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Governing through News:

Ugandan newspapers, sexual minorities and the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014

Michael Ashworth

Supervised by Professor Lois Bibbings & Professor David Cowan

A thesis submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, Law School, March 2019.

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Abstract

In this thesis, I seek to account for the emergence of the Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014 (AHA), a law which in Bill-form called for the death penalty for serial offenders of the newly created offence of 'homosexuality'. However, I do so by turning away from the formal channels of law and law-making, focussing instead on the news media. Drawing on a Foucauldian governmentality framework, I suggest that the AHA was a particular manifestation of broader governmental assemblage which took homosexuality as its target and sought to manage it out of existence. Just as law is one sphere through which governmental power can be exercised, so too, is the news media. Newspapers are therefore reconceptualised as technologies of government, through which particular rationalities, logics or strategies of power are realised. As such, I identify three interrelated means by which Ugandan newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities in the years leading up to the AHA: first, through the slow constitution of homosexuality as a multi-headed problem of increasing urgency; second, by circulating disgust towards homosexuality through its repeated association with objects commonly regarded as disgusting; and third, by disseminating a spectacular performance of resistance by sexual minority human rights activists, which galvanised and incited opposition to homosexuality.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

As I reflect on my PhD ‘journey’ – a journey which has, perhaps, been bumpier than most – I cannot help but think about the many ways this process has tested me and taught me the value of perseverance. It might be a cliché, but this really has been a journey of incredible highs and bitter lows. I feel a sense of satisfaction, achievement, and a small amount of disbelief that I am sitting here, writing the dedication and acknowledgements to my very own thesis. More than anything else, however, I am filled with an immense sense of gratitude to the people who made it possible for me to get here in the first place.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: DATE:.....

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Chapter 1. Introduction and overview

1.1. Introduction

This thesis¹ is about media, power, and law. Each of these elements, however, is not afforded equal attention over the course of the seven chapters that follow. Although law – or rather, *a* law – casts a long shadow over the entire thesis, it is *power* that is its primary concern, with law reconceptualised as a particular manifestation thereof. The law in question is the now-annulled Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014 (AHA), a widely condemned piece of legislation which, in Bill form, proposed the death penalty for so-called ‘serial offenders’ of the newly created offence of ‘homosexuality’. While legal prohibitions on same-sex intercourse in Uganda were inherited upon formal independence from British colonial rule in 1962 and remain in force to this day, the appearance of the AHA represented a dramatic expansion of criminalisation, subjecting a significantly wider range of conduct to penal sanction and increasing the penalties substantially across the board. This thesis seeks to account for the emergence of a law as punitive as the AHA, which sought to destroy (in Bill form) and permanently imprison (in Act form) the gay and lesbian population of Uganda. Instead of analysing the emergence of the AHA through the ‘official’ channels and outputs of law-making in Uganda, it focuses on the role played by the media – specifically, Ugandan newspapers. It employs a Foucauldian governmentality framework in answering the research question which underpins this thesis: ‘How were Ugandan newspapers implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014?’ The overall originality and significance of this thesis lies in its drawing on and development of a governmentality approach to the analysis of newspapers, in the application of such a framework within the context of Uganda, and in the analysis of an unexamined period of Uganda newspaper data on sexual minorities through such a theoretical lens.

Just as more critically-oriented legal scholars have demonstrated how power suffuses law and law-making processes (Moran, 1996; Smart, 2002), scholars of mass media and communications have long argued that power pervades the media. This body of scholarship began with early, speculative reflections on the power of propaganda, driven predominantly, but not exclusively, by the experiences of World War 1 (Lasswell, 1927; Lippmann, 1922; Dewey, 1927; Bernays, 1923). Such studies tended to be underpinned by a ‘hypodermic needle’ conception of media power, in which the media was seen as able to ‘directly affect individuals without interference or obstruction’ (Laughey, 2009: 35). In other

¹ Parts of this thesis have been published as: Ashworth, M. (2017) Affective Governmentality: Governing Through Disgust in Uganda. *Social & Legal Studies* 26: 188-207.

words, the media were all-powerful and the audience were powerless to resist. This rather simplistic conception of media power was troubled by the emergence of a second wave of scholarship in the 1940s and 1950s, which consisted of more social scientific, positivist studies into the power – or limitations thereof – of media over its audiences (Cantril et al., 1940; Lazarsfeld and Stanton, 1941; Lazarsfeld and Katz, 1955). The so-called ‘limited effects’ paradigm rejected the hypodermic needle model of media power (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948; Hovland et al., 1949). Indeed, it suggested that media exercised relatively little power over individuals, as reflected in empirical studies, which showed little change in individual consumer choice or voting intention before and after exposure to media messaging (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Klapper, 1960). This positivist, behaviourist approach was, in turn, troubled by a third wave of media power scholarship. Emerging in the 1970s and 1980s, this field was more critical and explicitly theoretical than the limited effects paradigm (Simonson, 2013). Instead of focusing on individual psychology and ‘testing’ responses to stimuli, these studies conceived of the power of the media in terms of its broader effects across society (Noelle-Neumann, 1973; Gitlin, 1978; Postman, 1986). Questions of representation became particularly acute over this period, with Hall (1982) describing this wave of scholarship as signifying the ‘rediscovery of the repressed’ in studies of the media. Thus, ‘negative’ representations in the media of women, minorities or other marginalised groups were seen as contributing to the oppression to which they were subjected elsewhere in society (Courtney and Whipple, 1974; Dyer, 1983; Wilkes and Valencia, 1989; Modleski, 1982). The explosion of internet-usage in the 1990s and social media in the 2000s relocated such debates within the enabling and constraining potential of new media technologies (Lindgren, 2017; Nakamura, 2010). The division between media producer and consumer has been blurred, with blogs, vlogs, and other forms of social networking engendering new debates as to the power such media exercises over its users - and vice-versa (Fuchs, 2014).

The insights, theoretical debates and research methods from the media power literature began to appear within the specific context of news throughout the 1970s (Cohen and Young, 1973; GUMG, 1976). This field of scholarship interrogated a wide ambit of news-related phenomena, from microscopic analyses of the words and sentences which constitute news discourse (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1995), through to large-scale questions of the political economy of news production (Murdock and Golding, 1973; Bagdikian, 1983; Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Sub-strands of news scholarship appeared, investigating the power of news through the lens of agenda-setting (McCombs and Shaw, 1972), audience priming (Iyengar et al., 1982; Behr and Iyengar, 1985; Krosnick and Kinder, 1990), and framing (Entman, 1991; 1993). The power of the news was also investigated in other ways, notably through its role in the incitement and spread of ‘moral panics’ and the social construction of deviance (Becker, 1963; Cohen, 1972; McRobbie, 1994; Thompson, 2005; Goode and Ben-Yehuda,

2010). Such inquiries into the news employed a variety of research methods, including ethnographic observation and interviews with journalists (Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980), different kinds of discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1988; Fowler, 1991; Teo, 2000), quantitative and/or qualitative content analysis (GUMG, 1976; 1980; 1982; Hall et al., 1978), and semiotics (Hartley, 1982). Despite the heterogeneity of such research and methods, there was a common thread which united these investigations: an underlying suspicion that the supposedly atheoretical, 'common sense'² account of news was misleading. In short, power - however it was conceptualised - was implicated in news production and/or news outputs.

This thesis draws from the media power scholarship as applied to print news. It does so in order to analyse the role played by Ugandan newspapers in the management of homosexuality, in the years leading up to the AHB/AHA. It starts from the position that, far from unproblematically 'reflecting' the self-evidently important events in the world, newspapers (and the news in general) are a domain through which power is exercised. However, I reject both the hypodermic needle model of media power and the 'limited effects' paradigm; the former is too unsophisticated, while the latter elides the broader questions of social power upon which its investigations were conducted. Instead, I locate this thesis broadly within the field of critical, theoretically-informed approaches to the study of media and news. However, while such approaches may foreground questions of power, there are different conceptions of power *within* the critical paradigm to which this thesis could subscribe.

The conception of power upon which this thesis builds comes from the scholarship of Michel Foucault (1990b; 1991a; 2003a; 2004). Rather than modelling power on the basis of law or locating power solely within the structures of the state, Foucault decentred such objects from their traditionally privileged position in political thought. Instead he analysed power in terms of its 'micro-physics': power was to be conceived as productive rather than solely negative; diffuse rather than top-down; relational rather than something an individual or class possesses or lacked; and coextensive with resistance. Moreover, Foucault drew an intimate connection between power and knowledge. Rather than power operating to occlude the truth, spread false knowledge, and thereby repress the subject, Foucault suggested that truth and subjectivity were, in fact, outcomes of what he termed power/knowledge.

Foucault relocated his insights on power within the context of political rule more explicitly through his concept of governmentality – a term which built upon historic understandings of 'government', in the sense of leading or guiding; to engage in the 'conduct of conduct'. Political rule was conceived as

² Greer (2010: 2) describes the account as: 'news selection and production is shaped by public interests and consumer demand, the sovereignty of professional journalistic values, equal competition for media access by a diversity of news sources, and the collective values of a society built around more or less organic consensus'.

exercised through diffuse networks of peoples, projects, technical devices, and rationalities. However, the place held by *law* in Foucault's work is controversial. That he only spoke fleetingly about it and never produced a circumscribed theory of law has led some to suggest that Foucault 'expelled' law from his analysis of modernity (Hunt, 1992). In the occasions where Foucault did consider law, his comments were scattered and suggestive,³ generating diverging readings (Ewald, 1990; Hunt, 1992; Goldstein, 1993; Hunt and Wickham, 1994; Beck, 1996; Tadros, 1998; Golder and Fitzpatrick, 2009). Rather than attempt to provide an authoritative exegesis of Foucault's approach to law, I instead draw from those governmentality scholars who have suggested that law ought to be conceptualised as a sphere – and one not necessarily privileged – through which governmental power is exercised (Rose and Valverde, 1998).

Such power, wherever and however it is manifested, incites subjects into governing themselves and/or governing others according to the exigencies of rationalities or 'mentalities' of rule (Dean, 2010). It is this focus on rationalities and their technical realisation through 'techniques' and 'technologies' of government, both within and 'beyond the state'⁴ (Rose and Miller, 1992), that is one of the more innovative aspects of governmentality. The rationalities or mentalities of government that Foucault and governmentality scholars have examined include liberalism, welfarism and advanced or neo-liberalism, but could also encompass particular modalities of power/knowledge – such as sovereignty, discipline or biopolitics, each of which coheres to a particular logic. 'Problems' such as homosexuality are therefore conceptualised and managed in different ways according to the particular logic in question. This thesis begins from the perspective that the AHB and AHA were outcomes of a particular rationality which posited that the elimination of some was necessary for the survival and flourishing of others – a logic which Foucault referred to as *biopolitical racism*.

While legislation, according to such a theoretical perspective, can be seen as a technical device through which conduct is regulated according to the exigencies of a particular rationality, so too, can other objects not normally considered part of formal governmental institutions. I suggest that the

³ The divergent interpretations are, at least partly, a result of Foucault's own ambiguous statements. For example, Foucault suggested that modern society had entered a phase of 'juridical regression' (Foucault, 1990: 144) and that 'law recedes' (Foucault, 2009: 99). He also appeared to suggest that norms had become more important, at the expense of 'the juridical system of law' (Foucault, 1990: 144).

⁴ While the concept of power 'beyond the state' is a useful heuristic for demonstrating how individuals, groups, and organisations not formally part of the state can exercise political power in concert with overarching political rationalities, it has recently been subject to criticism by some governmentality scholars. Dean and Villadsen (2016) have suggested that governmentality scholarship had inadvertently contributed to an unproductive 'statephobia', in which any discussion of the state is almost entirely expelled from the analysis. My use of 'beyond the state' is not intended to imply an expulsion of the state or that the state is entirely absent but highlights that the object which forms the basis of this investigation is not typically conceived as forming part of the state's organs.

news media – and, in particular, the newspaper – is one such object. Despite approximately 100 years of scholarship reflecting on the power of the mass media, governmentality scholars have, albeit with some exceptions (Kalpagam, 2001; Nolan, 2003; Peterson and Taylor, 2013), generally not focused on news as a sphere of government. The limited attention paid to the news as an object of analysis from a governmentality perspective opens up a gap which this thesis addresses.

Furthermore, governmentality scholarship has generally followed Foucault in examining western problematics (Foucault, 2009; Dean, 2010; Barry et al., 1996a; Rose, 1999), rather than journeying further afield. In this thesis Foucault travels to Uganda – something which some might question. To what extent can Foucauldian governmentality scholarship be deployed so far culturally from its point of creation? While this research represents a contribution to the growing field of Ugandan governmentality scholarship, it is nevertheless a question upon which I reflect in Chapter 3.

In drawing on a governmentality framework, I engage in a deductive, theoretically-informed thematic analysis of four newspapers. They are: the government-owned English language daily *New Vision*; its independent counterpart, *The Monitor*;⁵ as well as two tabloids, the popular, independent daily, *Red Pepper* and the now-defunct, short-lived, independent weekly, *Rolling Stone*, the latter of which achieved international notoriety in 2010 when it published the names, photographs and addresses of ‘Uganda’s Top Homos’, under a sub-title which read, ‘Hang them!’⁶

In analysing the data, I conceive of newspapers as technical devices – or technologies of government – through which attempts can be made to realise particular rationalities, logics and strategies of government. In so doing, I examine the different ways in which Uganda’s newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities from 1986 to 2014.

The start date of 1986 was chosen as it was the birth of post-civil war Uganda, something which I discuss in greater detail in Chapter 3, whereas the end date of 2014 was chosen as it was the year the AHA was signed into law. In answering the overarching primary research question (How were Ugandan newspapers implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014?), this thesis seeks to answer four sub-research questions:

- To what extent is governmentality scholarship able to ‘go’ to Uganda?
- How have Ugandan newspapers constituted homosexuality as a problem in need of a solution?

⁵ *The Monitor*, which was already a daily publication, changed its name to *Daily Monitor* in June 2005. For reasons of clarity, I have adopted *The Monitor* throughout.

⁶ 100 Pictures of Uganda’s Top Homos Leak, *Rolling Stone*, 2-9 October 2010, p1.

- What particular techniques of government were employed by Ugandan newspapers in covering homosexuality?
- How have Ugandan newspapers been used for performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge?

1.2. Background and context

The inspiration for this thesis emerged from a six-month internship with Human Dignity Trust (HDT), a London-based collective of human rights barristers committed to the global decriminalisation of homosexuality. The organisation partners with local lawyers and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) organisations in jurisdictions where same-sex intercourse is criminalised, often as a result of the inheritance of colonial-era laws imposed by the British.

As a British gay man, I was particularly appalled to learn about the toxic legacies of colonialism with respect to the criminalisation of sexual minorities across much of Africa. Through my involvement with the organisation, I became acquainted with some Ugandan LGBTI activists, who attended meetings at the HDT offices in London, in preparation for a constitutional challenge to a new draconian law in Uganda about which I knew relatively little at that time. At the same time that nearby Mozambique was on the verge of decriminalising same-sex intercourse, Uganda appeared to be moving in the opposite direction.⁷ The more I learned about the proposals of the draft law, the more I wanted to explore in greater depth how it was possible for such a law to even emerge.

I learned that on the morning of 14 October 2009, David Bahati, the first-time Member of Parliament (MP) for Ndoorwa West, introduced a Private Member's Bill to Uganda's parliament. According to its preamble, the Anti-Homosexuality Bill (AHB) was intended to be 'a comprehensive consolidated legislation' which would protect 'the traditional family' through the prohibition of 'any form of sexual relations between persons of the same sex' as well as the prohibition of the 'promotion or recognition' of such relationships (AHB. 2009: para. 1). Stressing 'the fact that same-sex attraction is not an innate and immutable characteristic' (para. 3), the preamble declared that the Bill would address the:

[n]eed to protect the children and youths of Uganda who are made vulnerable to sexual abuse and deviation as a result of cultural changes, uncensored information technologies, parentless child development settings and increased attempts by homosexuals to raise children in homosexual relationships through adoption, foster care, or otherwise (para. 5).

⁷ Mozambique decriminalises gay and lesbian relationships, BBC News online, 1 July 2015. Available: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-33342963> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

Although the Bill took same-sex relationships and intercourse as its target, these were already subject to regulation in existing Ugandan law. Section 145 of the Penal Code Act Cap 120 (Penal Code) criminalised ‘carnal knowledge against the order of nature’.⁸ While in Uganda an offender was originally liable for 14 years’ imprisonment, the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act 1990 increased penalties for a raft of sexual offences ‘ostensibly as a way of combatting the HIV/AIDS pandemic’ (HRAPF, 2013: 29), including Section 145, for which the punishment became life imprisonment. Furthermore, the Constitutional Amendment Act 2005, which restored multiparty politics to Uganda and removed Presidential term limits, also inserted Article 31 (2) (a) into the 1995 Constitution of Uganda (the Constitution), which stipulated that ‘[m]arriage between persons of the same sex is prohibited’.

Despite the existence of such legal regulations, the preamble to the AHB observed deficits in existing laws. It noted, for example, that the Penal Code had ‘no comprehensive provision for catering for anti homosexuality’ and lacked ‘provisions for penalizing the procurement, promoting, disseminating literature and other pantographic [sic] materials concerning the offences of homosexuality’ (AHB, 2009: para. 7). The AHB was therefore designed to be a dramatic expansion of the criminalisation of homosexuality, tightening ‘the noose around the necks of homosexuals and transgendered individuals and those who advocate their rights’ (Tamale, 2013: 226).

Its provisions included the creation of the offences of: homosexuality (section 2), punishable with life imprisonment; aggravated homosexuality (section 3), for which the punishment was death; attempt to commit homosexuality (section 4); aiding and abetting homosexuality (section 7); and conspiracy to engage in homosexuality (section 8), all of which were punishable by 7 years’ imprisonment. Homosexuality was defined as ‘all penetration of the anus or mouth with a penis or any other sexual contraption’, the ‘use of any object or sexual contraption to penetrate or stimulate a sexual organ of a person of the same sex’ or ‘touching of another person with the intention of committing the act of homosexuality’ (Jjuuko, 2013: 388-389). It was therefore a definition which was sufficiently broad as to target both male and female same-sex genital relations. Other offences included: same-sex marriage (section 12), punishable by life imprisonment; promotion of homosexuality (section 13),

⁸ While the specific provision contained in Section 145 can be traced back to the introduction by the British of the Penal Code Ordinance 1930 – Uganda’s first criminal code – the criminalisation of same-sex intercourse in Uganda dates to its establishment as a British protectorate in 1894. The African Order in Council 1889, which was applied to Uganda, provided that ‘jurisdiction should so far as circumstances permitted be exercised upon the principles of and in conformity with the substance of the law for the time being in force in England’ (HRAPF, 2013). As English law at that time criminalised same-sex intercourse through the Offences against the Person Act 1861, ‘British [sic] law and Victorian morality’ were introduced to Uganda from its inception (HRAPF, 2013).

which was punishable by 5-7 years' imprisonment and an USh 100,000,000 fine;⁹ and failure to disclose an offence (section 14), punishable by 3 years' imprisonment or an USh 5,000,000 fine.¹⁰ Additionally, the AHB called for extraterritorial jurisdiction (section 16), the extradition of offenders (section 17), as well as the nullification of any international treaties which conflicted with any its provisions (section 18). Some of its sections – notably, the prohibition of same-sex marriage and the criminalisation of same-sex intercourse – simply replicated existing provisions in Ugandan law. The new provisions, which included the death penalty for 'aggravated homosexuality', were, for some, so extreme that the AHB 'catapulted Uganda to the front of the line of the 38 African countries imposing repressive laws against their LGBTI citizens' (Massaquoi, 2013: 38).

The tabling of the AHB incited a fierce reaction from Ugandan human rights activists, who had formed the Civil Society Coalition on Human Rights and Constitutional Law (the Coalition). While Ugandan LGBTI groups had, until the mid-2000s, operated largely in the shadows (Tamale, 2007b), covertly engaged in resistance through the provision of medical and social support to individual LGBTIs, they had done so predominantly without the support of so-called 'mainstream' human rights organisations in the country. The formation of the Coalition, in direct response to the drafting and tabling of the AHB, saw mainstream human rights organisations sit side-by-side with women's rights, sex worker, health, refugee and LGBTI groups, and, at its peak, the Coalition comprised over 50 such organisations. Its primary objectives were 'to see the Bill dropped from the Parliament's agenda', to contribute to a 'positive sexual rights agenda for Uganda' and to 'strengthen the capacity of civil society to engage in and contribute to these debates' (Coalition, 2015). It issued reports, engaged in public dialogues, and circulated guidelines for international partners and allies, outlining how best to support the Ugandan-led LGBTI effort to advocate against the AHB. Some of its member organizations, such as LGBTI network Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG) and the LGBTI organization Freedom and Roam Uganda (FARUG) produced publications challenging the rationalizations for the law (Mukasa, 2013; SMUG, 2014a). According to Jjuuko (2013: 392), the Coalition's activities 'successfully prevented the Bill from becoming law' in the eighth parliament, which lasted from 2006 to 2011, 'despite popular support for it' amongst parliamentarians.

After four years of 'debate, review and shelving' the Bill was 'silently sneaked into Parliament', passed on 20 December 2013, and signed into law by Museveni on 24 February 2014 (Nyanzi and Karamagi, 2015: 26). There were notable differences between the Bill and the Act: the much-publicized death penalty provision for 'aggravated homosexuality' was replaced by life imprisonment and mandatory

⁹ Approximately £20,000, as per exchange rate on 25 May 2018.

¹⁰ Approximately £1,000, as per exchange rate on 25 May 2018.

human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) testing; a new offence of conducting same-sex marriage ceremonies was added (section 12 (2)), punishable with 5–7 years' imprisonment; and the nullification of conflicting human rights treaties and mandatory reporting provision were dropped altogether (25). The AHA appeared in the official Uganda Gazette on 10 March 2014, signalling its formal entry into force in Ugandan law.

Two months later, SMUG published a report, covering the period 30 December 2013 to 1 May 2014, which demonstrated a dramatic upsurge in instances of persecution against LGBTIs. While there were no recorded prosecutions under the AHA, the report compiled 162 verified incidents of persecution during the period, ranging from violence and intimidation to expulsion from homes, schools and employment, involving both private citizens and the Police. 'The passing of AHA has given permission to a culture of extreme and violent homophobia whereby both state and non-state actors are free to persecute Uganda's LGBTI people with impunity', the report claimed (SMUG, 2014b: 1). Moreover, it noted that the passing of the AHA led to an upsurge in arrests under Section 145 of the Penal Code, with a total of 17 recorded incidents, as compared to 23 arrests under the same provision between 2007 and 2011. While arrests increased, the Human Dignity Trust observed that 'few' cases ever made it to judgment (HDT, 2015: 1).

When the AHA was signed into law by Museveni, the Coalition petitioned Uganda's Constitutional Court, arguing the legislation breached myriad substantive and procedural articles of the Constitution.¹¹ This included breaches of the right to equality before the law without discrimination (Article 21), the right to privacy (Article 27), the right to freedom from cruel, inhuman and degrading punishments (Article 24), and the right to dignity of persons with disabilities (Article 35). The petitioners also alleged that the Bill was passed without quorum in Parliament, in breach of Articles 88¹² and 94(1)¹³ of the Constitution, as well as Rule 23 of the Parliamentary Rules of Procedure, which required at least one third of MPs to be present in order for a Bill to be put to a vote.¹⁴

¹¹ *Oloka-Onyango & 9 Ors v Attorney General (CONSTITUTIONAL PETITION NO. 08 OF 2014.)* [2014] UGCC 14 (1 August 2014).

¹² 88. Quorum of Parliament.

(1) The quorum of Parliament shall be one-third of all members of Parliament entitled to vote.

(2) The quorum prescribed by clause (1) of this article shall only be required at a time when Parliament is voting on any question.

(3) Rules of procedure of Parliament shall prescribe the quorum of Parliament for the conduct of business of Parliament other than for voting.

¹³ 94. Rules of procedure in Parliament.

(1) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, Parliament may make rules to regulate its own procedure, including the procedure of its committees.

¹⁴ 23. Quorum of Parliament

(1) The quorum of Parliament shall be one third of all Members of Parliament entitled to vote.

On 1 August 2014, just five months after its entry into force, the Court annulled the AHA. However, it did so on the procedural issue of Parliamentary quorum and did not consider the substantive rights claims of the petitioners. As of 2019, there have been no attempts to reintroduce similar legislation, although same-sex intercourse remains criminalised under Section 145 of the Penal Code and the constitutional amendment which prohibits same-sex marriage remains in place.

Just as the tabling of the AHB in 2009 incited a ferocious reaction from Ugandan civil society, so too, did it spark off ‘an international firestorm’ with western governments and international institutions (Mutua, 2011: 457). Canadian Transport Minister John Baird announced Canada’s Prime Minister would meet with Museveni to try to stop the Bill from passing, adding that the law was ‘vile’, ‘abhorrent’ and ‘offensive’.¹⁵ The European Parliament passed a resolution condemning the AHB and reminding the Ugandan government of its international obligations under international human rights law.¹⁶ The United States’ (US) White House issued a statement in which it expressed its strong opposition to efforts, such as the AHB, ‘that would criminalize homosexuality and move against the tide of history’.¹⁷ Sweden’s Development Assistance Minister Gunilla Carlsson regarded the law as ‘wretched’ and warned that the Swedish government would cut the \$50 million USD development aid budget to Uganda if the law passed.¹⁸ UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay characterised the bill as ‘draconian’ and warned that it threatened to ‘seriously destroy the country’s reputation in the international arena’.¹⁹ British International Development Secretary Andrew Mitchell announced the British government would slash aid to Uganda if the bill were to become law.²⁰

(2) The quorum prescribed under sub-rule (1) shall only be required at a time when Parliament is voting on any question.

¹⁵ Harper to press Uganda on 'abhorrent' anti-gay law, *The Globe and Mail*, 26 November 2009, available: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-notebook/harper-to-press-uganda-on-abhorrent-anti-gay-law/article794069/>

¹⁶ EU Parliament Resolution: RC-B7-0259/2009

¹⁷ White House condemns Uganda bill, *The Advocate*, 12 December 2009, available: <https://www.advocate.com/news/daily-news/2009/12/12/white-house-condemns-uganda-bill> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

¹⁸ New Uganda Anti-Gay Law Irks Sweden, *The Citizen*, 4 December 2009, available: <http://allafrica.com/stories/200912040171.html> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

¹⁹ UN's human rights chief urges Uganda to scrap anti-gay legislation, *The Guardian*, 15 January 2010, available: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/15/un-human-rights-uganda-gay-legislation> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

²⁰ We'll cut your aid if you persecute gays, Britain warns African nations, *Daily Mail*, 8 October 2011, available: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2046965/Well-cut-aid-persecute-gays-Britain-warns-African-nations.html?ito=feeds-newsxml> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

Members of the Anglican Church also voiced concern at the law, with the Ugandan-born Archbishop of York branding the proposals ‘victimising’ and ‘a diminishment of the individuals concerned’,²¹ and the Archbishop of Canterbury describing the law as ‘of shocking severity’.²²

Editorials in western newspapers condemned Uganda’s government, the draft legislation, and its author, David Bahati. The *New York Times* spoke of Uganda’s ‘shameful record of discrimination against gay men and lesbian women’, described the AHB as ‘intolerable’ and predicted Uganda would become ‘an international pariah’.²³ The *Washington Post* characterised the Bill as ‘ugly and ignorant’, ‘beyond the pale of civilized nations’ and ‘an offense from beginning to end’.²⁴ The *Irish Times* declared that the AHB ‘can only be described as medieval and witch-hunting’ and ‘utterly abhorrent’.²⁵ The UK’s *Guardian* spoke of the ‘unjust and infamous’ law, which it described as ‘more a rant against homosexuality and the west than a workable piece of legislation intended for Uganda itself’.²⁶

Once the law was signed in 2014, the threats to divert or slash aid made by western governments and international organisations were followed through. The US government immediately announced that ‘all dimensions’ of US engagement with the Uganda, including aid, would be reviewed,²⁷ and, four months later, announced cuts to aid packages and the cancellation of a planned joint military exercise.²⁸ The World Bank announced that as a direct result of the passing of the AHA, it would delay a \$90 million USD loan to Uganda.²⁹ The Norwegian government withheld \$8 million USD in

²¹ Archbishop of York condemns Ugandan anti-homosexual laws, *The Guardian*, 24 December 2009, available: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/dec/24/john-sentamu-uganda-homosexual-laws> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

²² Dr Rowan Williams: taking a break from Canterbury travails, *The Telegraph*, 12 December 2009, available: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/6792671/Dr-Rowan-Williams-taking-a-break-from-Canterbury-travails.html> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

²³ Hate begets hate, *New York Times*, 4 January 2010, available: <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/05/opinion/05tue2.html> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

²⁴ Uganda's bill to imprison gays for life is an outrage that should be rejected, *Washington Post*, 7 January 2010, available: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/01/06/AR2010010604016.html?noredirect=on> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

²⁵ Uganda’s obligations, *Irish Times*, 9 January 2010, available: <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/uganda-s-obligations-1.1266731> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

²⁶ Uganda: unjust and infamous, *The Guardian*, 5 December 2009, available: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/dec/05/gay-rights-uganda-wretched-law> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

²⁷ Uganda donors cut aid after president passes anti-gay law, *The Guardian*, 25 February 2014, available: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/feb/25/uganda-donors-cut-aid-anti-gay-law> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

²⁸ U.S. cuts aid to Uganda, cancels military exercise over anti-gay law, *Reuters*, 19 June 2014, available: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-uganda-gay-announcement/u-s-cuts-aid-to-uganda-cancels-military-exercise-over-anti-gay-law-idUSKBN0EU26N20140619> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

²⁹ Uganda hit with foreign aid cuts over anti-gay law, *Al Jazeera*, 27 February 2014, available: <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/2/27/uganda-hit-with-foreignaidcutsoverantigaylaw.html> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

development aid,³⁰ while the Danish Trade and Development Minister and the government of The Netherlands announced their respective aid budgets would divert funds away from Ugandan government programmes.³¹

The attention directed towards the situation for Uganda's LGBTIs by domestic and international agents was matched by a body of scholarship focusing on different aspects of the AHB/AHA and the criminalisation of sexual minorities in Uganda. A number of scholars considered the epidemiological effects of the AHB/AHA, suggesting that the negative health effects of existing criminalisation through the Penal Code would be significantly worsened with the passing of the Bill (Tamale, 2009; Alsop, 2009; Beyrer, 2014; Semugoma et al., 2012). Others spoke of issues such as the potential impact on trade for Uganda (Ewins, 2011), the faulty parliamentary process through which the AHB was passed (Johnson, 2014), or the deleterious consequences of the AHB for human rights protections for all Ugandans (Tamale, 2009; Persad, 2010; Sander, 2010; Mutua, 2011; Dicklitch et al., 2012; Jjuuko and Tumwesige, 2013).

A number of scholars sought to explain the genesis of the law, highlighting national or international dynamics at play in Uganda. Tamale (2009) recalled the expulsion of Ugandan Asians by Idi Amin and suggested that the AHB was yet another example in Uganda's history of the scapegoating of minorities, as a means by which political authorities could shore up support and deflect criticism from extensive governmental failures. Bompani and Valois (2017), too, suggested that the politicisation of homosexuality was proportionate to President Museveni's increasingly autocratic grip on Uganda. For Ssebagala (2011) the AHB – a Private Member's Bill introduced by a first-time Parliamentarian from a small and remote constituency - 'caught [Museveni] off guard' (106). It not only politicised homosexuality in Uganda, but transformed it into a foreign policy issue, a tricky political terrain which Museveni navigated by simultaneously attempting to placate domestic and international diplomatic audiences, issuing contradictory statements throughout (106). Despite eventually signing the law, at one point Museveni even went as far as releasing a statement in which he called the Bill 'fascist' (RFKC, 2014). Kaoma (2009; 2010; 2013) and Oliver (2013) highlighted the transnational role of the US Christian right in funding churches and development projects and sending young American missionaries to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ in Uganda. Thus, the AHB represented the 'globalization of [US] culture wars', through which LGBTI victories in the west were portrayed as

³⁰ Norway cuts Uganda aid in gay law protest, *The Local*, 25 February 2014, available: <https://www.thelocal.no/20140225/norway-cuts-aid-to-uganda-after-gay-law> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

³¹ Three EU nations cut Uganda aid over anti-gay law, *Mail and Guardian*, 24 February 2014, available: <https://mg.co.za/article/2014-02-27-three-eu-nations-cut-uganda-aid-over-anti-gay-law> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

‘evidence of the encroaching gay conspiracy’ and used to induce support for draconian anti-LGBTI measures across Africa (Kaoma, 2009: 4). Ward (2013) took note of the influence of the US Christian right, but suggested that the genesis of the law lay in the 1998 Lambeth Conference.³² He contended that it was against the backdrop of the Lambeth Conference that homosexuality was ‘articulated’ as ‘a Ugandan issue’ for the first time (417-418). Jjuuko (2013), on the other hand, focused on the tension between pro and anti-homosexual forces in Uganda. He described the AHB as ‘a reaction to the ever-increasing agitations and demands for equal rights for homosexuals in Uganda’; a ‘trump card’ which was intended to silence the ‘voices demanding for equal rights’ which had grown louder over the decade leading up to the Bill (381).

1.3. Contribution

This thesis neither discounts nor dismisses *in toto* the insights of the aforementioned scholarship. Indeed, some of their observations will be revisited in light of my findings in this study in later chapters. However, this thesis provides another perspective by focussing on a different object of analysis: Ugandan newspaper coverage of homosexuality.

In focusing on Ugandan newspapers, this thesis contributes to a body of scholarship which has taken Ugandan media coverage of homosexuality as its primary object of inquiry. By far the most extensive corpus of work came from Strand (2011; 2012; 2013), who produced qualitative content analyses and quantitative frame³³ analyses of Ugandan newspapers between October 2009 and June 2010. Through her investigations, she determined the extent to which LGBTI activists were able to influence news frames on coverage of sexual and gender minorities, finding that their successes were extremely limited (2011). Elsewhere, she found that homophobia played a significant role in preventing ‘comprehensive’ coverage of the AHB, meaning that newspapers generally provided tendentious accounts of the legislation, its rationale and its potential effects (2012). Frame analysis has also been put to work by Namusoga (2016), who examined the period between 2008 to 2011, and found that the most commonly employed frames were ‘negative’ and related to human rights, sin, disease and crime. Bompani and Brown (2015) produced content analyses of Ugandan print media, covering November 2012 to June 2013, in order to determine the influence of Pentecostal Christian Churches on news outputs. Their research, which included interviews with journalists and editors, suggested that Ugandan newspapers were tailoring their coverage for commercial reasons, to appeal to a

³² The Lambeth Conference is a decennial meeting of Anglican Bishops from around the globe, hosted by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

³³ News frame analysis is concerned with identifying the ‘presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments’ (Entman, 1993: 52).

growing population of politically powerful, ultra-conservative Christians. The most temporally comprehensive analysis of Ugandan newspapers and homosexuality came from Ugandan feminist legal scholar Sylvia Tamale (2007a), whose work spanned 1998 to 2007 and reproduced transcripts of selected news stories. Her book, which was organised as a literature report and lacked explicit theorisation, organised a small selection of news data thematically – such as homosexuality and religion, homosexuality and science, and homosexuality and culture – and contained a series of short, one-page analyses on topics from guest authors.

While the specific contributions of each chapter will be outlined as the thesis progresses, its overall originality, significance and contribution is three-fold. First, it draws on and develops a governmentality approach to the analysis of the news (Kalpagam, 2001; Peterson and Taylor, 2013). In this thesis, newspapers are reconceptualised as technologies of government, through which different rationalities, logics and strategies of power can be realised. Just as legislation is an object through which governmental power can be exercised, so too, are newspapers. In this way, it represents a contribution to governmentality scholarship in general, as it calls for news to be taken more seriously as a domain through which governmental power is exercised.

Second, it applies this governmentality framework to the problematic of sexual minorities in Uganda. This thesis starts from the perspective that Ugandan newspapers formed part of the same loose governmental assemblage from which the AHB/AHA emerged, which targeted homosexuality and sought to manage it out of existence. It therefore contributes to the literature on the AHB/AHA in general and the media literature on homosexuality and Ugandan specifically, by highlighting different ways in which the media was implicated in the process. This included: the gradual and cumulative constitution of homosexuality as a multi-headed problem over nearly three decades (Chapter 5); the circulation of disgust techniques towards homosexuality (Chapter 6); and the dissemination of a particularly spectacular episode of resistance, which incited an unprecedented backlash through the newspaper (Chapter 7).

Third, it analyses a period of unexamined newspaper data in the context of such a theoretical framework. It examines a significantly larger scope of Ugandan newspaper data than has been examined thus far: it covers a broader timeframe, spanning 1986 to 2014; it includes tabloid media, a data source that has received little sustained academic attention in literatures on homosexuality in Uganda; and it includes photographic data of key events and occurrences, as contained in the newspapers, which have similarly not formed the focus of scholarly studies of homosexuality in Uganda.

1.4. Overview

In **Chapter 2**, I begin to set the stage for the analysis, by providing an overview of the contents of Foucault's 'toolbox' – that is, the concepts Foucault developed through his historical investigations of contemporary western Europe. While he bequeathed an almost limitless set of concepts generated through his life's work, only those most relevant to the thesis or which help situate his thought in the intellectual landscape are elaborated in this chapter. Although this thesis draws from Foucault's 'genealogical' work, where his concern with power was most explicit, I begin by elaborating briefly upon his earlier 'archaeological' scholarship and the concomitant concept of discourse. This is then contrasted with his turn to power, including his analytics of power, the historically emergent modalities of power, including sovereignty, biopower, discipline, biopolitics, and the overarching framework for this thesis, governmentality. I also highlight the concept of resistance and supplement Foucault's fragmentary insights with secondary literature – notably Harding (2010) – who extended and developed the concept of resistance within the context of gay and lesbian political contestation.

The relevant contents of Foucault's toolbox, which were the outcome of geographically specific and scrupulously Eurocentric historical investigations, are then interrogated from a postcolonial perspective in **Chapter 3**. That Foucault largely ignored the question of empire in his analysis of European history precisely at the height of colonialism is, for some, puzzling. For others, the colonial blind spot of his work undercuts the usefulness of his thought for the study of (post)colonial contexts. This chapter takes inspiration from such debates and asks the question, 'To what extent can governmentality scholarship "go" to Uganda?' That is, I interrogate to what extent governmentality scholarship can be used as a lens to provide insights into a non-western context, given Foucault's 'short-circuiting' of empire (Stoler, 1995: 7). I do so by providing a brief overview of Foucault's reception in the broad field of study known as postcolonial studies. I then provide a literature review of colonial scholarship which re-located his genealogical insights within the colonial encounter, demonstrating, for example, the extent to which colonies were laboratories for immense projects of surveillance and sexuality. With an appreciation of the employment of governmentality and its associated concepts in (post)colonial studies in general, I move on to examine its employment in Ugandan scholarship. I highlight two useful Ugandan governmentality scholarship texts: the first examined the *Voice of Uganda* newspaper as a technology of government employed by Idi Amin to command and exhort; and the second considered the international governmentality – or 'developmentality' - of the Ugandan state by international and bilateral aid donors.

In **Chapter 4** I summarise the theoretical framework outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, in which I conceive of Uganda's newspapers as technologies of government. I orient the research methodologically,

elaborating on fundamental questions of ontology, epistemology and positionality. Before explaining the research methods employed in this thesis, I pause to describe the significant changes made to my research which emerged as a result of the productive failure of my original plans. This account of the rebirth of the research project in its final iteration segues into an elaboration of the research methods used to collect and analyse the newspaper data. I finish this chapter by highlighting the limitations of the project.

The substantive analysis of the data begins with **Chapter 5**, in which I consider the first means by which Ugandan newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities: the gradual constitution of homosexuality as a multi-headed problem, which was consistent with the kinds of solutions contained in the AHB/AHA. I therefore start from the perspective that problems are not self-evident, awaiting discovery, but must be constructed through a process of *problematization*. Newspapers, I suggest, provide an insight into the slow constitution of a problem. This is not just because they are produced daily but because, in addition to the knowledges employed by ‘experts’ and laypersons contained therein, the newspaper renders problems more or less important depending upon their placement and format. Examining the newspaper enables one to trace not just the entry of an object into the history of thought as a problematisation, but the relative importance accorded to such problems as they are constituted as such. Hence, I trace the constitution of homosexuality as a problem, not simply through the different lenses of power/knowledge, but through its form and placement in the newspapers.

Amongst the myriad cumulative shifts in the problematisation of homosexuality, I suggest there were two particularly important turning points. The first occurred in 1999, when homosexuality – which had been a relatively minor but growing problem – suddenly occupied front pages and prominent news stories over several months, as President Museveni called for the arrest of Uganda’s homosexuals. The second occurred from 2006, as homosexuality – which had been constituted over the years as a vector of disease transmission (1989), a foreign practice (1994), an individual psychological abnormality (1994), a sin against God (1996), a criminal offence (1999), and a tool of neo-colonialism (1999) - came to be diagnosed through the lens of recruitment. That is, homosexuals in Uganda were said to be engaged in a coordinated recruitment campaign in schools, targeting children and seducing them into the homosexual lifestyle. While myriad ‘causes’ of homosexuality had been suggested through the newspaper over the years, the theme of recruitment represented a more explicit shift towards a biopolitically racist problematisation, which invited and was consistent with the kinds of solutions contained in the AHB. The safety and security of Ugandan children, in other words, was tied in ‘positive relation’ to the elimination or containment of homosexuals in Uganda (Stoler, 1995: 84).

While problematisation is an important element, it alone does not account for the totality of the implication of Uganda's newspapers in the government of sexual minorities in the run-up to the AHB/AHA. Ugandan newspapers were implicated in a second manner identified in **Chapter 6**; that is, through the circulation of disgust 'techniques' directed towards homosexuality. Here, I draw from a small body of literature which has foregrounded the relatively neglected emotional dimension to governmental regimes. Drawing on their insights, I conceive of disgust as a technical device or technology of government, able to be directed towards certain governmental objectives. While the governmentality and emotion scholarship has considered several emotions, it has not yet focused on disgust. I therefore combine the insights of this scholarship with the broad, transdisciplinary literature on disgust. Just as problems do not inhere in objects, I contend that disgust is not an inherent property of sexual minorities, but is instead the outcome of a process of social learning or normalisation.

The analysis reveals the techniques by which the newspaper helped to circulate disgust towards homosexuality. It was invoked repeatedly with reference to rape and paedophilia, violence and the anus and disease and death, all of which transferred their disgust properties on to homosexuality. Also included was a series of warnings on stories related to homosexuality, which did not transfer disgust properties but guided the reader's emotional response to such stories. This is not to suggest that individual journalists or newspaper editors necessarily intended to generate disgust. The focus in this chapter, as with the rest of the thesis, is less on questions of intentionality of individual subjects and more on the strategies of power which Foucault described as 'intentional but non-subjective' – that is, 'the logic is perfectly clear, the aims decipherable, and yet it is often the case that no one is there to have invented them' (Foucault, 1990b). Just as the problem of homosexuality grew in seriousness in later data items in Chapter 5, so too, did the techniques of disgust increase in their intensity around the same timeframe. Thus, from 2006 onwards, newspaper coverage included graphic descriptions of diseases, torn anuses, monstrously large penises, blood and pus, all in relation to the object of homosexuality.

The third and final means by which Ugandan newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities is explored In **Chapter 7**; that is, through the dissemination of resistance. While it may appear paradoxical to suggest that resistance formed a part of the governmental power exercised through the newspapers, Foucault understood power and resistance as presupposing one another, with power inciting resistance and resistance inciting power. Unlike the previous two chapters, which took broad, historical overviews, this chapter focuses on a case-study which represented the single most spectacular episode of resistance contained in the newspaper thus far. Moreover, it was an episode of resistance which incited a significant backlash: a 2007 press conference organised by LGBTI human rights activists in which they called for an end to discrimination. In analysing the press

conference through a governmentality lens, I draw on two concepts. The first is Foucault's concept of spectacle; that is, a situation where the many observe the few. The second is the extra-Foucauldian concept of performance, as outlined by Erving Goffman (1956). Despite theoretical divergences between Foucault and Goffman, I contend there are considerable points of overlap between the two thinkers. I employ Goffman's theatrical concepts through a governmentality lens, examining the press conference as a performance of resistance communicated through the photographs and articles contained in the newspaper coverage.

The analysis of the photographs and coverage of the press conference demonstrates that the performance touched upon LGBTI subjectivity, Africanness/Ugandanness, religiousness, disease, and was performed as a non-threatening and celebratory spectacle. With the resistant aspects of the performance outlined, I then move on to examine the backlash over the following 45 days, a timeframe chosen as the press conference was intended to initiate a 45-day media campaign by the activists entitled, 'Let Us Live in Peace'. Far from communicating further resistance, the following weeks saw: coverage of the first ever anti-homosexuality protests in Uganda; the extensive outpouring of 'public opinion' which called for stronger governmental intervention to deal with the problem of homosexuality, including death; and coverage of the 'response' or 'reactions' by politico-legal agents, including the announcement that the national government was drafting an anti-homosexuality law to deal with the problem.

The thesis is brought to a close in **Chapter 8**, where I draw together the research questions and their answers. I also reflect upon governmentality as an analytical framework and my choice of thematic analysis, as well as suggest future directions of study.

1.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out the background and context to the central question which animates this thesis: 'How were Ugandan newspapers implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014?' By explicating both the content of the legislation and the reaction to it, I demonstrated the importance and merit of this problematic for sustained academic study. I also pointed to the contribution of this thesis: namely, the development of a governmental approach to the study of news; the application of such a framework to the problematic of homosexuality in Uganda; and its analysis of unexamined data through such a lens. Finally, I provided an overview of the chapters which constitute this thesis.

In the following chapter I begin to set up the framework around which this thesis will proceed, through an examination of the contents of Foucault's 'toolbox'.

Chapter 2. Opening Foucault's toolbox

2.1. Introduction

This chapter explores Foucault's historical methodology and the conceptual arsenal borne out of his innovative analyses of diverse institutions and phenomena. Throughout the course of his life's work, Foucault's objects of study included madness (Foucault, 1965), medicine (Foucault, 1994a), the *sciences humaines* (Foucault, 2003b), the prison (Foucault, 1991a), and sexuality (Foucault, 1990b; Foucault, 1992; Foucault, 1990a). His major publications have been supplemented, in more recent years, by the publication of his lectures from his time as Professor of History of Systems of Thought at the *Collège de France*. Providing an overview of his work in 1975, Foucault described his books as 'little boxes of tools', the contents of which could be used like 'a screwdriver or a spanner' (Foucault, 2006: 52).³⁴ The potency of these 'little boxes of tools', combined with his steadfast refusal to obey traditional disciplinary boundaries, has provided Foucault with an intellectual legacy that enjoys wide and long-lasting transdisciplinary appeal.

In this chapter, I provide an exposition of those aspects of Foucauldian thought most relevant for this thesis, drawn from his so-called 'genealogical' work, where Foucault's interest in power was most explicit. However, in order to contextualise these concepts, I provide a brief introduction to an earlier set of 'tools' – namely, a historical methodology he called archaeology, and the concomitant concept of discourse. I then move on to explicate Foucault's genealogical approach to historical analysis, the concept of problematisation and his analytics of power. I elaborate on the historically specific modalities of power Foucault identified, including sovereignty, discipline, biopolitics and governmentality, before finally focusing on resistance.

The reason these concepts are central to this thesis is because I conceive of newspapers as technologies of government. The genealogical 'tools' outlined in this chapter provide the means by which the different ways newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities can be explicated. This includes the *problematisation* of sexual minorities, according to various modalities of *power/knowledge* (Chapter 5), the circulation of *techniques* of disgust (Chapter 6), and the dissemination of *resistance* – and concomitant incitation of *power* (Chapter 7).

³⁴ Translation my own.

2.2. Foucault's 'toolbox'

On a number of occasions, Foucault invited his listeners and readers to 'take his ideas as working hypotheses, his analyses as provisional' and most significantly, 'his books as tools for multiple possible uses' (Alvarez, 2015: 16).³⁵ In 1974, for example, Foucault stated:

I would like my books to be a kind of tool-box which others can rummage through to find a tool which they can use however they wish in their own area... I don't write for an audience, I write for users, not readers (Foucault, 1994b: 523-524).

The metaphor of the toolbox is one that reappears in the secondary literatures. Gutting (1995), for example, described Foucault as 'an intellectual artisan, someone who over the years constructed a variety of artifacts' which were the 'intellectual equivalent of the material objects created by a skilled goldsmith or cabinetmaker' (6). Veiga-Neto and Lopes (2007) spoke approvingly of Foucault's intellectual 'toolbox', suggesting that such imagery highlighted the practical, instrumental aspect of Foucauldian thought (951). O'Farrell (2005) extended the metaphor, noting that while using one or two of Foucault's tools was a 'relatively straightforward affair', any attempt to use the whole of Foucault's toolbox invariably led to 'the entire kit' seeming to 'fall apart at the seams' (50). This is because Foucault was not a systematic scholar: he was constantly introducing new tools and existing ones underwent modification between publications, lectures and interviews. He addressed this issue in the preface to *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, rhetorically asking the kinds of questions he was anticipating from certain segments of his readership:

'Aren't you sure of what you're saying? Are you going to change yet again, shift your position according to the questions that are put to you, and say that the objections are not really directed at the place from which you are speaking? Are you going to declare yet again that you have never been what you have been reproached with being? Are you already preparing the way out that will enable you in your next book to spring up somewhere else and declare as you're now doing: no, no, I'm not where you are lying in wait for me, but over here, laughing at you?' (Foucault, 1972: 17)

The reason for this lack of systematicity was because Foucault, in his own words, was an 'experimenter' rather than a 'theorist' (Foucault, 1991b: 27). This aspect to Foucault's scholarship evidently presents a challenge for anyone attempting to provide an overview of his work. If his tools were always in flux – sometimes being used in different ways even within the same text – then debates

³⁵ Translations my own.

as to the meaning of his concepts and their points of application are inevitable. This is all the more so in light of Rose and Valverde's observation that 'quotable quotes can no doubt be extracted from his writings to support all kinds of interpretations' (Rose and Valverde, 1998: 542). Consequently, this chapter makes no grand claims about the Foucault it presents. Rather, it approaches its task more modestly; it presents an overview of the relevant parts of his work, one with textual justification for its claims, albeit one conducted with a specific project in mind.

2.2.1. Archaeology and discourse

Although it is Foucault's tools related to his 'genealogical' scholarship that will be called upon in this thesis, such concepts were not, chronologically-speaking, the first to emerge from Foucault's own investigations. It is commonplace to periodise Foucault's intellectual labour, regarding his work from the mid-1970s as signalling something of a break between the 'early' and the 'late' Foucault (D'Arcy, 2004; Gkoutzioulis, 2018). This is because in early Foucauldian scholarship, explicit questions of power were almost entirely absent. Instead, Foucault focused on an historical methodology he called archaeology, and his concept of discourse.

Foucault's first three major published works were archaeologies of madness, medicine and the social sciences in general. His fourth, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, was Foucault's only non-historical major publication. In it, he attempted to set out retrospectively the methodology he had applied in his historical investigations and elaborated in depth on his concept of discourse. There are better reasons than mere chronology, however, for starting with a brief elucidation of these particular thinking tools. While neither archaeology nor discourse are called upon in this thesis, their explication nevertheless helps orient Foucault's thought, position him within the intellectual landscape in which he worked, and provides a contrast against which the conceptual focus of this chapter can be developed: Foucault's concern with power and government.

Archaeology is a historical methodology, underpinned by two important ideas: first, a rejection of interpretation; and secondly, a rejection of anthropological constants. On the first point, this means that archaeology 'does not offer explanations of what happened in the past – it simply describes' (Mills, 2010: 24). For Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982), this aversion to interpretation allowed Foucault to avoid the 'hermeneutic unearthing of a different and deeper meaning of which social actors are only dimly aware' (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2002: xx). On the second, this means that archaeology aims at what Gutting (2005) calls 'history without the individual subject' (34). This does not mean the total exclusion of the subject, but it does mean that Foucault produced a method which avoided 'tracing all meaning back to the meaning-giving activity of an autonomous, transcendental subject' and paid less attention to *who* said what, rather than *what* was said (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2002: xix). The

archaeologist's interest in what was said, however, does not extend to assessing the 'objective' truthfulness of a set of statements, such as pointing out how misguided or wrong were the medical practitioners of past eras. The archaeologist's interest is in the conditions of possibility for the emergence of statements. This endeavour can be distinguished from linguistics: the linguist is generally interested in the universal, ahistorical rules of grammar and logic which structure communication, whereas the archaeologist assumes there are historically situated rules beyond grammar and logic which constitute the limits of what can be said within a given domain (the 'historical *apriori*'). Archaeology is the method by which these rules can be made manifest. In pursuit of this objective, the archaeologist will assemble a mass of texts – sometimes referred to as an archive – in order to assess 'the overall configuration' of the field – that is, the hidden rules structuring knowledge – from which a series of texts are 'excavated' (Gutting, 2005: 34).

In achieving this, the archaeologist relies upon the concept of discourse – that is the autonomous system of rules which archaeology makes manifest. Discourse is constituted by 'discursive formations' which govern 'the *serious* possibilities for talking about things' (Rouse, 1995: 94).³⁶ Through its focus on 'serious' speech, Foucauldian discourse can be 'distinguished from the speech acts of everyday life' (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2002: xx), examined by the likes of Searle (1969). In his own archaeologies, Foucault described shifts in 'what counted as serious discussion of madness, disease, wealth, language, or life' from the Renaissance, to the Classical Age, to Modernity (Rouse, 1995: 94). The three epochs he described were not arbitrary temporal divisions, but denoted what Foucault referred to as distinct *epistemes* – 'the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems' (Foucault, 1972: 18). The shift from one episteme to another represented a radical and abrupt epistemological transformation, fundamentally altering the limits of the sayable, thinkable and knowable within the domains Foucault studied. Thus, Foucault's archaeology of madness demonstrated that mental illness was not an 'objective fact which remained the same in all historical periods', but rather, it was only 'within a definite discursive formation that the object, "madness", could appear at all as a meaningful intelligible construct' (Hall, 2001: 74). As Foucault himself suggested, mental illness was:

constituted by all that was said in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its developments, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were to be taken as its own (Foucault, 1972: 35)

³⁶ Emphasis added.

Discourse, in Foucauldian thought, plays a role 'in the construction of knowledge as such' (Young, 2003: 400). Counterintuitively, then, discourse precedes knowledge. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault 'concentrated almost exclusively on discourse, its autonomy and discontinuous transformations' in an attempt to 'divorce discourse as far as possible from its social setting and to discover the rules of its self-regulation' (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2002: 17). In an interview given just before its French-language publication, Foucault described how:

the history of science, the history of knowledges does not obey simply the general law of the progress of reason, it is not human consciousness, it is not human reason that is in some way the keeper of the laws of its history...I have tried to extricate an autonomous domain which would that of the unconscious of knowledge, that would have its own rules, as the unconscious of the individual human being also has its rules and its determinations (El Kabbach, 1968: 665-666).

What Foucault means by the 'unconscious of knowledge' is, according to Davidson, 'precisely the site of those rules of formation that make possible the objects, concepts, and theories of scientific discourse' (Davidson, 1997: 7). The notion of an 'unconscious' of knowledge determining what constitutes truth in any given era represents a serious challenge to central tenets of post-Enlightenment thought. Rather than the onward march of Reason, driven by a knowing and self-realising Subject, archaeology reveals that truth is generated by arbitrary discursive formations which mutate from one episteme to the next and which exist almost entirely independently of the subject. Archaeology casts doubt on the 'smug supposition' that our knowledge of madness, medicine or the *sciences humaines* have 'converged on the objective truth' (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2002: 13). It works to unsettle the foundations of knowledge in the present-day by casting 'off any universal and/or supra-historical truth we could access from an aprioristic standpoint' (Malette, 2012: 371). Through archaeology, then, Foucault used historical inquiry to destabilise the certainties of the present. It was an approach he would continue even as he put aside his focus on discourse as an autonomous system of rules, and turned instead to concerns over power, the body, punishment and sexuality, investigated through a methodology he called genealogy.

Although this thesis does not draw on Foucault's archaeological scholarship, his moves to relativise knowledge through archaeology and discourse have enjoyed enduring appeal in the analysis of media. Williams (2003), for example, suggested that by the 1980s 'Foucauldian discourse' had become 'the dominant paradigm' for studies of media texts (159). In a more recent survey of Foucault's work and its contribution to media studies, Hobbes (2008) contended that out of Foucault's *oeuvre*, it was archaeology and discourse which were 'most relevant' to media scholars (5). While Foucault's early

work has been influential in the analysis of media, the interest of media scholars in Foucault is not exhausted by the archaeological and the discursive. For example, there is a small but growing body of scholarship which has examined the reality television genre through the theoretical framework of governmentality and its associated concepts (Ouellette and Hay, 2008; Kiersey, 2014; Nolan, 2014). In this regard, Ouellette and Hay (2008) suggested that makeover or 'self-help' reality programmes were implicated in regimes of governmentality, helping to produce its audience as responsabilised, neo-liberal subjects. Kiersey (2014), too, contended that entrepreneurial reality television was a way in which 'pro-market predilections' have been 'instilled' in media viewers (361). Contra Hobbes, then, I contend that Foucault's genealogical concepts – in particular, governmentality - provide an equally rich and potential set of tools for the analysis of media, for those interested in delineating the myriad possible ways through which it exercises governmental power.

2.2.2. Genealogy and power

There was a six-year gap between the publication of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and Foucault's next major project – a genealogy of the modern prison in *Discipline and Punish*. While Foucault had, in his previous work, attempted to decentre the subject from historiographical analyses, the critical force of the archaeological method was limited: archaeology was capable of shedding light on the rules of discursive formation, but precisely because these rules sat at the level beyond consciousness, they were not open to critical intervention. Genealogy, on the other hand, was an approach which pointed to the contingency of the present, but did so through critical re-descriptions of history, highlighting emergences, ruptures, and discontinuities. In producing a 'history of the present', it refused the search for origins, examining instead the petty accidents of history that led to the present-day situation - for example, examining the emergence of the modern penitentiary as the predominant form of punishment from the eighteenth century onwards in western Europe. As described by Foucault, genealogy allowed for investigations into the what 'led us to constitute ourselves and to recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying' (Foucault, 1991d: 46). By highlighting these historically emergent processes, the genealogist was able to do what the archaeologist could not: 'separate out, from the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibility of no longer being, doing, or thinking what we are, do, or think' (Foucault, 1991d: 46). Genealogy is a 'historical ontology of ourselves' (Foucault, 1991d: 45), exploring the historically sedimented nature of the self and others.

Along with the methodological foregrounding of genealogy from *Discipline and Punish* onwards, the concept of discourse came to be subordinated to Foucault's primary object of analysis during this period: power. However, discourse did not disappear entirely. While it was largely absent from *Discipline and Punish*, discourse appeared repeatedly throughout the *History of Sexuality Vol 1*,

notably through Foucault's exploration of the 'incitement to discourse' and the 'discursive explosion' around the issue of sex from the eighteenth century onwards (Foucault, 1990b). Yet this iteration of discourse appeared stripped of the highly technical conceptual architecture which surrounded it in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Terms such as episteme, statement (enonce), utterance (enunciation), archive and discursive formation were almost entirely absent. The analytical work performed by discourse in the 'early' Foucault appeared to be supplanted in his genealogical investigations by the concept of power, which was inexorably linked to knowledge through the composite term power/knowledge. It was not intended to indicate that knowledge *is* power, but rather, 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations' (Foucault, 1991a: 27). Discourse no longer preceded knowledge, as it had done in his archaeological work, but appeared repositioned as an outcome of power/knowledge: 'it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together' (Foucault, 1990b: 100).

2.2.2.1. Problematization

One of Foucault's tools called upon in this thesis is his concept of problematization, which is particularly relevant for Chapter 5, where I explore the constitution of homosexuality as a problem across almost thirty years of newspaper data. However, much of the secondary literature has noted (Bacchi, 2012; Koopman, 2014; Barnett, 2015; Lemke, 2011) that problematization can be used in two senses – the verb ('to problematize') and the noun ('a problematization'). The former describes the disposition of the scholar to his or her data, in which the 'taken-for-grantedness' of the object is shaken. It is a method of analysis, or a style of critique, in which pre-existing assumptions are brushed aside. The latter describes the historical process by which a problem was constituted – that is, problematizations are the outcome of the calling into question of practices, modes of conduct, and ways of living. While the two meanings of problematization can, Barnett (2015: 7) noted, be considered as defining 'distinct fields of analysis', I follow the likes of Koopman (2013: 98) in observing a 'dual dimensionality' to the concept; that is, the line separating the two is permeable. They ought to be seen as 'two complementary steps' in the 'nominalist critique' undertaken by Foucault (Lemke, 2011: 31). Not only do I analyse homosexuality as *a* problematization in Chapter 5, I also adopt a problematizing (verb) disposition towards my object of analysis – homosexuality in Uganda – by attempting to shake its 'taken-for-grantedness'.

Foucault himself provided a number of insights into problematization in a series of lectures and interviews over the final years of his life. In a 1983 lecture, he described it as the question of 'how and

why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) became a *problem*' (Foucault, 2001a: 171).³⁷ Elsewhere he expanded upon this by linking problematisation to the history of thought, a domain he distinguished from the history of ideas. The latter:

tries to determine when a specific concept appears, and this moment is often identified by the appearance of a new word...[it] involves the analysis of a notion from its birth, through its development, and in the setting of other ideas which constitute its setting (Foucault, 2001a: 74)

The history of ideas involved tracing the appearance of concept – such as homosexuality – and following it throughout the data. The history of thought, on the other hand, examined:

The ways institutions, practices, habits, and behaviour become a problem for people who behave in specific sorts of ways, who have certain types of habits, who engage in certain kinds of practices...The history of thought is the analysis of the way an unproblematic field of experience, or a set of practices, which were accepted without question, which were familiar and “silent,” out of discussion, becomes a problem, raises discussion and debate, incites new reactions, and induces a crisis in the previously silent behaviour, habits, practices, and institutions (Foucault, 2001a: 74).

To ‘accept’ a set of practices ‘without question’ did not necessarily mean to consider them *acceptable*; that is, suitable, tolerable, or permissible. Rather, it meant that the practices had a taken-for-granted nature, which was seemingly beyond question to such an extent that it put them almost below the threshold of perception. A problematisation emerged when this taken-for-granted nature of an object became ‘uncertain’ and lost its ‘familiarity’, entering into the history of thought, often having ‘provoked a certain number of difficulties around it’ (Rabinow, 2000: 388). Problematisation was therefore the point-for-point opposite of what actor-network theorists referred to as ‘blackboxing’ (Latour, 2005). Blackboxing referred to the process through which objects no longer need to be considered; ‘those things whose contents have become a matter of indifference’ (Callon and Latour, 1981: 285). Problematisation, on the other hand, referred to the entry of a practice, a way of life, or a certain conduct into the domain of thinking and questioning. However, problematisation was not just the processes by which the familiarity of an object was shaken and rendered problematic. It was also a process which implied or invited particular solutions. Hence:

³⁷ Emphasis in original.

This development of a given into a question, this transformation of a group of obstacles and difficulties into problems to which the diverse solutions will attempt to produce a response, this is what constitutes the point of problematization and the specific work of thought (Rabinow, 2000: 389).

To analyse a problematisation was to examine the shifts in the history of thought, from which an object slowly transforms from silent and mute to an object of anxiety, reflection and thought. It was to analyse the myriad ways in the object was posed as a problem and the concomitant diagnoses and solutions which were provided.

2.2.2.2. Power

The next set of tools are drawn from Foucault's work on power. As I indicated in Chapter 1, Foucault sought to dislodge prevailing understandings of power by introducing what he called his 'analytics of power'. The existing understandings of power had tended, to varying degrees, see power as a property to be possessed and exercised in a negative fashion – that is, power over - in a hierarchical, top-down fashion. Instead, Foucault suggested power was not simply negative and deductive but was also generative and productive. It was relational, occurring between individuals, rather than a possession to be held or lost. It was not external to other kinds of relationships, but was immanent to them, meaning there were no social relations in which power was not present. Power was not exercised in a unidirectional fashion, but was capillary, exercised from innumerable points in every direction. Power had discernible strategies, 'imbued, through and through, with calculation', yet these were not necessarily the result from 'choice or decision of an individual subject' (Foucault, 1990b: 95). Finally, power and resistance were intimately linked, as 'where there is power, there is resistance' (95).

His analytics of power were intended to provide an introductory methodological orientation for a planned six-volume investigation under the rubric of the *History of Sexuality*.³⁸ Although subsequent volumes were abandoned, Foucault's major publications and lectures during this period explicated a set of tangible historical processes, analysed through the lens of his power analytics. His genealogical investigations highlighted a series of historically emergent modalities of power/knowledge, analysed below, which are particularly relevant for Chapter 5, in which I examine the different ways in which homosexuality has been problematised through the newspaper.

³⁸ While *History of Sexuality Vol. 2* and *3* were released shortly before his death in 1984, they were much delayed and their focus had shifted radically, with Foucault abandoning modern European history and turning instead to Greek and Roman antiquity. The originally planned volumes of *History of Sexuality*, as outlined in the first edition to *Vol. 1* were: *Vol. 2, The Flesh and the Body*; *Vol. 3, The Children's Crusade*; *Vol. 4, Woman, Mother, Hysteric*; *Vol. 5, Perverts*; and *Vol. 6, Population and Races*. A fourth volume of *History of Sexuality* entitled 'Confessions of the Flesh' was released in 2018 in French but has yet to be translated into English.

2.2.2.3. Sovereignty

Sovereign power, the first of Foucault's historically emergent modalities of power, never formed a primary focus of Foucault's scholarship. Rather, it was introduced as a 'foil' against which the 'actual protagonist' – discipline at first, then biopower – could be contrasted (Valverde, 2010: 53). Despite not forming a primary object of analysis, Foucault nevertheless provided a number of insights, scattered over his major publications and lectures, as to its rationality.

Sovereignty describes negative processes and aligns more closely with traditional conceptions of power; that is, power over. It is a 'subtraction mechanism' (Foucault, 1990b: 136), one that takes 'products, money, wealth, goods, services, labour and blood' and uses them to reproduce itself (Dean, 2010: 125). Its paradigmatic form is the apparatus of criminal law, as it draws a line between 'which acts transgress and which are permitted' (Tadros, 1998: 78). It comes into play only when a breach of this line is detected and, as such, is typified by its discontinuous – and therefore inefficient - nature. In its strongest permutation, it 'has the right to decide life and death' (Foucault, 1990b: 135). This was demonstrated viscerally in the opening pages of *Discipline and Punish*, where Damiens, convicted of regicide, was tortured and executed in spectacular fashion. The 'sovereign mode' of punishment, then, is retributive, typified by its harshness, and in its most draconian forms, aims at nothing less than the destruction of the body of the condemned (Garland, 1996: 461).

Foucault suggested sovereign power, which predominated in the *ancien régime*, derived from what he described as the '*patria potestas*' of Ancient Rome, which granted the Roman patriarch the right to dispose of the lives of his slaves and children; 'just as he had given them life, so he could take it away' (Foucault, 1990b: 135). In its ancient form, sovereign power was absolute and unconditional, but by the time it was 'framed by classical theoreticians, it was in considerably diminished form' (Foucault, 1990b: 135). This diminished form of sovereign power could only be exercised when the sovereign's existence was under threat, whether from internal forces, as with Damiens, convicted of regicide, or external threats, during times of war. It would be a mistake, however, to equate sovereignty with the state. It can be exercised 'in other social locations, wherever power is deployed to restrain or punish what escapes the bounds of a unified scheme of what is right' (Rouse, 1995: 101). As Foucault noted, whether we are dealing with 'the father who forbids', the 'censor who enforces silence' or 'the master who states the law', we are dealing with a power 'schematized in a [sovereign] form' whose effects 'one defines ... as obedience' (Foucault, 1990b: 85).

When viewed through a sovereign lens, then, same-sex intercourse is a category of forbidden conduct to be punished when an infraction is detected. It is exemplified by Section 145 of the Ugandan Penal Code; that is, a permitted/forbidden binary, which punishes instances of same-sex intercourse. As was

made clear, however, sovereignty ought not to be equated with the state, but can include any negative form of management of homosexuality. While this evidently includes the prison, it could also include banishment or expulsion, censorship, fines, physical violence, and even execution. The key aspect of the sovereign mode is that it neither aims nor claims to know the nature of the homosexual, but instead seeks to punish instances of forbidden conduct through negative means.

2.2.2.4. Biopower

The concept of biopower is an umbrella term for two, inter-connected historically emergent modalities of power, which will be discussed below: discipline and biopolitics (Foucault, 1990b). Given Foucault's propensity to avoid clear, circumscribed definitions, he appeared at times to speak of biopower and biopolitics as distinct analytical categories, while also using them interchangeably. Hence, there is textual justification for approaches which maintain a conceptual distinction³⁹ and for approaches which collapse the two into one another.⁴⁰ For explanatory purposes, I maintain the conceptual distinction, describing what Foucault had to say about biopower, in contradistinction to sovereignty, before then exploring discipline and biopolitics in greater depth individually.

Foucault used the concept of biopower to describe the ascendance of a new set of processes which took life as their primary object and target, occurring at the beginning of the seventeenth century in west.⁴¹ Biopower grew in importance just as sovereignty waned in predominance, although he stressed the former did not displace the latter. Rather, there was a coexistence between the two processes, both of which operated at different polarities of the social body and directed themselves towards different aspects of social existence.

Unlike sovereignty, the historical processes Foucault grouped under the term biopower took as their objective not the right to kill or let live, but to 'invest life through and through' (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2002: XXVI). Deduction became 'but merely one element among others, working to incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize, and organize the forces under it' (Foucault, 1990b: 136). Biopower had

³⁹ The clearest example was in *History of Sexuality Vol. 1*, where Foucault introduced biopower as an umbrella concept to describe the distinct but interrelated processes of discipline ('an anatomo-politics of the individual') and biopolitics ('a biopolitics of the population').

⁴⁰ See, for example: 'What does this new technology of power, this biopolitics, this biopower that is beginning to establish itself, involve?' (Foucault, 2004: 243).

⁴¹ This presentation is anachronistic, if one is guided by Foucault's chronological introduction of his concepts. In *Discipline and Punish*, sovereignty was introduced as a foil to discipline, leading to the claim that we were living in a 'disciplinary society' (Foucault, 1991a). This was followed in *History of Sexuality Vol 1* by a revision of his thesis, wherein Foucault claimed it was biopower that predominated over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with discipline simply forming one pole, and biopolitics forming the other (Foucault, 1990b; 2004). This thesis was then revised in his *Security, Territory, Population*, a key *College de France* lecture series, wherein he claimed that governmentality formed a 'line of force' under which other modalities of power coalesced (Foucault, 2009).

‘the function of administering life’, replacing ‘the ancient right to *take* life or *let* live...by a power to *foster* life or *disallow* to the point of death’ (138). Rather than representing the pinnacle of power as with sovereignty, death marked the point of escape from networks of biopower. Foucault concluded that it was hardly surprising that suicide (Durkheim, 1897) was ‘one of the first conducts to enter into the sphere of sociological analysis’, existing as it did ‘in the interstices of power that was exercised over life’ (Foucault, 1990b: 138-139).

This new form of power was infinitely more penetrating, granular and efficient than sovereignty. It no longer operated through the threat of sanction, violence or death, but rather through the norm and ongoing processes of normalisation, which – unlike sanctions - were ‘always at play’ (McWhorter, 1999: 23). The processes of biopower formed dense normative webs over individuals and entire populations, exemplified through Foucault’s object of study in *History of Sexuality Vol 1 – sex*.

Foucault began his own study with an explanation of what he called ‘the repressive hypothesis’; the notion that Victorian morality put an end to the openness that had previously existed around issues of sex. Sex was rendered mute: there was ‘an injunction to silence’; there was ‘nothing to say about such things, nothing to see, and nothing to know’ (4). By contrast, modern society came to be sexually liberated; by speaking openly about sex, by referring to the insights of psychoanalysts and a whole host of other experts of desire and healthy sexual expression, it was possible to overcome the image of the ‘imperial prude’ (3). It is precisely this hypothesis that Foucault turned on its head. Rather than a muteness and silence on sexuality, sex became ‘speechified’ to such an extent that there was a discursive explosion on the topic, through which a science of sex was produced. Biopower modified existing techniques – such as the Christian practice of confession – and redeployed them in service of this new object and target of power. The individual was compelled to confess their innermost desires and pleasures to a raft of experts: doctors, educators, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, sexologists and so on. These experts alone were capable of understanding and decoding the secrets of this sex, which appeared to lurk beneath seemingly innocuous thoughts and mundane actions. Sex, in other words, had a truth which could be decoded by experts. Moreover, this sexuality was produced in a web of normative judgments from such experts, who determined what constituted a normal, healthy sexuality, and concomitantly, what constituted deviation, and the degree of abnormality or dangerousness posed by deviant sexualities.

Sexuality came to occupy a central position by the second half of the eighteenth century. It became embedded through a fourfold process, where knowledge and power coalesced around sex: ‘the hysterization of women’s bodies’; ‘a pedagogization of children’s sex’; ‘a socialization of procreative behaviour’; and ‘a psychiatrization of perverse pleasure’ (Foucault, 1990b: 104-105). From these four

'strategic unities' emerged four figures – the hysterical woman, the masturbating child, the Malthusian couple⁴² and the perverse adult, all of whom formed the basis for ceaseless interventions by experts. These 'great lines of attack' were not simply directed at the individual, but combined the normalisation of the individual with regulation at the level of population. The hysterisation of women, for example, which involved 'a thorough medicalization of their bodies and their sex', was conducted in the name of 'the health of their children, the solidity of the family institution, and the safeguarding of society' (146-147). Sex had become a 'central object of political, economic and technical administration', linking the sex of the individual to the health and vitality of the species (Heyes, 2011: 165).

As Foucault made clear, the deployment of sexuality did not descend upon the entire social body in the same way or at the same time: 'there was no unitary sexual politics' (122). The technology of sexuality circulated in the bourgeois home, as a means of their 'self-affirmation' rather than in pursuit of class domination (123). It was through sexuality that the cultivation of the bourgeois body could take place; a body with its own sexuality, where the traditional genealogical concerns of alliance were fused with more modern 'menaces of heredity' (124). The 'blue blood of the nobles' was therefore transformed into 'a sound organism and a healthy sexuality' that had to be cultivated and protected (126). The proletariat were eventually 'granted a body and a sexuality', but in order for this to take place, 'conflicts were necessary', 'economic emergencies had to arise' and systems of surveillance had to be created to monitor and police them (126).

2.2.2.5. Discipline

The first pole of biopower – disciplinary power - was introduced in *Discipline and Punish* and describes the historical set of processes which targeted the individual body. Unlike sovereignty, which marked itself on the body or, in its most extreme permutation, destroyed it entirely, disciplinary power was directed towards augmenting the body and optimising its capabilities. Found initially in institutions such as the barracks, the factory, the school and the prison, discipline produced 'subjected and practised bodies' (Foucault, 1991a: 138). While the body has in every society been caught in relations of power, the 'scale, object and modality of power exercised over the body' through disciplinary power is of a different magnitude (Smart, 2004: 85). Emerging in the seventeenth century in western Europe, the spread of disciplinary power was 'roughly correlative' with the development of administrative and

⁴² Malthus (1872) proposed that population growth would outstrip subsistence, as he believed the lower classes tended to reproduce at a higher rate than was sustainable. He not only opposed all forms of charity or poor relief, but he contended that unchecked population growth would only be halted by two means: famine, which would hit the poor the hardest; and 'foresight of the difficulties attending the rearing of a family' (Rao, 1994: PE-41). The procreative behaviour of the population, in other words, was an immense concern for Malthus to prevent such a catastrophe.

bureaucratic apparatuses of the state (Dean, 2010: 29). Discipline was, after all, useful for the exigencies of the modern state, producing able, productive and docile workers, schoolchildren, soldiers, prisoners and so on. The intensification and spread of disciplinary power made possible through three instruments: hierarchical observation; normalising judgement; and, the examination.

First, hierarchical observation, according to Foucault, was a form of 'intense, continuous supervision'. Observation did not flow solely in a top-down fashion; it also flowed 'to a certain extent from bottom to top and laterally' with 'supervisors perpetually supervised' (Foucault, 1991a: 176-177). Thus, the inspectors of the factory who patrolled the rows of workers were themselves under the gaze of the workers and their own supervisors. Secondly, normalising judgments sat 'at the heart of all disciplinary systems'; an 'infra-penalty' which punished the whole 'domain of the non-conforming' (177-179). Unlike sovereign punishment, however, discipline was corrective; it tended towards continual, exercise-based punishment until normal behaviour was achieved. The normalising judgment operated not through a simple division of permitted/prohibited, but by ranking individuals on a spectrum, between a positive and negative pole. The distribution of individuals according to rank 'marks the gaps, hierarchizes qualities, skills and aptitudes; but it also punishes and rewards' (181). In other words, it normalises. Finally, the examination was a combination of the two previous techniques, forming a 'normalizing gaze', a kind of surveillance which enabled qualification, classification and punishment (184). The examination also produced a mass of documentation on an individual; it 'situates them in a network of writing' and 'engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them' (189). It was a form 'of knowledge and power that gives rise to the "human sciences", and thus contributed to the constitution of the domain of the abnormal' (Davidson, 2003: xxiii). In short, it turned each individual into a case; 'an object for a branch of knowledge and a hold for a branch of power' (Foucault, 1991a: 191).

The 'mute and docile' body of the disciplinary institution therefore eventually gave way to the modern 'talking' subject and, in the process, produced a new reality and knowledge: the individual (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2002: 175). '[K]nowable man' emerged in the eighteenth century, conceived in terms of 'psyche, subjectivity, personality, consciousness and individuality' (Smart, 2004: 81). Implicated in this process was the raft of experts, mentioned above: psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, sexologists, and so on. In the paradigmatic domain of biopower – sex – disciplinary power/knowledge produced a cavalcade of abnormal sexual subjectivities, including the homosexual.

Sovereignty, as described above, sought to punish instances of sodomy, which were seen as part of a simple category of forbidden acts. With the ascendance of disciplinary power/knowledge, 'the homosexual' was born: 'a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood' (Foucault, 1990b: 43).

Through fine-tuned 'expert' disciplinary knowledges of the homosexual, its nature, its causes, and solutions, it was possible not just to punish instances of sodomy, but to intervene in all aspects of an individual's life to prevent this abnormality from taking root in the first place. In schools, in prisons, in the family home and so on, agents could be vigilant, casting their forensic gaze over behaviours, gestures, aesthetics, speech that might reveal a hidden trace of homosexuality. Once discovered, homosexuality could be treated through ongoing aversion therapies, correcting the inner deviance and restoring the homosexuality to sexual normality.

Hence, the conception of homosexuality as an individual disorder or deviance requiring treatment, according to psychiatric, psychological or other 'expert' knowledges of the human sciences, is an example of the disciplinary logic at work. The disciplinary mode seeks to intervene upon the 'causes' of individual deviance and to provide therapeutic solutions to transform the homosexual into a 'normal' heterosexual. It provides a 'gentle' yet infinitely more penetrating form of punishment; one waged not in the spirit of vengeance, but in the belief that the deviant homosexual can be improved or cured.

2.2.2.6. Biopolitics

Unlike discipline, which was directed towards the individual, biopolitics was directed towards the collection of individuals in the form of the species or the population. The body, viewed through the lens of biopolitics, was 'imbued with the mechanics' of the life of the species and was therefore 'the basis of...biological processes' such as births, mortality, health, and life expectancy (Foucault, 1990b: 139). Biopolitics emerged in the eighteenth century, with 'the constitution of the population as a field of knowledge', and targeted itself at the management and administration of the population at large (Dean, 2010: 94). Whereas discipline was dependent upon confession and observation, biopolitics was dependent upon vast swathes of statistical information on the population, such as rates of fertility, morbidity and mortality. When viewed through a biopolitical lens, homosexuality took on an aggregate or statistical character. It could therefore be said to pose a biopolitical problem in terms of its effects on fertility rates, as 'non-productive sexual acts ... are issues which need to be managed' for the sake of the population (Taylor, 2011: 47). Economic incentives to encourage procreation or public campaigns over non-procreative sex could be some examples of biopolitical intervention to manage such a problem. While biopolitical interventions aim to improve the vitality or health of the population, Foucault pointed out a paradox with respect to biopolitics: it was only with its ascendance that 'massacres have become vital' and wars genocidal (Foucault, 1990b: 137). This reason for this, Foucault suggested, lay in biopolitical racism.

The concept of racism was first introduced in Foucault's work in the *Abnormal* lectures of 1974-75, where Foucault claimed that racism 'should be linked historically to psychiatry' (Foucault, 2003a: 317). Yet the term 'racism' Foucault employed was far removed from its quotidian understanding, in which it was seen as an irrational prejudice involving the 'simple hatred of other races' (Kelly, 2004: 60). Racism, as Foucault used it, was 'racism against the abnormal'; a racism 'whose function is not so much the prejudice or defense of one group against another as the detection of all those within a group who may be the carriers of a danger to it' (Foucault, 2003a: 316-317). In nineteenth century Europe, psychiatrists maintained that criminals and the mentally ill were degenerates: 'persons whose life courses had veered off or fallen away from the normal path of human development as a result of either bad habits or bad heredity' (McWhorter, 2009: 31). The prevalence of these degenerates threatened society as a whole, as their condition was 'progressive ... and would likely be inherited in more virulent form in their offspring in each successive generation' (31). Hence it was an individual degeneracy which threatened to consume society. It was through ideas such as degeneration and heredity that 'psychiatry could plug into, or rather give rise to' this racism against the abnormal (Foucault, 2003a: 316). Foucault's conception of racism was an internal racism, 'according to which the population must be defended against various forms of degeneration' (Rasmussen, 2011: 38).

He termed it *biopolitical* racism because although biopower sought to invest in life through and through, racism provided the means of 'introducing a break into the domain of life'; a 'caesura' which separated 'what must live and what must die' (Foucault, 2004: 254). Once a threat to the population was identified, the biopolitical imperatives to optimise and protect the vitality of species were activated. In order for biopolitics to exercise the right to 'disallow to the point of death', it must necessarily become racist. In other words:

[R]acism justifies the death-function in the economy of biopower by appealing to the principle that the death of others makes one biologically stronger insofar as one is a member of a race or a population, insofar as one is an element in a unitary living plurality (Foucault, 2004: 258)

Therefore the health and continuing survival of some was tied in a 'positive relation' to the containment or annihilation of others (Stoler, 1995: 84). This process did not displace or exclude sovereign power. On the contrary, racism enabled biopower to function 'through...the old sovereign power of life and death' (Foucault, 2004: 241). It was the conceptual hinge that rendered killing – 'sovereign power's basic function' - acceptable within a biopolitical regime, operating 'in a way that makes [killing] compatible' with the exigencies of optimising life (Fiaccadori, 2015: 161-162). Sovereign power is therefore an indispensable component of biopolitical racism.

Biopolitical strategies are therefore 'Janus-faced', having 'led to the construction of hospitals and the design of universal healthcare systems', while at the same time having led to genocide and eugenics (Elbe, 2005: 408). The difference between biopolitics and biopolitical racism is therefore one of degree. While both may conceive of homosexuality as a problem, the conceptualisation of the problem and the solutions it invites will differ between the two. Biopolitics veers into biopolitical racism not simply when it employs authoritarian instruments to deal with a problem, but when the problem itself is constructed in a way which invites such draconian solutions. That is, biopolitical racism calls for intervention upon a problem population which is conceived as a dangerous internal enemy whose very existence threatens the whole. Once the biopolitically racist logic has been activated, sovereign instruments, including death, become legitimate means of eliminating the contaminant. For Foucault, Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia were exemplars of biopolitical racist states: the former was underpinned by obsessions over genetic purity and the need to eliminate perceived threats to the genetic stock of the German people; the latter was underpinned by obsessions over threats to the Communist revolution and the need to liquidate perceived class enemies.

Hence, I contended in Chapter 1 that the AHB/AHA was the outcome of a biopolitically racist logic; one which sought to eliminate a dangerous sub-population that posed an existential threat to the children of Uganda.

2.2.2.7. Governmentality

The penultimate concept underpins this entire thesis by providing its overarching theoretical framework, under which the aforementioned concepts are relocated: governmentality. Despite it being one of the most influential of Foucault's concepts, governmentality did not originate in any of his major published books. Rather, it originated from a single lecture delivered in 1979, reproduced in Italian that same year and subsequently translated into English for the 1991 edited collection, *The Foucault Effect*. As I indicated in Chapter 1, governmentality combined Foucault's appreciation of power in its microphysics with a 'more macro-political question of the state' (Lemke, 2007: 57).

The concept of government, as Foucault used it, had the 'broad meaning which [it] had in the sixteenth century' (Foucault, 1982: 778). Thus, one could speak of 'the government of individuals, the government of souls ... the government of families, the government of children, and so on' (Foucault, 1991c: 256). Government here means to 'to lead, to direct, or to guide' and can also denote reflexivity, as in 'to conduct oneself' (Dean, 2010: 10). It refers to 'all endeavours to shape, guide, direct the conduct of others' or of the self (Rose, 1999: 3). It can refer to 'the relation between self and self', the

relation between 'social institutions and communities' and 'relations concerned with the exercise of political sovereignty' (Gordon, 1991: 2-3). In short, it refers to the conduct of conduct.

Governmentality was Foucault's 'ugly word' (Foucault, 2009: 115), a neologism that was deployed in at least two distinct ways in his lectures: first, in a historically and geographically specific sense, analysing the emergence of a new type of political rule that developed in western Europe, which took 'the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument' (108); and second, in a general way, describing the relation between government, governing and different 'rationalities' (Gordon, 1991) or 'mentalities' of government (Dean, 2010: 16).

In the first sense, Foucault distinguished governmentality from *raison d'état*, 'in which a sovereign exercises his totalizing will across a national space' (Rose, 1996: 43) and *Polizeistaat* or 'police state', in which authorities 'sought to govern ... down to the minutiae of existence' (Barry et al., 1996b: 9). It marked a new way of thinking about political rule, which was coextensive with the appearance of a new reality – the political economy – and a new object of government – the population. Referring to the 'governmentalization of the state' (Foucault, 2009: 144), Foucault described how the population was gradually enframed within an 'apparatus of security' (Foucault, 2009: 6). This included more than what is commonly thought of as providing security within a territory – such as the police or armed forces – but encompassed everything that ensured 'the optimal and proper functioning of the economic, vital and social processes' of the population, such as 'health, welfare and education systems' (Dean, 2010: 29). Governmentality was an 'art of government' which was both individualising and totalising, directed towards each in their individuality and to the population as a whole.

In this way, governmentality overlapped considerably with Christian pastoral power, in which a 'shepherd' led their 'flock' to salvation (Foucault, 2009: 123), through their 'in-depth individualizing knowledge' of each member of the flock; a knowledge of 'needs and deeds' (Dean, 1999: 75). For Foucault, the Christian pastorate gave rise to an 'art of conducting, directing, leading, guiding, taking in hand, and manipulating men...collectively and individually throughout their life and at every moment of their existence' (Foucault, 2009: 165). While Christian pastoral power was explicitly religious, governmentality fused a secular pastoral care of the people with political rule of the population. It combined the 'shepherd-flock game' with the 'city-citizen game'; a coupling which was, as Foucault described it, 'omnes et singulatim', for all and each (Foucault, 2001c).

The ascendance of governmentality did not displace sovereignty or discipline; instead it formed a 'line of force' around which all other modalities of power coalesced (Foucault, 2009: 108). Hence, Foucault described governmentality as consisting of a 'triangle', comprising government, discipline and

sovereignty (Foucault, 2009: 107). In so doing, he produced an analytics of political rule which did not depend upon an essentialist understanding of the state.⁴³ This did not mean one could not speak of the 'state', but rather that it had no essence: it was neither 'the coldest of all cold monsters' (Nietzsche, 1896: 69), nor was it the 'essential and privileged fulfilment of a number of necessary social and economic functions' (Miller and Rose, 2008: 54).

The second sense of governmentality is a generalised version of the first, providing a set of tools for analysing the 'how' questions of political rule. Rather than 'governmentality' denoting a particular historical moment in the history of the European state, it provides a framework for the analysis of political rule, both within and 'beyond the state' (Rose and Miller, 1992). As such, the generalised governmentality framework is constituted by two key elements – rationalities, logics or mentalities, and technologies of government.

While the 'mentalities' of government can be analysed in relation to the modalities of power/knowledge described above – analysing, for example, sovereign modes of government - it can also be analysed in terms of political rationalities such as classical liberalism (Foucault, 2007) or neo-liberalism (Foucault, 2008). When viewed through a governmental lens, liberalism is less a political philosophy and more an ethos or 'doctrine of limitation, designed to mature and educate government by displaying to it the intrinsic limits of its power to know' (Gordon, 2002: xxvii-xxviii). There is within liberal governmentality a type of 'naturalism' (Barry et al., 1996b: 9), which views the economy, the population and society as a reality that is 'complex and independent' with its own 'mechanisms of disturbance' (Foucault, 1989: 261). The paradox of liberal rule is that while it recognises the necessity of government, it is suspicious as 'to the means and ends of government' and fears that we are 'always in danger' of over-governing (Osborne, 1996: 101). Political government can therefore 'be its own undoing' by attempting to over-govern (Barry et al., 1996b: 8). Liberalism 'economizes on the use of resources and effort to achieve its ends', as it is an ethos that believes to 'govern well is to govern less' (Gordon, 2002: xxiii). The natural dynamics of the economy, for example, cannot be overridden without 'destroying the basis on which liberal government is possible' (Barry et al., 1996b: 9), meaning there must be spheres which must be kept free from direct governmental intervention. This does not mean that within spheres such as the family home there is an 'absence of government', but rather that government is exercised 'at a distance' (Osborne, 1996: 103). Hence, within liberal government, the individual is both object *and* partner of government. Governing liberally requires 'pegging the

⁴³ While governmentality combined his insights on sovereignty, discipline and biopolitics with more macro-questions of state power, Foucault purposefully avoided producing a theory of state just as one 'avoids an indigestible meal' (Foucault, 2008: 78).

principle for rationalization of governmental activity to *the rationality of the free conduct of governed individuals themselves*' (Burchell, 1996: 23).⁴⁴ Freedom is not the 'natural' condition of an individual, but a practice to be induced and produced through liberal rule. This freedom is not anarchic or unrestrained, but 'a kind of well-regulated and "responsibilized" liberty' (Barry et al., 1996b: 8).

The realisation of such rationalities, logics or strategies is dependent upon the 'technical means' of government (Dean, 2010: 31). One example would be statistics, which Foucault highlighted as the primary 'technical factor' of liberal governmentality, undergirding knowledge of the economy and the population (Foucault, 2007: 108). This is because in enacting the biopolitical impulses of liberal government, extensive knowledge of the processes of life and threats to the population were required, such that they could be managed and intervened upon. In describing the technical devices through which governmentality is exercised, Foucault and his interlocutors have employed the concepts 'technology' and its constituent component, 'technique'.

Yet Dean (1996) has criticised inflationary tendencies in secondary literatures regarding what constitutes technologies of government. He observed 'everything from architecture to statistical tables, diagrams and maps, from forms of meditation and self-mortification, to management and financial accounting' has been described through the conceptual framework of technology of government (54). Implicit in such accounts are divergences over the 'appropriate' scope and scale of the concept. On what basis can some objects implicated in governmental strategies be called technologies and not others? Rather than seeking to police the 'proper' boundaries of the concept, I instead draw on one of the more open definitions contained in the secondary literature, which contributes to rather than resolves this indeterminacy. For this thesis, technologies are objects 'imbued with aspirations for the shaping of conduct in the hope of producing certain desired effects' (Rose, 1999: 52); objects which are instrumentalised, in other words, for the purpose of realising rationalities, logics and strategies of government. Ugandan newspapers, I suggest, are one example of a technology of government, through which power over sexual minorities was exercised. Additionally, in Chapter 6, I consider a second technology of government – disgust – which was incited through a series of 'disgust techniques' contained in coverage of homosexuality.

2.2.2.8. Resistance

The final concept from Foucault's toolbox drawn upon in this thesis is resistance, which is particularly relevant for Chapter 7, where I examine the dissemination of performances of resistance through the newspaper. Despite its central importance to Foucault's understanding of power, resistance has received comparatively little in the way of sustained academic attention. Partly, this can be attributed to

⁴⁴ Emphasis in original.

Foucault himself, as although he lectured and wrote extensively on power and its historical modalities, his comments on resistance were 'merely suggestive' (Kelly, 2010: 105). He suggested that resistance and power presupposed one another, meaning that resistance was 'never in a position of exteriority in relation to power' (Foucault, 1990b: 95). Resistance was immanent in relations of power, playing 'the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations' (95). Foucault also suggested that resistance 'really always relies upon the situation against which it struggles' (Foucault, 2000b: 168) and that for resistance to resist, 'it would have to operate like power', '[a]s inventive, mobile and productive' and, '[l]ike power, it would ...distribute itself strategically' (Foucault, 1989: 224).

Foucault's conception of resistance implies that there can be no single 'Refusal' – no emancipatory throwing off of the 'shackles' of power – but a 'plurality of resistances' which are just as dispersed and capillary as relations of power (Foucault, 1990b: 96). It suggests that resistance is no simple negative 'reaction or rebound...doomed to perpetual defeat', but rather an 'irreducible opposite', that is every bit as productive as power itself, spiralling off in different directions and distributed in an 'irregular fashion' (96). Furthermore, it does not necessarily take a particular form, as resistance is 'an adaptive response to power, which therefore varies according to the power it opposes' (Kelly, 2010: 108). Given the interplay between the two, resistance can strengthen and tighten relations of power, although power, in turn, can galvanise and incite resistance. That resistance is just as strategic and diffuse as power leads to the conclusion that what constitutes power and resistance is largely a matter of perspective.

Despite these insights, the lack of sustained focus on resistance has led to criticisms that Foucault presented a concept which was 'drastically under-theorized' (Simons, 1995: 83) and 'maddeningly indistinct' (Kulynych, 1997: 328). Without echoing the strength of the criticism, I suggest there is merit to the contention that it is not as fully realised a concept as the others outlined in Foucault's toolbox. As such, resistance requires further development from the secondary literature.

I therefore supplement Foucault with Harding (2010), who produced the most useful development of the concept in terms of this thesis. This is not only through the thematic convergence on gay and lesbian political contestation, but also her development of different modalities of resistance, distinguished in terms of their scale and effects. Just as power can be manifested in sovereign, disciplinary, and biopolitical modalities, so too, can resistance be manifested as stabilising, moderating, and fracturing forms of resistance. The first modality - stabilising resistance - was described as the sheer fact of existing openly as an LGBTI individual in a heteronormative society. In this sense, stabilising resistance overlapped with one of the few concrete examples of resistance Foucault provided: 'To say no is the minimum form of resistance', he suggested in an interview

conducted shortly before his death, although ‘of course, at times, this is very important’ (Foucault, 2000b: 168). The second modality - moderating resistance – was described as placing ‘non-normative ideals in the public domain’, such as Pride celebrations, but these do ‘not necessarily have immediate transformative effects on power relations’ (Harding, 2010: 47). The third and final type of resistance - fracturing resistance – was described as having a similarly public character as moderating resistance but was distinguished in terms of the effects it generated. Fracturing resistance interrupts the flow of power relations or breaks them off completely. Like a fractured bone, however, power relations can ‘heal over’ the resistance – and indeed, heal over even stronger than before. Harding suggested that violence and riots were clear examples of fracturing resistance, although any type of resistance requiring ‘fairly immediate’ engagement by ‘government or other state actors could potentially be captured’ by such a concept (48).

In Chapter 7, I provide an example of fracturing resistance, in which LGBTI human rights activists staged their first ever press conference in 2007, calling for an end to their marginalisation through the media. Their resistance, in turn, incited a counter-spectacle in the form of the first ever anti-LGBTI protest, an outpouring of negative public opinion, including calls for news laws and the application of the death penalty, and statements from government ministers about the need for new anti-homosexuality laws.

2.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I situated Foucault’s thought and described his concepts most relevant for my thesis, drawn from his genealogical scholarship. This included problematisation, his analytics of power, his historically specific modalities of power, including governmentality, and finally, his understanding of resistance, supplemented by insights from Harding.

The purpose of this chapter was to describe the concepts which will be employed, to varying degrees, in analysing the Ugandan newspaper data which constitutes this thesis. Governmentality, for example, underpins this entire thesis, as I consider Ugandan newspapers to be technologies of government through which rationalities, logics and strategies were realised in relation to sexual minorities. The concept of problematisation and the historically specific modalities of power are employed in Chapter 5, where I describe the constitution of homosexuality as a problem through various lenses of power/knowledge. The concepts of technology and technique are employed in Chapter 6, where I advance the claim that the newspaper helped to incite and circulate disgust – itself reconceptualised as a technology of government - by operationalising a series of ‘disgust techniques’ in relation to sexual minorities. The concept of resistance is employed in Chapter 7, where I examine the dissemination of a spectacular performance of resistance – and the backlash it incited.

However, the next stage must be to interrogate whether these concepts can even travel to Uganda. As is evident from the exposition provided in this chapter, Foucault's genealogical investigations – and the contents of his toolbox - were focused entirely on western Europe. Given that I analyse media data generated in Uganda, there are potential objections to the use of a Eurocentric thinker for such an endeavour. It is necessary to confront the question as to whether Foucault's toolbox can be used in a cultural context so far removed from its own creation. In the following chapter, I question to what extent governmentality can go to Uganda.

Chapter 3. Can Governmentality Go to Uganda?

3.1. Introduction

In the last chapter, I opened up Foucault's toolbox and set out the devices to be employed in this study. I noted in my concluding remarks that the genealogical investigations from which Foucault's toolbox emerged were quiet on the question of colonialism. This elision represents a potentially serious problem for this study, given that it seeks to investigate a Ugandan problematic. Hence, in this chapter, I interrogate the first sub-research question of this thesis: 'To what extent is governmentality scholarship able to "go" to Uganda?'

In order to answer this question, it is necessary first to explicate precisely what is meant by the term 'postcolonial'. With an understanding of its polysemic nature, I then consider Foucault's reception in the broad and heterogeneous field known as postcolonial studies. I note that despite the Eurocentrism of his genealogical investigations, Foucault is frequently cited in the field, although, just as with other fields in which he is a recurring figure, his work is subject to critique.⁴⁵ I move on to analyse key texts from postcolonial scholars, selected for this chapter as they have corrected, at least partly, the colonial blind spots of his genealogical work. They have done so by expanding the analytical frame to encompass empire and/or by troubling productively some of the European assumptions of Foucauldian scholarship. I focus in particular on discipline, biopolitics and governmentality, all of which are read through the works of postcolonial scholars. In so doing, I demonstrate that governmentality and its associated concepts have provided insights into forms of rule in the colony and therefore *could* go to Uganda. In the final section, I focus on how governmentality *has* gone to Uganda; that is, I provide a brief literature review of the small but diverse body of governmentality scholarship located in Uganda, before exploring in greater depth two aspects of relevance for this thesis. The first concerns mass media as a technology of government in Amin's Uganda, a theoretical insight upon which this thesis draws. The second relates to the international governmentality of the national Ugandan government, which helps to account theoretically for the backlash the Ugandan government received in the wake of the AHB/AHA. I conclude by drawing together the insights from postcolonial and Ugandan scholarship, in the process addressing the extent to which governmentality can go to Uganda.

⁴⁵ Some of these enduring criticisms are examined in Chapter 4.

3.2. On 'postcolonial'

Before assessing Foucault's general reception in postcolonial literatures, it is necessary to unpack precisely what is meant by the term 'postcolonial'. On the one hand, it could be used to distinguish the period after formal colonisation has come to an end; while on the other hand, it could denote an academic discipline, theoretical perspective or ethos of scholarship. Nichols (2010) sought to clarify the indeterminacy around the term by drawing a distinction between postcolonial *politics* and *theory*. He suggested that figures associated with the former might include Fanon (1963), Ghandi (1939) and Nkrumah (1967), while figures associated with the latter might include Said (1978), Bhabha (1984), Spivak and the Subaltern Studies Group (1988). The 'postcolonial' of the former was 'a historical, legal and political term—and a deeply contested one' that dealt with the process of formal decolonisation throughout the twentieth century (Nichols, 2010: 114). The 'postcolonial' of the latter moved beyond the largely historical periodisation of postcolonial politics, focussing on decentring and 'provincialising' European knowledges, as well as their claims to universality. The former addressed such questions as, 'what was/is colonialism?', 'how do we distinguish between colonialism and imperialism?' and 'how does a group of people become postcolonial?' (114). The latter, which formed a loose family of scholarship rather than a circumscribed discipline, answered questions such as, 'how has the construction of a European identity relied upon a constructed Other?', 'does the desire for stable, coherent identities risk silencing marginalised peoples?' and 'is it possible to represent marginalised people without contributing to their exclusion?' (115). Thus, when I speak of assessing Foucault's general reception in the field of postcolonialism, I refer to his reception in postcolonial theory rather than politics.

3.3. Foucault and postcolonialism

While Foucault's Eurocentrism has led some postcolonial scholars to dismiss his work almost entirely (Spivak, 1988; Loomba, 1998),⁴⁶ 'the Foucault effect' appears to extend far and wide in the field (Willaert, 2013). Foucault has been referred to as 'the greatest influence, theoretically speaking, on the postcolonial tendency of the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s' (Brennan, 2007: 103); as someone whose name is likely to be 'cited talismanically' in the field (Lazarus, 1999: 11); and, as having a 'massive influence on postcolonial literatures, particularly in the fields of political theory, literary criticism and historiography' (Mezzadra et al., 2013: 1).

⁴⁶ Loomba (1998), for example, claimed: 'Foucault's own theories are Euro-centric in their focus, and of limited use in understanding colonial societies' (49).

Foucault's influence in the field is often traced back to the publication of Said's *Orientalism* (1978). Described as a 'foundational' work (Ashcroft et al., 2006: 85), *Orientalism* is frequently regarded as signalling the beginning of 'postcolonial studies as an academic discipline' (Young, 2003: 383). While Said employed Foucault's ideas to investigate the means by which the west came to rule over 'the Orient', he focused, for the most part, on Foucault's concept of discourse.⁴⁷ Moreover, as Nichols (2010) observed, the concept of discourse has proven particularly influential in the field of postcolonial studies, perhaps owing to the literary studies backgrounds of many of its thinkers, including Said himself. However, a survey of the literatures - some of which will be visited in the subsequent sections of this chapter - suggests that Foucault's genealogical tools have also been influential in (post)colonial analyses.

3.4. Expanding Foucault's genealogies

Foucault's relative silence on questions of empire have led some to describe the genealogical contents of Foucault's toolbox as being situated on an unacknowledged 'imperial landscape' (Stoler, 1995: 5). For Ugandan feminist legal scholar Sylvia Tamale (2011: 25), this does not mean Foucault's work must be rejected '*in toto*'. However, it means that if governmentality is to 'travel well' to Uganda (Steinberg, 2016), the genealogies through which both governmentality and its constituent modalities of power/knowledge appeared may be subject to revision. Even the least geographically and historically specific modality of power – sovereignty – has been shown by postcolonial scholars to have differed in its translation to the colony: it was more spectacular, more ceremonial, and more excessively violent than its European iterations (Hansen and Stepputat, 2005; Mbembé, 2003).

In the following section, I attend to Foucault's elision of colonialism in his genealogical investigations. I do so by drawing on postcolonial Foucauldian literatures and examining how governmentality and its associated concepts have been translated when their narrow genealogies are expanded to include European empire. At the same time, however, I trouble the idea that the processes Foucault described were necessarily translated *from* the metropole *to* the colony. This is not just because there was a largely unacknowledged two-way interaction between metropole and colony in terms of the processes of power/knowledge Foucault described. It is also because in certain contexts, there were

⁴⁷ Orientalism in Said's (2003) work meant several 'interdependent' things: first, anyone who studied 'the Orient' was an Orientalist 'and what he or she does is Orientalism' (2); second, Orientalism was 'a style of thought' which sprang from an epistemological and ontological cleavage, separating 'the Orient' from 'the Occident' (2); and third, Orientalism was a kind of 'corporate institution' which generated knowledge about the Orient, by 'making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, ruling over it' (3). The 'corporate institution' was, as is evident from Said's description, the Foucauldian concept of discourse. Said's central argument was that 'without examining Orientalism as a discourse', it was impossible to appreciate 'the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively' (3).

incipient processes at work, similar to those described by Foucault, much earlier in colonial and pre-colonial contexts in the non-western world.

3.4.1. Discipline

The extent to which discipline can 'go' to the colony has been interrogated by several scholars in diverse contexts (Randle, 2011; Delle, 1998; Sen, 2000; Oliveira, 2011; Redfield, 2005). Some have questioned whether discipline can even be used as a lens to analyse the colonial regulation of conduct, given that colonial relations pointed more to a 'premodern text of coercion than to a "modern" text of discipline' (Levine, 1998: 683). Others have suggested that disciplinary techniques were translated to colonial contexts, although in many instances those techniques failed to 'swarm' as they had done in Europe – that is, escape the institutional confines of 'prisons, schools or plantations', where they resided (Gregory, 1998: 85). The result, as Legg (2007: 25) described it, was that there tended to be a 'tight and intense archipelago of institutions' around colonial elites, while the remaining colonial population was left 'to the more distanced normalisation of colonial government'. Others still have suggested that far from discipline being translated *from* the metropole *to* the colonial context, the direction of travel of such processes was more ambiguous. This argument has two strands in the postcolonial literatures.

Mitchell (1991) provided an example of the first when he observed that discipline was 'developed and introduced ... on the colonial frontiers of Europe, in places like Russia, India, North and South America, and Egypt' (x).⁴⁸ The paradigmatic disciplinary institution – the Panopticon – was, in fact, a colonial invention, put to work in Russia by Jeremy Bentham's brother, Samuel, on the Potemkin estates, which were situated on land colonised by Russia after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire. It was only when Jeremy Bentham visited his brother in 1786 that he 'was first impressed by the virtues of the Panopticon principle' and developed a certain 'mania' with respect to it (Anderson, 1956: 166-167). In this way, European colonies could be seen as 'laboratories of modernity' (Rabinow, 1995), where devices such as the Panopticon could be developed and experimented with, before being exported back to the European metropole, at which point Foucault's genealogies captured their emergence.

The second strand is exemplified by the works of Kaplan (1995) and Mungwini (2012), who also questioned the extent to which disciplinary processes represented a translation from Europe to

⁴⁸ Notably absent is any mention of sub-Saharan Africa. One possible explanation lies in the chronology of European colonialism, with the 'scramble for Africa' (1881 to 1914) taking place after the establishment of European colonial outposts in India (so-called 'company rule' began in 1757, while direct rule by the Crown began in 1858) and well after almost all North and South American states had declared independence from the Spanish and Portuguese.

colony. They demonstrated in their respective contexts that incipient forms of discipline or otherwise similar processes pre-dated the arrival of colonialists.

Kaplan (1995), whose work was located in Poona, India, suggested that such processes were observable from as early as the sixteenth century. While the representatives of the British East India Company compiled the first substantive *British Gazetteer of India* in 1820, they were not the first to 'gaze statistically' at the population of India (91). Indeed, the first example can likely be traced back to the Moghul emperor Akbar in 1595, who produced a five-volume census to aid the collection of taxes. Moreover, the Peshwa – the Brahman administrators of Poona, who were displaced by the British conquest in 1818 – also engaged in practices of power/knowledge. They were, according to Kaplan, 'Panopticians extraordinaire', as not a single 'action or transaction' appeared to have taken place in the region 'without the bureaucracy of the Peshwa knowing and taxing' (90). While these records were created to keep a check on intermediary 'tax gatherers to whom the power to tax had been "farmed"', surveillance of the intermediaries required 'a system of censusing that brought the inquiry of the state directly into the commercial and agricultural lives of individuals' (92).

A similar point was raised by Mungwini (2012) in an African context, in which he juxtaposed the disciplining effects of Foucault's panopticism with what he called the 'African cultural panopticon'. For Mungwini, traditional African cultural practices were invested with a 'considerable amount of panoptical power that helped to direct and regulate individual behaviour and social relations' (340-341). Cultural practices, such as a belief in the power of ancestor spirits, created a normative web that promoted 'a community of self-surveillance' (348). It was through the 'ever-present gaze of their community' and their ancestors that individuals evaluated themselves 'according to what is prescribed as normality in their community' in an effort 'to constitute themselves as normal' (348).

This is not intended to suggest that the census projects of the Peshwa or 'African cultural panopticism' were identical in form and effects to that introduced by the colonialists. As both Kaplan and Mungwini acknowledged, such processes were not as minute, intricate and penetrating as the disciplinary processes described by Foucault in the western contexts. Nor could the introduction of such processes by European colonisers necessarily be seen as the smooth continuation of the indigenous projects of surveillance.⁴⁹ What such texts highlighted, however, was that while their scope and intensity may have differed, disciplinary or otherwise similar processes were not entirely alien to pre-colonial cultures.

⁴⁹ Kaplan (1995) came close to suggesting such a transition from pre-colonial to colonial panopticism when she suggested that the British colonialists' 'archives are in many ways the continuant of this local project' (92).

3.4.2. Biopower/Biopolitics

As I indicated in Chapter 2, the concepts of biopower and biopolitics have been treated as analytically distinct by some and as interchangeable by others. Rather than attempt to trace which postcolonial literatures conform to which understanding of biopower or biopolitics, I assess how the targeting of the broad processes of life translated to colonial contexts, employing the composite term biopower/biopolitics.

The concept of biopower/biopolitics has been interrogated by a significant number of postcolonial scholars, most notably in the fields of medical history and anthropology (Ballhatchet, 1980; Van Heyningen, 1984; Arnold, 1993; Vaughan, 1991; Levine, 1994; Whitehead, 1995; Manderson, 1997; Yeoh, 1997; Bashford, 1999; Prakash, 1999; Howell, 2004). Such studies have often investigated the spread of western medical knowledges and the concomitant categorisation, pathologisation and 'cure' of 'native' bodies. In the process, some have questioned the extent to which biopower/biopolitics, which aimed to foster and optimise life, were central to projects of colonial rule. Just as in the previous section, some scholars have suggested that sovereignty provided a better lens for the analysis of colonial relations. Vaughan (1991), for example, contended that colonial power in East Africa was predominantly repressive, and that the 'medical power/knowledge complex was much less central to colonial control' than in western Europe (10).

The most significant insight generated through analysis of the translation of biopower/biopolitics to the colony has been in the foregrounding of race. As I showed in Chapter 2, Foucault did not ignore race and racism entirely, but he advanced a highly idiosyncratic understanding through his concept of biopolitical racism. It was, in his words, a 'racism against the abnormal', however abnormality was defined. Postcolonial scholars of biopower/biopolitics have demonstrated that race – in its physiognomic sense – played a key role in colonial projects of biopower/biopolitics in two ways.

First, race was a key component in the colonial management of 'native' subjects. Howell (2004), for example, observed that colonial biopower/biopolitics could not produce a non-pathological 'native' against which the normalisation of others could proceed, given that racial distinctions between coloniser and colonised served to produce all 'natives' as inherently abnormal, to varying degrees (239). For Chatterjee (1993) race was seen as the very 'essence' of colonial difference by governmental administrators (14). Vaughan (1991) argued colonialists in Africa tended to 'unitize' rather than individualise Africans, objectifying rather than subjectifying them, and producing them first and foremost as members of races and other groupings (11). '[I]t was these groups, rather than individuals', she observed, 'who were said to possess distinctive psychologies and bodies' (11). For Mbembe (2003), who built indirectly upon Foucault's insights on biopolitical racism, it was race and

racism which served as the determining factor in the 'necropolitical' distribution of life and death in the African colony: a place where the racialised other could without difficulty or scandal be subjected to outright extermination.

Second, just as Foucault observed that sexuality was deployed as a means of bourgeois self-affirmation, so too, have postcolonial scholars suggested that race was equally important to such projects of biopower/biopolitics. In an influential account (Young, 2003; Legg, 2007; Li, 2007; Nichols, 2010), Stoler (1995) demonstrated that the racial configurations of the imperial world were constitutive of, rather than marginal to, nineteenth century bourgeois identity itself. She observed through her study of the Dutch East Indies that European identity was, counter-intuitively, highly protean and perceived to be under constant threat from the colonial environment. Being born in Europe was insufficient to ward off the potential metamorphosis that might befall a Dutch colonial individual, particularly a colonial child. Colonial authorities were therefore 'obsessed with moral, sexual and racial affronts to European identity' (112). European children, even those of wealthy Dutch families, were seen as at risk of *becoming* Javanese 'if they played in the streets with Indo-European children, if they attended Indies schools that could not instil a proper Dutch "spirit," and most perniciously, if they enjoyed too much indulgence from their native nursemaids' (112). The family home was a particular source of colonial anxiety: it was where 'essential dispositions of manliness, bourgeois morality, and racial attribute could be dangerously undone or securely made' (108). Hence, the home was a domain in which disciplinary and biopolitical interventions were particularly focused, with the production of prescriptive manuals for the colonial mother, guiding her conduct towards her children, servants and husband. Far from reiterating existing, common knowledges, these guides contained a new constellation of knowledges 'that tied personal conduct to racial survival, child neglect to racial degeneracy, the ill-management of servants to disastrous consequences for the character of rule' (109-110).

One of the key implications of postcolonial literatures on biopower/biopolitics is that, as Howell (2004) suggested:

It is now no longer possible to ignore the fact that the disciplinary modernity of the state, its medicalization of power and construction of sexual deviance are all inseparable from the history of imperialism, the role of colonial medicine and the discursive and material significance of racial difference (231).

The bourgeois body was raced and classed, produced and affirmed through its interactions with racial and sexual others. The cultivation of the bourgeois body and its unique sexuality was an endeavour 'nourished by a wider colonial world of Manichean distinctions: by Irish, "Mediterranean", Jewish, and

non-European Others who provided the referential contrasts for it' (Stoler, 1995: 136). Hence, colonial biopower/biopolitics did not simply involve its unidirectional translation to the colonial context, but rather implied a two-way and highly productive interaction between the European metropole and the non-western colony. Biopower as described by Foucault was, in other words, 'really always already imperial biopower' (Burton, 2013: 512).

3.4.3. Governmentality

As I outlined in Chapter 2, governmentality did not displace the other modalities of power/knowledge Foucault identified, but rather formed a 'line of force' under which they coalesced (Foucault, 2009: 108). Applying the insights of colonial discipline and biopower/biopolitics scholarship, it is possible to discern differences in the translation to the colonial context of the governmentality 'triangle': sovereignty, discipline and governmental management. For example, colonial government tended to be excessively violent and repressive when compared to metropolitan governmentality, and the sovereign mode of governmentality predominated for much longer in colonial contexts (Vaughan 1991; Mbembe, 2003). However, colonial governmentality scholarship, which began with Scott's (1995) interrogation of colonial Ceylon, has moved beyond analyses of the translation of the different nodes of the governmental triangle. It has instead attended to the questions of rationality and the technical devices through which such 'mentalities' of rule were realised (Scott, 1995; Kalpagam, 2000; 2001; Baxstrom, 2000; Pierce, 2001; Duncan, 2007; Legg, 2007; Petterson, 2012; Frederiksen, 2014).

In particular, the question of liberalism has been interrogated by postcolonial scholars. Some have suggested that the liberal ethos, underpinned by the fear of governing 'too much', did not translate to the colonial context. This could be seen both in the government of the colonial economy and population. Legg (2007) observed a discrepancy in the treatment of the metropolitan and colonial economy: while liberals tended to view the metropolitan economy as an inviolable domain with its own natural dynamics that were not to be disturbed, the colonial economy was thought to be 'too underdeveloped to be left to the forces of the free market' and was subject to ceaseless governmental intervention (24-25). In the realm of the population, Li (2007) suggested there was frequent governmental recourse to coercion in part because there was no 'liberal regime of rights to balance the sovereign's absolute authority to command and deduct' (13).

While such insights regarding colonial governmentality have led the likes of Prakash (2002) to characterise it as the 'fundamental dislocation' and violation of western liberal norms (88), others – notably Hindess (2001) – have taken a different stance. Hindess suggested that coercion and violence in the colony ought to be seen as a result of a commitment to liberalism itself, rather than its abrogation. This is because liberalism has an authoritarian underside, Hindess argued, meaning that

within liberal thought liberty and domination are joined like 'two sides of a single coin' (94). As I outlined in Chapter 2, liberal government requires the production of subjects who engage in a 'responsibilised' form of self-government. For those recalcitrant subjects who are unwilling or unable to play the game of liberalism, a varying level of intervention is required depending upon the manner in which their deficiency is understood. Hindess suggested that for those deemed capable of improvement in the colonial setting, the intervention was likely to be extended periods of disciplinary training in order to bring their conduct up to a 'civilized norm' (106). For those 'hopeless cases' – those at the bottom of the colonial racial pyramid who were deemed incapable of improvement - the most authoritarian of measures could justifiably be applied (106).

However, one of the most notable postcolonial governmentality texts came from Kalpagam (2001), who examined how a liberal form of political rule was constructed and sustained in colonial India. Her insights are of particular use to this thesis, as she considered the way newspapers were implicated in governmental processes. Kalpagam observed that colonial governmentality in India was dependent upon a 'liberal public sphere', such that 'public opinion and new knowledges' could circulate, thereby ensuring the 'efficacy of colonial power itself' (421). Crucially, she suggested that newspapers, the numbers of which exploded in the nineteenth century, were a central component to such a project. Conceiving of newspapers as technologies of liberal government, she contended that they were 'the medium of publicity' through which colonial governmentality could inform the public about its practices (422). Despite anxieties over seditious speech and periodic legal regulations muzzling the 'freedom' of the press, newspapers generated public opinion and carried commentary that was often 'critical' of governmental policy (424). Newspapers were also important as the site of 'persuasion and consensus generation' and were one of the mechanisms by which the 'wants' of 'the governed' could be articulated and acted upon by administrators (428). Often these were very specific demands, such as the need to improve the condition of a particular road, but newspapers also commented frequently upon the effects of governmental policy, its merits, and/or its advisability. Moreover, Kalpagam suggested that colonial administrators viewed the newspapers as having a tutelary effect on the readers, drawing them 'into public debates that would simultaneously produce the required legitimacy' for the colonial state (419). Newspaper therefore helped sustain a particular form of liberal colonial rule not only by publicising, justifying or attempting to persuade regarding governmental policy, but by capturing the wants of the governed and acting upon them. Newspapers, in short, were an important mechanism through which colonial rule was conducted.

3.5. Governmentality goes to Uganda

With the differences between metropolitan and colonial governmentality outlined, I suggest that governmentality *could* go to Uganda – in other words, it is possible to employ productively governmentality and its associated concepts, as postcolonial scholars have done, in contexts far removed from Europe. In the following section, I explore how governmentality *has* gone to Uganda; that is, I explore how governmentality and its concepts have been put to work to examine different aspects of political rule within Uganda. Before engaging in such an exposition, however, I begin first with a very brief descriptive overview of Uganda’s political history.

3.5.1. Uganda: a brief political history

In the immediate pre-colonial period in the territory now known as Uganda, there were four centralised kingdoms with sovereign heads of state – Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro - and a significantly larger number of so-called ‘segmented’ societies – ‘small scale, non-centralised’ societies in which the ‘principles of social organisation varied’ (Kabwegyere, 1974: 22). Busoga, a former ‘segmented’ society, became a centralised kingdom in 1906 with the emergence of a sovereign leader. Although Uganda became a British protectorate in 1894, British colonialists established close ties with the Baganda⁵⁰ nobility in the mid-1880s, culminating in the signing of the Uganda Agreement in 1900.⁵¹ The agreement compelled Baganda chiefs to collect and pay taxes to colonial administrators, but enabled them to preserve their traditional social structures and hierarchies. The Baganda were instrumental in helping the British to reach similar agreements with the elites in Uganda’s other kingdoms and expanding their rule outwards in the following years (Ofcansky, 1996).

British colonial rule lasted from 1894 until formal independence was declared in Uganda on 9 October 1962. The newly independent Uganda was headed by Milton Obote, the leader of the Ugandan People’s Congress (UPC).⁵² From the mid-to-late 1960s, Obote grew increasingly authoritarian,

⁵⁰ *Baganda* is the plural endonym for a member of the Kingdom of Buganda. The singular endonym is *Muganda*.

⁵¹ Despite its misleading name, the agreement was between the British and the Kingdom of Buganda.

⁵² The 1962 independence constitution created a federal state in which the five centralised sub-national kingdoms were afforded varying levels of autonomy, with the greatest level given to Buganda, which retained its own legislature (the *lukiko*) and High Court. Obote relied heavily on support from the Baganda in the early part of his premiership, with his Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) party entering into a governing coalition with the Buganda nationalist party, Kabbaka Yekka (KY). A 1963 amendment to the constitution even installed the Kabaka (King) of Buganda, Edward Mutesa, as the first non-executive president of Uganda. By the mid-1960s, the coalition had collapsed, as opposition parliamentarians defected to the UPC and tensions between Buganda and Obote’s government increased to the extent that in 1966, a second temporary constitution was summarily promulgated by Obote. The new constitution brought the federal powers of Buganda in line with the other kingdoms. Continuing tensions, combined with internal power struggles between factions within Obote’s UPC, meant that by 1967, a third constitution had been passed. As well as banning all parties except

culminating in the passing of a new constitution in 1967 which, amongst other things, banned all political parties except the UPC (Uzoigwe, 1983). Obote was eventually overthrown by Idi Amin – his former military protégé, turned political rival – in 1971. Greeted initially with optimism having removed a deeply unpopular president, Amin promised his military regime would restore civilian rule once stability had returned to Uganda (O'Brien, 1973). Instead, his reign lasted from 1971 to 1979, when his government collapsed after losing a disastrous war with Julius Nyerere's Tanzania, sparking mass defections from his armed forces (Roberts, 2014). While the economy and infrastructure atrophied under his rule, Amin's regime was particularly notable for its brutality, with death squads murdering Amin's real and imagined opponents and critics, including those belonging to ethnic groups thought to be allied with Obote (Ofcansky, 1996). Presidential elections were held in 1980, the first in Uganda since 1962. In a contest widely viewed as rigged, Obote assumed power for the second time, after he and his UPC won the most seats in Uganda's parliament (Murison, 2013; Tandon, 1987). The perceived illegitimacy of Obote's victory, as well as his own growing authoritarianism, set off an armed struggle between his regime and various rebel groups, which exploded into an all-out civil war, lasting until late 1985. By 1986, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) headed by Yoweri Museveni, one of the key rebel groups, had emerged victorious and assumed power. President Museveni and the NRM initially led the country under a 'No Party' form of democracy, in an attempt to overcome the myriad ethnic, religious, linguistic and other cleavages that had been cultivated and exploited by previous regimes (Kasfir, 1998). In 2006, multiparty politics returned to Uganda, although Museveni and the NRM amended the constitution to lift Presidential term limits and have ruled continuously since they assumed power in 1986. Museveni's government is generally described as enjoying warm relations with the international community (Hauser, 1999). However, his regime is also described as 'semi-authoritarian', given the personal power he wields over Uganda's institutions, and the state harassment experienced by opposition leaders and civil society (Tripp, 2004; Goodfellow, 2014; Tangri and Mwenda, 2008; Fisher and Anderson, 2015).

3.5.2. The governmentality of Uganda

An overview of the field reveals a relatively small but diverse array of Ugandan governmental literature, which has interrogated different periods from Uganda's history. A smaller number of works focused, to varying degrees, on the colonial period. Byerley (2009) took colonial public housing between 1945 and 1960 as his object of analysis, conceiving of it as a technology of 'norming and forming', which emerged with the ascendance of a welfarist imperial rationality amongst the British.

the UPC, the constitution eliminated the federal structure, removed decision-making powers from the kingdoms and established Uganda as a unitary republic. Hence, Obote became president and immediately increased the power of the office of the president (Uzoigwe 1983).

Vokes (2018) similarly explored photography as a technology of norming and forming during the period between 1906 and 1960. He demonstrated how photography not only enabled the classification and objectification of Ugandans but was a tutelary technology; a means for colonial administrators to demonstrate to Ugandans what ‘modern “model” citizenship’ looked like (13). An equally small number of works have touched upon the post-independence, pre-Museveni regimes of Obote and Amin. Schulz (2013) provided a broad historical overview which examined shifts in the government of Muslim schoolchildren, from the colonial period up to Museveni’s NRM government. Peterson and Taylor (2013) focused on the Amin regime and, in particular, on his use of the mass media as a technology of rule, as will be demonstrated in greater depth below.

The vast majority of governmental studies located in Uganda have examined different aspects of Museveni’s rule, from 1986 up to the present day. Hammett and Jackson (2017) have analysed the ways in which non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were induced into working as service providers, while discouraged - sometimes through coercive means - from criticising NRM governmental policy. Branch (2009) used the concept of biopower to examine camps in Northern Uganda, in which those fleeing violent rebel activity were housed. Within the camps, the individual bodies of internally displaced persons became subject to regimes of surveillance, while their biological attributes as a population became a target for statistical improvement. There are studies which have engaged, to varying degrees, with the concept of biopolitics as applied to the environment, whether in the context of nature reserves (Olanya, 2016), market environmentalism (Nel, 2015), or oil extraction (Holterman, 2014). Others have taken Ugandan development policies as their object of inquiry, examining the government of pastoral farming in Uganda and East Africa (Morton, 2010); the government of poverty through ‘inclusive’ liberalism in the under-developed Northern Ugandan region (Golooba-Mutebi and Hickey, 2010); or international developmental governmentality, explored in greater depth below (Lie, 2015). Additionally, several studies have also attended to different facets of the government of HIV/AIDS during Museveni’s reign (Rasmussen, 2008; 2013a; 2013b; Park, 2015; Wringe et al., 2017; Sekalala and Kirya, 2013; Taylor and Harper, 2014).

In the following section, I explore in greater depth two particular texts from the Ugandan governmentality scholarship which provide theoretical insights useful for this thesis.

3.5.3. Governing Uganda through mass media

The first work I analyse has – along with Kalpagam, above – informed the theoretical framework of this thesis, as it has considered the way mass media can be conceptualised as a technology of government.

In their work, Peterson and Taylor (2013) shifted the conversation regarding Idi Amin beyond his well-known brutality: his near-immediate suspension of the constitution and promulgation of rule-by-decree (Southall, 1975); the expulsion of Uganda's merchant class of Ugandan-Asians (Jamal, 1976); and the activities of state death squads resulting in the murder of between 80,000 and 500,000 Ugandans (Kannyo, 2000). Focusing on such events, they contended, has obscured the way in which the day-to-day business of government – however dysfunctional – was conducted. Eschewing what they regarded as the extremely narrow focus on questions of 'high politics', they called for a move beyond an analysis of Amin's 'horrendous abuses of power, his appetites, his political lineage, his psychology' (59). Uganda in the 1970s, they suggested, should be seen:

not as a homogenous Leviathan, a projection of Amin's pathological political vision, and neither still as a hollowed-out, decayed shell, but as a field of action, in which officials, bureaucrats and citizenships used paperwork, exhortation, and other rhetorical and administrative tools to compel others to act. (59)

Their interest lay less in the untangling the overarching political rationalities and more in the tangible technologies by which a form of rule was achieved. Their work was highly significant from the perspective of this thesis because of the specific kind of technology they claimed was central to rule in Amin's Uganda: the *Voice of Uganda* newspaper (1971 – 1979).

Voice of Uganda was preceded by decades of newspaper publishing in Uganda, beginning with the very first newspaper – a mimeographed quarterly – in 1897. As Ssali (1987) noted, 'information about this mimeograph is so sketchy that it is difficult even to establish its name' (167), although he observed that it was produced by the Anglican missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). It was soon followed by further newspapers published by the CMS and other missionary groups, including *Mengo Notes* (1900 – 1961), the Luganda-language *Ebifa mu Buganda* [News from Buganda] (1907 – 1957); and the Luganda-language *Munno* [Friend] (1911 – 1996).⁵³ That the Ugandan newspaper industry grew out of the activities of Christian missionaries is particularly notable, given the prevalence of Christian pastoral problematisations of homosexuality in the years leading up to the AHA, as will be explored in Chapter 5.⁵⁴

⁵³ *Mengo Notes* underwent two name changes, becoming *Uganda Notes* and finally *Uganda Church Review*. *Ebifa mu Buganda* also underwent a name change in 1934, becoming *Ebifa mu Uganda* [News from Uganda].

⁵⁴ Other early publications included *Matalisi* [The Messenger] in 1923, *Gambuze* [What is the News] and *Dobozi Lya Buganda* [Voice of Buganda] in 1927, *Mugobasonqa* [Followers of Reason] in 1948, *Ndimugezi* [The Wise Seek Advice] in 1951, *Amut* [News] in 1953, and *Saben's Commercial Digest*, *Uganda Mail*, and *Uganda Post*, all in 1954 (Acayo and Mnjama, 2004).

The first privately-owned commercial newspaper was the *Ugandan Herald* (1912 – 1955), which commanded ‘higher standards than those of other Ugandan newspapers’ and, until the mid-1950s, ‘was reportedly the most widely read and most influential newspaper in the Protectorate’ (Ssali, 1987: 168). Its only English-language competitor, the CMS’ *Mengo Notes*, was ‘more interested in church news’ than the general affairs of the state (Isoba, 1980: 225). Despite its ‘tremendous commercial success’ over its 43-year run, it ran into difficulties with the emergence of its competitor - the *Uganda Argus* - and folded in 1955 (Nelson, 1968: 35). While the ‘independent African press’ across East Africa played an important role in nationalist movements across the region (Scotton, 1973: 212), Chibita and Fourie (2007) noted that in Uganda ‘several local papers failed to sustain themselves’ and had collapsed by the ‘eve of Uganda’s independence’ (12). By 1967, the two largest newspapers in Uganda were the *Uganda Argus* and *The People*, both English-language, with the former published daily and the latter on a weekly basis. Once Amin seized power in 1971, however, he assumed the role of Minister of Information, banned all foreign-owned newspapers, and relaunched the *Uganda Argus* as the *Voice of Uganda*, whose journalists became ‘government employees’, instructed to transcribe Amin’s speeches word-for-word (Stremlau, 2018: 34).

Peterson and Taylor (2013) focussed on the relationship between the governmentality of the Amin regime and the *Voice of Uganda*. They suggested it was a key technology, particularly as the ‘physical infrastructure by which modern bureaucracies work – the memorandum, the report, the register – were lacking’ in Uganda at the time (64). In the district of Bundibugyo, for example, the District Treasurer lacked even the most rudimentary of instruments for bookkeeping: ‘there were no revenue forms, no rubber stamps, and no cashbooks’ (64). Moreover, paper shortages meant that by 1976, the districts of Bundibugyo and Kasese had to cease issuing circulars and minutes. Consequently, the national *Voice of Uganda* newspaper provided a medium through which governmental officers could ‘address, exhort, and summon the Ugandan public’ (64). Unlike Kalpagam’s example of the newspaper in colonial India as proliferating a form of liberal colonial rule, the *Voice of Uganda* was a blunt instrument of sovereign power.

Conceived from its inception as a means for the Amin regime to dictate to the people of Uganda, *Voice of Uganda*’s circulation was erratic and uneven, particularly in remote parts of the country. Editors and contributors nevertheless ‘thought the circulation of news media to be universal and undifferentiated’ and, moreover, that ‘readers were hanging on every word’ (64). *Voice of Uganda* was a domain of government-by-directive, in which particular demographic groups – ‘women, students, hawkers, chiefs’ – were addressed directly and obliged to act, often at extremely short notice. Thus, when Amin declared summarily that wigs were the product of ‘callous imperialists’ who collected hair from victims in the Vietnam War, the directive banning them was carried in *Voice of*

Uganda (66). People who happened to be in public when the newspapers appeared on the stands ‘had to pull off the wigs immediately’, with no prior warning (66). Similarly, when the central government announced suddenly that it was issuing new currency bearing the image of Amin, the directive was issued in the newspaper – and allowed only 15 days for the exchange of old currency for new. With such a tight timeline, ‘people were obliged to interrupt their activities, down tools and join the queue’, as men and women, ‘some with babies on their back scrambled’ to reach money exchange points (66).

While such examples ‘tell a familiar tale’ about the mercurial rule in Amin’s Uganda, the authors contend that their ‘point is that arbitrariness has an infrastructure’: it was only possible for Amin and his colleagues to issue ‘rapid-fire directives’ because they had at their disposal a technology of government by which ‘the whole of Ugandan public could be addressed, summoned and directed’ (66). To refer to *Voice of Uganda* as a publication of propaganda is to miss the point; the newspaper was ‘a vehicle by which populations were managed, and a machine through which government worked’ (66).

3.5.4. The international government of Uganda

The second Ugandan governmentality text I analyse helps to account theoretically for the intense international backlash the national government received in the wake of the AHB/AHA, as described in Chapter 1.

Lie (2015) focused on Uganda as a case study to demonstrate how a panoply of international development institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, govern postcolonial states ‘at a distance’. While his study, with its focus on development policy, technocratic acronyms and jargon, might seem of limited relevance in explaining the international reaction to the AHB/AHA, his work has important insights into the means by which ‘normal’ behaviour can be induced within a recalcitrant postcolonial state by the international community.

Focusing on the World Bank, Lie described how the much-criticised structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of the 1980s were replaced in the 1990s by a ‘new aid architecture’ – the Poverty Reduction and Strategy Paper (PRSP) - for which Uganda served as a pilot country (729). Unlike SAPs, which were top-down and hierarchical, the PRSP was intended to invest ‘the postcolonial state with agency’, thereby ‘empowering’ national governments and transforming the relationship from one of subordinated client to active, equal partner (724). As the pilot country, Uganda was encouraged to become a ‘free, self-managing and self-enterprising’ development partner (724), ‘responsible for formulating its own, national development strategy’, with the Bank’s role primarily that of international lender (727).

As described in Chapter 2, liberal forms of rule, which no longer intervene directly on the individual, do not entail an absence of government. The application of the new aid architecture to Uganda was no different in this regard. Lie tracked Uganda's three successive national development strategies, known as the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), the first of which was finalised in 1997, the second in 2000 and the third in 2005. While the first (1997) was produced by the Ugandan government after extensive national consultation, by 1999, Uganda had been chosen as the test country through which the World Bank's new PRSP model could be rolled out. The second PEAP (2000) involved revising the first such that it would conform to the Bank's PRSP model, a process which carried on into the third (2005). Lie suggested that with each PEAP, it was possible to observe a development 'strategy that increasingly bears the Bank's stamp in terms of structure, procedure and policy' (729). In terms of policy, 'good governance' – something which did not form part of the first PEAP – came to predominate, targeting the 'internal workings and practices' of Uganda 'under the auspices of aid effectiveness', as development monies are used effectively in 'a good policy environment' (730). Thus, Uganda's national government was encouraged and guided towards the formulation of a development strategy which was in accordance with the intentions and wishes of the developer – a process Lie referred to as 'developmentality'.

In keeping with the insights of Hindess (2001) and other postcolonial governmentality scholars, Lie demonstrated that the World Bank's rhetoric of freedom was accompanied by 'practices and control mechanisms that frame and thereby limit the freedom initially granted to participants' (Lie, 2015: 730). In other words, the liberal relationship was underpinned by coercion. Amongst several processes of the PRSP which contradict the notions of freedom of the recipient government, the so-called Poverty Reduction Support Credit (PRSC) was the most onerous. Ostensibly a process through which the Bank transferred 'its policy and conceptual apparatus' to Uganda, the PRSC was also the process whereby the Bank 'put forward direct conditions, or prior actions' that had to be fulfilled before funds were dispersed (731). While aid conditionality and SAPs may have been discarded, the new aid architecture has been coextensive with a sharp rise in the number of so-called "'soft" conditions' or prior actions, which a state is obliged to fulfil (731).

In Uganda, the coercive web formed by 'good governance' and 'prior actions' came to a head in in 2005, during negotiations for the third round of PEAP. Relations between the government and the international community were strained, in the wake of the amendment to the constitution, which removed presidential term limits,⁵⁵ and the continuing harassment and detention of opposition

⁵⁵ As indicated in Chapter 1, the Constitutional Amendment Act 2005, which lifted presidential term limits, also introduced the constitutional ban on same-sex weddings.

figures (732). While bilateral donors issued critical statements and threats to cut aid, the World Bank made no such critical statements, ostensibly owing to 'its apolitical mandate' (728). However, when the third PEAP was being finalised in early 2006, the concerns over good governance and prior actions 'weighed in', enabling the cutting of the budget for the PRSP by 10% (730). As Lie concluded, the 'prior actions mechanism' served to undermine the notion 'of an equal partnership relation' (734). The displacement of SAPs by the PRSP model represented a shift from 'direct coercion to a subtle and tacit governance mechanism' (734), in which recalcitrant states can be disciplined for failing to develop themselves according to the tenets and wishes of donors. Far from representing a displacement of conditionality with participatory approaches, and even less an equalisation of power relations, this new aid architecture – 'developmentality' – signified a shift in the *modality* of power relations; a nexus between conditionality and participation, between coercion and consent.

The reaction to the AHB/AHA provided another example of the international governmentality of Uganda. Breaching the norms of 'good governance', formalised within liberal institutions such as the World Bank, may result in critical statements from donor countries or, in more serious breaches, economic sanctions, intended to induce the recalcitrant state to fall in line with the requisite norms. As will become evident in Chapter 5, where I explore the cumulative problematisation of homosexuality from 1986 to 2014, this interaction between the national and international with respect to homosexuality played out in the pages of the newspaper significantly earlier than the AHB/AHA. Moreover, it was a productive interaction, which not only involved attempts to guide the conduct of the Ugandan national government on the issue of homosexuality, but interactions which themselves produced and incited a new kind of problematisation around the issue of homosexuality by framing it as an issue of neo-colonialism.

3.6. Conclusion

The sub-question which animated this chapter asked, 'To what extent can governmentality scholarship "go" to Uganda?' Answering the question required an understanding of differences in governmentality or its associated concepts when translated to non-western contexts. In the first section, I examined Foucauldian postcolonial literatures which have expanded his scrupulously Eurocentric genealogies to include European colonialism. The postcolonial literature demonstrated several differences in the translation of the governmental triangle: sovereignty predominated much longer, and was more excessive than in metropolitan government, but authoritarianism was coextensive with rather than incongruous with liberal forms of rule; disciplinary processes may have been present, but did not necessarily swarm as they had done in the metropole; and race was particularly foregrounded within colonial governmental projects of biopower/biopolitics. I also observed other phenomena which

complicated the understanding of colonialism as forming a unidirectional translation of European forms of power *to* the colonies. The literatures highlighted, for example, how incipient forms of panopticism and discipline could be observed in pre-colonial India and Africa. Biopower was highlighted as imperial biopower, given that there was a productive, two-way interaction between the racial obsessions in the colonies and the constitution of bourgeois subjectivity Foucault described in *History of Sexuality Vol. 1*. In short, the literature demonstrated that Foucault *could* go to Uganda.

In the second section, I explored how governmentality *has* gone to Uganda, that is, how the theoretical framework has been employed in interrogating Ugandan problematics. I highlighted in two areas of governmentality scholarship which provided useful theoretical insights. The first insight underpinned the entire thesis – namely, that newspapers can form governmental technologies, through which governmental rationalities, logics and strategies can be achieved. The second insight was relevant in theorising the reaction by the international community to the AHB/AHA – namely, that governmental assemblages in domestic contexts are themselves subject to international governmentality and concomitant attempts by international agents to induce the ‘correct’ behaviour.

In the following chapter, I move away from describing and critiquing the tools to be called upon in this thesis and towards examining more fundamental questions of methodology and research methods.

Chapter 4. Methodology & Methods

4.1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters, I provided an exposition of some of Foucault's 'genealogical' tools, followed by an analysis of their employment in postcolonial scholarship. In this chapter, I outline the methodological orientation of this thesis, which I situate under the umbrella of governmentality studies. I take the opportunity to respond to some of the common criticisms levelled at Foucault regarding his approach to epistemology and ontology: namely, that he rejects truth and *a priori* neutralises any basis upon which progressive politics can be enacted. I then move on to consider the changes made to this thesis in light of insurmountable problems which arose with its original plans. I engage in a reflexive account of the problems, solutions, and tensions that emerged as a consequence of the changes, which amounted to a shift from interview data, collected *in situ*, to desk-based research, focused entirely on media data. Subsequently, I discuss the practicalities of the research: the process of data selection and collection, which involved a month-long archival trip to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York City; and the deductive, theoretically-informed, thematic method of data analysis, from which the substantive chapters emerged and took shape. Finally, I consider the limitations of the research.

4.2. Research questions

This thesis addresses the following research questions:

- **Primary research question:** How were Ugandan newspapers implicated in the government of sexual minorities in Uganda, in the years leading up to the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014?
 - **Sub-research question 1:** To what extent is governmentality scholarship able to 'go' to Uganda?
 - **Sub-research question 2:** How have Ugandan newspapers constituted homosexuality as a problem in need of a solution?
 - **Sub-research question 3:** What particular techniques of government were employed by Ugandan newspapers in covering homosexuality?
 - **Sub-research question 4:** How have Ugandan newspapers been used for performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge?

4.3. Theoretical framework

In Chapter 2, I suggested that governmentality provided the overarching theoretical framework for this thesis. I indicated that I would make use of the concepts of problematisation, modalities of power/knowledge, techniques and technologies of government, and resistance. I suggested that the newspapers could be theorised from a governmental perspective as technologies of government, through which rationalities, logics, and strategies of power in relation to sexual minorities could be made manifest. In making such a claim, I followed in the footsteps of two postcolonial scholars, outlined in Chapter 3, who drew attention to the link between newspapers and governmentality.

Kalpagam's work, located in nineteenth century colonial India, highlighted the manner in which newspapers can facilitate liberal forms of rule, as they hollow 'out a space' for 'dialogical self-critique' which facilitates the impulse of limited government (Dean, 2010: 52). However, Peterson and Taylor's work also highlighted that newspapers are not 'exhausted' by liberalism (Nolan, 2003: 1371). While newspapers can be a means of generating, reflecting and acting upon 'public opinion', or critiquing 'excessive' governmental intervention in the economy or population, they can also be a means of engaging in government-by-directive, as Amin's *Voice of Uganda* demonstrated. Newspapers ought not to be conceived as tethered to any particular rationality, logic or strategy – but rather can be conceptualised as a malleable technology of government which can be employed in different ways, in pursuit of different governmental objectives.

I seek to add to their insights by proposing three inter-related ways in which Ugandan newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the AHA: through the problematisation of homosexuality, according to various kinds of power/knowledge, leading up to its construction as a threat inviting its containment or elimination (Chapter 5); the incitement and circulation of disgust – itself recast as a technology of government – through the employment of a series of 'disgust techniques' in relation to homosexuality (Chapter 6); and through the dissemination of a spectacular performance of resistance, contained in photographs and accompanying articles, which, in turn, galvanised and incited power directed towards sexual minorities (Chapter 7).

4.4. Methodology

Although governmentality indicates a certain methodological bent, which leans towards anti-foundationalism and epistemological 'agnosticism' (Valverde, 2003), it does not dictate from the outset the kinds of methods which must be adopted. Indeed, one of the strengths of a governmentality-inspired methodology is its flexibility and malleability, which allows for the analysis of diverse objects of inquiry and approaches to research. The research strategy adopted here is

qualitative and deductive, with the research question crafted in light of the chosen theoretical lens. The following section seeks to explicate the epistemological and ontological assumptions underpinning this thesis, as well as reflect on my positionality vis-à-vis the research.

4.4.1. Epistemology

The epistemological commitments of this thesis are drawn largely from Foucault's own work on questions of truth and knowledge. Unlike other theoretical approaches equally concerned with exploring the marginalisation of society's others, Foucault's scholarship is not 'a triumph of truth over ignorance or ideology' (Foucault, 1990b). His is not the final word on the matter; a beacon of light edging us closer to pure knowledge about, for example, our sexual identities. That is because the genealogy in which Foucault engages self-consciously undermines not just the concept of sexuality, but the very 'epistemic ground upon which' such a critique 'usually stands' (McWhorter, 1999: 40). It is not just sexual identities that are historically emergent, but our 'epistemic identities' too (40). Hence, the knowledge generated through a doctoral thesis cannot claim the grand status of Truth.

This is an important acknowledgement for a 'western' qualitative researcher, engaging in studying aspects of 'the non-western world'; particularly so for one who wishes to avoid replicating the colonial nature of early qualitative studies, which produced Truth about the 'exotic Other, a primitive, non-white person from a foreign culture judged to be less civilized than ours' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 2). If orientalism is defined by Said as the domination of the orient by the west through the production of knowledges by the latter about the former, then researchers must be alive to the dangers of producing orientalist scholarship. I contend that a Foucauldian epistemology at least partly ameliorates this danger, as it consistently undercuts its own claim to authorial knowledge of any object of inquiry, acknowledging from the outset the situatedness and finitude of its findings.

This does not, as some of Foucault's fiercest critics have contended, equate to a rejection of truth. Foucault himself expressed bemusement at such a characterisation of his position, stating, rather polemically, '[a]ll those who say that for me the truth doesn't exist are simple-minded' (Foucault, 1996: 295). Nor does this mean I find myself in an epistemological trap of my own making, in which 'all statements are on the same level' and where all truth claims are as valid as one another (Valverde, 2003: 8). A rejection of an objective epistemic standpoint does not lead to relativism. As Haraway contends, 'the alternative to relativism is not totalization in the ideologies of objectivity; both deny the stakes in location, embodiment, and partial perspective' (1991: 191). Rather, it means that my work is guided by what Valverde calls epistemological 'modesty', where 'truth seeking is not 'abandoned wholesale' but is underpinned by an awareness of the partiality of my perspective, tinged by my own positionality vis-à-vis the research (Valverde, 2003: 9).

4.4.2. Positionality

My own positionality is as follows: I identify or am identified by others, to varying degrees, as gay, white, male, British, European, from the Global North, Third Culture, middle-class, privileged, a student, a teacher, left-wing, progressive, non-religious and an outsider. As Said noted:

[n]o one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of society (Said, 2003: 10)

A researcher is unable to divorce themselves from their biography, sexuality, gender, education, age, biases, sympathies, aesthetics, interests, and so on. This not only impacts on the analysis in which a researcher engages, but also upon their choice of research topic, the kinds of questions they seek to answer, and their overall methodological orientation. Following the insights of both Haraway and Said, this research is produced by a particular person, located in a particular place in the world, and it is therefore perspectival. This does not mean it stakes out an all-encompassing 'gay' perspective, or 'white' perspective, or a 'left-wing' perspective, or even a 'gay, white, left-wing' perspective, but rather acknowledges the shifting, kaleidoscopic nature of subjectivity. My interest in this topic may stem from my sexual identity, just as much as it may stem from my experiences growing up outside of my 'passport' country and recognising myself as consistently straddling insider/outsider boundaries. My analysis may be influenced by my political convictions or lack of religious beliefs. The methodology and overall academic interest in Foucault might be connected to my European identity or to the fact I speak English. None of these elements necessarily predominate at any given moment, but they generate a context in which academic knowledge is produced through this thesis. All human knowledge projects, in other words, are 'partial' (Valverde, 2003).

4.4.3. Ontology

With respect to ontology, this thesis follows Foucault's central insight: that who or what we are, and how we relate to ourselves and to each other, is historically constituted and can therefore be investigated through a 'historical ontology' (Hacking, 2004b) or a 'critical ontology of ourselves' (Foucault, 1991d: 50). Hence, in Foucault's work, ontology is 'denaturalized—made arbitrary or at least historically contingent' (Oksala, 2010: 447). This process of historical sedimentation is not neutral, however, but is constituted by and through relations of power. This means that:

Reality as we know it is the result of social practices always incorporating power relations, but also of concrete struggles over truth and objectivity in social space (Oksala, 2010: 447).

For Foucault's critics, the logical outcome of such an approach is the denial of the possibility of freedom (Taylor, 1984) and the destruction of any 'emancipatory project' for marginalised peoples (Alcoff, 1990: 69). Were this the case, it would be unsurprising that to learn that Foucauldian scholarship has been described as little more than 'infantile leftism' (Walzer, 1986: 51) and 'self-indulgent radical chic' (Rorty, 1986: 47).

What Foucault reveals is not a nihilistic vision that neutralises collective action or renders everyone a victim, ensnared in despotic and repressive networks of power. Just because subjectivities are historically constituted and implicated in networks of power, it does not follow that subjects are unable to exercise power. One need only look at categories of sexual subjectivity which have served as anchor points for community and political participation. The LGBTI movement is not undermined by the contention that sexual subjectivity is historically emergent and a product of power/knowledge. The marking out of the 'homosexual' that has served historically as a means by which to discipline and punish has also served as a rallying point for organisation and contestation. Similarly, recognition that we cannot escape relations of power does not destroy any hope for freedom, because power, in Foucauldian thought, is not opposed to freedom. Power is not synonymous with domination; power is productive as well as repressive. Moreover, freedom is not to be found in normative theories of justice or in well-drafted laws because freedom is not 'a state of being', nor is it 'unitary and ontologically stable' - rather, it is a practice (Mendieta, 2011: 112).

4.5. Changes and reflections

Although my methodological orientation has remained consistent throughout the PhD process, the research question and research methods I adopted have undergone significant transformation. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to suggest that this thesis emerged out of the (productive) failure of my original plans.

4.5.1. Original plans

The original plans, modified in light of the progression review, foregrounded resistance and therefore focused on the work of an LGBTI human rights NGO based in Kampala. The data was to consist of 10 or so semi-structured qualitative interviews with staff at the small organisation, conducted *in situ* at their offices in Uganda. I wanted to focus in particular on their strategies and tactics of resistance, given the legally, politically and socially hostile environment in which they operated. Reflecting on the copious critical literature on human rights (Douzinas, 2000; Brown, 2000a; Brown, 2000b; Brown, 2004), I was interested to see how a local, Ugandan, self-identifying 'LGBTI' human rights organisation employed the concept of human rights in their day-to-day work, and whether such usage confirmed

or confounded such critiques. The interview data generated would then form the bulk of the material from which the substantive chapters of my thesis would be based.

4.5.2. The ethics review process

All research involving human participants must be granted ethical approval from the University of Bristol's Law Research Ethics Committee (LREC). I initially contacted the LREC to discuss informally the possibility of going to Uganda while the AHA was still in force. The risks involved in sending a gay PhD student to Uganda to interview LGBTI activists were immense, and it seemed unlikely a trip would be possible while the law was still in force. By September 2014, the AHA had been annulled and I began a formal process of seeking ethical approval for field work to Uganda. The process was rigorous, covering general data security and practical considerations, such as where interviews would take place and how to manage the collected data securely. I simultaneously contacted the University of Bristol's Research and Enterprise Development (RED) regarding insurance and, consequently, carried out a risk assessment, covering a range of issues, including accommodation, road safety and potential biological hazards I might encounter. It was at this point I discovered the University's insurance policy restricted my stay to the immediate Kampala region. Additionally, to mitigate the risks generated by the risk assessment and ethics processes, I committed myself to: using a private hire driver to move around the city, as opposed to popular motorcycle taxis; residing in a secure international hotel for the duration of my stay; and not leaving the hotel grounds in the evenings. As neither I nor the LREC had carried out fieldwork in Uganda, East Africa, or Africa in general, the approach was to err on the side of caution and proceed on the basis of a worst-case scenario.

After a period of negotiation, I was granted ethical approval for my plans in January 2016. I booked accommodation and flights and established contact with a gatekeeper at the organisation. Days before I was due to depart for Kampala – and completely by chance - it came to my attention that Uganda, along with many African countries, has strict regulations on non-nationals conducting research within its territory. Prior approval must be sought by the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST); if approved, a research permit is granted which allows a researcher to proceed with their plans. This was something of which neither I nor the LREC were aware. The application form required an in-depth outline of the research plans, including detailed information on research participants, methodology and expected outcomes. Given the sensitivity of my research topic, it would not have been possible to apply for the permit without putting both myself and my Ugandan contacts at risk, nor would a permit likely have been granted in the ten days I had until I was due to depart for Entebbe Airport.

A late change to my plans therefore occurred in relation to this unanticipated and serious problem. The LREC and I decided the trip would be a scoping visit instead, in which no data would be collected. I would visit on a tourist visa and could not therefore conduct research. The trip would enable me to spend a month in Kampala, but instead of interviewing, I would sight-see, get a 'feel' for Kampala, and network with potential future interviewees. I would then need to go through the LREC once I had returned, in order to get approval for interviewing participants over Skype. This Skype-recorded data would then form the basis of the substantive chapters of my thesis.

4.5.3. Change of plans & reflexivity

4.5.3.1. Scoping trip and reflections

I was in Kampala from 1 April until 30 April 2016. I spent time acclimatising to Kampala, seeing touristic sites, getting a feel for the city, and reading as many newspapers as I could, purchased from the street vendor next to the hotel. I visited the offices of the NGO, occasionally ate lunch with the staff, and met many people associated with the organisation. In this regard, the scoping trip was a success, as it would have been problematic to write about Uganda without ever having set foot in it.

However, there were difficulties around the contingency plans which became apparent during my stay. Although I had access to a gatekeeper at the NGO in Kampala, the sensitivities around the topic meant that building up the requisite level of trust between myself and prospective research participants would have taken significantly longer than one month. This became most apparent when I compared myself and my prospective project with research conducted by another student based at the organisation while I was in Uganda.

The researcher – a white, western, young, queer anthropologist - had been based at the organisation for just under a year when I arrived in Kampala. Coming from a discipline such as anthropology, the way in which he approached the research encounter was different from my own. He had worked full-time as an intern during the entire time he had been based in Kampala. He had assisted in researching and authoring reports and publications, and had travelled across the country to help set up and execute workshops and other training events. He had embedded himself both professionally and socially. He made a number of genuine friendships and travelled at weekends, across Uganda and the wider region, including Rwanda, Zambia, Kenya and Tanzania. His accommodation was a privately rented, ordinary house, relatively close to the offices of the organisation. For his commute, he – like many Kampala residents - would catch a *boda boda*⁵⁶ to work. Given that he had been in Kampala for a year, he had partly picked up Luganda and was therefore able to communicate in what was many

⁵⁶ A *boda boda* is a motorcycle taxi, often driven by young men.

people's first language in the region. He went out at night with Ugandan and foreign friends, to restaurants, bars and clubs, including Kampala's only gay venue; an underground bar and club which also served as a brothel. Throughout this whole process, he had deliberately adopted a snowball strategy, establishing trust and building up a genuine rapport between himself and the activists at the organisation, through whom he was able to meet more interviewees, such as grassroots human rights activists. His research strategy was highly flexible: he was able to interview people when opportunities arose.

The dynamics of his experience can be contrasted with my own. My time in Uganda was a little under one month, with no interviews conducted *in situ*, as I lacked the legally required research permit. I was unable to speak to people when opportunities unexpectedly arose, but instead had to ask if I could interview them by Skype in a month's time (or more). Any situational rapport was lost when this request was made. This had the unfortunate effect of creating a barrier, reinforcing the distance between researcher and subject. As a result of risk-mitigation decisions I took while in the UK, I was unable to travel by *boda boda* and instead hired a private driver who took me, in his four-wheel drive, to the gates of the organisation on the mornings I went in. A drive which was supposed to take 30-45 minutes often ended up taking two hours, on account of the extreme traffic jams we encountered on a daily basis. When people at the organisation asked why I did not simply use a *boda boda*, I prevaricated, as it felt offensive and judgmental to tell them my institution – a prestigious law school in the UK – and I – a white, western researcher – found the *boda boda* too unsafe for me to use. This was despite the fact that the activists and other foreign researchers I encountered used them as their primary method of transportation. This barrier of privilege was compounded when, in the course of casual conversations, I was asked where I was staying. Unlike the queer anthropologist, who stayed in an ordinary, residential community in an ordinary street in Kampala, I was staying in a fortified, gated, luxury, international hotel, with security guards and body scanners at the gates, where drivers had to exit their cars while they were checked for weapons. My stay at the safe international hotel was a necessary consequence of the risk-mitigation process to which I had committed while I was in the UK. Once my dwelling was revealed, however, it made establishing rapport even more difficult. Some were visibly shocked that I was staying in such accommodation for such an extended period of time, and commented that it was an incredible waste of money. This air of privilege engendered by my transportation and accommodation was further reinforced by my unusual status while I was in Kampala: unlike the anthropologist, who worked, researched and socialised, I was a PhD student who did not seem to be doing any research, who was an occasional intern, and who refused invitations to socialise in the evenings.

There were other factors I had not anticipated, which only became obvious in the field. First, the organisation had a revolving door of foreign researchers, as did many of the LGBTI and mainstream human rights organisations; at any one time the organisation had up to four international researchers based at their premises. This produced 'researcher fatigue' (Clark, 2008), where staff had been asked to speak to so many short-term researchers that they were not – at least initially – interested in participating in further research (although, with a longer-term stay, I suspect this could have been overcome, as the anthropologist had interviewed everyone at the organisation over the course of his year-long stay). Secondly, the small team working at the organisation was incredibly busy and often travelled nationally and internationally. My gatekeeper contact, for example, was entirely absent from the office for over two-thirds of the time I was there. There were several days where there was only an administrator or cleaner present. While I was invited on work trips across the country and could have spent several days in other Uganda cities getting to know staff from the organisation, I was only covered by insurance if I stayed within the immediate Kampala region. I was therefore unable to participate in such trips. Consequently, I found it difficult to build up the requisite level of trust and rapport, not only to have someone agree to speak with me, but to agree to wait several weeks to do so, such that an interview could be conducted over the phone. I realised that to generate the kind of data I needed, I would have had to have adopted an entirely different research strategy, one which was not possible given the understandable ethical and insurance/risk-mitigation restrictions.

4.5.3.2. Change of plans and further reflections

Upon my return, I altered my plans, realising that my previous research question could not be answered without access to the qualitative interview data. Any data that was to form the basis of my thesis would have to be collected outside of Uganda. While I initially felt that documents – such as human rights reports and educational pamphlets from the LGBTI human rights organisations - might prove a viable option, I settled on the idea of focusing entirely on media data. I was inspired, at least in part, by my reading of Ugandan newspapers during my time in Kampala, where I was struck by the vibrancy of the media landscape. The decision to focus on media had practical and theoretical benefits: practical, because of issues of accessibility and the scope of available data; and theoretical, because media had not formed a specific object of inquiry of Foucault's, nor had governmentality scholars analysed news media through a governmentality lens in any sustained manner. A socio-legal governmentality study examining the media presented an exciting opportunity, both to apply the theoretical lens to a new object of inquiry and, simultaneously, to broaden the scope of the application of governmentality studies.

This shift in direction had implications for my own position with the academy. I identify as a socio-legal PhD student, based at the University of Bristol's Law School. I felt my interdisciplinary academic

background – with degrees in international relations, human rights and socio-legal studies - as well as my focus on the interdisciplinary field of governmentality studies, already put me at odds (academically speaking) with the majority of my colleagues in the department. I realised that whenever I spoke to new colleagues or visiting academics, I developed a nervous tick, where I prefaced my answer to their questions about my research with ‘I’m not a lawyer, but ...’ Despite being aware of the debates as to the shifting boundaries of socio-legal scholarship, I had a pervasive feeling of academic outsidership. This was only reinforced with the new area of focus for my thesis relatively late into my PhD. The move towards media – a further interdisciplinary area of which, prior to this change of direction, I had no direct experience – made me question even more my place within the Law School.

As I engaged with the new research direction I put at least some of these issues to rest. My focus was, as it always had been, on governmentality. While the data was media, it was not a media studies thesis, but a media-data driven, socio-legal, governmentality thesis which was conducted with a piece of legislation in mind. It not only looked past the obvious area of law and policy, but it looked beyond the traditional objects of governmentality analysis which lay ‘beyond the state’: professional groups, parent-teacher associations, pressure-groups, quangos, and so on (Dean, 2010; Miller and Rose, 2008). It contended that media formed an equally important object which was implicated in the government of sexual minorities in Uganda. It made no simplistic causal claims, suggesting that ‘negative’ media coverage ‘caused’ either the AHB/AHA specifically or ‘homophobic’ sentiment generally. Neither did it propose that the media was the ‘true’ locus of power in Ugandan society. It sought simply to examine the manner in which power was exercised through the media – and, in the process, add further complexity to understandings of the government of Ugandan sexual minorities in the run-up to the AHA.

4.6. Methods

4.6.1. Data collection

4.6.1.1. Sampling method

I decided upon a sampling strategy that was purposive, as opposed to probability or quota sampling. Probability sampling is typically associated with quantitative research and draws its power from statistical probability theory, through which ‘a random and statistically representative sample’ can be used to generalise from the sample to a larger population (Patton, 2002: 230). Purposive sampling, on the other hand, draws its power from selecting ‘information-rich cases for study in depth’ (230). Units, ‘which may be people, organizations, documents, departments’, are selected ‘with direct

reference to the research questions being asked' (Bryman, 2008: 375). At a more general level, it is deployed for a 'non-statistical purpose' (Payne and Payne, 2004: 210).

Under the rubric of purposive sampling, the literatures point to a number of different approaches. Sandelowski (1995) lists maximum variation, phenomenal variation and theoretical variation. Patton (2002) suggests 16 different kinds of purposive sampling, including extreme case, intensity, heterogeneity, homogeneity, typical case, critical case, snowball, criterion, theory-based, confirming/disconfirming case, stratified purposive, opportunistic, purposeful random, politically important case and convenience sampling. Rapley (2014), surveying the different approaches, concludes that it may be 'enough to make good, analytically driven, thoughtful decisions' rather than necessary deploying a pre-existing purposive sampling strategy (55).

The chosen sampling strategy was theory-based or theoretical sampling, where a researcher 'samples incidents, slices of life, time periods, or people on the basis of their potential manifestation or representation of important theoretical constructs' (Patton, 2002: 238). My sampling strategy is informed by my methodological orientation, theoretical framework and particular research questions. In other words, I selected and examined media data through a governmentality lens.

4.6.1.2. Initial exclusion criteria

After deciding to use media data, I was left with an almost limitless potential data corpus, encompassing all formats of mass media and stretching back temporally to the very first mimeographed quarterly in Uganda in 1897. To construct a manageable data corpus, it was necessary to construct initial general exclusion criteria.

The first such criterion concerned timeframe. I decided the data corpus would stretch from the entry into force of the AHA (10 March 2014) back to 1986, thus excluding approximately 90 years of media from analysis. 1986 was chosen as the start date not just because it saw the inaugural issue of the Ugandan daily newspaper, *New Vision*, but because it marked a significant turning point for the Ugandan state. As I elaborated in Chapter 3, it was the year the current President – Yoweri Museveni – assumed office. Museveni's regime 'instituted a period of democratic transition', with elections held at all levels in 1989, and set about reforming the economy, which had been ravaged by civil war. The Ugandan state, economy and society were 'neoliberalised ... extensively according to "market society"-oriented prescriptions' (Wiegratz, 2010: 127), with significant overseas development assistance flooding in, and Uganda consistently experienced GDP growth rates of over 7% from 1990 onwards. A new constitution – 'based on wide grassroots consultations' – was promulgated in 1995, enshrining freedom of the press in law. So extensive were Museveni's reforms and Uganda's growth

that the World Bank went as far as describing the country as the ‘main model of successful postconflict recovery in Africa’ (O’Manique, 2004).

Consequently, it can be said that 1986 marked a pivotal, transformative moment in Ugandan history. It saw the end of the civil war and the emergence of a new political rationality, according to which Ugandan economy and society were reformed, as well as the implantation of liberal technologies in the form of a constitutional rights guaranteed by a relatively independent judiciary. This shift in rationality formed a logical starting point for data collection.

The second exclusion criterion concerned media format. I decided to focus on print rather than broadcast media, such as television or radio, for several reasons. First, there was the practical question of accessibility. While I could access newspaper archives online or in libraries, there were no such archives or transcripts of broadcast media in Uganda. Although in theory it might be possible to go to Uganda to collect data of live radio or television broadcasts, permission to conduct such research would require the approval of UNCST. Even if it were possible, the issue of homosexuality had reached its zenith in the media between approximately 2009 and 2014, with the drafting of the Anti-Homosexuality Bill 2009 and the signing into law of the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014, none of which would have been captured through my monitoring of the 100+ radio stations or television channels. Second, there was the question of horizontal integration of media in Uganda. The highest selling newspapers - *Bukedde*, *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* – form part of large media groups, with several ‘sister’ radio and television stations. The Vision Group, which owns *Bukedde* and *New Vision*, has six radio and three television stations, each targeting different geographic regions across Uganda. As Bompani and Brown (2015) note of the Ugandan media landscape, ‘[a]rticles and news stories from across print media are used as the basis for radio and TV discussion’ (112). Thus, the structure of the media landscape in Uganda ensures that news items are shared across different media platforms. Third, the absence of social media might also be questioned, yet internet usage in Uganda is relatively low, despite a rapid rise in recent years. According to the World Bank, 0.1% of the population had internet access in 2000, a figure which rose to 1.7% in 2005, 12.5% in 2010, and 17.8% in 2015. The latest data – for 2016 – estimates 21.8% of the population have access to the internet.⁵⁷ I therefore decided to focus exclusively on print media and consequently excluded social media from consideration.

The third exclusion criterion concerned language. I included only English-language publications in my data corpus. I do not speak any of the other languages commonly spoken across Uganda, including

⁵⁷ World Bank, Individuals using the Internet (% of population). Available from: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.NET.USER.ZS?locations=UG> [last accessed 7 March 2019].

Luganda, the predominant language of the central Uganda region, where Kampala is located. English is not native to Uganda, but was spread by a combination of Christian missionaries and colonial administrators throughout the *makabila* – or tribes – which ‘resided in the area that was mapped out and baptized “Uganda” by the stroke of the imperialist pen’ (Tamale, 1999: 4). Yet it was retained as the official language upon independence on 9 October 1962 and is, consequently, the language of the government, civil service, education and media. There are a number of so-called ‘vernacular’ news outlets, such as *Bukedde*, which publishes in Luganda. While the English-language press have commanded the highest circulation figures, *Bukedde* overtook the highest selling newspaper – *New Vision* – for the first time in 2017.⁵⁸ Excluding the highest selling newspaper might appear to present a problem. However, before 2017, *Bukedde*’s circulation lagged behind both *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor*, and the horizontal integration of the Ugandan media landscape means that news items and editorial stances are likely to be shared – or at the very least, not wildly divergent - between *Bukedde* and its sister publication *New Vision*.

The fourth exclusion criterion concerned frequency of publication. I focused initially on daily publications in an attempt to cut the data corpus down to a manageable size. Importantly, it also enabled more subtle analysis of the build-up to particularly important stories and their aftermath in the days that followed. There was therefore a higher likelihood of generating rich data by examining several back-to-back daily editions, rather than weekly or tri-weekly, where subtle changes in newsworthiness or presentation of a news item might be lost. This meant that the independent, tri-weekly *Observer* and the weekly *East African* – amongst others - were excluded from analysis.

4.6.1.3. The newspapers

After applying the exclusion criteria, I was left with the following publications: *New Vision* (publishing from 1986 to present); *The Monitor* (publishing from 1992 to present); and *Red Pepper* (publishing from 2002 to present).⁵⁹ The profiles of each newspaper is discussed below.

4.6.1.4. New Vision

Established in 1986 by the Ugandan government, *New Vision* is Uganda’s oldest English language newspaper. It has the largest circulation of the English titles, averaging between 26,000 and 29,000

⁵⁸ See, ‘Bukedde is still Uganda’s biggest-circulating newspaper’, Uganda Business News, 10 August 2017. Available from: <https://ugbusiness.com/4168/bukedde-is-still-ugandas-biggest-circulating-newspaper/> [last accessed 7 March 2019].

⁵⁹ The limitations of the research – including the different publication dates of the newspapers, that only one newspaper captured the immediate post-1986 period, and the seemingly low circulation figures – are discussed at the end of the chapter.

copies from the first quarter of 2016 to the second quarter of 2017.⁶⁰ It describes itself as having ‘strong emphasis on enhanced reader value’, with ‘added value features’ including ‘Mega Deals, Homes, Education, Jobs, Tenders, Her Vision, Health & Beauty, Harvest Money, Mwalimu, Business Vision and Entertainment’.⁶¹ It is owned by the New Vision Group, which describes itself as a ‘multimedia business housing newspapers, magazines, internet publishing, televisions, radios, commercial printing, advertising and distribution services’. Its website describes the New Vision Group as dominating the newspaper market in Uganda, thanks to its ten publications, which include New Vision, along with its Saturday and Sunday editions,⁶² its national Luganda-language publication, *Bukedde*, the weekly *Kampala Sun*, as well as three weekly regional papers: *Orumbi*, published in Runyakore/Rukiga; *Rupiny*, published in Luo; and *Etop*, published in Atetso. The *New Vision* also has a web presence, described as a ‘leading website with approximately over 1.4 million monthly visitors & 6.191 million page views’. Finally, the New Vision Group also broadcasts six radio stations and three free-to-air television channels.

4.6.1.5. The Monitor

Founded as independent publication *The Monitor* in 1992, the paper was relaunched in 2005 as the *Daily Monitor*. It is a subsidiary of Monitor Publications Ltd, which is itself owned by the Nation Media Group – a Kenya-based regional media house with operations in Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda – as well as five individual shareholders.⁶³ *The Monitor* website describes its private ownership as guaranteeing ‘the independence of its editors and journalists, free from the influence of Government, shareholders or any political allegiance’.⁶⁴ It also describes itself as ‘the only Ugandan newspaper that reports on news stories unhindered and conducts serious investigative reporting in the public interest’. Moreover, it adds, ‘[w]e consistently break stories and set the news agenda’, while aiming to have ‘a balance between information, education and entertainment’. Thus, it includes ‘various products throughout the week’, including sections on healthy living, education, finance, real estate, jobs, and women. Between the first quarter of 2016 and the second quarter of 2017, *The Monitor’s*

⁶⁰ Bukedde is still Uganda’s biggest-circulating newspaper, Uganda Business News, 10 August 2017, available: <http://ugbusiness.com/4168/bukedde-is-still-ugandas-biggest-circulating-newspaper> [last accessed 21 February 2018]

⁶¹ See Vision Group website, available: <https://visiongroup.co.ug> [last accessed 21 February 2018]

⁶² For purposes of clarity, I use the name *New Vision* to describe the daily, Saturday and Sunday editions. I also do the same for *The Monitor* and *Red Pepper*.

⁶³ See Nation Media Group website, available: <http://www.nationmedia.com> [last accessed 21 February 2018]

⁶⁴ See ‘About Us’, Daily Monitor/Monitor Publications Ltd website, available: <http://www.monitor.co.ug/meta/about-us/691198-691168-k3kvcr/index.html> [last accessed 21 February 2018]

circulation figures averaged between 17,000 and 20,000.⁶⁵ Monitor Publications Ltd's portfolio of publications include the *Daily Monitor*, *Saturday Monitor*, *Sunday Monitor*, as well *Ennyanda*, a Luganda-language weekly sports-focused paper. Like *New Vision*, *The Monitor* has a web presence, which began in 1994, and according to *The Monitor* website, it was 'one of the first newspaper websites on the African continent' and is 'the most visited website in the country'. Its web edition 'reflects the content in the print edition but also provides updates throughout the day'. Finally, Monitor Publishing Ltd also broadcasts two radio stations, and the Nation Media Group broadcasts NTV Uganda, a television news network, and publishes a region-wide weekly English-language periodical, *The East African*.

4.6.1.6. Red Pepper

The Pepper Publications Ltd is a private media company which publishes the *Red Pepper* tabloid, first circulated in Kampala in June 2001. In addition to the daily *Red Pepper*, it publishes Saturday and Sunday editions, as well its sister publication: *Kamunye*, a Luganda-language weekly tabloid; and *Entasi*, a bi-weekly Runyankole/Rukiga-language newspaper. It also broadcasts a radio station – *Juice FM*. Its mission statement, according to its website, is to 'Contribute Towards National Development by Disseminating Quality Information about the Issues Affecting Our Country'.⁶⁶ It lists its brand values as honesty; courage backed by research and facts; innovation and creativity; ambition; zero tolerance to corruption; and social responsibility. According to Rice (2011), while the tabloid tradition in Uganda dates back to the 1990s, during which time magazines such as *Chic* and *Secrets* published about sex and scandal, it is *Red Pepper* which revolutionised the tabloid in Uganda. Modelling itself on the British tabloid *The Sun*, *Red Pepper* 'left its models' tops on—just—but otherwise covered similar themes: political gossip, sex scandals, intelligence, and soccer' (Rice, 2011). Its journalists and subeditors 'began coining words that soon became street slang': a penis, for example, 'became a "whopper"' (Rice, 2011).

4.6.1.7. Collecting the data

Data collection from all three publications initially presented challenges. There were no hard copy or microfilm archives of the publications anywhere in the United Kingdom, including the British Library (BL). The BL, instead, held text transcripts of some *The Monitor* news articles from 2011 onwards,

⁶⁵ See, 'Bukedde is still Uganda's biggest-circulating newspaper', Uganda Business News, 10 August 2017. Available from: <https://ugbusiness.com/4168/bukedde-is-still-ugandas-biggest-circulating-newspaper/> [last accessed 7 March 2019]. See, also: 'Newspapers ABC Q3 2018: First decline for total newspaper category', BizCommunity, 8 November 2018. Available from: <https://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/90/183866.html> [last accessed 7 March 2019].

⁶⁶ See 'About Us', Red Pepper/Pepper Publications Ltd website, available: <https://redpepper.co.ug/about-us/> [last accessed 21 February 2018]

without the original layout, design or photographs, and had no holdings for either *New Vision* or *Red Pepper*. I contacted all three publications to ascertain whether they had online holdings of past editions of their newspapers; *The Monitor* was the sole publication which provided such a facility, but their PDF copies of their newspapers only went back as far as 2015. I did not hear back from either *New Vision* or *Red Pepper*, and follow-up emails did not receive a response.

I then turned to AllAfrica.com, a paid-access African news database and search engine, which aggregates, produces and distributes ‘news and information from over 140 African news organizations and our own reporters to an African and global public’.⁶⁷ It is the ‘only independent, comprehensive pan-African news source, with unrivalled reach and reputation’, and operates from Cape Town, Dakar, Abuja, Monrovia, Nairobi and Washington DC. It held extensive archives stretching back to 1998 for both *New Vision* and *The Monitor*, encompassing news articles, editorials, op-eds/columns and interviews. However, it only held transcripts of news items, without photographs or the original layout, and had no holdings for *Red Pepper*.

I suspected that, given *Red Pepper*’s notoriety over its sex-and-violence output, it would be impossible to acquire either hard copies or microfilm. Hence, I began searching online media reports and blog posts about *Red Pepper*’s coverage of homosexuality, and consequently began collecting scanned front pages and articles. While there was only a small number of data items sourced, the data was extremely rich and merited analysis. In order to supplement the sparse – but rich – data, I expanded the search beyond *Red Pepper* to encompass scanned material from another tabloids. Thus, I also included *Rolling Stone*, the now-defunct weekly tabloid which, as I noted in Chapter 1, achieved international notoriety when it ran a front page calling for Uganda’s ‘top homos’ to be hanged. There were several scanned copies of different front pages and articles available online, possibly as a result of its infamy and international interest. The data was sufficiently rich and thematically similar with the data sourced from *Red Pepper* that I felt it merited opening up the initial exclusion criteria and including the *Rolling Stone* data.

While the transcripts of the data items sourced from AllAfrica.com provided valuable insights into the problematisation of sexual minorities in Uganda, revealing the knowledges and authorities involved, analysis was stymied by its transcript-like nature. I decided it was necessary, if possible, to examine either hard copies or microfilms of the newspapers in question. I used WorldCat, ‘the world’s largest network of library content and services’,⁶⁸ to see which libraries outside of Uganda – if any – had

⁶⁷ AllAfrica.com, ‘Who We Are’, available from: <http://allafrica.com/misc/info/about/> [last accessed 10 February 2018]

⁶⁸ WorldCat, ‘What Is Worldcat?’, available from: <http://www.worldcat.org/whatis/default.jsp> [last accessed 10 February 2018]

holdings of either newspaper. The closest holdings for both *New Vision* and *The Monitor* were in the United States: the US Library of Congress; Stanford University in California; the University of Florida; the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago; and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, in Harlem, New York. It became evident that the only institution which held complete records for *New Vision*, stretching back to 1986 was the Schomburg Center. Thus, I spent one month in New York from 15 March to 15 April 2018, supplementing the data I had already collected and coded (see below) from AllAfrica.com and my internet searches.

4.6.2. Data analysis

In choosing a method of data analysis, I considered some of the commonly employed methods in existing scholarship on news. Content analysis is one such widely adopted method, used by several of the contributors to Cohen and Young's *The Manufacture of News* (1973) and the Glasgow University Media Group (1976; 1980; 1982). Yet content analysis is a polyvalent term and can be used to describe a number of different approaches. One approach is essentially 'a counting exercise' (Williams, 2003: 158), in which words or broader conceptual categories are established and then quantitatively assessed to determine their presence or absence in the data set. Claims can therefore be made as to the over or under-representation of a conceptual category in the context of the news: mugging (Hall et al., 1978); women (Rakow and Kranich, 1991); or homosexuality (Pearce, 1973). A number of critical approaches to the sociology of news compare crime reporting against official statistics and conclude that crime – particularly violent crime – is over-represented (Chermak, 1995; Cohen, 1975; Katz, 1987; Klite et al., 1997).

The issue of representation also underpins a second kind of content analysis, albeit one which is more qualitative than quantitative. Various studies on moral panics (Cohen, 1972; Thompson, 2005; Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 2010) fall broadly into this category, examining the media's role in the creation and dissemination of 'folk devils' – a person or group who is 'defined as a threat to societal values' and whose 'nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media' (Cohen, 2002: 1). Hall et al's study on mugging (1978), for example, examined not only the quantitative disparity between the reporting of crime and official statistics (and the difficulty of compiling statistics on a crime which appeared to be indeterminate), but the nature of the muggers themselves: young, working class men from British Afro-Caribbean communities.

A third kind of content analysis is derived from semiotics (De Saussure, 1916); a method of analysing sign systems. Semioticians aim to uncover 'the systems which underlie the ability of signs like words, images, items of clothing, food, cars...to carry certain meanings in society' (Bignell, 2002: 9-10). These signs acquire meaning through their organisation into codes, with language being a principal code.

Applied to the study of media and popular culture by Barthes (1972), semiotic analysis revealed ‘the power of coding in areas such a fashion, architecture, cuisine and sport’ (Fowler, 1991: 3). Barthes used his analysis to expose what he called ‘myth’ – coded ideological content which resided at the connotative level of a sign. By looking at this second order of signification, Barthes revealed that myth worked to naturalise bourgeois values, stunting critique or alternative viewpoints. Hence, media scholars have adopted his method in exposing the ideological content of television (Fiske and Hartley, 1978), US news reporting (Campbell, 1995), or the British news media in general (Hartley, 1982).

I have instead chosen to engage in thematic analysis, one of the most common approaches in the social sciences (Roulston, 2001: 280). This was done primarily for two reasons. First, many of the aforementioned approaches were incongruous with the methodological orientation and theoretical framework of this project. This is particularly the case for any approach which attempted to demonstrate a disparity between appearances (in the media) and reality (outside of the media), or which attempted to ‘expose’ hidden, ideological content. My methodological approach does not presuppose ‘a dichotomy between the surface and the depths’ or ‘between “appearances” and “reality” through the media (Valverde, 2003: 12). Nor does it engage in a hermeneutical reading of the data, in which the hidden truth can be revealed through deep interpretation. Rather than attempting to discern the ‘Truth’ lying beneath or behind what people say, it sticks to the surface of the data. Truth or ‘real’ meaning, in other words, does not hide in the depths of the data, awaiting discovery and interpretation. Second, and related to the first, was that thematic analysis is a highly flexible method, which could be paired with my methodological perspective and which enabled me to examine different kinds of data in the same way. Hence, regardless of whether I was examining text-based newspaper articles or photographs of protests, I was able to generate themes consistently through the governmentality lens I adopted.

4.6.2.1. Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is ‘a data reduction and analysis strategy by which qualitative data are segmented, categorized, summarized, and reconstructed in a way that captures important concepts within the data set’ (Ayres, 2008: 867). As it is a highly flexible method that can be used by scholars with diverse methodological orientations, what counts as ‘important’ will differ from project to project. Simply indicating that one intends to use thematic analysis does not, therefore, provide much detail about how one will analyse the data.

Braun and Clarke (2006) suggested that thematic analysis can be approached inductively or deductively. With an inductive approach, the themes would ‘not be driven by the researcher’s theoretical interest in the area or topic’; it is an approach whereby data is coded ‘without trying to fit it into ... the researcher’s analytic preconceptions’ (83). A deductive approach, however, ‘would be

driven by the researcher's theoretical or analytical interest in the area', would tend to provide a 'less rich' description of the overall data, and would focus instead on providing 'detailed analysis of some aspect of the data' (84). Additionally, the choice of an inductive or deductive/theoretical approach has consequences for coding. A researcher can code for 'a quite specific research question (which maps on to the more theoretical approach)' or a research question 'can evolve through the coding process (which maps onto the inductive approach)' (84).

I adopted a theoretically-informed, deductive approach to thematic analysis. This means as I coded the data, I did so with my methodological orientation, theoretical framework and research question in mind. This perspective then informed what I regarded as important within the data. This is not the same thing as having themes 'emerge' from the data, as some qualitative researchers put it. For Ely *et al*, the term 'emerge' can be 'misinterpreted to mean that themes "reside" in the data, and if we just look hard enough they will "emerge" like Venus on the half shell' (Ely et al., 1997: 205). A researcher will always approach the data from a particular epistemological and theoretical perspective, which will inform what they see in the data as significant or important.

The coding was divided into four stages, although analysis was far from a linear process. Often different stages were being conducted simultaneously and consequently there was a back and forth movement between different steps of the process. The description of the methodological process is therefore somewhat idealised and overly 'neat', whereas the reality is considerably more 'messy' and difficult to pin to down (Cowan et al., 2018). The following four-stage process is therefore a useful general heuristic to the process that unfolded but does not represent a chronological narrative of the process.

4.6.2.2. Stage one – Media data collection and informal analysis

The process of data analysis began before I had even collected any tangible data. My theoretical perspective was developed from early on in my PhD, when I began to engage with Foucault and his interlocutors. Around this time, I was interning at the HDT in London and met Ugandan activists a number of times. I had casual conversations with them, I sat in on meetings with parliamentarians and members of the House of Lords, in which the activists discussed issues facing Uganda's LGBTI communities, and I read and watched news reports, interviews and films on the topic. This carried on through to my scoping visit to Kampala, where I was immersed in potential data, from reading daily newspapers, through to conversations and lunches with Ugandan activists. Throughout this process, I input documentary data into NVivo as I came across it. Television interviews available on YouTube were transcribed and stored, along with relevant extracts of documentary films, and scanned copies of front pages and articles from Ugandan newspapers. Reports, websites and news articles were also

stored, either by inserting the PDF directly or by using the NCapture tool. I also scanned and stored publicity materials. Ideas formed in my head, based on what I was seeing and hearing.

Data collection began in November 2015 and concluded with my return from the Schomburg Center in Harlem, on 15 April 2018. My final data set encompassed 1689 data items.

4.6.2.3. Stage two – Coding the data

During this stage, I familiarised myself with the data. I read through it several times, actively searching for potential issues in light of my methodological orientation, theoretical framework, research questions, and, later on in the process, the informal knowledge generated from my time in Kampala. I was approaching the data with a much narrower and more specific purpose than I would have done had I engaged in inductive thematic analysis, where the research questions and theory would have emerged through the course of data collection and analysis.

There was a qualitative difference between the ‘broadsheet’ data and the tabloid data, in terms of format, quantity and the manner in which it had been sourced. I collected the broadsheet data from AllAfrica.com and the Schomburg Center in New York, where I examined both microfilm and physical copies of *New Vision* and *The Monitor*. I collected the tabloid data through internet-based searches. There was therefore significantly more broadsheet data than tabloid data: I analysed nearly 30 years of front pages, news articles, letters to the editor, editorials, advertisements, interviews, and features, stretching from 1986 to the present day. The broadsheet data items totalled over 1664 by the end of data collection. The tabloid data covered the period from 2006 to 2014 and totalled 25 data items. The earliest tabloid data item was dated 8 August 2006, whereas the latest was dated 25 February 2014, although most of the data emerged between 2010 and 2014. The text-heavy nature of the broadsheet data could also be contrasted with the more visually striking, graphic-based format of the small number of tabloid data items.⁶⁹

Given the disparity between the two sets of data, I took the decision to code the broadsheet data in Nvivo and the tabloid data by hand, using print-outs and highlighter pens. ‘Codes’, according to Braun and Clarke, ‘identify a feature of the data...that appears interesting to the analyst’ (2006: 88). By dividing the coding this way, I was able to code the tabloid data relatively quickly and compare the codes with those generated in relation to the broadsheet data. I set about creating general codes of striking features of the texts, particularly if I noticed patterns or recurrences. I attempted to code as

⁶⁹ Differences in print runs and the limited quantity of tabloid data are limitations of the research are dealt with at the end of this chapter.

many interesting or useful aspects of the data, in case seemingly unimportant codes might later on become more significant as data analysis progressed.

4.6.2.4. Stage three – Generating broad themes

While the coding was nearing completion, I began to consider the issue of themes, which were built up during the process of coding data (Firman, 2008: 869). For Patton (2002: 453), there is ‘no hard-and-fast distinction’ between a pattern and a theme. According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 82), a ‘theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research questions, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set’.

When faced with a number of codes, I was able to start drawing links between them. This then generated initial themes. For example, the codes of ‘anus’ and ‘faeces’ were initially organised into a theme called ‘the body’, which was renamed ‘body horror’, before finally being renamed ‘disgust’. ‘Rights talk’ and ‘protest’ were grouped under a theme called resistance. Some of the codes were shared across different themes: for example, ‘children’ was a polyvalent code which underpinned a number of the themes. Not all the codes that were generated ended up being used or useful, but I retained them throughout the process of data analysis on the chance they may become significant as I analysed the data more thoroughly.

4.6.2.5. Stage four – Refining the themes

By this stage I had already written exploratory pieces of work, in light of my theoretical framework, research questions and the themes identified. ‘For each individual theme’, suggest Braun and Clarke (2006), ‘you need to conduct and write a detailed analysis’ (92). This entails ‘identifying the “story” that each theme tells’, as well as how such a story ‘fits into the broader overall “story” that you are telling about your data, in relation to the research question or questions’ (92). Through the data analysis, I produced three overarching themes which formed the basis of the substantive chapters which told the ‘story’ – that is, spoke to the overarching research questions of this thesis. The three broad themes focused upon problematisation of homosexuality (Chapter 5); disgust towards homosexuality (Chapter 6); and resistance by LGBTIs (Chapter 7). All of these were examples of how the newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the AHA. The broad theme of each chapter was constituted by the sub-themes generated through the thematic analysis. For example, the chapter on disgust was generated through the identification of multiple stories linking homosexuality with faeces, or paedophilia, or disease and bodily injury, which became significant when read through a governmentality lens.

4.7. Limitations of the research

There are inevitable limitations to any research project and this thesis is no exception. The first is that its claims do not apply to Uganda as a whole. This is because there is a significant divide between the urban and the rural populations of Uganda, with the majority of the national population residing outside of urban centres such as Kampala and Mbarara. In 2017, the urban population stood at 23%,⁷⁰ meaning that over 75% of the 42.8 million population of Uganda lived rurally.⁷¹ The largest city, Kampala, had a population of 1.5 million in 2014. This is significant not only because of difficulties surrounding distribution of newspapers in remote, rural areas, but because of marked differences in adult literacy rates between urban and rural populations. Nationally, adult literacy rates remain relatively low: they rose from 56.1% in 1992 to 70.1% in 2012.⁷² A 2014 report from the Ugandan Bureau of Statistics, the most recent report of its kind, demonstrated that the literacy rate rose to 86% of urban residents and dropped to 68% for rural residents (UBS, 2017: 56). There are additional difficulties of paper access and distribution in rural areas, as compared to urban regions. The claims advanced by this thesis must therefore be attenuated in light of the fact that a proportion of population are not literate and the difficulty in accessing newspapers in more rural areas.

The second and third limitation concerns the limited quantity of tabloid data and the different publication dates of the broadsheet and tabloid material under analysis. The difficulties in sourcing archives of tabloid publications such as *Red Pepper* meant that I turned to internet searches and relied upon the data others considered worthy of uploading to the internet. For some, particularly those of a positivistic methodological orientation, this might suggest the dataset is somehow ‘distorted’ or provides a ‘false sample’. The data items are potentially outliers rather than indicative of the kind of reporting the tabloids generally engaged. The same critique could be levelled towards the differing print runs of the newspapers captured through the data, with *New Vision* the sole publication to cover 1986 up to 1997, the data at which the data archive for *The Monitor* began. This was an unavoidable limitation, as I was only able to collect and analyse the data I had access to. However, the seriousness of the limitation is mitigated as this thesis adopted a purposive, rather than probability sampling strategy. The inability to source tabloid data to the same extent as the broadsheet data and the differences regarding print runs between the different papers are certainly limitations, but I do not believe they affect the overall theoretical validity of the claims advanced.

⁷⁰ World Bank, Urban population for Uganda (% of total). Available from: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS?locations=UG> [last accessed 7 March 2019]

⁷¹ World Bank, Population for Uganda (total). Available from: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=UG> [last accessed 7 March 2019].

⁷² World Bank, Literacy rate for Uganda, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above). Available from: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS?locations=UG> [last accessed 7 March 2019].

The fourth limitation relates to the data collected from the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York City. While I was able to collect the missing data from 1986 to 1998, which was unavailable on AllAfrica, I also sought to collect as much of the already coded transcript data as possible, in order to examine it in context, with its original placement, layout and formatting. Given resource constraints, my time in New York to collect this data was limited to one month. As such, once I collected the essential data covering 1986 to 1998, I immediately began cross-referencing the transcript data from my coded dataset in NVivo with the physical newspapers, in descending order of importance. Although I was able to collect contextualised copies of much of the transcript data to which I referred in the thesis, there were some data items which I was unable to collect given the time constraints. Hence, I employ 'n.p' to indicate 'no page number' when referring to those data items which I was unable to source in their context with the original layout. Given my strategy of prioritising the most important data items, however, the overall impact of this on the thesis was minimised.

The fifth limitation concerns the seemingly low circulation figures. While even the highest circulating newspaper – historically *New Vision*, but as of 2017, *Bukedde* - appears to have low circulation figures, actual *readership* figures are estimated to be significantly higher in Uganda. Newspapers in Uganda are 'frequently shared and circulated for several days among many people', to the extent that 'the number of readers vastly outnumbers the actual sales figures of newspapers' (Bompani and Brown, 2015: 112). For example, it is estimated that readership figures for the *The Monitor* are ten times higher than the circulation figures would indicate (Bompani and Brown, 2015).

Sixth and finally, there are broader temporal and linguistic limitations, touched upon in the general exclusion criteria. By starting the analysis from 1986, I omitted journalistic material from the colonial and immediate post-colonial era, and by excluding non-English publications, I omitted *Bukedde*, the main Luganda-language daily newspaper. These limitations were unavoidable, given time and resource constraints on the production of this thesis, particularly in light of the additional constraints which emerged as a result of the failure of my original plans. Yet this limitation also generates potential areas for future research on this topic: with more time and resources, the timeframe of the data corpus could be expanded and the scattered print and microfilm holdings of the main newspapers in any given era, such as the *Uganda Herald* (1912 to 1954), *Uganda Argus* (1959 to 1971), *Voice of Uganda* (1971 to 1979), and *Ugandan Times* (1979 to 1986) could be analysed.

4.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the methodological orientation of the project, drawing on Foucault's writings on epistemology and ontology, as well as considering my own positionality and its connections to questions of truth and knowledge. I have set out the original plans for this thesis and

the various changes that were made in light of significant issues which arose. I have written reflexively about the problems, solutions and tensions which were generated as a consequence of the shift towards a media-based, socio-legal, governmentality thesis. I have outlined the processes of data collection and justified my choice of thematic analysis for the dataset, as well as providing a narrative of the process of data analysis. Finally, I have reflected on the limitations of the study.

In the following chapter, I begin to analyse the dataset, tracing the first manner in which Uganda's newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities, leading up to the AHA: the construction of 'homosexuality' as a multi-headed and increasingly pressing problem.

Chapter 5. Problematizing homosexuality

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters, I outlined Foucault's tools and the methodological framework in which I seek to employ them. In this chapter, I begin to put those tools to use by exploring the first way in which Uganda's newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the AHA: through constructing homosexuality as a problem over an almost 30-year period. In so doing, I address the second sub-research question of this thesis, which asks: 'How have Ugandan newspapers constituted homosexuality as a problem in need of a solution?'

As I indicated in Chapter 1, the AHB sought to annihilate the gay and lesbian population of Uganda, calling for the death penalty for serial offenders of the newly created offence of homosexuality (AHB: 2009, s3). According to its preamble, same-sex attraction was 'not an innate and immutable characteristic' and the provisions of the Bill would strengthen 'the nation's capacity to deal with internal and external threats to the traditional heterosexual family' (AHB: 2009, paras. 3 and 4). It went on to describe the Bill as necessary to protect 'the cherished culture of the people of Uganda', as well as to protect their 'legal, religious and traditional family values' from the machinations of 'sexual rights activists', who sought to 'impose their values' on the country (AHB: 2009, para. 4).

While the AHA amended the death penalty to life imprisonment, it retained much of the expansive web of criminalisation proposed by the Bill, including 'aiding and abetting homosexuality' (Section 7), 'conspiracy to engage in homosexuality' (Section 8), and 'promotion of homosexuality' (Section 13). Evidently, the legislation was more than an attempt to punish same-sex intercourse; it sought to neutralise what was seen as a dangerous internal contaminant and external threat, the continued existence of which imperilled Uganda. In other words, the AHB/AHA appeared to be the outcome of a *biopolitically racist* logic, which took homosexuality as its target.

Yet if a 'tool appears to "fit" a particular problem, this is because they have been made so they fit each other' (Miller and Rose, 2008: 15). The line separating problem and solution is not impermeable, as objects are problematised in such a way that invites particular kinds of solutions. When applied to the AHB/AHA, such an insight raises the question: if the legislation emerged as a solution to the problem of homosexuality, then what kind of problem was homosexuality said to pose? Hence, this chapter examines the process of problematisation of homosexuality through the newspaper.

This chapter is structured as follows. First, I examine briefly the relationship between problematisations and newspapers, highlighting that the form, as well as the content of the newspaper can contribute to the constitution of problems, making them appear more or less pressing. Second, I trace the cumulative problematisation of homosexuality in the newspapers, paying attention to the appearance of different modalities of power/knowledge and of the relative importance afforded to the problems through their prominence. Finally, I conclude by reflecting upon the findings of this chapter, as well as some of the insights of existing scholarship on the AHB/AHA, touched upon in Chapter 1.

The originality and significance of this chapter is two-fold: first, in its plugging a major gap in the literature because 'little is known about the press coverage of homosexuality before 1997' in Uganda (Namusoga, 2016: 37); and, second, in its application of a governmentality framework and the conceptual lens of problematisation to the object of homosexuality through Ugandan news.

5.2. Problematisation and the newspaper form

While daily newspapers are 'clearly not the only source' for analysing problematisations (Greenberg and Hier, 2001: 564), they provide a useful insight into the historical emergence of problems. On the one hand, this is because they circulate knowledges from diverse institutional contexts (Nolan, 2003). Newspapers examine and report on disparate fields, such as politics, economics, science, epidemiology, psychiatry, religion, education, and so on, with such knowledges contained in 'factual' news items or in more explicitly 'opinion'-led items, such as editorials, columns or letters to the editor from members of the public. On the other hand, this is because of the newspaper form itself. Appreciating the specific manner in which newspapers are engaged in problematisation requires more than examining the kinds of knowledges which circulate through its pages. Newspapers can 'amplify' particular problems as more prominent, pressing and urgent than others. This is not the same claim that is sometimes advanced in media and crime scholarship that the news engages in 'deviance amplification' through stereotypical qualitative or distorted quantitative representations of a phenomenon (Cohen, 1972; Young, 1973; Hall et al., 1978; Osborne and Kidd-Hewitt, 1995). Rather, it means that by virtue of their presentation, some 'problems' can be made to appear more important and pressing than others *within the same edition of a newspaper*.

Where a story is placed can be indicative of the relative importance it is afforded. Front pages, for example, are used to 'attract the reader to the paper' (Reah, 2002: 13), but they are also where newspapers 'report the major stories of the day' (Utt and Pasternack, 1984: 879). This can be contrasted with a story's appearance in a supplement, as supplements are where newspapers tend to engage in 'niche reader appeal' (Brett and Holmes, 2008: 190). This is not to suggest that stories will

only appear in one or the other: a major news story on the front page may also incite significant commentary and related stories in other sections of the newspaper, such as editorials, features, supplements or letters to the editor. Aside from its positioning in the newspaper, the way a story is presented is may also be generally indicative of its relative importance within the newspaper: headlines, whether on the front page or elsewhere in the newspaper, are used as ‘a signpost for readers, telling them what the most important stories are; those with the bigger headline size’ (Rafferty, 2008: 213).

In short, examining how newspapers specifically helped to construct homosexuality as a problem requires examining not just *what* was said about homosexuality, by *whom*, and according to *which* knowledges, but *where* it appeared in the newspaper and *how* it was presented.

5.3. Problematising homosexuality: 1986 to 2014

There were nine discernible themes in the problematisation of homosexuality. These should not to be seen as discrete or self-contained episodes, in which homosexuality was solely problematised on the basis of – for example – biopolitical medical knowledges, before solely being problematised on the basis of another set of knowledges. Instead the problematisation was generally *cumulative*, with each successive shift absorbing, building upon and combining, to varying degrees, the problematisations that had already emerged. Nor should the problem of homosexuality be seen as uniformly urgent throughout. Just as the repertoire of knowledges through which homosexuality was problematised grew with each successive shift, so too, did the prominence and importance of the problem – as reflected in its form and placement in the newspapers.

5.3.1. Silence (1986-1987)

The first theme was that of silence. From the beginning of the dataset in April 1986 up to mid-February 1987, there was not a single mention of homosexuality or allusions to same-sex genital relations. This was perhaps unsurprising, given that, as I indicated in Chapter 3, Uganda had emerged from a highly destructive five year civil war, after nearly a decade of authoritarian rule by Amin (Ofcansky, 1996; Brett, 1994). Moreover, the newly installed NRM government, led by President Museveni, was enduring violent rebel activity in parts of the country (Van Acker, 2004). In this period, agents appeared in the newspaper, primarily problematising the record of the previous administrations,⁷³ the

⁷³ A real test of maturity, *New Vision*, 21 June 1986, p4; We should invest more in our youth, *New Vision*, 1 July 1986, p4.

absence of the rule of law,⁷⁴ the security situation,⁷⁵ weak infrastructure,⁷⁶ the economy,⁷⁷ and the lack of a functioning statistical bureaucracy.⁷⁸

However, the silence regarding homosexuality was entirely consistent with Foucault's insights on the emergence of problematisations. For Foucault, problematisations involved raising 'discussion and debate', inciting 'new reactions' and inducing 'a crisis in the previously silent behaviour, habits, practices, and institutions' (Foucault, 2001a: 74). Silence regarding an object – from the perspective of problematisation – meant that it was 'an unproblematic field of experience, or a set of practices, which were accepted without question, which were familiar' (Foucault, 2001a: 74). Silence in the early data over homosexuality did not mean same-sex intercourse and relationships were necessarily tolerated or accepted. After all, same-sex intercourse had long been criminalised in Uganda through the colonial-era Penal Code, as I indicated in Chapter 1. What silence through the newspaper meant was that homosexuality had a 'familiar' nature, that there were no new irritations or anxieties over the issue, that it was not something about which debate was occurring, and that it consequently lay beneath the threshold of perception. The process of problematisation through the newspaper, in short, had not yet begun.

5.3.2. Absence (from 1987)

When homosexuality finally entered into the field reflection and the history of thought in the newspaper, it was through a lens of morbidity, mortality forecasts and the citing of vast statistical data relating to health. Homosexuality, in other words, had biopolitical beginnings (Foucault, 2004; 1990b). This was not (yet) because it was conceived as an internal threat to Ugandan society, thereby activating the biopolitical racist tendencies of a governmental regime (Kelly, 2004; Fiaccadori, 2015; Dean, 2002). Homosexuality was not, at this stage, even a problem to be managed *in Uganda* at all. Hence, the second theme was that of absence.

Homosexuality entered into the frame slowly and solely against the backdrop of one of the primary problematisations of the era, which had incited a 'discursive explosion' (Foucault, 1990b): the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which – as was repeatedly emphasised in the newspaper – had particularly devastated Uganda (Kiweewa, 2008).

⁷⁴ Law is a vital tool, *New Vision*, 30 April 1986, p5.

⁷⁵ Detentions have helped security, *New Vision*, 26 January 1987, p2.

⁷⁶ Luwero, transport still a problem, roads impassable, *New Vision*, 24 June 1986, p3.

⁷⁷ Foreign investors welcome – Museveni, *New Vision*, 18 June 1986, p1; Museveni urges co-ops to fight backwardness, *New Vision*, 8 July 1986, p12; NRA to remove backwardness, *New Vision*, 1 August 1986, p3.

⁷⁸ Statistics are vital for growth, *New Vision*, 3 July 1987, p4; Help the government to plan better, National Manpower Survey in Uganda, *New Vision*, 14 July 1987, p10.

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 1 - RC [Resistance Councils] must fight AIDS, New Vision, 2 December 1988

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 2 - 790,522 Ugandans are HIV positive, New Vision, 1 December 1989

From the earliest of the data, HIV/AIDS was established as a problem with which many agents were concerned, both within Uganda and beyond.⁷⁹ Moreover, the newspaper framed the problem as particularly urgent, using front pages⁸⁰ and extensive features,⁸¹ as well as home news items,⁸² editorials,⁸³ letters to the editor,⁸⁴ health sections,⁸⁵ and advice features on the subject.⁸⁶ It was a problem which had seemingly activated the biopolitical imperatives of fostering life, evident through the various articles representing the disease in statistical form. Epidemiologists appeared on front pages, expressing concern at the high 'rates' of infection and calling for government act to affect behavioural change in the population.⁸⁷ Sexual health adverts directed readers to 'Love Carefully', promoting condom-use and sexual fidelity (or 'zero grazing'), publicising the fatal nature of HIV, and discouraging sexual promiscuity.⁸⁸ Editorials called upon readers to exercise self-discipline in matters of sexual conduct as a means of fighting the disease.⁸⁹ Diagnoses and solutions suggested by members of the public appeared through the 'letters to the editor' section, with some calling for 'authorities' to better educate, coach and guide the individual into making 'responsible' and 'informed' choices during the sexual encounter.⁹⁰ Sovereign solutions were also put forward. Politicians appeared in the newspaper, calling for criminal sanctions for 'promiscuity', identified as one of the 'causes' of HIV/AIDS.⁹¹ Letters also proposed authoritarian, sovereign measures, such as compulsory HIV screening and issuing 'non-AIDS' cards to uninfected individuals,⁹² or imposing a 6-year moratorium on sex, by the end of which all HIV-infected individuals would be dead and Ugandan could start

⁷⁹ WHO team advises on AIDS, *New Vision*, 27 February 1987, p1.

⁸⁰ Aids law to be enacted, *New Vision*, 23 November 1988, p1 and p12.

⁸¹ Press overplaying the AIDS scare, *New Vision*, 21 June 1986, p4; AIDS: the Western perspective, *New Vision*, 13 February 1987, pp6-7; Aids menace must be taken seriously, *New Vision*, 28 August 1987, p4; Coming to terms with AIDS, *New Vision*, 18 January 1988, p2; AIDS scourge threatens the world, *New Vision*, 29 February 1988, pp6-7; Counselling AIDS victims useful, *New Vision*, 12 July 1988, pp6-7.

⁸² Zero grazing to avoid AIDS, *New Vision*, 9 September 1986, p8; 2 Varsity students die of Aids, *New Vision*, 26 June 1987, p12; Conference rejects aids tests, *New Vision*, 21 December 1987, p12.

⁸³ Discipline needed to fight AIDS, *New Vision*, 24 November 1988, p4; Origin of AIDS not the issue, *New Vision*, 2 December 1988, p4.

⁸⁴ AIDS is punishment from God, *New Vision*, 30 January 1987, p5; OPINION: Remove TV AIDS fears, *New Vision*, 24 February 1987, p5; OPINION: Don't love carefully, *New Vision*, 8 September 1987, p3; OPINION: Give kids sex education, *New Vision*, 30 October 1987, p5; Doctor gives new year's warning on AIDS, *New Vision*, 1 January 1988, p12; Students warned against AIDS, *New Vision*, 31 March 1988, p3.

⁸⁵ Health groups must help and identify Aids victims, *New Vision*, 9 November 1987, p10; Virus institute prepares warn on AIDS, *New Vision*, 25 January 1988, p45.

⁸⁶ How to avoid AIDS, *New Vision*, 20 October 1989, p10.

⁸⁷ AIDS cases double every six months, *New Vision*, 8 November 1988, pp6-7.

⁸⁸ Zero grazing to avoid AIDS, *New Vision*, 9 September 1986, p8; Minister calls frankness in fight against AIDS, *New Vision*, 18 December 1987, p3.

⁸⁹ Discipline needed to fight AIDS, *New Vision*, 24 November 1988, p4; DA warns on AIDS, *New Vision*, 12 December 1988, p3.

⁹⁰ OPINION: Give kids sex education, *New Vision*, 30 October 1987, p5.

⁹¹ Govt to enact law on promiscuity, *New Vision*, 22 November 1988, p3.

⁹² Demand non-AIDS cards, *New Vision*, 12 June 1988, p5

afresh.⁹³ Hence, HIV/AIDS was produced as a particularly pressing problem, involving myriad agents and affecting the whole of Uganda.

Amidst the endless problematising of HIV/AIDS in the pages of the newspaper, the figure of the homosexual was almost entirely absent. Homosexuality was not blamed for the spread of HIV/AIDS in Uganda, nor were measures proposed to combat the 'problem' of homosexuality on the basis of its connection to the disease. This was particularly notable, given western constructions of HIV at the same time had rendered it a 'gay disease or *Gay Plague*' (Clarke, 2006),⁹⁴ with AIDS frequently held up as 'proof' of the 'dangerous nature of homosexuality' (Seidman, 1992: 160). However, it was against such a backdrop that homosexuality entered into the newspaper, albeit as a secondary component to a handful of features which took the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Uganda as their primary object of analysis.

In a 10 February 1987 double page feature, in which a speech delivered by Uganda's ambassador to the United Nations was reproduced in full, homosexuality made its first fleeting appearance.⁹⁵ A number of in-depth, double-page features had appeared in the newspaper on different aspects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, touching upon its origins, its epidemiology, its links to other diseases, and research into vaccines or cures. The texts were reproduced from sources such as international NGOs, speeches by political figures, and international newswires such as *Reuters*. The 10 February 1987 feature was entitled, 'AIDS VIRUS STARTED IN THE WEST', and saw the ambassador, Wanumi Kibedi, attempting to dispel many of the racist 'myths' surrounding the 'African origins' of HIV/AIDS, including the notion of the hyper-sexual, promiscuous African as originator and facilitator of this global disease.

It explicitly considered homosexuality at two points: first, early on, in Kibedi's explanation of the global emergence of HIV/AIDS and the demographics of those afflicted:

First reports of AIDS cases emanated in the USA in 1981, and it was supposed to be a disease that largely affected homosexuals and intravenous blood [sic] users. Similar cases next surfaced in Europe and then in Africa, where AIDS has recently been reported to be increasing at a fast pace.

Second, and more significantly, Kibedi observed that when HIV/AIDS was first reported in Uganda in 1982, 'some writers rushed into print to explain the supposed homosexual habits of the African communities it affected'. Yet, he noted:

⁹³ Refrain from sex til..., *New Vision*, 18 January 1988, p5.

⁹⁴ Emphasis in original.

⁹⁵ AIDS VIRUS STARTED IN THE WEST, *New Vision*, 10 February 1987, pp5-6.

one thing writers on the subject of AIDS in Africa now seem to agree on is that homosexual activities of any sort are extremely rare in Africa, indeed almost non-existent, and that transmission of AIDS there is essentially by heterosexual contact, with contaminated needles and infected blood transfusions being only subsidiary methods.

The taken-for-granted nature of homosexuality - and a possible explanation for the near-total silence - was that homosexuality was not recognised as existing in Uganda. While the feature established a link between HIV/AIDS and homosexuality in the west, tracing its emergence through particular demographics, the 'problem' of homosexuality was no problem at all for Uganda, even against a backdrop of a HIV/AIDS pandemic.



Figure 3 - AIDS VIRUS STARTED IN THE WEST, New Vision, 10 February 1987

5.3.3. Medicine (from 1989)

The problematisation of homosexuality *in Uganda* began to occur from October 1989 onwards and was initially in relation to biopolitical concerns over sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Hence, the third theme was that of medicine. This shift did not mean that there was a clean 'break' between the denials that homosexuality existed in Uganda and its problematisation through a biopolitical lens.

Even as late as 2002, there were agents – including President Museveni himself - who sometimes denied the existence of homosexuality in Uganda.⁹⁶

Nevertheless, the messy and slow process of conceiving same-sex genital relations as existing within Uganda, and the concomitant production of their existence as a problem, began in 1989. Initially, it occurred within the context of the prison, before being expanded to encompass the school in 1993. This does not mean the *concept* of ‘homosexuality’ only appeared in the newspapers in relation to these two institutions. The foreign news section of *New Vision* carried stories from international news agencies, such as *Reuters*, predominantly in very short news bulletins. Such stories covered Pride parades,⁹⁷ protests,⁹⁸ and legal developments for LGBTIs in places such as the UK,⁹⁹ USA,¹⁰⁰ and the Netherlands.¹⁰¹ Moreover, as will be evident in the following chapter, coverage of national crime news during this period included descriptions of male rape or rape of male children, using language such as ‘homosexuality’ and ‘sodomy’.¹⁰² However, from the perspective of *problematization* – that is, the history of thought - it was through biopolitical concerns over HIV/AIDS in the disciplinary institutions of the prison and the school that homosexuality in Uganda began to emerge as a source of anxiety and reflection.

This shift was signalled in two texts: an 18 October 1989 letter to the editor in *New Vision*; and a 2 November 1993 feature *Straight Talk*, a monthly youth-focussed supplement to *New Vision*. Their form and placement in the newspaper, as well as the lengthy gap between them, was a testament to the relative lack of importance afforded to the incipient problem at this early stage. Homosexuality – that is, consensual same-sex genital relations - was not yet a sufficiently serious problem in and of itself to warrant appearances in front pages, news items, editorials or columns: instead, it was left to members of the public or medical agents in supplements to opine on the issue.

⁹⁶ Uganda has no homosexuals, says Museveni, *The Monitor*, 6 March 2002, [n.p.]

⁹⁷ Gays proclaim rights, *New Vision*, 30 June 1992, p6.

⁹⁸ Gays drop pants, *New Vision*, 18 April 1992, p6; Homosexuals marry, *New Vision*, 29 June 1992, p6; A million march for gay rights, *New Vision*, 23 April 1993, p10; Catholic gays stage prayer vigil, *New Vision*, 10 August 1993, p8.

⁹⁹ Ban on gays lifted, *New Vision*, 2 April 1992, p6.

¹⁰⁰ Gays put Clinton’s presidency to the test, *New Vision*, 2 February 1993, p12.

¹⁰¹ Gays honoured, *New Vision*, 25 June 1993, p10.

¹⁰² Homosexuals abused boy in prison, *New Vision*, 17 August 1989, p1; Homosexual suspect held, *New Vision*, 17 August 1993, p6; ‘Inmates practice sodomy’, *New Vision*, 1 October 1993, p6; Kisenyi ‘sodomite’ charged, *New Vision*, 19 November 1993, p3.

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 4 - Investigate sex abuse in prisons, *New Vision*, 18 October 1989

The first text was a letter entitled 'Investigate sex abuse in prisons', attributed to a Dr Mweyambe.¹⁰³ It described how 'forced homosexual acts' on juvenile detainees in adult prisons were an endemic occurrence (a 'very common practice'). It linked for the first time the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Uganda – hitherto imagined as an entirely heterosexual disease - to the object of homosexuality. It noted that 'homosexuality in prisons is blamed' for an HIV prevalence rate at Kigo Prison of over 50%. Moreover, it was a problem which was entirely ungoverned, with the letter observing that '[t]he general public and the people in authority seem unconcerned' and that 'no action is taken to find out the perpetrators of such acts so as to punish them'. It offered no diagnoses regarding the 'cause' of homosexuality in prisons, nor did it provide concrete solutions beyond investigating such allegations of sex abuse. Crystallising the biopolitical logic, in which life was to be optimised, the letter warned that by failing to intervene upon the problem, society was 'sentencing these young boys to death for their petty crimes'.

Yet its headline - 'Investigate sex abuse in prison' - framed the accompanying the letter as one concerned with sex abuse rather than homosexuality *per se*. Similarly, the letter subordinated the problem of same-sex intercourse, whether coerced or not, to the primary concern of HIV/AIDS. Moreover, the letter appeared alongside others complaining of the existence of schools fees for religious education,¹⁰⁴ responding to complaints of corruption in farming management,¹⁰⁵ and, most prominently, a letter reflecting on what ought to be done with the property confiscated from Ugandan

¹⁰³ Investigate sex abuse in prisons, *New Vision*, 18 October 1989, p5.

¹⁰⁴ Why pay special fee? *New Vision*, 18 October 1989, p5.

¹⁰⁵ Manager serves us well, *New Vision*, 18 October 1989, p5.

Asians, who were expelled by Idi Amin in the 1970s (Fig 4).¹⁰⁶ In short: this was an incipient problematisation and not one presented as particularly pressing.

Approximately nine months after the letter appeared in *New Vision*, the Ugandan government passed the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act 1990. As I indicated in Chapter 1, the changes, which ostensibly aimed to curb the spread of HIV/AIDS, increased the penalties for all sexual offences, including Section 145. While it evidently touched upon same-sex intercourse, homosexuality was not yet the target of government. Indeed, any mention of homosexuality or same-sex intercourse was all but absent in the newspaper coverage of the changes to the law. The Bill was described as a ‘tough’ law which would protect women and girls from rape and/or sexual abuse by men, particularly as such violent encounters were a common means by which HIV/AIDS was being spread.



Figure 5 - Tough law set to protect women, New Vision, 27 March 1990

¹⁰⁶ OPINION: Adopt ‘popular capitalism’, *New Vision*, 18 October 1989, p5.

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 6 - Bill seeks life term for rape, New Vision, 13 June 1990

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 7 - 'Bill to prevent Aids spread among youths', New Vision, 15 June 1990

Thus, even in the context of changes to the law regulating same-sex intercourse, the problem of homosexuality was subordinated to the much more urgent problem of the spread of HIV/AIDS and the rape of women and girls.

Approximately three years later, homosexuality was again problematised through a biopolitical lens in the 2 November 1993 edition of *Straight Talk*, a monthly youth-focussed supplement to *New Vision*.¹⁰⁷ The piece was an interview with Vastha Kabirige, 'Training Officer at AIDS Control Programme' and expert in the field of childhood and adolescent sexual health. Running under the headline, 'BOYS WANT TIPS ON SEX', the text gave no indication from the outset that it referred to homosexuality. The interview was significant as it marked the first time homosexuality was associated with the single-sex boarding school; an association about which many agents repeatedly expressed anxiety later in the data.¹⁰⁸

In the interview, Kabirige described homosexuality as one of several problems facing Ugandan boys, alongside premature sex, the sexual predation of underage boys by older women, and the spread of pornography. Observing that homosexuality was 'becoming rampant in boys schools', she attributed its spread due to the 'influx of kids from outside who have been exposed to such ideas and think it is ok'. Moreover, she suggested eliminating single-sex schools as a possible solution, as some of the boys had told her that 'just looking at girls would satisfy them and they wouldn't like boys' anymore. Aside from the vague allusions to foreignness ('outside'), Kabirige's interview was significant because it conceptualised, for the first time, the possibility of child sexuality as mutable – one of the key claims underpinning the AHB.

Beyond the descriptions of homosexuality and reflections on its causes and solutions, the interview with Kabirige, at first glance, did little to reproduce homosexuality as a *biopolitical* problem. Yet its significance in biopolitical terms lay in its placement within the newspaper and in the agents involved. Kabirige was an AIDS control programme officer appearing in a youth-focussed supplement dedicated to combatting HIV/AIDS. *New Vision* framed the supplement at its launch as 'a lively newspaper to both inform and entertain the youth', and quoted the Minister for Information, who stated: 'There has existed silence on the subject of sex for too long among youth, parents and teachers... The title

¹⁰⁷ 'Boys Want Tips on Sex', *Straight Talk*, p1, *New Vision*, 19 November 1993.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example: Is it gay pride or homo harassment at boys' schools? *The Monitor*, 24 October 1999, p29; Nkoyooyo warns on scholarships, *New Vision*, 12 November 2003, p6; Rising gay numbers in schools worry gvt, *The Monitor*, 6 February 2005, p3; Homosexuality a reality in our schools, *The Monitor*, 14 March 2005, p25; Fight gay acts in schools – Orombi, *The Monitor*, 13 June 2007, [n.p]; Sodomy in boarding schools, *The Monitor*, 21 June 2007, pp1-2, and, Beware of sodomy, *The Monitor*, 6 July 2008, p12; Sodomy in boarding schools, *The Monitor*, 21 June 2008, p1; and, 'Gay activities rife in schools', *New Vision*, 21 August 2008, [n.p].

Straight Talk depicts the idea that it will foster dialogue among all those fighting AIDS and thereby protecting the youth'.¹⁰⁹ The theme of protection from AIDS was similarly present in the subtitle which appeared in every edition - 'SAFEGUARD YOUTH FROM AIDS', or SYFA, an acronym which appeared throughout the every edition. The objects identified in *Straight Talk*, including homosexuality, were problematised not because they were immoral, illegal, deviant, or foreign, but from the biopolitical perspective of combating disease. Both texts produced homosexuality as a biopolitical concern, about which medical or epidemiological agents were reflecting, and which emerged against a backdrop of HIV/AIDS. Moreover, the texts established a link between the problem of homosexuality, its causes and possible solutions, and the paradigmatic disciplinary institutions of the school and the prison. Although there were a small number of later news stories which occasionally reflected upon the problem of homosexuality in prisons – particularly in light of HIV/AIDS incidence¹¹⁰ – it was the school which became a particular focal point of much of the problematisation thereafter.

5.3.4. Culture (from 1994)

A shift occurred in May 1994, when homosexuality was problematised more explicitly through the lens of culture – the fourth theme. That 'homosexuality is unAfrican' is one of the most commonly encountered claims in relation to same-sex intercourse across Uganda and much of Africa today (Aarmo, 1999; Wahab, 2016; Vincent and Howell, 2014). It is perhaps surprising to observe that explicit cultural problematisations of homosexuality only emerged through the newspapers in the mid-1990s. Traces of such a problematisation could be discerned in previous sections, through Kabirige's allusions to 'outside' or the production of western HIV/AIDS as related to homosexuality. In this instance, however, the problematisation went beyond such descriptions of 'reality' and entered explicitly into the domain of normativity, in which evaluative cultural judgments about the unacceptability of homosexuality were outlined, thereby producing it as a cultural problem for Uganda.

However, cultural knowledges are not the typical concern of Foucauldian scholarship, which tend to focus on what Valverde (2003) calls "high-status" knowledges – psychiatry, psychology, clinical medicine, statistics, epidemiology' (2-3). As Valverde pointed out, however, 'common knowledges' – which are non-'expert', non-veridical, non-'scientific' – are just as implicated in regimes of governmentality as the typical concerns of Foucauldian scholarship. Indeed, one example drawn from an African context was highlighted in Chapter 3: the 'African cultural Panopticon'. Mungwini (2012)

¹⁰⁹ Youth paper launched, *New Vision*, 13 October 1993, p1.

¹¹⁰ See, for example: Prisons investigates homosexuality, *New Vision*, 26 February 2004, [n.p]; and Govt denies sexual violence in prisons, *New Vision*, 23 May 2005, p6.

contended that cultural knowledges produced a normalising web over individual conduct, according to a *cultural* rather than scientific benchmark of normality.

The cultural problematisation of homosexuality emerged in *Women's Vision* – a bi-monthly supplement to *New Vision*, which contained features on family, relationships, advice, sex, fashion and beauty. The entire front page of its 17 May 1994 edition, totalling four features and a drawing (Fig 8), was devoted to male homosexuality and, in particular, lesbianism, largely in relation to the school.¹¹¹ While there was less of a focus on identifying its causes, some of the features nevertheless echoed Kabirige in suggesting a lack of contact with people of the opposite sex was one cause for lesbianism in schools and prisons.¹¹²

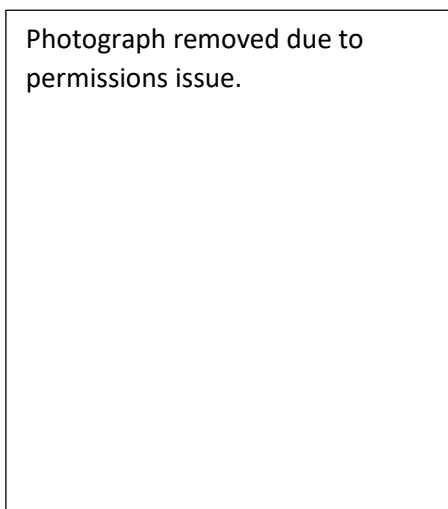


Figure 8 - Close up: *Women's Vision*, *New Vision*, 17 May 1994

Particularly notable was that the *Women's Vision* marked the first time same-sex relations had been articulated vis-a-vis women and girls, rather than solely men or boys. Up to this point, the Ugandan newspaper coverage of homosexuality cohered with the insights of sexuality scholars in other contexts, who highlighted the invisibility of lesbian sexuality. Herman (1997), for example, writing in the context of US anti-gay and lesbian political activism, suggested that 'the most prevalent depiction of lesbianism' in anti-gay and lesbian materials 'is either as an absence – in other words, simply ignored, or as an add-on, appended to a sentence having little or no application to women' (93).

While later data items generally reverted to a pattern of lesbian invisibility or lesbian 'add-on'-ism, the *Women's Vision* was one of the only texts in the dataset which explicitly produced lesbianism as

¹¹¹ In the introductory text to the edition of *Women's Vision*, it noted: 'The following articles were written by a group of concerned correspondents who seeking to discover more about lesbianism/homosexuality in Uganda, identified secondary and primary boarding schools as possible spurning grounds'.

¹¹² 'Light' lesbian affairs common in schools, *Women's Vision*, p1, *New Vision*, 17 May 1994.

qualitatively distinct from male homosexuality. One feature observed that unlike male homosexuality, which was defined by a 'victim-aggressor relationship', lesbianism in schools was 'more a matter of consent'.¹¹³ Another spoke of 'light lesbianism' as a common occurrence in schools and as one which girls dipped in and out of, before often settling down with male romantic partners as adults.¹¹⁴ It might appear that the *Women's Vision* did little to problematise lesbianism, owing to the equitable, consensual and transient nature of such encounters between girls. Moreover, the inclusion of the drawing, depicting two racially ambiguous women of indeterminate age, locked in a romantic embrace, appeared to support the notion that lesbianism was far removed from the unhealthy, disease-spreading, coercive practices of male homosexuality in schools and prisons.

Yet the features also emphasised that both male homosexuality and lesbianism were 'a taboo subject amongst Ugandans',¹¹⁵ and as something 'frowned upon' by African culture, unlike 'western society' which was produced as 'quickly changing its attitude'.¹¹⁶ One of the journalists even provided a first-hand account of her shock and initial panic at meeting gays and lesbians in England for the first time.¹¹⁷ Despite the lack of explicit condemnation, the features nevertheless reproduced a distinction between 'the west' and 'Africa' on the subject,¹¹⁸ which was no longer about whether homosexuality and lesbianism existed in Uganda, but about the cultural acceptability of such practices and/or such people in a Ugandan context.

5.3.5. Abnormality (from 1994)

A second shift occurred that same year when homosexuality was problematised through a disciplinary lens – that is, as an individual psychological disorder. Hence, the fifth overall theme to emerge was that of abnormality.

Rather than appearing in a supplement, it emerged in a features section of the main paper of the 8 November 1994 *New Vision*. From the space devoted to the topic across three features (Fig 9) and their placement within the newspaper, the prominence of the problem appeared to have increased

¹¹³ No victim, no aggressor, *Women's Vision*, p1, *New Vision*, 17 May 1994

¹¹⁴ 'Light' lesbian affairs common in schools, *Women's Vision*, p1, *New Vision*, 17 May 1994

¹¹⁵ My experience, *Women's Vision*, p1, *New Vision*, 17 May 1994.

¹¹⁶ No victim, no aggressor, *Women's Vision*, p1 *New Vision*, 17 May 1994

¹¹⁷ My experience, *Women's Vision*, p1, *New Vision*, 17 May 1994.

¹¹⁸ The claim that western society had different cultural attitudes to homosexuality appeared to have evidentiary support elsewhere in the newspaper. Throughout this period, the foreign news section of *New Vision* continued to carry foreign news bulletins from *Reuters*, which chronicled developments on LGBTI issues in the west, including attempts to equalise the age of consent for same-sex intercourse in Britain and recognise same-sex marriage in Sweden. See: Gays protest, *New Vision*, 23 February 1994, p6; and Sweden proposes homosexual marriage, *Weekend, New Vision*, 3 May 1994.

somewhat. Moreover, the appearance of the features was coextensive with some of the first ‘hard’ news items on same-sex relations within Ugandan schools.¹¹⁹



Figure 9 - 'Homosexuality as old as humanity'; STDs in the mouth!; Sexual deviance not inborn, New Vision, 8 November 1994

In parts, the features simply replicated some of the existing problematisations. For example, in one homosexuality was reproduced as a problem from a cultural perspective, with its spread in schools attributed to foreign cultural influences and the distribution of sexual health materials in schools by ‘European gay groups’.¹²⁰ The qualitative differentiation between male homosexuality and lesbianism outlined in *Women’s Vision* just months earlier was no longer present, as another feature included a photograph of two white women kissing, under the caption ‘Homosexuals kissing’. The most significant aspect of the features, however, was the introduction of psychological knowledge to the problematisation of homosexuality – that is, the application of a disciplinary lens.

One feature, attributed to a ‘worker with a Mulago STD clinic’, appeared to initially counter the cultural problematisation of homosexuality, suggesting that it was an ancient practice found in nearly all societies, including Uganda. Yet it also went on to describe in detail a number of psychological ‘causes’: a lack of ‘heterosexual objects’, such as is lacking in single-sex environments like the prison or the boarding schools; feelings of ‘boredom, loneliness, rebelliousness, curiosity and the need to

¹¹⁹ No sodomy, *New Vision*, 13 November 1994, p3; Iganga sends away lesbians, *New Vision*, 24 November 1994, p9.

¹²⁰ STDs in the mouth! *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, pp12-13.

please others', common amongst youths; and poor family dynamics, including 'weak or absent fathers and frustrating mothers' or 'strong rivalry patterns' with siblings.¹²¹

Another feature entitled 'Sexual deviance not inborn',¹²² drew explicitly on the veridical, 'high-status' knowledges of psychology. It suggested that a sexual deviant was defined in psychology as 'a person, young or old who seeks and practices any sexual relationship outside that between man and woman'. It went on to provide a laundry list of sexual deviances: homosexuality ('a love relation between two males or two females...a form of intense or temporary sexual contact, sometimes involving the mouth and anal regions'); child molestation/paedophilia ('males who derive sexual pleasure from touching or sexually playing with minor female children'); voyeurism ('seeks to watch sexual activity without himself being seen'); exhibitionism ('a very crazy behaviour'); fetishism ('collecting clothing worn by the opposite sex'); and transvestitism ('dressing up in the clothing of the opposite sex'). Moreover, 'psychology' was described as affirming 'that sexual deviation is not an in-born characteristic and therefore can be dropped once the deviant becomes aware of the dangers' of such behaviour.

It was particularly notable that child molestation/paedophilia was defined in gendered terms – that is, with the perpetrator male and the victim female. This is because, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter, the sexual abuse and rape of boys was frequently described in the newspapers through the language of homosexuality. Equally notable was that the feature appeared to lend 'scientific' or expert weight behind Kabirige's observations a year earlier as to the mutability of child sexuality. Homosexuals had 'acquired' this form of sexual deviance, and just as they could acquire it, so too, could they 'drop it'.

5.3.6. Religion (from 1996)

Another shift occurred in mid-1996, as homosexuality came to be problematised through the language of sin and with reference to biblical interpretation, salvation and damnation – that is, through a pastoral lens. As such, the sixth theme was that of religion.

That the religious problematisation of homosexuality did not emerge in the data until the mid-to-late 1990s is perhaps surprising for two reasons. First, early data items produced objects, such as HIV/AIDS, as divine punishment for the people of Uganda for their sexual immorality, but neither mentioned homosexuality nor alluded to same-sex relationships or intercourse.¹²³ Second – and more generally – sexuality scholars have observed that 'the Bible acquaints us with some of the earliest taboos' on same-sex intercourse (Sullivan, 2004: 4). Therefore the concept of sin is often invoked in discussions

¹²¹ 'Homosexuality as old as humanity', *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, pp12-13.

¹²² Sexual deviance not inborn, *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, pp12-13.

¹²³ AIDS is punishment from God, *New Vision*, 30 January 1987, p5.

of homosexuality across many contexts (Herman, 1997; Phillips, 2000; Muula, 2007; Kabwila, 2013; Vincent and Howell, 2014).

With the emergence of a religious lens in problematising homosexuality, a new set of agents was introduced through the newspaper as standing in opposition to same-sex intercourse and relationships. Uganda's Anglican Church - the Church of Uganda (COU) – and senior figures associated with it joined the features writers and medical agents that had thus far appeared in the newspaper expressing anxieties over homosexuality. The COU's involvement emerged against the backdrop of the 1998 Lambeth Conference, a decennial global meeting of the Anglican Communion, which, that year, was dominated by the discussion of homosexuality (Ward, 2013; Sadgrove et al., 2010; Sollis, 2000).



Figure 10 - Bishops rap church over homosexuals, New Vision, 17 July 1996

The religious problematisation and the COU's involvement in it began in the 17 July 1996 *New Vision*, in a story entitled, 'Bishops rap church over homosexuals'. It described how COU Bishops had criticised the Church of England 'for accepting the practice of homosexuality amongst its congregation' and quoted a statement from them:

We the House of Bishops of Uganda would like to make it clear and open to the Commune of Canterbury in England, that we strongly oppose and condemn the practice of homosexuality which is both an out law in the African culture and also a sin before God.

The statement marked the first time the newspaper had constituted homosexuality as a problem from a religious perspective. The meeting of the Bishops, which drew participants from Kenya, Tanzania, Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire, was described as providing a forum for clergy 'to try and iron out differences as members of the African church' and to 'reach a common strategy' in preparation for the upcoming Lambeth Conference. The Chair of the House of Bishops was described as urging 'clergy from other countries to join them in their fight against homosexuals in the congregation'. Far from simply being a sin to which the COU was opposed, homosexuality was something against which the Church was engaged in battle - and it was recruiting participants from regional Anglican churches. The issue was therefore not just a dispute between Uganda and the UK, but between Africa and west.

While it was the first time homosexuality had been problematised through a religious lens, it was also the first time a 'hard' news item on homosexuality – that is, consensual same-sex intercourse - had been afforded such a prominent position in the newspaper (Fig 10).¹²⁴ The news item was accompanied by a large photograph and caption, depicting two regional Bishops speaking with Ugandan Archbishop Nkoyoyo, in which one of the participants had his eyes closed and appeared to be leaning away from a conversation. The caption read: 'Homosexuality? Oh no! Tanzanian bishop Alpha Mohamed (right) does not want to hear the word during a discussion with Bishop Samuel Balagadde of Namirembe diocese (centre) and Archbishop Livingstone Nkoyoyo'. Moreover, the importance of the problem relative to other problems identified *in the same news text* was, for the first time, evident. Although the headline, photograph, caption and most of the text described the meeting as one devoted to homosexuality, the final 11 words of the news item mentioned how '[p]articipants also agreed to discourage ethnic wars in Rwanda and Burundi'. Homosexuality and genocide were evidently topics of discussion at the meeting, although the former was produced in the newspaper as a significantly more important topic than the then-recent genocides in either Rwanda or Burundi (Lemarchand, 1996).

Further news items, columns and letters to the editor on the subject of homosexuality followed in the run-up to the Lambeth Conference, many of them invoking their opposition based on its sinfulness, foreignness, abnormality, or association with disease.¹²⁵ However, the most significant texts from the

¹²⁴ The first news item which mentioned 'homosexuality' was a 17 August 1989 *New Vision*, which contained a very short, front-page news item entitled on the rape of a juvenile detainee, discussed in Chapter 6.

¹²⁵ See, for example: UK homos bitter, *New Vision*, 24 July 1996, p4; OPINION: Poor but still sane, *New Vision*, 18 November 1996, p5; Morality runs far deeper than homosexuality, *New Vision*, 3 December 1996, p5; Same-sex couples: Where are we heading?, *The Monitor*, 3 August 1997, p5; No culture perfect, *The Monitor*, 23 August 1997, p4; FGM better than homosexuality, *The Monitor*, 16 September 1997, p4; Gays, lesbians leave UK Church pews empty, *The Monitor*, 16 March 1998, p14; I want to be a homosexual, *The Monitor*, 20 September 1997, p11; Bishop Okille attacks homosexuals in Church, *New Vision*, 28 April 1998, p32; African bishops to oppose gay marriages, *The Monitor*, 30 April 1998, p8.

perspective of problematisation were a pair of editorials in *New Vision* and *The Monitor* which appeared in 29 April 1998¹²⁶ and 8 August 1998¹²⁷ respectively. They agreed with the COU's stance that western churches were 'lobbying' for homosexuality and went into greater detail as to why homosexuality was a problem from a Christian perspective.¹²⁸ However, their particular significance stemmed from their consideration of the appropriate solutions to the problem posed by homosexuality.

Rather than calling for the kinds of sovereign measures which were contained in the AHB a little over ten years later, they viewed both the problem *and* solution in pastoral terms. Although *The Monitor* contended that 'the post-Lambeth challenge' was to 'face the homosexuality scourge squarely', it went on to call for 'compassion to the homosexual' and assistance in 're-orienting the "gay" to what the Lord, their maker, designed for them'. Similarly, the *New Vision* described it as 'the duty of the clergy and other Christians to help the deviant and bring them back to the ways of Christ'. The post-Lambeth challenge therefore cohered with what Foucault regarded as 'the essential objective of pastoral power', which, as I described in Chapter 2, was both totalising and individualising, as the shepherd sought 'the salvation of the flock' and of the individual sheep under his or her care (Foucault, 2009: 126). Homosexuality, as described through the editorials, was a private, spiritual or moral problem, one which could be managed through the beneficent power of the Christian pastorate. It was for Uganda's Christians to guide gently, coach and encourage the spiritual and moral deviant away from the 'errant' path of homosexuality towards the righteous path of heterosexual salvation.

From 1996 onwards, there was a three-fold change in the problem of homosexuality: first, in terms of the problematisation itself, as homosexuality was produced as a religious problem; secondly, in terms of the institutions to which homosexuality was said to pose a problem, with the Church joining the prison and, in particular, the school as a battleground; and third, in terms of the relative importance of the problem within the newspapers, not only in terms of the prominence of the 17 July 1996 news item, but that the problem was sufficiently pressing to warrant news items and editorials on the subject from the newspapers.

¹²⁶ No!, *New Vision*, 29 April 1998, p4

¹²⁷ Good stand, *The Monitor*, 8 August 1998, p10

¹²⁸ See, for example: No!, *New Vision*, 29 April 1998, p4: 'For the Church of Uganda, homosexuality is unacceptable. Unacceptable on two grounds – the spiritual and the moral. The canon of scripture clearly spells out the undesirability of homosexuality. The Bible, which is the basis of Christian faith, actually calls homosexuality a sin. The Bible, which Christians believe is the unfailing Word of God, condemns homosexuality in the story of Sodom and Gommorrah in the Old Testament, and in the New Testament in 1 Corinthians 6:9. It would, therefore, be antithetical to Christian teaching for homosexuals to accepted as a 'normal' part of the Church'.

5.3.7. Politics and law (from 1997)

At the end of 1997 another shift began to take place. It was a shift in terms of how homosexuality was problematised, by whom, the seriousness of the problem, and the solutions called upon to govern it. This is because homosexuality began to be framed as a problem from the perspective of politics and law – the seventh theme of this chapter.

As such, a new set of agents joined the features writers, medical agents and COU in appearing to express anxiety and concern over the problem of homosexuality: politicians.¹²⁹ Yet despite the appearance of a small number of stories in which different law-makers expressed concern over homosexuality, its problematisation through the sovereign lens of criminal law was noticeably absent. While political agents expressed concern about homosexuality and the apparent need to tackle it, they employed the lens of culture to decry it as an unacceptable foreign practice.¹³⁰ Indeed, in none of the data analysed up to this point was it problematised on the basis of its criminality, despite same-sex intercourse long being criminalised through the Penal Code.

This began to change from 22 July 1998, however, when *The Monitor* published a wide-ranging news item covering various aspects of a recent press conference given by President Museveni. Running under the headline, ‘President tells off homosexuals’, Museveni was described as discussing the ‘creeping’ influence of western culture in Uganda. He was described as promising to ‘let loose the full force of the law upon any public demonstration by a homosexual association in the country’, after he was quoted speaking of a recent trip to the USA, where he ‘saw a rally of 300,000 homosexuals!’ Although he did not problematise homosexuality *per se*, but rather targeted potential public demonstrations by homosexuals, such as Pride events, the appearance of the text articulated for the first time the idea that the ‘full force of the law’ could be deployed by the President to regulate the conduct of Uganda’s sexual minorities.

However, the most significant texts with respect to the theme of politics and law appeared in the 28 September 1999 *Monitor* and the 29 September 1999 *New Vision*, signalling a stark turning point in the problematisation of homosexuality.

¹²⁹ ‘Homosexuality invades schools’, *New Vision*, 20 December 1997, p8; Okwir decries homosexuality, *New Vision*, 17 January 1998, p8.

¹³⁰ See, for example, Okwir decries homosexuality, *New Vision*, 17 January 1998, p8: ‘THE Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Betty Okwir, has condemned homosexuality and prostitution which she says in on the increase in Uganda...Okwir said homosexuality used to be unheard of. “We should condemn it and wipe it out of our society. Let us curb it so that it goes back to where in originated”, she said.’

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 11 - Arrest homos says Museveni, New Vision, 29 September 1999

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 12 - Museveni opens war on gay men, The Monitor, 28 September 1999

Museveni announced he had instructed the Criminal Investigation Department 'to look for homosexuals, lock them up and charge them'. His intervention was linked by *New Vision* to a story which they reported on a week earlier, claiming that a secret marriage ceremony between two men had taken place in downtown Kampala.¹³¹ Not only was homosexuality explicitly produced as a problem to be managed through criminal law for the first time, it was also produced by the newspapers as a pressing and important problem. In particular, the *New Vision* produced it as the single most important story, occupying the most prominent position on the most prominent page of the newspaper, with a thick, black border highlighting the story even further (Fig 11).

The two front pages precipitated a discursive explosion on homosexuality, with dozens of stories appearing over the following two months,¹³² establishing it as an object of immense concern, not only for politicians, but for myriad agents, including – for the first time – 'the public'. This is because the following day, *New Vision* published details of a poll, under the headline, '84% reject homosexuals'.¹³³ It marked the first time quantitative 'public opinion' on the subject had been reproduced through the

¹³¹ Wandegeya homos 'marry', *New Vision*, 12 September 1999, p2; Police probe homosexual weddings, *New Vision*, 13 September 1999, p3.

¹³² Over the two months following Museveni's call for the arrest of Uganda's homosexuals, for example, *The Monitor* alone published the following stories relating to homosexuality: The mystery of Ugandan homos, *The Monitor*, 29 September 1999, p8; Yes, shove the homos, *The Monitor*, 30 September 1999, p9; There may be 660,000 homosexuals in Uganda, *The Monitor*, 2 October 1999, p10; Gay pride serves up hot sex talk, *The Monitor*, 3 October 1999, p27; Gays' hide-out found, *The Monitor*, 4 October 1999, p5; No excuse for being gay, *The Monitor*, 5 October 1999, p9; School expels boy for being gay, *The Monitor*, 6 October 1999, p5; Accept gays or no debt pardon, *The Monitor*, 6 October 1999, p9; Bishop Lwanga condemns gays, *The Monitor*, 6 October 1999, p12; Can we beat the gays? *The Monitor*, 7 October 1999, p9; Baby defiler was a homo – report, *The Monitor*, 8 October 1999, pp1-2; Gays want to be loved, *The Monitor*, 8 October 1999, p9; Homosexuality: ban single-sex schools? *The Monitor*, 8 October 1999, p10; Jo'burg, the homosexuals' paradise, *The Monitor*, 10 October 1999, p11; Homosexuality is an African thing, *The Monitor*, 11 October 1999, p10; I only want to help homos, *The Monitor*, 13 October 1999, p9; Check salons for gays, *The Monitor*, 13 October 1999, p9; MP warns on homosexuality, *The Monitor*, 14 October 1999, p13. So now village men are homos?, *The Monitor*, 15 October 1999, p8; Why gangsters are pro-homo, *The Monitor*, 16 October 1999, p9; Let homos do their things, *The Monitor*, 17 October 1999, p7; Accused of being a homosexual, *The Monitor*, 17 October 1999, p14; Follow God's manual on gays, *The Monitor*, 18 October 1999; Give homophobics their peace!, *The Monitor*, 21 October 1999, p25; Want to ruin a guy? Call him a homo, *The Monitor*, 24 October 1999, p11; Is it gay pride or homo harassment at boys' schools? *The Monitor*, 24 October 1999, p24; Church hits at homos, *The Monitor*, 27 October 1999, p5; Is gay bashing a takeover plot? *The Monitor*, 27 October 1999, p9; Nabudere raps West for putting homosexuality above democracy, *The Monitor*, 28 October 1999, p4; West more concerned about homosexuality, *The Monitor*, 31 October 1999, p7; Movt can never embrace homos, *The Monitor*, 3 November 1999, p8; 'Gay doctor' flees to SA, *The Monitor*, 5 November 1999, p3; Leave gays alone, *The Monitor*, 5 November 1999, p9; Homos form lobby group, *The Monitor*, 7 November 1999, pp1-2; Are homos NRM's new political ladder? Yes, *The Monitor*, 7 November 1999, p11; Homos just sick? *The Monitor*, 9 November 1999, p9; 'Target homos, not Muslims', *The Monitor*, 10 November 1999, p6; Homos in West are beasts - Minister, *The Monitor*, 11 November 1999, p2; Hurray to gay phobia, *The Monitor*, 18 November 1999, p9; Gay story was killer, *The Monitor*, 21 November 1999, p7; Big homo debate today, *The Monitor*, 28 November 1999, pp1-2; Oh these gay days, *The Monitor*, 28 November 1999, p28; Gay war must go on, *The Monitor*, 29 November 1999, p9; and, 20 homos get saved, *The Monitor*, 30 November 1999, p4.

¹³³ 84% reject homosexuality, *New Vision*, 29 September 1999, p1.

newspaper. In placing the results of the opinion poll on its front page (Fig 13), homosexuality was once again produced as the most important news story.

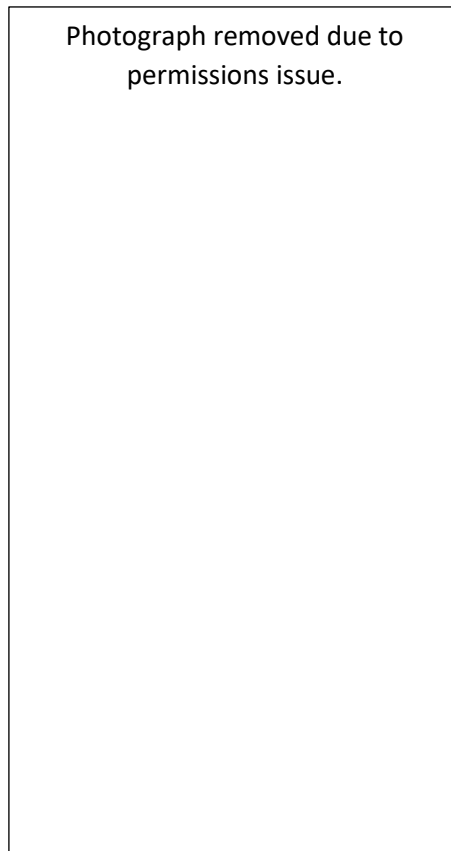


Figure 13 - 84% reject homosexuals, New Vision, 29 September 1999

Hence, from 1997 onwards, the problem of homosexuality was transformed through the newspaper from a problem to be managed by epidemiologists, psychologists, and the Christian pastorate, to something about which politicians were responding, about the public were almost entirely opposed, and to which the sovereign instrument of criminal law ought to be applied.

5.3.8. Neo-colonialism (from 1999)

The eighth theme – neo-colonialism - emerged soon after Museveni's intervention, as stories appeared in the newspapers covering the 'response' by western governments to his calls for the arrest of Uganda's homosexuals.

The 20 October and 27 October 1999 *Monitor*, for example, carried front pages stories in which the governments of Sweden and the US, respectively, were described as expressing alarm over Museveni's comments. While such stories marked the 'internationalisation' of the issue, they did not in and of themselves necessarily contribute to the problematisation of homosexuality. Their significance from such a perspective, however, lay in the 'response' they incited from domestic agents. Letters to the

editor and news items appeared in the newspapers in response, criticising ‘foreign interference’ in the domestic government of sexual minorities in Uganda.

‘Let the aid remain in Sweden to help their gays and lesbians, and leave us with our morals and poverty’, read one letter to *The Monitor* from a member of the public. ‘I will rather die poor than allow somebody to enforce these immoral acts in exchange of cash’.¹³⁴ Similarly, the Minister of State for Security was described in *The Monitor* as declaring ‘Uganda is not going to accept money from foreign powers to which acceptance of homosexuality is attached as a condition’.¹³⁵

The internationalisation of the issue through the newspaper reinforced the cultural problematisation of homosexuality, as western governments were perceived to be applying pressure to Uganda to ‘accept’ an alien cultural practice. More significantly from the perspective of problematisation, however, was that the issue came to be viewed through a lens of neo-colonialism: homosexuality was now yet another tool through which the west could exert unfairly its power and influence over Uganda, tethering ‘acceptance’ of homosexuality to aid conditionality. As such, resistance to homosexuality was transformed into resistance to neo-colonialism. In the years that followed, homosexuality was consistently problematised through the newspaper as an alien cultural practice which neo-colonial westerns governments were attempting to impose upon the people of Uganda.¹³⁶ It was a problematisation which reached its zenith as the international community expressed outrage at the tabling of the AHB described in Chapter 1. When President Museveni eventually signed the Bill in early 2014, *The Monitor’s* front page described the President as sending a strong ‘message to western powers’ about Ugandan sovereignty.¹³⁷

5.3.9. Recruitment (from 2006)

The final theme touched upon both the disciplinary and biopolitical problematisation of homosexuality, as it diagnosed a particularly disturbing cause for homosexuality at the level of the individual which, in turn, posed a significant threat to Ugandan population as a whole: homosexuality

¹³⁴ Swedes can keep their aid, *The Monitor*, 27 October 1999, p9. See also; Hurray to gay phobia, *The Monitor*, 18 November 1999, p9.

¹³⁵ Homos in West are beasts – Minister, 12 November 1999, p2.

¹³⁶ ‘Donors want gay rights’, *New Vision*, 6 November 2003, p7; Gay bishop vexes God and Caesar, *New Vision*, 6 November 2003, p35; MPs warn donors on gay lobby, *New Vision*, 7 November 2003, p5; Copy foreign cultures because of poverty, *New Vision*, 13 November 2003, p11; Buturo blasts envoy over gays, *New Vision*, 22 October 2004, p3; Homosexuality is against nature and African culture, *New Vision*, 25 September 2006, [n.p]; Marshal Our Forces, Resist Vices of the West, *New Vision*, 27 September 2006, [n.p]; Anti-gays hit back at Human Rights Watch, *The Monitor*, 31 August 2007, p5; and, Do not impose laws, donors told, *New Vision*, 4 September 2008, [n.p]

¹³⁷ Joy, anger as Museveni signs law against gays, *The Monitor*, 25 February 2014, p1.

existed as a consequence of a relentless and organised recruitment campaign in schools, which had Ugandan youth in its crosshairs.

The theme of recruitment of children began to emerge in 2006, approximately seven years after Museveni's calls for the arrests of Uganda's homosexuals and the concomitant transformation of homosexuality into important, front-page news. In the years that followed, there had been extensive and sometimes explosive prominent news items on homosexuality, including: the activities of COU Bishop Christopher Ssenyonjo,¹³⁸ who was eventually expelled from the Church for his refusal to condemn homosexual youths;¹³⁹ the consecration of the first openly gay Anglican bishop in a North American diocese;¹⁴⁰ the fining of Radio Simba by Uganda's broadcasting regulator for hosting gays and lesbians on its programme;¹⁴¹ and, the banning of the Vagina Monologues by the Media Council because, amongst other things, the play 'promoted' lesbianism.¹⁴² In the years that followed Museveni's call for arrests, a second major legislative development in the legal regulation of sexual

¹³⁸ News items spelled his surname inconsistently. For purposes of clarity, I have employed the most commonly encountered spelling - Ssenyonjo.

¹³⁹ Cou Investigates Gay Rights Bishop, *New Vision*, 30 April 2001 [n.p]; Ssenyonjo's Fight for Gays, *New Vision*, 6 May 2001, [n.p]; Bishop Ssenyonjo Resigns From Integrity, *New Vision*, 16 May 2001, [n.p]; Bishop Ssenyonjo Backs Gay Clergy, *The Monitor*, 12 November 2003, p4; Don't Bar Me From Church – Ssenyonjo, *New Vision*, 9 February 2004 [n.p]; and, Church Expels Bishop Ssenyonjo, *The Monitor*, 25 March 2006, [n.p].

¹⁴⁰ Nkoyoyo at summit on gay priests, *The Monitor*, 16 October 2003, p1, p3; Church agrees on 'gay priests', *The Monitor*, 17 October 2003, pp1-2; Anglican Church split over gay bishop, 18 October 2003, p8; Homo bishop can't visit UK, *New Vision*, 19 October 2003, pp1-2; Gay bishop reaffirms role, *The Monitor*, 20 October 2003, p5; Gay bishops are an abomination, *The Monitor*, 20 October 2003, p12; Christians 'mourn' over gay bishop, *The Monitor*, 3 November 2003, pp1-2; Gay splits in Church 'will heal', *The Monitor*, 3 November 2003, p7; Uganda cuts ties with gay Bishop, *New Vision*, 4 November 2003, pp1-2; Church of Uganda rejects gay bishop, *The Monitor*, 4 November 2003, pp1-2; Gay US bishop wrong, *New Vision*, 5 November 2003, p38; Church to blame for gay bishop, *The Monitor*, 6 November 2003, p10; Gay bishop vexes God and Caesar, *New Vision*, 6 November 2003, p35; Bukonya backs Nkoyoyo on gays, *The Monitor*, 7 November 2003, pp1-2; Bishop Robinson is wrong, but so is the Church! *New Vision*, 8 November 2003, p9; The Church should solicit state support against homosexuals, *New Vision*, 12 November 2003, pp24-25; Gays are rebels, Nkoyoyo says, *The Monitor*, 13 November 2003, p6; Pray for these homosexuals, *The Monitor*, 14 November 2003, p11; God will punish gays and their sympathisers, *The Monitor*, 23 November 2003, p9; No defence for gays, *The Monitor*, 24 November 2003, p10;

¹⁴¹ Simba Radio fined for homos, *New Vision*, 2 October 2004, pp1-2; FM station penalised over gays, *The Monitor*, 3 October 2004, p3; Is this now the thought police? *New Vision*, 5 October 2004, p10; Radio Simba was promoting homosexuality! *New Vision*, 12 October 2004, p11; and, No compromise on public morality! *The Monitor*, 18 October 2004, p12;

¹⁴² Buturo opposes 'Vagina Monologues', *New Vision*, 8 February 2005, p8; Govt opposes 'Vagina Monologues', *New Vision*, 11 February 2005, pp1-2; Media Council checks Vagina Monologues, *New Vision*, 15 February 2005, pp1-2; Vagina Monologues brought itself down!, *New Vision*, 15 February 2005, p11; Media Council stops Vagina Monologues, *New Vision*, 16 February 2005, p1; Help me explain to my class what the public anger is about on the 'Vagina Monologues', *New Vision*, 16 February 2005, p11; Vagina Monologues rejects Media Council terms, *New Vision*, 17 February 2005, pp1-2; NGO rejects Vagina Monologues funds, *New Vision*, 17 February 2005, p3; This is what I saw in the Vagina Monologues, *New Vision*, 17 February 2005, p18; Vagina play dropped, *New Vision*, 18 February 2005, p3; Was this ban constitutional? *New Vision*, 18 February 2005, p10; V-Monologues unmasked! *New Vision*, 18 February 2005, p12; No big loss over V-monologues ban! *New Vision*, p11.

minorities had occurred: in 2005 the Constitutional Amendment Act was passed, which inserted the prohibition of same-sex marriage into Uganda's 1995 Constitution. Hence, the final shift in the problematisation of homosexuality emerged against a backdrop of extensive media interest in the subject and against an increasingly 'dubious legal and constitutional' situation (Mubangizi and Twinomugisha, 2011: 331).

The notion that homosexuality was spreading in Ugandan schools due to a ruthless, coordinated campaign of recruitment by predatory older homosexuals first emerged the 6 May 2006 *New Vision* religious supplement, *Alive*. Appearing in the 'Thought of the Day' column under the title 'Gay strategy for Uganda', the article drew explicitly on the work of US anti-LGBTI campaigner, Scott Lively. The appearance of an American anti-LGBTI activist in such a context is perhaps unsurprising, as several scholars observed that recruitment has underpinned anti-gay and lesbian activism in the west (Seidman, 1992; Cicchino et al., 1995; Stychin, 1995; Herman, 1997; Irvine, 2005; Fetner, 2008; Stone, 2016). Schneider (1993) described the 'logic' of recruitment propagated by anti-gay and lesbian activists as: 'since homosexuals cannot reproduce...their ranks must be maintained by recruiting children' (61).

Hence, the *New Vision* article provided a list of recruitment tactics in Uganda, directed towards Uganda's children. It observed that older homosexuals sought to raise doubts in young people's minds over their sexuality and tempt them to 'experiment', in the hopes of indoctrinating them into the gay lifestyle. The gay strategy, it suggested, was to have 'as many people as possible adopt this lifestyle'. Lively's book was said to have exposed 'the methods used to recruit young children in the US in the hope that the habit passes on to the next generation'. Dismissing what it called 'they-are-born-that-way theory', the column ended on an ominous note regarding what ought to be done to manage the threat to Ugandan children.

...those of us who are against homosexuality must be prepared to go the whole nine yards. A society that is hostile to homosexuality has far fewer homosexuals than one that is not. Christians should wake up and lobby their Members of Parliament and other political representatives. Praying in the closet may not be enough.

Eight years earlier, the same publication had described in an editorial the 'duty' of all Christians to coach benevolently and encourage the errant homosexual back to the righteous and natural path of heterosexuality. Despite appearing in the Christian supplement to *New Vision*, attitudes towards homosexuality had evidently hardened, moving beyond gentle guidance and instead foregrounding punishment. Without explicitly outlining what was meant by 'the whole nine yards', the article was

emphatic that it was no longer the duty of all Christians to engage the homosexual in the loving embrace of the Lord; it was the Christian duty to create a hostile environment and to spur the legislature into action to deal with the threat of homosexuality once and for all.

While the idea of recruitment of children was introduced slowly through a supplement, it reappeared in spectacular fashion in the months leading up to the tabling of the AHB (Fig 14). The front page of the 24 March 2009 *New Vision* declared in large-print headlines that a homosexual had admitted 'recruiting' children in Uganda's schools.¹⁴³ The issue of recruitment was no longer a strategy which others had 'discovered' or 'exposed', but something about which there was tangible 'proof' in the form of a series of 'confessions' from those who claimed to be former homosexuals.



Figure 14 - Homosexual admits recruiting students, New Vision, 24 March 2009

The story described a press conference, organised by Family Life Network,¹⁴⁴ 'a local charity which promotes family values', in which a purported ex-gay man, George Oundo, 'confessed to recruiting

¹⁴³ Homosexual admits recruiting children, *New Vision*, 24 March 2009, pp1-2.

¹⁴⁴ As some have observed (Kaoma, 2013; Ewins, 2011), Family Life Network, which organised the press conference, also organised an Anti-Homosexuality Conference in Kampala that same month, something which was unreported in the newspapers. The theme of the conference was 'Exposing the Homosexual Agenda', and Scott Lively, whose work on the purported recruitment strategies of sexual minorities appeared in the *Alive* supplement, served as keynote speaker. Video footage of Lively's entire two and half hour presentation on the dangers of homosexuality is available online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e9F9k4guN3M> [last accessed 9 November 2018].

school children into homosexuality as part of a programme to promote the practice in Ugandan schools'. He was further quoted as suggesting they were targeting Uganda's children 'because they are easy to initiate' into the practice. Two days later, another front page appeared in *New Vision*, describing eight more 'ex-gay' individuals who had confessed to recruiting children, in another press conference organised by Family Life Network.¹⁴⁵ One of the participants was quoted as describing their recruitment activities as 'spreading the gospel of homosexuality' in Uganda's schools. Another urged the Government to 'wake up now before this abnormal practice is made to appear normal as the case has been in the West'.

Over the course of the dataset, a bewildering number of 'causes' for homosexuality had been provided. These included, amongst others, the single-sex environment of boarding schools,¹⁴⁶ poor family dynamics,¹⁴⁷ the availability of sexual health materials,¹⁴⁸ nudity,¹⁴⁹ pen-pals,¹⁵⁰ internet cafes,¹⁵¹ drugs and pornography,¹⁵² and child abuse.¹⁵³ The emergence of the theme of recruitment of children in Ugandan schools was particularly important, I suggest, as it signalled an explicit shift towards a biopolitically racist logic. Homosexuality was no longer solely a foreign cultural practice in which some people engaged, a psychological deviance which afflicted some people, a spiritual problem to be cured through prayer, nor was it simply a criminal offence to be punished. That there was a coordinated and concerted campaign of recruitment taking place in Uganda's schools tied the safety and security of Uganda's children in 'positive relation' to the containment of destruction of Uganda's homosexuals (Stoler, 1995: 84). The very existence of homosexuality posed a threat to Ugandan children, given that the survival of homosexuality was dependent upon the recruitment of children. Moreover, this diagnosis as to the cause of homosexuality was accompanied by calls for Christians to 'go the whole nine yards' and for the government to take urgent action before Ugandan society was lost, as had occurred in the west.

However, as I emphasised in Chapter 4, I do not advance the claim that newspapers 'caused' the AHB, whether due to the problematisation of homosexuality, the circulation of disgust (Chapter 6), or the dissemination of resistance (Chapter 7). I do not suggest that notions of recruitment as contained in

¹⁴⁵ Eight abandon homosexuality, *New Vision*, 26 March 2009, p1, p3.

¹⁴⁶ 'Boys Want Tips on Sex', *Straight Talk*, p1, *New Vision*, 19 November 1993.

¹⁴⁷ 'Homosexuality as old as humanity', *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, pp12-13; and, Pornography Rife in Schools, *New Vision*, 28 December 2003 [n.p].

¹⁴⁸ STDs in the mouth! *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, pp12-13.

¹⁴⁹ Uganda Govt. Declares War on Gays, *New Vision*, 21 February 1999, [n.p].

¹⁵⁰ Mandy Blames Penpals For Sexual Behavior, *New Vision*, 7 November 2001, [n.p]

¹⁵¹ Internet Cafes Blamed for Homosexuality, *The Monitor*, 23 April 2002, [n.p]

¹⁵² 'Porno Destroyed My Family', *New Vision*, 18 June 2002, [n.p]; and, Parents Warned on Pornography, *The Monitor*, 7 October 2004, [n.p]

¹⁵³ Homosexuality a Reality in Our Schools, *The Monitor*, 14 March 2005, p25.

the newspaper were necessarily determinative in the emergence of the Bill. My claims are rather more modest: namely, that with the emergence of recruitment – and the transformation of homosexuality into a serious threat to Ugandan children - the very existence of homosexuality was problematised in a manner which was at least consistent with the kinds of solutions contained in the AHB. Yet the notion of recruitment was advanced on the basis of antecedent knowledges which had appeared much earlier, such as the mutability of child sexuality (1993) and the endemic nature of homosexuality in Uganda's schools (1993). While it represented a clearer and more explicit shift towards a biopolitically racist logic, too hard a line ought not to be drawn between the emergence of the theme of recruitment and the problematisations which emerged before.

5.3.10.AHB 2009 onwards

In a little over twenty years, homosexuality had shifted in the newspaper from a problem which was not relevant to Uganda, given that it simply did not exist, to a problem which threatened to consume the children of Uganda if left unchecked. The AHB, introduced in October 2009, could be seen as a response to the multi-headed threat posed by homosexuality, not just because it proposed the death penalty for 'serial offenders', but because it sought to criminalise a range of other conduct, including 'promotion' or 'aiding and abetting' of homosexuality. Its tabling and eventual passing by Parliament in December 2013 incited an explosion of commentary, with several front pages and prominent stories dedicated to the Bill and reaction to it.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ See, for example: MPs pass law against gays, *The Monitor*, 21 December 2013, p1; Gays to spend life in jail as MPs pass Anti-Homosexuality Bill, *The Monitor*, 21 December 2013, p4; EU, America regret anti-homosexuality law, *The Monitor*, 22 December 2013, p3; Gay bill welcomed, *The Monitor*, 22 December 2013, p5; Our obsession with morality is dubious, *The Monitor*, 23 December 2013, p11; Pastor Male makes U-turn on anti-gay bill, *The Monitor*, 25 December 2013, p5; Church invites Pope to Uganda, denounces gays, *The Monitor*, 25 December 2013, p5; Anti-gay call made, *The Monitor*, 25 December 2013, p10; and, Anti-gays Bill, repentance tops Xmas sermons, *The Monitor*, 27 December 2013, p3; Anti-gays bill was rushed - Museveni, *The Monitor*, 27 December 2013, p1; MPs never consulted me on anti-gays Bill, says Museveni, *The Monitor*, 27 December 2013, p6; The President should assent to the anti-gays Bill, *The Monitor*, 28 December 2013, p7; MPs, religious leaders hit back at Museveni on anti-gays Bill, *The Monitor*, 29 December 2013, p9; Mr President, sign the anti-gays Bill, *The Monitor*, 30 December 2013, p9; and, Advertisement: the Anti-Homosexuality Bill Violates the Human Rights of Ugandans, *The Monitor*, 21 January 2014.

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 15 - Joy, anger as Museveni signs law against gays, The Monitor, 25 February 2014

When Museveni finally signed the law in February 2014, there were further front-page stories and prominent articles celebrating and, in some cases, decrying what had taken place (Fig 15).¹⁵⁵ Amidst the myriad stories on the AHB and AHA, there were no *new* problematisations advanced. Instead what circulated through such news items was a combination of existing problematisations introduced years earlier, albeit now mobilised in relation to the Bill. That homosexuality was a problem on the basis of disease, foreignness, abnormality, sinfulness, criminality, neo-colonialism, and the danger it posed to Ugandan children, meant that the law was indispensable for the protection of Uganda.

¹⁵⁵ See, for example: Norway, Demark withhold funding, *New Vision*, 26 February 2014, p5; Norway cuts Shs20billion aid over anti-gays laws, *The Monitor*, 26 February 2014, p2; There's no evidence to show homosexuality is a disorder, *The Monitor*, 26 February 2014, p13; Uganda should not be pushed to adopt Western values in the name of democracy, *The Monitor*, 26 February 2014, p13; Thank you for signing the anti-gays Bill, *The Monitor*, 26 February 2014, p14; Anti-gays group organiser prayers, *The Monitor*, 26 February 2014, p25; Gays laws: Japan won't abandon Uganda, *The Monitor*, 27 February 2014, p3; France, Sweden caution Uganda on gays law, UN concerned, *The Monitor*, 27 February 2014, p3; While you were busy frothing at the mouth over the anti-gays law..., *The Monitor*, 27 February 2014, p11; Minister Kutesa meets foreign envoys, *New Vision*, 28 February 2014, p5; Uganda has no many minorities groups; what is unique about homosexuals? *The Monitor*, 28 February 2014, p11; Anti-gays law will protect our children, *The Monitor*, 28 February 2014, p12; Anti-gays law; Uganda is not naïve, *The Monitor*, 3 March 2014, p12; Hypocrisy in the homosexuality debate, *The Monitor*, 3 March 2014, p10; Anti-gays law: Uganda has won the war but faces a tough battle ahead, *The Monitor*, 4 March 2014, p11; MP Bahati hailed for anti-gays law, *The Monitor*, 7 March 2014, p14; US varsity cancels student funding over anti-gay law, *The Monitor*, 8 March 2014, p3; EU chief asks Uganda to repeal anti-gay law, *The Monitor*, 8 March 2014, p4; Western governments share blame for Uganda's mess, *The Monitor*, 10 March 2014, p10; and, Homosexual not only our problem, *The Monitor*, 10 March 2014, p12.

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I described the first way the newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the AHA: by engaging in the cumulative problematisation of homosexuality over an almost 30-year span. In so doing, I also addressed the second sub-research question, which asked: 'How have Ugandan newspapers constituted homosexuality as a problem in need of a solution?'

I examined the data through the conceptual lens of problematisation, while also taking note of the manner in which the form and placement of news produced the problem of homosexuality as more or less pressing. While the problematisation of homosexuality through the newspaper began as far as back as 1987, I suggested it only emerged as a particularly prominent issue from 1999 onwards, when Museveni called for the arrest of Uganda's homosexuals. I also suggested that the biopolitically racist logic that underpinned the AHB/AHA began to emerge explicitly from 2006 onwards, with the notion that there was a recruitment campaign targeting Ugandan children underway. While I suggested the theme of recruitment represented a more explicit shift to a biopolitically racist logic, I also observed that it was dependent upon antecedent knowledges which emerged much earlier, including the notion that homosexuality was endemic in Ugandan schools (1993) and that child sexuality was mutable (1993). Too hard a line ought not therefore to be drawn between the theme of recruitment and the various problematisations which came before.

The analysis of the data also warrants further commentary and reflection on four points.

First, while this chapter explored how homosexuality was problematised in light of the eventual emergence of the AHB/AHA, this does not mean there was anything inevitable about the appearance of the law. On the one hand, this is because problematisation alone does not exhaust the implication of Ugandan newspapers in the government of sexual minorities, as will be evident from Chapters 6 and 7. On the other hand, this is because there was any number of possible solutions which could have 'fit' the different problematisations examined throughout this chapter. Rather, the analysis highlights the slow, cumulative constitution of homosexuality was consistent with, rather than the 'cause' of the emergence of the AHB and AHA .

Second, although the focus in this chapter was on the problematisation of homosexuality, it should not be read as suggesting that newspapers were uniform in their condemnation of homosexuality. Throughout the dataset there were items which voiced contestation in different ways, whether news

stories on the 'homosexual' behaviour of animals,¹⁵⁶ prominent Ugandan thinkers criticising the marginalisation of homosexuals,¹⁵⁷ or supportive letters from gays and lesbians or other members of the public.¹⁵⁸ While such voices of dissent and contestation did appear, they were significantly less numerous over the course of the dataset and often appeared to incite condemnation in follow-up stories, columns or letters to the editor. Indeed, the most spectacular episode of resistance – a 2007 press conference by Uganda's LGBTIs – incited an unprecedented backlash through the newspaper and serves as the focus of Chapter 7.

Third, this chapter provides an opportunity to reflect upon some of the claims advanced in the secondary literatures on sexual minorities in Uganda. For example, while homosexuality appeared through news as early as the late 1980s, the analysis supports Ward's (2013) assertion that it began to emerge as an issue of public concern late 1990s in Uganda, amidst the backdrop of the 1998 Lambeth Conference. Yet it also calls into question Ssebagala's (2011) suggestion that Museveni was caught 'off guard' by the emergence of the AHB and its transformation of homosexuality into a foreign policy issue. While the AHB may have resulted in a much greater level of intensity of international attention to the issue, the analysis suggests that the internationalisation of homosexuality began through the newspapers a decade earlier, after Museveni's calls for the arrest of Uganda's homosexuals.

Fourth and finally, the analysis reveals that despite the AHB/AHA targeting both male and female same-sex relations, the problematisation of homosexuality was advanced mostly on the basis of male homosexuality. The *Women's Vision* (1994) provided one of the only examples of the problematisation of homosexuality which produced male homosexuality as qualitatively different from lesbianism. Elsewhere, lesbian sexuality was absent or coupled with male homosexuality in a manner which conformed to what Herman (1997) identified as 'add-on'-ism. As some feminist scholars have suggested, the hyper-visibility of male homosexuality and relative invisibility of lesbianism can be attributed to gendered understandings of sexuality. Herman suggested that lesbian sexuality was not foregrounded in anti-gay and lesbian literatures because women's sexuality in general was often conceptualised as 'gentler', 'less sexual' and therefore less threatening (94). Bibbings (2004) suggested that when viewed through a heterosexual prism, which dictates that sex is a penis penetrating a vagina (or other orifice), 'there is nothing akin to real sex involved' in lesbian sex (222).

¹⁵⁶ Chimps in homosex, *New Vision*, 2 March 1994, pp1-2; and, Homosexual birds stun expats, *The Monitor*, 21 September 1999, p20.

¹⁵⁷ Mazrui defends gays, *New Vision*, 6 October 1999, pp1-2.

¹⁵⁸ I'm gay! And it's my right to be!, *New Vision*, 5 August 1998, p9; and, Stop gaybashing already, *The Monitor*, 10 October 1999 p11.

As will be evident, the invisibility of lesbianism is not limited to this chapter, but was carried through to Chapter 6, in which I account for the second way in which newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities: the circulation of disgust.

Chapter 6. Circulating disgust

6.1. Introduction

In the last chapter, I interrogated the first way in which newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities in the lead-up to the AHB/AHA: through the problematisation of homosexuality. I suggested that the biopolitically racist logic underpinning the AHB/AHA could be discerned most explicitly in the newspapers from 2006 onwards, as homosexuality came to be seen through the theme of recruitment. However, a focus on problematisations alone fails to exhaust the implication of Uganda's newspapers in the government of sexual minorities. In this chapter, I examine the second way in which Uganda's newspapers were implicated: through the circulation of disgust towards them. In so doing, I address the third sub-research question of this thesis: 'What particular techniques of government were employed by Ugandan newspapers in covering homosexuality?'

While disgust may be the focus of this chapter, emotion was not a focus for Foucault, nor has it generally formed an object of analysis for governmentality scholars. Hence, this chapter is structured as followed. First, I draw from the small body of governmentality scholarship which has foregrounded emotions such as love, shame and self-esteem, and their implication within governmental regimes in order to account theoretically for emotions. Second, given the lack of attention paid by such scholarship to the disgusting, I draw from the vast, transdisciplinary scholarship on disgust. Combining the insights from these two fields of scholarship, I suggest that while disgust can be seen as an individual emotion, it can also be seen as a technology of government; that is, something which is 'imbued with aspirations for the shaping of conduct in the hope or producing certain desires effects' (Rose, 1999: 52). Moreover, when directed towards individuals and sub-populations disgust can provide a means of 'erecting...particular regimes of violence and domination' (Mbembe, 1992: 5). Third, I analyse the means by which Uganda's newspapers helped to incite and circulate disgust towards homosexuality – namely, through a series of 'disgust techniques'. Finally, the chapter concludes by summarising and reflecting upon the findings.

The originality and significance of this chapter lies in its development of governmentality and emotion literature by turning towards an as-of-yet unexplored emotion, its incorporation of existing disgust literature into a governmentality understanding of disgust, and its filling of a gap concerning the 'how' of disgust with reference to homosexuality and news media.

6.2. Governmentality and emotion

The closest Foucault came to considering the implication of emotion within regimes of power/knowledge was in his description of the spectacle of the scaffold in *Discipline and Punish*. While the performative aspects of Damiens' execution will be revisited in greater depth in the following chapter, the focus here is on the dual purpose served by the spectacle in relation to the exercise of sovereign power. On the one hand, torture and execution served as a punishment for serious transgressions of criminal law. On the other hand, the spectacle showcased to the assembled audience the superiority of the sovereign over the condemned, ostensibly as a means of deterring law-breaking. The spectacle of the scaffold resulted in the display of a 'marked, beaten, broken' of a criminal: 'the ceremony of punishment', as Foucault described it, was 'an exercise of "terror"'. This extreme fear – that is, terror – was not directed towards the condemned, but towards the audience. It was therefore a means of deterring further law-breaking through inciting and circulating fear of punishment (Foucault, 1991a: 49).

Notwithstanding this nod towards the governmental potential of emotion, Foucault did 'not address emotions directly at all' in his work (Heaney, 2011: 266) and subsequent governmentality scholars have also had relatively little to say about emotion. Despite this general trend in the literature, a small body of scholarship has, to varying degrees, sought to interrogate emotions in governmental terms. Examples include the self-management of conduct through shame in the teacher-pupil relationship in Denmark (Bjerg and Staunæs, 2011) or in anti-human trafficking campaigns in Vietnam (Voelkner, 2014). Courage (Walters, 2014), too, has been examined as a means resisting governmental strategies in the realm of securitisation in western Pakistan. The concept of affective labour has also been applied to transnational volunteerism in Ghana (Vrasti and Montsion, 2014) and self-government through the entrepreneurial reality television genre in Ireland (Kiersey, 2014). Reflecting upon such work, D'Aoust (2014b) concluded that emotions should be seen as 'central to the very phenomenon of the art of governing Foucault was concerned with' (271).

Without following D'Aoust in placing emotions at the centre of regimes of governmentality, I nevertheless suggest that the inattention toward the emotional in governmentality literature is a missed opportunity. As some governmentality and emotion scholars have suggested, emotions can be seen as yet another 'instrumental way' through which rationalities, logics and strategies 'can be enacted' (270). Emotions such as self-esteem (Cruikshank, 1996) and love (2013; D'Aoust, 2014a) have been conceptualised through the literature as *technologies of government*; able to be 'shaped and stirred through various institutional practices and in specific directions', with the aim of realising particular governmental objectives (D'Aoust, 2014a: 325). Whether guiding people to 'esteem

themselves' as a means of overcoming economic and social inequalities (Cruikshank, 1996) or inducing particular manifestations of love for one's partner or country in the realm of marriage migration (D'Aoust, 2013), emotions can be seen as more than mere private, personal states. They are also 'practical and productive' technologies of government (Cruikshank, 1996: 233), and one of power's 'main political sites and relays' (D'Aoust, 2014a: 324). This is not to suggest that emotions are exhausted by their conceptualisation as technologies of government. While they 'certainly can be' thought of as technologies, they nevertheless 'exceed' such a conception (324-325). This is because emotions can be unpredictable; subjects may not respond emotionally as intended and affective strategies may not be realised.

Drawing on such works, I suggest that disgust can be conceived as a technology of government, able to be incited towards certain objectives in the government of individuals and populations. Although the literatures have examined several emotions through a governmentality lens, they have thus far remained quiet on disgust. In order to generate a governmental understanding of disgust, I turn in the next section to the transdisciplinary body of scholarship on the subject.

6.3. Theorising disgust

In recent years there has been a boom in disgust scholarship. Once the affective *bête noire* of academia, its meteoric rise in the last 20 years has led to claims that it is 'the unlikely academic star of our time' (Strohmingner, 2014: 478). It has been explored from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, including anthropology, law, philosophy, psychoanalysis, psychology and neuroscience. These approaches have, to varying degrees, sought to explain what lies at the root of disgust, what kinds of objects people find disgusting, whether or not disgust serves a useful purpose, whether disgust is a universal condition and whether there are any universally reviled objects of disgust. In the following sections, I provide a brief overview of each of these aspects of the literature, before teasing out the elements which can be usefully paired with a governmentality framework, thus generating an approach to disgust as a technology of government.

6.3.1. The root of disgust

Some of the earliest work on disgust came from Darwin (1872), who, while noting it meant 'something offensive to taste', considered it to be an aversive, food-related emotion with recognisable physiological manifestations, nausea, and recognisable facial expressions (257). Angyal (1941) similarly considered it to be food-related, although he suggested its aversive characteristic stemmed from the fact that contact with disgust objects was seen as debasing. He noted that oral incorporation of such objects was regarded as particularly disgusting. Rozin and Fallon (1987), in what would mark

the beginning of an extensive body of modern psychological research on the issue, built on Darwin's and Angyal's insights, suggesting that what ultimately disgusts is that which reminded people of their animal origins. Agreeing with Angyal, they considered the mouth to be a particularly formidable zone of disgust.

Freud (1949) considered disgust to be rooted in sexual desire. Disgust, along with shame, was a reaction formation; a mental barrier constructed to suppress the consummation of childhood sexual impulses. Becker (1973) provided an alternative psychoanalytic explanation for disgust: it was, at root, tied to anxiety around our mortality. For Kristeva (1982), who dealt with it via her psychoanalytic theory of abjection, disgust concerned rejection of the maternal. Miller (1997), in his social history of disgust, posited that 'ultimately the basis for all disgust is us' – our lives from birth to death, as we emit 'substances and odors that make us doubt ourselves and fear our neighbours' (Miller, 1997: xiv).

Perhaps the most notable contribution given the methodological orientation of this thesis came from Douglas (2001), who provided a starkly anti-essentialist account of dirt. She cast doubt on the idea that western aversions to the disgusting were primarily pathogen related (and therefore rational), in contradistinction to the aversions of non-western cultures which were largely symbolic or magical (and therefore irrational). As Anderson (1995) demonstrated, American colonial health officers in early twentieth century Philippines imagined everything they encountered to be "brownwashed" with a thin film of germs' requiring 'massive, ceaseless disinfection' (641). For Douglas, once knowledge of pathogenicity was scrubbed from understandings of dirt, what was left was 'matter out of place' (Douglas, 2001: 36). What is construed as dirty or polluting was that which transgressed systems of classification. Thus, she argued, food was not inherently dirty, but food splattered over clothing was considered disgusting. In other words: 'where there is dirt, there is system' (36).

6.3.2. The objects of disgust

There is an immense corpus of literature, particularly in experimental psychology, which seeks to explore and differentiate in increasingly minute detail what people find disgusting. Consequently, taxonomies have been produced in North American psychological laboratories, in the hopes of adequately capturing the complexity of the disgusting, including the heterogeneity of disgust elicitors as well as the variance between individuals in their disgust sensitivity (Haidt et al., 1994; 1997).

Disgust is generally said to be aroused through the senses: taste, touch, smell and vision, with the possible exception of hearing (Miller, 1997: 82-85). Bodily products such as faeces, urine, vomit, nasal discharges, pus, semen, and blood were cited as common sources of disgust, due to their sensorial properties. Whereas tears appeared to be the one bodily secretion that was rarely, if at all, regarded as disgusting, faeces was regarded as one of the strongest disgust elicitors (Angyal, 1941). Many

animals were cited as sources of disgust, including those associated with waste products or rotting flesh, such as maggots, cockroaches, flies or rats. Bodily injuries, open wounds, and diseases were also frequently cited, particularly those that provided the sights or odours of ill-health or infection. Death and the process of decay – or as Miller referred to it, ‘life soup’ - was also regarded as a source of disgust (Miller, 1997: 41).

As noted by many authors, however, disgust was rather more dynamic than a static list of ‘disgust objects’ was able to convey. One of its central characteristics was its transferability: disgust was contagious (Douglas, 2001; Nussbaum, 2010; Rozin et al., 1986). Indeed, Haidt et al (1997) contended that disgust was triggered primarily not through sensory properties but ‘by ideational concerns’ about what an object was or ‘where it has been’ (109). A neutral object would therefore become disgusting through contact with a disgust object. This applied as much to people as to objects, and as the so-called untouchables of the Indian caste system demonstrated, ‘interpersonal disgust’ was remarkably durable (Rozin et al., 2008). Although the ‘untouchables’ included those whose occupations put them into contact with faeces, urine, corpses or other disgust objects, Nussbaum (2010) highlighted such individuals were, in fact, cleaner in habits than upper castes - and were therefore at lower risk of contracting cholera. The contagious nature of disgust could also operate even if contact between a neutral object and a disgust object was entirely imaginary. According to Anderson, the touch of a Filipino was seen as so contaminating by American colonial health officers that, in their medical texts, the body of the Filipino was often reduced to ‘little more than a gaping anus and two soiled hands’ (Anderson, 1995: 648). He noted that when a typhoid outbreak occurred in Ludlow Barracks in 1909, medical authorities issued orders forbidding ‘natives’ from touching or eating from any dishes used by the soldiers. This was despite the eventual determination that the outbreak was caused by contaminated drinking water and that no ‘native’ disease carriers were ever identified (650-651).

6.3.3. The benefits of disgust

Of the literature that dealt with the benefits of disgust, two broad camps could be discerned: one largely psychological, focussed on disease or danger-avoidance; and one largely philosophical, focussed on its role in social cohesion.

For the psychological literature, disgust appeared to be primarily a disease avoidance mechanism, acquired through evolutionary adaptation (Rubio-Godoy et al., 2007; Schaller and Duncan, 2007; Oaten et al., 2009). Objects that were particularly potent transmitters of disease were said to arouse disgust: faeces, saliva, blood, sexual fluids, rotting flesh, certain animals, as well as visible characteristics of infection or illness. It was claimed the contagious property of disgust supports this perspective. Furthermore, any properties associated with the potential for microbial growth – and

therefore potential illness – were regarded as disgusting. This included: moisture, sliminess, ooze, stickiness, smelliness or discolouration. Oaten et al (2009) even suggested that disease avoidance could also be used to explain interpersonal or moral disgust, as ‘strangers or “undesirable” people’ – examples cited by the authors include ‘vagrants, drug addicts, and prostitutes’ - were likely to be sources of novel pathogens, rather than people with whom one was familiar (2009: 305). In contradistinction to Douglas (2001), who asserted that food prohibitions were related to that which transgressed systems of classification, Oaten et al (2009) suggested that moral norms centring on food and sexual prohibitions were said to operate ‘as a means of managing disease-related threats’ (35),

For the largely philosophical literature, here represented by the interventions of Devlin (1965) and Kass (1997), disgust was said to play an important socio-moral-legal function that ought to be respected. For Kass, modern western society had brought about general acceptance of behaviours and relationships that were commonly regarded as disgusting in the past, although – he lamented - this was ‘not always...for the better’ (Kass, 1997: 20). He suggested that disgust was an emotion of ‘deep wisdom’ to which we ought to pay attention, particularly when faced with attempts to rationalise away action which incites ‘repugnance’ (20). The disgust felt towards sex with animals, the mutilation of corpses, the consumption of human flesh, rape and murder alerted us not to ‘transgress what is unspeakably profound’ (20). Devlin, for his part, contended that without paying attention to what disgusted an ordinary person – or ‘the man on the Clapham omnibus’ - society would likely disintegrate from within (Devlin, 1965). If societies were to continue on, they required adherence to a shared set of moral values – the transgression of which ought to be subject to criminal sanction. Disgust therefore played a role in social defence, alerting a society that the acceptable limits of toleration had been breached. For Devlin, the disgust he imagined ordinary men in the UK felt towards same-sex intercourse was sufficient justification for its continued criminalisation, irrespective of the existence of rational counter-arguments.

6.3.4. The universality of disgust

While the psychological literature contended that disgust was a universal human condition, there were a number of caveats to this. Although it held there existed certain ‘core’ disgust elicitors such as faeces, it nevertheless remained surprisingly open to cultural and individual variability in disgust objects. For example, although they noted disgust likely had evolutionary origins, Haidt et al (1997) asserted it was also ‘clearly a cultural product’ (111). Even in those objects, like faeces, deemed universally disgusting, the literature noted that individual sensitivity may vary depending on the context. While a parent may ordinarily regard faeces as revolting, they will often regard the faeces of their own babies as significantly less disgusting than that of other people’s. Moreover, much of the literature cited a study by Malson (1972), which examined known cases of so-called ‘wolf’ children,

who did not display disgust towards the supposedly core objects of disgust. Similarly, much of the literature cited Freud, who suggested that children did not display disgust until during toilet training (Freud, 1949). Others, such as Haidt et al (1997), built upon such insights in their observations that that young children who are pre-toilet trained 'will put almost anything into their mouths, including faeces' (111). Hence, the literature appeared to suggest there was little in the way of truly universal disgust objects - that is, objects which are disgusting all the time, in all contexts and cultures.

6.4. The technology of disgust

Much of the reviewed literature provided useful insights that could be brought productively under a governmentality umbrella in order to reconceptualise disgust. It is possible to take the insight from Darwin, Angyal and others that disgust is a particularly aversive emotion, without necessarily agreeing that it is related to food. It is possible to follow Douglas in viewing with suspicion the idea that disgust is an inherent property, without necessarily following her to her structuralist conclusions. It is possible to pull from the vast psychological literature and acknowledge disgust can serve a useful function, without believing in its evolutionary explanations. Finally, it is possible to draw from Rozin's observation that disgust properties can be contagious, contaminating, and durable – as the 'untouchables' of India demonstrate - without agreeing necessarily that disgust is incited by reminders of our animal nature.

Hence, disgust is not an inherent property of any object, nor does it appear there are any universal disgust objects – even something repeatedly cited as disgusting, such as faeces. Rather, the individual, social and cultural variability of disgust objects appears to be the outcome of processes of normalisation. Subjects, in other words, learn to feel and express disgust in diverse contexts and locations, such as the family home or the school. It can be a useful emotion, helping to avoid consumption of possibly dangerous, pathogen-filled substances that would be injurious to physical health. However, as the experiences of the 'untouchables' demonstrated, disgust is highly transferable, with a subject/object becoming disgusting simply through its association, whether real or imagined, with an object already deemed disgusting. The malleability of disgust means that it can be instrumentalised towards altogether more insidious agendas. Rwandan Tutsis, for example, were referred to repeatedly through Rwandan mass media as cockroaches and other vermin, in the run-up the 1994 genocide in which an estimated 500,000 to 1,000,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were murdered (Stanton, 2004). This is not to suggest that disgust alone can account for the horrors which transpired, but that it nevertheless formed part of a governmental arsenal which aimed for nothing less than the total annihilation of the Tutsi people. Even in less extreme contexts, children may acquire

disgust towards particular social groups, such as racial, religious or sexual minorities, if such norms circulate in the family home or throughout wider society.

However, as Foucault argued, the subject is a locus of both power and resistance (Foucault, 1982). Individuals are never fully produced by the techniques that act upon them, meaning that subjects may diverge from social or cultural understandings of particular objects as disgusting. Moreover, those objects strongly normalised as disgusting may, in fact, be perceived as a source of pleasure or positivity in certain contexts. As Harrington and Manji's (2012) work on 'excremental satire' and Mbembe's (1992) thoughts on the 'grotesque' in political humour in Togo demonstrate, objects normalised as disgusting – like faeces - can be understood in ways that generate responses other than aversion and horror.

6.5. The newspaper and disgust

With an understanding of the specificity of the technology of disgust, it is possible to move on to explore the means by which disgust towards homosexuality was incited and circulated through the newspapers in Uganda. It should be noted that just as newspapers were far from the only domain through which problematisations could be examined, so too, was the newspaper not the only means by which disgust techniques were circulated.¹⁵⁹ Yet newspapers provide a potentially efficient means of circulating disgust, operating without even needing to be purchased, simply by way of their own visibility on newsstands. Large print headlines, 'shocking' photographs, and promises of sensationalistic stories on front pages increase the chance that disgust could be transmitted to the casual passer-by in the street or to anyone in the vicinity of a reader. Disgust, as demonstrated by tabloids such as *Red Pepper* and *Rolling Stone*, can be a highly economical technology, potentially instilled with just a few words and pictures.

In the following section, I outline four themes – or disgust techniques – through which disgust towards homosexuality was incited and circulated. These included: rape and paedophilia; violence and the anus; disease and death; and warnings. The techniques are presented as discrete for heuristic purposes, although they ought not to be considered as circumscribed categories, but rather as bleeding into one another. As will also be evident, the techniques identified are directed almost

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, Pastor Martin Ssempe's 'Eat the Poo Poo' religious sermon from 2010, in which Ssempe described to his horrified congregation what he claimed were common sex practices between men. He claimed that gay men 'eat the poo poo' and lick faeces-covered rectums 'like ice cream' and he projected video and images from scatological sadomasochistic pornography, all the while asking why US President Barack Obama wanted to force Uganda to allow the 'poo poo' of their children to be consumed by such men. Available from: EAT DA POO POO [AFRICA DO NOT WANT THIS SICKNESS], <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ijnrLt3VuSM> [last accessed 5 March 2019].

exclusively towards male homosexuality rather than lesbianism. Just as in the previous chapter, where I suggested that problematisations of homosexuality were overwhelmingly focussed on sex between men, so too, were the techniques of disgust. Therefore, there was a continuation of the theme of lesbian invisibility identified in the previous chapter, something upon which I reflect in the conclusion to this chapter.

6.5.1. Techniques of disgust

6.5.1.1. Rape and paedophilia

The first disgust technique was also, chronologically-speaking, the first to appear in the dataset. It was also the broadest technique, weaving homosexuality together with figures such as the rapist and the paedophile, together with oblique appeals to the breaching of bodily orifices. In this way, the first technique overlapped with the second (violence and the anus), albeit without a focus on the graphic aftermath of such encounters. The elision between adult consensual, same-sex genital relations, and rape or paedophilia was a feature of the entire dataset, even from the earliest of data items. It is notable that such stories were dwarfed in frequency when compared to news items on the rape of women or of so-called 'defilement'; that is, the rape of girls under the age of 18.¹⁶⁰ The key difference was that opposite-sex rape or sex abuse was never framed in terms of its heterosexuality, unlike same-sex rape or sex abuse, which was repeatedly framed through the lens of homosexuality.

The first such item to appear in the data was also afforded a measure of prominence, as it appeared as a small story on the front of the newspaper in the 17 August 1989 *New Vision*.¹⁶¹ While not accompanied by any visual material or any graphic or salacious details - components which could have added to or compounded the disgust - the headline was indicative of the reporting of sex crimes involving men or boys as victims: 'Homosexuals abused boy'. The accompanying story was, in fact, about coerced sex, rape or sexual abuse within the context of the prison, a theme which Dr. Mwayembe picked up just two months later, as indicated in his letter to the editor, analysed in Chapter 5.¹⁶² The news item itself quoted the 14-year-old juvenile detainee, who reportedly told the judge: 'Adult prisoners are stronger than we young people and during the night they practice homosexuality

¹⁶⁰ See, for example: NRA executes 3 soldiers for rape, *New Vision*, 17 November 1989, p1; Teacher defiles pupils, *New Vision*, 15 June 1989, p8; Youth need protection from degenerate adults, *New Vision*, 28 March 1990, p4; Defilement on the rise, *New Vision*, 6 April 1991, p1; 2 children defiled, *New Vision*, 7 January 1992, p2; Defilement case, *New Vision*, 18 January 1992, p2; Man defiles 12-year-old-girl, *New Vision*, 11 March 1992, p2; Two men defile girl, *New Vision*, 18 March 1992, p3; Girl defiled, *New Vision*, 25 March 1992, p3; Man jailed for defilement, *New Vision*, 25 May 1992, p5; Teacher on defilement charge, *New Vision*, 22 January 1993, p1; Defilement on increase, *New Vision*, 17 May 1993, p24; Teacher held over defilement, *New Vision*, 29 October 1993, p11; Priest held on defilement charge, *New Vision*, 11 November 1993, p1.

¹⁶¹ Homosexuals abused boy, *New Vision*, 17 August 1989, p1.

¹⁶² See 'Investigate sex abuse in prisons' in Chapter 5.

on us'. Not only were the perpetrators of this attack identified simply as 'homosexuals' in the headline, but the *act* of non-consensual intercourse between men and boys was itself homosexuality, rather than rape or paedophilia.

This elision between consensual same-sex genital relations and coerced sex either between adults, or, in particular, between adult men and boys under the age of 18, reappeared throughout the data. Some of these news items were brief home or foreign news bulletins, which carried stories of approximately 30 words. Hence, bulletins with titles such as 'Homosexual jailed'¹⁶³ or 'Homosexual executed',¹⁶⁴ corresponded to stories which referred, respectively, to the rape of a 5-year-old boy in Uganda and a 'young boy' of indeterminate age in Somalia. Longer news items also incorporated the technique, with a 17 August 1993 article in *New Vision* entitled 'Homosexual suspect held',¹⁶⁵ which corresponded to the guilty plea of a serial paedophile. He reportedly admitted to 'having sex' with a seven-year-old boy and a 14-year-old boy, conduct which the *New Vision* reporter framed as 'homo-sex' rather than rape or child sexual abuse. Similarly, a 28 July 2008 *New Vision* story on the Catholic Church child abuse scandal employed the headline, 'Time to apologise to victims of homosexuality'.¹⁶⁶ The accompanying story described alleged paedophile priests as 'homosexual priests' and paedophilia in the church was referred to as 'homosexual practice'. In the process, one of the largest and most prolific international child sex abuse scandals was transformed into an issue of 'homosexuality' in the Church.

The elision of homosexuality and child abuse or paedophilia is far from unique to Uganda (Cicchino et al., 1995; Mutz, 2006; Angelides, 2008; Persson and Culture, 2015). When viewed through the lens of the technology of disgust, however, such stories went beyond simply rendering homosexuality as synonymous or indistinguishable from paedophilia and rape. Given the malleability and transferability of disgust, the blurring of the line of homosexuality and paedophilia or rape helped to transfer the disgust properties of latter to the former. The homosexual was not just indistinguishable in epistemological terms from the rapist or paedophile; it was indistinguishable in terms of its disgust properties.

¹⁶³ Homosexual jailed, *New Vision*, 11 December 1991, p3.

¹⁶⁴ Homosexual executed, *The Monitor*, 17 September 1997, p19.

¹⁶⁵ Homosexual suspect held, *New Vision*, 17 August 1993, p6. See also: Gay suspect on rape charge, *New Vision*, 12 September 1996, p3; Kibuye man 'sodomises' 11, nabbed, *The Monitor*, 6 September 1999, p17;

¹⁶⁶ Time to apologise to victims of homosexuality, *New Vision*, 28 July 2008, [n.p].

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 16 -This gay monster raped boys in school but failed to bonk wife, Red Pepper, 24 September 2010

The technique was advanced in different ways in other news items. Rather than collapse the categories of paedophilia and homosexuality, some news items, particularly in the tabloids, retained them as analytically distinct, but nevertheless tied the two together. For example, the front page of the 24 September 2010 edition of the *Red Pepper* included a headshot of a man next to the headline: 'This Gay Monster Raped Boys in School But Failed to Bonk Wife'. Hence, the subject of the story was stripped of his human qualities: he was not just a homosexual man, but a 'gay monster' who 'sodomised' schoolboys. The story rendered explicit what was alluded to through the myriad stories on rape-as-homosexuality. Far from producing an image of an 'effeminate, limp-wristed, ineffectual' homosexual, what was advanced was a form of masculine sexuality which was 'out of control...aggressive, powerful and unrestrained' (Herman, 1997: 80). The homosexual was hyper-sexual and sexually dangerous, ready to penetrate schoolboys at any moment. At the same time, *Red Pepper* sought to neuter his sexual power: while he may have been adept at raping young boys, he was simply unable to 'bonk' – that is, have sex with – his wife. Such a description advanced a contradictory and unstable understanding of the homosexual: on the one hand, his sexuality was monstrous and voracious, while on the other, he was a pathetic figure, lacking in virility when it came to sexual conquests of the opposite sex.

The accompanying article included a purported quote from the accused man, which read 'I sodomised this one boy and soon all boys in school were having sex'. In addition to transferring disgust from the paedophile and rapist to the homosexual, the story advanced the notion that 'sodomy' in one instance led to an explosion of such conduct. Thus, it reinforced the notion, seen in the previous chapter, that homosexuality was endemic and could be 'spread'. Elsewhere, the idea of homosexuality spreading

in schools dovetailed explicitly into the theme of recruitment, also outlined in the previous chapter. Hence, the 9 October 2010 edition of *Rolling Stone* which 'leaked' photographs of 'Uganda's top 100 homos' and appeared a year after the tabling of the AHB, also included an apparent quote on its front page, attributed simply to 'homos'. It outlined their intention to recruit '1000,000 [sic]' children by 2012.¹⁶⁷ The front page further alleged that parents would 'face heart-breaks [sic] as homos raid school'.¹⁶⁸

While there was a difference in tone and language between *New Vision* and *The Monitor* on the one hand, and *Red Pepper* and *Rolling Stone* on the other, the disgust technique was similar in its operation. It was a technique which worked by associating homosexuality repeatedly with rape and child abuse, thus transferring the disgust properties of the latter on to the former.

6.5.1.2. Violence and the anus

The second disgust technique overlapped considerably with the first, although it appeared much later in the data. It was a technique which relied upon graphic descriptions of the purported mechanics of anally penetrative sex. It did so in a way which presented 'homosexual sex' as inherently dirty, violent, dangerous, debilitating and thoroughly disgusting. Moreover, while it might be expected that such graphic and prurient details would appear solely in tabloids such as *Red Pepper* and *Rolling Stone*, the data revealed that this particular disgust technique was also advanced by the broadsheet newspapers.

There were news items as far as back 1999 – just after Museveni's calls for the arrest of all homosexuals¹⁶⁹ - which alluded, in an indirect way, to the dangerous or unpleasant nature of anal sex between men.¹⁷⁰ The disgust technique of equating homosexuality to anal violence, however, was mobilised in earnest from the mid-to-late 2000s. The strongest example from the broadsheets was found in a 15 July 2007 *Monitor* article – just two years before the AHB was first introduced - which went into graphic detail of the aftermath of a sex attack on a man. Entitled 'Museveni's Lawyer to Help Sodomy Victim',¹⁷¹ the story's very first sentence was indicative of the mechanisms of this disgust technique:

'President Museveni's legal aide has offered to help the man who said his rectum was mercilessly torn in repeated homosexual assault between 2002 and 2004.'

¹⁶⁷ 100 pictures of Uganda's top homos leak, *Rolling Stone*, 2-9 October 2010, p1.

¹⁶⁸ 100 pictures of Uganda's top homos leak, *Rolling Stone*, 2-9 October 2010, p1.

¹⁶⁹ Arrest homos says Museveni, *New Vision*, 29 September 1999, p1; Museveni opens war on gay men, *The Monitor*, 28 September 1999, p1

¹⁷⁰ Homosexuals? Don't waste energy, nature will deal with them, *New Vision*, 3 October 1999, p5.

¹⁷¹ Museveni's Lawyer to Help Sodomy Victim, *The Monitor*, 15 July 2007, p1 and p3.

Just as with the theme of paedophilia/rape, any kind of distinction between consensual same-sex genital relations between men and rape was exploded through the description of male rape as 'repeated homosexual assault'. Yet it went beyond producing the two as synonymous, as it also introduced the graphic aftermath of the 'homosexual assault' in which the victim's rectum was 'mercilessly torn'. Elsewhere in the article, the victim was described as having 'damage to his anal anatomy that has failed to heal'. It then went into more detail, noting that he 'goes around padded all day' in order to prevent anal leakage – 'regular discharge of blood and other fluids' – which seeped out of his anal cavity as a result of the 'chronic anal inflammation' caused by the anal violence. Hence, the text not only associated homosexuality with rape, as in the previous section, but foregrounded wanton destruction of the anus of the victim.

It was a technique which operated through the association of homosexuality with the imagery of a leaky, bloody, discharging anus, out of which seeped not only blood but 'other fluids' – presumably pus, given the inflammation and infection – and which was so severe that the victim was forced to wear pads. The article was a laundry list of properties frequently cited in the literature as disgusting. There was visible trauma inflicted upon bodily tissue, as well as signs of ill-health such as bloodiness, ooze and leakage, thrown together in an orifice often normalised as polluting owing to its close association with faecal matter. The anus, which was 'torn', was in a permanent state of leakage, requiring the usage of pads. Serving up a veritable banquet of disgust properties, the text marked a significant increase in the intensity of attempts to circulate disgust towards homosexuality.

Although the story concerned legal and financial assistance for a rape survivor, it was surprising that the broadsheet focused almost obsessively on the oozy, bloody, fleshy aftermath of the 'homosexual assault'. From the perspective of the technology of disgust, the focus on multiple disgust properties and their association with homosexuality was entirely consistent. The technique of associating homosexuality with anal violence was also advanced within the tabloids, which similarly reported on survivors of sex crimes, but took the prurience and detail-orientation of their reporting in a somewhat different direction.

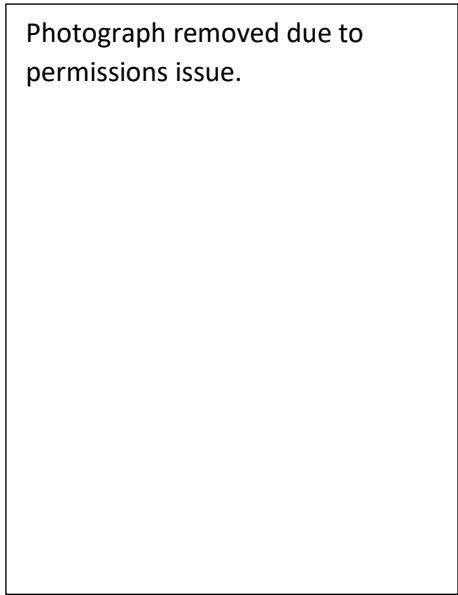


Figure 17 - Beware: notorious bum driller on the loose, *Red Pepper*, 22 February 2011

Both the 22 February 2011¹⁷² and 30 September 2011¹⁷³ editions of *Red Pepper* – some two years before the passing of the AHB by Uganda’s Parliament - featured stories on alleged rapes or sex assaults committed, respectively, against an adult men and several youths. While the reporting was remarkably similar to the *Monitor*, the focus on effects went even further, as evinced by the headlines and subtitles to their respective stories.

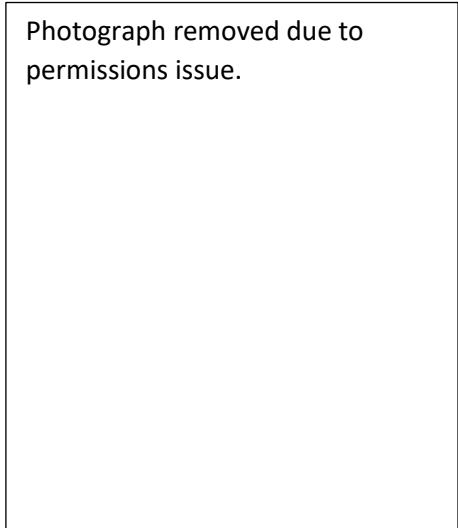


Figure 18 - Pastor Kiweweesi in bum sex scandal, *Red Pepper*, 30 September 2011

The allusions to anal destruction were evident even from the headline to the first story, which read ‘BEWARE: Notorious bum driller on the loose’ (Fig 17). From the outset, the penis of the homosexual

¹⁷² Beware: notorious bum driller on the loose, *Red Pepper*, 22 February 2011, [n.p]
¹⁷³ Pastor Kiweweesi in bum sex scandal, *Red Pepper*, 30 September 2011, p1.

– that is, the alleged rapist of the story – was transformed into a weapon; a drill which waged violence upon the anuses – or bums – of innocent Ugandan men and boys. The subtitle to the second story described how an alleged victim had his buttocks ‘terrorised’ by the ‘whopper’ of Pastor Kiweweesi; a popular slang term coined by the *Red Pepper* to refer to the penis, as I indicated in Chapter 4. Just like the image of the drill, this was no ordinary penis, but a ‘monster whopper’; that is, an extraordinarily large, perhaps even abnormally large, penis.

Whereas *The Monitor* may have had an obsessive focus on the damage caused to the anus of a rape survivor by a ‘homosexual assault’, *Red Pepper* appeared infatuated with both the damage to the victim’s anus and the interconnected size of the perpetrators’ penises. Rather than advance the familiar image of the insatiable, hypersexual and promiscuous homosexual, *Red Pepper* also endowed him with the Priapistic qualities of a large, snake-like penis that destroyed whatever it penetrated.

The first article, which described an alleged rape of a man by three others, observed that the victim was left with a ‘shattered ass’ after the assault. Quoting the alleged victim, the article described how one of the accused told him ‘he wanted to download his sperms into my bum’ and how the three men then ‘forced their anaconda-like whoppers in my bum’. The article then noted how after the attack, the alleged victim was ‘rushed to hospital’ on account of his ‘leaky bums [sic]’, for urgent treatment. The second article, which recounted allegations levelled against a Pentecostal pastor for his involvement in historic sexual abuse, described the accused as a ‘raging homosexual’, ‘nothing but a SERIAL BUM SHAFTER’ and described how five boys had accused the pastor ‘of bum-shafting them’. It recounted the story of one of the alleged victims, who revealed the Pastor accosted him ‘with his whopper in one hand’ and attempted to ‘shaft’ him, although the boy was able to escape to safety. Another of the victims was described by an unnamed source as being ‘bonked so seriously in the bum’ that he contracted a kidney infection. ‘He shafted him senseless so that the poor boy paid with his kidney’, the source was quoted as stating.

In strongly associating homosexuality with violence committed against the anuses of men and young boys, both articles built upon the first disgust technique. They mobilised the technique of anal violence through their focus on the extremely large penises of the perpetrators, the mechanics of the encounter and the aftermath in terms of damage to the victim. Just as in *The Monitor*’s coverage, *Red Pepper* provided a laundry list of disgust properties to transfer upon the object homosexuality. This included imagery of extremely large penises ‘shafting’ or ‘shattering’ - as if broken irreparably into pieces – the anuses of boys or men. The anus, which was already produced as a polluting orifice due to its association with faecal matter, was not only destroyed because of homosexuality, but in its destruction, it oozed and leaked fluids such as blood, pus and semen. The disgust properties of injured

anuses, oozianness, leakage, semen, blood, pus and other signs of trauma were therefore transferred to the object of homosexuality. In this way, the second theme also overlapped with the third, which focused on the invocation of illness and death.

6.5.1.3. Disease and death

The third disgust technique worked by associating homosexuality with a variety of diseases, both internal (and invisible) and external (and visible), particularly STIs, all of which were said to lead to early deaths of homosexuals. While incipient appeals to the theme of disease were apparent in the 1990s, the technique increased in intensity in the mid-to-late 2000s, as extensive news items described the negative health consequences of homosexuality in detail.

In terms of association of homosexuality with disease, there were two mechanisms in the data, albeit with one stronger in terms of disgust incitation than the other. The first spoke of homosexuality almost as if it were a disease itself. This was evident in some of the earlier data items outlined in the previous chapter, where agents spoke of homosexuality as ‘spreading fast’,¹⁷⁴ ‘on the rise’,¹⁷⁵ or as ‘eating up our beloved nation’.¹⁷⁶ While the notion that homosexuality was spreading through Uganda, particularly in single-sex schools, ‘fit’ with the kind of solution that the AHB/AHA represented, the association with disease – and therefore the incitation of *disgust* - was more allusory.

More concrete in terms of disgust incitement was the second type, which dovetailed into the biopolitical problematisation of homosexuality outlined in the previous chapter. Not only was homosexuality associated with rape, paedophilia, rectal damage, pus, blood, semen and general oozianness, but it was associated with diseases and death, objects the literature suggested were commonly cited disgust elicitors.

While scattered, incipient examples of this disgust technique could be found as far back as 1994,¹⁷⁷ it was mobilised in earnest from 2006 onwards. Thus, in an extensive story in the 8 February 2006 *Monitor*, the association of homosexuality and diseases and death was made most explicit. The column, entitled ‘Same Sex Relationships Pose Health Risk’, invoked a broad range of disgusting disease related phenomena in its discussion of homosexuality.¹⁷⁸ The average homosexual, it claimed, ‘has hundreds of sexual partners in his/her lifetime’, resulting in ‘higher’ rate of ‘serious and incurable sexually transmitted diseases’ than amongst the heterosexual population. This included HIV, but also

¹⁷⁴ See, for example: Sexual deviance not inborn, *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, pp12-13; The making of gays in Uganda’s schools, *The Monitor*, 14 March 1998, p12.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example: ‘STDs in the mouth’, *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, pp12-13.

¹⁷⁶ See, for example: Weird Sex Investigation Part II, *Red Pepper*, 9 September 2007, p7.

¹⁷⁷ ‘STDs in the mouth’, *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, pp12-13.

¹⁷⁸ Same sex relationships pose health risk, *New Vision*, 8 February 2006, [n.p].

the Human Papilloma Virus (HPV), a 'collection of more than 70 types of viruses that cause warts on various parts of the body'. Not only was homosexuality associated with wart-covered skin, but same-sex relationships were said to pose '[o]ther health risks' and was particularly associated with Hepatitis A. It was a disease which disproportionately affected homosexuality, 'since most transmission is by the fecal-oral route'.

It is notable that the article framed its discussion as one pertaining to same-sex relationships and also included the composite 'he/she' when discussing STIs. Yet its substance appeared more directed towards male homosexuality, given its discussion of disproportionately high rates of HIV/AIDS and a fixation with the anus. Not only was the (hyper-promiscuous) body of the homosexual a HIV-infected and wart-covered body, it was also a regular consumer of faeces. While myriad disgust objects were tethered to the body of the homosexual, the invocation of faeces in relation to the mouth was perhaps the most effective aspect of this disgust technique, because – as the literature suggested - the mouth was often cited as a particularly sensitive zone of disgust. Placing any disgust object directly into the mouth would generally be said to be more intensely disgusting than simply being in close proximity to such objects. Homosexuality was therefore inexorably tied to the meeting of the mouth and the anus, thereby focusing what was, according to the literature, one of the more sensitive zones of disgust (the mouth) with one of the most commonly cited disgust elicitors (faeces).

A similarly explicit technique of disease association was advanced in the tabloid media, albeit with different illnesses highlighted and a more explicit focus on death. The front page of the 1 November 2010 *Rolling Stone*, for example, noted that – amongst other things - 'Homosexuality Escalates Cases of HIV/AIDS, Gonorrhoea [sic] and Syphilis'.¹⁷⁹ In the accompanying article, the paper cited Dr Paul Cameron,¹⁸⁰ who it described as 'an experienced researcher' based at 'a Colorado-based medical research institute' who had discovered that 'homosexuality is more dangerous than smoking as it reduces one's lifespan by 24 years'. It claimed that homosexuality led to 'Sexual Transmitted Diseases', 'anal cancer' and 'early death'. While the deleterious health consequences were a result of its association with illnesses such as HIV/AIDS, they also stemmed from the extreme violence committed against the anus in homosexual intercourse, as outlined in the previous section. For example, the

¹⁷⁹ *Rolling Stone*, 1-8 November 2010, p2.

¹⁸⁰ Paul Cameron is an anti-LGBTI activist in the United States who has been profiled by Nussbaum (2010). She described him as '[o]ne of the most prolific and influential opponents of gay rights in today's America', who has 'greatly influenced others who write or mobilize in this area' (5-6). She also noted that the American Psychological Association and the American Sociological Association (ASA) have denounced the output of his own 'research' institutions. She quoted the ASA, who stated 'Dr. Cameron has consistently misinterpreted and misrepresented sociological research on sexuality, homosexuality, and lesbianism' (6).

article observed that homosexuality ‘involves “fisting”’, which led to, amongst other things, ‘fatal injuries’.

Just as the disgust technique of association with rape and paedophilia operated at two levels, so too, did the disgust technique of disease and death. On one level, it transferred the disgust properties of the various illnesses and conditions to the body of the homosexual, in the process rendering it so diseased – both inside and out – that its touch could be seen as contaminating or even lethal. Contagious illnesses, such as HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis A, wart-covered skin, rectal ill-health caused by traumatic sex practices such as fisting, and even death itself, were all tethered tightly to the object of homosexuality. On a second level the technique of disease association intersected with the biopolitical problematisation of homosexuality outlined in the previous chapter. This is because the invocation of wart-covered skin, HIV/AIDS, fatal injuries caused by fisting, and the consumption of faeces in relation to homosexuality relied upon ‘expert’ knowledges of medical agents and appeals to statistical data. While the methodological soundness of Cameron’s claims was highly suspect, their deployment by the newspapers further indicated that while problematisation and the technology of disgust were analytically distinct, they nevertheless overlapped with one another. Expert opinion and statistics, in other words, can disgust.

6.5.1.4. Warnings

There was a final technique, which unlike those discussed thus far, did not operate through the transfer of disgust properties such as bodily injury, ooze, bloodiness, semen or references to the anus or faeces. It was a technique which circulated solely in relation to the tabloid data and involved attempts to compound any shock, horror or disgust through the inclusion of disclaimers, sometimes attaching ‘health warning’-style graphics to the contents. The content was presented as shocking; so shocking, in fact, that in some cases there were potential health risks posed simply by reading about them.

The 9 September 2007 *Red Pepper*, for example, cautioned: ‘WARNING! If you are faint of heart, please stop here because the dossier we are unleashing today leaves no stone unturned’.¹⁸¹ The article itself ended with a promise to bring readers ‘more shocking things you don’t know about Homos’ in the following edition. A subsequent series of ‘confessions’ from reported LGBTIs was described as ‘so nerve-breaking’ that ‘hypertension victims should not dare comb through!’¹⁸² The 24 September 2010 edition of *Red Pepper* accompanies a front page story with: ‘This Story Might Make Some Readers Feel

¹⁸¹ Weir Sex Investigations Part II, *Red Pepper*, 9 September 2007, p7.

¹⁸² Top homos in Uganda named, *Red Pepper*, 19 April 2009, p3.

Nauseated!’¹⁸³ The 7 December 2012 attached a yellow graphic over a blurred image of what it claimed was an act of ‘sodomy’ between two men, with the red, distressed-looking font which itself appeared to be bloody or bleeding and which read: ‘SHOCKING PICTURES INSIDE’ (Fig 19).¹⁸⁴

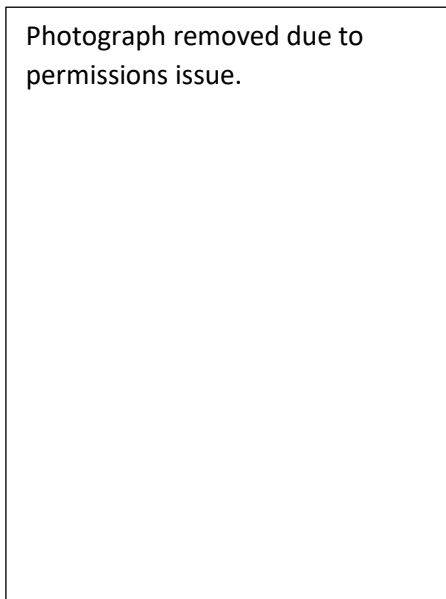


Figure 19 - SHOCKING PICTURES INSIDE, Red Pepper, 7 December 2012

While such warnings were a potential means of enticing potential readers to purchase the newspaper, promising titillation and scandal, the warnings also served to frame the story or photographs from the outset in order to help guide a particular emotional response from the reader. The tabloids, in other words, did not allow the ‘nauseating’ story or ‘shocking’ photographs to speak for themselves. In some cases the warning was attached to a story which also transmitted other disgust techniques, such as the 24 September 2010 *Red Pepper*, which reported on the rape of schoolboys. In other instances, the disgust techniques discussed thus far were absent. Hence, in the 9 September 2007 *Sunday Pepper*, all that was uncovered was a series of vague physical descriptions of Uganda’s ‘top homos’. The application of the warning served as an attempt to make the story intelligible in line with its intended effect: feelings of repulsion towards sexual minorities. Although this may not be successful, at the very least it represented an attempt to instil in the reader an association between the subject of the article – homosexuality – and descriptions of shock or nausea, one of the physiological manifestations of disgust. Irrespective of the banality of the story or images, the health warnings were a technique through which to forge an association between feelings of nausea/disgust and descriptions of sexual minorities.

¹⁸³ This gay monster raped boys but failed to bonk wife, *Red Pepper*, 24 September 2010, p1 and p14.

¹⁸⁴ Smoked Out!, *Red Pepper*, 7 December 2012, p1.

6.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I identified a second way in which the newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities in the years leading up to the AHA: through the circulation of disgust. This chapter therefore addressed the third sub-research question: 'What particular techniques of government were employed by the newspapers in covering homosexuality?' In so doing, I turned to the small body of emotion and governmentality scholarship, thereby conceiving of disgust as a technical device or technology of government, through which governmental strategies can be realised. I also turned to the transdisciplinary scholarship on disgust, bringing their insights under a governmentality umbrella. I suggested that while disgust can serve beneficial objectives, it becomes a means of subjugation when directed towards individuals or groups. I further suggested that the newspaper circulated disgust through a series of 'disgust techniques'. There are a number of notable aspects to the analysis which warrant further consideration.

First, given the data and the overall methodological disposition of this thesis, I advance no claims as to the subjective intentions of individual journalists and editors vis-à-vis the disgust techniques identified. As I outlined in Chapter 2, the focus in this chapter, as with the rest of the thesis, is less on questions of intentionality of individual subjects and more on the strategies of power which Foucault described as 'intentional but non-subjective' – that is, 'the logic is perfectly clear, the aims decipherable, and yet it is often the case that no one is there to have invented them' (Foucault, 1990b).

Second, it appeared that 'homosexuality' as a concept was insufficiently disgusting in and of itself, evinced through repeated invocations of homosexuality with objects such as rape, paedophilia, the anus and violence committed against it, bodily fluids and wounds, faeces, diseases and health warnings. Disgust towards homosexuality was circulated through such negative associations, wherein the contagious nature of disgust transferred from such objects on to homosexuality itself. These negative associations were only capable of arousing disgust because the referent objects had already been normalised as disgusting. This is not to suggest that these objects were inherently disgusting, nor that they were universally regarded as disgusting even within the cultural context of Uganda. Rather, the point was that powerful norms of disgust operates on subjects within specific social or broader cultural contexts from childhood onwards, meaning that, for many people, in many contexts, and much of the time, objects such as faeces would be regarded as disgusting to varying degrees.

Third, it was notable that the disgust techniques were entirely directed towards male homosexuality, rather than lesbianism, highlighting once again the invisibility of lesbian sexuality. The lack of disgust technique relating specifically to lesbianism is particularly surprising, given that feminist scholars have observed the manner in which the female body is often 'met with disgust' (Lee, 1994: 346). The vagina,

in particular, has been represented in different cultural contexts as ‘part of the female body that is shameful, unclean, disgusting’ (Braun and Wilkinson, 2001: 21). For example, slang terms for the vagina in the English language frequently reference dirtiness, oozing secretions, smelliness, and physical wounds (Braun and Kitzinger, 2001). Adopting the theoretical lens of the technology of disgust, it might be said that such frequent associations are a means of inciting and circulating disgust to the vagina. Yet within the data, one of the only texts which referenced the female pronoun in relation to disgust techniques did so through the composite term ‘he/she’. Moreover, the substance of the feature appeared to be directed towards the negative health consequences associated with anal sex, rather than anything specific to female anatomy or sexuality. Just as the problematisation of sexual minorities was largely advanced through focussing in particular on men, so too, were disgust techniques advanced by focusing on sex acts between men.

Fourth, the theme of disease and death intersected strongly with one of the problematisations of homosexuality described in the previous chapter: the biopolitical theme of medicine (1989). That is, the problematisation of homosexuality through its association with myriad diseases was also a means of inciting disgust towards homosexuality. While problematisations and emotional technologies are analytically distinct, this insight suggests that the two can overlap and that problematisations are not necessarily devoid of emotional components. More importantly, it highlights that the form and manner in which statistics and expert opinion are presented can provoke emotional responses, thereby transmitting their knowledges affectively.

Fifth, the elision between paedophilia, rape and homosexuality was a consistent feature of the data. However, the explicitly grotesque turn towards rich descriptions of homosexuality with torn rectums, the oozing of blood, pus and semen, or diseases and death began to appear in earnest in the mid-2000s. This suggests that while homosexuality may have been, to a greater or lesser extent, seen as disgusting throughout, there was an increase in the intensity of the disgust techniques later in the data. This intensity was more or less coextensive with the explicit emergence of the biopolitically racist problematisation of homosexuality in the lead-up to the AHB, which began to emerge from 2006 onwards.

Finally, I have so far focused on the implication of Uganda’s newspapers in the government of sexual minorities but have thus far been relatively silent on the question of resistance. I address this relative silence in the following chapter, where I examine not just how the newspaper was implicated in resistance, but how this resistance further incited the targeting of Uganda’s sexual minorities in the years leading up to the AHA.

Chapter 7. Performing resistance, inciting power

7.1. Introduction

Over the course of the previous two chapters, I examined two ways in which Ugandan newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities in the years leading up to the AHA – namely, by engaging in the problematisation of and circulation of disgust towards homosexuality. Yet it would be redolent of much-criticised earlier accounts of media power¹⁸⁵ to imply that newspapers were uniformly hostile to homosexuality and sexual minorities. At times, and in a largely scattered manner, there were features, columns, letters to the editor, and news items, all of which, to varying degrees, contested the characterisation of homosexuality as a problem *per se* or a problem serious enough to be worthy of governmental attention.¹⁸⁶ This chapter takes this contestation as its starting point and seeks to examine resistance *through* the Ugandan newspaper. In so doing, this chapter also addresses criticisms that governmentality scholarship has had ‘limited theoretical regard for contests and resistances’, with such incidents written off as ‘programmatically failure’ (O’Malley et al., 1997: 210). If, as outlined in Chapter 2, power and resistance do not stand in opposition, but rather presuppose one another, then resistance is constitutive of government rather than indicative of its defeat or failure. Consequently, although this chapter examines resistance in the run-up to the AHB/AHA, it contends that resistance played a role in the eventual emergence of the legislation. Just as power incites resistance, so too, does resistance incite power. Hence, this chapter addresses the fourth sub-research question: ‘How have Ugandan newspapers been used for performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge?’

¹⁸⁵ See, for example, Althusser’s (1971) Marxian concept of the communication ‘ideological state apparatus’ (ISA), one of several ISAs which serve to reproduce the ideological conditions necessary for the reproduction of capitalist labour relations. Althusser’s concept of ISA, while lauded for moving beyond the economism of some Marxian scholarship (e.g. Miliband, 1973) and for highlighting the relative autonomy of ideology, has been criticised strongly for its inability to account for ideological contestation, including within media outputs (e.g. Hall, 1982).

¹⁸⁶ See, for example: Chimps in homosex, *New Vision*, 2 March 1994, pp1-2; Morality runs far deeper than homosexuality, *New Vision*, 3 December 1996, p5; Being gay is harmless, *The Monitor*, 29 March 1998, p6; Mazrui defends gays, *New Vision*, 6 October 1999, p1; Museveni, Moi; don’t peep in people’s bedrooms, *The Monitor*, 4 October 1999, p10; Museveni, get real on homosexuals, *New Vision*, 6 October 1999, p25; Stop gaybashing already, *The Monitor*, 10 October 1999, p11; Homosexuality is an African thing, *The Monitor*, 11 October 1999, p11; The homosexual struggle is a human rights issue, *New Vision*, 4 July 2007, p12; Forbidden love, *The Monitor*, 12 December 2009, p1, pp10-11; Let’s respect people’s rights, *The Monitor*, 30 December 2013, p8; and, Is homosexuality the most serious problem in Uganda? *The Monitor*, 25 January 2014, p8.

Rather than mirror the previous chapters, replacing problematisation or disgust with contestation, I instead focus on one spectacular episode of resistance, which created a significant and unprecedented ripple effect through the pages of the newspaper over the subsequent weeks. As such, I contend it was an example of what Harding referred to as fracturing resistance – that is, resistance ‘where the flow of power is fractured or broken completely’ (2010: 47). In August 2007, approximately a year after the theme of recruitment first emerged (Chapter 5) and in the midst of an increase in intensity of disgust through the newspapers (Chapter 6), Uganda’s LGBTI human right activists staged a press conference to call for an end to their marginalisation. The press conference, which was intended to inaugurate a 45-day media campaign, was entitled ‘Let Us Live in Peace’. This case study has been selected for several reasons. First, it marked the beginning of the more public face of LGBTI human rights activism in Uganda, as it was the first time activists had appeared openly¹⁸⁷ and in unison before the media, to demand that their rights be respected. Second, it was and still is the single most spectacular ‘episode’ of resistance to be featured in Uganda’s newspapers and generated a significant amount of media coverage in the weeks that followed. Although Pride parades have been held since 2012,¹⁸⁸ these have been discreet, held outside of Kampala, and have received no domestic coverage.¹⁸⁹ Third, the press conference provided an example of the use the newspapers as part of strategic resistance, with a clearly defined time-frame, through which such efforts could be analysed.

In order to analyse fully the spectacle of the press conference, I enrich Foucault’s concept of spectacle by turning to Erving Goffman’s (1956) concept of performance. The press conference is read through a dramaturgical lens, as a spectacular performance of resistance. Hence, this chapter is structured as follows. First, I demonstrate that, despite theoretical divergences, Foucault and Goffman’s respective concepts of spectacle and performance have points of overlap. Teasing out the congruence between the two thinkers, I bring Goffman’s dramaturgical concepts under a Foucauldian umbrella, in order to analyse the press conference as spectacle *and* performance. Second, I introduce resistance into the analysis, applying the theoretical lens to the photographs and accompanying articles of the press

¹⁸⁷ Although activists appeared in the flesh before journalists for the first time and identified as LGBTI, some of the participants wore masks, as will be discussed below.

¹⁸⁸ Pride was held annually between 2012 and 2015. In August 2016, three days into Pride week, Uganda’s police raided a nightclub where a Mr and Ms Pride beauty pageant was being held, leading to violence against participants, multiple arrests and the cancellation of subsequent Pride events. Days before Pride was due to begin in August 2017, Father Simon Lokodo, Minister of Ethics and Integrity, ordered its cancellation and deployed police officers to venues where Pride events were scheduled to take place, threatening the arrest of participants.

¹⁸⁹ Frank Mugisha, Executive Director of SMUG, wrote in UK’s *Guardian* in 2017: ‘Our Pride is very different to the Pride parades in London or New York. Rather than hundreds of thousands, we have a few hundred LGBT Ugandans, and our friends who sympathise with our struggle, attending our event. We usually keep away from big public crowds and public places to avoid confrontations.’ Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/aug/21/lgbt-ugandans-pride-uganda> [last accessed 14 August 2018]

conference. The performance had two broad resistant components: countering problematisations, with the performance touching upon issues of LGBTI subjectivity, Ugandanness/Africanness, religiousness, and disease; and affective resistance, through the performance of a non-threatening and celebratory spectacle. Third, I move on to analyse the subsequent 45-days of media of coverage, in which activists planned to initiate their 'Let Us Live in Peace' media campaign. I demonstrate that far from communicating further resistance, the coverage in the weeks that followed communicated a significant backlash. This included a counter spectacle of power in the form of an anti-homosexuality protest, the galvanisation of 'public opinion' against homosexuality, and, the 'reactions' and 'response' by various politico-legal agents, including a cabinet Minister who announced plans for an anti-homosexuality law to deal with the problem once and for all. In this way, I suggest that while resistance may have appeared to have fractured existing power relations, power 'healed over' (Harding, 2010: 47) – and did so apparently stronger than ever. Finally, I conclude by summarising the findings and reflecting on the press conference and newspaper as a governmental technology through which performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge were disseminated.

The originality and contribution of this chapter lies in analysing unexamined data in the context of new and different ways of thinking about government and resistance as performance, as communicated by newspapers. In so doing, I extend and develop academic debates on the congruence between Foucault and Goffman, by explicating the dramaturgical aspects of the spectacle and by highlighting the strategic nature of the government of 'impression management'.

7.2. The spectacle and performance

7.2.1. Foucault and spectacle

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault contrasted two modes of visibility which were emblematic of two different modalities of power: surveillance, associated with disciplinary power; and spectacle, associated with sovereign power. While he explored the link between power and surveillance through the image of the Panopticon and the modern penitentiary, Foucault discussed the spectacle largely in the context of the phenomenon of public torture and execution through the 'spectacle of the scaffold'. Yet as Foucault described it, this spectacle was essentially performative, an aspect of his analysis that has been largely elided in the secondary literatures. The spectacle of public torture and execution was described as 'a great theatrical ritual' (Foucault, 1991a: 15), 'a theatre of hell' (46) 'a theatre of terror' (49), a 'magnificent theatre' (51), and a 'theatre of horror' (63). He discussed instances of 'almost theatrical reproduction of the crime in the execution of the guilty man', such as a servant girl in Cambrai who, having been convicted of murdering her mistress, was to be publicly hacked to death with a meat cleaver, sat in the exact chair in which were mistress was murdered, with the same

weapon she used for her crime (45). Foucault did not limit himself to describing simply the spectacle as theatre: he extended the metaphor by describing the 'main character' of such spectacles as the audience (57). It was not the convict, whose life was to be extinguished through execution, but rather those who watched the unfolding spectacle and bore witness to its horror. As Foucault contended, '[p]eople were summoned as spectators' and 'their presence was required for the performance' (57-58).

However, in *Discipline and Punish* Foucault's primary interest lay in considering surveillance and its relation to disciplinary power.¹⁹⁰ Beyond his relatively brief comments that the spectacle was the point-for-point opposite of Panopticism, generating its effects through 'its visible manifestations' (Foucault, 1991a: 57), his account left few clues as to how one might go about analysing the spectacle in any depth. I contend that his employment of the theatrical metaphor invites precisely the kind of analysis of social interaction provided by Erving Goffman (1956).

7.2.2. Goffman and performance

For Goffman, all social interaction was performance. Goffman suggested that whenever an individual appeared before others, he or she engaged, through the performance, in 'impression management': attempting to control the impression the audience had of him or her. This performance encompassed impressions 'given' and the impressions 'given off' - that is, the verbal and non-verbal aspects which constituted a performance, both of which had to be regulated carefully if the performance was to succeed. Goffman suggested that performers were locked in a struggle to maintain 'expressive control', given that seemingly involuntary non-verbal cues could communicate something important about the performance. An 'unmeant gesture' could result in unintended meaning being communicated to an audience, and, conversely, audiences could misread an intended gesture and interpret it in a way unintended by the performer (Goffman, 1990: 59-60). Goffman developed a rich vocabulary to analyse this process, beginning with the concept of front, 'which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance' (32). The front could be further broken down into other concepts, such as the 'setting', which encompassed 'furniture, décor, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props' (32-33), and 'the personal front', which were the 'items that we most intimately identify with the performer himself' such as 'sex, age, race, posture, facial expressions and clothing' and so on (34).

¹⁹⁰ Foucault's central thesis – that 'our society is not one of spectacle, but of surveillance' (1991: 217) – appears to be an unacknowledged response to Debord's (1970) *Society of the Spectacle*, which proposed that spectacle was the undergirding principle of social relations in modern capitalist society.

For Goffman, performances were not necessarily bilateral endeavours undertaken by two individuals, each fighting for expressive control. Many performances comprised what Goffman referred to as 'teams' – or 'any set of individuals who cooperate in staging a single routine' whether 'the members...stage similar individual performances or stage dissimilar performances which fit together as a whole' (85). Examples he provided included a husband and wife team who hosted a dinner party, or a waiting staff team serving dinner to customers in a restaurant. Goffman suggested that the performance typically took place in a bounded space, which could be divided into 'front region' – where the performance itself was enacted - and 'back stage' – where the performance was prepared and performing typically suspended amongst team members. Thus, to use the example of a restaurant, while the team members presented a united front as a well-oiled, pleasant, polite machine while dealing with customers in the dining area, back stage – in the kitchen or break room – staff could joke, mock customers, swear at each other, argue or cry on the phone. The back stage was the area where the 'suppressed facts', the behind-the-scenes aspects that go into a performance, appeared (114).

As Goffman observed, a failure to regulate one's performance sufficiently – whether individually or as part of a team - could give 'the opposition' – or audience – 'a vulnerable point at which to direct criticism' (62) and could therefore result in 'disruption of the projected definition of the situation' (74). The maintenance of expressive control was therefore key.

7.2.3. Overlaps between Foucault and Goffman

Several scholars have observed that, despite diverging methodologies, theoretical antecedents¹⁹¹ and terminology, Foucault and Goffman shared certain thematic similarities and conceptual compatibilities. While some have even gone as far as referring to Foucault as 'the French Goffman' (Hancock and Garner, 2009: 129), much of the literature has made less grandiose claims, focussing instead on the congruent elements of their scholarship, particularly their respective concepts of total institutions¹⁹² and disciplinary institutions.

As Bennelli (2014) suggested, there are 'many points of overlap between ... the disciplinary society and its institutions, and Goffman's studies on total institutions' (85).¹⁹³ While observing differences in

¹⁹¹ Goffman is associated typically with ethnomethodology, a loose school of thought rather than a single circumscribed method, but one which can be characterised broadly as an effort to 'treat practical activities, practical circumstances, and practical sociological reasoning as topics of empirical study ... by paying to the most commonplace activities of daily life the attention usually accorded extraordinary events' (Garfinkel, 1967: 1).

¹⁹² A total institution is defined as 'places of residence and work in which various individuals, being isolated from society, have a closed and formally administrated form of life' (Speziale, 2017: 1806). Examples include prisons, monasteries, convents, and asylums.

¹⁹³ Translation my own.

the thinkers, Giddens (1989) nevertheless proposed that both shared ‘a common concern with carceral organisations’ (158). Riggins (1990) suggested that Goffman and Foucault ‘questioned the humaneness of therapeutic institutions’ and, moreover, ‘[b]oth detected an implicit will to power in the development of psychiatric knowledge’ (8). Hacking (2004a) suggested that Foucault and Goffman ought to be seen as ‘complementary’ rather than standing ‘in opposition’ (277). This is because while Foucault probed the emergence of ‘total institutions and their derivatives’, Goffman ‘[prowled] the halls...jotting down notes about face-to-face interactions within such settings’ (Sullivan, 2017: 4)

Amidst the sizeable body of comparative commentary on the two thinkers, an appreciation of the dramaturgical nature of the spectacle as described by Foucault is curiously absent. In this chapter, I use the insights of Goffman to fill out a gap in Foucault - but limits the focus to the Foucauldian concept of spectacle. I suggest that the spectacle can be analysed through a dramaturgical lens, and that this lens can, in turn, be absorbed and employed within a governmentality framework. As indicated above, in the spectacle of torture and execution as described by Foucault, there was something approximating the government of ‘impression management’, albeit in extreme and violent contexts far removed from Goffman’s own studies. It was a meticulously stage-managed performance, one in which the temporarily injured sovereign was to be re-established by demonstrating and thereby reaffirming his glory, raining choreographed violence down upon the body of the condemned in front of an assembled audience.

The use of Goffman’s dramaturgical concepts through a governmentality lens requires the resolution of two interrelated points of contention that appear, at first glance, to render the two thinkers incompatible. First, there is the question of power, and second, there is the question of the subject.

7.2.3.1. Power and resistance

In Foucault’s account, the spectacle of the scaffold was the paradigmatic manifestation of sovereign power: the power to kill. As I argued in Chapter 6, it was a means of instilling fear in the audience, as the body of the condemned was destroyed ceremonially. While Foucault only began to discuss resistance explicitly in later work (Foucault, 1990b), he appeared in *Discipline and Punish* to suggest that the sudden disappearance of public torture and execution was at least partly attributable to increasing outbreaks of resistance around the scaffold. While spectators would frequently interact with the scene before them, jeering and shouting at the condemned or demanding his or her immediate death, they could also ‘express [their] rejection...and sometimes revolt’ (Foucault, 1991a: 59). Rather than instilling fear and obedience and re-establishing the glory of the sovereign, the spectacle of the scaffold resulted in ‘shouts of encouragement’ from the audience, as the crowd sided with the condemned (60). In an unacknowledged reference to Bakhtin (1984), Foucault suggested that

around the scaffold ‘there was a whole aspect of the carnival’ (Foucault, 1991a: 61). This meant that instead of communicating ‘the terrorizing power of the prince’, a situation erupted where rules were ‘inverted, authority mocked and criminals transformed into heroes’ (61). The spectacle of power, in other words, was disrupted by the resistance of the audience.

At first glance, questions of power and resistance appeared entirely absent from Goffman’s dramaturgical scholarship. As Rogers (1980) contended, Goffman was ‘not regarded as a power theorist nor did he appear to consider himself a scholar of power’ (101). His analysis of social interaction was criticised strongly on those grounds, in particular by Gouldner (1971), who critiqued the elision of power as ‘an accommodation to existent power arrangements’ (379). Yet the language Goffman used in his analysis of the dramaturgy of social interaction at times appeared reminiscent of Foucault. For example, Goffman suggested that it was in the interests of a performer to ‘*control the conduct of the others*, especially in their responsive treatment of him’, adding that a performer could express himself ‘in such a way as to give them the kind of impression that will lead them to act voluntarily in accordance with his own plan (Goffman, 1990: 15).¹⁹⁴ This ‘control’ was, as Goffman demonstrated throughout the rest of the work, non-coercive. In other words, it was not so much direct control, as it was the exercise of government in the Foucauldian sense; an attempt to ‘structure the possible field of actions of others’ (Foucault, 1982: 790). Similarly, Goffman described his work as concerning itself ‘with some of the common techniques that persons employ’ in pursuit of this impression management (Goffman, 1990: 26). In other - more explicitly Foucauldian - words, his analysis was concerned with the technical aspects of the government of others through performance. So, too, was it possible to read into Goffman an almost Foucauldian appreciation of the strategic nature of power. Although Goffman did not explicitly speak in terms of power, he nevertheless demonstrated an awareness and appreciation of the ‘strategies and tactics’ performers employed in defending and protecting their impression projections from break-down (24).

Just as resistance was an integral component of the power relation for Foucault, so too, was resistance a key aspect of any performance for Goffman. An audience was, in Goffman’s eyes, always alive to cracks in the performance and to asymmetries between the verbal assertions and the expressions given off. Impression management could falter at any moment: ‘events may occur within the interaction which contradict, discredit, or otherwise throw doubt upon this projection’, leading to the

¹⁹⁴ Emphasis added.

entire performance to come 'to a confused and embarrassed halt' (23). Hence, there was a productive tension between performer and audience, governor and governed, and power and resistance.¹⁹⁵

This is not to suggest that Goffman was *really* a proto-Foucauldian, nor that unbeknownst to himself, power and resistance were Goffman's *actual* concern. It was, however, intended to demonstrate that those concerned with the diffuse, every day, capillary forms of power and resistance could turn to Goffman's conceptual arsenal if they wished to examine episodes of self-presentation in pursuit of certain objectives. Moreover, I suggest it is a perspective that could be accommodated within a governmentality framework in order to examine instances of the 'government of impression management'.

7.2.3.2. The subject

Accepting that Foucauldian concerns of power and resistance are not necessarily inimical to a Goffmanian dramaturgical analysis brings into sharp relief a second, potentially more serious theoretical gulf between the two thinkers. While the subject at the heart of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* was left largely untheorised, it was nevertheless described by some to be 'an active, prior, conscious, and performing self' (Gregson and Rose, 2000: 433).¹⁹⁶ Goffman was read as implying that performances were nothing more than masks – such as the 'waiter' mask, the 'mother' mask, the 'business executive' mask, and so on - which the subject put on (when in the front region) and fully took off (when back stage). The subjects of his work were therefore said to be the agential, voluntaristic subjects of humanism, something which posed potential problems for any scholar who followed Foucault in rejecting an ontologically prior conception of the subject.

¹⁹⁵ As I observed in Chapter 2 and as I reiterate later in this chapter, what constitutes power and resistance is largely a matter of perspective.

¹⁹⁶ It might be expected that Judith Butler's (1989; 1990) concept of performativity would be a natural fit for a Foucauldian study of performances of resistance, particularly one involving sexual or gender minorities. Yet the concepts of performance and performativity are not synonymous and cannot be mapped on to one another. There is, as Brickell (2003) observed, a slippage between the two concepts in some of the secondary literature on performativity (e.g. Cameron, 1998). Butler is emphatic that a dramaturgical reading of her concept would be 'a terrible misrepresentation of what I wanted to say' (Osborne, 1994: 33). Her scholarship builds upon Foucault's work on discourse, power and the body, as well as Austin's (1975) work on performatives: linguistic declarations or speech acts which call objects into being. Butler shares with Foucault a rejection of the ontologically prior subject. Performativity - 'the exercise of performatives' (Brickell, 2003: 165) – is, according to Butler, the 'discursive mode by which ontological effects are installed' and through which subjects come into being (Osborne, 1994: 33). It is not therefore 'a singular or deliberate "act"' of a performer, but rather 'the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects it names' (Butler, 1993: 2). Therefore, performativity is a process by which the subject is invoked and brought into being through discursive repetition and recitation, not theatrical performance. This is not to suggest Butler could not be used to examine the press conference through a theoretical lens of performativity and discourse, but rather to demonstrate that in order to properly engage in the kind of analysis invited by my explication of Foucault's concept of spectacle, Goffman provides a more useful and pertinent set of analytical tools.

I suggest such a reading is uncharitable. Goffman's work implied a much more subtle, complex understanding of the subject, one that had diverging theoretical antecedents to Foucault, but which was nevertheless *not* incompatible with a more Foucauldian disposition. As Battershill (1990) noted of Goffman, his scholarship proceeded 'without the modernist assumptions of... the unitary subject' (182). That is because the Goffmanian subject was socially produced; it was an 'outcome of performance as well as an originator and an effect of future performances' (Brickell, 2003: 171). While the subject was, at times, 'thoroughly calculating', Goffman also noted that, at times, the subject was 'calculating but...relatively unaware that this [was] the case', or alternatively, 'internationally and consciously [expressing] himself in a particular way but chiefly because the tradition of his group or social status [required] this kind of expression' (Goffman, 1990: 17-18). The idea that voluntarism permeated Goffman's conception of the subject was therefore misguided. It was entirely plausible to read the Goffmanian subject as one which was simultaneously produced and constrained socially (i.e. by power), which was capable of intentionality, but whose activities could, in fact, operate in concert with overarching strategies of power, unbeknownst to them. Within a given setting, the performer was constrained insofar as there were norms of conduct which pertained to different scenarios, such as a hospital, a court room, a board meeting, an interview, or a press conference. Some behaviours would be considered abnormal in certain settings – such as singing and dancing in a court room - but the subject/performer was free to resist the norms which acted upon them, in terms of the conduct – or performance - expected from them in that context. As Brickell pointed out, the Goffmanian subject did 'sometimes pre-exist the deed, and [was] reinforced through the enactment of the deed, but it never [pre-existed] the social relationships in which it is embedded' (Brickell, 2003: 172). The insight that a subject might pre-exist an action in some cases did not render it incompatible with a Foucauldian conception of subjectivity, given that the Foucauldian subject was constituted through networks of power and knowledge from the moment it was born.

7.2.4. The press conference as spectacle and performance

There is a sizeable body of literature, predominantly but by no means exclusively in the field of political science, which has taken press conferences as its object of inquiry. Press conferences are, for Boorstin (1962) a paradigmatic example of a 'pseudo-event': something which serves little purpose other than to generate publicity and 'to make an idea, policy or act seem important' (Beasley, 1984: 274). For Jacobs (2011), press conferences are 'a classical tool' employed by organisations and public figures to call upon the media and generate publicity. Ekstrom (2015) describes them as 'institutionalized' arrangements 'of public political communication' (1226), which may be held as a matter of routine by political leaders, but which, as Craig (2016) contends, are 'usually called because of a particular newsworthy announcement' (97). For Smith (1990), who writes within the context of US presidential

press conferences, such events provide an opportunity for ‘mediated presidential persuasion’ (66). Indeed, the field is dominated by analyses of presidential or elite political press conferences (Grossman and Kumar, 1981; Eshbaugh-Soha, 2003; Kumar, 2010; Rottinghaus, 2010; Clayman, 1993; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Clayman et al., 2006; Manheim, 1979; Lammers, 1981; Ryfe, 1999), employing a range of analytical techniques, from quantitative, statistical analyses (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2013; Eriksson and Östman, 2013), through to qualitative, critical discourse analyses (Bhatia, 2006). With some notable exceptions (Wall, 2003; Lück et al., 2016; Waisbord, 2011), the literature has generally paid little attention to press conferences enacted by pressure groups and NGOs. The dramaturgical aspects of press conferences have similarly received little attention (Jacobs, 2011).¹⁹⁷ This presents a gap in the literature to which this chapter attends.

In this chapter, the press conference is analysed through the conceptual lenses of Foucauldian spectacle and Goffmanian performance. It can be seen as a Foucauldian spectacle insofar as it relates to the same ‘problem to which the architecture of temples, theatres and circuses responded’ (Foucault, 1991a: 216). Like those ancient structures, the press conference enables ‘*the many to see and contemplate the few*’ through hyper-visibility and ceremony (Mathiesen, 1997: 219).¹⁹⁸ The spectacular nature of the press conference therefore increases the likelihood that it will generate attention from audiences, meaning the power/resistance and power/knowledge it invokes can potentially be communicated far and wide. This is because the press conference audience is not just the immediate audience of journalists, but also encompasses the mediated audience of news consumers who will read, watch or listen to the news product manufactured by the press. The success of the press conference hinges not simply upon how many people watch, read or listen, but upon the robustness of the performance itself. The press conference can therefore also be seen as a Goffmanian performance, insofar as an individual or team will attempt to communicate a choreographed and stage-managed performance to an audience. The performance must therefore succeed in two senses: first, in respect of the immediate audience of journalists; and second, in respect of the decentralised and diffuse audience of media consumers. Members of the press can be a particularly critical audience, alive to any asymmetries between the verbal assertions – the ‘part that is relatively easy for the individual to manipulate at will’ – and the expressions given off – the ‘part in regard to which [a performer] seems to have little...control’ (Goffman, 1990: 18). They may be unconvinced by the performance and write or broadcast disparagingly about what they have witnessed. They may focus on minutiae or omit a key aspect of the performance. Attempting to get one’s message out via a press

¹⁹⁷ Craig (2016) focuses on the dramaturgical aspects of political communication broadly, including press conferences, although his analysis is limited strictly to prime ministerial and presidential press conferences.

¹⁹⁸ Italics in original.

conference is therefore no guarantee it will be transmitted as intended by the members of the press corps. Moreover, even if the performance is well-received by those in its immediate vicinity and its key aspects communicated in their coverage, there is no guarantee it will be so received by the extended audience comprising news consumers. Nevertheless, the spectacle of the press conference has the potential to be an efficient method of transmitting one's message to as many people as possible, depending upon the robustness of the performance and its reproduction and dissemination by the assembled journalists. It therefore remains a potentially useful tool for any pressure group or NGO seeking to engage in resistance.

7.3. Performing resistance

As outlined in Chapter 2, Foucault's understanding of resistance moved the concept away from perspectives which placed it in binary opposition to power, where the former was understood as the defeat or the throwing off the latter. Foucault contended, seemingly paradoxically, that power was dependent upon resistance – and that resistance, in fact, 'comes first' (Foucault, 2000b: 167). It was not therefore to be considered an external element to power; a kind of negative underside which simply blocked or refused power's advances. Just as power was productive and strategic, so too, was resistance.

In that chapter, I also raised two additional points in relation to resistance: first, the question of what counts as power and what counts as resistance is, to a large extent, a matter of perspective; and second, while Foucault's thoughts on power were developed significantly over several publications, lectures and interviews over the mid-1970s, his thoughts on resistance were more fragmentary and suggestive. In keeping with the first point raised, it should be noted that while the following analysis speaks of resistance in the first half and moves on to the incitement of power in the second, such descriptions are entirely reversible, depending upon the perspective one adopts. The press conference, which was an act of resistance from the perspective of Uganda's LGBTI human rights activists and their supporters, was an act of power from the perspective of governmental agents and their sympathisers. Hence, I have employed the composite term power/resistance in the research question – yet for purposes of clarity for the remainder of the analysis, I describe the press conference as resistance and the reaction as power. With respect to the second point, I drew on the work of Harding (2010) in developing Foucault's somewhat limited theorisation of resistance, by focusing on questions of the effects and modality of resistance. Examining the subsequent 45 days of news coverage, it is possible to determine not just the extent to which the press conference coverage communicated resistance, but the way in which it provided an example of fracturing resistance. In so

doing, it fully answers the research question: ‘How have Ugandan newspapers been used for performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge?’

This section focuses on newspaper coverage of the 16 August 2007 press conference undertaken by Ugandan LGBTI human rights activists. The analysis examines the government of impression management, taking note of what Goffman calls impressions given – that is, verbal aspects of the performances, as reflected predominantly in quotations in articles and paraphrasing - and the impressions given off – that is, the non-verbal aspects of the performances, captured through photographs, signage or text-based descriptions. There are, however, two additional points to observe before moving on to the analysis. First, as Goffman noted, a performance may include both meant and unmeant gestures, meaning intended and unintended messages may be communicated to an audience. Given the data and the overall methodological disposition of this thesis, I make no claims as to the subjective intentions of the performers. Instead, my analysis is directed strictly towards the ‘intentional but non-subjective’ strategies of resistance evident in the performance as carried in the newspaper through the photographs and accompanying article. This leads to the second point, which is that the analysis is directed towards a performance – an episode of the government of impression management - *as reproduced by the newspapers*. In keeping with my methodology, I do not attempt to discern what ‘really’ occurred on the morning of 16 August 2007 and compare it with what was reported, in the hopes of finding ideological distortions, misrepresentations or omissions. Rather, the analysis examines the resistant aspects of the performance which were communicated through the articles and photographs.

7.3.1. ‘Let Us Live in Peace’: the 16 August 2007 press conference

Writing in early 2007, Ugandan feminist legal scholar Sylvia Tamale lamented that despite the existence of a sizeable number of LGBTI organisations in Uganda, such groups were ‘still reluctant to speak out publicly’ (Tamale, 2007b: 21). This was partly because many of the organisations were support groups, and ‘very few’ were ‘engaged in activist work to improve their status’ (21). Equally, ‘the prohibitive sociolegal environment’ and ‘exceedingly hostile context’ rendered it difficult for LGBTIs to take visible activist actions and ‘to demand their rights in Uganda with a unified voice’ (21). That changed later that year when, on the morning of 16 August 2007, members of Uganda’s media were summoned to a press conference at the upmarket Speke Hotel in the Nakasero district of Kampala. Organised by SMUG, an umbrella network of Ugandan LGBTI human rights NGOs, and chaired by LGBTI human rights activist Victor Juliet Mukasa, it was the first press conference of its kind and was intended to mark the beginning of a 45-day media campaign entitled, ‘Let Us Live In Peace’.

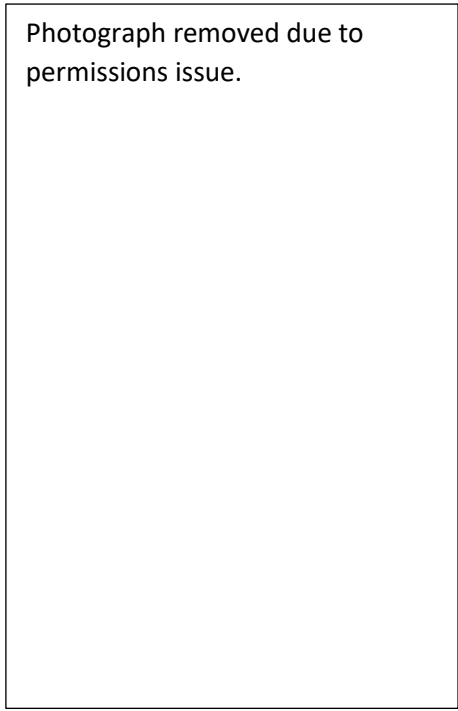


Figure 20 - Kampala homosexuals speak out, New Vision, 17 August 2007

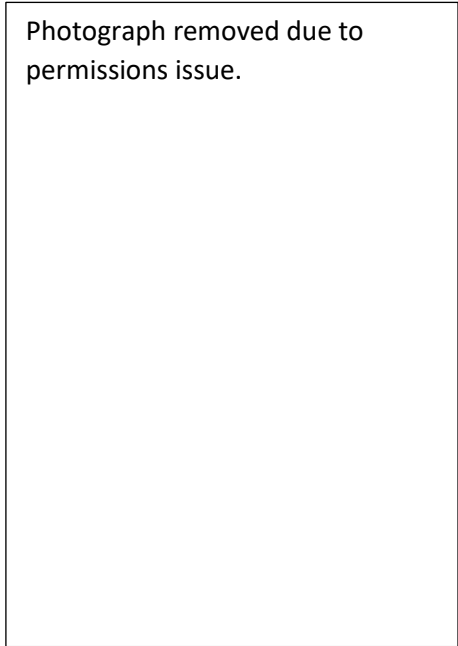


Figure 21 - Homosexuals demand acceptance in society, The Monitor, 17 August 2007

The press conference was evidently an important event from the perspective of the media, given the lengthy articles and accompanying photographs which occupied the front page of *New Vision* and page 3 of *The Monitor* the following day.

As is evident from the photographs, the front – Goffman’s umbrella term for personal front and setting - was far from the slick, glossy appearance of a presidential press conference. Yet the activists – or

team - employed much of the familiar expressive equipment one would expect to see. The setting was a hotel conference room with a large table around which panellists were sat, with name plates and water bottles in front of them. Behind them there was a banner with the name of the campaign – Let Us Live in Peace – emblazoned across it, in extra-large, rainbow coloured font. *The Monitor's* photographic coverage revealed a small bank of microphones, into which transwoman Brenda Kizza addressed the media (Fig 22). The members of the press were evidently sat opposite the table, facing the panellists, although as was evident from *New Vision's* photographic coverage (Fig 23), other LGBTI speakers were sat amongst the journalists, wearing butterfly masks and yellow and orange T-shirts, with SMUG's logo printed on the left chest pocket area. The set-up of the room was such that the individual speakers, their nameplates and the banner were visible to the members of the press – and to the lens of the photojournalists.

The following section is divided into themes generated from the analysis of the press conference, highlighting the key ways in which it constituted a dramaturgy of resistance. The themes fall under two broad categories: countering problematisations, which encompassed the performance of LGBTI subjectivity, Ugandanness/Africanness, religiousness, and disease; and affective resistance, through the performance of a non-threatening and celebratory spectacle. Given that both the countering of problematisation and the affective dimensions of the performance cohered with established strategies documented in social movement literatures, reference is made to such scholarship in the analysis.

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 22 - Close-up: Homosexuals demand acceptance in society, The Monitor, 17 August 2007

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 23 - Close up: Kampala homosexuals speak out, The Monitor, 17 August 2007



Figure 24 - Close up: Homosexuals demand acceptance in society, The Monitor, 17 August 2007

7.3.2. Countering problematisations

7.3.2.1. LGBTI

The first way the press conference constituted resistance was in its educative dramaturgy of 'LGBTI' subjectivity. This hinged not so much upon the personal front of the performers, as, aside from their masks (see below), what was communicated by the panellists' clothing was little more than formalism or professionalism. Rather, the educative dramaturgy was enacted through the employment of stage props and the impressions given by performers – that is, what was said during the press conference.

There was one particular notable stage prop: the banner, which hung prominently over the panellists and was captured in Fig 24. There were two notable elements to this stage prop. First, in addition to containing the name of the media campaign, the banner read 'Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex (LGBTI)', thus spelling out the constituent subjects of the LGBTI community for any who gazed upon the banner or its photograph. Second, the letters were produced in the colours of the rainbow, originally a symbol of US gay and lesbian activism,¹⁹⁹ which has subsequently been appropriated by sexual and gender minority groups the world over.²⁰⁰ While the stage prop went some

¹⁹⁹ See, Wong (2010): 'In 1978 activists in San Francisco designed and made a flag with six stripes to represent the six colors of the rainbow as a symbol of gay pride' (159).

²⁰⁰ See, Cage and Evans (2003): 'Over the past thirty years the international gay community has developed a number of gay symbols. We include some of these which have found their way into South African gay culture here. The rainbow flag has become the uncontested symbol of Gay Pride...The rainbow also plays a part in in many myths and stories relating to gender and sexuality issues in many cultures' (44).

way to performing the educative function, it was reinforced through the impressions given by the performers. The *New Vision*, for example, quoted Mukasa, who described himself as ‘transgender’, which he explained meant ‘I was born with a vagina but my mentality is different.’ It also described how Mukasa:²⁰¹

said their community comprises of lesbians (woman and woman), gays (men and men), bisexual (men and women), transgender (born with female genitals but with a male mentality) and intersex (born with more than one sexual organ or hermaphrodite). She [sic] abbreviated their community as LGBTI.²⁰²

In addition to the naming of the constituent subjects of the LGBTI community, the performers explained their meaning to the audience. In so doing, the performance replicated a common tactic of gay and lesbian social movements in the west: the strategic deployment of identity (Bernstein, 1997; Taylor and Raeburn, 1995). While such strategic deployments may be placed on a spectrum, ranging from the confrontational to the educative, Bernstein notes that whatever their form, they ‘should be understood dramaturgically...whether that be in city council hearings or at sit-ins in segregated restaurants’ (538).

Moreover, this aspect of the performance can be contrasted with the use in Ugandan newspapers of the term ‘homosexual’ as a catch-all, describing same-sex desiring individuals and, as was explored in the previous chapter, rapists and sexual abusers of men and boys. The performance seemingly did not attempt to displace the term ‘homosexual’ entirely, as performers employed the concept themselves when describing same-sex genital relations between men or women, but the use of ‘LGBTI’ provided an additional vocabulary to describe a broader range of non-normative sexualities and genders. By employing stage props and individual testimony, the performance was one which had the potential to educate not just the audience of media consumers, but journalists and editors involved in writing about issues relating to sexual and gender minorities. This does not mean the educative performance necessarily worked, as the quote above indicated when it misgendered Mukasa. Elsewhere in the article, it described how ‘in order to hide *her* identity, *she* had been strapping *her* breasts with belts, bandages and other materials’.²⁰³ Yet by staging the press conference as they did, regardless of individual intent, the performance communicated that theirs was a community of individuals with diverging yet ordinary sexual orientations and gender identities, rather than a collection of ‘sexual

²⁰¹ According to SMUG, Mukasa identifies as a transman. The male pronoun has therefore been used, despite the incongruence with the data.

²⁰² Kampala homosexuals speak out, *New Vision*, 17 August 2007, p1.

²⁰³ Emphasis added.

deviants'²⁰⁴ to be distinguished on the basis of differing pathologies and dangerousness, as had been the case in previous articles and features.

7.3.2.2. Ugandanness/Africanness

The educative dramaturgy of LGBTI subjectivity was inexorably intertwined with the second aspect of the performance which constituted resistance: the affirmation of Ugandanness/Africanness. As was demonstrated in Chapter 5, homosexuality had been problematised in Uganda's newspapers on the basis of its foreignness since 1987.²⁰⁵ The affirmation of Ugandanness and Africanness therefore constituted resistance as it challenged the supposed mutual exclusivity of 'Ugandanness' or 'Africanness' on the one hand, and LGBTI identity or homosexuality on the other. This was not, however, the first time the supposed foreignness of 'homosexuality' been contested, either in whole or in part, as a small number of features, letters to the editor and columns scattered throughout the 1990s demonstrate.²⁰⁶ In contrast to the text-based anonymous letters and occasional columns, the press conference performance challenged, in spectacularly visual fashion, the notion that homosexuality necessarily had a white, western face.

Nowhere was this more evident than in the personal front of the performers themselves, captured through the lens of the photojournalist. Across the three photographs featured in *New Vision* and *The Monitor*, there were fourteen individuals pictured - panellists and speakers, who were a mix of ages and genders, with some masked and wearing SMUG-branded T-shirts (Fig 22 and 23). What was striking about their personal front, in light of the construction of homosexuality as fundamentally unAfrican, was that none of those present were white-skinned westerners. Hence, the performance, which took place in front of the rainbow banner and involved an educative dramaturgy of LGBTI subjectivities, was enacted by performers who appeared visibly to be African or of African heritage. What was affirmed through the performance when examined as a whole, in other words, was the simultaneity of the African *and* LGBTI identities of the performers.

The accompanying articles in *New Vision* and *The Monitor* further reinforced the Ugandanness and Africanness of the performance in two ways. First, both articles observed that participants performed

²⁰⁴ Sexual deviance not inborn, *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, pp12-13.

²⁰⁵ AIDS VIRUS STARTED IN THE WEST, *New Vision*, 10 February 1987, pp5-6.

²⁰⁶ 'Homosexuality as old as humanity', *New Vision*, 8 November 1994, p12. See also: Being gay is harmless, *The Monitor*, 29 March 1998, p6; I'm gay! And it's my right to be!, *New Vision*, 5 August 1998, p9; I can't help being gay, *The Monitor*, 2 October 1999, p9; Stop gaybashing already, *The Monitor*, 10 October 1999 p11; Homosexuality is an African thing, *The Monitor*, 11 October 1999, p11; Let homos do their thing, *The Monitor*, 17 October 1999, p7.

in both English, the official language of Uganda since independence in 1962, and Luganda,²⁰⁷ the most widely spoken indigenous language in Uganda, commonly spoken in Kampala and its environs. Secondly, the articles quoted key aspects of the impressions given by the performers. In particular, the words of Lourence Mesidah, pictured in Fig 24, in which he rejected the mutual exclusivity of homosexuality and Africanness, were quoted at length in *The Monitor*:

Our goal with this media campaign is to reach out to all Ugandans so that people realise we are not something imported from the West. We were accepted in our communities before the colonialists came and we ask you for that same acceptance that was part of our African culture before we were destroyed by laws from the West.

Not only did the coverage of the press conference challenge the idea that homosexuality was white and western through the inclusion of performers whose personal front was seemingly incompatible with such a perspective; but, by quoting Mesidah, also it countered the problematisation of same-sex genital relations as anathema to Ugandan history and African cultures. In this way, the performance drew on an established tactic of sexual and gender minority activists across the continent who insist 'on the presence of homosexuality through African history' (Spruill, 2000: 4). It seemingly co-opted the logic of problematisation on the basis of foreignness and redeployed it for altogether more resistant purposes. Those who suggested homosexuality was unAfrican were not just wrong because LGBTI Ugandans were present visibly and staging a press conference, they were wrong because same-sex genital relations were an accepted part of African cultures until the arrival of the colonialists (Reddy, 2001). Intolerance of homosexuality, rather than homosexuality itself, was unAfrican (Mutua, 2011). Rather than LGBTIs mimicking alien practices and western cultures, it was those who opposed the LGBTI community that were inadvertently carrying on the legacy of the colonial project, continuing to discipline indigenous sexualities to conform to norms and laws spread by western colonisers.

7.3.2.3. Religiousness

The stage prop of the banner, which was a key component in performing the simultaneity of Ugandanness/Africanness and LGBTI subjectivity, played a significant role in the third aspect to the performance which constituted resistance. As outlined in Chapter 5, homosexuality was problematised from 1996 onwards on the basis of its perceived incompatibility with Christianity.²⁰⁸ As

²⁰⁷ Luganda is the language of the Baganda people, who belong to the sub-national kingdom of Buganda. It is the largest, most populous of Uganda's five sub-national kingdoms and its area comprises the central and southern areas of Uganda, including the national capital city, Kampala.

²⁰⁸ Bishops rap church over homosexuals, *New Vision*, 17 July 1996, p48; No!, *New Vision*, 29 April 1998, p4; Homosexuals – Back to Sodom and Gommorah?, *The Monitor*, 27 June 1998, [n.p]; Good stand, *The Monitor*, 8 August 1999, p10; Why form a gay God?, *The Monitor*, 11 October 2003, p7; Gay bishops are an abomination, *The Monitor*, 20 October 2003, p12; We have no room for gays, Nkoyooyo, *New Vision*, 25 October 2003, p4;

I highlighted in Chapter 5, Uganda was not unique in this regard, as religion has played a highly visible role in ‘public and political controversies about homosexuality in Africa’ and the rest of the world (Van Klinken, 2013: 519). Yet the banner read – in full – ‘God created us Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) Let Us Live in Peace’. Religiousness and the invocation of the Christian God were the third aspect of their performance which constituted a dramaturgy of resistance.

The use of religion to challenge the problematisation of homosexuality was not entirely without precedent in Ugandan media. A number of scattered stories throughout the early-to-mid 2000s centred on the activities of COU Bishop Christopher Ssenjonyo, who, as I explained briefly in Chapter 5, was expelled from the Church in early 2006 after refusing to condemn homosexuality.²⁰⁹ The press conference saw activists go further than merely suggesting God would not reject them, and employed a more provocative element in their performance; one which incited much in the way of subsequent public commentary. The stage prop of the banner not only invoked God, but produced ‘God’ in the rainbow colours of LGBTI Pride. The banner communicated that not only would LGBTIs be accepted by God, but that: ‘God created us this way. We are children of God as well’.²¹⁰

The performance could have proceeded on the basis of a denunciation of religion wholesale, or by ignoring questions of religion altogether. Instead, the most prominent and visible of the stage props, which hung in the background of the proceedings, challenged directly the problematisation of homosexuality on the basis of sin. Just as the performance as a whole had contested the mutual exclusivity of Africanness and LGBTI subjectivity, so too, had the performance challenged the mutual exclusivity of religiousness and LGBTI subjectivity. Religion, which had been used predominantly in the newspaper as a means of problematising the very existence of homosexuality in Uganda, was redeployed against those who sought to manage the LGBTI community out of existence. In other words, religion was deployed as a basis for the acceptance and inclusion of Uganda’s LGBTI communities, rather than a means through which to marginalise and exclude them.

7.3.2.4. Disease

The fourth aspect to the performance which constituted resistance was the reformulation of the relationship between homosexuality and disease. In contrast to the three previous aspects of the

Christians ‘mourn’ over gay bishop, *The Monitor*, 3 November 2003, p1; Uganda cuts ties with gay bishop, *New Vision*, 4 November 2003, p1; Woe unto you homosexuals, 10 November 2003, p10; Pray for those homosexuals, *The Monitor*, 14 November 2003, p11; and, God will punish gays and their sympathisers, *The Monitor*, 23 November 2003, p9.

²⁰⁹ Cou Investigates Gay Rights Bishop, *New Vision*, 30 April 2001 [n.p]; Ssenyonjo's Fight for Gays, *New Vision*, 6 May 2001, [n.p]; Bishop Ssenyonjo Resigns From Integrity, *New Vision*, 16 May 2001, [n.p]; Bishop Senyonjo Backs Gay Clergy, *The Monitor*, 12 November 2003, p4; Don't Bar Me From Church – Ssenyonjo, *New Vision*, 9 February 2004 [n.p]; and, Church Expels Bishop Ssenyonjo, *The Monitor*, 25 March 2006, [n.p].

²¹⁰ Kampala homosexuals speak out, *New Vision*, 17 August 2007, p1.

performance, it did not centre upon the impressions given off - whether through the personal front of the performers or the stage props they employed - or the setting in which the performance took place. Rather, it was enacted strictly through the impressions given – that is, what was said - by particular performers.

As explored in Chapter 5, the problem of homosexuality had biopolitical beginnings, emerging in the late 1980s in the background to the primary problematisation of the era - HIV/AIDS epidemic. As I also noted in Chapter 5, the Penal Code was amended in 1990, as a response to the HIV/AIDS crisis. The penalties for sexual offences were increased across the board, with the punishment for Section 145 increased from 14 years to life imprisonment. The performance of the press conference challenged the rationalisation underpinning such governmental measures. It did so not by dismissing the link between HIV/AIDS and same-sex intercourse – HIV/AIDS *was* a serious problem and one which affected members of the LGBTI community – but by rearticulating the biopolitical logic at play. In other words, the biopolitical imperatives of fostering life and making live meant that sexual and gender minorities ought to be included explicitly in public health policy.

Hence, the impressions given by Paul Semugoma and Beatrice Were, described as a medical doctor and an AIDS activist respectively, were included in the coverage by *The Monitor*. Semugoma recounted a personal story from his time working as a doctor:

A patient came to me, entrusted me with his health, and even with all my training I did not know how to help him. That was when I realised that if we were going to stop the HIV/Aids epidemic, we needed to educate ourselves about sexual health for gays and lesbians too...

Were, on the other hand, focused on deficiencies in existing HIV/AIDS policy:

We are off target with our policies and efforts...Because we are denying a population education and treatment. Blame and exclusion will only cost us lives...

Hence both Semugoma and Were articulated that the marginalisation of Uganda's LGBTIs was not just unjust or a violation of legal rights, but had a deleterious impact upon the public health of Uganda as a whole. The performance therefore invoked one of key public health strategies of LGBTI activists, epidemiologists and others operating in the field: communicating that criminalisation and social exclusion do not prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS, but rather encourage it, increasing rates of infection by deterring regular testing and driving 'at risk' populations further underground (Roehr, 2010; Beyrer, 2014). The exclusion of LGBTIs from biopolitical government, which seeks to invest and optimise life, was itself problematised through a biopolitical lens during the performance.

7.3.3. An affective performance

In the same way that the problematisation of homosexuality (Chapter 5) was complimented by the incitement and circulation of disgust (Chapter 6), so too, was the countering of the problematisations through the press conference complimented by what appeared to be an affective performance. In this respect, the performance cohered with the insights of a body of social movement literature which highlighted the importance of emotions for activism (Jasper, 1998; Goodwin et al., 2000; Goodwin et al., 2009; Yang and Pace, 2016). Some have directed their attention towards the emotional states of activists, exploring how shared emotions may impede or sustain a particular type of collective action (Gould, 2009b; Perry, 2002; Taylor and Rupp, 2002). Others have examined how the incitation of particular emotions can form part of the tactics or strategies through which social movements can attempt to persuade others (Stewart et al., 2012). While it is undoubtedly the case that standing in front of national media and declaring oneself openly LGBTI would have required considerable courage (Walter, 2014), it is the second type of emotion which is of relevance here. In other words, this chapter does not engage with the question of the emotional state of participants, but rather with what the performance, as reported in the newspapers, communicated in its affective dimension. The affectivity of the performance of resistance touched upon two interrelated aspects: that it was non-threatening; and that it was celebratory.

7.3.3.1. Non-threatening

There are a number of affective strategies that the performance could have adopted. Participants could have opted to put on an aggrieved, accusatory or angry performance (Gould, 2009a), criticising the Ugandan state for violating their rights and condemning the people of Uganda for their complicity. They could have engaged in a confrontational performance (Bernstein, 1997), with militant and revolutionary demands. The performance could have attempted to garner acquiescence in the audience through the generation of fear, for example, by making threats of international action against the national government if their demands were not met, or otherwise calling for violent action (Stewart et al., 2012).²¹¹ Instead, the affective strategy adopted was thoroughly non-threatening. This dimension to the performance was strategic, as it produced sexual and gender minorities as posing no threat - and not, therefore, something to be feared. This was advanced through two aspects of the performance.

First, there was the name of the campaign itself, Let Us Live in Peace. The name was emblazoned across the banner - the primary stage prop - and was reproduced in *The Monitor's* photographic

²¹¹ That is not to say such affective strategies would have been reasonable, advisable, realistic or that they were ever considered.

coverage and featured in text-form in the accompanying articles in both newspapers. The impressions given by Mukasa further reinforced the non-threatening performance adopted by the activists, when he was quoted in *The Monitor* as addressing the audience: 'Please, let us live in peace. Stop persecuting us'. What was communicated to the audience through the banner and Mukasa's plea (i.e. 'please' and 'let us') was a moderate message, one which implied LGBTIs were currently in an intolerable position and requesting - instead of demanding - that they be left alone.

The second aspect was hinted at by Mukasa's use of the word 'persecution'. That is because significant space in the accompanying articles was devoted to the impressions given by each of the participants of the kinds of abuses they endured, chiefly at the hands of agents of Uganda's police. Mukasa was quoted as speaking about a raid on his home in 2005 by Ugandan police, in which he and a female guest were dragged to the police station, whereupon his guest was forced to strip naked 'in order to prove she was a woman'. Similarly, Brenda Kizza, pictured in Fig 22, was described as having 'shocked' the assembled journalists 'when she said the Police has tortured her so much that at some point they kicked her teeth out'. Evidently, given their shock, the performance induced an emotional response in some of the assembled audience of journalists. Holding up her false teeth, Kizza was quoted as saying, 'I had to buy these because I lost the originals, courtesy of policemen'. In this way, the performance replicated a key social movement strategy, as telling 'stories' is often employed to convince 'audiences that a social problem exists and is worthy of their concern' and action (Dunn, 2004: 237). By publicising the violence and exclusion to which they were subjected, Ugandan sexual and gender minorities communicated that far from being a threat themselves, they were, in fact, on the receiving end of threats and violence from the very agents tasked with protecting Uganda's citizens from such treatment. There is always the danger, however, that stories of brutality – which may generate 'widespread sympathy for movements' (Stewart et al., 2012: 79) – can descend into feelings of pity or contempt. However, this potential danger was tempered by the second affective dimension to the press conference performance.

7.3.3.2. Celebratory

In addition to its non-threatening nature, communicated largely by the impressions given – that is, by what was said – the performance had a thoroughly celebratory aspect to it, communicated entirely by the impressions given off through the personal front of the performers: namely, the use of masks (Figs 23 and 24). Many of the panellists and speakers wore masks, thus obscuring their face and personal identities. However, the masks were not neutral or expressionless, used to transform the performer into an absent presence or a disembodied voice, or conversely, to intimidate an audience to acquiescing to their demands. The masks, as was evident from Fig 23, provided varying levels of facial coverage. They appeared to be self-made, colourful, and bright, with the majority of them depicting

butterflies. Despite allowing the performer to hide their faces to varying degrees, the masks were not necessarily a restriction on the expressive equipment which constituted the personal front of the performance. On the contrary, they appeared to be a key prop, ensuring that the impression communicated was not solemn, sombre, or fearful. While the recounting of abuses had the potential to descend into sympathy-generation, victimisation and feelings of pity or contempt in the audience, the masks at least partly ameliorated such danger by communicating an almost celebratory quality to the proceedings. Indeed, this affective dimension to the performance was reinforced through the coverage in *The Monitor*, which described the 'elaborate masks' worn by the performers and observed that 'the atmosphere was almost festive' throughout. Through the public, celebratory quality of the proceedings, there was something approximating a performance of pride (Britt and Heise, 2000). In short, while Uganda's sexual and gender minorities posed no threat to the audience and had suffered terrible abuses, they were not cowed, shamed or pitiful victims.

7.4. Inciting power

Ugandan newspapers appeared to communicate a number of resistant elements of the press conference performance. Yet in keeping with Harding's (2010) development of the concept of resistance, outlined in Chapter 2, the following section takes note of the effects generated by the press conference in the days that followed. By maintaining a focus on the press conference *and* its effects, it is possible to answer fully both the sub-research question underpinning this chapter ('How have Ugandan newspapers been used for performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge?'), as well as the research question animating the entire thesis ('How were Ugandan newspapers implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014?').

In this section, the following 45 days of newspaper coverage following the press conference are analysed. As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the timeframe was chosen as the press conference was intended to inaugurate a 45-day media campaign entitled 'Let Us Live in Peace'. The analysis reveals that the planned media campaign was displaced by countless news items, columns, letters to the editor, interviews, opinion polls and reader text-ins producing and reproducing reaction to the press conference and contemplating the broader problem posed by homosexuality. The newspaper, in other words, which had appeared to serve as an effective means of communicating power/resistance and resistant power/knowledge, became an instrument in *resisting the resistance*: it incited and intensified power relations against them. As such, I contend that the press conference provided an example of fracturing resistance. The remainder of this chapter focuses briefly on three key aspects of the coverage, with this in mind.

7.4.1. Performing power: the counter-protest on 21 August 2007

The first significant aspect occurred just five days after the press conference, when, on the morning of 21 August 2007, a newly created umbrella network of anti-LGBTI organisations staged the first ever anti-homosexuality protest in Uganda. The event was entitled 'A Call for Action on Behalf of Victims of Homosexuality' and was organised by the Interfaith Rainbow Coalition Against Homosexuality (IRC), comprising the Uganda Joint Christian Council, the Bahai Faith, Pentecostal churches and other faith-based non-governmental organisations. The protest, which took place on the grounds on Kyadondo Rugby Club in central Kampala, attracted approximately 100 participants. Any doubts surrounding the reason for or timing of the protest were dispelled when organiser Pastor Martin Ssempe was quoted as stating the march was 'a direct reaction to the gay community's quest for equal rights'.²¹²

Much like the press conference, the protest was both a spectacle and a performance, which Ugandan media covered with articles and photographs, all of which were carried on the 22 August 2007 editions of *New Vision* and *The Monitor*. Just as with the press conference, *New Vision* dedicated a section of its front page to the story and carried it over to page 3, which included a photograph of the proceedings, while *The Monitor* placed the story and accompanying photograph prominently on page 4.

²¹² Churches plan demo against homos, *The Monitor*, 21 August 2007, p1.

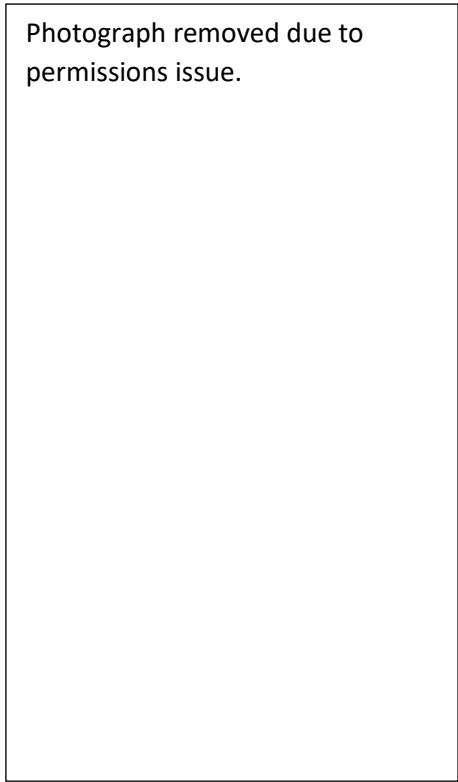


Figure 25 - Rally denounces homosexuality, The Monitor, 22 August 2007

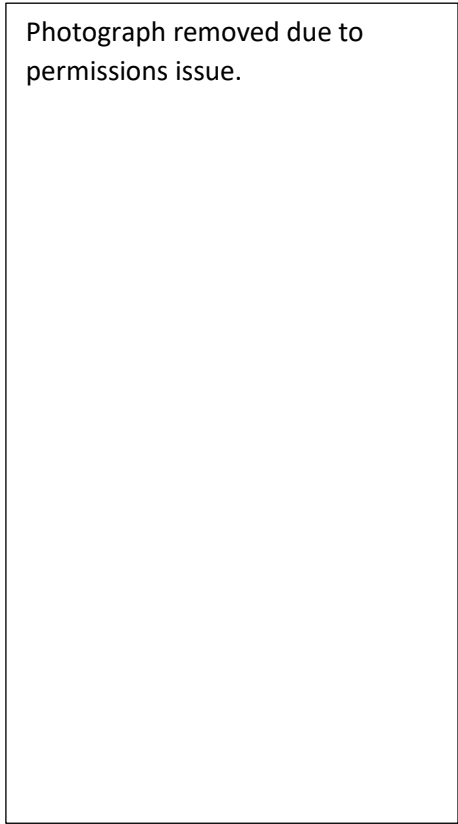


Figure 26 - Protest against homosexuality, New Vision, 22 August 2007

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 27 - Close up: Rally denounces homosexuality, The Monitor, 22 August 2007

Photograph removed due to permissions issue.

Figure 28 - Close up: Protest against homosexuality, New Vision, 22 August 2007

One of the most immediately striking aspects of the protest was the name of the umbrella network which organised it: The Interfaith Rainbow Coalition against Homosexuality. It appeared that conservative religious groups, opposed to LGBTI communities, had seemingly subverted the symbolism of the rainbow which had featured prominently in the press conference, and redeployed it as part of an 'anti-homosexuality' agenda. In the process, the rainbow, the international symbol of LGBTI Pride, was transformed into a symbol for religious opposition to homosexuality. Also notable was the theme of the event – 'A Call to Action on Behalf of Victims of Homosexuality'. Through such a theme, organisers appeared to respond directly to the moderate pleas to be left alone which underpinned the press conference. The explicit suggestion that homosexuality had 'victims' transformed the issue from a victimless, personal 'orientation' into something coercive or damaging, the consequences of which necessitated governmental intervention, irrespective of their pleas to be left alone.

The performance itself, captured in Fig 27 and 28 and described in the accompanying articles, was a spectacular dramaturgy of anti-homosexuality. 'Rally denounces homosexuality' was how *The Monitor* described the event, while *New Vision* employed the headline 'Religious groups demonstrate against homosexuals'. Stage props such as banners and placards were employed in pursuit of performing anti-homosexuality, with simple messaging, such as 'HOMOSEXUALITY' covered with a large X or 'GOVT ENFORCE LAWS AGAINST GAY-SEX'. That the performers employing such stage props appeared to be 'ordinary' Ugandans communicated that the protest had popular support, something which was visibly lacking from the performance of the press conference. Just as the press conference had grounded its performance in Africanness and religiousness, so too, did three leaders of the IRC (Fig 27) communicate similarly through their personal front. On the far left, Sheikh Mohammed Luewmba appeared to be wearing a long kanzu and kufti cap, both associated with Islam in Uganda. In the middle, Pastor Martin Ssempe appeared to be adorned with a dashiki, a traditional men's tunic which originated in west Africa, but which was popular in East African countries, such as Uganda. Next to him was Father Solomon Maale who wore a clerical collar, associated with the Christian faith. Together, they were – according to the caption – handing 'anti-gay documents'²¹³ to James Nsaba Buturo, Minister of Ethics and Integrity. Hence, they were performing a visible show of interfaith and African unity, galvanised in opposition to homosexuality and asking the government to intervene with respect to the problem. This was reinforced through the impressions given, with Ssempe quoted extensively as calling for stronger government action against 'a well-orchestrated effort by

²¹³ *New Vision* quoted part of the documents: 'the majority of Ugandans consider homosexuality culturally repugnant and hostile to civilised society, equity, morality and the dignity of human nature'

homosexuals to intimidate the government'.²¹⁴ Also notable in light of the press conference and the news coverage it received was the impressions given by Buturo, who was described in *New Vision* as having 'cautioned the media against promoting gay interests, adding: 'Must press freedom be used to undermine one of the cardinal provisions of the laws?' Evidently, the coverage of the press conference was interpreted by Buturo as sufficiently resistant and persuasive that it threatened to undermine Section 145 of the Penal Code.

The press conference, in other words, was reinterpreted not as a call for peace from an ostracised subsection of the Ugandan population, but as a dangerous provocation, intended to structure the possible field of action of the national government and to promote the homosexual lifestyle through the media.

7.4.2. The galvanisation of 'public opinion'

The second significant aspect was the protracted outpouring of 'public opinion' the press conference incited in the 45 days that followed. Staking out an overwhelming opposition to the press conference, its organisers and/or homosexuality in general, this 'public opinion' took two forms in the newspaper: quantitative and qualitative.

7.4.2.1. Quantitative

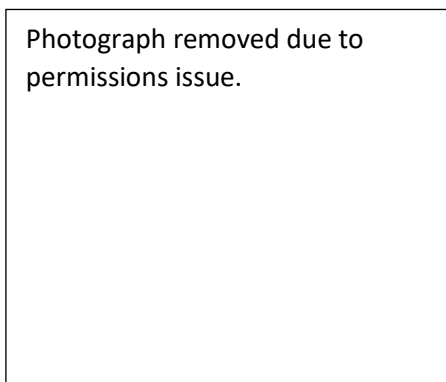


Figure 29 - Close up: 95 per cent of Ugandans oppose homosexuality, *The Monitor*, 23 August 2007

Just as in the aftermath of Museveni's calls for the arrest of homosexuals in 1999,²¹⁵ public opinion was reproduced in quantitative form through the appearance of the results of an opinion poll, just days after the press conference. *The Monitor* described the results of the opinion poll as indicating 95% of Ugandans were 'opposed' to homosexuality (Fig 29).²¹⁶ Between 1999 and 2007, 'public opinion' was represented as hardening, with an 11% increase in those now 'opposed'. As explained in

²¹⁴ Rally denounces homosexuality, *The Monitor*, 22 August 2007, p4.

²¹⁵ 84% reject homosexuals, *New Vision*, 29 September 1999, p1.

²¹⁶ 95% of Ugandans oppose homosexuality, *The Monitor*, 23 August 2007, p3.

the accompanying article, the results were part of the East Africa Social Political Economic and Cultural Barometer (SPEC), ‘a weekly Steadman Group survey that gathers opinions across East Africa on pertinent issues’. It covered a much wider range of issues than homosexuality and was, in fact, carried out at the end of July, several weeks before the press conference even took place. Nevertheless, it was the press conference which seemingly provided the impetus for the publication of the results and, more specifically, the framing of a wide-ranging poll, covering several topics, as a measure of public sentiment on the topic of homosexuality.

7.4.2.2. Qualitative

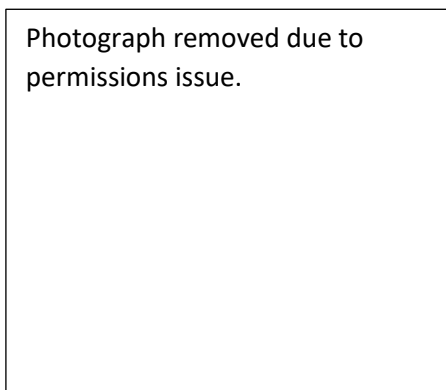


Figure 30 - Close up: SMS feedback, *The Monitor*, 6 September 2007

While the opinion poll was significant, representing a galvanised public, united in opposition to homosexuality, just as important was the outpouring of qualitative public opinion, which added colour and detail to the sterile, quantitative representation of the problem.

The reproduction of qualitative public opinion on homosexuality was nothing new, with dozens of letters to the editor having appeared in both *New Vision* and *The Monitor* over the years.²¹⁷ The key difference between the years leading up to the press conference and the 45 days following it, was that a new technology had emerged through which ‘public opinion’ could be represented in a newspaper: the reader ‘text-in’, as featured in *The Monitor*. Whereas the letters page could reproduce public opinion on any ‘newsworthy’ matter – and in the aftermath of the press conference, there were

²¹⁷ See, for example: Poor but still sane, *New Vision*, 18 November 1996, p5; Morality runs far deeper than homosexuality, *New Vision*, 3 December 1996, p5; No culture perfect, *The Monitor*, 23 August 1997, p4; FGM better than homosexuality, *The Monitor*, 16 September 1997, p4; Being gay harmless, *The Monitor*, 29 March 1998, p4; I’m gay! And it’s my right to be!, *New Vision*, 5 August 1998, p9; Where’s it stated that being gay is a right?, *New Vision*, 22 August 1998, p11; No excuse for being gay, *The Monitor*, 5 October 1999, p11; Homos just sick?, *The Monitor*, 9 November 1999, p9; Church to blame for gay bishop, *The Monitor*, 6 November 2003, p10; Yes, let’s start a public debate on homosexuality, 25 October 2004, p13; I am glad the Church of Uganda will not accept gay money, *New Vision*, 15 February 2005, p11; and, Church should listen to homosexuals, *New Vision*, 16 March 2005, p13.

several letters dedicated to the subject of homosexual – the reader text-in centred upon a specific question asked of the readership. Past topics had included questions such as ‘Should the LRA [The Lord’s Resistance Army] receive money for talks [with the government] to resume?’²¹⁸ and ‘Would it be justified for Uganda to re-enter Congo?’²¹⁹ From 3 September until 16 September 2007, *The Monitor* sought public opinion on the topic of sexual minorities, asking of its readers the question: ‘What’s your view on gays and lesbians’ demand for their rights?’ (Fig 30). Thus, every day over the two week period, between seven and 11 texts were reproduced, in addition to the letters to the editor.

While there were a handful of messages which expressed support towards the aims of the press conference, its organisers, or the LGBTI community in general,²²⁰ the overwhelmingly majority of such messages were highly condemnatory. Many reacted to different aspects of the press conference performance and simply rearticulated the problematisations outlined in Chapter 5. Indeed, the performance of religiousness incited texts and letters which reemphasised the sinful nature of homosexuality and its incompatibility with Uganda.²²¹ More significant, in terms of the incitation of power, was the sudden outpouring of calls for the national government and other governmental agents to get to grips with this problem - and the level of synchronicity of the solutions such messages proposed.

First, there were calls for the government to enforce existing laws more stringently. Hence, one letter from a reader in Naguru suggested that by openly speaking about their sexual orientation, Uganda’s gays and lesbians were taking ‘advantage of the dormant laws’ of Uganda, as ‘no action has been taken against these people in spite of the confessions they make on radios and in newspapers’.²²² Public affirmations of homosexuality were therefore to be treated as criminal confessions and ought to be followed by the arrest and prosecution of such individuals. Several of the text messages also voiced support for the arrest or punishment by state agents of LGBTIs. One such message suggested

²¹⁸ SMS feedback. *The Monitor*, 18 August 2007, p11.

²¹⁹ SMS feedback, *The Monitor*, 22 August 2007, p11.

²²⁰ See, for example: Patrick Woodburn, SMS feedback, *The Monitor*, 5 September 2007, p11: ‘Homosexuals aren’t hurting anybody therefore I oppose laws that are cruel and unfair to them’; Ally Henderson, SMS feedback, *The Monitor*, 8 September 2007, p11: ‘Homosexuals are human. Bottom line, every human has the right to love, happiness and even sex’; and, Negra Nakito, SMS feedback, *The Monitor*, 11 September 2007: ‘Why not! I think gays should be given their rights, everyone is entitled to joy in life’.

²²¹ See, for example: Leave no room for homosexuality, *New Vision*, 19 September 2007, p17: ‘I heard someone say this somewhere: “Did God create Adam and Eve or Adam and Steve?” There has never been any provision for a man to be attracted to a man or a woman to be attracted to a woman in the Bible...Homosexuality and the so-called “acts of homosexuality” are totally unacceptable before God’; and, Edmon Kinene, SMS feedback, *The Monitor*, 3 September 2007, p11: ‘Homosexuals should not be given freedom because ours is a Christian country, for God and my country’.

²²² Gay confessions enough evidence, *The Monitor*, 18 September 2007, p11.

that 'Police should start arresting and charging them under Section 145 of the Penal Code Act',²²³ while another called on courts to 'help us and sentence them to life imprisonment as provided for by law.'²²⁴ In short, there was an existing juridical framework which criminalised same-sex intercourse and the national government and associated governmental agents ought to enforce such measures effectively.

In the second body of public opinion it was the existing juridical framework itself which came under implied or explicit critique. Therefore, there were calls for the government to 'enact strict laws against homosexuals and lesbians',²²⁵ the implication being that life imprisonment for same-sex intercourse was insufficiently onerous. There were also calls for the expansion of the juridical framework to capture and punish a greater level of conduct relating to 'homosexuality'. One reader suggested that '[t]here should be a specific anti-homo law, like the anti-terror law and also set up a gay crack unit to prohibit the media from giving them publicity'.²²⁶ The idea that the media had been used to 'publicise' homosexuality was echoed in a letter in *The Monitor*, which suggested that '[i]f gays weren't exposing their mischief to others, I wouldn't mind'. Yet, the open and visible nature of the press conference was indicative that 'they' were trying 'to spread their behaviour by portraying it as normal' – and in the process they were spreading 'their evil gospel to children'.²²⁷ Such messages lent support to the notion that the newspaper appeared to be a potentially effective technology of resistance, given the calls for a media blackout. Furthermore, the demand for an anti-terror style law which took homosexuality as its target not only had the effect of placing romantic feelings on the same plane as the use of violence and terror for ideological purposes, but it implied a dramatic expansion in the number of potential criminal offences relating to homosexuality. Using Ugandan anti-terror laws as a guideline,²²⁸ offences such as conspiracy to commit homosexuality, aiding and abetting homosexuality, glorifying or promoting homosexuality could be called into existence. Moreover, as was outlined in Chapter 1, such offences, in fact, *did* appear in the text of both the AHB and AHA.

A third body of public opinion went well beyond calling for better enforcement or increasing the scope of conduct subject to criminalisation. Instead, such proposals called for the imposition of the harshest of sovereign instruments. In a small number of messages, this meant expulsion to places where such 'disgusting behaviour will be entertained'.²²⁹ In a number of the reproduced messages, what was

²²³ Alfred Ofwono, SMS Feedback, *The Monitor*, 3 September 2007, p11.

²²⁴ Justine Odong, SMS Feedback, *The Monitor*, 6 September 2007, p11.

²²⁵ Nathan Mugume, SMS Feedback, *The Monitor*, 6 September 2007, p11.

²²⁶ Max Masette, SMS feedback, *The Monitor*, 16 September 2007, p11.

²²⁷ Homosexuals should not burst their limits, *The Monitor*, 3 September 2007, p11.

²²⁸ See Sections 8 and 11 of the Ugandan Anti-Terrorism Act 2002, which cover respectively 'Aiding and abetting terrorism' and 'Membership, support and meetings etc.'

²²⁹ Kassim Kintu, SMS Feedback, *The Monitor*, 8 September 2007, p11.

proposed was not imprisonment or expulsion, but death. One reader noted that out of 200 people he had asked, '100% said homosexuals should be punished by death by firing squad',²³⁰ thereby not only voicing his opinion that the death penalty was appropriate solution, but suggesting that such a measure enjoyed widespread and popular support. Another called for homosexuals to be hanged 'before the practice escalates',²³¹ drawing upon a construction of homosexuality in which it could spread like a virus through the population if left unchecked. Execution of those 'infected' was therefore the only way to prevent an epidemic. Some were less specific in the means by which homosexuals should be purged, but no less certain that it was necessary to rid Uganda of this dangerous internal population. In a message reminiscent of Douglas' (2001) insights on purity and pollution, outlined in the previous chapter, a reader suggested that: 'We need to identify these people and cleanse them from our midst'.²³² Homosexuals were matter out of place in Uganda; a polluting contaminant which required a nationwide 'cleanse' to purify the people and the nation. One message even articulated a desire for the return of the highly authoritarian national government of the Amin regime. 'I wish Idi Amin Dada was still alive, gays and lesbians would be no more', it read, 'he was assertive, gays and lesbians go to hell'.²³³ The problem of homosexuality was so serious and pressing that a return to a brutal, strongman dictator was preferable if it meant annihilating the threat posed by homosexuals in the process.

Through the avalanche of letters and texts and their focus on the topic of homosexuality, the qualitative reproduction of public opinion in the newspaper had a similar effect to the opinion poll. It reproduced a public that was almost entirely united against homosexuality, rearticulating problematisations of homosexuality, while demanding governmental intervention in the form of enforcement of laws, new anti-homosexuality legislation, and the application of the death penalty. Without wishing to draw an overly deterministic and simplistic line between such public opinion and the legislation, it is nevertheless notable that such measures were included in the AHB when it was first tabled just two years later.

7.4.3. The politico-legal 'response'

The third and final significant aspect to the coverage was that the newspaper reproduced the 'reaction' and 'response' to the press conference and/or homosexuality in general by diverse politico-

²³⁰ Gimson Mafibi, SMS feedback, *The Monitor*, 8 September 2007, p11.

²³¹ Wako Best Musoga, SMS Feedback, *The Monitor*, 4 September 2007, p11.

²³² Mary Kinyera, SMS feedback, *The Monitor*, 7 September 2007, p11.

²³³ Oman Abdul Gulu, *The Monitor*, 6 September 2007, p11.

legal agents, such as Presidential candidates,²³⁴ backbench politicians,²³⁵ agents of the police,²³⁶ and members of the cabinet.²³⁷

The most significant 'responses' appeared at the beginning and towards the end of 45-day period, in an interview with Minister of Ethics and Integrity, James Buturo,²³⁸ and in a front-page news item which announced the government was drafting a new anti-gay law.²³⁹

The interview with Buturo appeared in the 26 August *New Vision* and ran under the headline, 'Tough anti-gay law due'. While much of the interview was dedicated to reiterating the problematisations of homosexuality advanced in Chapter 5, Buturo also claimed that the media had been 'infiltrated' by homosexuals and their 'apologists'. Reflecting on the press conference and the coverage it received, Buturo suggested that the government was considering 'revising the laws' as 'the homosexuals' were 'taking advantage of the weakness of the law' by exerting influence 'through the electronic and print media'. Hence, he suggested that the government was 'now considering changing the law so that promotion itself becomes a crime'. Buturo's interview was particularly notable in light of the eventual emergence of the AHB for two reasons. First, it marked the first time a governmental official had broached the possibility of revising Uganda's criminalisation of homosexuality, rather than simply reiterating the criminality of homosexuality through Section 145 of the Penal Code. Second, it marked the first time that the possibility of criminalising 'promotion' of homosexuality had been discussed by a government Minister – a provision that eventually appeared in both the AHB and AHA.

A second text appeared towards the end of the 45-day period and against the backdrop of the anti-gay protest and barrage of anti-homosexual 'public opinion'. On 28 September 2007, *New Vision* carried on its front page a story entitled 'Government drafts homo Bill'. State Minister for Children and Youth Affairs, James Kinobe, was quoted extensively throughout the article, contending that 'the Government is drafting a Bill which will handle lesbianism and homosexuality'. Moreover, he noted 'several' instances of homosexuality in schools had been reported to him, and he characterised homosexuality as a 'dangerous trend which needs quick action'. He recalled the case of a teenage boy who was expelled 'after sexually molesting fellow boys', and who went on to further molest his 'village mates'. Kinobe suggested expulsion was 'not enough' as 'you are continuously endangering the children around him'.

²³⁴ VP Bukenya to Oppose Abortion, Homosexuality, *The Monitor*, 22 August 2007, p15.

²³⁵ Don't give up morality fight – MP tells church, *The Monitor*, 27 August 2007, p5.

²³⁶ Tabliqs plan squad to fight gays, *The Monitor*, 28 August 2007, p4.

²³⁷ Migrate, Buturo tells gays, *The Monitor*, 29 August 2007, p24 and p29.

²³⁸ Tough anti-gay law due, *New Vision*, 26 August 2007, p8

²³⁹ Government drafts homo Bill, *New Vision*, 28 September 2007, pp1-2.

In other words, the sovereign instrument of expulsion was an inadequate solution to the problem of homosexuality in schools, given its nature as constituted in the preceding years. Homosexuality was an acquired deviation rather than a naturally occurring condition, and was something which could therefore spread like a virus, particularly in single sex environments. Expelling the 'infected' child from the school might be helpful for those at-risk youth in the same educational setting, but the instrument of expulsion simply moved the danger elsewhere, rather than neutralising it.

The appearance of this article did not denote any kind of inevitability to the emergence of the AHB or the death penalty provision contained therein. Firstly, Kinobe himself was not calling for the extermination of homosexuality; he advocated counselling as a solution to the problem posed by homosexuality in schools. Secondly, the AHB was not introduced by the national government, but by a backbench MP as a Private Member's Bill. However, the significance of the appearance of diverse politico-legal agents, including cabinet Ministers, calling for and announcing the expansion of 'anti-gay' legislation, ought not to be understated. It appeared against a backdrop of the problematisation of homosexuality outlined in Chapter 5, the disgust techniques of Chapter 6, and in the wake of the first anti-homosexuality rally and an outpouring of predominantly negative public opinion, with calls for stronger governmental intervention. The problem of homosexuality, in other words, had become increasingly disgusting and threatening, such that moving beyond Section 145 of the Penal Code and drafting new legislation appeared to be a logical solution.

7.5. Conclusion

This chapter interrogated a third way in which the newspaper was implicated in the government of sexual minorities in the years leading up to the AHA – by circulating performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge. Hence, the sub-research question which underpinned this chapter was: 'How have Ugandan newspapers been used for performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge?' In answering this question, I focused on a case study: the 2007 press conference inaugurating a 45-day media campaign by LGBTI activists, entitled 'Let Us Live in Peace'. I drew on Goffman's dramaturgical concepts, employed through a governmentality lens, and examined both the press conference and the subsequent 45 days of newspaper coverage. The analysis invites a number of reflections.

First, in keeping with the methodological approach of this thesis, the analysis proceeded not on the basis of the subjective intentions of individual performers, but rather the 'intentional and non-subjective' overarching strategies of resistance. It therefore made no comment on whether, as Goffman puts it, the performance included intended or unintended gestures and communicated effectively the intentions of the performers.

Second, the analysis lends weight to Jjuuko's (2013) contention, outlined in Chapter 1, that the AHB was a 'trump card' intended to silence the 'voices demanding for equal rights' which had grown louder over the years leading up to its tabling (381). However, this is not to suggest a deterministic relationship between the backlash to the LGBTI press conference as contained in the newspapers and the eventual emergence of the AHB two years later. Rather, Jjuuko's contention that the law was 'a reaction to the ever-increasing agitations and demands for equal rights for homosexuals in Uganda' simply highlights the permanent confrontation between power/resistance, with each incited by and inciting the other (381). Without encountering any resistance whatsoever, the introduction of the legislation would not have been necessary.

Third, the inclusion of Harding's (2010) work on modalities of resistance enabled greater analytical concern with the effects of resistance. The newspapers effectively communicated a performance of power/resistance and power/knowledge during the press conference, challenging some of the problematisations outlined in Chapter 5. However, the analysis of the following 45 days of news coverage demonstrated the strength of the backlash the press conference appeared to incite. Rather than including further materials from the 'Let Us Live in Peace' media campaign, newspapers covered, amongst other things, the first ever anti-homosexuality counter-protest, an extensive outpouring of negative public opinion, and the announcement by the national government that an anti-homosexuality law was being prepared. That the press conference generated such an intense reaction, including from politico-legal agents, suggests that it provided an example of Harding's notion of fracturing resistance; where the flow of power was fractured or broken, leading to an immediate or near immediate response from the state or other agents.

Fourth, Foucault spoke of the spectacle and surveillance in *Discipline and Punish* as tied to power, whether sovereign – in the case of spectacle - or disciplinary - in the case of surveillance. In this regard, Foucault, like many twentieth century French thinkers who formed part of an 'anti-ocularcentric turn' (Jay, 1994), conceived of visibility and power as indissociable. In Foucault's account, the modernist understanding of the 'nobility of sight' (Jonas, 1954) was conceptually displaced by the 'eye of power' (Foucault, 1980). Consequently, there was a limited appreciation of the role that visibility might play in engendering resistance. The analysis of the press conference demonstrated an inversion of the 'the economy of visual power as postulated by Foucault' (Yar, 2002: 266). Far from solely being tied to the spread of (sovereign) power, the spectacle could be employed strategically by targets of government. Making oneself hyper-visible, in other words, can in fact form part of an overall strategy of resistance.

Fifth, although the performance of resistance incited a significant backlash and the displacement of the media campaign with highly condemnatory articles, letters and other devices, it ought not to be

interpreted as evidence of the ineffectiveness of the press conference or the newspaper coverage as a means of resisting. Nor should it be read as confirming the criticisms, outlined in Chapter 4, that Foucault paints a nihilistic and hopeless picture, in which every act of resistance is defeated from the outset by an inescapable and insidious web of power (Taylor, 1984). On the contrary, the ferocity of the backlash and the calls to block further 'publicity' of LGBTIs in Ugandan media are indicative of the strength and effectiveness of the resistance – and the danger it posed to established networks of power. While the press conference may have aggravated existing power relations to such a degree that it played a role – however small - in the eventual emergence of the AHB, this does not mean that resistance 'lost' and power 'won'. The appearance of the Bill galvanised proponents of the rights of gays and lesbians, both within and outside of Uganda. As outlined in Chapter 1, the Coalition, which included LGBTI human rights organisations, was formed in direct response to the tabling of the AHB and it was through their coordinated actions that the law was ultimately defeated at the Constitutional Court. Moreover, the severity of the governmental solutions contained in the AHB and AHA shone a global spotlight on the gay and lesbian population of Ugandan in a way that the approximately 50 years of criminalisation through Section 145 of the Penal Code had not.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

Over the course of the seven preceding chapters, I have outlined my theoretical and methodological framework, and addressed the research questions underpinning this thesis. In this concluding chapter, I summarise my findings, reflect on the study, and consider potential areas for future research.

8.2. Addressing the research questions

This thesis set itself the task of answering the primary question: how were Ugandan newspapers implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014? It also sought to answer four sub-research questions:

- To what extent is governmentality scholarship able to ‘go’ to Uganda?
- How have newspapers constituted homosexuality as a problem in need of a solution?
- What particular techniques of government were employed by Ugandan newspapers in covering homosexuality?
- How have Ugandan newspapers been used for performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge?

I summarise the responses to these questions generated by this thesis here.

Primary RQ: How were Ugandan newspapers implicated in the government of sexual minorities, in the years leading up to the AHA?

I began by suggesting that the AHB/AHA appeared to be indicative of a *biopolitically racist* logic; that is, a logic which tied the continuing survival of the population in a positive relation to the containment or outright elimination of an internal enemy. In light of the approximately 100 years of media power scholarship, I contended that just as the law was a mechanism through which governmental power could be exercised, so too, was the media – specifically, the news media. I drew on Foucault’s governmentality framework, thereby conceiving of newspapers as *technologies of government*; that is, objects instrumentalised in pursuit of realising rationalities, logics or strategies of government. I demonstrated that Ugandan newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities in the years leading up to the AHA in three ways: first, through a long and gradual process of problematisation, which produced a multi-faceted problem of growing seriousness, not only through the knowledges applied, but through the placement and form within the newspapers; secondly,

through the circulation of disgust towards sexual minorities; and third, through the dissemination of a spectacular episode of resistance in the form of a 2007 press conference, which, in turn, galvanised and strengthened networks of power which sought to manage homosexuality out of existence. Each of these three aspects is provided with colour and detail below.

I do not suggest that the newspaper was the true locus of political power in the government of sexual minorities, nor that any of the objects identified were necessarily determinative in the emergence of the AHB/AHA. Nor do I suggest that problematisation, disgust, or resistance were only significant insofar as they appeared in the newspaper. My suggestions are more modest: that the newspapers, in different ways, played a role in producing homosexuality as a target for intervention by helping to problematise, circulate disgust, and disseminate performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge.

Sub-RQ 1: To what extent is governmentality scholarship able to 'go' to Uganda?

I first had to confront the question of whether was even possible for Foucault – the white, western, Eurocentric scholar – to go to a postcolonial context such as Uganda. In Chapter 3, I examined Foucault's general reception in the field of postcolonial studies, as well as the translation of his genealogical concepts to postcolonial contexts in general and Uganda specifically.

I demonstrated that, despite his Eurocentrism, Foucault has come to be seen as a central figure in postcolonial theoretical literatures. In translating his genealogical concepts to colonial contexts, there were a number of differences: sovereignty tended to be more spectacular and brutal in the colonies than in the metropole; disciplinary measures could be more invasive, yet often failed to 'swarm' throughout colonial, given the cost involved; and biopower and/or biopolitical projects were much more strongly racialized in the colonial contexts – and this racial component existed in productive tension with metropolitan government. Some postcolonial scholars also contended that the brutality with which colonial subjects were treated was consistent with, rather than an abrogation of, liberal governmentality. This is because liberalism required increasingly authoritarian measures for those subjects deemed unwilling or unable to govern themselves.

I demonstrated that governmentality *could* therefore go to Uganda – and turned to Ugandan governmentality literature to demonstrate how it *had* gone to Uganda. The literature covered a wide array of phenomena in diverse historical periods from the colonial period up to present-day Uganda. I highlighted two particularly useful bodies of scholarship. The first examined the *Voice of Uganda* newspaper under Idi Amin's regime as a technology of government, an insight which was incorporated into the theoretical framework of this thesis. The second examined the international governmentality

of Uganda's government in the realm of development. It provided insights which helped account for the interplay between the Ugandan government in the wake of the AHB/AHA and the condemnation from foreign governments, diplomats, intergovernmental organisations, western media, and religious institutions, outlined in Chapter 1.

Sub-RQ 2: How have newspapers constituted homosexuality as a problem in need of a solution?

In Chapter 5, I suggested the first way in which Uganda's newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities was the problematisation of homosexuality. Drawing on Miller and Rose (2008), I contended that solutions will appear to 'fit' a particular problem because of the specific manner in which an object has been problematised. If the AHB/AHA was a viable solution to the problem of homosexuality, then it necessitated an investigation into its problematisation. I also attended to the form and placement of stories on homosexuality as a means of tracking how the newspaper produced some problems as more or less pressing relative to other stories within the same newspaper.

I drew out nine themes from the data, encompassing silence, absence, medicine, culture, abnormality, religion, politics and law, neo-colonialism and recruitment. Hence, from 1986 onwards, homosexuality in Uganda was produced as a problem: from a biopolitical perspective, as a vector for HIV/AIDS transmission (1989); from a cultural perspective, as it was seen as a foreign and alien practice (1994); from a disciplinary perspective, as psychological knowledges were invoked in describing homosexuality as an acquired sexual deviation (1994); from a pastoral perspective, as a Biblical sin against God and the public morals of Uganda (1996); from a sovereign perspective, as a criminal offence to which politicians and the police should be responding urgently (1997); from the perspective of neo-colonialism, as international condemnation of Museveni's calls for the arrest of Uganda's homosexuals was itself problematised by domestic agents (1999); and, from a biopolitically racist perspective, which involved a re-diagnosis of the problem of homosexuality the existence of which was attributed to recruitment of children – and, moreover, which claimed a recruitment campaign was underway in Uganda's schools (2006).

In terms of form and placement, the analysis demonstrated that the problem of homosexuality reached a turning point in 1999, with President Museveni's calls for the arrest of homosexuals in Uganda. Not only did his calls incite a discursive explosion on the subject lasting several months, but thereafter the object of homosexuality appeared on several front pages over the years that followed. In particular, the *New Vision* placed explosive 'confessions' of purported ex-gay men on their involvement in recruitment of schoolchildren on the front pages of two March 2009 editions – the same year the AHB was tabled.

Finally, although I contended that the theme of recruitment signalled a more explicit shift towards a biopolitically racist logic, I also suggested that it emerged on the basis of antecedent knowledges which appeared much earlier, such as the mutability of child sexuality (1993) and the endemic nature of homosexuality in Uganda's schools (1993). Hence, while the theme of recruitment represented a more explicitly biopolitically racist logic – and clearly related to the kinds of measures found in the AHB/AHA - too hard a line ought not to be drawn between it and the problematisations which emerged before.

Sub-RQ 3: What particular techniques of government were employed by Ugandan newspapers in covering homosexuality?

In Chapter 6, I suggested the second way in which Ugandan newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities was through the circulation of disgust towards homosexuality. Drawing on governmentality and emotion scholarship, I considered disgust in its technical dimensions, suggesting that while emotions could not solely be reduced to their implication within governmental regimes, they nevertheless became technological when instrumentalised in pursuit of certain objectives. As the governmentality and emotion scholarship was silent on disgust, I turned to the vast transdisciplinary body of literature on the subject, in order to generate a governmentality approach to the disgusting. I noted that disgust did not inhere in any object, but was rather than outcome a process of normalisation, as individuals learned to feel and express disgust towards certain 'disgust objects'. Commonly cited objects include faeces, bodily fluids, injuries and wounds, and symptoms of disease or ill-health. I also observed that disgust was highly transferable, meaning that objects could become disgusting simply through their association – whether real or imagined – with a disgust object. While observing that disgust could serve a beneficial purpose, helping to avoid consumption of pathogen-filled substances, its malleability meant that it could be directed towards individuals or populations.

Transposing these insights into the newspaper, I observed four broad and inter-related 'disgust techniques' through which disgust towards homosexuality was circulated. The first, which was evident from early on in the data, was the repeated elision or association of homosexuality and rape and/or paedophilia, thus transferring their disgust properties of these figures on to the object of homosexuality. The second, which increased in intensity in the mid-2000s, was the association of homosexuality and anal violence or destruction. While it overlapped with the first technique, it was operationalised through repeated discussions of torn anuses, ooze, blood, pus, semen and other signs of rectal trauma in relation to homosexuality. The third technique also emerged in earnest in the mid-2000s and focused on the association with disease and death. It addressed internal, invisible

illnesses such as HIV/AIDS or Hepatitis A, and external, visible illnesses, such as bodily warts - as well as associated complications due to anal violence. It therefore overlapped considerably with the second disgust technique. Whether the disgust object in question was a paedophile or whether it was faeces, the techniques employed by the newspaper operated in the same way: through the transfer of disgust properties from the objects that were repeatedly associated with homosexuality. The final disgust technique differed from the others, in that it involved no transfer of disgust properties, but rather served as a kind of affective framing device. Hence, some of the tabloid stories contained 'health-style' warnings, alerting the reader that what they were about to read or see would shock them or make them feel nauseated. While on the one hand, it appeared designed to entice prospective readers to buy or read the newspaper, it also represented an attempt to guide a particular emotional understanding of the accompanying story.

I noted that while a certain level of disgust had evidently been a consistent feature of the data, the rich descriptions of diseases, torn anuses, faeces, and oozing bodily orifices were advanced in earnest from around 2006 onwards. It appeared to be roughly coextensive with the emergence of the theme of recruitment in the previous chapter. Moreover, the analysis highlighted an intersection between disgust and the problematisation of homosexuality: biopolitical statistics and 'expert' knowledges were invoked in associating homosexuality with internal and external diseases, oral consumption of faeces, and early death. This suggests that while the technology of disgust and problematisations are analytically distinct, expert knowledges and statistics have the potential to disgust – or otherwise transmit their knowledge affectively – depending upon their manner of presentation.

Sub-RQ 4: How have Ugandan newspapers been used for performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge?

In Chapter 7, I suggested the final way in which Ugandan newspapers were implicated in the government of sexual minorities lay its dissemination of performance of power/resistance and power/knowledge. I focused in particular on a 2007 press conference, organised by Uganda's LGBTI human rights activists to inaugurate a 45-day media campaign entitled, 'Let Us Live in Peace', which received prominent coverage in Uganda's newspapers.

Drawing on Foucault's contention that power and resistance presupposed one another, I analysed the press conference as a spectacular episode of resistance, captured in the photographs and accompanying articles. In foregrounding analysis of the photographs, I drew on Foucault's concept of spectacle – that is, a situation where the many see the few. However, I teased out the performative aspects of the concept – and supplemented its insights by turning to Goffman's (1956) dramaturgical toolbox. Hence, I read the spectacle through Goffman's dramaturgical lens and then employed that

lens within a governmentality framework, thereby examining the press conference as constituting a spectacular performance of resistance. I suggested two broad kinds of resistance were communicated through the data: the first set of themes responded to some of problematisations outlined in Chapter 5; and, the second set of themes communicated an affective resistance.

Although the press conference was intended to inaugurate a 45-day media campaign, an analysis of the subsequent coverage revealed that far from disseminating further resistance, the press conference appeared to incite and galvanise the exercise of power over sexual minorities. In this regard, I suggested it provided an example of what Harding (2010) called ‘fracturing resistance’ – whereby resistance incites ‘fairly immediate’ engagement by ‘government or other state actors’ (48).

The press conference was followed by the first ever anti-homosexuality protest, which also received coverage in the newspapers, including articles and photographs of religious agents handing ‘anti-homosexuality documents’ to the Minister of Ethics and Integrity. There was an outpouring of ‘public opinion’ on homosexuality in the days and weeks following the press conference. This was manifested in quantitative form, through an opinion poll, which stated 95% of Ugandans were opposed to homosexuality, and qualitative form, as letters and a two-week long SMS text-in published the opinions of members of the public. These texts included calls for homosexuals to be executed and for the introduction of new laws targeted homosexuality, just as terrorism was targeted by anti-terror legislation. Finally, there was the politico-legal response, in which government ministers called for laws to be amended to prevent ‘promotion’ of homosexuality through the media and announced that a new anti-gay law was being drafted to deal with the problem.

Not only was the mid-to-late 2000s the point at which the biopolitically racist problematisation of homosexuality emerged most explicitly in the newspaper. Nor was it solely the point at which there was an increase in the intensity of disgust techniques towards homosexuality. It was also the moment at which LGBTI human rights activists used the newspapers to disseminate a spectacular and unprecedented performance of power/resistance and power/knowledge. However, the newspapers, in turn, disseminated an extensive backlash over the following 45 days, in which the power relations ‘healed over’, as governmental officials announced new legislation to better target Uganda’s sexual minorities.

8.3. Reflections on this study

8.3.1. Thematic analysis: a lack of rigour?

The first reflection concerns my choice of thematic analysis as a method of data analysis. Given that thematic analysis ‘can be widely used across a range of epistemologies and research questions’, it lent

itself to being paired with the methodological orientation and governmentality framework I employed in this thesis (Nowell et al., 2017: 2). For each of the substantive chapters (Chapters 5 to 7), I produced thematic analyses of the dataset. The flexibility and openness of thematic analysis enabled me to analyse different kinds of data, including text-based newspaper articles and, in Chapter 7, photographs of the press conference. However, the flexibility of thematic analysis leads to one of its main criticisms: namely, that it is an approach in which ‘anything goes’ and, consequently, one that lacks rigour (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 95).

While it is certainly the case that thematic analysis is a flexible method that lacks a set, universal structure to be ‘applied’ to data, I disagree that this necessarily denotes a lack of rigour, just as I disagree that more structured qualitative approaches necessarily connote rigour. In many ways, the critique of thematic analysis is part of a broader critique of qualitative research methods, owing to the difficulty of generalising and replicating such studies. Given my methodological orientation, however, replicability and generalisability were not my research objectives, nor do I believe they ought to be interpreted as *the* benchmark for the quality of qualitative research in general or thematic analysis specifically. I ensured rigour in my theoretically-informed thematic analysis by: disclosing my positionality with respect to the research; being open about my epistemological and ontological assumptions; providing a clear explanation of the theoretical framework which guided the thematic analysis; describing the coding process and comprehensively coding the dataset with the theoretical framework and research questions in mind; and, ensuring that the analysis accurately represented the data, in light of the theoretical underpinnings of my project (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Hence, while my research can be distinguished from more positivistic approaches to social research, which would aim towards generalisability and replicability, this does not in and of itself suggest a lack of rigour. Rather, academic rigour takes on a different appearance, in line with the overall methodological orientation of the project.

8.3.2. Governmentality: a lack of critique?

The second and third reflection concern the implications of governmentality as a theoretical framework. The conceptual vocabulary which governmentality provided, including rationalities, logics and strategies of power, as well as technologies and techniques of government, has been useful for this project. It enabled me to explore *different* ways the newspaper could be implicated in broader processes of governing sexual minorities, leading up to the AHA. This included the long and slow constitution of homosexuality as a multifaceted problem, the incitation and circulation of disgust, and in dissemination performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge.

What governmentality did not allow me to do, however, was to criticise the ‘falseness’ of the knowledges contained in the problematisation of homosexuality, the immorality of the disgust techniques, or to commend the performances of power/resistance and power/knowledge by proponents of LGBTIs as ‘the truth’. Governmentality is not a framework which permits one to ‘speak truth to power’. This is because, as I suggested in Chapter 4, the thesis and the PhD student are just as implicated in networks of power/knowledge as the subjects or objects of study. Does this lack of epistemic grounding upon which such criticisms can be advanced mean that governmentality – and any work which employs such a framework - lacks critical edge (O'Malley et al., 1997), and is reduced to little more than ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1973)?

I do not believe this is necessarily the case. The critical edge of governmentality lies precisely in its redescription of that which today appears common-sensical, natural or beyond question. When one examines Ugandan newspapers today, the idea that homosexuality is a serious public concern or that it is disgusting to many appears to be self-evident. It is difficult to envision a time in modern Uganda where homosexuality was anything else, or indeed, the possibility that it could be seen or experienced in another way. By demonstrating the contingency of present-day phenomena – such as the disgusting, dangerous problem of homosexuality - governmentality is able to highlight ‘the possibility of no longer being, doing, or thinking what we are, do, or think’ (Foucault, 1991d: 46). For example, by suggesting that disgust does not inhere in homosexuality, but must be incited through disgust techniques, it is possible to be cognizant of and to resist or counter such techniques wherever they appear, whether in the media, in the religious pulpit, in Parliament, or in day-to-day conversation.

8.3.3. Governmentality: the lack of prescription

That governmentality can be employed to highlight the contingency of phenomena in the present leads to an interconnected reflection and common criticism of Foucauldian, governmentality scholarship. Given Foucault and governmentality scholarship refuses to prescribe a political vision or to design a programme of reform that must be followed, the response could be: ‘So what?’. If I am able to point out how homosexuality came to be seen as such a serious and disgusting problem through the media, but I am unable to suggest what needs to be done to remedy the situation, then my work – along with the work of Foucault and his interlocutors – is of limited value. Not only is such scholarship unable to expose the falseness of the knowledges by which individuals or groups come to be constructed as abnormal, but it is also unable to formulate a plan to be followed, according to which the situation can be improved.

In responding to such a criticism, Foucault contended that ‘[u]nder no circumstances should one pay attention to those who tell one: “Don’t criticize, since you’re not capable of carrying out reform.”’

(Foucault, 2001d: 236). Critique, he suggested, should be an ‘instrument’ employed by those who fight, who resist, and who ‘refuse what is’ (236). He suggested that his refusal to say what ‘ought to be done’ does not mean there is nothing to be done: ‘I think there are a thousand things to be done, to be invented, to be forged, by those who, recognizing the relations of power in which they are implicated, have decided to resist or escape them’ (Foucault, 2001b: 294). However, resistance and refusal have no essence or single way in which it must be conducted. A programme of action which enables contestation, in one context, in one moment, can, in the next, itself become ossified; a way to normalise or to discipline and something which may need to be resisted and countered. This does not mean that any attempt to improve or reform a situation must be abandoned, but it means that kind of critique in which Foucault and his interlocutors engage is not invalidated by its refusal to propose such a programme.

8.3.4. Lesbian invisibility and ‘add-on’-ism

Perhaps one of the most striking aspects of the analysis lay in what was absent rather than what was present. Although the AHB/AHA took as their target homosexuality – meaning both male and female same-sex relations – the analysis demonstrated that the problematisation and disgust incitation was operationalised largely in relation to male sexuality. This does not mean that lesbians were entirely absent in the data. As I pointed out in Chapter 5, the 1994 *Women’s Vision* was one of the few texts where male homosexuality and lesbianism were explicitly distinguished from one another. One of the articles included in Chapter 6 also went into graphic detail about the dangers of ‘same-sex relationships’. Despite the gender neutrality of its title, the content of the article included no discussion of the vagina or of specifically female sexual health, but instead appeared fixated on anal sex and the consumption of faeces. The data overwhelmingly demonstrated what Herman (1997) referred to as a lesbian ‘add-on’-ism: while lesbians were mentioned, there was no problematisation or disgust technique which was advanced in relation to lesbianism specifically. As Bibbings (2004) observed, lesbian invisibility has historically resulted in lesbian sexuality escaping criminalisation, as it did in Uganda’s colonial-era Penal Code. However, the lack of specifically lesbian problematisation and disgust techniques in the newspaper was insufficient to shield same-sex female genital relations from their eventual inclusion in the AHB/AHA.

8.3.5. Beyond the AHA

As I concluded at the end of Chapter 7, the backlash to the press conference and the eventual emergence of the AHB ought not to be seen as indicating that resistance ‘lost’ and power ‘won’. On the one hand, this is because the introduction of the AHB and the passing of the AHA shone a global spotlight on the situation for LGBTIs in Uganda like never before. By attempting to destroy Uganda’s

sexual minorities in such a draconian manner, the Ugandan government appeared - paradoxically – to have strengthened them. On the other hand, this is because in the game of power and resistance as Foucault saw it, there was no binary victory or defeat; there was endlessly spiralling confrontation and contestation, in which competing tides of power and resistance ebbed and flowed. This means that the annulment of the AHA by Ugandan activists in August 2014 also cannot be seen as indicating that resistance ‘won’ and power ‘lost’. For one thing, same-sex intercourse is still criminalised through Section 145 of the Penal Code, with perpetrators liable to life imprisonment upon conviction. In another sense, the lack of emancipatory potential in Foucauldian thought demonstrates that just as surely as there ‘always possibilities of changing the situation’ for sexual minorities and their allies (Foucault, 2000b: 167), so too, there exists the same possibility for those who seek to do harm to them. Foucault alerts us to the realisation that ‘everything is dangerous’ (Foucault, 2000a: 256). This ought not to lead to fatalism – but rather to a kind of hyper-vigilance as to the manifold dangers that can emerge.

8.4. Future research

I focused in this thesis on the implication of print news media in the government of sexual minorities in Uganda, in the years leading up to an expansion of criminalisation in 2014. Although I advanced no generalisable claims as to the precise mechanics of power exercised through the media which could be simply transposed to other contexts, I uncovered insights which could serve as springboards for future scholarship.

Some of the specific theoretical insights developed through Chapters 6 and 7 could be applied in other areas. For example, the fusion of the Foucauldian spectacle and the Goffmanian performance could be applied to other spectacular forms of power/resistance in different contexts, such as Pride Parades. The technology of disgust approach could be used to examine if and how disgust is incited towards different groups through the news media or other mechanisms. As I noted in Chapter 6, Ugandan Pentecostal Pastor Martin Ssempe achieved international notoriety when he gave a religious sermon to a shocked congregation, in which he claimed gay men ‘eat the poo poo’, going into graphic detail about the faecal practices of gay men, complete with pornographic photographs which he projected on a screen.²⁴⁰ This suggests that disgust – or any other emotion, reconceptualised as a technology of government – could be explored in political speeches, religious ceremonies, or in day-to-day conversation, each of which points to new possible avenues for research.

²⁴⁰ See, EAT DA POO POO [AFRICA DO NOT WANT THIS SICKNESS]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jjnLt3VuSM> [last accessed 5 March 2019].

More broadly, however, the issue of homosexuality has been debated recently in countries such as Mozambique, Angola, Nigeria, and Kenya each of which provides a useful entry-point for future research on the implication of different kinds of media in the government of sexual minorities. For example, while Uganda expanded criminalisation in 2014, Mozambique and Angola fully decriminalised same-sex intercourse in 2015 and 2019 respectively. Just as I sought to examine how newspapers were implicated in the lead-up to expansion of criminalisation in Uganda, so too, could I examine how they were implicated in processes of *decriminalisation* in those respective jurisdictions. Similarly, while Nigeria and Uganda both introduced similar anti-homosexuality legislation in 2014, Uganda's was annulled later that year, while Nigeria's remains in force to this day. As I indicated in Chapter 1, Uganda's AHA incited an explosion of commentary and international condemnation, whereas Nigeria's law incited a relatively muted response. One potential area for research would examine the implication of international media in the respective processes, comparing the quality and quantity of international coverage directed to both pieces of legislation. Finally, Kenyan activists are currently awaiting the verdict of their challenge to the constitutionality of Section 162 of the Kenya Penal Code, which criminalises same-sex intercourse. Both proponents and opponents of LGBTI have been active on social media, attempting to publicise, rouse and debate the issue. The implication of social media – and, in particular activist engagement through it – leading up to the verdict would also present a strand for future research.

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