs and Williams (1997) propose a view in which post-colonialism is seen as a phase of imperialism rather than a singularized historical period. They argue that theories applied to the post-colonial era are constantly in dialogue (collaborative or critical) with contemporary critical theory such as feminism, Marxism, post-structuralism and postmodernism and their own internal debates and complexities which in turn impact understandings of post-colonialism. They argue that the fact that post-colonial theory is in dialogue with other theories shows the dynamic nature of post-colonialism as a process (Childs and Williams 1997: 21).

3.2 De-colonized identity: Who and where?

There are several concerns in locating the post-colonial space. An "obvious" location is the areas formerly under control by European colonialist powers. These would include large areas of the African continent. Britain began colonization of Uganda around 1860. Before colonization, Uganda was a region consisting of a collection of different religious and ethnic groups (Byrnes, 1990). Colonial rulers drew the borders that today divide Uganda from the neighboring countries.

The ambiguity of where and when something may be referred to as post-colonial has repercussions for who the post-colonial inhabitants are. The complexity of deeming whether areas may or may not be deemed post-colonial also applies for the people inhabiting the areas. It may be obvious, as in the case of geography, that the post-colonial people are those people formerly colonized by the West.

A challenge to this approach is the migration patterns in the increasingly globalizing world. This diaspora challenge the idea of a post-colonial people having to be situated in former colonial territories. Groups of people from former colonies are today living all over the world, and immigration patterns show that people particularly settle in the countries formerly perceived as the imperial heartlands. Many of the intellectuals within the field of post-colonial theory are themselves migrants, thus operating in an "in-between" space of former colonized and colonialist countries. Migration patterns are a principal consequence of colonialism and imperialism complicates the question of post-colonial identity. Colonial disturbance of

indigenous peoples and places are another factor complicating the identity of post-colonial people. Colonial influence brought about a machinery of administrative domination involving a system of borders, distinctions and divisions between the ethnic groups in colonized areas. The process of colonization defined borders, nations and peoples in Africa accounting for little other than imperialist interests. Borders were drawn and distinctions between people were at times entirely fabricated in order for the colonialists to fully exploit the areas in question (Fisher, 2012).

Despite the criticism related to the understanding of the term post-colonialism there are several practical reasons for using post-colonialism as a category both in terms of population and geography: "Post-colonialism (…) may reveal the ways in which the discourse works not only to read the culture of the colonized, but also to deconstruct the hidden codes and assumptions of the colonial powers and their traditions" (Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffins 2007: 167).

The geographic ambivalences as well as the difficulty of periodization render post-colonialism in a position that makes it hard to configure: "Post-colonialism is not a homogenous category, either across all post-colonial societies or even within a single one. Rather, it refers to a typical configuration which is always in the process of change, never consistent with itself" (Childs and Williams 1997: 5)

Summarily, post-colonialism cannot be seen as a homogenous, singularized ahistorical abstraction. It may however be seen as a historical period, which is continuously unfolding.

3.2.1 Post-colonial theory: Post-colonialism as intellectual movement

Post-colonial theory refers to a collection of theories concerning cultural, social and political effects of imperialism. These theories span from a range of issues including racism, ethnicity, cultural geography and post-modernism. Post-colonial theory can also be explained as an ideological movement, since the attempt is to form an account that counterweighs and challenges western dominance. Post-colonial theorists concern themselves with strategies of institutionalized power and seek to explain effects of colonialism and conditions in former colonies after the dismantling of colonialism. Key perspectives of post-colonial theory are therefore theories discussing issues of power, authority and legitimacy.

Post-colonial theory has triggered a lot of ideological controversies. There is particular critique regarding questions of authority. Who may be seen as postcolonial scholars? With what authority do they speak, and for who?

Some critics argue that post-colonial theory is westernized, and that the post-colonial scholarly works that seek to explain conditions in former colonies are not accurate descriptions but rather Western presentations of Africa. Philosopher Anthony Appiah calls post-colonial theory a "comprador intelligentsia" (Appiah 1991: 348). He argues that the post-colonial work produced by intellectuals is a Western product: "Postcolonial intellectuals in Africa are almost entirely dependent for their support on two institutions: the African university, an institution whose intellectual life is overwhelmingly constituted as Western and the Euro-American publisher and reader." (Appiah 1991: 348)

Appiah views post-colonial theory as an extension of colonial heritage. He challenges the assumption that the system of academia can produce universal knowledge. Academia is not based on universal values, but on values inherited from the European era of enlightenment, he argues. Enlightenment values formed the foundation for academia and academic knowledge. But these principles and philosophical ideas of knowledge are not universal, but western. Obtaining and producing academic knowledge will therefore always depend on the western idea of what knowledge is (Appiah 1991: 348). Therefore, knowledge produced within academic institutions is only knowledge by western standards and fails to describe phenomenon in ways that are reflective of indigenous or localized knowledge. The post-colonial voice is in Appiahs view, a Western voice (Appiah, 1991).

Another critique is the essentialism of post-colonial theory. Vivek Chibber blames post-colonial theorists for being too dependent on the idea of categorizing. He argues that: «At the core of postcolonial theory is the notion that Western categories can't be applied to postcolonial societies like India. On what basis is this claim made? (Chibber, 2013)"

Chibber does not agree with the categories applied in post-colonial theory. He claims that explaining conditions on the basis of categories like the East and the West is not an antidote to essentialism, but rather an endorsement of the very essentialism post-colonial theory seeks to combat (Chibber, 2013).

Post-colonial theory has also been criticized for being too homogenous. A commonality in many of the works written by post-colonial scholars are highly critical of colonialism and explain that conditions of poverty are a result of colonial exploitation. However, not all post-colonial scholars share this view. Some finds that the effects of colonization and imperialism were positive for the colonies (Chibber, 2013). One argument supporting this perspective is that economic growth was sparked by colonialism (Chibber, 2013). According to Childs and Williams (1997) the negative view of colonialism is more often than not occurring in post-independence societies. However, it is important to note that both supportive and oppositional formulations of the conditions in former colonies are common in the field of post-colonial theory. To view post-colonial theory as equal to colonial resistance is thus not an accurate description. A more nuanced understanding is thus necessary in order to present the multifaceted properties of post-colonial theory.

I will continue by introducing some of the main theorists that have contributed to the field of post-colonial theory. I begin with Edward Said, commonly perceived to be the founder of post-colonial studies.

3.3 Edward Said: Orientalism

Edward Said is one of the main contributors to post-colonial theory. Said`s seminal work Orientalism (1978) is by many viewed as the starting point of post-colonial criticism. In this book he describes Orientalism – the process in which the West created "the Orient" – as a style of European thought and academic discourse. According to Said the term Orient is fictitious and invented by the Occident (West). The idea behind the term is that fundamental differences exist between the Occident and the Orient. These differences are hierarchical in structure, where the West constitutes the civilizatory apex. Moreover, people situated in the Occident are perceived as rational, peaceful, liberal, logical and capable of developing real value while the people of the Orient are seen as irrational, emotional, immature, sensual, deceiving and suspicious (in Childs and Williams 97: 100).

This euro-centric worldview produced and perpetuated an image of the people from the Orient as "others". The "others" were constituted by western interpretation rather than a self-defining autonomic interpretation. Said's project relates to Michel Foucault's work, more specifically to the "relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains" (in

Childs and Williams 97: 98). Foucault explains discourse as: "a collection of statements unified by the designation of a common object of analysis, by particular ways of articulating knowledge about that object, and by certain connections, especially regularity, order and systematicity" (in Childs and Williams 97: 99). Using the same perspective, Said brings a variety of Western texts from disciplines such as geography, politics, literature, ethnography, linguistics and history under the heading of a single discourse, namely Orientalism. What unite these texts are the forms of knowledge produced about the Orient. The texts also support the power relations that underpin the relationship between the Occident and the Orient (Childs and Williams 1997: 99).

3.3.1 "The West"

According to Said, the representation of the Orient is created by and for the Occident, or the West. Whilst applying these terms while discussing the process of Orientalism, Edward Said warns against categorization of people in the beginning of his book:

> When one uses categories like Oriental and Western as both the starting and end points of analysis, research, and public policy the result is usually to polarize the distinction – the Oriental becomes more Oriental, the Westerner more Western – and limit human encounter between different cultures, traditions and societies (Said 1978: 45-46)

Said claim is that the category "the Orient" is not at all sufficient in describing the diversity found in culture. In other words, the use of the term "the West" is equally limiting in terms of its diversity. Despite the arguable descriptive sufficiency of the term, it has several areas of usage. First, it may be used pejoratively especially critical of the influence of the West, due to the history of imperialism and colonialism. It may be argued that the West has continued to engage in what might be viewed as modern implementations of imperialism and colonialism, through practices identified as neoliberalism or globalization.

Allegedly, definitions of the term "Western world" that some may consider "ethnocentric" others consider "constructed". Countries in the Western world are often considered to share certain fundamental political ideologies, including those of liberal democracy, human rights and gender equality. In the context of rights for the debate on homosexuality however, European countries vary greatly in terms of how homosexuality is generally perceived in society. Thus, the employment of the term "West" as a counterweight to Uganda in this thesis

draws heavily upon Edward Said`s "Occident" in his theory of Orientalism. The two terms are perceived as interchangeable. In the thesis, "West" is employed as a collective term referring to the Western part of the world and/or a specific country or region. The term is used when relating to Europe, former European colonial powers in America, Australia and New Zealand. "Western media" may in other words adhere to one of, or all of these countries. However, specification in terms of which country will occur in the thesis.

3.4 Homi Bhabha: Colonial identity

Homi Bhabha is one of the most important figures in contemporary post-colonial studies and has developed a number of key concepts describing ways in which colonized people have resisted colonial power. Bhabha published a series of essays presenting a range of concepts describing the relationship between former colonies and colonial power.

Bhabha is undoubtedly influenced by Said, but represents a different era in post-colonial theoretical writing. Whilst Said`s work is concerned with the existing dissimilarities between the colonizers and the colonized, Bhabha is concerned with their similarity. Bhabha perceives the approach Said represents to be too reliant on oversimplifying binaries such as "East – West" or "Colonizer – colonized" (in Childs and Williams 1997: 122). Bhabha is not as concerned with categorization as presented in Said`s "Orientalism" (1978), but rather with colonial identity. He introduces the idea of ambivalence as a form of co-existence or dual space:

> The object of colonial discourse is marked by ambivalence because it is derided and also desired, like the colonial fantasy to be in "two places at once", to be colonizer and colonized. Ambivalence thus involves a process of identification and of disavowal (in Childs and Williams 1997: 124).

The state of identification happens through relationality to the other. This state is ambivalent as it is produced in the dual space existing between the colonizer and the colonized. For Bhabha, colonized people resisting colonial powers or denying the colonizers authority represents ambivalence. He compares the rejection with the position held by the colonized and describes the position as something that both poses a threat and holds an attraction (Childs and Williams 1997: 125).

In one of his most influential essays "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism" (1983) Bhabha introduces his concept of "the stereotype". In this essay Bhabha argues that colonial discourse seeks to produce certain knowledge of colonial subjects, and that colonial discourse is dependent on the concept of "fixity" in the ideological construction of otherness (Bhabha 1994: 18). This fixity is the sign of cultural, historical or racial difference. Colonial discourse contains the recognition and disavowal of such differences. The other is perceived as unchangeable, known and predictable (in Childs and Williams 1997: 125). The function of the stereotype as both phobia and fetish "threatens the closure of the racial/epidermal schema for the colonial subject and opens the royal road to colonial fantasy" (Bhabha 1994: 25).

Bhabha uses Freud's discussion of fetishism as a model for his reading of the stereotype (in Childs and Williams 1997: 126). Bhabha's concern with stereotypes links fetish to colonial stereotypes in two ways. He argues that stereotype has a similar structural aspect as the fetish in that it links that which is unfamiliar and accepted to that which is familiar and accepted. The stereotype substitutes the racial purity or cultural ascendancy that the colonial subject fears the loss of. The substitute gives the colonial subject a feel of greater control. Bhabha sees fetishism as "an arrested, fixated form of representation" (in Childs and Williams 1997: 124). He argues that attention should be given to the visual aspect of both the exercise of colonial power, and stereotypes reliance on a difference of skin color or race (in Childs and Williams 1997: 125)

A central aspect of the relationship between colonial power and former colonies is what Bhabha calls "mimicry" (in Childs and Williams 1997: 129). The colonial subject mimics the dominant culture by adopting habits, institutions and values of the dominant culture. The result of the mimicry is never a clear reproduction, but rather an "almost but not quite", copy (in Childs and Williams 1997: 132). The dominant culture wants the subject to mimic, but to fail slightly. Bhabha explains that mimicry in fact can be quite threatening to the dominant culture - by the way it asserts an uncertainty, a "crack" in the dominant culture`s control of colonized behavior (in Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffin 2000: 125). Mimicry as such can be compared to mockery and ridicule. Bhabha encourages mimicry, as he perceives it to be a mechanism that challenges and threatens colonial domination.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has established the theoretical framework for this study. Post-colonial theory is deemed the most suited theoretical approach when identifying and exploring discursive dynamics between "the West" and Uganda as they pertain to the debate on homosexuality. The chapter has outlined post-colonialism as historical context for the emergence of post-colonial theory. Post-colonial theory has thereafter been introduced through two notable scholars within the field: Edward Said and Homi Bhabha. The concepts derived from the works of Edward Said and Homi Bhabha`s are employed in the analytical chapter. Some concepts, like Said`s conceptualization of "Occident", or "West" will be continuously applied in the distinction between the conflicting parties in the debate. Post-colonial theory is applied as the backrdrop in th e analytical chapter. Saids and Bhabhas concepts are used when analyzing the discursive practice and the social practice.

4   Analytical framework

In this chapter I establish the analytical approach and research design for this study. The study employs Critical Discourse Analysis as a method for investigating the discursive dynamics in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. The chapter is divided in three sections. The first section of the chapter engages the term discourse; including giving a short introduction to the field of discourse studies, and provides a synopsis of Critical Discourse Analysis. The second section describes the research design. This section presents the data material, explains how the data was processed and establishes the rationale for sampling, sourcing and production of the data.

4.1 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis contains a series of approaches employed in order to provide insight into social practices through the study of language, discourse and communication (Jørgensen and Philips 2002: 1). The term discourse is commonly used in conversation. The meaning of it may appear vague in the sense that it can be used uncritically (as "a matter of fact") or employed in contexts where it is not always clear what it aims to do. One may use the term when referring to "currents in society" or "greater discussions". This understanding of the term projects the term discourse as the categorization of different opinions, or collective understandings of a phenomenon. One may say that discourse is "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)" (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 1). Jørgensen and Philips (2002) explain discourse as language structured in relation to different patterns. These patterns are followed through individual speech acts, or utterances as they take part in various forms of social interaction. The patterns of individual speech acts constitute a "cluster of ideas" that forms a discourse. Discourse analysis is the analysis of these patterns (Jørgensen and Philips 2002: 1). Discourse analysis is frequently used when the object is to analyze, interpret and define discussions, debates or conflicting worldviews.

In the study of discourse there is a particular focus on language. Discourse analysis consists of a number of approaches that examine language and/or semiotics (the study of signs or symbols) in a particular speech act. The object of analysis may be very diverse as language is expressed in numerous ways. Discourse analysis may therefore be employed on speech acts that are expressed in writing, vocally or through signs or pictures. Within the field of

discourse analysis language is not seen as a passive reflection of objective or material reality (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 9-10). Rather, language is seen as generating and constituting the social world. The premise is that language generates meaning about social behavior and that knowledge about the social world motivates social behavior (Fairclough 2003: 24). In order to uncover and understand social behavior one needs to analyze such communicative events.

Empirical studies of discourse are often used when the object of analysis is some form of dialogue. By employing discourse analysis one gain insight into specific discourses, and/or potential conflicts between them. In the case of the debate on homosexuality in Uganda, critical discourse analysis is used so as to analyze the operating discourses in the debate and to identify the existing power dynamics between the West and Uganda.

4.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Because the field of discourse analysis examines language and the ways in which language motivates social behavior, the different approaches to discourse analysis share core values and properties (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 6). This study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is one of many approaches within discourse analysis. In particular, the approach employed in this study rests on Norman Fairclough's approach to CDA as presented in Fairclough (1995 a, 1995b, 2003). Fairclough's approach is considered to be one of the most developed and advanced in CDA (Jørgensen and Philips 2002: 60).

Fairclough (2003: 2) asserts that CDA is based upon the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life. The analysis and research of social practices therefore always need to take account of language. The particular focus for Fairclough`s approach to CDA is thus the interaction between text, discursive practice and social practice. As the name indicates, the focal point of CDA is to examine social practices critically: Critical discourse analysis is intended to generate critical social research, that is, "research that contributes to the rectification of injustice and inequality in society" (Jørgensen and Philips 2002: 77).

The critical approach within CDA is well suited to unveil asymmetrical relations of power, particularly relations of dominance and inequality. This makes CDA the most suitable method for this study as I examine the power dynamics and hierarchical structures of dominant discourses in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. The study employs CDA in order to

identify discourses in the debate as well as uncover relations of power that are discursively enacted by participants in the debate. Because this study has a particular focus on power, the next section engages the relationship between discourses and power.

4.1.2 Discourse and power

CDA is particularly focused on how discourses contribute to the manifestation and production of hegemony and hierarchy in society. Dominant discourses tend to represent certain interests whilst marginalizing other. Within a certain field, some discourses are dominant whilst others are less visible or suppressed (insert reference). In order to examine the effects of social power and power abuse, there is a need to address the ways in which dominance is expressed and enacted in text and talk. Van Dijk (1995) define social power as a form of control of one group by another that conceive of text and talk as a "resource of power": "Discursively implemented dominance involves preferential access to text and context taken as a basis or resource of power" (Van Dijk 1995: 20).

Discursive control may apply to all levels of text and talk. In this study I particularly focus on the ways in which the actors in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda are positioned. A central notion pertaining to the analysis of the texts is the different value-systems underpinning the dominant discourses. These in turn contribute to the particular attitudes towards homosexuality and legislation visible in the debate. Furthermore, CDA´s emphasis on language implies that texts are important elements of the analysis. "Texts" in this instance are defined broadly as "any actual instance of language in use", and refer to both written and spoken forms of language. All instances of language use are conceptualized as a communicative event (Fairclough 2003: 3, 67). I also look at the representations of the West and Uganda featured in the dominant discourses. The goal is to identify and explore discourses found in the debate, and from there analyze these discourses as a way to unveil uneven power relations and colonial rhetoric in the debate. In the next part of the chapter I will present Fairclough's model as the primary analytical framework used in this study and provide a rationale for this choice.

4.2 3.2 Fairclough's three-dimensional framework

CDA is particularly focused on the relationship between text, discursive practice and social practice. Fairclough's framework is based upon the principle that these are in a dialectical relationship with each other: discourse is socially embedded (Jørgensen and Philips 2002: 78). The underlying premise is that discursive practice both reflects and actively contributes to social and cultural change. The level between text, discourse and social practice is expressed in this three-dimensional framework:

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                 SOCIAL PRACTICE                  │
│  ┌───────────────────────────────────────────┐  │
│  │            DISCURSIVE PRACTICE            │  │
│  │                                           │  │
│  │  ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐  │  │
│  │  │                TEXT                 │  │  │
│  │  │                                     │  │  │
│  │  │        Dominant discourses          │  │  │
│  │  │    Key positions of conflict/tension│  │  │
│  │  │    Perceptions about homosexuality  │  │  │
│  │  └─────────────────────────────────────┘  │  │
│  │                                           │  │
│  │   Representations of the West and Uganda  │  │
│  │   (Re) invoked colonial language/discourses│  │
│  └───────────────────────────────────────────┘  │
│                                                  │
│             Hierarchy and power                  │
│      Relationship between Uganda and the West    │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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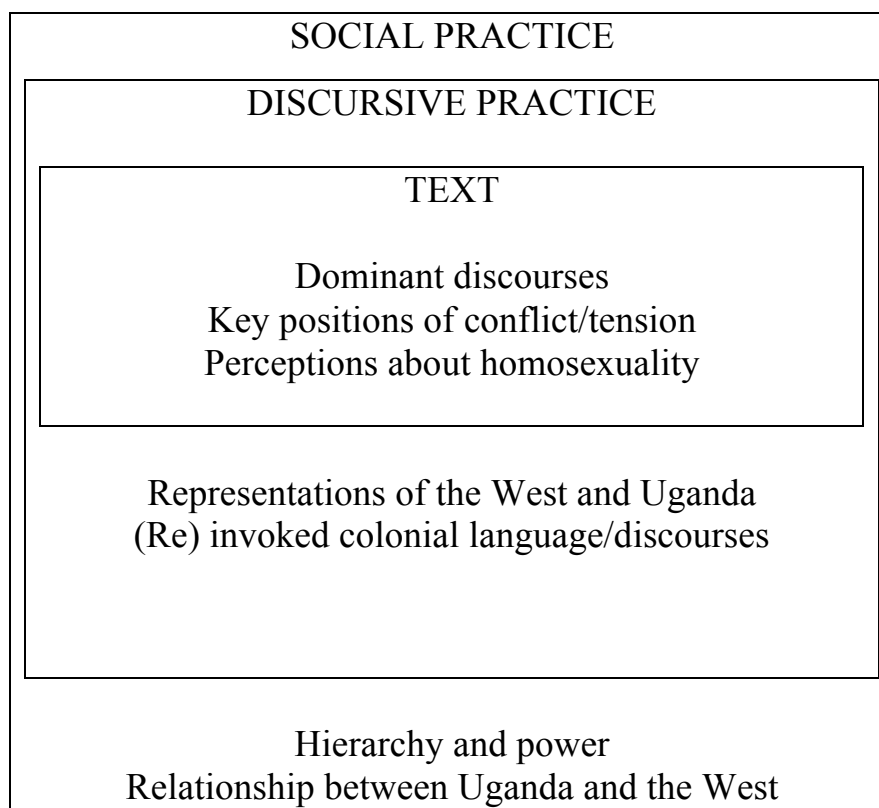
Figure 1: Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (1992b: 73)

Fairclough distinguishes between text, discursive practices and social practice as three analytically separated dimensions as shown in Figure 1 (Fairclough 1992b: 73). According to Fairclough, any communicative event can be critically analyzed with reference to these three dimensions. The first dimension looks at the text, which in the case of this study is the data material selected for analysis in the study . The textual dimension analyzes the texts in terms

of linguistics (Fairclough 1992b: 73). The second dimension looks at how texts form part of discursive practices and examines the discursive practice that the text forms part of (Fairclough 1992b: 73). In other words, the text is analyzed with reference to the existing discourses the author of the text draws upon and the text is analyzed by exploring how those who receive the text use existing discourses while consuming, understanding and interpreting the text. The utterances expressed in the texts form a cluster of ideas constituting different discourses. The third dimension looks at the ways in which these discourses constitute parts of social practice (Fairclough 1992b: 73). Social practice refers to a wider social and political context wherein the text is conceived, related to, or part of.

The application of Fairclough`s framework is used in two analytical chapters (chapter X and XY). As relating to the first dimension in the framework, chapter 5 will selection of texts used as empirical material representing the discursive practices. Chapter 6 examines these discursive practices as part of social practice. Chapters X and XY analyze the debate on homosexuality in Uganda in three parts: (1) Formal/linguistic features of the texts selected, (2) Textual features and arguments drawing on/forming different discourses and (3) the relationship between the identified discourses and social practice. In the context of this study, the latter pertains to exploring relations of power between the discourses and how hierarchical structures influence the relationship between the West and Uganda. I outline Fairclough's three analytical dimensions below.

1 Textual analysis

Textual analysis focuses on the data material that expresses the views of actors in the debate. The texts are analyzed in order to unveil dynamics and relations of power in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. The textual analysis is structured around positions of conflict and the various perceptions of homosexuals as dominant themes in the data. These themes are derived from the data as a structure aiming to outline positions of conflict/tension in the debate. These positions or conflicts are then analyzed, forming part of the discursive practice.

2 Discursive practices

The discursive practice is analyzed on the basis of the core ideas, expressions and/or dominant themes that emerge in the data selected. This part of the analysis focuses primarily on the production and/or re-production of discourses in the debate. The section will identify

discourses in the debate, and analyze the relations of power that exist between them. A main focus in this section is to identify the discourses that occupy dominant positions and the ones that seem to take up more marginal positions. Thus, one of the central aims in the analyses of discursive practice is to examine and problematize the power relations between operating discourses.

3 Social practices

The analysis of social practice engages the various ways in which dominant discourses relate to social practice. I discuss how discursive practices constitute and contribute to a set of representations of the West and Uganda. I draw on concepts derived from post-colonial theory in the analysis of social practice. Furthermore, I discuss the ways in which these representations contribute to the (re)-production of unequal power relations between the West and Uganda.

4.3 Sampling, selecting and sourcing data

The data in this study consists of different communicative events constituting contributions to the debate about homosexuality in Uganda. It is important to stress that representativeness is not a criteria for discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is not meant to cover all agents, actors, contributors, ideas and texts within a certain field. Rather, communicative events are purposefully selected. The rationale for the selection of data in this study is in direct relation to the research question. Data was selected on the basis of two criteria: firstly, that the texts chosen projected dominant views in the debate. Second, that the texts communicated clear examples of situations in which power relations emerged and could be analyzed. A chart over the data selected is to be found at the end of this chapter.

The rationale for sampling data for this study stems from the research question. The main criterion for selecting data was that the data reflected the dynamics in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. I started deriving the initial sample size by applying a simple method. I obtained a large number of articles by a search of words singular or combined on the Internet. These words were "Homosexuality", "Africa", "Uganda", and "Homophobia". The result from these searches was then archived. The selection of primary data from this archive was made through a thorough re-reading and categorizing of the initial data. Based on the categorization, I decided on two individual "cases". The first case consisted of text

material containing reactions to the proposed bill in 2009. Reactions to the bill were diverse and could therefore provide a multifaceted and complex foundation wherein the debate was analyzed. Reactions to the proposed bill give a good insight into the debate as well as aiding in defining positions of conflict and/or tension. The second case was a sampling of texts transcribed from discussions, interviews and/or conversations between actors representing different discourses concerning homosexuality in Uganda. The material consists of segments from two documentaries produced by BBC and an interview from The Rachel Maddow Show produced by MSNBC in 2010.

The debate on homosexuality in Uganda has taken place on various arenas, and therefore the data consists of a variety of media. The issue of homosexuality in Uganda has received thorough coverage in Ugandan and Western media. A lot of attention and "hype" has been given to various recorded and social media. Given the limited timeframe and scope of the thesis the material is limited to focus on two particular aspects: 1) reactions to the proposed bill (digital print media) and 2) discussions (recorded media).

Using CDA as my primary analytical approach allows for a number of interpretations. The researcher performing the analysis therefore has a great responsibility when interpreting the results, as well as documenting the process of interpretation (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 126). In the process of choosing material for the study, I had to be cognizant of the context in which the conversations formed part, what issues were being discussed, how these issues were addressed, how the messages were delivered and how they were perceived/received. Because much of the data originally consisted of videos transcribed into text, I had a frame for interpretations in which a vast plurality of options was attainable to me. Therefore, in order to provide answers to the research questions of this study, I adhered to CDA's focus on language as researchable site where the construction and contestations of social meaning in the relationship between the West and Uganda were discursively produced constituted the central nexus.

4.4 Additional considerations and challenges

The aim of the study is to highlight power relations between the West and Uganda. Considering that I am a Westerner myself, it is important to stress that the lenses I use when exploring this issue will draw on my experience of being a Westerner. In this regard, self-

reflexivity, proved valuable (Jørgensen and Philips 2002: 198). It may also be mentioned that I am familiar with the Ugandan context due to previous experiences of working and living in Uganda. My position as a researcher is therefore also affected by this experience. A methodological limitation relates directly to the instrument of online research. I used archiving of articles, interviews and selecting entries that were chosen as good representatives for the discourses I intended to expose. A main criterion for choosing texts was that they illuminated positions of conflict. The process of selecting material and analyzing them, defining core ideas in the texts and structuring them according to discourse is an entirely subjective process. The interpretative flexibility (or plasticity) is an aspect that poses certain challenges for validity, reliability and representativeness (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 197-198). It is important to emphasize that the selection of the textual material as well as the guiding principles used to analyze them are subjective. Seen as the interpretation of the material is subjective, it is important to clearly make the data transparent. This involves including a sufficient amount of quotes from the data in the analytical chapters. In the analytical chapters of this thesis, an adequate number of quotes have been included. The data material is easily attainable online, so readers may without difficulty consider the texts and my interpretations of them. Data transparency strengthens the reliability of the results, as the data can be revisited and reinvestigated by others. In CDA, the commitment to self-reflexivity also strengthens the reliability of the study. However, as mentioned above, the interpretation of the material in this study is subjectively produced. As Philips and Jørgensen (2002: 201) put it: "Knowledge which is tied to a particular perspective – a view from somewhere – cannot be objective, and if all knowledge is historically and culturally sedimented, then objectivity is impossible."

4.5 Structure of analytical chapters

In chapter 4, I begin with the first dimension in Fairclough`s model, namely textual analysis. The main purpose of this starting point is to identify dominant discourses in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. The discourses are deemed to constitute a "sounding board" for the general content of the debate. The texts analyzed in the first part of chapter 4 are organized into two categories. The first category explores the debate in terms of reactions to the Anti-Homosexuality Bill (AHB). This category consists of a collection of news articles and editorials, all of which present different responses to the proposed bill. The analysis of the

texts employed in this category is performed through highlighting main positions of tension or conflict in the textual material. The positions of conflict/tension are outlined below:

-        Whether International Governments should reject the bill

-        Consequences of sanctions from International Governments

-        Whether the Bill is violating International Human Rights

The second category of texts explores the varied perceptions participants in the debate have about homosexuals. This category is chosen for analysis as it is deemed to illuminate the relationship between discursive processes and social practice. The main purpose of the second category is to explore knowledge about homosexuality in the different discourses. In this study, the conflicting perceptions about homosexuality are deemed to have consequences for the social practice of dialogue and conflict solution,

The different perceptions of what homosexuality entail is presented below:

-        Homosexuals are promoting/recruiting others

-        Homosexuality is a threat to children

-        Homosexuality is not a sexual orientation

-        Homosexuality is incompatible with Christianity

-        One is born with homosexuality

-        Homosexuality is consenting love between adults

The arranging of the material into these categories serves a twofold purpose. First, they aid in organizing the material into a coherent structure that is easier to approach analytically. Second, the positions of conflict or tension contribute to illuminate the discourses that are further analyzed in the second half of chapter 4.

While the first half of chapter 4 engages in a textual analysis of the debate, the second half of the chapter explores the discursive practices in the debate. Hence, the main purpose of the second half of chapter 4 is to explore the texts as forming part of the discursive practice in the debate. Key concepts in this section are production, distribution and consumption of text.

4.6 Summary

This chapter outlined Critical Discourse Analysis as the main analytical approach employed in this study. Sampling of material consisting of a number of news articles, blog entries and recorded media were purposefully selected for analysis. The data was sourced from websites through a process of archiving and transcribing, followed by content analysis. On this basis, two cases were selected (1) reactions to the proposed bill and (2) identifying discourses in the debate. These cases are thought to bring particular insight to the research question as they both constitute discourses that illuminate relations of power in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda.

Table 1: Overview of the data material

Actor	Title	Category	Format	Year
The Guardian	Uganda: Unjust and infamous	Category 1	Editorial	2009
The Australian	When Uganda targets gays	Category 1	Editoral	2010
Daily Nation	UK to reduce aid to Africa`s anti-gay regimes	Category 1	Online News Article	2011
Independent	'We don't need European aid' - Ugandan president stirs tensions at anti-gay rally	Category 1	Online News article	2014
The Telegraph	Keep your gays and keep your aid, Uganda tells the West	Category 1	Online News Article	2014
IRIN News	Briefing: Punitive aid cuts disrupt healthcare in Uganda	Category 1	Online News Article	2014
The Guardian	UN's human rights chief urges Uganda to scrap anti-gay legislation	Category 1	Online News Article	2010
The Observer	Homosexuality Is Not A Right	Category 1	Editorial	2010
Human Rights Watch	Uganda: 'Anti-Homosexuality' Bill Threatens Liberties and Human Rights Defenders	Category 1	Online Article	2009
MSNBC	The Rachel Maddow Show – Interview with David Bahati	Category 2	Television Show	2010
BBC	Stephen Fry: Out There	Category 2	Television Documentary	2013
BBC	The World`s Worst Place To Be Gay?	Category 2	Television Documentary	2011

5 The debate on homosexuality in Uganda: Textual analysis

This chapter presents the first step I the analysis of the theme of this thesis, the international debate on homosexuality in Uganda. As a reminder to the reader I will repeat the research question introduced in the first chapter:

What are the dominant discourses and key positions of conflict constituting the international debate on homosexuality in Uganda?

How do operational discourses contribute to particular representations of the West and Uganda, and how do these representations play out in the relationship between the West and Uganda?

5.1 Textual analysis

This part of the analysis aim to mainly describe the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. I begin by briefly introducing the dominant discourses identified in the debate as I draw upon these discourses in all three dimensions of analysis of the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. The discourses will be more thoroughly engaged in the second half of this chapter. I have identified three dominant discourses in the international debate on homosexuality in Uganda. I have labeled these discourses the humanitarian discourse, the national identity discourse and the neo-colonial discourse.

The humanitarian discourse consists largely of assertions relating to international humanitarian norms concerning homosexuals and their rights. The discourse rests on a perception of sexual minorities as protected by the United Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The discourse further encompasses the humanitarian values underpinning the UDHR as values universally shared by, and legally binding for all member states within the UN. According to the UN, the values embodied in the UDHR are values of freedom, respect for human rights and democracy (UN, 1948).

The national-identity discourse encompasses Uganda`s national identity as an independent nation-state, which must act on the basis of its own domestic interests, culture and values. The discourse builds on a value-system largely consisting of conservative Christian views about

homosexuality. These religious values are based on a set of perceptions of homosexuality, where the main assertion is that homosexuality is conceived to be a threat to these religious principles. The discourse encompasses a view of Uganda as independent and in opposition to the West regarding the issue of homosexuality. The discourse thus opposes influence from the West as a means of conserving Ugandan culture, tradition and independence.

The neo-colonial discourse is in many ways related to the humanitarian discourse. Like the humanitarian discourse, this discourse also rests largely upon a perception of the UDHR as an international norm that implement legalization and ensure equal treatment of homosexuals in all societies. However, the neo-colonial discourse is distinguished from the humanitarian discourse in that it makes use of colonial rhetoric, argumentation, and frequently employs colonial representations of Ugandans. The discourse rests largely on a view of the West as authoritative. The underlying premise is that Western values are superior to Ugandan values.

I argue that these three discourses take part in "discursive battles" in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. The outcome of this battle in turn has consequences for social practice. I argue that the power hierarchy between the discourses has significant consequences for the relationship between Uganda and the West. My aim is not to assess whether homosexuality should be legal or illegal, but to highlight and problematize the points of tension/conflict in the debate.

I made use of a set of guiding principles when determining which texts belonged to which discourses in the textual analysis. The principles are based upon my own knowledge of the debate, the main contents of the debate, as well as the affiliation of the representatives for the different discourses. My insights were used as a point of departure when conducting the textual analysis. Some texts were easier to determine as being reflective of the three abovementioned discourses than others. For example, when analyzing articles from international human rights organizations, it was reasonable to believe that these texts were heavily influenced by the humanitarian discourse. In the same way, it was reasonable to believe that Ugandan political figures are influenced by the national-identity discourse. It was more of a challenge to determine texts that were reflective of the neo-colonial discourse as this discourse often intersected with other discourses. A key factor for determining neo-colonial texts was therefore to critically examine ways of argumentation and dominant representations of Ugandans. In this process, the concepts derived from the analytical framework of Fairclough (1992 and 2003) proved helpful. The concepts engaged in the works

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by Edward Said and Homi Bhabha helped to contextualize and problematize the dynamics in the texts that were reflective of colonial representations.

The textual analysis presented here constitutes an analytical synopsis of the most important findings derived from a more comprehensive initial analysis of the textual data.

The two categories of texts employed for analysis is presented below.

5.2 Category 1: Reactions to the Anti-Homosexuality Bill

During the course of 2009 Uganda became the focus of an international debate on homosexuality. The disputed issue was the Anti-Homosexuality Bill (AHB), a bill proposed in October 2009 by Ugandan Member of Parliament David Bahati (see attachment). At the time of the proposal, homosexuality and same-sex relations was punishable by up to 14 years in prison in Uganda (Lauritsen, 2016). The intensified dispute arose from the added punishment of life in prison and proposal of the death penalty in the bill. The extension of punishment for acts of homosexuality was heavily debated in both Ugandan and international media. Several Western governments and human rights-organizations condemned or criticized the bill. Some of Uganda's donors of aid threatened to withhold aid if the bill was to be passed by government. The debate consisted of a range of responses to the bill. Some of the core conflicting positions are presented below.

5.2.1 Positions of conflict and tension in the responses to the Bill

The texts featured in Category 1 (see overview page 44) are analyzed through a set of conflicting positions in the responses to the Bill. They are presented as follows:

- Whether International governments should reject the Bill

- Consequences of sanctions

- Whether the bill is a violation of human rights

The positions are individually addressed in the following section, supported by quotes and examples from the texts.

5.2.2 Whether International governments should reject the Bill

Responses to the proposal of the bill dealt explicitly with the question of whether international governments and organizations should interfere if the bill was to be passed into legislation by the Ugandan government. Different actors in the debate expressed conflicting perspectives regarding this question. Specifically, the question of whether it was fair of Western countries to criticize Uganda on the grounds of unjust legislation, as long as unjust legislation still persisted in Western countries. An editorial featured in The Guardian questioned whether critique was timely considering anti-homosexual legislation in America and Britain: "Ugandans may ask why they are being singled out for criticism: some American states still have anti-sodomy laws on the books, and in Britain legal equality is a recent development" (The Guardian, 2009).

The editorial questions whether Uganda is a fair target for criticism from the West as long as Western nations still have and (some) pursue anti-homosexual legislation. The editorial proposes that such criticism is a reflection of moral inconsistency; to criticize Uganda for these laws is not fair seen as sexual equality laws for same-sex oriented people are not fully implemented in Western societies. The accusation is thus that Western societies are operating with double standards if they choose to critique Uganda.

Still, the editorial supports interference if the bill is to be written into legislation: "Some people may fear the imposition of western liberal values. The far greater prejudice would be to tolerate an injustice in Africa that would not be tolerated at home" (The Guardian, 2009).

The argument of the editorial is that tolerance, that is, not to interfere, is to tolerate unjust legislation. The choice of not interfering would be reflective of double standards, seeing that discriminatory practice, then, is tolerated against homosexuals in Uganda but not in Western societies. The issue of boycott of the bill is therefore not a question of whether the West expects Uganda to act according to Western values, but rather whether it is paradoxical of Western countries not to oppose unjust treatment of homosexuals in Uganda. The views expressed in the editorial resonate with a humanitarian discourse. The argument is that by not arguing against injustice in a particular place, one commits an injustice to humanity in general. In other words, the position is reflective of the view that the same equal treatment and legal rights for homosexuals should apply all over the world.

The question of imposing western liberal values on a non-western society is generally discussed in the debate. An editorial in The Australian argues that not interfering is to practice cultural relativism: "It is dangerous to endorse any practice authorized by a society's culture; regardless of its consequences for human welfare (…) Relativism can license cruelty and oppression" (The Australian, 2010).

The statement implies a dynamic where a society's "endorsement" give license to cruelty and oppression. The statement also implies a particular dynamic of power between societies. One culture holds the position of either endorsing or interfering; in this case, the West holds a position where the choices are to either endorse (be complicit) or interfere. The statement can be said to resonate with a neo-colonial discourse, as it retains a hierarchy between societies/culture and values. To not interfere is a position that foregrounds complicity or support. Thus, the editorial encourages critique.

The editorial further invokes the category of values, which are envisioned as universal: "There are certain fundamental universal values that must be defended in all societies" (The Australian, 2010).

The statement is reflective of the humanitarian discourse in its reference to fundamental values that are valid in all societies. One interpretation of the statement is that by protesting the bill, these values are defended. The values referred to in this statement seemingly constitute an abstract category. No attempt is made to explain what these "fundamental values" consist of, nor their genealogy. Rather, values are universal. Arguably, Uganda becomes the "other" through this discursive claim to universal values (Childs and Williams 1997: 125). The underlying assumption is that western values are global values and that these values are contrary to the values underpinning the bill.

The editorial is clearly supportive of critiquing the Ugandan government. However, gestures of interference or censorship are not advised in the editorial. The editorial discusses this by means of arguing: "Gestures of censure do not always lead to just outcomes. For example, the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq during the years of Saddam Hussein's regime caused much suffering to ordinary Iraqis, many of whom despised the murderous Saddam" (The Australian, 2010).

The editorial presumes the possible outcome of censorship as unpredictable. The editorial compares the situation in Uganda to the incidents in Iraq, where Western countries imposed economic sanctions on Iraq as a response to the regime of Saddam Hussein. The sanctions resulted in the suffering of the Iraqi population, which the sanctions intended to protect. The comparison brings to the fore the fear that economic sanctions may have the same unfortunate consequences in Uganda.

There is a qualitative difference in the above statements concerning how to respond to the bill. The difference refers to which response is the most effective. First, the editorial in The Australian argues that the 'right' response to the bill is to protest it. At the same time, the outcome of protesting the bill may lead to serious consequences for the people the protest is intended to protect. This difference is illuminated through a clash of discourses, namely between the neo-colonial discourse and the humanitarian discourse. The statements draw on the humanitarian discourse as they are based on a humanitarian value-system that supports the protection of sexual minorities globally as a fundamental part of the IHR.

The editorial responses discussed above position the West as a significant humanitarian actor. There are also several assumptions at work, relating to the outcome of sanctions and criticism. In the next section of the chapter I examine the second position of conflict, namely the outcome of sanctions. Will criticism from Western countries in fact improve conditions for homosexuals in Uganda? Will the general population in Uganda suffer as a result of economic sanctions from the West? In the following section of the chapter, I explore these questions further.

5.2.3 Consequences of sanctions by International Governments

A significant area of dispute in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda was the possible outcome of sanctions and criticism towards Uganda if the bill was written into legislation. A particularly disputed issue was the practice of economic sanction in terms of development aid. Development aid is the practice in which donor countries transfer financial aid to donor recipients to support development. In 2010 Uganda was the 14th largest recipient of aid in the world (Smith, 2012).

The practice of development aid is an issue that is generally disputed, specifically with regards to how these funds are utilized as well as the effectiveness of the donations. It is

particularly critiqued from a post-colonial perspective, concerning the fact that donations often come with a set of premises pertaining to political conditions and structures (Slater and Bell 2002: 339). The argument is that premises for aid constitute an agenda for development; an agenda which is determined by the aid donor countries rather than the aid recipients themselves. The practice of development aid is also critiqued for maintaining hierarchical structures as aid is both offered and withheld (Slater and Bell 2002: 339). The practice of withholding aid as a form of sanction between the aid donors and the aid recipients thus ensures Western influence on internal affairs in the country receiving aid. Several western countries threatened to cut development aid to Uganda as an explicit statement of rejection of the bill[1].

In an article by Daily Nation, International Development Secretary Andrew Mitchell discussed the practice of aid as sanction. His intention was to impose an aid "fine" against African countries on the basis of anti-homosexual legislation. The issue of cutting aid as an economic sanction towards such countries is discussed, and Mitchell expresses how the practice of donating funds has been adjusted to serve the purpose of sanction:

> We now allocate funds every three months, rather than every year, so that we can review a country's performance, for example on human rights, and take swift action when governments fall short. We only provide aid directly to governments when we are satisfied that they share our commitments to reduce poverty and respect human rights. (Daily Nation, 2011)

The statement expresses a structure of hierarchy in the relationship between governments providing and receiving aid. The frequency of donating aid has been limited as an action to keep aid receiving countries under close watch. The performance of an aid receiving country is in this statement qualified by whether they perform in a satisfactory manner with regards to human rights. The statement resonates with both the neo-colonial and the humanitarian discourse. The hierarchical relations of power constituted through the practice of aid are supported in the statement. The implication that aid should be used as a means of sanction enables a power structure, in which the aid donor country can exercise authority over the aid recipient country.

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[1] Among the Western countries cutting aid to Uganda were the US, Canada, Britain, Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Norway and Denmark (Potts, 2014).

The potential for moral leverage through development aid was another issue much disputed in the debate. As mentioned above, during the course of the debate several countries threatened to, and several countries decided to withhold aid. The political leadership in Uganda responded by stating that aid was not wanted in Uganda, critiquing aid donation for functioning as a means of pressure from Western countries. An article by Independent recounts President Yoweri Museveni's reactions to the cutting of aid: "When you hear these Europeans saying they are going to cut aid ... we don't need aid in the first place (…) A country like Uganda is one of the richest on earth" (Independent, 2014).

Museveni's statement denies the effectiveness of withholding aid donations as an economic sanction. He argues that the practice of aid donation is neither a wanted nor a needed practice in Uganda. His statement is reflective of a national identity discourse in that Uganda's national affairs and interests are privileged over and beyond European (Western) affairs. The statement that Uganda is not in need of aid as it is "already rich" is particularly interesting. The noted expression of wealth can be interpreted as a wealth relating to integrity. This integrity may be understood as the need to protect interests that serve Ugandan interests and identity, and protect Uganda against immorality. State Minister of Ethics & Integrity Simon Lokodo stated: "We don't need it [aid], we won't die poor, and we will at least be able to save these gays from damnation" (Independent, 2014).

The statement resonates with the national identity discourse as it refers to how legislation will save homosexual people from damnation – an expression that is reflective of the Christian belief of punishment for sinful behavior (exemplified here by homosexual practice). Minister Lokodo further states: "Homosexuality cannot be accommodated in our culture. We have taken that position as a government because this is a democracy and it is what the people want." (Independent, 2014).

Minister Lokodo distances homosexuality from Uganda, stating that homosexuality has no place in the Ugandan society. The statement draws upon the national identity discourse by expressing what the Ugandan culture may and may not be affiliated with. Minister Lokodo further emphasizes that the majority of the Ugandan population shares the government's attitudes towards homosexuals. Hence, the governments' attitude is democratic, according to actors in the national identity discourse. The statement privileges national interests over and beyond international perceptions, and thus forms part of a national identity discourse.

Reponses to the bill also considered whether economic sanctions and criticism would better conditions for homosexuals in Uganda. In an article by The Guardian (2009) the following position was taken: "Ugandans may also feel that their laws should not be decided by outsiders. And some in the West, though appalled by the legislation, will fear that international criticism will only further isolate Africa's gay and lesbian population" (The Guardian, 2009).

A large portion of the withheld aid was a planned $90 million loan from the World Bank to improve Uganda's health care system. The amount represents 20 percent of the total health budged for 2013-14 in Uganda (reference). Health officials, NGOs and activists criticized the withholding of aid for having a potentially devastating impact on healthcare services, particularly regarding patients suffering from HIV/AIDS. In an article by IRIN Uganda's minister of health stated:

> Their action in Uganda, Nigeria or any African country to appease LGBTI [the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and inter-sex communities] is not good in the fight against HIV. If they continue with aid cuts, they will be conserving diseases HIV, TB [tuberculosis], malaria and others. This is very dangerous even to the minority community (IRIN, 2016).

The statement implies that the outcome of cutting aid will in fact worsen the conditions for homosexuals in Uganda. The implication is that homosexuals as a minority community in Uganda will be particularly affected as they benefit from health services.

In the same article, activist Julian Pepe Onziema, Programme Director of Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG) critiques the withholding of aid: "I'm not an advocate for aid cuts. Neither am I an advocate for bullying" (IRIN, 2016).

Onziema`s use of the phrase "bullying" frames the practice of cutting aid as not only related to the failure to protect homosexuals in Uganda, but also as a practice intended to intimidate the Ugandan government. Onziema critiques the implied economic sanctions. By critiquing the practice of aid, he also invokes the national identity discourse. The aid donors hold authoritative power over Uganda as aid recipients. Withholding aid can be seen as a way of "bullying" Uganda into acting in accordance with the wishes of the aid donor countries. The

decision to withhold aid rests on the argument that economic sanctions towards Uganda are necessary as the bill violates human rights.

The abovementioned positions open up for several questions. Is the legislation in fact breaking international human rights? How may we perceive human rights in terms of national sovereignty? Are international rights in fact international? The next section examines the conflicting positions regarding the Ugandan bill and International Human Rights.

5.2.4 Whether the Bill is a violation of International Human Rights

Many of the responses to the bill stress how the bill is inhumane and violate International Human Rights (IHR). In an article by The Guardian the UN High Commissioner for human rights Navi Pillay condemns the bill. She calls Ugandan government out to put the bill on hold as it contradicts IHR: "To criminalize people on the basis of color or gender is now unthinkable in most countries. The same should apply to an individual's sexual orientation" (The Guardian, 2010).

Pillay is undoubtedly an authoritative figure in the debate as she represents the interests of the UN. She perceives discrimination of people on the basis of sexual orientation as equal to discrimination of people on grounds of gender and race. Her argument, as well as her position in the debate clearly places her within the humanitarian discourse. Her use of the phrase "should apply" is clearly an opinionated indication. Sexual orientation as IHR has not yet been adopted by all of the UN member states. A joint statement on human rights violations based on sexual orientation was presented at the General Assembly in 2006 (Sheill 2009: 19). The statement was not signed by all member states, and in 2008 a statement opposing LGBT rights was signed by 54 member states, among them Uganda (Mac Farquhar 2008). While it is clear from the statement that Pillay wants to forbid discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, her view is not shared by all UN member states.

Whether sexual minorities are protected by the IHR is protested by another editorial featured in The Observer (2010). The editorial criticizes the idea that homosexuality is to be perceived as an international human right. The editorial states: "People peddling homosexuality as a right should tell us when it became a right" (The Observer, 2010).

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The editorial foregrounds that LGBTI-rights has not yet been adopted by the General Assembly. Thus, discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation cannot yet be considered an IHR violation. The editorial goes on to list a section from the United Declaration of Human Rights:

> The December 10, 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN General Assembly clearly states that marriage is meant for people of opposite sexes. It says in article 16 (a): "Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion have a right to marry and to found a family. (The Observer, 2010)

The editorial foregrounds the marriage institution as heteronormative, indicating that marriage is something that takes place between men and women. Contrary to Pillay, the author argues that the institution of marriage is only meant for men and women and that it is this heteronormative institution that is presented in the IHR, not same-sexual relationships or marriages.

An issue of dispute in the debate refers to the obligations of states adhering to The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). As previously mentioned, the UDHR have been criticized for their authority regarding the moral standards for the conceptions of rights enshrined in the UDHR. Critique from oppositional member states entails that political and civil rights are too dependent on, and reflective of Western traditions and interests. As the bill was presented to government, a section of the bill spoke to the issue of loyalty to international commitments. An article from the Human Rights Watch refers to this section and notes that "The final section of the bill provides for Uganda to nullify any of its international or regional commitments that it deems 'contradictory to the spirit and provisions enshrined in this Act'." (HRW, 2016)

The Human Rights Watch article further disputes that Uganda has a possibility to overlook international commitment: "As both the African Commission and the UN Human Rights Committee have held, a state cannot, through its domestic law, negate its international human rights obligations" (HRW, 2016).

The statement is reflective of the humanitarian discourse. However, the implications of whether this applies in the case of the AHB are pointing in a neo-colonial direction. The

reason for this is the uncertainty as to whether protection of sexual minorities is to be considered a fundamental component of the IHR. Pillay's statement may imply that this is a common interpretation of the IHR.

However, we can see that the interpretation of IHR differs from within the context of culture. The editorial from The Observer states that the protection of sexual minorities is contradictory to the clauses on legislation regarding the practice of marriage. Statements constituting the national identity discourse thus cross over into a neo-colonial discourse. The supposition is that Western value underpins and should influence the perceptions of the IHR in each society. The implication that these values are synonymous with western values makes the statements reflective of measures found in the neo-colonial discourse.

The texts in the first category consist of different response to the AHB as it was presented in Uganda in October 2009. I have analyzed the debate in relation to three positions of conflict or tension:

- Whether international governments should reject the Bill

- Consequences of sanctions

- Whether the bill is a violation of human rights

I now move on to the textual analysis that engages the varied perceptions of what homosexuality entails among actors in the debate.

5.3 Category 2: Conflicting perceptions of homosexuality in the discourses

The second category of the textual analysis consists of a range of examples from the recorded data on the different perceptions about homosexuality in the debate. The data drawn consists mainly of recorded media transcribed into text (see overview page 44).

This section of the analysis will present the varied perceptions about homosexuality as they pertain to the three dominant discourses and the ways in which they conflict with each other. Because the neo-colonial and humanitarian discourses present similar perceptions of

homosexuality, these are grouped together. Below, I present some dominant views of homosexuality in the national identity discourse.

5.3.1 The national identity discourse

The following perceptions about homosexuality were identified as dominant within the national identity discourse in the debate:

- Homosexuality as promoted by Western countries

- Homosexuality as a sexual act rather than an orientation

- Homosexuality as sexual abuse of children

- Homosexuality as "spreading"

- Homosexuality as incompatible with Christianity

5.3.2 Homosexuality as promoted by Western countries and un-African

The idea that Western countries promote homosexuality is frequently applied in the debate. I the BBC documentary "Stephen Fry: Out There" (BBC, 2013), Stephen Fry travels to Uganda to explore the situation for homosexuals in Uganda. He meets with Ugandan Minister of Ethics and Integrity Simon Lokodo for an interview. During the interview Lokodo addresses the issue in the following manner: "Please, it is already bad that you are in that status [referring to Stephen Fry's homosexual orientation]. Don't promote, don't recruit, don`t encourage others to come into your very unfortunate status" (BBC, 2013).

Lokodos statement is similar to that of Bahati in that they both employ a notion of "recruitment" by Western countries. The "recruitment" argument seems to add fuel to the national identity discourse. The argument is commonly employed by in the debate, specifically when debating why Ugandans are reluctant to homosexuality. The purpose of prohibiting or banning homosexuality is to protect the Ugandan people from this "problem". The recruitment-argument also portrays Western countries as "interferers" in Uganda; enforcing Western perceptions upon Ugandans.

Lokodo further states: "It is in your Europe, it is in your place!" (BBC, 2013). This statement describes homosexuality as un-Ugandan, rather; it is in Fry's "place": Homosexuality exists in Europe (or the West). Lokodo seems to not only address Fry as a homosexual, but also an advocate of homosexuality. Lokodos statement is linked to the "Western import" argument, which is generally based upon the idea that homosexuality is imported to Africa from the West. Lokodo`s statement can be interpreted as an attempt to protect the people of Uganda from unethical, western influence. The strategy is to preserve the cultural values embedded in the Ugandan society.

In another documentary produced by the BBC named The World`s Worst Place to be Gay (2011) Scott Mills travels to Uganda and discusses homosexuality. In a segment from the documentary, Mills sits down and talks to a group of young students. He asks them what they think about homosexuality. One of the students explain: "We don't support gays in Africa we think it's really evil cause.. Africans we really promote.. We want our culture, we maintain it. We want to promote African culture" (BBC, 2011). Another girl states: "Most of our youth in Uganda today have coped up with western culture, which is not good at all" (BBC, 2011). Scott then asks the group: "That's [referring to West and western culture] were they get the idea to be gay? All: "Yes" (BBC 2013).

This discussion is linked to the same perception: that homosexuality is Un-African, it comes from the West. The young girl expresses that she does not think Western culture is "good at all".

5.3.3 Homosexuality as a sexual act rather than an orientation

A major difference between the actors in the debate is whether they perceive homosexuality as an orientation based on sexual preference, or as merely a sexual act. State Minister of Ethics and Integrity Simon Lokodo states: "Homosexuality is not a person, it is the act. There is nothing like someone was born a gay, someone was born a lesbian" (BBC, 2013).

Lokodo denies that one can be born homosexual, and makes clear that he understands homosexuality not as an orientation, but rather as the sexual act. Lokodo`s statement presents a view of homosexuality as something one performs/enacts rather than something one is.

5.3.4 Homosexuality as sexual abuse of children

Another perception about homosexuality in the debate was that homosexuals target children. According to State Minister of Finance Planning David Bahati, the protection of children was one of the intended purposes of strengthening criminalization of homosexuals in Uganda. In an interview with American TV-host Rachel Maddow on her TV-show the Rachel Maddow show he explains the purpose of a clause in the bill: "This clause was referring to adults who are engaging minors. Adults to minors" (MSNBC, 2010).

The purpose of the clause was, according to Bahati, to strengthen the punishment for sexual assaults by adults towards children. Strengthened legislation regarding acts of homosexuality is thus seen as a means to protect minors against sexual exploitation and abuse. Bahati further states: "The focus of the bill is to protect our children" (MSNBC, 2010). Rachel Maddow asks if the bill is meant to eradicate homosexuality globally, Bahati replies: "It is a Ugandan bill, meant for Ugandans to protect the children of Uganda". Bahati is eager to explain that a main cause for the bill is to stop sexual abuse of children, and protect Ugandan children from homosexuality. Bahatis statement places emphasis on the need to protect Ugandan children. Criminalizing homosexuality is thus perceived to be one of the ways in which this can be achieved.

5.3.5 Homosexuality as spreading through "promotion" and "recruitment"

A shared belief about homosexuals among representatives situated within the national identity discourse is that homosexuality is "spread" by homosexuals or advocates of homosexuality. This perspective appears frequently in the debate, particularly explained as the process of "promoting" or "recruiting", as seen in this statement by David Bahati in the interview with Rachel Maddow:

> You know Rachel, that we have a huge problem in our country. The problem of people who are coming from abroad, investing money to recruit children into a behavior that we believe is a learned behavior that can be unlearned (MSNBC, 2010).

Minister Bahati`s conveys that homosexuality is a threat to Uganda. Homosexuality is "learned behavior", i.e. it is not natural, at least not in Uganda. Minister Bahati's statement describes homosexuality as something coming from "abroad" (the West) to Africa, and is

spread among the population of Uganda. By prohibiting homosexuality, the population is protected. Thus, it could be argued that the dominant national-identity discourse, here represented by Minister Bahati's, includes a protection-narrative – that of protecting Uganda by banning homosexuality.

5.3.6 Homosexuality as incompatible with Christianity

Probing further, it appears that Ugandan values are quite distinctly linked to particular Christian scripts in the context of debating homosexuality. In discussing homosexuality in Uganda, actors frequently employ arguments pertaining to God-given heteronormative family arrangements. One example can be found in the documentary "World's Worst Place to Be Gay", where a Ugandan radio host states: "God initially created man and woman, not man for man" (BBC, 2011).

Minister David Bahati similarly presents this view in an interview in the same documentary: "We believe that it [homosexuality] is a sin as stated in the Bible" (BBC, 2011). In the same documentary, a Ugandan man is approached by the film-crew in the street. When asked what he thinks about homosexuality he answers: "In Christ it is not acceptable, according to the Bible" (BBC, 2011).

These statements present homosexuality as incompatible with Christian values and beliefs. The promotion of homosexuality (by Western countries) is thus in conflict with the perception of the Christian family organization that is embedded within Ugandan culture. The national identity discourse is thus also reflective of the use of religion as a supportive mechanism; which deems homosexuality is incompatible with Christian (sexual) moral.

The perceptions of homosexuality found in the national identity discourse stands in stark contrast with perceptions of homosexuality in the neo-colonial and humanitarian discourse. These perceptions are explored in the next section.

5.4 The neo-colonial and humanitarian discourse

The following perceptions about homosexuality were identified as dominant within the neo-colonial and humanitarian discourse in the debate:

- Homosexuality as biologically determined

- Homosexuality as consensual

5.4.1 Homosexuality as biologically determined

An important understanding of homosexuality within the neo-colonial and humanitarian discourses is the understanding of homosexuality as biologically determined. This perception of homosexuality implies that homosexuality is not a choice; rather it is a naturally occurring attraction between people of the same sex. Fry draws on this perspective when stating that: "I am none the wiser as to what's really behind Lokodos hatred of gay people. He just kept his mantra of promotion and recruitment as if being gay is something you can talk people into or out of" (BBC, 2013).

The wording "as if being gays is something you can talk people into or out of" implies that being homosexual is not something one chooses to be or do; rather homosexuality is a fundamental, inescapable component of being human. This perception of homosexuality conveys that homosexuality is an innate characteristic and should therefore be protected from discrimination.

The perception that homosexuality is biologically determined draws on the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourses in that discrimination against homosexuals is conflicting with the values of equality and non-discrimination underpinning the UDHR. Article 7 in the UDHR reads: "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination" (The United Nations 1948 art. 7). The argument is based on the perception that to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation is in conflict with the UDHR.

Tension within the national-identity discourse is seen when discussing homosexuality with Ugandan homosexuals. An example of this is when, during a radio show in the documentary World's Worst Place to be Gay (2013), a representative for Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG) is confronted with why he is homosexual. He replies: "Because I was born like this!

Because I was born like this!" (BBC, 2011). Another segment from the documentary features a discussion between Mills and a group of Ugandan homosexuals in hiding. One of them says to Mills: "That's what we are, we are born gays we shall live gays and we shall die gays" (BBC, 2011).

These Ugandan homosexuals represent a counter-weight to the national identity discourse. They do not (necessarily) draw upon humanitarian or neo-colonial understandings; rather they explicitly assert that they are born like this. Hence, there exists voices within the Ugandan context that contradicts with the view that homosexuality is learned behavior. The segment constitutes a tension within the national identity discourse.

5.4.2 Homosexuality as consensual

Another perspective that resonates with the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourses is the perception of homosexuality as consensual. Contrary to the idea that homosexuality is enforced upon others; this perspective portrays homosexual acts as a consensual practice. Such a perspective is articulated in a segment from the documentary "Out There" when Stephen Fry and Simon Lokodo discuss the matter of consent:

> Stephen Fry: *Surely heterosexuality is far more dangerous to children than homosexuality. Far more! It's a country [Uganda] where heterosexual rape is almost endemic!*
>
> Simon Lokodo: *I say. Let. Them. Do. It.*
>
> Stephen Fry: *Oh 'let them do it'?*
>
> Simon Lokodo: *But let them do it the right way.*
>
> Stephen Fry: *Oh let them do it the right way? Let them rape children the right way? What are you talking about?*
>
> Simon Lokodo: *I'm saying, at least it is the natural way of desiring sex.*
>
> Stephen Fry: *OH! That's okay then! So it's okay to... but for two men who wish, who consent to have sex together in private is bad, but it's okay for a man to rape a woman cause at least it's the right way...* (BBC, 2013)

In this segment, Fry makes a comparison between rape and homosexuality. The comparison is made in light of Lokodos opinion on the matter. Lokodo seems to be comfortable with the idea of rape as it is "the right way". What Fry would like to convey in this segment is that homosexual acts are practiced by way of consent. Fry challenges Lokodos perspective on the matter of consent by highlighting how homosexuality is not premised on force or coercion. Clearly, there is a conflict between perceptions of homosexuality at work here, and moreover regarding the principle of consensual sex (be it homosexual or heterosexual sex).

5.5 Summary

This chapter has engaged data that exemplifies perceptions of homosexuality in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. The material has been analyzed using the first dimension of Fairclough`s model, namely textual analysis. The data has been organized in two categories. The first category explored the various reactions to the bill. This category consisted of a number of positions of conflict or tension regarding reactions to the bill. The second category explored the varied perceptions of homosexuality found in the dominant discourses in the debate. I argue that both categories, reactions to the bill and perceptions of homosexuality, help to explore and render visible the points of conflict and tensions in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. The next chapter will engage the debate further, by employing the second dimension of Fairclough`s model, discursive practice.

6 Discursive practices in the debate on Homosexuality in Uganda

This chapter explores the debate in terms of the dominant themes in the data. As mentioned in chapter 3, discursive practice is the production and consumption of text (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 81). The discursive practices are identified and problematized through the texts selected. The textual analysis (outlined in chapter 5) revealed positions of conflict, and the different perceptions of homosexuality in the debate. I argue that the findings are reflective of particular discursive practices that functions in the three identified dominant discourses. This chapter explores the particular links between data, discursive practice and dominant discourse. I will examine the ways in which the three identified discourses produce knowledge about the West and Uganda in the debate. This knowledge is produced through certain representations in the discourses, of the West and Uganda. According to Philips and Jørgensen (2002: 67) discursive practice contributes to the construction of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and meaning. By addressing the positions of conflict and perceptions that are expressed in the texts, it is possible to identify how these texts together constitute different discourses in the debate. In order to identify the dominant discourses and explore the ways in which they affect social practice, we need to look at the consequences discursive processes have for the broader social practice, wherein which the production of representations is central (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 69).

6.1 Dominant discourses

6.1.1 The Humanitarian discourse

One of the dominant discourses engaged in the textual analysis is the humanitarian discourse. As previously noted, this discourse is largely based on international humanitarian norms concerning homosexuals (or LGBT) and the protection of homosexuals in relation to International human rights. The discourse builds on principles of human rights as defined by the United Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The main authoritative figure is the UN. The humanitarian discourse perceives human rights as fundamentally shared by, and legally binding for all member states within the UN, including Uganda. The essence of the humanitarian discourse is that homosexuals in Uganda are protected by the UDHR. The

humanitarian discourse emphasizes the importance of expressing intolerance of the situation for homosexuals in Uganda and rejects the bill. There is a strong consensus that the situation in Uganda is unacceptable. The actors in the debate that argue that the bill is in disagreement with the UDHR draw upon the humanitarian discourse.

A substantial aspect of the humanitarian discourse is that international principles should play a significant role in national affairs. This aspect relates to a shared sentiment towards showing solidarity with homosexuals in Uganda. The understanding of the bill is that is discriminates homosexuals in Uganda. The actors in the humanitarian discourse perceive discrimination towards human beings on the basis of sexual orientation as conflicting with values shared by the international community. To discriminate towards homosexuals is, accordingly, defying the International Human Rights Law.

The actors that are situated within the humanitarian discourse express disapproval of the bill. However, there is not a clear consensus among the actors regarding whether further action is to be taken towards the Ugandan government. The disagreement represents a fractioning of the discourse. One fraction emphasizes the need to take some form of action. Such action would be to carry out economic sanctions in order to exert influence on the Ugandan government. This fraction of the discourse concurs with the views of the actors situated in the neo-colonial discourse that encourages the use of sanctions. The other fraction within the humanitarian discourse questions, or opposes the performance of such acts. This fraction of the discourse holds that economic sanctions would be destructive, particularly for the homosexual population in Uganda. The line of reasoning is that to withdraw economic support assisting the system of health care will be harmful, especially for those who make use of services related to AIDS and HIV. The concern points to the fact that international aid is a significant contributor to the system of health care in Uganda. As such, aid benefits homosexuals as well as the general population in Uganda.

6.1.2 The Neo-colonial discourse

Equivalent to the humanitarian discourse, the neo-colonial discourse rests upon international humanitarian norms regarding the protection of homosexuals. The neo-colonial discourse adheres to the UN as the main authority regarding the interpretation of rights. There are, however, some aspects of the neo-colonial discourse that distinguishes it from the humanitarian discourse. A significant difference is the use of colonial rhetoric and colonial

representations among the actors in the discourse. This point is elaborated further in Chapter 6. This is especially found in the texts pertaining to the exercise of political influence on developing countries. Actors in the neo-colonial discourse support the employment of economic sanctions as a means of pressuring the Ugandan government into acting in accordance with the international human rights community regarding their treatment of homosexuals.

A nodal point among actors in the neo-colonial discourse is the colonial representation of Uganda (and Ugandans) and the West. These representations portray Uganda as backwards, and the West as superior. The colonial representations in the neo-colonial discourse are further outlined in Chapter 6.

6.1.3 The national identity discourse

The actors in the debate that constitute the national-identity discourse encompasses a view of Uganda`s national identity as an independent nation-state, which must act on the basis of its own domestic interests, culture and values. The discourse consists of a range of perceptions relating to homosexuality and contrast homosexual praxis with the acceptable norms in Ugandan culture. These norms are largely influenced by religion, particularly Christian perceptions of sexual moral. The central tenant pertaining to homosexuality among the actors is that homosexuality is considered unnatural and immoral.

The actors in the national identity discourse also hold a view of homosexuality as "spreading" from the West to Uganda. The argument is that homosexuals or advocates of homosexuality regularly promote and/or recruit other people. A nodal point in the discourse is thus the protection of Ugandans against homosexuality.

An aspect of the actors constituting the national identity discourse involves the resistance of Western influence, particularly with regard to the (im) moral values found in Western societies. A prominent issue within the discourse is thus to protest against Western countries and influence, as these are perceived to force their values upon Ugandans. A focal point within the discourse is thus to remain independent from the West, by opposing influence from the West as a means of conserving Ugandan culture, tradition and independence. The discourse encompasses a view of Uganda as in opposition to the West.

Another pattern in the textual material that constitute the national identity discourse, is the shared belief among the actors that the attitude towards homosexuality as presented through the bill reflects the opinion held by the majority of people in Uganda. The belief includes another nodal point in the discourse, namely democracy in domestic policy. The consensus is that legislation and national politics should reflect the democratic opinion of homosexuals, and that the bill is an indication of the democratic processes that underlie the legislation.

6.2 Hierarchy and power: Representations

The issue of power is essential in establishing the hierarchy between the discourses. A main point of reference when examining the hierarchy is whether actors in the debate hold certain forms of power when expressing their views. The representations of the actors in the debate is of great significance, because representations contributes to the construction of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and meaning (Philips and Jørgensen (2002: 67). This subchapter examines the ways in which the three identified discourses *produce knowledge* about homosexuality, Uganda and Ugandans and the West. The main aim is to show how knowledge is produced through certain representations in the discourses, of the West and Uganda. In order to identify the dominant discourses and explore the ways in which they affect social practice, we need to look at the consequences discursive processes have for the broader social practice, wherein which the production of representations is central (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 69).

6.2.1 Homosexuality

The actors in the debate operate with varied perceptions of homosexuality. The national identity discourse produces a representation of homosexuality in which it is presented to be a sexual act, rather than an orientation. This is contrasted by actors in the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourse, which encompasses a view of homosexuality as a sexual orientation and as biologically determined. Further, actors in the national identity discourse present homosexuals as targeting children. The perception is that homosexuals are promoting and recruiting other people, including young children. Another significant representation of homosexuality in the national identity discourse is that it is perceived to be incompatible with Christian values and morals.

The actors in the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourse operate with perceptions of homosexuality that conflict with the actors in the national identity discourse regarding whether homosexuality is biologically determined or not. The actors in the humanitarian and neo-colonial perceive homosexuality to be biologically determined, in other words naturally occurring and inborn.

Another noted conflict between the actors in the debate is whether the practice of homosexuality is consensual or not. The actors drawing on the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourses emphasize that same-sexual relations are consensual, it is the expression of love and attraction between consenting adults. The national identity discourse perceives homosexuals as recruited into sexual acts, and thus non-consensual.

The different perceptions of homosexuality conflict in terms of legislation, and which values that should underpin this legislation. The humanitarian and neo-colonial discourses view of legislation is underpinned by norms regarding international human rights. The UDHR clause of discrimination is used as a supportive framework. The humanitarian and neo-colonial discourses thus argue that homosexuals cannot be discriminated, and that the bill is in disagreement with the UDHR. The actors in the national identity discourse weight another value-system in regards of the bill. The actors present homosexuality as an illegal sexual act, and as a threat to the Ugandan people. It also presents homosexuality as a symbol of Westernizing Ugandan values. Thus, the actors in the national identity discourse argue that the bill is protective of Uganda and Ugandans, as well as supported within the majority of the Ugandan population. The national identity discourse emphasize that homosexuality is un-African and in dissonance with the people of Uganda. The bill is thus protecting Ugandan culture, which in this discourse is highly reflective of Christian views of homosexuality.

Summarily, the representations of homosexuals in these discourses is conflicting each other in terms of how to perceive homosexuality. The main position of conflict is the conflicting perceptions of whether homosexuality is biologically determined, a sexual act and whether it is a sexual orientation.

6.2.2 Uganda and Ugandans

Actors in the humanitarian discourse operate with certain representations of Uganda and Ugandans. First, there is a representation in the neo-colonial discourse of Uganda as a violent

and barbaric state. An example is seen in this statement by Fry: "For me, it`s not enough that my country might offer sanctuary for gay people, persecuted by their own government. I`d like to talk to some of these tyrants, to hear how they justify themselves and their prejudices" (BBC, 2013). Further, he states: "I am going to Uganda, a country which seems to be going backwards in its treatment of gay people" (BBC, 2013). Fry's statement "produces knowledge" about Uganda and describes the country as backwards. He describes the government prosecuting homosexuals as "tyrants". The statement draws upon the neo-colonial discourse as it portrays Uganda as a backwards country.

The representation of Uganda describes it as an "other", a country that has failed to develop in the "right" direction regarding rights for homosexuals, i.e. in the same direction as the West. As long as Uganda does not perform in accordance with the moral values of the West, the representation of Uganda as a backward country remains. Bhabha calls the representation of the "other" a state of fixity: "The state of the other is always occupied by an idèe fixe: despot, heathen, barbarian, chaos, violence. If these symbols are always the same, their ambivalent repetition makes them the signs of a much deeper crisis of authority (in Childs and Williams 1997: 129). Bhabha's concept of fixation illuminates the workings of colonial rhetoric in the representation of Uganda and Ugandans. The fixation of Uganda as barbaric may legitimize the authority position held by the West. The ambivalence in the stereotype is the positioning of the West as the opposite of Uganda. Because Uganda is represented to be in a state of chaos, Ugandans are in a crisis of authority. Thus, the fixed stereotype of Uganda as a barbaric, led by a "tyrannical" government legitimizes the position of the West as superior to Uganda.

The national identity discourse encompasses a view of Uganda, in particular the government's efforts to ban homosexuality, as protective. The main implication is that through legislative efforts, the Ugandan government will be able to protect the people of Uganda from the devastating effects of homosexuality. First, the Ugandan culture, tradition and moral is protected by the government`s criminalization of homosexuality. Second, the family institution, particularly with regards to marriage will be protected through the overall ban of homosexuality. Thirdly, the children of Uganda will be protected through the bill. The national identity discourse produces an image of the West and western morality as a threat to Uganda, to Ugandan culture, Ugandan moral values, Ugandan children and the overall Ugandan population. Simon Lokodo expresses this in the interview with Stephen Fry: "I am a

typical Ugandan. My role and mandate here is to empower Ugandans to uphold moral values and principles." (BBC, 2013).

An example of this is Lokodo, who states: "Homosexuality cannot be accommodated in our culture. We have taken that position as a government because this is a democracy and it is what the people want." (Independent: 2014).

Lokodo emphasizes that the position (on homosexuality) is a democratic decision that reflects the majority opinion.

There is also a representation of Uganda in the national identity discourse of Uganda and Ugandans as protesting Western morals. An example of this is seen in this example, where Scott Mills discuss homosexuality with a group of young students in the documentary "World's Worst Place to be Gay (BBC, 2011)":

> Young student: "Most of our youth in Uganda today have coped up with Western culture, which is not good at all"
>
> Scott Mills: "That`s where they get the idea to be gay?"
>
> All: "Yes".

In this segment, Ugandans are protesting western (im) morality. The students interview agree that Western culture is reason why homosexuality exists in Uganda, it is where "they get the idea to be gay". To protest homosexuality is to protest Western culture. There is a notion in the national identity discourse of a resistance of Western culture. The protest may be interpreted as a struggle of anti-colonialism. Anti-colonialism signifies the various forms of opposition as a resistance to the operations of colonialism in political, economic and cultural institutions (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffins 2007: 12). The statements from the students can be a sign of resistance, or a proof of independence from Western culture. As anti-colonialism has taken many forms in different colonial situations, the protest and resistance of "Westernizing" can signify an anti-colonial discourse.

The discourses represent Uganda in different ways. The humanitarian and neo-colonial discourse represent Uganda as backwards, whilst the national identity discourse represents Uganda as protective and anti-Western.

6.2.3 West

There is a representation of the West in the debate as the primary reference point in terms of monitoring international welfare. The representations situate the West as morally responsible for international welfare regarding human rights. The previously engaged quote from International Development Secretary Andrew Mitchell's statement is an example of this:

We now allocate funds every three months, rather than every year, so that we can review a country's performance, for example on human rights, and take swift action when governments fall short. We only provide aid directly to governments when we are satisfied that they share our commitments to reduce poverty and respect human rights. (Daily Nation: 2011)

This statement positions the West in a position of authority where "swift action" can be taken if governments fall short on performing in a satisfactory manner. The statement entails a representation of countries offering aid as considered globally responsible for monitoring human rights in all countries, particularly in those countries that do not perform "well" according to Western standards. There are fractions within the humanitarian discourse that initiate sanctions against Uganda on the basis of their treatment of homosexuals. There are also fractions within the discourse that advice against interference. However, the (self-) representation of the West within both fractions conveys that the West is globally responsible, and has the authority to interfere with domestic politics. Thus, both fraction represent the West in the same manner, namely as an authoritative figure regarding moral and values and as globally responsible for ensuring the implementation of international human rights.

As seen by the previous quotation by Mitchell there has been a change in the process of aid donation. The allocation of funds, that now happens every three months as opposed to annually, perpetuated the need for "parental control" of western countries over aid-receiving countries. This reflects the system of hierarchy constituted through the practice of aid between the West and the aid recipient, in this case Uganda.

The neo-colonial discourse positions the West as an authoritative figure holding a firm grip on Uganda and other developing countries. There is a hierarchy of power between Western countries and Uganda due to the structures of aid from western countries to Uganda. The discourse presents the West as a moral authority, equipped with the ability to punish Uganda if they fail to comply with western norms.

In "Out There" (2013) Fry expresses a similar support to this practice:

He [referring to Lokodo] regards my view as an imposition on his country and he is absolutely right, if he wants to look at it like that, [seen as I am] taking a more international, cosmopolitan approach in terms of international human rights (BBC, 2013).

Fry's statement draws upon the neo-colonial discourse. He explains how Lokodo is right in thinking that he imposes his view on Uganda. Fry rationalizes this by asserting that he, contrary to Lokodo is "taking a more international, cosmopolitan approach in terms of international human rights" (BBC, 2013). Fry`s statement involves a self-representation that situates him within some sort of an international consensus on homosexuality. His statement implies that his view harmonizes with an international "majority" view on international human rights.

The national identity discourse comprises of mainly negative representations of homosexuality. The discourse holds that homosexuality is unnatural, abnormal and incompatible with the Ugandan culture. Homosexuality is un-African, a "problem" attributed to the forces of globalization and embedded in the Western culture. An example of this is found in this statement from Lokodo: "I want to tell you point blank there is no way you can impose your attitude to me." (BBC, 2013).

The representation of the West in the discourse is a representation of the West as invasive towards Uganda. The West is trying to impose homosexuality on Uganda, by promoting and recruiting homosexuals through advocates for sexual minorities. The assertion is that Western governments spread homosexuality in Uganda through funding LGBT organizations and activism.

There is a self-representation of the West as liberal/progressive by being pro-homosexuality. This representation is seen in this statement from Stephen Fry: "I`d like to find out, how he could possibly support this barbaric bill. But I am not sure he will take to explaining himself to a gay, western liberal like me" (Out There 2013). Fry describes himself as liberal whilst describing Lokodo as someone in support of barbarianism. The representation draws on the humanitarian discourse, which represents the West as liberal and progressive. The representation also involves a counter-representation. The counter-representation situates Uganda as the "other". Bhabha argues that colonial discourse seeks to produce knowledge

about the "other", and the key strategy is the stereotype (Childs and Williams: 1997: 125). The stereotypical portrayal in this statement represents Uganda as conservative and backwards. The implication is that Uganda is "behind" the West, and is underdeveloped in terms of perceptions of homosexuals. Bhabha also explains stereotype as an ambivalent mode of articulating contradictory belief (Childs and Williams 1997: 125). The self-representation of the West as liberal and progressive on the matter of homosexuality places Uganda in an opposing position. Uganda is represented as backwards, unchangeable, known and predictable (Childs and Williams 1997: 125).

6.2.4 Discursive "battles"

According to Philips and Jørgensen (2002: 63) the focus of CDA is that discursive practice constructs representations of the world, social subjects and social relations. This includes power relations and the role that these discursive practices play in furthering the interests of particular groups (Philips and Jørgensen 2022: 63). Discourses are positioned in a hierarchical system. This system relates to certain aspects of power between discourses. These aspects of power range the discourses in terms of strengths and weaknesses. Fairclough explains relations of power between discourses by asserting the hegemony between them as pertaining to ideological effects (Philips and Jørgensen: 2002: 74). In Critical Discourse Analysis, the concept of hegemony relates to how discursive practice is seen as constitutive of a larger social practice. Relations of power characterize the hegemony. Philips and Jørgensen perceive discourses as sites of hegemonic struggles that constitute the order of the discourses (Philips and Jørgensen 2002:76).

The operative discourses in the debate "battle" each other in their discursive practice. Particularly, the national identity discourse is in conflict with the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourse. The national identity discourse weights a value-system that condemns homosexuality as underpinning national politics. The humanitarian discourse weights humanitarian values in policies concerning international welfare. An example of this is the statement from HRW: "As both the African Commission and the UN Human Rights Committee have held, a state cannot, through its domestic law, negate its international human rights obligations" (HRW, 2016). The humanitarian discourse puts international human rights obligations in the forefront of the debate, and holds that these obligations override domestic

law. Thus, there is a discursive battle regarding law obligations between the national identity discourse and the humanitarian discourse.

Another significant battle is seen through the different perceptions of homosexuality in the discourses. These perceptions are conflicting with each other in a number of ways. First, there is a difference between the national identity discourse and the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourse relating to whether homosexuality is biologically determined. The humanitarian and neo-colonial discourse encompasses a view of homosexuality as inborn and natural. The national identity discourse contrasts this view, and emphasizes that homosexuality is not a person or an inborn state, rather homosexuality is understood as the sexual act itself.

6.2.5 Strengths and weaknesses

In what follows I explore the relationship between the three identified dominant discourses in light of strengths and weaknesses. All of the dominant discourses are deemed to possess power in some way or another. As such, I outline the relations of power by means of highlighting the strength and weaknesses in the discourses.

The humanitarian discourse is considered to be a central and influential discourse in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. This is largely due its political authoritative position regarding international human rights. The large number of actors contributing to the discourse is in a position of authority. International organizations, governments and civil society are considered to be significant actors within the discourse. The large amount of actors adds to the strength and influence of the discourse. The general strength of governments and political leaders in terms of economic and political influence, combined with international alliances and strong military forces are considered to be of substantial significance.

Another factor that constitutes the strength of the humanitarian discourse is the thorough coverage of this debate in mass media. The coverage ensures significant media attention, which contributes to the leverage of the humanitarian discourse. Mass media is considered to be a significant force in modern culture. Mass media has a potential to reach a large audience. Exposure to a large audience involves the capability to adjust it. Thus, thorough coverage in mass media has the potential of informing, adjusting or persuading public opinion.

In relation to the scant number of actors situated within the national identity discourse, the discourse can be considered weak. However, there are elements that strengthen the discourse. One factor that strengthens the discourse is the shared belief on homosexuality in other parts of Africa. The International Lesbian and Gay Association asserted that same-sex relations are illegal in 36 countries in Africa (ILGA: 2015). Hence, the transnational practice of criminalizing homosexuality in Africa means that the discourse has a potential large impact. Another factor strengthening the discourse is the use of religion as a supporting framework against homosexuality. This resonates with transnational religious discourses, also in the West. The influence of American conservative evangelism on Ugandan Christianity is one example of such a transnational alliance.

The neo-colonial discourse is also considered to be influential in the debate. The main factor that contributes to the strength of the discourse is the position of authority regarding the practice of aid donations to developing countries. The practice maintains an uneven power dynamics between the countries donating aid and the countries receiving aid. As long as Western countries contribute significantly to necessary funds for countries such as Uganda, the power dynamics remain asymmetrical. The notion of withholding aid as a means of sanction or threat is also considered to strengthen the effect of the neo-colonial discourse and contributes to upholding the skewed relations of power. An example of overlapping discourses is the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourse, which at times overlap pertaining to the question of withholding aid.

In this section I examine the relationship between the dominant discourses in terms of power, authority and hegemony. The debate about homosexuality in Uganda highlights several important aspects regarding the relationship between national and international interests, in particular regarding the process of international norms in domestic political processes. From the analysis, it becomes clear that the hierarchy between the dominant discourses in the political field largely shape the relationship between the West and Uganda. As outlined in the section on the strengths and weaknesses of the discourses in the previous chapter, the humanitarian discourse may be conceived to be on "top" of the discursive hegemony. There are several reasons for this. First, the humanitarian discourse consists of a large number of actors. These actors (governments, organizations, political leaders) are significant actors in the international debate seen as they hold various forms of power. One such power is the ability to sanction aid to Uganda. There are examples in the debate where actors in the

national identity discourse deny the need for aid in Uganda. However, as outlined in chapter 5 Uganda is a significant recipient of foreign aid, ranking as the 14th largest recipient of aid in 2010 (Smith, 2012). Regardless, the humanitarian discourse considers economic sanctions to be of great significance for Uganda if practiced by Western country donors. Programme Director of Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG) Julian Pepe Onziema names this practice as "bullying" (IRIN, 2014). The practice of withholding aid is applied as a means of maintaining a tight grip on Uganda's performance in terms of international human rights.   Among the Western countries cutting aid to Uganda were the US, Canada, Britain, Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Norway and Denmark (Potts, 2014). The practice represents a structure which constitute of unequal relations between the West and Uganda regardless of whether the sanctions have significance for Uganda or not.

Second, the humanitarian discourse takes the role as the provider of premises for policy, and as the monitor for human rights internationally. This also gives the humanitarian discourse power in that these rights have impact on Uganda. The humanitarian discourse prioritizes international solidarity over national concerns in the context of protecting sexual minorities in Uganda. The humanitarian discourse holds a status of a "moral authority figure". This status contributes to strengthening the political awareness of international norms. The actors in the discourse are constantly confronted with these rights in the debate and forced to reply to them, regardless if the national identity discourse perceive these rights to be weighted over domestic policy or not. Thus, these rights play a significant role in the debate regardless of whether they are deemed to be of significance in the national identity discourse.

There is factor that strengthens the national identity discourse in that it remains a significant actor with regards to political hegemony, largely constituting the ideas and beliefs of the political leadership in Uganda. The national identity discourse focuses on national concerns and holds a disproportionally powerful political role to the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourses.

6.3 Summary

This chapter has analyzed the debate on homosexuality in Uganda by employing the second dimension in Fairclough's framework, namely discursive practice. The chapter has outlined the operational discourses in the debate, and explored the discursive "battles" between them.

The chapter has also shown the means of discursive practice in the debate, by examining how actors in the debate produce knowledge by operating with certain representations of homosexuals, Uganda and Ugandans and the West. These representations are deemed to constitute a hierarchy between the discourses. These representation s forms part of a colonial discourse, in which constitutes a hierarchy between the discourses. By exploring the strengths and weaknesses of the discourses, the national identity discourse is seemingly the weakest of the dominant discourse in the debate seen as few actors belong to this discourse. However, the discourse is accorded a stronger role due to the fact that significant politicians in the Ugandan government belong to this discourse. Notably, President Yoweri Museveni and Ministers Simon Lokodo and David Bahati are identified by the national identity discourse. The next chapter engages the social practice in the debate.

7 Social practice

This chapter engages the third dimension of Fairclough`s model, namely social practice. The main aim for this chapter is to analyze the discourses in relation to social practice. I explore the ways in which the dominant discourses outlined in the previous chapter enable social practice. The enabling of social practice in this thesis relate to the production of knowledge, namely the representations in the debate as pertaining to the overall relationship between the West and Uganda. I provide an analysis of the social practice with reference to the concepts of power and hegemony. Moreover, I draw on post-colonial theory because it is a suitable lens through which to analyze power and power relations.

First, I examine the ways in which the dominant discourses in the debate constitute and contribute to a set of representations of the West and Uganda. I discuss the ways in which these representations contribute to the (re)-production of unequal power relations between the West and Uganda. I also discuss the hierarchical structure between the discourses with a view to the context of global politics. I argue that the dominant discourses have a significant effect on the relationship between the West and Uganda. The effect comes from the production of knowledge about the West and Uganda in the dominant discourses. The production of knowledge reflects a hierarchical structure between the West and Uganda which in turn, I argue, have significance for the general relationship between the West and Uganda.

7.1 Power and hegemony

This part of the chapter explores the ways in which the representations outlined above affect the relationship between the West and Uganda. The discourse functions as a form of social practice, which reflects and takes part in the reinforcement of unequal power relations (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 88). In this chapter, I mainly argue that the discursive practice reproduce the order of discourse and as such, contribute to the status quo in the social practice (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 87). In this thesis, this refers to the production of knowledge in the debate, particularly as seen through the (re-)production of representations of the West and Uganda, respectively. The representations are deemed to contribute to maintaining the social practice (the unequal power relations between the West and Uganda) rather than changing it.

This thesis argues that the West plays a pro-active and prominent role in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. There is a large amount of actors in the humanitarian discourse that argue that the West must play a significant role in stopping Uganda`s legislative efforts to prohibit homosexuality. There is also recognition within the humanitarian discourse that Uganda would benefit from Western interference in the matter of legislation. Although some participants in the humanitarian discourse disagrees that sexual minorities would benefit from interference, most notably in the form of economic sanctions, most of the governments have agreed to move forward on this issue as a symbol of solidarity for homosexuals in Uganda. There is a difference in discursive practices regarding the level of ambition. Should Western countries guide Uganda in issues of legislation? The humanitarian discourse calls for a more cautious approach, while the neo-colonial discourse conveys a more explicit level of commitment.

The representations in the debate contribute to establish and (re-) produce certain perceptions about the West and Uganda. I argue that the representations of Uganda in the debate on homosexuality (re-) produce and invoke certain colonial representations. I am in agreement with Michira who argues that: "Africa has been known as the needy "dark continent" characterized by primeval irrationality, tribal anarchy, civil war, political instability, flagrant corruption, incompetent leadership and managerial ineptitude, hunger, famine and starvation as well as rampant diseases"(Michira, 2002).

7.2 Colonial discourse

Colonial discourse as described by Edward Said (1978) refers to the system in which a range of practices termed colonial come into being (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin: 2007). Colonial discourse operates as an instrument of power, discursively enacted by imposing specific knowledges, disciplines and values upon dominated groups. In the debate on homosexuality in Uganda, the neo-colonial discourse constitute a reality in which the Western understanding of the values underpinning the UDHR legitimize practices of sanctions towards countries that do not share the Western interpretation. Colonial discourse is implicated in ideas of the centrality of Europe, in assumptions of what may be characteristics of modernity (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffins: 2007). In the debate, the neo-colonial discourse represent Uganda and Ugandans through a system of statements that operate on the assumption of the superiority of the West, and the inferiority of Uganda. The representations of Uganda hinges on a statements

referring to the barbaric depravity of Uganda and thus situates the West as simply performing their moral "duties" when exerting power. The implication is that by sanctioning the bill, Uganda will advance and improve, in accordance with what the West deem as advanced and improved.

The representation of Uganda in the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourses encompasses a view of Uganda that resonates with a colonial rhetoric, positioning the West in an authoritative position. This representation in turn, aid to legitimizing Western presence in Uganda and other African countries. The West is perceived to be the "morally responsible" authority regarding the interpretation and monitoring of International Human Rights. Western foreign policy as well as organizational activity is often tied to humanitarian aid in some form or other. The discursive representations of Uganda provide a reason for this foreign policy. The implication is that Uganda cannot handle their domestic politics themselves. The representations produced thus contribute to legitimize western involvement.

7.3 International norms in a global perspective

The debate on homosexuality in Uganda reflects the global indifferences of whether criminalization of homosexuality is voiced in the UDHR. The data analyzed in this thesis highlights that actors in the debate perceive the matter differently: actors in the national identity discourse emphasize that homosexuals are not protected through the IHR. Actors in the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourse encompasses a view of the Western perception of the IHR as fundamentally shared by all countries. This is a significant conflict in the debate between the discourses. The conflict reflect the abstract quality of internationalism and globalism. The conceptualizing of human rights is supposed to reflect an international consensus. The perceptions of what the human rights are and how they are interpreted have to be universally recognized. The debate thus exposes a significant challenge. Uganda and the West dispute the importance and implementation of these rights versus political rights. According to the president, implementing the Westernized interpretation of the human rights contradicts the democratic process underpinning the legislation in Uganda. The challenge is to balance the human rights against its historically Western identification. The coining of human rights, seen through the discursive practice in the debate has significance for the accountability for the rights.

7.4 Homosexuality in a global context

The perceptions of what homosexuality entails poses another challenge in the debate. The data analyzed in this thesis highlights that actors in the debate perceive homosexuality in distinct ways. The view of homosexuality as biologically determined , which makes out the fundamental perception of homosexuality in the humanitarian and neo-colonial discourse, rationalizes the understanding of homosexuals as protected by the IHR. However, this perception of homosexuals is not shared by the actors in the national identity discourse. The perception of homosexuality in this discourse portrays homosexuals as posing a threat to the Ugandan society and the Ugandan population. Thus, these perceptions exposes a challenge regarding the issue of homosexuality in a global context. As long as homosexuality is perceived to entail different things, the chances for settling on the disputed issue, through dialogue and conflict solution are slim.

7.5 Summary

The dominant discourses, when put together in the social context, indicate that there is an ongoing struggle regarding whether homosexuality is perceived as an international human rights in the debate. Further, there is a struggle regarding what homosexuality is. The different discourses operate with different views of homosexuality and what it means for society. The uneven power relations between the discourses can be understood in light of strong historical links between the West and Uganda. The representations of the West and Ugandans in the discourses maintain this uneven dynamics. The representations contributes to a perception of the West as superior, authoritative and morally responsible and Uganda as backwards, barbaric and in need of international "supervision". Thus, the power dynamics in the debate have an effect on the general relationship between Uganda and the West.

8 Conclusions

The main objective of this thesis was to identify the dominant discourses and key positions of conflict constituting them in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda. Furthermore, the thesis set out to analyze the structure of power found between these discourses and the ways in which they affect the relationship between the West and Uganda.

The theoretical starting point of the thesis has been post-colonial theory, in particular concepts of colonial identity and difference as conceptualized by Edward Said and Homi Bhabha. The framework has been helpful, as it illuminates and challenges Western dominance over post-colonial societies.

I have argued that the operative discourses visible in the debate on homosexuality in Uganda are: the humanitarian discourse, the neo-colonial discourse and the national identity discourse. The findings that constitute these discourses consist of a range of positions of conflict and tension regarding responses to the Bill, as well as different perceptions of homosexuality. These findings contribute to and constitute dominant discourses. Further, I have argued that the discursive practice contribute to particular representations of the West and Uganda. These representations "produce knowledge" about homosexuals, Westerners and Ugandans. The representation include the use of colonial language and rhetoric, and help maintain the structure of power between the West and Uganda. I argue that the colonial representations contribute to uphold the "status quo" regarding the uneven power relations between the West and Uganda. One such representation is that of Uganda and Ugandans as backwards and barbaric. This representation situates Uganda as in need of the authoritative West, and in turn justifies the hierarchical structure between the West and Uganda.

Critical Discourse Analysis has been a useful analytical framework for addressing the research question. The emphasis on power and hegemony within Critical Discourse Analysis has been particularly relevant as it has presented tools for revealing some of the power dynamics in the discursive and social practice of the discourses. Faircloughs three-dimensional framework has been a helpful structure for the categorizing of a rather extensive debate. CDA has also been a helpful method as it allows for a flexible approach for the analysis.

8.1 Implications for further research

In terms of implications for further research, the thesis has touched upon several aspects that can be relevant for further research. Aspects include (1) research aiming to improve the relationship between the West and former colonized countries in terms of hierarchy and power, (2) research aiming to develop a deeper understanding concerning the relationship between international norms and domestic policy (3) research aiming to promote dialogue and conflict solution between the West and Uganda regarding the issue of homosexuality (4) research aiming to illuminate the uneven power dynamics seen in the practice of aid

In terms of the first aspect, the thesis has highlighted that certain representations of the West and Uganda are produced through the debate on homosexuality in Uganda; these representations are reflective of colonial rhetoric, and as such, tell us something about the ways in which power continues to be at play in these relations.

In terms of the second aspect, the thesis has argued that there are conflicting views in the debate with regard to whether international norms outweigh domestic policy. Further research could address the issue of international norms in relation to domestic policy and contribute to increased understanding of practices related to UN authority and perceptions of the UDHR internationally.

In terms of the third aspect, conflict solution and dialogue has not been discussed in this thesis, but is a relevant issue. Further research could contribute to a deepened understanding of the power dynamics in the debate, and the ways in which they hinder conflict solution and dialogue between the conflicting parties in the debate.

In terms of the forth aspect, this thesis has approached the practice of aid as a contributing factor for the uneven power dynamics between the West and Uganda. Further research regarding the dynamics of aid would be a relevant aspect to examine further, particularly in relation to the practice of withholding aid as an economic sanction. The debate on homosexuality presents as a fruitful starting point for new research regarding the practice of aid and the ways in which it contributes to uneven power dynamics between the West and former colonies. Regarding this issue, the thesis has generated a theoretical starting point for further research.

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