This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from Explore Bristol Research, http://research-information.bristol.ac.uk

Author:
Pinheiro Minillo, Xaman K

Title:
Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders
contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms

General rights
Access to the thesis is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial-No Derivatives 4.0 International Public License. A copy of this may be found at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode This license sets out your rights and the restrictions that apply to your access to the thesis so it is important you read this before proceeding.

Take down policy
Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions prior to having it been deposited in Explore Bristol Research. However, if you have discovered material within the thesis that you consider to be unlawful e.g. breaches of copyright (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please contact collections-metadata@bristol.ac.uk and include the following information in your message:

•Your contact details
•Bibliographic details for the item, including a URL
•An outline nature of the complaint

Your claim will be investigated and, where appropriate, the item in question will be removed from public view as soon as possible.

Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms

by

Xaman Korai Pinheiro Minillo

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Politics PhD in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law

August 2022

Word count 73673

Abstract

This thesis examines the political agency of queer Zimbabwean activists. It demonstrates how queer Africans are more than victims as they perform acts of citizenship which open the possibilities of more inclusive arrangements of substantive sexual citizenship. From an interpretive approach, it develops a discursive analysis of the narratives the activists articulate in and through digital artefacts, supplemented by qualitative digital interviews. Highlighting the entanglements between contemporary international politics of modernity/coloniality and discourses of sexual and gender deviance, I show how dominant discourses in the post-colonial state position queer Zimbabweans in the borderlands of belonging. Queer Zimbabwean activists disrupt those norms and dislocate the boundaries of citizenship by denouncing the ways in which they are othered, asserting their existence, and claiming their belonging as sexualized and gendered political agents in the polity which repudiates them. This research contributes to the fields of African queer studies, Zimbabwean citizenship, and enriches sexual and performative citizenship studies with an Afro-centric queer and decolonial perspective. It also queers citizenship beyond the binary citizen/non-citizen demonstrating this status is unstable and based in relational positions which can be simultaneously occupied.

Key words: sexual citizenship, performative citizenship, Zimbabwe, queer activism, artivism

Dedication

To G.

Acknowledgements

Although writing is a solitary activity, it is by no means lonely. As I wrote this thesis I was not alone. I am filled with gratitude towards all who accompanied and supported me in your own special ways during this life-changing and challenging project. I am specifically grateful towards:

The courageous and persistent activists who generously shared your stories and expertise with me. I am honoured to have been let into your worlds. I take you with me beyond this project as persons I look up to and as friends.

My supervisors, Egle Česnulytė and Terrell Carver for your guidance and support. You were there in so many ways as I navigated this research in times of personal and collective crisis. Your wisdom, kindness, and friendship allowed me to envision the kind of professional I want to be and this thesis to blossom.

Individuals were key in shaping my research: Mojana and Rui, your unending enthusiasm in making African activisms visible were key in the first stages of this research project. Adriaan van Klinken at the 2019 ECAS conference you pointed me towards the concept of acts of citizenship and have been an inspiration. Adrian Flint, Ashley Dodsworth, and Chris Rossdale, you saw potential in this project and gave advice that was fundamental to shape the research. Jill Payne you were a mentor and a friend as you shared your lived experience and knowledge about this land I know so much about and yet so little. Simon Bright and Lawrie Zidiana, you showed me the world of Zimbabwean cinema. The researchers who supported me in planning my field research. Nelson Muparamoto, B Camminga, John Marnell, Joost Fontein, Walter Chambati, and Marie-France Baron Bonarjee. I was not able to meet you in person this time, but I hope to be able to pick up where we left off soon!

I am indebted to the Federal University of Paraíba for your institutional and financial support. But I am especially grateful for my colleagues and friends at the Federal University of Paraíba and your families. I appreciate your trust and support without which I would not have been able to develop this research. Most of all, I am grateful for your friendship and support during all the ups and downs of the last five years. I also thank the Funds for Women Graduates, whose contribution was essential in difficult times. I am grateful for the people who make the University of Bristol, especially the staff and faculty at SPAIS and Bristol Doctoral College. Student Wellbeing Adviser Carolyn Jones, the MacMillan, Uro-Oncology, and Neurology teams at Southmead Hospital and Royal United Hospitals: You were essential for me to heal my body and mind and guided me towards finding my path to wellbeing. Thank you!

Crucial to this research, but also to my life, I am grateful to my family and friends. Geanne, what would I be without your unending love, care and support? This is the result of your efforts and hard work as much as mine. Andrew, Vincent, thank you for everything and for every day. Niminon, Peter, and all of you my lovely family who are so many I cannot list. This thesis would not exist, and my world and I would not be as we are without you. My amazing and long-lasting friends, who were always there and sometimes even here! My new friends who have been here for all sorts of academic, fun, and/or mischievous adventures! You made Bath and SPAIS a special place, and I take you with me in my heart!

Covid-19 statement

The Covid-19 pandemic negatively impacted my doctoral research in more than one way. Due to it, I had to cancel the fieldwork I planned to develop overseas in 2020. I attempted to mitigate these impacts by amending my research project and switching from fieldwork to digital interviews. Reviewing my data generation methods delayed my research and required revising the thesis structure so it was less ambitious while maintaining an academically rigorous project. To be able to write the thesis and compensate for the isolation I felt due to being mostly at home since the pandemic started, I participated assiduously in Bristol Doctoral College's online activities such as writers retreat and thesis bootcamps.

The threat of COVID-19 also put extra stress on my already fragile physical and mental health, impacting my productivity. Having recently been diagnosed with cancer and epilepsy, and having long-term asthma, I felt very vulnerable and avoided leaving the house. When I had to, for medical appointments, this was very stressful, adding the fear of contracting Covid to the already tense tests to check if the cancer had returned, and to investigate stress-related seizures. The pandemic amplified these problems, and I found my productivity was reduced, having difficulty in concentrating. I sought medical help and participated in a Living Well Course offered by Southmead Hospital. This contributed to my well-being, helping me to change my daily routine and to be able to continue my research while taking care of my physical and mental health. It impacted, however, the amount of time I was able to dedicate to the research.

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:..........................

Table of Contents

Abstract i
Key words i
Dedication ii
Acknowledgements iii
Covid-19 statement iv
Author's Declaration v
Table of Contents vi
List of Figures ix
List of Abbreviations x
Introduction 1
Situating the research 2
Notes on terminology 6
Structure of the thesis 7
Part 1 12
Chapter 1 Investigating queer Zimbabwean sexual citizenship: an interpretive, research 13
1.1 Interpretive research 15
1.2 Data generation 19
    1.2.1- Creating an archive of queer Zimbabwean digital activism 20
    1.2.2- Reviewing my methods: from fieldwork to digital data generation 26
    1.2.3- Conducting qualitative semi-structured online interviews 28
1.3 Data analysis 31
    1.3.1- Meaning-making through discourse analysis 31
    1.3.2- Analysing different genres of data 33
1.4 Writing the thesis: language, ethics and politics of knowledge production 36
    1.4.1- Writing about borders from the borders 37
    1.4.2- Research as world-travelling, writing as world-making 38
1.5 Concluding summary 41
Chapter 2 Performative sexual citizenship: a queer and decolonial theoretical framework 43
2.1 Sexual Citizenship: how morality restricts queers' belonging 46
2.2 A decolonial approach to sexual citizenship: in the borders of modernity/coloniality 53
2.3 Acts of performative citizenship: a conceptual framework to analyse the political agency of queer Zimbabwean activists 59

2.4 Concluding summary 65
Part 2 66
Chapter 3: (Sexual) citizenship in Zimbabwe 67
3.1 Patrilineal Taboos: the role of gender and sexuality in precolonial boundary-making 68
3.2 Colonial frames of citizenship: race, gender and sexuality in Rhodesian power hierarchies 73
3.3 Dominant constructions of sexual citizenship in post-colonial Zimbabwe 80
3.3.1- Sexist constructions of citizenship built on colonial foundations 80
3.3.2- The proliferation of homophobic discourses in the Zimbabwean crisis 84
3.4 Concluding summary 91
Chapter 4: Constructing queer Zimbabwean identities: linguistic performances of citizenship 93
4.1 Relational citizenship and identity politics: from othering to political organizing 95
4.2 Performing sexual citizenship through language: identity labels and an LGBTI dictionary 99
4.3 Coming out of the closet as a queer identity formation 107
4.4 Concluding summary 114
Chapter 5: Belonging as outsiders in everyday scenes 116
5.1 'You don't belong to yourself' 117
5.1.1- Families 119
5.1.2- The Christian Community 124
5.2 Enacting citizenship between a toilet and the justice system 130
5.3 Concluding summary 136
Chapter 6: The struggle continues! Dislocating the borders of belonging by commemorating independence 138
6.1 GALZ joins the Nation celebrating the fight for liberation 139
6.2 Fighting the legacies of colonialism 142
6.3 Implicating the population in the fight against the failures of post-colonial citizenship 145
6.5 Concluding summary 151
Chapter 7: Denouncing the exclusions of sexual citizenship from the diaspora: film as queer African artivism 153
7.1 Acts of citizenship performed in the story 154
7.1.1- Exposing and resisting the limitations of sexual citizenship 154
7.1.2- Blurring the boundaries between fact and fiction to disrupt heteronormative sexual citizenship 158

7.2 Acts of citizenship performed by the artivism 163
7.2.1- The encounter with the audience 163
7.2.2.- Making a movie as an act of citizenship 166
7.3 Concluding summary 169
Conclusions 171
Overall Conclusions 171
Research limitations 173
Contributions to the literature and implications 175
Bibliographic References 179
Appendices 205
Appendix 1: Digital archive of primary sources used in the thesis (organized by chapter) .. 205
Appendix 2: Digital archive of primary sources which were not used in the analysis (organized by institution) 207
Appendix 3: Model interview questions for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms* 212
Appendix 4: Interview protocol for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms* 214
Appendix 5: Ethics Approval for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms* 216
Appendix 6: Application for ethical approval for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms* 217
Appendix 7: Risk Assessment Form for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms* 221
Appendix 8: Data Protection Form for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms* 232

List of Figures

Figure 1: Image heading GALZ 2019 and 2020 independent statements 140
Figure 2: Image heading GALZ 2018 and 2021 independent statements 140
Figure 3: Still from *Because I am* 160
Figure 4: Still from *Because I am* 162

List of Abbreviations

AIDS – Acquired immune deficiency syndrome

ARMZ – Advocacy and Research for Men in Zimbabwe

BSAC – British South African Company

BSAP – British South African Police

CCC – Citizens Coalition for Change political party

CPCA – Church of the Province of Central Africa

ESAP – Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

FTLRP - Fast Track Land Reform Program

FRELIMO – Frente de Libertação de Moçambique

GALZ – Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe, a LGBTI association

GATE – Global Action for Trans Equality

HQ – Harare Queer Collective

IAZ – Intersex Advocate Trust Zimbabwe

LBT – lesbian, bisexual, and transgender

LGBT – lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender

LGBTI – lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex

LGBTIQ – lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change

MSM – men who have sex with men

NDR – National Democratic Revolution

RAWO – Rise Above Women Organization

SOGIE – sexual orientation, gender identity and expression

SRC – Sexual Rights Centre

UDI – Unilateral Declaration of Independence

UK – United Kingdom

USA – United States of America

TIRZ – Trans and Intersex Rising Zimbabwe

Treat – Trans Research Education Advocacy and Training

VoIP – Voice over Internet Protocol

VoVo – Voice of the Voiceless

WSW – women who have sex with women

WHO – World Health Organization

ZANU – Zimbabwe African National Union

ZANU-PF – Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

ZAPU – Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZIBF – Zimbabwe International Book Fair

ZIMAHA – Zimbabwe Men Against HIV and AIDS

ZIMSWA – Zimbabwe Sex Workers Alliance

Introduction

> We are the queer groups, the people that don't belong anywhere, not in the dominant world nor completely within our own respective cultures. Combined we cover so many oppressions. But the overwhelming oppression is the collective fact that we do not fit, and because we do not fit we are a threat (Anzaldúa, 2002, 233).

Since the 1990s, moral disputes over what are legitimate African sexualities and genders have gained prominence in African public debates undermining traditions of social discretion (Nyeck and Epprecht, 2013a; Tamale, 2011a; Hoad, 2007; Epprecht, 2008; Van Klinken and Chitando, 2016b). The polarization between homophobic and queer activists' discourses exposed how these aspects of human life are political and underpin the boundaries of citizenship. Queer African studies have investigated how moral interpretations of sexualities and genders support understandings of what are authentic African identities and regulate the distribution of inclusion and exclusion (Ngwena, 2018; Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Nyeck and Epprecht, 2013a; Epprecht, 2004, 2008; Matebeni, 2014).

In some African states such as Zimbabwe, although queer subjects are officially citizens by birth, their legal entitlements are limited by the criminalisation of same-sex intimacy and their actual access to rights is restricted by discourses which frame them as moral aliens who threaten the nation. The inconsistencies of the legislation and the disparity between sexual minorities' legal and substantive access to citizenship show how these subjects are positioned on uncertain ground. These contradictions defy understanding citizenship as a binary institution which separates citizens and outsiders. They indicate there are various degrees between these opposing poles which are susceptible to sexual differentiation and expose the gap which exists between legal and substantive citizenship.

Sexual citizenship in post-colonial states such as Zimbabwe emerges from the entanglement of domestic and international politics characteristic of post-colonial states which inhabit the borders of the international capitalist system. In a similar fashion to LGBTIQ militancy in other African locations whose territories were formerly colonized by the British such as Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda, Queer Zimbabwean activism has not been able to promote more inclusive sexual citizenship arrangements where same-sex intimacy is not criminalized. Changes in legislation expose the retraction of queer's citizenship in some states such as Uganda and Nigeria, and the advance of the rights of sexual minorities in others such as former Portuguese colonies. In Zimbabwe, however, the criminalisation of same-sex intimacy has not changed. This institutional stability obscures the political struggles which are continually taking place. The examination of these disputes which precede and influence the establishment of legal rights

and restrictions can reveal the political agency of queer activists who seek to change the law and to bridge the gap between sexual minorities' formal and substantive citizenship.

Although the state's citizenship machinery has strong sway over its borders of belonging, it does not exert complete control. Citizenship is performative, and it is discursively enacted in the dissident claims of queer activists who affirm their existence and membership within the nation which repudiates them. Recognizing their political agency, this research was developed to understand *how queer Zimbabwean activists perform their sexual citizenship in post-colonial Zimbabwe*. To answer it, I investigated the activists' relationships with the state by examining the ways in which they contest dominant heteronormative imaginaries of what it means to belong in Zimbabwe. I did this grounded on an original archive I curated based on digital artefacts produced by queer Zimbabwean activists and online interviews they granted me.

The agency of the queer Zimbabwean activists demonstrates they creatively enact different strategies to promote the personal and public autonomy of sexual minorities, the acceptance of queer identities, and the decriminalization of their sexualities and genders. They expose the challenges they face, challenge discourse which discriminate and stigmatize them and moral aliens, and claim their rights. Dissociating resistance from heroic and revolutionary political action, I conceptualize their agency as performative acts of citizenship (Isin, 2017). An approach which allows me, within a political project to queer and decolonize sexual citizenship, to interpret their political agency as performances of citizenship. These performances constitute them as activist citizens (Isin, 2008) who creatively engage the moral borders of belonging as they affirm their existence as simultaneously queer and Zimbabwean. Sometimes they do this by demonstrating their loyalty to the nation, sometimes by dislocating or disrupting the borders of citizenship. As the activists enact their rights and contest their exclusion, their performances expose the contingency of sexual citizenship arrangements and disturb them. While inhabiting the borderlands of belonging they defy absolute distinctions between citizens and non-citizens and through their political agency provide openings for an alternative, more inclusive, citizenship.

Situating the research

Dominant notions of belonging in Zimbabwe, a state which was constructed from a liberation struggle against settler colonialism, tend to focus on issues of race (Mlambo, 2013; Raftopoulos and

Mlambo, 2009; Raftopoulos, 2007; Dorman, Hammett and Nugent, 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009), ethnicity (Mlambo, 2013; Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009a, 2009b), access to land (Daimon, 2018, 2016; Ndhlovu, 2019; Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Rutherford, 2007, 2003; Alexander, 2006), and political affiliation (Muzondidya, 2010, 2009; Daimon, 2016; Raftopoulos, 2009, 2003; McGregor and Chatiza, 2020). They were also influenced by understandings of gender (Cheater, 1986, 2009; Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996; Gaidzanwa, 1993; Barnes, 1999) and sexuality (Phillips, 2014, 2011, 1997).

Queer Zimbabweans are not formally excluded from citizenship. They are entitled by birth to social, political, welfare and economic rights as well as protections of the legal system. Citizenship is not, however, strictly divided in the opposition between citizens and aliens. There are degrees of (non-) citizenship, which are differentiated based on the moral legitimacy of social groups (Evans, 1993). Although sexual minorities are formally citizens, they are also moral aliens, disenfranchised by the state which identifies them as morally deficient. Even where being a sexual minority is not criminalised, the system of gradations of citizenship based on certain moral attributes legitimates the denial of full belonging to them due to their identities. Supported in this concept, this thesis inquired how queer Zimbabwean activists performatively claim their full citizenship. This investigation opens a path to queer citizenship by demonstrating how this group destabilizes the opposition between citizens and outsiders. It also contributes to African queer studies by providing a case which demonstrates how queer activists contest the sexualized and gendered hierarchies of citizenship – present in virtually all polities, although featuring different arrangements.

Political elites promote the discrimination of sexual minorities who do not conform to the moral standards it supports in the name of thwarting degeneracy while strategically using this to achieve political ends. The descending gradations of citizenship integrate the heteronormative community, contain potential dissent, and strengthen the established order in the name of 'the purity of the moral community' (Evans 1993, 8). The status of secondary sexual citizenship amounts to the denial of substantive citizenship – *i.e.,* social, political, and economic rights and legal protections – to sexual minorities. In Zimbabwe they are excluded from various heteronormative spaces such as families, churches, and public toilets, as well as from working in certain institutions, and accessing adequate healthcare. Branded as traitors and connected to a western conspiracy against the nation, they are denied moral worth. Therefore, although targeted by violence, blackmail, and persecution, they avoid seeking support from law enforcement fearing they will become suspects of crimes because of their sexualities and genders.

Sexual minorities are othered since before the creation of the state of Zimbabwe, as attested by colonial anti-sodomy laws latter upheld by the post-colonial political elite. Robert Mugabe, who governed Zimbabwe for most of the state's existence, proscribed and stigmatized queers since the 1990s. Internationally known as a hero of anti-imperialism, he also became a symbol of homophobia in the non-western world.[1] As is detailed in chapter three, the political use of homophobia (Bosia and Weiss, 2013) within the nationalist projects of ruling party ZANU-PF was initiated by Mugabe at the beginning of the 1990s.

This practice transcended Zimbabwean borders and became part of what was identified, at the end of the first decade of the 21st century by international media and LGBTIQ activists, as a 'wave of' African homophobia (Thoreson, 2014). This wave was identified by global media following debates in Uganda about applying the death penalty and life imprisonment to persons found guilty of having sexual relations with persons of the same sex. Referring to discussions in the Rwandan parliament about criminalizing homosexuality; the promotion of raids against LGBTIQ organizations in Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Malawi, Kenya and Senegal; and the encouragement of homophobia by various political and religious African leaders such as Mugabe, Namibia's Sam Nujoma, Uganda's president Yoweri Museveni and politician David Bahati, Nigerian Archbishop Peter Akinola, and Ugandan Pastor Martin Ssempa. As Thoreson (2014, 24) argues, although this metaphor might have been helpful to publicize the cause of activists, it homogenizes diverse incidents and erases the specificities of political processes in different African states, encouraging racist understandings of the continent and the Global South. The use of this racist trope to refer to the 'Arab' and 'Muslim world' (Massad, 2002) demonstrates how the treatment of sexual minorities is used as a benchmark to determine (non-western) states' capacity to rule and, therefore, right to sovereignty (Rao, 2014; Epprecht, 2012; Puar, 2011).

These representations indicate the international dimension of sexual politics of (not) belonging and the significance of this case-study to research on queer citizenship in Africa and elsewhere. While sexual citizenship refers to the relationships between states and civil societies, it is also entangled in the international geopolitics of modernity/coloniality, a historical global system of interactions and

[1] The notion of the west and western is here used in line with Stuart Hall's formulation regarding the discourse on 'the West and the Rest' (Hall, 1992). This conception of a west which is characterized by post-industrial modernity does not refer to a specific geographical location. This term is an indicator of historical and contingent discourses (Shepherd and Sjoberg, 2012) which, although initially emergent in western Europe, is no longer limited to this area, and in any case does not includes all of it, nor most of the western hemisphere. This notion of the west as an ideal type of society was constructed in connection with the exclusion of other societies from capitalist modernity (Santos, 2007; Quijano, 2000a; Dussel, 1993). It implies that they are pre-modern within racist temporalities (Rao, 2020a; Bhambra and Holmwood, 2021; Hoad, 2000).

exchanges of ideas and goods between the different countries and continents (Picq and Thiel, 2015). Zimbabwean sexual citizenship was influenced by the legacies of settler colonialism as upheld by post-colonial elites and is situated in a neo-imperial homonationalist international order (Puar, 2013, 2007; Rao, 2010; Picq and Thiel, 2015; Massad, 2002). At the same time, those denied full citizenship can seek refuge and continue their struggles for rights in their homelands from foreign locations. Acknowledging these connections this thesis contributes to perspectives which argue the modern world was built from connected histories (Bhambra and Holmwood, 2021; Quijano, 2000b; Stoler, 1995). It contests racist tropes which reinforce modern/colonial geopolitics of sexuality which transform material hierarchies into moral ones. Doing this while highlighting the agency of queer Africans it also counters discourses which limit the experiences of non-white queers as victims othered and targeted by state-sponsored homophobia.

I contest discourses which define sexual minorities by the violence and abjection they are subjected to by focusing on queer Zimbabwean activists. Investigating the different ways they perform acts of citizenship I interpret them as complex political actors. To denounce and transform their secondary citizenship status queer Zimbabwean activists perform their identities as queer Zimbabweans and Africans. I documented these performances through artefacts they made available digitally not to exhaustively cover the activisms of all queer Zimbabwean associations to showcase their political action and argue that these acts can be understood as performances of citizenship. The data shows how the activists resist and insist on demarcating their place as Zimbabweans, however unseemly these positions may be. Focusing on their political action, my research contributes to queering and decolonizing Zimbabwean and sexual citizenship studies, demonstrating how sexual minorities from this southern-African state are political agents who dispute heteronormative narratives about what it means to be Zimbabwean and African.

The potential of the concept of sexual citizenship is underexplored by queer Zimbabwean activists. In the last thirty years, ZANU-PF's authoritarian, pan-Africanist, and anti-imperialist discourses of nationalism have circumscribed the political uses of the concept of citizenship in political debates. It has been framed as a reward to those who demonstrate their loyalty to the state (Dorman, 2014) while alternative interpretations centred on democratic rights are associated with the political opposition's liberal agenda of promoting political change. It also associates this liberal interpretation with a broader neo-imperialist project, which also includes the promotion of the 'white disease' of homosexuality (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Jeater, 2013; Muzondidya, 2009; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009).

Despite this connection, sexual minorities do not find much support within the political opposition, demonstrating that the concept's emancipatory potential to sexual minorities is not fully explored.

Demonstrating how citizenship is intrinsically sexual, the interpretations offered in this research will possibly contribute to queer Zimbabwean activists' political actions. By framing their efforts as sexual citizenship struggles, I call attention to how their exclusion is fundamental to the post-colonial state's machinery, imbued as it is with Christian morals and capitalist interests. In the post-Mugabe era, when state narratives on sexual minorities have been dramatically reduced while authoritarianism has increased, the concept of citizenship can subsidize dissident political projects. It destabilizes and transcends the polarized narratives which have dominated Zimbabwean political debates about national identity, patriotism, and indigeneity in connection to sexuality and gender, and opens possibilities of alliances between disenfranchised groups.

Notes on terminology

There is a diversity of terms Zimbabwean sexual and gender minorities use to identify themselves, influenced by identity politics, public health and rights discourses, and critiques of identity categories. These include MSM (men who have sex with men), WSW (women who have sex with women), LGBTIQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transexual, intersex, and queer) (Matebeni and Msibi, 2015), and vernacular terms (which will be detailed in chapter four) such as *ngochani/hungochani* (Muparamoto and Moen, 2020; Epprecht, 2004).

All labels have a genealogy which reveals the politics behind their uses and their limitations. MSM, for example, may be used to refer to men who have sex with men but do not identify as homosexual or gay. It can be favoured as it does not take us to mid-19th century Europe where the homosexual identity was born, invoke the stigma of AIDS which was attached to gay, nor was used by Mugabe to frame sexual deviants as threats to the nation. Its use in global health and development discourses, however, obscures the socio-political dimensions of sexualities and undermines subjects identities (Young and Meyer, 2005), while also indicating positivist ambitions of reflecting a reality which it helps to create (Boellstorff, 2011).

In this thesis, I occasionally use LGBTIQ or variations of this acronym to describe specific lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer persons who identify as such and use these acronyms to

identify themselves, their organisations, and to differentiate themselves from other sexual minorities. I extensively use the term queer while aware that this concept was initially used outside Zimbabwe. The production of concepts in certain locations does not impede them to be applied in other situations if this is done recognizing that words travel along political paths and, in their journey, change and bring baggage with them. Although queer's north-American origin exposes it to anti-imperialist critiques (Nyanzi, 2014), there has been a queer turn in African sexuality studies (Matebeni, 2017), and this concept was embraced by various African scholars and activists as a way of establishing connections throughout the continent (Reddy, Monro and Matebeni, 2018; Ekine and Hakima, 2013; Sandfort *et al.*, 2015; Matebeni, 2014; Tamale, 2011a). I follow this tradition of African queer studies.

Queer can be a verb which refers to the disruption of the heteronormative order. Queerness's emphasis on difference is central to expose the exclusion, marginalization, and erasure which limits the access of those with transgressive sexualities and genders to citizenship. The connection between queerness and othering was demonstrated by Hoad (2007), who identified in *makwerekwere* (a South-African slur to denote job-stealing immigrants from other African states) a homonym to queer, this way highlighted how homosexuality was a popular national symbol of otherness in South Africa. In southern-African societies both categories are associated with what is dangerously foreign: they queer, as in disrupt, belonging (Matebeni, 2017). As a noun, queer allows an intersectional approach which promotes openings (Pereira, 2019) and unsettles stiff sex/gender classifications by encompassing persons with non-normative genders and sexualities as intersectional political agents positioned in complex power systems. A fecund chimera, queer allows dislocating the emphasis 'from difference to connection (and by extension inclusion and belonging)' (Reddy, Monro and Matebeni, 2018, 13). Davids and Matebeni (2017) demonstrated this as they emphasized the importance of intersectionality in Simon Nkoli's activism as a gay, poor, working class, and HIV positive South-African man living in a township who fought the apartheid regime and was fundamental for (South) Africa's first Pride to take place.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis was written with the aim of demonstrating the ways in which the discourses of queer Zimbabwean activists' shared in digital platforms perform sexual citizenship and disturb hegemonic heteronormative notions of belonging. The text is organized in two main parts. The first frames the

research through a chapter on the methodology and research design, and another which presents the theoretical framework the work builds upon. In part two I present the research's findings and demonstrate the different ways queer Zimbabweans perform citizenship in their everyday and in special occasions while navigating the connections between local, national, and international levels.

Chapter one describes the methodological approach I adopted to develop the research and write the thesis. This includes the background context for the study, my positionality, ethics, and motivations for doing it. With the aim of understanding the social world through the interpretation of the subjects' understandings, I adopted an interpretive methodology. Inspired by feminist, queer, post-structuralist, and decolonial scholarship I rejected the notion of objectivity and interpreted meanings indirectly from artefacts. The research's methods cover the generation and analysis of different genres of data, as well as the adaptations which were made throughout the research process. I created an original digital archive with written and audio-visual artefacts produced and made available online by queer Zimbabwean activists and semi-structured interviews I did with activists. This archive constituted the research, supporting my findings and establishing their limits. I used discourse analysis to interpret the activists' claims, perspectives, and the ways they navigate the contradictions of post-colonial sexual citizenship.

Chapter two presents the theoretical framework I structured to support the interpretation of the activisms as performances of sexual citizenship. In it I detail how intersecting decolonial and queer perspectives and merging two currents of citizenship studies – sexual and performative – buttresses this research, orients its argument, and establishes its limits. This chapter details how the concept of sexual citizenship travels to Zimbabwe and contributes to understand (not) belonging in this state by exposing how sexual morals are used to limit membership in the political community. This concept reveals how sexuality and gender are formally and customarily institutionalised and incorporated within the public world. It also shows how their regulation is fundamental to the distribution of inclusion and exclusion in gradations of citizenship which push sexual minorities towards the margins. As such, it demonstrates the artificiality of separating the public and private spheres and the contingency of heteronormative political projects which gained hegemonic status in the modern/colonial international capitalist system.

I also explore in chapter two how a performative approach to citizenship allows investigating the politics which precede the establishment of the legal framework of citizenship. Focusing on the agency of queer Zimbabwean activists I use this concept to demonstrate how the acts through which they enact themselves as citizens (regardless of their formal status) disrupt the opposition between being

citizens/non-citizens. That way I reaffirm sexual citizenship's affirmation that there are degrees of citizenship, as well as the contingency and relativity of these positions.

This framework supports the thesis and underpins my argument by highlighting the ambivalence of belonging for sexual minorities who although legally entitled to citizenship are morally excluded from the heteronormative community. It queers citizenship diverting the focus from the dominant order towards acts of citizenship performed by sexualized and gendered political subjects who assume the role of activist citizens as they create possibilities of more inclusive sexual citizenships that are yet to come.

I open part 2 of the thesis, where I analyse how queer Zimbabwean activists enact their sexual citizenship, exploring the discursive context in which these activisms are located. Chapter three is divided in three sections, where I analyse the construction of the borders of sexual citizenship in Zimbabwe, colonial Rhodesia, and precolonial societies. First, I compose a picture of how gender and sexuality were connected to membership and the political hierarchies of precolonial polities in the territory which is now Zimbabwe. In the following section I detail the socio-political understandings of sex, gender, and sexuality settler-colonialism established in Rhodesia, as they did in other colonized territories in the region. This way I demonstrate how gender and sex intersected with race to conform sexual citizenship in (Southern) Rhodesia.

In the third section of the chapter, I scrutinize dominant moral discourses which are supported by coercion and reinterpretations of traditions and argue that coloniality permeates Zimbabwean sexual citizenship. To this end I juxtaposed the literature on Zimbabwean citizenship with that on Zimbabwean sexual politics, since the former mostly overlooks the role of sexualities and gender in the structuring of the notions of belonging in the territory. The chapter lays out the foundation for the thesis' argument to be developed in the following chapters by demonstrating how the frontiers of membership in the political community are mutable and how sexuality and gender are fundamental in the design of nationalist political projects. It also evinces the thesis' contribution to the literature on Zimbabwean citizenship, a field which mostly overlooks how the citizenship machinery is sexual and, more specifically, heteronormative.

Building on the previous chapter, chapter four applies the concept of performative citizenship to interpret how the activists assert the existence of a group deemed unintelligible in dominant discourses. The chapter begins exploring the use of language as socially constitutive relational practices which enable the construction of shared queer Zimbabwean identities. These identities are strategic, they provide political organization which can counter discourses which render the combination of being queer and

Zimbabwean illegible. The second section details some ways queer Zimbabweans refer to themselves. Their linguistic choices disrupt heteronormative citizenship by antagonizing hegemonic discourses which frame belonging in opposition to whiteness and sexual/gender deviance (both associated with the west). They also demonstrate how international politics influence Zimbabwean sexual citizenship. The following section analyses a bilingual dictionary in isiNdebele and English. This glossary merges global LGBTIQ terms and local understandings of sexual desires, gender performances, and identities. Its strategic use of language to reduce stigma and promote access to the rights of adequate healthcare to sexual minorities can be understood as an act of citizenship. The fourth section of the chapter details how the activists support queer individuals as they navigate the adoption of queer identities and reflect on the challenges of coming out in a heteronormative environment. Publicising a recording containing a discussion between Zimbabweans about their queer identities queer activists perform an act of citizenship which encourages the constitution of a queer Zimbabwean community and strengthens its claims to citizenship. The chapter contributes to the thesis by demonstrating how language, identity formation, and the digital publicization of activities developed by queer activists perform acts of queer citizenship.

In chapter five I demonstrate how queer Zimbabwean activists perform citizenship as they navigate everyday relationships and inhabit commonplace spaces where they are marginalised due to their sexualities and genders. To this end I interpreted written and audio documents produced and made available online by the activists, which I complemented with interviews they granted me. Queer Zimbabweans are pushed to the borders in their connections with their families and local community spaces where the private and the public overlap, such as churches and public bathrooms. Activists deal with this enacting various strategies to claim they belong. Sometimes these are non-confrontational performances, promoting conciliation or avoiding these groups and assembling others where they are fully accepted. They also adopt contentious stances, using the juridical system to enact their substantive citizenship. The chapter contributes to the thesis by demonstrating queer Zimbabwean activists use strategies which befit their context. As they navigate mundane relationships and spaces where they are pushed to the borders, they still cultivate their communitarian ties in line with *Ubuntu*. Their acts demonstrate how formal ties, as formal citizenship, can be replaced by substantive relationships based on solidarity.

In chapter six I explore the discourses produced and publicized by LGBTI association GALZ on national independence celebration events. The activists use this commemorative ritual to claim their full citizenship by re-interpreting central elements of ZANU-PF's nationalist discourses. The chapter

contributes to the thesis by demonstrating how GALZ positions queers within the moral community by dislocating the borders of nationalism and belonging. The association engages the state in a non-confrontational way as it embraces the well-known theme of the revolutionary struggle and connects queer and normative Zimbabweans in their shared pursuit of substantive citizenship. This strategy of engaging familiar liberation movements' narratives – important in other African nationalisms – demonstrates how this case-study can contribute to queer African studies.

Queer activists use art to perform their sexual citizenship. This chapter analyses the short movie *Because I am – Being LGBT in Zimbabwe* (Zidyana, 2016a) as an African artivism which enacts claims to queer African sexual citizenship. This film depicts the political roots and the effects of queers' othering in Zimbabwe, as well as their resistance. This digital art performs claims to citizenship through its contents – that is, the narrative it tells and how it is aesthetically organized; the way in which it implicates its audiences in its political action; and the meanings of its production process to the agents involved it. This chapter contributes to the thesis by showing how artivisms can enact citizenship claims in multiple ways from the moment they are created and continue to do so as they are engaged by other subjects. It also demonstrates how a film produced by Africans in the diaspora can contribute to the struggle for substantive citizenship by performing an act of pan-Africanist queer citizenship.

Finally, the conclusion chapter draws together the theoretical considerations and discussions raised in the previous chapters summarising the thesis's main argument and findings. It reminds the reader of the motivations that instigated the research and acknowledges its limitations. This section also discusses the implications of this study. The thesis demonstrates how performances of queer African citizenship can be investigated using digital resources and an interpretive approach. Interpreting queer activisms as performances of sexual citizenship, offers a contribution to the literature on Zimbabwean citizenship which has rested on heteronormative assumptions. This thesis also demonstrates how citizenship is queer and how the political agency of queer activists can pave the way to bridge the gap between formal and substantive citizenship. It contributes with a novel case study to the literatures on sexual and performative citizenship which tend to focus on western contexts. It also offers insights to queer African citizenship studies Showing different ways queer activists can contest the opposition between certain sexualities and genders and understandings of what are authentic African identities, it also adds to queer African citizenship studies.

Part 1

Chapter 1
Investigating queer Zimbabwean sexual citizenship: an interpretive, research

> this is the oppressor's language
> yet I need it to talk to you
> … (the fracture of order
> the repair of speech
> to overcome this suffering)
> (Rich, 1971).

Methodology is a political process, which involves complex questions related to context, power, ethics and ideology (Tamale, 2011a, 28). This chapter is the first in the thesis because it details the philosophical and ethical underpinnings which guided the procedures I performed in this research. As such it is fundamental for understanding how I framed and developed the research, wrote this thesis, and constructed my argument. Here I present the rationale for the research design and the methodological approach I adopted to answer the research question.

The citizenship of queer Africans has become increasingly politicised and disputed. In some locations – such as in Malawi and Namibia – anti-sodomy laws inherited from colonial rule have been upheld and in others some sexual politics have further constricted the rights of queer citizens, such as in Uganda and Nigeria. At the same time in Botswana and Lusophone countries, practices which used to be outlawed have been decriminalised (Garrido, 2019, 2016; Tabengwa *et al.*, 2020). The Zimbabwe case illustrates a situation where formal citizenship arrangements have not fundamentally changed for better or worse. This situation does not mean that there are no political tensions, contests, or variation in sexual minorities' substantive access to their citizenship. To investigate these disputes while highlighting on the agency of queer actors, this research centred on the question *how queer Zimbabwean activists perform their sexual citizenship in their post-colonial context?* That question was inspired by both the particular arrangements of Zimbabwean sexual citizenship and those in other post-colonial African countries. The ways in which queer Zimbabweans' claim their substantive citizenship offer insights which can contribute to broader African and queer sexual citizenship studies.

In the following subsections I disentangle the iterative research processes I accomplished in line with an interpretivist methodology centred on meaning making throughout the meandering stages of

research design, data generation, data analysis and writing of the thesis. First, I present the interpretive and reflexive methodology which oriented my work and the reasons why I adopted it. This methodological approach calls for a constructivist ontology and an interpretive epistemology, recognizing the role my previous knowledges and vantage point play in the generation and analysis of data, as well as in the writing of this thesis. In this section I also ponder the evaluative criteria for social scientific research, aware that this work and the knowledge claims I make will be evaluated according to principles widely used in the assessment of interpretive practices (Yanow, 2015a; Schwartz-Shea, 2015). In line with my methodology, I rejected the positivist evaluative criteria of validity and reliability oriented towards objectivity and universalist generalisations. Instead, I focused on producing trustworthy interpretations, using thick descriptions, reflexivity and triangulation. I am aware these criteria are provisional and political, and currently legitimate in shifting debates developed within epistemic communities (Schwartz-Shea, 2015). While this approach stresses the specificities of the case-study, the research findings can offer insights to other sexual citizenship disputes, especially in post-colonial African states which, although with their own particularities, can be compared with the Zimbabwean case.

This discussion is followed by a section on data generation. This process involved assessing data sources and creating a digital archive (Appendices 1 and 2) of written, audio, and audio-visual artefacts produced by queer Zimbabwean activists. I also developed digital interviews with the activists. While this triangulation of methods and the variety of sources and genres of text strengthened my claims and allowed anticipating this research can contribute to debates about queer and sexual African citizenship, I am aware that my archive has limitations, as do my interpretations, since what exists in the research is formed by its archive (Macharia, 2015). Qualitative research methods involve flexibility and being open to change. This section describes how the research design and the initially planned data generation methods had to be reviewed due to personal health problems and the COVID-19 pandemic. The methods were revised in a way which guaranteed the viability of the research project by focusing on artefacts available in the cyberspace and organizing interviews using digital platforms.

After that I describe how the data was analysed by practicing meaning making through discourse analysis and abductive reasoning. In this segment I present this method and its advantages to this specific research project. I then I detail how I examined different genres of data (written, audio, and audio-visual), and how their diversity contributed to enrich the research. Although the data generation and analysis sections were written under separate headings for the sake of clarity, they refer to research activities which were developed iteratively. I constructed the data archive while analysing the data, identifying recurrent

themes, and re-evaluating the concepts used in the research. The data generation demanded the examination of and reflection about the artefacts I encountered to decide whether they belonged in the research corpus or not, and thus represented an initial step in the data analysis.

Texts are meaningful differently within different worlds (Carver, 2016), and the control of knowledge claims is made by the interpretive community, which establishes contingent and contextualized status of truth claims through collective and intersubjective processes (Yanow, 2015a). To produce knowledge in line with the goals of interpretive research, I developed reflexive research practices and sought to be transparent about the rationales which motivated my choices and practices. In the last section of this chapter before the concluding summary I discuss the writing of the thesis and the ethical considerations which influenced the research design. This was done reflexively, understanding writing as an important part of research methods, intimately connected with the data generation and analysis. It also contributes to the chapter by acknowledging how my positionality as an early career researcher writing from the borders about persons who are defying borders shaped the research.

1.1 Interpretive research

I planned and developed my doctoral research and wrote this thesis guided by a postpositivist qualitative and interpretive methodology. This section presents this philosophical approach, justifying its adoption and indicating how it allowed producing a philosophically rigorous research.

This research's methodology and practices were informed by my personal perspectives and institutional positionality as a queer and feminist Latina academic trained in social sciences research methods. Although I sought to suspect my own aesthetic preferences, aware that they are socially constructed and contingent, the concepts and categories I deployed reflect my standpoint and evolved with it in iterative sense-making processes shaped by my prior experiences and knowledge, the theoretical literature, and the new empirical evidence and experiences I engaged with in the research. My research processes were developed according to the following stages: Firstly, based on a literature review, I framed the research problem seeking to understand how queer Zimbabwean activists participate in the sexual politics in their post-colonial context. With further reading, supervisory guidance, and my reflections on the ethics of my project, I organized a first round of data generation. Grounded on this data, I reviewed the research problem and the investigation's guiding concepts and focused on the concept of citizenship.

I then returned to the empirical observations and generated further data. This stage allowed refining the research's concepts and theoretical framework around performances of sexual citizenship. With this framework, I returned to the data, and organized my interpretations as a coherent argument which based the construction of this thesis.

These circuitous processes highlight the gap which exists between different interpretive moments. In the case of this research, they include the queer Zimbabwean activists living events, then producing texts about these events, then publicizing or recounting them, as well as my actions of identifying, selecting, analysing this information, and writing about it. Nothing is self-evident (Yanow, 2015, 15): the social world is understood through the exam and interpretation of subjects' understandings (Bryman, 2012; Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2015b) and meaning is known indirectly, through the interpretation of artefacts (Yanow, 2015b). Interpretive research emphasizes the significance of meaning and language to human life and has as its central aim understanding meaning making. This involves appreciating the ambiguities of human experiences, how meanings are constructed, negotiated, promoted and resisted, and their variation across different contexts (Schwartz-Shea, 2015, 123). It recognizes the importance of reflexivity to scientific practices of meaning making and to support or contest knowledge claims (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2015c, xiv). This philosophical approach turns away from positivist assumptions by refusing to see methods as objective practices applied to inert material (Macharia, 2015b, 144); rejecting the possibility of an external singular observable reality waiting to be objectively discovered; suspecting social scientific conceptualizations of humans as objects of research; questioning the separation of facts and values, as well as that of social reality and the languages that describes it (Yanow, 2015, 13, Hawkesworth, 2015, 34, Dow, 2015).

I understand the notion of scientific objectivity, or 'the modern sense of detachment, both physical and conceptual, of the self from an object-world' (Mitchell, T., 1991, 1920 cited in Yanow, 2015, 97), contextually. It is part of the politics of knowledge production. Highly regarded by methodological positivists, objectivity does not reflect a neutral perspective, but a normative ideal which was developed and gained prominence within the political project of modernity/coloniality (Bhambra and Holmwood, 2021). The notion that science can and should know things 'as they really are' assumes that reality exists independently of knowers. It structures a dichotomy between researcher and research object and frames knowledge as something that can be obtained through controlled scientific practices which are made from an abstract, neutral, and dispassionate point of view (Yanow, 2015a). The claim to ontological objectivity is problematic, especially for social sciences, where research objects are human actors endowed with

subjectivity who attribute meaning to events and have their own understandings of the social world (Bryman, 2012).

Instead of assuming that there is one external reality which can be observed directly, I employed the premise advanced by Marxist and feminist researchers (Haraway, 1988; Hartsock, 1983; Smith, 1974) that all interpretations of reality are situated and shaped by researchers' subjectivities, worldviews, cognitive styles, attitudes, and interests. This aligns with the postpositivist approach to science, that favours reflexive and contextualized research practices of meaning making through an interpretive epistemology and a constructivist ontology. This calls for dissociating perception from the passive reception of sense-data. Perception, as knowledge, is theory-laden and depends on a 'constellation of theoretical presuppositions that structure observation, accrediting particular stimuli as significant and specific configurations as meaningful.' (Hawkesworth, 2015, 34). Interpretive methodology focuses on experienced reality, emphasizing how perception processes and mental constructs shape how we make sense of experiences and structure our perceptions of reality (Yanow, 2015b). Rejecting the possibility of anything being self-evident, or meanings being directly accessed, this perspective acknowledges how the researcher's consciousness, prior knowledge, and reflexivity influence knowledge generation in the construction of a research problem, its conceptual basis, the interpretation of evidence, as well as the production and assessment of knowledge claims. This is the case because meanings are known through their interpretation from artefacts (concrete specific acts, language, or objects), which can be understood as material manifestations of consciousness and represent multiple and ambiguous meanings. A researcher interprets this multiplicity of meanings by engaging artefacts and generating data (not collecting data as if it had ontological prior objective existence) while accessing and interacting conceptually with sources such as written words, films, audio recordings, and conversational interviewing (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2015a).

While researching I sought to follow logically rigorous procedures to support the knowledge claims I was generating while refusing to assume I was being objective. Rigour is a procedural descriptor, used to characterize how a researcher treats data (Yanow, 2015a). The rigidity suggested by associating rigour with control and pre-determined and separate procedural steps is at odds with the flexibility and openness to ambiguity required by interpretive research. Interpretive methods require systematicity in the consideration of the positions from which observations are made, richness in descriptive detail, and meticulous argumentation as part of the meaning-making process (Yanow, 2015a, 100-103). Understanding scientific research assessment criteria as multiple, provisional and political, situated

within debates developed by epistemic communities, this research drew on the principles of trustworthiness, reflexivity, thick description, and triangulation, which are widely used and accepted as indicators of interpretive practices (Schwartz-Shea, 2015).

To generate trustworthy knowledge, I sought to act deliberately in the many steps I took during the research process, to be transparent about them and to make my ethical and theoretical inclinations explicit. To that end, instead of seeking to seem objective and reaffirm the myth of objectivity, throughout the research I acted reflexively, cultivating an awareness of the 'gulf between self and others' (Schwartz-Shea, 2015, 135) and of the ways in which I was cognitively and physically involved in my research. In line with this, I treated the data with integrity and was faithful to the discourses and perspectives of the informants while aware I was not transparently mirroring their reality, but rather involved in political relationships with them. To be respectful of their knowledges, I sought to be aware and critical of my situated perspective. I also take responsibility for the ways in which my worldviews, assumptions, and the many choices I made along the research process influenced the definition of the research subject, questions, theoretical approach, how I generated and analysed data, and wrote this thesis.

I did not nurture illusions about controlling the contents of the artefacts from which the interpretations were developed. Instead, I valued the messiness of the multiple meanings which could be drawn from the sources and their contextualized vantage points using different analytic tools. Triangulating various perspectives and the distinct media through which their discourses were conveyed contributed to this interpretive research's richness and trustworthiness. Combining different methods, sources, and genres in the data generation, it was possible to transpose some of the complexity of the research subject to my archive in a multidimensional way. I also sought to convey some of this richness using thick descriptions in the data analysis with the aim of capturing 'context-specific nuances of meaning' (Schwartz-Shea, 2015, 132) which provide evidence that allows evaluating my interpretations.

The research process advanced iteratively and abductively, fuelled by puzzles and the tensions between my observations and expectations. A combination of the previous understandings I brought to the research, the literature review, and the stimuli which activated my cognition processes narrowed my possible interpretations. Abductive reasoning and reflexivity were invaluable throughout the research, and while my interpretations were multiple and ambiguous, they were limited by my deliberation of what was plausible based on the exercise of my imagination and judgement. Rejecting empirical tests to confer the truth of knowledge claims, I assessed the merits of interpretations considering the evidence available, the contextual plausibility of meanings, and the arguments which I could advance (Hawkesworth, 2015),

while recognizing my interpretations were provisional and revisable. The theoretical approach and main concepts were also revised throughout the investigation, their meanings evolving intertextually in line with the interpretation of artefacts (Dow, 2015).

I supported my choices throughout the research process with Haraway's (1988) notion of situated knowledges. It allowed discerning the power relations which underlie knowledge production and highlighting the contingent and contextual character of paradigms and their epistemological, ontological, methodological, and ethical assumptions. There is no unique way to experience sexualities and gender, as there is no exclusive way to belong. As such, it would be inadequate to make universalist assumptions about Zimbabwean sexual citizenship.

This research's topic is contested, characterised by disputes between contending discourses of citizenship which are contextualized in modernity/coloniality. The interpretive approach is a good fit: It allows flexibility to acknowledge the nuances, diversity, and contextual specificities of sexualized and gendered belonging. It supports meaning making around both the discourses and the silences which surround this subject. It is also attuned to my epistemological sensibilities. Therefore, I acknowledge the interpretations I communicate in this work are influenced by my subjectivity and the values I share with the epistemic community. A community within which I seek to be legitimately included through the recognition of my research abilities and the acceptability and relevance of my work.

1.2 Data generation

This section contributes to the thesis presenting the methods used to generate data for this research. I use the formulation 'data generation' instead of 'data collection' to emphasize the role of my interpretation as a researcher creating the data archive (Yanow, 2015b). To enrich the research in line with the multifaceted character of human experiences, I included different genres of data in the research, using written texts, sound, and images (Bauer and Gaskell, 2002; Schwartz-Shea, 2015). To generate this diverse set of data I used two methods. They were i) the identification, collection, and organization of written and audio-visual artefacts produced by LGBTIQ Zimbabwean organizations and individuals which were available online; and ii) the development of synchronous qualitative semi-structured interviews with activists using online tools.

I elected these methods in line with Tamale's (2011, 27) recommendations to, considering the importance of the processes of information gathering to the depth and quality of the knowledge produced, be attentive to the ways in which research dealing with sexuality and gender can be sensitive. Initially the research plan included doing fieldwork in Zimbabwe where I intended to develop face-to-face interviews with activists and archival research in Zimbabwean newspapers records. However, due to events involving my health and the COVID-19 pandemic, the field research had to be cancelled and the primary sources were generated through digital means.

I treated the documents I compiled as the main primary sources and subjected them to discourse analysis. The interviews foreground the experiences of the activists and guided my interpretations. They contributed to ensure greater confidence in the findings by triangulation, allowing access to different perspectives on elements I identified in the documents (Holbrook and Jackson, 1996). In the following subsections I detail the methods used in the processes of data generation, how they changed along the research, and the rationale which guided my decision-making. I also reflect on the potentials and limits inherent to my archive and the extensive use of digital resources to generate data. This practice was popularised in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. It presents, however, disadvantages, especially when conducting research with participants who may be negatively affected by the digital divide (Lathen and Laestadius, 2021), which limits who has access to and who is able to produce digital content.

1.2.1- Creating an archive of queer Zimbabwean digital activism

To apprehend how queer Zimbabwean activists perform sexual citizenship I curated artefacts produced and publicized digitally by activists and organizations which are currently active in the country or in the diaspora to conform an archive (Appendices 1 and 2) which offered insights on experiences of (not) belonging in Zimbabwe. This subsection details the sources I selected, the rationale which guided these choices, and the limitations which also influenced this process.

I began the data generation process using digital resources to refine the research problem and prepare for the fieldwork which was supposed to take place in 2019. In a first round, I selected documents produced and made available online by Zimbabwean media and LGBTIQ organizations from 1995 (when the topic of homosexuality became prominent in public debates in the country) until that date (2018). I examined when and how they were produced, by whom they were created, for what purposes, and what were their effects constituting social and political practices (Prior, 2004). I also considered their

credibility, representativeness, authenticity and meaning (Scott, 1990). These procedures allowed interpreting the artefacts and reflecting on the claims they supported while contextualising them in their socio-political setting. This initial data contributed to frame the research problem.

I then focused on artefacts produced by queer activists after 2013, when a new constitution was adopted in Zimbabwe. It was more inclusive than the previous 1979 Lancaster House bill by making citizenship accessible through descent from and marriage to cis women (Manby, 2019). The new constitution further entrenched, however, the exclusion of queer Zimbabweans by spelling out that 'persons of the same sex are prohibited from marrying each other' (Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe, 2013, 78[3]). The year 2013 also marked a political shift in Zimbabwean politics with the end of the power sharing agreement between ZANU-PF and the main opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), and the return of ZANU-PF's control over the state.

Considering (and aiming at countering) how the figure of Robert Mugabe dominates imaginaries of what constitutes Zimbabwean identities and to make sure the data was relevant to post-Mugabe sexual politics, I concentrated on artefacts produced after the end of 2017. The year when Emmerson Mnangagwa took over the presidency. This shift, although continuing ZANU-PF's governance, changed the discursive horizon of Zimbabwean sexual politics. While Mugabe frequently stated homosexuals did not belong in Zimbabwe, his successor adopted a more discrete approach to sexual citizenship, mostly silencing on the topic of homosexuality. The implications of these developments for queer Zimbabwean activisms are discussed in the research findings. The few artefacts produced before that date which I included in the data – namely the short movies analysed in chapter seven – contribute to understand the political significance and legacy of Mugabe to Zimbabwean sexual citizenship.

I examined the websites and social media of diverse Zimbabwean queer organizations. They included LGBTI association GALZ; LBT groups such as Rise Above Women Organization (RAWO), NEOTERIQ, Pakasipiti, and Voice of the Voiceless (VoVo); trans and intersex organizations such as Intersex Advocate Trust Zimbabwe (IAZ), Trans and Intersex Rising Zimbabwe (TIRZ) and Trans Research Education Advocacy and Training (Treat); queer groups such as Harare Queer Collective (HQ); associations focused on MSM such as Advocacy and Research for Men in Zimbabwe (ARMZ) and Zimbabwe Men Against HIV and AIDS (ZIMAHA); and those which cater to LGBTIQs among other groups which are marginalized due to their sexual practices, such as Sexual Rights Centre (SRC), Zimbabwe Sex Workers Alliance (ZIMSWA) and Pow Wow.

Among these, I privileged organizations which focused primarily on the sexual orientation and gender identity and expression of their constituents, catering mainly to LGBTIQ persons. This resulted in the exclusion of associations which focus on the practice of selling sex. There is an overlap between queer and sex workers' disenfranchisement and activisms (Smith, 2020; Beloso, 2017). Sex workers are part of sexual minorities, they have their citizenship restricted because of their work, and many of them are queer activists, as demonstrated by SRC, an organization which promotes the wellbeing and quality of life of LGBTI and sex workers in Zimbabwe since 2007. This exposes a limitation of my archive and calls for research to be developed on the ways in which Zimbabwean sex workers' citizenship is limited and intersects with queers citizenship. This is, however, beyond the scope of this project. This research focuses on the sexual citizenship of Zimbabweans who are understood as queer due to their gender identity/expression and their sexualities. To include sex workers claims, usually related to their work, human rights, and right to health (Česnulytė, 2017, 2020), would entail a different research problem.

When it became clear that it would be impossible to develop fieldwork in Zimbabwe and see the activists' work in practice, I reflected on how queer Zimbabwean activisms could be investigated using digital resources as primary sources. Like the actions developed by the activists on the ground, the digital artefacts were discourses part of their political action to further queer Zimbabweans citizenship. The digital world has become a disputed arena of sexual politics. It is the source of homophobic attacks and exposure to cyberbullying and blackmail, but also a platform for queer networking, organization and visibility (Bryan, 2019). Queer activists use digital activisms to claim the citizenship they are denied in African countries where they are criminalised, such as Kenya (Van Klinken, 2018; Anon, 2013) and Nigeria (Ayodele Onanuga, 2022), but also in South Africa (Thomas, 2013; Mutsvairo, 2018), where although not criminalized they are still denied full substantive citizenship.

With that in mind, I did a second selection narrowing down the scope to the organisations which had richer materials available digitally at the time of the data collection. This favoured the investigation of the work developed by associations with a stronger digital presence while obscuring smaller grassroots cooperatives such as ARMZ, IAZ, NEOTERIQ, RAWO and ZIMAHA which, although developing relevant work on the ground, did not have a very prominent digital profile. Having a small digital footprint does not mean that the associations or activists have low impact or relevance. This selection highlights the limits of my archive, which obscured the acts of citizenship of actors who do not have a dedicated website or strong social media presence.

I made this selection with the aim of interpreting different queer Zimbabwean activists' discourses which perform acts of citizenship through materials made available digitally, not to comprehensively map all LBGTIQ associations in the country and their many projects. Digital resources promise greater, faster, and more democratic circulation of information. But who has access to and can benefit from them? Despite the potential for ample access to rapid communication, expression, and political resistance brought by the internet and reports of the empowering effect of the expansion of communications technology throughout the African continent (Lodge, 2013), its access remains limited worldwide. The digital divide manifests pre-existing inequalities, benefiting those who are already privileged and widening the gap between the information-rich and poor (Harlow, 2012; Gumucio-Dagron, 2006). This disparity limits the access to digital resources, but also who can create them. Producing digital activism requires resources, skills, empowerment, and time, which may be inaccessible to persons who are not professional activists, to economic and racial minorities, less educated, and rural populations (Schradie, 2018; Robinson, DiMaggio and Hargittai, 2003).

Digital activism is not accessible to most of the Zimbabwean population. Although in January 2021 there were 14.76 million mobile connections in Zimbabwe, a high number for a population of 14.98 million, many people have more than one mobile connection. It is estimated that at that time 33% of Zimbabweans were internet users, a number similar to the proportion of urban dwellers (32.3%), while only 8.7% of the population were social media users (DataReportal, 2021). These numbers indicate the limits of the reach of queer digital activism in the country, which is not accessible to much of the population. This does not, however, minimize the importance of these political actions to the persons who enacted them and who have access to them. And while it also does not diminish their relevance to develop a constellation of narratives on dissident sexual citizenship in the country, it reveals the limits of my archive and, therefore, of the voices whose acts of citizenship I acknowledge in this work.

Limiting the research's data to a set of queer Zimbabwean activists and organizations with notable digital footprints, my selection narrowed the archive to the digital public profiles and documents produced and shared in websites and social media by GALZ – the oldest and largest LGBTI organization in Zimbabwe – and Sexual Rights Centre. This final selection excluded the digital material from Pakasipiti, Purple Hand Africa, RAWO, TREAT, and VoVo (see the difference between Appendices 1 and 2) which were fundamental for the research's initial stages.

I interviewed, however, activists from these organizations, as well as independent activists, to include distinct perspectives on queer Zimbabwean activism. The digital archive and the interviewees'

different outlooks are, nonetheless, limited. Although diverse in their activism and in how they identify in relation to their sexualities and genders, this group is not representative of the queer Zimbabwean population. All activists were English speakers well versed in digital technologies. Most were urban based – in a country where almost 70% of the population is rural (World Bank, 2021) – and a quarter of them were living in other countries. They were educated, most were aged between their 20s and 40s and, with one exception, were black.

In the selection of artefacts, I also included the work of activists who enacted their citizenship through their artistic expression not necessarily through an organization. These sources allow accessing the perspectives of queer activists who may be unable to or uninterested in joining an association. I included them to acknowledge forms of resistance which are not coordinated by associations. The relationship of these artists with activism is an interesting topic which deserves further research but escapes the scope of this project. Some of them did not identify as activists because they associated this concept with membership in an organization. One of the informants who I requested an interview with after reading their fictional stories, for example, although happy to contribute to the research after being informed that it was directed towards LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activists, disclosed to me that they did not consider themselves to be 'yet fully equipped to call myself an activist'. When I asked why they felt not completely prepared to be an activist, they responded that their 'activism is still premature… I need to first know how I can do it, how to reach out', indicating an idea that activism requires a professionalised and systematic approach. This is connected to security concerns, as the informant explained: 'right now if I go hardcore then I will end up behind bars… You would do more knowing there is an organization to rescue you when things go southward'. However, when I mentioned the concept of artivism (Sandoval and Latorre, 2008), i.e. the political use of art to promote change, they promptly embraced it 'I am an artist so hence artivism' and referred to themselves as an artivist during the rest of the interview.

Among audio-visual material, I included a short movie produced by Hona Africa (Zidyana, 2016a). Although the production company is not a queer organization, it had support from UK-based Micro Rainbow, an organization managed by a Zimbabwean activist creates opportunities for LGBTQI refugees. I interpreted it as a queer Zimbabwean/pan-African artivism based on its content and production process, as is detailed in chapter seven. Through images and sound the movie conveys the challenges sexual minorities face in Zimbabwe. Its production processes involved the participation of queer Africans based in the UK. Their actions demonstrate how queer Zimbabwean activists collaborate with activists from

other African countries, and this artefact illustrates how this research can be a source of insight to queer African studies. It also shows how sexual citizenship can be performed through art.

The archive also includes the audio recording of a meeting organized by GALZ in the city of Bulawayo in 2018, where members of the organization discussed coming out of the closet, or being visible as sexual and gender diverse persons (GALZ, 2019b). The interactions among the speakers feature some of queer Zimbabweans' everyday politics demonstrating, for example, how they see their identities. I also incorporated the audio-visual recording of an interview made by a local radio program with queer activists in celebration of GALZ's 30th anniversary (Heart and Soul ZIM, 2020). These artefacts were accessed through the YouTube platform, where they were added by the institutions which produced them.

I limited the data to what was necessary for the research. Considering the sensitive nature of the research topic and the criminalization of same-sex sexual practices in Zimbabwe, this included anonymizing information which could identify the activists which are based in/routinely return to Zimbabwe. The research was also restricted by my language qualifications: Due to my lack of knowledge of the indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe and of research funding to translate them to English, the archive includes only documents or their excerpts in the English language. Knowledge and power are constructed through discourses and language, and knowledge production on sexualities studies is mostly done in imperial languages (Tamale, 2011a, 12). This limitation represent a significant bias in the document selection and highlights the partiality of the archive, as it excludes the discourses of activists who do not speak English or strategically do not use it to perform their citizenship. Although using only English when communicating with me, activists are constantly defying language barriers by connecting vernacular and English terms. This is demonstrated in chapter four where I used the literature about this and bilingual primary sources.

These limitations do not invalidate the research. I did not intend to map all discourses, or every sexual citizenship claim by Zimbabwean sexual minorities. My goal was to demonstrate some of the ways queer activists perform their citizenship through the interpretation of how a select few of them and their organizations make themselves visible to different audiences digitally. I also did not expect to produce *the* final interpretation of the ways queer Zimbabwean's claim their citizenship. I offer, through my research, *an* interpretation of complex realities, which is inherently limited as is any interpretation. My findings can contribute to further studies about African queer citizenship, which does not mean that they can be universalized without considering the specificities of each context and the limitations of my archive. I do not claim to be the authentic knower of queer Zimbabweans' struggles. I also do not intend

to control them as objects (of research) to be consumed as knowledge. This thesis' argument was constructed from my perspective based on artefacts produced by queer Zimbabwean activists which I collected, transformed into data and analysed, as well as the conversations I had with some activists which, as will be detailed subsequently, were shaped by my questions and the materiality of online interviews.

In line with the interpretive methodology and the understanding that all knowledge is political and situated, (Haraway, 1988) the limitations of this research and the data archive do not make the findings inadequate for scientific purposes. They add to a conception of scientific production which problematizes the ways through which different realities are observable and highlights how scientific practices are based on contingent and political organizational processes and frames of reference. Therefore, instead of attempting to portray my research as neutral, in this chapter I am opening it to readers' assessment by detailing the practices which based my data generation and the reasoning which guided my practices.

1.2.2- Reviewing my methods: from fieldwork to digital data generation

Initially, my research plan included the development of field research in Zimbabwe and South Africa. I intended to develop archival research with independent Zimbabwean newspaper NewsDay, face-to-face interviews with queer activists, and engage with local academics. The fieldwork plan included a risk assessment, ethics, and data protection statements as well as an interview protocol (Appendices 4, 6, 7, and 8), which were approved by the University of Bristol's SPAIS Research Ethics Committee (Appendix 5). These documents reflected the sensitivity of developing my research in a country where the state criminalizes same-sex sexual relationships. Attentive to the wellbeing of the informants and myself, the plan foresaw that if the fieldwork could not be developed because of high risks situations, the research project would still be viable, and I would generate the data using digital documents and developing interviews using Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) mediated technologies.

In June 2019, after being appointed as Visiting Research Associate at the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Sociology and having established contact with activists, the editor from NewsDay, and academics from the Agrarian South Network in Zimbabwe, the University of the Witwatersrand, and the University of Johannesburg, I discovered I had cancer. I opted to do my treatment and postpone the field research for the following year. However, in 2020 the global Covid-19 pandemic broke out, and I had to cancel the field work and embrace a fully digital-based research approach.

To support the generation of data through digital artefacts, detailed in the previous section, I developed synchronous semi-structured interviews with queer Zimbabwean activists. This form of data generation complemented the archive by allowing access to the informants' impressions on their citizenship, (not) belonging, and their identities and performances as simultaneously gender or sexually diverse and Zimbabwean. I opted to organize the interviews using a series of pre-selected questions (Appendix 3) to guide conversations which took place through digital meetings. This form of data generation offers some of the benefits of traditional face-to-face interviews, providing synchronous interaction, maintaining visual and interpersonal aspects, and being easily recorded (Weller, 2017; Hanna, 2012; Seitz, 2016).

Face-to-face meetings and physical co-present interviewing are conventionally considered the gold standard for interviews (Gilham, 2005; Hermanowicz, 2002; Novick, 2008; Rubin and Rubin, 2011; Boden and Molotch, 1994; Deakin and Wakefield, 2014; Hay-Gibson, 2009; McCoyd and Schwaber Kerson, 2006) because they offer 'thicker information, body talk and communication efficiency' (Rettie, 2009, 422). While in-person interviews can result in more detailed accounts, synchronous remote meetings using VoIP (e.g., Zoom, Skype, FaceTime) and telephone can offer similar results (Johnson, Scheitle and Ecklund, 2019). They are recognized as acceptable, necessary (Holt, 2010; Cachia and Millward, 2011) and, in situations where the participants are very far apart, advantageous. These benefits justify the level of attention which has been given to use of digital resources in qualitative research during the COVID-19 pandemic. They must be, however, considered in light of the limitations imposed by the digital divide, which increased in the pandemic (Lathen and Laestadius, 2021; Beaunoyer, Dupere and Guitton, 2020). I give further detail how this impacted the interviews in the following section.

Throughout the research, but especially when generating data with informants, I aimed at being flexible and respectful, and to observe the well-being of all involved, endeavouring to be aware of unintentional effects of the research and taking care to guarantee that the project did not put the informants or myself at risk. Because digital interviews allow both interviewer and interviewee to remain in private and safe locations of their choice, they can generate a sense of security which might not be felt in face-to-face situations when the interviews have to be done in public spaces and risk exposure (Weller, 2017; Hanna, 2012; Seitz, 2016). In my case, online interviews guaranteed I was not at risk of being without medical attention I could need. In the case of my interviewees, considering the dangers presented by discussing queer activism in a country where homosexual relationships are criminalized and gender performances which do not conform to the heteronormative standards are stigmatized, they were able to

share their experiences and views on controversial topics from a private location of their choice where they felt safe enough to talk about their perspectives, performances, and politics. Therefore, although reviewing the methods meant giving up on the fieldwork, access to press archives, and the contextual data which would have enriched the research – such as being in the activists' spaces, accompanying their activities, experiencing their customs and hospitality, or meeting their family and friends (Weller, 2017) – the use of online tools was an adequate alternative to generate research data.

1.2.3- Conducting qualitative semi-structured online interviews

The option of doing digital interviews allowed me to generate substantive data while benefiting from having more control of the spaces both the informants and I were in. They were able to talk to me from their homes or workplaces. These meetings sometimes took place at night, when they were free from work, and participated in the calls from mostly silent environments with no observers and minimal risk of exposure or embarrassment. These conditions may have allowed some of them to feel open to talk more freely than they would while meeting physically in a public space. The meetings were held in the platform preferred by the informants. All but two of the participants requested to use WhatsApp, which they considered to be the most secure channel due to the data encryption it offers.

It was not possible to establish audio-visual contact with all the informants. Some demonstrated interest in participating in the research but requested to do the interviews through audio calls, and one preferred to use the synchronous exchange of text messages. When this was the case, I accepted their terms even though audio-visual digital interviews using cameras, with a good quality connection and functioning hardware are closest to onsite interviews. I was aware that the combination of audio and image facilitates the identification of nonverbal clues, and that the lack of visibility could make it difficult to build rapport, interpret silences, and know when or whether to ask questions on sensitive topics (Seitz, 2016). However, since the interviews would touch on gender and sexuality, issues which can entail taboos and discomfort (Gune and Manuel, 2011; Tamale, 2011b), I acknowledged that some informants might feel more at ease and prefer to remain unseen during their interview (Beusch, 2007; Chaney and Dew, 2003).

I also considered that some of the participants might want to contribute to the research but did not have access to the resources required for an audio-visual call, such as equipment or internet data. I was not prepared to exclude those who wanted to share their perspectives and lived experiences but wanted

to do so using audio or synchronous text messages. As the data generation advanced, the impact of the digital divide became clear: access to internet data was difficult for some informants, and one of the interviews had to be divided into 2 meetings because the informant run out of it. This demonstrated how, despite there being a relative consensus in the literature around the cost-effectiveness and facility of digital interviews (Weller, 2017; Johnson, Scheitle and Ecklund, 2019; Archibald *et al.*, 2019; Hewson, 2008; Horrell, Stephens and Breheny, 2015), sometimes the cost of internet data may be high for interviewees and other forms of synchronous interaction may be preferable to videoconferencing.

I was able to do one face-to-face interview with a 'straight ally'[2], who was in the UK in June 2019 before I cancelled the field research. After recovering from my health problems, I developed 13 digital synchronous interviews with queer Zimbabwean activists, located in Zimbabwe or the diaspora (South Africa, Europe, and the United States) between January 2020 and January 2022. Most of the interviews were done in the first trimester of 2020. However, in subsequent online events hosted by queer Zimbabwean activists I established contact with other individuals interested in contributing to the research, and thus two interviews were done later. The decision to do these later interviews was supported by the iterative nature of the research process. As well as going through the guiding questions, these conversations allowed collecting some informant feedback, not to fact check, but to get their perspectives on the interpretations I was developing.

Initially I approached the informants through the contact information of the queer Zimbabwean organizations or as individuals who, through their art, had been vocal about issues connected to sexual citizenship. Most individual activists I approached promptly responded to my messages. Initially I had difficulties in getting responses from some of the organisations, which are understandably suspicious of new contacts. To get in touch with staff from GALZ, for example, a researcher from the University of Zimbabwe contributed as gatekeeper, introducing me to them. The dialogue with Pakasipiti was also mediated by an activist who I had approached individually and turned out to be a member of the collective. The snowballing technique was the most productive way to source new informants: the ones who had already been interviewed recommended other activists they believed were a good fit with the research

[2] Even though the informant did not identify as LGBTIQ, I considered him a queer artivist who fit into the scope of the research due to his contribution towards the development of queer Zimbabwean activism through his artistic work. I supported this on Stela Nyanzi's (2014) criticism of reaffirming the borders between homosexual and heterosexuals as essential and prefer to look, instead, at the potential of heterosexual cis persons' contributions to queer movements. An example of this is the case of Martha Tholanah, a Zimbabwean feminist openly living with HIV who, despite not identifying as LGBTIQ, supports the movement and was awarded the David Kato Vision & Voice Award in 2015.

project to contact me. It was this way, with their support, that I was able to get in touch with most of the interviewees.

Throughout the data generation I was aware that my presence could condition the interview settings (Emerson, 1987) and sought to be attentive to my relationship with the informants, acting transparently and with integrity towards them. I believe my self-identification as a lesbian from Brazil – a non-western country which, despite having laws which allow same-sex marriage, is the state where most LGBTs are murdered in the world (Michels, Mott and Paulinho, 2019; Mott and Oliveira, 2020, 2022) – helped the rapport with the informants. Race was another relevant aspect. None of my informants were white, and I am aware that two activists who were contacted by the informants refused to talk to me because they identified me as white. This provided a window into how the informants saw me because, being a light skinned Latina, I am raced differently depending on the context. I respected that decision aware that my skin colour does privilege me in certain settings. I also did not want to contribute to the tradition of academic research with non-white persons being done by white researchers using extractive research approaches (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

The interview protocol (Appendix 4) involved briefing the informants in writing and orally (at the beginning of the calls) on the research project and getting their explicit oral consent to participate in the research.[3] After the informants had consented to be interviewed, I asked their permission to record the conversation, which they all allowed me to do. Most of the data was collected through audio recordings which I later transcribed. When the interview was done in writing, I copied and edited the text, and stored it in my archive. All data was organized and stored in accordance with the security protocol prescribed by the University of Bristol (Appendix 8). This included maintaining informant's anonymity, and to that end when transcribing the interviews I removed sections of the text where the participants disclosed personal information which might allow their identification. The files were stored in an encrypted folder contained in my personal documents within the university storage drive, access to which is password protected.

The interviews allowed generating data about how the informants identify, their lived experiences, their goals and motivations, their understandings of family, marriage, religion, their relationship with their state, their perceptions about being Zimbabwean, and the international dimensions of sexual politics.

[3] In the initial plans of developing field research in Zimbabwe, I did not intend to request their consent in writing considering the risks presented by having a document with their names and the sensitive topic of the research. Conducting the interviews digitally, I maintained this choice given the difficulties the informants would face to send me a signed document.

This allowed accessing different perspectives about queer sexual citizenship in Zimbabwe. The digital encounters were effective in generating substantive data and were essential for the analysis of the documents collected, supporting my interpretations. The success of the meetings was also attested by the establishment of bonds of trust between me and the interviewees. This became clear when I was subsequently invited by one of them to participate in meetings on the Beijing+25 Review which were being developed by Zimbabwean LBTQ activists in 2020.

1.3 Data analysis

This section details how, in line with the interpretive approach, I analysed the data using a discourse analysis method. This approach does not seek to *find* meaning in texts but to *practice meaning making* (Carver, 2016) from artefacts. In the first subsection I detail how the interpretive methodological approach shaped the data analysis. Subsequently I describe how I analysed different genres of text (written, audio and audio-visual) from a post-structural approach to discourse analysis.

1.3.1- Meaning-making through discourse analysis

Meaning making is a central element in human social and political practices. It refers to the projection of significance into the human social environment. Language is not a neutral medium that transparently conveys meanings. Meanings do not exist nor can be accessed objectively. The communication of meaning is characterised by interpretive misalignments and the influence of experienced realities. The separation of language and material reality is artificial, both are connected in constant interaction (Dow, 2015). '[W]e use language to inscribe meanings into the world… and then we read those meanings back to ourselves as if they had always resided in the objects or experiences' (Carver, 2002, 50). Interpretation is an active process which involves developing intellectual constructs in the inscription and understanding of meaning that structures perceptions of reality (Carver, 2016; Yanow, 2015b). My readings of the data were theory-laden, influenced by my perspectives and politics, and mediated by language, or 'the medium through which narratives convey meaning' (Carver, 2002, 51). I thought it fit, therefore, to consider not only the semantic content of the artefacts, but to develop an interpretive discourse analysis.

The post-structuralist method of discourse analysis follows the hermeneutic tradition and is coherent with the interpretive research methodology. Rejecting positivist concerns with objective facts and the search for truth, it considers truth claims and examines how these are justified in narratives of authority (Carver, 2002). This approach focuses on social meaning and the relational conditions in which it is discursively constructed, influenced by perceptions and speech-acts, but also by the contingent results of political disputes (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). It emphasizes how discourses entangle meaning and action through language games and are influenced by political articulations which seek to establish political, intellectual, and moral hegemony, that is, domination of a social whole by consent despite underlying contradictions (Maglaras, 2013). These hegemonic articulations stabilize discourses through the construction of social antagonisms by establishing and excluding outsiders who are characterized as threats to the established order (Torfing, 2002). These processes operate in the differentiations operated through the sexual citizenship machinery, which instrumentalize cultural and moral values to regulate inclusion and exclusion in ways that legitimate power hierarchies and relationships of domination.

Within hegemonic discourses there is a stability in the way in which words are attached to concepts through logics of equivalence or difference (Torfing, 2002; Howarth, 2000; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). An example of this is the prevailing discourse which identifies homosexuality as unAfrican (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Awondo, Geschiere and Reid, 2012; Ngwena, 2018), which is useful to interpret Mugabe's assertion at the United Nations General Assembly in September 2015 'we are not gays' (Mugabe, 2015). The meaning of this sentence builds on and reaffirms the understanding of homosexuality as something which is foreign to Africa and was brought to the continent by imperialism (Epprecht, 2008). Instrumentalizing this connection Mugabe affirmed Zimbabwe is part of the African continent, opposed both entities to the imperial west, and rejected the possibility of Zimbabweans being homosexual, thus excluding those who identify as homosexual from belonging in Zimbabwe and Africa. The stability of a hegemonic discourse can, however, be dislocated by the proliferation of events which are not explained by or integrated in this discursive system. This unsettles the political order, allowing the advancement of alternative hegemonic projects (Torfing, 2002), such as the conceptions of belonging proposed by queer activists which contest heteronormative understandings of Zimbabwean/African identities.

The method of discourse analysis allows examining how hegemonic discourses were structured and legitimated, as well as how they explain and incorporate dissenting narratives. More importantly for this research, focused on queer constructions of sexual citizenship, it allows understanding how dissident

discourses refuse being integrated or domesticated, interrupting the hegemonic order and dislocating dominant discourses (Torfing, 2002).

I conducted my discursive analysis a) acknowledging my political standpoint while b) conceptually analysing the contingent power relations I observed in the discursive formations, and c) identifying how they were used in the construction of the socio-political reality of Zimbabwean sexual citizenship. The method was implemented by being attentive to the semantic content and to the form of the discourses. That is, examining what was said, shown, or written, the way that was done, which terms were used, how the narratives were structured, what they included and what they left out. Understanding texts as more than words in a page, I considered all the performative aspects I was able to grasp from the artefacts – including non-worded images and sounds – as meaning making material.

1.3.2- Analysing different genres of data

Texts are more than words on a page. They 'can be objects or artefacts of any kind, images or representations… anything which we think has meaning' (Carver and Hyvarinen, 1997, 2-4 cited in Carver 2002: 50). They are characterized by communicative practices which transcend written words and are linked to attaching meaning to human social environments. As mentioned in the discussion on data generation, I incorporated different genres of data in the research corpus, including written statements, audio, and audio-visual artefacts. I did this to contribute to feature subjects (and their political struggles) who are often overlooked or reductively represented in unidimensional narratives (as often is the case of African sexual minorities) as key political agents (Harman, 2019). The use of non-written texts is not a novelty. There is a strong tradition of oral history in Zimbabwe (Lan, 1985; Ranger, 1985; Manungo and Peet, 1988), which resonates the rich uses of orality to interpret and formulate the world in the African continent, from which the notion of African oral arts as literature emerged (Finnegan, 2012). This approach allows exploring aspects of power which modern/colonial geopolitics of knowing often obscure while privileging seeing over other forms of sensing (Mignolo, 2013, 136). Understanding spoken word as a form of action allows emphasizing performance and disturbing the boundaries between disciplines, genres, and the positions of authors, performers, spectators, transcribers, and interpreters (Finnegan, 2007).

The distinct potential of different types of artefacts contributes to interpret the variety of activists' performances. The form of artefacts influences the interpretation of their semantic contents, adding to or

constraining them, allowing more interpretive freedom and eliciting more reflexive responses (Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015). The semiotic performances of the artefacts added to the richness of the research archive by portraying aspects of the subject's experiences and worldviews which were not captured by written words, and this way allowed more comprehensive interpretations. Their aesthetic aspects are meaning making material, and therefore are relevant for political life (Dow, 2015). They give clues to the rationales which underly actions and arguments, and to the contextual political history of ideas.

The interest in and use of the performative and aesthetic aspects of texts through transdisciplinary methods, long known in African historical and anthropological research (Finnegan, 2012), has grown in studies of international politics (Bleiker, 2015, 2018b; Carver, 2016, 2010; Shapiro, 2013; Harman, 2019; Bleiker, 2017). While all texts are political, either normalizing or challenging established orders, audio and visual artefacts and the association of spoken and written words with sounds, music and images, can give rise to meanings which are more interesting and durable (Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015; Carver, 2010; Finnegan, 2007, 2012). These texts can produce visceral experiences in their audiences, and thus emotionally mobilize them. Take the audio examined in chapters four and five with the recording of a GALZ meeting, for example. As well as the word-based contents of the recording, the speakers' different intonations and rhythms facilitate the interpretation of subtleties and provide more points of reference in the meaning making process. Images can also provide their audience with an immediacy in relation to the realities they represent (Hansen, 2011) that creates an illusion of authenticity and imbues the meanings they convey with more power (Bleiker, 2018a).

This does not, however, authorize claims of objectively depicting the 'real world'. The richness of the audio and visual artefacts does not establish objective connections with what they depict, since all interpretation is contextual and paradigm-dependent (Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015; Carver, 2002). The material link of a recorded image, for example, with the object it depicts, is the short and ephemeral moment when that picture was taken. And that image was intentionally separated from the continuum of phenomena by an agent who subjectively made aesthetic choices and selected a specific moment and space to frame the photograph. The links which remain between the artefact and what it depicts are symbolic: the artefact represents representations, such as the qualities associated with the activities and objects it depicts (Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015). Aware of that, throughout the research process I considered the artefacts in relation to three socially embedded moments: a) the moment of their original production, b) the context of their subsequent histories which allowed me to access them, and c) my use of them in this thesis.

Interpretation requires identifying what is meaningful to social, political, cultural and other groups, and making sense of it in its broader social context. That is, reflecting on how the meanings I read were understood by the research subjects, and in what ways these ideas and concepts informed and influenced their socio-political reality. To achieve this, I complemented the documental analysis with information generated in the interviews.

While analysing the texts, I was reflexively attentive to a) the institutions and processes involved in the artefact's creation and circulation, b) the semantic content of the texts and their possible meanings, and c) the reception and potential transformation of a text's structure and meanings by their audience (Weldes, 1999). When interpreting an artefact, I examined the words used in it, the non-verbal sounds and imagery, and considered its material, organizational, and political aspects: How was it produced and made available?

The audio-visual and written artefacts I used were digital. Their accessibility in a situation where I was not able to meet informants or visit an archive in person was crucial for the development of this research, and it highlights the value of media digitization. Although mediated by the political interests of gatekeepers such as states and media companies, and limited by the digital divide, audio-visual artefacts – especially if accessible through open channels which can be accessed as long as the viewer has an internet connection and equipment to gain access to it, such as a smartphone – can be retrieved worldwide almost instantly (Bleiker, 2018b; Kaempf, 2018). The digitalization of media also raises questions about whether this material was intended for digital access, if this process lead to modifications, and the authorship of the artefacts (Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015). Therefore, while considering the materiality of the artefacts, I investigated their production processes and forms of propagation which are relevant in themselves and as tools to understand an artefact's performance (Harman, 2016).

To tap into the political implications of the audio-visual artefacts I also critically examined their arrangement of perceptibility (van Munster and Sylvest, 2015). That is, how were the sensorial perceptions (speech, sound, music, visuals) they conveyed to construct realities creatively arranged. This framework assists meaning making by giving clues as to the authorial intentions, and by facilitating the identification of power relations the text establishes. This way I interpreted the artefacts examining both the semantic content and the aesthetic choices which guided the organisation of the material. When confronted with ambiguity and opacity, I did not see it as a less effective form of discourse, instead reflecting on the political implications and strategic value of this indeterminacy (Hansen, 2011).

Throughout the data analysis I also sought to be sensitive to the complex character of human experience, valuing ambiguity as battlegrounds where meanings were disputed. To that end, as well as the information which was explicitly articulated, I also reflected on the assumptions with which the research subjects made sense of their worlds (Schwartz-Shea, 2015, 123). I did this to decode the shared and known norms of action and interaction, and render what is taken for granted uncommon (Yanow, 2015, 12). To this end, I drew out key themes and concepts I identified in the artefacts, which I interpreted suspecting my aesthetic preferences and seeking to be faithful to the activists' perspectives. I used the key research concepts – such as sexual citizenship, performative acts of citizenship, (homo and hetero) sexuality, and gender – iteratively as tools to interpret social phenomena while recognizing them as contested and fluid. This fluctuating and contestable character of concepts is what makes them instruments of politics, and their genealogy a way to conceptually track political history (Dow, 2015).

In line with the interpretivist tradition, I emphasized the contingent. I focused on the specific, the unexpected and seemingly marginal, while rejecting stable, ahistorical and essentialist accounts (Schwartz-Shea, 2015; Dow, 2015). I developed my readings by interpreting meanings within their complex material, social and cultural settings, concentrating on the contextual specificities of my research topic as it is discursively located in time and space. Therefore, instead of generalizations, in this research's findings I offer thick descriptions, narratives, lines of argument, symbols, and figures of speech. Through them I convey the tacit knowledges and political struggles which buttress the performances of the artefacts I examined. To achieve this, I repeatedly developed cycles of close readings of the artefacts followed by writing to consolidate my interpretations and communicate them to others, as is detailed in the following section.

1.4 Writing the thesis: language, ethics and politics of knowledge production

Lugones (1987) wrote that to be normatively content is to be a fluent speaker within a 'world', that is, to know the norms that there are to be followed and do so without discomfort. Although never completely at ease in the academic 'world' I am bonded to it precisely because the more I know about it, my discomfort and awareness that I do not fit in grow. This is not, however, reason to abandon this domain. I have lived in the borderlands (Anzaldúa, 1987) long enough to know that there is othering in all dimensions of socio-political life. Instead, as a writer, I embraced my position as a political agent who

is equipped with the resource of language and used my growing knowledge about academia to contribute to make it a more inclusive space. This research was produced from a decolonial perspective structured in the borders and shaped by the ethical imperative of not benefiting just me (as I pursue obtaining my doctoral degree), but to contribute to make queer Zimbabwean activists more visible as political agents. This intentionality, a necessary element in doing research, theory-building, and promoting change, has methodological implications which I detail in this section.

In the first subsection I examine my relationship with the norms I had to adapt to in the writing of this thesis highlighting the practice of writing as a central element in knowledge production. Writing is intrinsically connected with the analytic method: readings of texts build upon further readings, and meaning-making takes shape as the argument is crafted in a narrative which makes sense for an epistemic community (Yanow, 2015a). While the textual expectations of a doctoral thesis constrain the text, the writing can also guide the reader and influence the assessment of the work. In line with that reasoning, in the second subsection I detail the ethics which drove the design, execution, and writing of the research.

1.4.1- Writing about borders from the borders

While I generated and analysed the data, I was reading, writing, and reflexively pondering how the ideas and concepts I interpreted could be organized in a coherent narrative which answered the questions and research problem I structured. Writing is a central element in academic research methods. Although it is usually associated with the latter stages of the research process, when communicating one's findings, I have been writing for this project for more than 4 years. I wrote and re-wrote my research design, research reports, transcribed interviews, made reflexive notes and, of course, wrote this thesis. All this writing structured my analysis by putting in motion my reflexive processes and disciplining my thoughts and words.

This text is the result of my efforts to produce knowledge while adapting to the conventions of academic English lingo. Moving from one modern European language to another, I struggled with the English vocabulary, but especially with letting go from the passive voice and signposting my text in a way that to me seemed to take surprises away from the reader and instead, offer them patronizing guidance. This is not about disparaging these conventions, but about highlighting the challenge that they pose for an international student writing as a migrant in a post-industrial economy where she does not belong. I embraced wholeheartedly the aim of writing in terms clear as water, for example, because tough

challenging to me, raised around the muddy Paranapanema river, it can contribute to produce less elitist content than my Brazilian academic training.

The writing of women of colour is expected to conform to dominant language norms (Anzaldúa, 2002, 186). Writing can also be, however, an act of defiance as it imposes a direction and a perspective in the argument, and imbues words with performative powers that influence the standards according to which the work will be assessed (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 2002, 181). While aware of the regimes of power which regulate the conventions of knowledge production and, more specifically, academic writing, I sought to exercise epistemic disobedience, pursuing delinking from modern/colonial knowledges (Mignolo, 2013; Hussein and Hussain, 2019).

The fact that I am not writing in my first language indicates my challenges and privileges as a non-native English writer versed in academic, but also the international power dynamics which privilege imperial languages and modern epistemologies. Becoming aware of this was an important and liberating reflection which allowed me to let go from the individualist focus on the possibility of being a bad communicator, to concentrate on the systemic power relations which constrain me. Aware that social reality is entangled with the language that describes it I wrote my work as a form of decolonial world-making, acknowledging the stylistic demands which discipline this domain while recognizing their contingency and the power hierarchies which sustain them.

1.4.2- Research as world-travelling, writing as world-making

Processes of knowledge production are contextual and contingent, shaped by power relations which privilege certain discourses and practices while curbing others. Methodological choices are guided by ethical concerns, and both are saturated with power relationships. This section examines the ethical and political stances I embraced while immersed in this research.

Amina Mama (2007) highlights how the choices we make are framed by the bodies we inhabit and our context. The decisions made while doing research are not technical, they are political and moral, and indicate our professional integrity as well as the epistemological and methodological frameworks we use. As a queer Latina, I considered the ethical implications of producing research on Zimbabwean sexual citizenship from outside the continent aware that there is a historical tradition of non-Africans developing research on African studies and, more specifically, African sexualities.

Dominant perceptions about this continent and its peoples were shaped by western discourses before the imposition of colonial rule as a political, social, and economic system (Fage, 1989; Epprecht, 2008). The earliest records of modern scientific research on African sexualities were made by white missionaries and colonial explorers who framed them as dangerous, exotic, immoral, and inferior to European customs. This trend was strengthened within the framework of the modern/colonial project, as tropes about Africans being backward and violent were consolidated as the other to an idealized civilized and enlightened west (Flint and Hewitt, 2015; Tamale, 2011b; McClintock, 1995). Under colonial rule, research on African bodies and sexualities was instrumentalized to justify colonialism, being medicalized and focusing on controlling reproduction while curbing diseases, excesses, and perversions (Tamale, 2011a). These epistemologies continued to construct African sexualities as deviant after the waves of African political independences, as demonstrated by anxieties about population explosion, female circumcision, and the blaming of supposedly permissive and immoral sexualities for the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the continent (Tamale, 2011b; Caldwell, Caldwell and Quiggin, 1989; Flint and Hewitt, 2015).

Discourses by non-Africans also contributed to the development of the myth of 'African straightness', opposing homosexuality and African sexualities and framing the latter as restricted to 'natural' heterosexual reproduction (Epprecht, 2008; Hoad, 2000). These discourses which identified homosexuality as a disease which came from the west (Msibi, 2011) were reproduced by the Rhodesian (and later Zimbabwean) state's judicial and legal system (Phillips, 1997). They gained prominence in black nativist discourses in the 1990s (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Goddard, 2004) and were subsequently popularised through the 'nationalization' of sexuality as a way to draw borders between citizens and strangers (Ndjio, 2013, 128). The discursive construction of homosexuality as a foreign threat to Zimbabwe and Africa, which will be detailed in chapter three, reveals the international political dimensions of this issue. The same internationalism is also found in counter-narratives, which locate the genesis of institutionalized homophobia in imperial anti-sodomy laws. Although opposed, both narratives are western-centric in identifying homosexuality and homophobia as western. To oppose such narratives and contribute to the decolonization of knowledge, I developed this research centring on queer Zimbabwean's discourses of sexual citizenship.

In the first stages of the research, I examined discursive constructions of Zimbabwean state-sponsored homophobia. This research problem added, however, to the visibility of homophobes such as Mugabe while limiting the experiences of Zimbabwean queers to victimhood, a problem identified in

other works on queer Africa (Macharia, 2015). This frame also contributed to discourses on 'African homophobia' (Currier and Migraine-George, 2017a) which overlook how several African countries never criminalized homosexual activities between adults, and to racist figurations of a backward, homophobic continent as an inherently hostile place for queer populations (Bosia, 2015; Thoreson, 2014; Epprecht, 2012; Tamale, 2011b; Rao, 2010, 2014, 2020a). It also obscures the international entanglements which underlie sexual politics (Picq and Thiel, 2015), occluding the role of western conservative institutions in advancing homophobia in southern states (Rao, 2020a), and of homonationalist promotion of sexual rights through coercive disciplinary practices such as sexual rights rankings and aid conditionality. Dividing the world into normal and pathological states depending on their stance towards the rights of queer persons, homonationalism endorses the moral superiority of the west over the rest. This is done by identifying sexual and gender freedoms as markers of western modernity and locating the failure to respect the rights of sexual and gender minorities (interpreted as signs of backwardness) in the global south (Rao, 2014; Massad, 2002; Thoreson, 2014; Bosia, 2015; Rao, 2010; Weber, 2016).

With the ethical commitment to contribute to understand Zimbabwean sexual politics without reaffirming discourses which victimize queer Africans, I framed the research problem around the agency of queer Zimbabwean activists. The research question of how they enact their sexual citizenship gained clarity after a first round of data generation. The selection of this specific research problem was also influenced by my situation: as a queer migrant from the global south living in the UK, the issue of (not) belonging was constantly on my mind. I was a queer outsider from the global south writing from the borders of an imperial power about other queer outsiders located in the borders of the global south.

I took inspiration from Lugones' (1987) essay on travelling to other peoples' 'worlds' with loving perception and a playful attitude to guide my actions through the procedures of data generation, analysis, and writing. Lugones identified the practice of 'world'-traveling as a skill usually possessed by those who are positioned as outsiders in dominant constructions of life. They develop, as a matter of necessity and survival, a flexibly to shift from the mainstream norms where they do not fit in, to other constructions where they can be more comfortable. This approach acknowledges the different dimensions of people's lives. Even if in one 'world' they are victims of systemic heteronormative oppression, in other 'worlds' they are creative agents who not only enact resistance but can also be at home, construct their visions, and live their joys and pleasures.

My ethical stance entailed dedicating what Lugones (1987) describes as loving perception to my informants. That is, getting to know them and how they see themselves while recognizing their

multidimensionality, subjectivity, agency, epistemologies, and being open to know their 'worlds'. This is directly opposed to extractive methodological practices, which approach the 'worlds' of informants with an arrogant attitude to see, name, claim (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, 80-83), assimilate, and conquer them (Lugones, 1987, 15) as objects of research. Therefore, in the data generation process I approached the informants and what they had to share open to surprises and uncertainties, not expecting information to be transferred to me neatly packaged, and conscious that I was getting the privilege of accessing some of their 'worlds'.

Lugones (1987) highlights the importance of being open to the unexpected, and to not play by rules while maintaining a substantive ethical commitment. With that inspiration I studied the rules of rigorous academic research, yet approached them not as set in stone, but as a map to guide me through the research process. In situations when I had to take difficult decisions, I prioritised my substantive ethical commitment to respect and approach the informants and their 'worlds' with a loving perception. This attitude also contributed to take some of the pressure that I felt as an early career scholar doing doctoral research, as it foresees the possibility of being a fool and acknowledges mistakes are part of the process. This way, I sought to suspect arrogant attitudes in my own practices and to accept my errors as steppingstones which pave the path of my academic qualification as a researcher and can be useful to inform the research practices of others.

1.5 Concluding summary

This chapter laid out the methodology I adopted to develop my doctoral research and write this thesis. It detailed my interpretive approach and research methods, which were adopted considering the characteristics of the research subject, my inclinations and, in adverse conditions, adaptations done in accordance with a commitment to be flexible and open to change while developing rigorous research. I used digital means to generate different genres of data through the creation of an archive with written, audio, and audio-visual artefacts produced by queer Zimbabwean activists, and developed semi-structured digital interviews. In the data analysis, done alongside the data generation and writing of the thesis, I used discourse analysis to interpret the activisms as performances and acts of sexual citizenship.

These processes reflect my standpoint and are grounded in my embodied experiences as a queer researcher from the global south located in the borders of a western society interpreting the work of queer

activists enacting sexual citizenship from the borders of an African post-colonial state. I developed the research to contribute to knowledge about queer activisms and sexual citizenship in Zimbabwe and Africa. Aware that methodological choices are political and ethical, I also sought to promote more inclusive notions of textuality by celebrating the tradition of Zimbabwean oral history. At the same time I promoted understandings of queer Zimbabwean activists as complex political agents by centring their agency as relevant politics which can disrupt hegemonic narratives of citizenship.

My positionality, ethics, and motivations shaped this research methodologically, but also theoretically. The next chapter details the theoretical framework I adopted to structure the research by interweaving sexual and performative approaches to citizenship in the terrain where decolonial and queer perspectives meet.

Chapter 2
Performative sexual citizenship:
a queer and decolonial theoretical framework

> I have no country, my homeland cast me out; yet all countries are mine because I am every woman's sister or potential lover. (As a lesbian I have no race, my own people disclaim me; but I am all races because there is the queer of me in all races.) I am cultureless because, as a feminist, I challenge the collective cultural/religious male-derived beliefs …; yet I am cultured because I am participating in the creation of yet another culture, a new story to explain the world and our participation in it, a new value system with images and symbols that connect us to each other and to the planet. … I am an act of kneading, of uniting and joining that not only has produced both a creature of darkness and a creature of light, but also a creature that questions the definitions of light and dark and gives them new meanings (Anzaldúa, 1987, 80-81).

This chapter details the theoretical and conceptual framework based on which this research's data was analysed and the thesis's argument was developed. It was structured around the concept of citizenship, recognizing its complexities and focusing on its sexual and performative aspects, while exposing it as a disciplinary political instrument characteristic of capitalist modernity/coloniality which can be queered.

This framework was constructed to examine queer activisms as political acts of citizenship performed by subjects who are excluded from full membership in their post-colonial state which disturb dominant heteronormative arrangements of citizenship. Connecting local and international sexual politics it can support research focused on other locations where citizenship arrangements are also influenced by imperial morality overhauled by post-colonial nationalisms. Highlighting citizenship's performative fluidity, it addresses a gap on queer African studies which, framing citizenship as a dichotomic political structure based on legal status, oppose the situation of queers in South Africa to that of sexual minorities in locations where homophobic laws are in place/have been reinforced (Reddy, Monro and Matebeni, 2018; Nyanzi, 2014). This conceptual approach underscores the political relevance of queer activisms as performances of citizenship even when they are not able to consolidate new and more inclusive citizenship arrangements. This way it draws the attention of political science to the sexual and gender politics of those who were not able to achieve their goals, in Africa (Nyeck and Epprecht, 2013b) and elsewhere.

Research on citizenship has blossomed into an interdisciplinary scholarship which includes different ways of becoming a citizen across different geographical scales (Isin and Turner, 2002; Engin and Nielsen, 2008; Kymlicka and Norman, 1995; Somers, 2008; Brandzel, 2016). Citizenship is usually framed as a legal status which reveals the management of difference through governmentality (Brandzel, 2016, 6-7). Citizenship is not, however, completely controlled by the state. It can be understood as a site of struggle where practices of empowerment and disempowerment take place along various scales. The concept contains an ambivalence: It operates as an exclusionary and disciplining apparatus, since demarcating who belongs to the polity produces difference, creating outsiders who do not belong. At the same time, citizenship contains potential for resistance and has been the ideal around which disadvantaged, oppressed, and excluded groups can establish their claims. It opens a path to possibilities of a more inclusive futurity to be achieved through practices of activism, social responsibility and community building (Isin and Turner, 2002; Engin and Nielsen, 2008; Lister, 2003; Evans, 1993; Weeks, 1998).

The concept of citizenship is connected to the European liberal tradition of nation-statehood (Smith and Rogers, 2015), and therefore had to travel to be applied in the examination of queer sexual citizenship in Zimbabwe. I grappled with the question of whether using concepts which emerged in western contexts would reaffirm imperial itineraries, since in this process I am re-enacting the geopolitics of knowledge production which usually mean that the global periphery provides data to be theorized according to western epistemologies (Connell, 2010). I emphasise, however, not the direction from north to south or west to the rest which follow international power hierarchies, but the underlying (unequal and power laden) connections. Theories travel using the tracks of the conceptual and political structure of modernity/coloniality (Quijano, 2000b), which were forged through the co-creation of metropolitan Europe and its colonies (Stoler, 1995). To bridge these power relationships in a subversive way so that the notion of performative sexual citizenship arrived in Zimbabwe not as a colonial settler, but as a migrant seeking refuge, I grounded it in the intersection between decolonial and queer perspectives and informed it with the critical reflections of non-white feminist and queer authors.

When examining queer Zimbabwean activists' discourses on (not) belonging, I connected them to the apparatus and logics of coloniality. Heteronormative citizenship was created within modern/colonial knowledge systems, and is tainted by capitalism, white, and heterosexual privileges. This research's theoretical framework makes these biases explicit and disturbs them using queer and decolonial perspectives' subversive and anti-hegemonic potential. Both approaches emerged from the experience of

exteriority (Pereira, 2019), of not belonging, and not fitting in universalist humanity, a notion which was created to accommodate white, male, heterosexual, and capitalist power in the context of imperial expansion.

I followed Sylvia Tamale's (2011b) recommendations to, when drawing from theories which emerged from research developed in locations other than the one being studied, recognize multiplicity and particularity, reject essentialism and highlight the specificities of the context under consideration. As will be detailed in chapter three, Zimbabwean citizenship arrangements – in similar fashion to those in other African states which carry the legacy of British colonialism – have prevailed through violent practices of repression and the instrumental reinterpretation of (pre-)colonial traditions by political elites for their own benefit (Dorman, 2014). Queer African studies reflect on the ways sexuality and gender have been influential to regimes of inclusion and constructions of (un)Africanness (Nyeck, 2020). They are used to legitimise exclusionary notions of (not) belonging through gendered and sexualized differentiation in neo-paternalist lineage relationships supported by Christian notions of morality and perversion (Jeater, 2013; Cheater, 2009; Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Ngwena, 2018). These discourses, however dominant (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017), are not immutable nor are they the only ones available in public debates. This research, which focuses on the counter-hegemonic performances of belonging promoted by queer Zimbabwean activists from a sexual performative approach can contribute to expand debates on African discourses about sexualities (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Thoreson, 2014).

In the first section of the chapter, I discuss the concept of sexual citizenship. Revealing how morality structures gradations of (non-)citizenship (Evans, 1993), this concept allows queering citizenship beyond the antithesis of citizens and aliens. It exposes how discourses of sexuality and gender are entangled in capitalist states' citizenship machinery and the fundamental role of their regulation for the definition of patterns of inclusion and exclusion (Richardson, 2018; Evans, 1993; Smith, 2020). Aware that the concept was developed in western settings, to make it operational, in this section I also discuss how it travels to Zimbabwe and demonstrate its potential to understand the politics of sexual and gender minorities in this and other African post-colonial states.

The second section of the chapter continues the journey of sexual citizenship to Zimbabwe by explaining how this theoretical framework was structured from a decolonial approach. Lugones' (2016, 2010, 2007) concept of coloniality of gender highlights how gender and sexuality, associated with racist and evolutionary epistemologies, constitute a heteronormative axis around which people are classified

(and dehumanized) in the global capitalist system of power. A system which emerged from what is known as western modernity and was imposed globally through colonial conquest and administration. This section also describes how the conceptual separation of the modern and the colonial is a fiction (Hall, 1992; Bhambra and Holmwood, 2021; Santos, 2007) which contributes to obscure the experiences of non-white queers. As such, it underscores the potential of the decolonial approach to examine the political agency of queer Zimbabwean/African activists.

In section three I explain how I use the concepts of performative citizenship (Isin, 2017) and acts of citizenship (Engin and Nielsen, 2008) to queer citizenship. They reveal citizenship's relational, unstable, and contingent aspects. These concepts allow appreciating the value of the political contests fought by sexual minorities who, despite not being able to promote structural or legal change in the distribution of inclusion and exclusion, disturb hegemonic discourses of citizenship and provide visions of alternative forms of belonging. As such, they facilitate interpreting the transient political acts which characterize queer activisms and have the potential to support future studies on sexual citizenship in other locations where sexual minorities are excluded from full citizenship.

The combination of sexual and performative citizenship within the broader queer and decolonial approaches I espouse adjusts the investigations, questions, and problems usually engaged in the liberal literature on citizenship to this investigation. They support answering the question of how queer Zimbabwean activists – in the borders of their post-colonial state and of the international capitalist system – perform sexual citizenship and disrupt dominant heteronormative discourses of belonging.

2.1 Sexual Citizenship: how morality restricts queers' belonging

Citizenship is a concept which has been traditionally theorized as a legal status with 'liberal' 'democratic' states in mind. The question of what it means to be a citizen, however, goes beyond legal rights. In most societies sexual and gender minorities (such as queers and cis heterosexual women) have their national membership constrained while white male heterosexual subjects are privileged (Richardson, 1998, 90). Citizenship is a socio-political construct which is connected to categories of (non-)membership and the enactment of practices which define belonging in the polity (Turner, 1993). The citizenship machinery is a state apparatus to manage the exclusion and inclusion of different groups. It is buttressed by capitalism and moral boundaries which are constructed through differentiation based on race,

ethnicity, socio-economic class, religion, gender and sexuality (Dorman, Hammett and Nugent, 2007; Evans, 1993). The concept of sexual citizenship exposes how access to citizenship rests on the intersection of morality with political, economic, and social practices.

The notion of belonging may bring to mind Anderson's (2016) conception of the nation as an imagined community, or a system of cultural representation in which the shared experience of belonging is envisioned. Amina Mama (2001) questions the applicability of this theorisation to post-colonial African states. In most of them, as is the case of Zimbabwe, constructions of national identity as a singular, individual subject with clearly defined limits are in-the-making and struggling to superimpose the colonial legacy of being others to imperial Britishness. State constructions of nationalism and belonging which are promoted as primordial have not become successfully hegemonic in relation to the multiplicity of ethnicities, languages, and religions. In the case of Zimbabwe, the struggle against Rhodesian settler-colonial domination did not stimulate a shared sense of nationhood beyond the aim of ending that regime (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009). The post-colonial state did construct understandings of Zimbabwean-ness to forge a national identity in the multi-ethnic and multiracial divided society. The result, however, was not successful in consolidating a hegemonic national identity in the four decades after the country's political liberation: tensions between racial, ethnic, and culturally diverse groups persist. The ruling elite deploys a culture of intolerance it inherited from settler colonialists against dissidence. It does this by re-signifying belonging in ways that privilege its continuity in power. Sometimes emphasizing race, other times ethnicity, indigeneity, political allegiance (Mlambo, 2013; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009), but also gender (Cheater, 2009) and sexuality.

Modern constructions of citizenship are fundamentally gendered and sexualized. The concept of sexual citizenship allows addressing the gap between formal rights and substantive citizenship experienced by queer Zimbabweans and Africans which consistently curbs their dignity (Nyeck and Epprecht, 2013b). As will be detailed in chapter three, even though there is little attention to the topic in the literature on Zimbabwean citizenship, sex and gender have been central in the designs of Zimbabwean borders of belonging. This is valid to this case-study but also to other post-colonial African states where citizenship's limits are drawn supported by heterosexist modernity and patriarchal notions of custom (Mama, 2001; McClintock, 1995).

Sexual citizenship has been politicised and became part of public debates in Africa since Robert Mugabe inaugurated in the 1990s the practice of using explicit homophobia politically to frame sexual minorities as others who threaten the nation. This practice of using moral, nationalist and pan-Africanist

rhetoric against homosexuality (which also affects transgender persons – whose gender performances are often interpreted as homosexuality in African contexts (Camminga, 2020)) was continued in other African states. The public visibility of sexual minorities increased as sexual and gender deviance from heteronormativity was constructed as an unnatural sin, as unAfrican, and associated with Western (neo)colonialism (Ngwena, 2018; Awondo, Geschiere and Reid, 2012; Thoreson, 2014; Morgan and Wieringa, 2005). State-sponsored homophobia framed them as others, rendering explicit the limitations of their citizenship in states such as Gambia (Nyanzi, 2013b), Uganda (Nyanzi *et al.*, 2015; Tamale, 2007), and Cameroon (Awondo, 2010; Nyeck, 2013; Ndjio, 2013). As such, this research can further the field of queer African studies providing a case about sexual citizenship in a post-colonial African state which criminalizes queers and denies them belonging, as is the case in other countries (Gomes da Costa Santos and Waites, 2019).

The increase in public debates about sexuality was not, however, monopolized by states. At the same time state-sponsored homophobia gained space, queer African movements have developed. They claim their citizenship in various ways, such as pursuing the decriminalisation of their sexualities, access to protection and basic rights, and recognition (Bryan, 2019). This theoretical framework not only supports the analysis of queer Zimbabwean activisms, but it also contributes to advance queer African studies which highlight the agency of queer Africans as complex actors who are not only victims. They creatively enact their political agency exposing the limitations sexual citizenship imposes over them and claiming their full citizenship in manners which are adequate for their specific contexts. In Ghana, for example, civil society mobilized in 'anti-gay protests' (O'Mara, 2013). Additionally, this case-study also contributes to queer queer African studies which are dominated by research on South Africa (Matebeni and Pereira, 2014; Nyanzi, 2014), a state where the legislation does not criminalize, but instead protects sexual minorities – a reality not broadly shared continentally.

The sexualized and gendered aspect of citizenship is often obscured by sanitized gender-neutral (masculinized) or a-sexual language focused on rights and responsibilities of citizens which privileges the public sphere and reaffirms its primacy over and separation from the private domain (Pateman, 1988, 1989, 120; Okin, 1992, 118; Dietz, 1998, 380-1). The concept of sexual citizenship defies confining sexuality to the private sphere. It emphasizes the need for public recognition of the ways in which sexual minorities' membership in the political community is restricted due to their sexualities and genders. To illuminate this dimension, I followed the feminist tradition of challenging this separation which reiterates the hierarchy between the two realms and reinforces heterosexist assumptions that gender identity and

sexual desire are aligned in the masculine/feminine binary which supposedly emerges naturally from biological sex.

Segregating the public and private and framing sexuality as a private matter through which individuals define their authenticity and express their personalities plays a role in the regulation of sexuality. Heteronormative epistemological frames support the modern ideological split of the public and private realms by portraying sexual and gendered relations as personal and apolitical. They obscure the ways in which heteronormativity is an organizing principle of modern liberal-democratic capitalist society (Sedgwick, 1990; Smith, 2020). The repeated performance of heteronormative gender norms, the sexual division of labour, and social reproduction are convenient to capital accumulation. They conceal the institutionalization of the sexual labour of procreation under social arrangements such as marriage, thus allowing this labour to be appropriated with no pay (Smith 2020, 1). Due to this, sexuality and gender are not easily addressed by traditional conceptions of citizenship which address public legal rights, understood as a separate from the private (Richardson, 1998, 90).

The concept of sexual citizenship is based on the premise that the sexual 'is formally and customarily institutionalised and incorporated' (Evans, 1993, 2) in the public world and is constitutive of modernity's epistemological regime as are gender, race, and class (Sedgwick 1990). The singularization of sexuality as a special dimension of our lives where our authentic personalities and consciousness are expressed within the limits of virtue and perversity is part of a Christian based morality (Sontag 1969:46 cited in Evans, 1993, 1). These principles became dominant as part of the political project of modernity/coloniality where racialized understandings of humanity were promoted in connection to whiteness and heteronormativity (Stoler, 1995; McClintock, 1995; Lugones, 2007; Mendez, 2015). To bring these dynamics front and centre, I intersect the concept of sexual citizenship with queer and decolonial approaches. I detail next how the concept of sexual citizenship contributes to queer citizenship – the decolonial contribution will be discussed in the subsequent section.

A queer perspective is a potential place of contestation, a location to promote deconstructive practices that enable the development of new political projects. It highlights how sexuality is central to 'the practices and processes that are involved in the production of people and populations over time and that unfold at all levels of social existence' (Smith 2020, 19). It exposes how reproduction is a source of oppression (Smith, 2020) since deviance from heteronormativity is framed as an unnatural threat to the maintenance of the modern state – an ethno-racial hetero-patriarchal political project which emulates the heteronormative family (Stevens, 1999).

Queer studies reject essentialist accounts that attribute a set of fundamental properties to those classified as part of the same gender in opposition to the supposedly opposite other gender. Originated in LGBT studies, queer perspectives critically engage with political, social, and economic power relations questioning socially established norms and categories and the ways they relate to sexuality and gender (Thiel, 2017). Highlighting the fluid, contingent, contextual, and political aspects of gender and sexuality this approach is fundamental to this research. Acknowledging the normative character of categories (Butler, 1991), it is possible to argue gender and sexuality (and citizenship!) are performative. That is, they are fictions maintained by the prevalent power structure through the repetition of performances of characteristics attributed to different categories by those classified as part of them. The habitual repetition of gendered acts enables the binary masculine/feminine gendered differentiation to persist through time as if it was natural (Butler, 1999) while noncompliance is stigmatized as perversion.

The queer problematization of heteronormativity as an organizing principle of modern society, culture, and subjectivities (Sedgwick 1990) is central to understanding sexual citizenship (Richardson 2018: 24). This concept emphasizes the regulation of sexual desire is a mechanism through which power is exercised and inclusion and exclusion are distributed. It highlights how the institutional control of sexuality is fundamental to the structures of the modern capitalist state system. Belonging in a political community is constructed around sexuality and gender. This usually takes the form of heteronormative arrangements which institutionalize heterosexual and male privileges as the norm and criterion for membership in the political community while treating (cis) women and queers as morally deficient second class citizens (Evans, 1993; Richardson, 2017, 2018, 1998; Warner, 1991). Sexual citizenship exposes there are degrees of citizenship of which sex and gender are constituents. Sexuality and gender are always implicated in the creation of categories of modern state membership. They contribute to the maintenance of the fiction of the nation, and legitimise the restriction of access to the nation-state's resources (Smith, 2020; McClintock, 1995). Therefore, citizenship is always sexual.

The concept of sexual citizenship was initially elaborated towards the end of the 20th century in theorisations about citizens' engagement with the state's moral authority and the market as productive, but also increasingly as consuming actors in post-industrial societies (Evans, 1993). Theorised with western settings in mind, it usually frames sexual citizens as atomistic and autonomous choosing subjects (Richardson, 2018, 2017; Sabsay, 2012) who are supposedly progressing towards equality while, in practice, they are contributing to unequal differentiation (Evans 1993, 8). The sexual citizenship machinery defines degrees of (non-)citizenship in line with the standards of the moral community (Evans,

1993, 5-6), that way creating descending gradations of membership lodged between the positions of citizen and alien.

In 'liberal' 'democratic' states, sexual citizenship arrangements have allowed the partial inclusion of the 'modern gay citizen' within the limits of the homonationalism. That is, they incorporate sexualized consumers who seek assimilation in the form of access to legal rights and freedoms (Puar, 2007; Richardson, 2017) while preserving heteronormative morality. In this configuration, sexual minorities' right to belong is conditional because the public recognition of lifestyles which defy heteronormativity remains morally unacceptable. This type of inclusion can be related to an assimilationist sexual citizenship framework, in which queers are tolerated as anomalies which can fit in as long their deviance is kept private and they sustain the public/private divide (Richardson, 1998, 89).

As well as maintaining the modern capitalist state system as the hegemonic form of political organization, homonationalist citizenship allows the instrumentalization of sexual assimilation as an indicator of normality. This way it allows differentiating between normal and deviant states. The result is the enforcement of a neo-imperial sexualized international order where foreign intervention is justified in the name of promoting sexual minorities' integration (Weber, 2016; Bosia, 2015; Puar, 2013; Rao, 2010).

In states where homosexuality is criminalized, such as Zimbabwe and especially other African states which were formerly British colonies (Gomes da Costa Santos and Waites, 2019), those with queer sexualities and genders are positioned on ambiguous ground. While they may fit into the constitutional requirements for citizenship in terms of birth or blood, their intimacy is criminalized and constructed as evidence that they constitute foreign threats to the nation. This situation is different from that examined in most sexual citizenship studies, which celebrate the supposed progressive trend identified in post-industrial states towards the assimilation of sexual minorities as consumers even if they remain morally questionable.

Although there are exceptions, as demonstrated by the decriminalization of sexual minorities in former Portuguese colonies such as Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola (Garrido, 2019), the disparities in the treatment of sexual minorities can be associated with the international division of labour characteristic of the global capitalist political economy. The main requirement of capital intensive economies is consumer power, as indicated by idealized representations of citizens as free consumers/taxpayers (Evans 1993, 5). In such contexts, the importance of procreative

sexuality was reduced while the commodity potential of other sexualities increased, allowing queer liberal subjects to be celebrated as citizens endowed with privacy rights and economic freedom (Puar, 2007).

In extractive capitalist economies such as Zimbabwe, citizenship is a 'privilege that must be earned' (Dorman 2014, 170) through (re)productive demonstrations of loyalty to the state that contribute to capital accumulation, broadly understood as modernization and development (Rutherford, 2007). This does not invalidate the use of this framework for locations such as South Africa where queer sexualities are not criminalised. Despite the differences in the ways Zimbabwean and its sexual citizenship arrangements have unfolded, the theoretical framework of sexual citizenship is valuable to both. This is the case because in the two societies sexual minorities do not have access to full citizenship. The high incidence of anti-queer violence in South Africa demonstrates that in this state – as in other locations where sexual minorities have been progressively granted legal rights which attest their formal citizenship – queers (especially those belonging to lower classes (Bonthuys, 2008)) are still positioned outside the moral community.

Emerging from the combination of capitalist market forces and states' moral authority, the sexual citizenship machinery is a modern capitalist phenomenon. Although after independence ZANU-PF declared its government project was socialist,[4] in 1991 it embraced neoliberalism and implemented an Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) to attract international capital to what continued to be an extractive economy. This policy backfired, triggering an economic crisis which in a few years would produce the highest inflation rates of the 20th century. It also transformed Zimbabwe's political economy into an example of neoliberal post-colonial state.

While this might seem odd if neoliberalism is associated with a liberal ideology of increasing state withdrawal from the economy, it provides a case for understanding neoliberalism as an authoritarian political economy development strategy (Connell and Dados, 2014). Tansel (2017) argues neoliberalism is an authoritarian system of capital accumulation where the state develops disciplinary strategies to limit dissent while promoting, protecting and reproducing capitalism. Zimbabwean history demonstrates, as does that of other post-colonial states such as Chile, that increasing authoritarianism allows the implementation of austerity politics, exploitation, and the informalization of the economy through

[4] ZANU-PF grew with the support of People's Republic of China during the liberation war and, from the start, declared it had a socialist program. After independence the government's socialist tendencies were demonstrated by the gradual increase in access to education and healthcare to the majority of the population. At the same time, however, it maintained the capitalist underpinnings of Rhodesian economy by protecting the mostly white ownership of land and industries (Meisenhelder, 1994; Brett, 2005; Engel, 1994).

administrative, legal, economic, and coercive means to contain dissent and promote financial, economic and corporeal discipline. Sexual citizenship is one of such mechanisms, which although encapsulated in discourses of cultural traditions, entrenches state power and unequal power relations which are beneficial to neoliberal capitalist accumulation by disciplining sexuality and gender. It is no coincidence that homophobia emerged in Zimbabwean public debates in the mid-1990s.

A parallel can be established between the global geopolitics of neoliberalism and sexual citizenship. Mainstream neoliberal discourses, grounded in western experiences, promote the global diffusion of the de-regulated market as the irresistible pull of progress, while commodifying the environment, labour, and social reproduction (Tansel, 2017; Connell and Dados, 2014). In similar fashion, homonationalist sexual citizenship narratives of progressive liberalisation accompany practices of exclusion and assimilation.

The interpretation of the consumerist assimilation of homonormative sexual minorities in post-industrial states as the future of labour-intensive homophobic economies occludes the role of sexual citizenship in maintaining the international division of labour. To queer sexual citizenship it is also necessary to decolonize it, since modern notions of gender and sexuality were developed through the modern/colonial project and privilege white male heterosexual capitalism. Just as political experiences in the colonies are formative of western modernity (Stoler, 1995), the sexualized and gendered politics in peripheral post-colonial locations are foundational to sexual citizenship. The following section details how the decolonial perspective underpins this research's theoretical framework. It demonstrates how the exclusionary aspect of citizenship is rehearsed in universalist constructions of the human at the expense of non-white, feminine, and queer bodies (Lugones, 2016, 2007; Mignolo, 2006; Pereira, 2019).

2.2 A decolonial approach to sexual citizenship: in the borders of modernity/coloniality

In this subsection I examine the influence of modernity and its inherent coloniality over the socio-political organization of sexual citizenship in post-colonial African states. Drawing on a decolonial perspective to challenge forms of domination associated to 'patriarchy, race, class, sexuality and global imperialism' (Tamale, 2020, xiii), this approach demonstrates how membership in these states is sexual and part of the political project of modernity/coloniality.

Distinctions of normality or queerness, superiority or inferiority, are embodied in epistemological and ontological classifications. Who controls these classifications controls knowledge (Pereira, 2019,

407). While re-enacting the itinerary of modern knowledge production chains, I have brought the decolonizing agenda in my gear to aid me in queering this path. To start with, the choice of the location and subjects of my case-study do not conform to what is normally associated with citizens in a modern state (Dunn, 2001). In modern social theory, post-colonial African states such as Zimbabwe are usually understood as the 'other' against which self-described 'modern' (western-European) states reaffirm their normality and dominance (Dunn, 2001). They are occluded or incorporated as figurants in the borders (Bhambra and Holmwood, 2021; Shilliam, 2015). Taking sexual citizenship beyond western locations, this research can also contribute to decolonial and queer African studies. It demonstrates some of the challenges which the persistence of coloniality/modernity generates for sexual minorities positioned in the borders of their societies and of the ontologies by mainstream social theories. It also describes how they resist such arrangements.

This research re-centres the concept of sexual citizenship from its western-centric tradition by examining Zimbabwean sexual politics while rejecting racist figurations of African homophobia. Emphasizing historical connections, I locate sexual citizenship in nationalist state-building projects which intersect international and local politics. Colonizers and missionaries contributed to constructions which homogenized African sexualities (as heterosexual), as did African liberation movements. Post-colonial elites continued this tradition of negating African sexual diversity in opposition to sexualities they frame as western (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017). Queer African activists also strategically connect global and local discourses to engage public debates where the meaning of African identities and sexualities are disputed. In this case, to claim their citizenship.

I employ the decolonial impulse combined with queer anti-essentialism. This intersection facilitates exposing how modern understandings of gender and sexuality which became dominant in the international modern-state system are contingent and normative. The encounter of these two approaches has potential to produce knowledge that challenges the heteronormative colonial matrix of power. It allows demonstrating the complex and contingent ways in which gender and sexuality hold modernity/coloniality in place.

Coloniality refers to a power structure which emerged from colonialism – or the political domination established by Europeans over the peoples they conquered (Quijano, 2000b). It encompasses a constellation of relations of exploitation and domination buttressed on logics of racial and sexual differentiation which, articulated through the relations of European/non-European alterities, constituted the modern era. Although mostly overlooked by modern social theory, colonial domination and the

coloniality of power were central for the establishment of modernity. And with it, promoted a white, Christian, heteronormative, and capitalist Eurocentric universalism while concealing/misrecognizing non-whites and sexual minorities (Quijano, 2000b; Dussel, 1993; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012; Grosfoguel, 2011; Lugones, 2016, 2007).

Modernity/coloniality is embedded in an evolutionist and racist epistemology which promotes racial differentiation while construing it as a depoliticized and natural. Supported by a conception of the history of human civilization as a unilinear trajectory between a state of nature and its pinnacle: self-styled white modernity (Quijano, 2000, 542), it portrays non-white peoples as naturally inferior and chronologically anterior to whites. In this ontology non-whites dwell in the past while the 'old continent'[5] is charted as the future of humanity (Rao, 2020a; Hoad, 2000). Naturalizing a hierarchy between human groups based on race, ethnicity, cultural differences, and religion while denying subjectivity to the dominated peoples, coloniality legitimised the subjection of the latter and their treatment as objects of exploitation (Ciccariello-Maher, 2017; Quijano, 2000b; Philipose, 2007).

Modern white/capitalist thought became dominant by promoting the modern myth of white universalism. It obscured the latter part of the modernity/coloniality diptych in power-knowledge dynamics which continue to silence non-whites and downplay the relevance of the colonial encounter to modernity (Santos, 2007; Dussel, 1993; Bhambra, 2007). Although direct colonial domination is dwindling and is mostly seen as illegitimate, the power structure of coloniality continues to affect contemporary societies. It is present in the promotion of capitalism and white, heteronormative privileges as the norm through the control of subjectivity, culture, and knowledge which take place in parallel to economic domination, neo-colonial interventions, and aid (Quijano, 2000b; Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Mignolo, 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012; Hoad, 2000; Lugones, 2016, 2007). For that reason, I use the term post-colonial to indicate a context which chronologically follows colonization, liberation struggle, and a formal declaration of independence. I do not imply that coloniality is a thing of the past, as it is not. The decolonial approach emphasizes the continuation of coloniality after the formal end of colonialism (Quijano, 2000b; Grosfoguel, 2006) since the power hierarchies rooted in colonialism and empire are constituent of modernity and continue to impact contemporary orders and the normative impulse of fighting them.

---

[5] When referring to Europe as the source of coloniality and eurocentrism I refer to the Northwest and Southwest European metropolitan and imperial powers, such as Portugal, Spain, UK, France, and the Netherlands, recognizing that certain parts of the continent, such as eastern Europe and Ireland, were also treated as inferior and anterior.

Racial differentiation and gender intersect around biological dimorphism in the modern/colonial system (Lugones, 2016). This was constructed through arrangements which limited the gender dualism of men/women to whites. The ideal of civilized modern man, essentially rational and fit to rule others was constructed in reference to middle/upper-class heterosexual white Christian males, who were considered human and holders of subjectivity. The intersection of race and gender allowed white women access to humanity contingent to fulfilling their heteronormative social role of reproducing white race and capital according to modern ideals of sexual purity and obedience (Lugones, 2007, 201).

Through slow and discontinuous processes of colonial conquest and administration, as well as practices of translation; race, gender, and sexuality were combined within coloniality's matrix framing relationships of domination as natural biological differences (Lugones, 2007, 2016; Philipose, 2007; Oyewumi, 1997; Hoagland, 1988, 2007). As will be detailed in chapter three, the uncertain status of white women in Rhodesia, for example, fuelled sex panics and legislation against the possibility of sex between white women and black men. At the same time there was no institutional action or public debates about the sexual exploitation of black women, twice denied subjectivity due to their gender and race (Phillips, 2011). This does not mean one should look to the period before colonial conquest for socio-political arrangements which do not promote difference based on sexualities and genders. While in such contexts there was no institutionalized homophobia as in modern politics, sexual control operated in other ways. As will be further discussed in the next chapter, in precolonial Zimbabwean societies sex and gender did have socio-political disciplining roles.

Coloniality pervades dominant racial, gendered, and sexual epistemologies that underlie membership in post-colonial political communities. Understandings of sex and gender framed through the heteronormative matrix which were dispersed globally through colonial conquest continue to shape socio-political personal and private relationships. The decolonial perspective allows detaching from this rationality by promoting the opening of knowledge systems to the theories and experiences of those disqualified by the logics of coloniality (Pereira, 2019; Mignolo, 2007). It contributes to understand sexual citizenship in Zimbabwe and elsewhere because coloniality/modernity – inseparable like two sides of a coin (Grosfoguel, 2011) – were determinant to the construction of imaginaries of genders and sexualities in metropolitan and colonized territories. Post-colonial sexual citizenship constructions are infused with modern/colonial heteronormativity. They promote neo-patrilineal heteronormative reinterpretations of tradition that deny sexual minorities full citizenship thus legitimating their discrimination.

Although modernity/coloniality is rooted in the opposition between white settler colonizers and non-white colonized, this dichotomy does not conform to a neat separation between dominating and dominated. Colonial and post-colonial rule have been promoted and legitimised through collaborations between white settlers and non-white elites through the establishment of alterities in connection to the structures and power relations of the modern capitalist state system. The political, social, and economic relations structured in these processes allow coloniality to continue producing effects in post-colonial societies even after formal independence (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012). They shape understandings of gender and sexuality while reaffirming divides between the international system's centre and peripheries (Spurlin, 1999, 2006; Hawley, 2001; Picq, 2015).

Mahmood Mamdani (2018a) argues that the British colonial practice of indirect rule in Uganda established decentralized despotism and legal dualism, reformulating pre-existing indigenous institutions to contribute to the colonial administration of the protectorates. Under indirect rule, traditional chiefs' powers were increased with support from the colonial administration while they became accountable to the colonial state. At the same time, custom was redefined as customary law transforming precolonial social norms and conventions to regulate nonmarket relations in land, community, and personal (family) affairs through the state apparatus.

Mamdani demonstrated how, while modern ideology split the public and the private, colonial power blurred this separation determining hierarchies in both domains. The technologies which transformed precolonial traditional authority by taking over 'the private domain, defining custom, thereby shaping the terms within which the subjectivity of the colonized would be produced' (Mamdani, 2018b, xvi) were also applied to the settler colony of (Southern) Rhodesia. Sexualized and gender inequality advanced anchored in legal dualism through the implementation of customary law alongside colonial law to benefit firstly the white settler community, but also indigenous male chiefs, as women were not recognized.

These dynamics are highlighted in the work of feminists of colour who – considering how sexual and gender differentiation intersect racial, ethnic, class, generational, and locational divisions – argue novel traditions were established through cultural reinterpretations developed through alliances between colonial authorities and African male patriarchs (Tamale, 2011b, 2020; Mama, 2007). Established by colonial authorities as traditional chiefs, indigenous patriarchs had an important role in legitimising the reinterpretation and codification of tradition as customary law which fixed customs in cultural constructions aligned to modern/colonial gendered and heteronormative interpretations and institutions.

Post-colonial African states inherited the collaboration between colonial and (re-signified) local traditional authorities. Their governing elites continued the practices of reinterpreting tradition in ways that contributed to consolidate the post-colonial modern-state's structure and centralize power under their rule (Clapham, 1996). These practices and the way in which they combine public and private affairs demonstrate the contradictory, ambiguous, and complex ways through which coloniality operates and influences the organisation of power in post-colonial societies. It fragments resistance and upholds exclusionary citizenship, albeit cross-cut and contentious within any national liberation project.

Highlighting these dynamics situates this research among queer African studies' investigations of the ways in which sexuality is connected to interpretations of African identities and indigeneity. Public debates about sexual politics in Zimbabwe have been, in the last three decades, dominated by (opposing) narratives which assert that both homosexuality and homophobia are western imports. The narrative which interprets homosexuality as a western disease which, like imperialism, threatens Zimbabwe/Africa (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017) is connected to the demarcation of Zimbabwean identity in line with the myth that indigenous Africans are intrinsically heterosexual (Epprecht, 2008). It can also be connected to the Foucauldian claim that, through medical and legal discourses, western modernity shifted understandings of same-sex desire and sexual relations from acts to a homosexual sensual sensibility (Foucault 1976, 43). The opposing narrative, that homophobia is western, locates the genesis of anti-queer animus in colonial anti-sodomy laws imposed by British colonialism. Although historically acceptable, both narratives centre white agency. They bypass the role of African agents and local traditions in the construction of sexualities and belonging.

Among African voices, queer ones are further disregarded. The above mentioned narratives silence the agency of African queers, framing them as victims of state-sponsored homophobia in peripheral areas of the international capitalist modern state-system and legitimise neo-colonial intervention (Rao, 2014, 203; 2010, 182). Their obscurity also troubled K'eguru Macharia who worried 'that so much writing on Queer Africa has made names like Robert Mugabe… vernaculars, easily recognisable as African homophobes, while simultaneously rendering invisible African queers' (Macharia, 2015b, 145). I acknowledged this concern while framing this research's problem and focused on how queer Zimbabwean activists of colour challenge dominant heteronormative notions of citizenship. This approach promotes the visibility of their agency and of dissident sexualities and genders while countering the heteronormative discourses of elites.

To investigate sexual citizenship in Zimbabwe emphasizing queer agency without pink-washing indigenous or precolonial understandings of sex and gender or reaffirming racist tropes, I approached the topic focusing on queer activists' performative acts of citizenship and their potential to queer and decolonize citizenship. This provides an interesting opportunity. Because traditionally Zimbabwean elites' explicitly reject imperialism. Examining the injustices of Zimbabwean sexual citizenship allows critically engaging ZANU-PF's anti-imperialist discourses and exposing their underlying assumptions about African sexual identities which are rooted in coloniality. It demonstrates how modern/colonial exclusionary hierarchies continue to pervade the post-colonial state's sexual citizenship machinery.

I emphsized these aspects over homonationalist narratives which reaffirm imaginaries of African politics as backward and needing to be fixed by interventionist powers (Thoreson, 2014; Currier and Migraine-George, 2017b; Epprecht, 2012; Tamale, 2011b). I did this in line with my ethical stance of developing research as a form of reparative scholarship by acknowledging queer Zimbabwean activists as political subjects and contributing to make their performances of citizenship visible. This approach can contribute to studies of queer African citizenship which investigate the historical roots of homophobia and how they are reinterpreted in light of post-colonial economic, social and political challenges. Most other African states which outlaw homosexuality share the legacy of British colonialism. In some them these laws have been actually reinforced by post-colonial elites, while thy have been repealed in states which have different colonial histories such as the Portuguese speaking African countries (Garrido, 2019).

2.3 Acts of performative citizenship: a conceptual framework to analyse the political agency of queer Zimbabwean activists

To examine queer political action in relation to membership in Zimbabwe, I examined the ways in which queer activists perform sexual citizenship through their militancy. Performative citizenship highlights the political dimension of citizenship, how it is a shifting political battleground where the relationships between citizens and the state are disputed in political contests. The concept of act of citizenship emphasizes the active forms of citizenship being developed by minorities who, despite being excluded, exercise their belonging and commitment to the polity as claim-making subjects who breach the established order (Isin, 2008). Emphasizing the importance of political action, dissidence and resistance, this concept structured this research by providing an analytical framework to examine the

political agency of queer Zimbabwean activists. Their use in this case-study demonstrates they are valuable concepts to other studies where queer activists have not been able to change formal (legal) citizenship arrangements.

Some see citizenship as an un-queerable institution due to its intrinsic divisive character, reaffirming a binary either/or logic between those who belong and those who do not (Volpp, 2017). The performative approach de-essentializes the stability of (not) being a citizen by emphasizing the unstable and historical character of citizenship. An institution whose content and borders are contingently defined according to power hierarchies, citizenship can be queered. Focusing on how subjects enact themselves as citizens, regardless of their formal status, performative citizenship calls attention to the political 'practices of becoming claim-making subjects' (Isin, 2017, 2008: 16) through performative acts and their transformative possibilities (Isin, 2002; Engin and Nielsen, 2008). This concept allows critically questioning narratives that essentialize and oppose citizens and subjects framing the former as those who have rights and belong in democracies, and the latter as persons who lack rights and are inserted in non-democratic states. To be a citizen or a stranger, an outsider, or an alien are relational positions which can be simultaneously occupied and shift over time influenced by political struggles, actors' interactions, and their performances of membership in the polity (Isin, 2017, 517-518).

From a performative approach, citizenship is a fiction which, in similar fashion to gender, is supported by the prevalent power structures through the performance of the characteristics attributed to those disciplined by it. Men and women in the case of gender, citizens and non-citizens in the case of citizenship. The coherent and repetitive performance of these characteristics allows them to endure intelligibly as if they were natural (Butler, 1999, 23, 179). Performative citizenship allows differentiating the formal (legal status) and substantive aspects of citizenship: the former is a condition of the latter, since the configurations of citizenship which are postulated in laws are the result of political struggles (Isin, 2008, 17). Isin (2009, 2008) differentiates active citizens – who, endowed with formal citizenship, act out pre-existing written scripts putting in practice the rights that they are already authorised by the state to access – from activist citizens who do not have their membership *a priori* recognized and disrupt the normative order enacting themselves as citizens through their performances. Subjects become activist citizens when they act politically, creatively breaking from the habitus and, making their positioning as (non) citizens visible and knowable, claim their place in the polity (Isin, 2008, 18).

The rupture which is accomplished by acts of citizenship signifies breaking from conventions. It does not necessarily result in structural change. Its effects can be small-scale (Isin, 2017, 519), but they

make the contingency of relationships of othering which have become naturalised visible and thus contestable. Queer Zimbabwean activists develop creative strategies to politically contest exclusionary sexual citizenship arrangements. Because open dissent can result in further oppression of already marginalised minorities, they often use non-confrontational strategies (Česnulytė, 2017), categorised by Kabeer, Milward and Sudarshan (2013) as the 'weapons of the organised'. These strategies include the construction of shared identities and interests among the constituents of the group; the use of communication and information dissemination to promote awareness and recognition; re-signifying cultural resources and symbolic events; and the use of international resources to disseminate their claims more widely and develop transnational alliances. In some cases activists also adopt more assertive strategies such as using the state's own legal apparatus to challenge their exclusion (Kabeer, Milward and Sudarshan, 2013). This research's findings, presented in chapters four to seven, demonstrate both types of political action can enact citizenship.

Queer Zimbabwean activists are understood here as speaking, sexualized, and gendered subaltern political agents who are performing citizenship through their militancy. I use the concept of activist in connection to the performative conception of citizenship to describe queer Zimbabweans who politically challenge heteronormative notions of belonging. Activism does not imply that they are formally part of a socio-political association. They perform citizenship in various ways, ranging from the use of traditional strategies of mobilization, via collective action coordinated through associations, but also as they navigate heteronormative limitations in their everyday, and through artivisms[6] performed collectively and individually (Obadare and Willems, 2014; Zivi, 2012; Currier and Migraine-George, 2017a; Sandoval and Latorre, 2008; Van Klinken, 2018). Emphasizing the performative nature of citizenship and differentiating obscurity from failure and inaction (Clifford, 2009), this framework highlights the value of everyday forms of resistance, even if their impacts are minor and do not result in the establishment of a new order institutionalized by legal change.

Performative citizenship centres on the claim to citizenship, irrespective of the result of that political dispute. There are activists who are not effective in achieving what they seek in terms of structural change – as is the case of the queer activists in Zimbabwe –, and this should not cause their political struggles to be dismissed. Emphasizing the political and performative aspects of citizenship and drawing attention to

[6] Artivisms are a form of activism developed through an organic relationship between art and activism that promotes transformations of the world and of those involved in them through 'a convergence between "activism" and digital "artistic" production' (Sandoval and Latorre, 2008, 81).

what is being done when citizenship is claimed (Zivi, 2012, 8) performative citizenship queers this relationship between subjects and the state beyond the binary citizen/non-citizen. Those who stake their claims to citizenship may not occupy the position of legal citizens. At the same time acts of citizenship are performed by subjects who, like queer Zimbabweans, are formally citizens but are denied the entitlements of full citizenship because dominant discourses frame them as morally deficient. From the performative perspective, it is the political claim which enacts citizenship, attaching new meanings to it and to the rights and duties it entails (Isin, 2017, 501).

This approach is also queer in the sense that it highlights how citizenship and its borders are unstable, contingent, and historically constituted by political and social struggles over who may (not) act as a subject with rights (Isin, 2017, 502, 503). As discussed previously in the section about sexual citizenship, moral codes and differential power relations imply that certain groups' characteristics are recognized as universal[7] while those who are not accommodated within them are disqualified from citizenship. Change can stem from the state's citizenship machinery as it incorporates some minorities within its normative framework – as has been the case of black African women in post-colonial Zimbabwe and the homonationalist inclusion of sexual minorities. But is also stems from challenges by subaltern others. Even if dissident citizenship projects do not constitute new contingent universals and communities who uphold them, they can interrupt the dominant arrangements, even if for a moment, by proposing different possibilities of citizenship (Isin, 2008).

Citizenship is relational and involves citizens and non-citizens as interactive actors. While these relational positions denote logics of difference, they are not static, subjects do not fit unproblematically into just one of them, and their boundaries are permeable. As will be detailed in chapter three, queer Zimbabweans are simultaneously citizens according to their birth; strangers*,* when their deviance is considered salvageable through discipline; outsiders*,* when they are considered incorrigible and therefore objects of punishment; as well as aliens, irredeemable threats to the nation. These positions shift due to political struggles and changes in socio-political arrangements. As will be detailed in chapter three, subjects' can also straddle and move across them due to their identification with/assignation to various social groups (Isin, 2017, 504-505).

This movement and overlapping provide a dynamic character to citizenship which allows it to be queered as more than an exclusionary institution. While the opposition between citizens and non-citizens

---

[7] In the modern international capitalist state system 'propertied, adult, male, rational, white, Christian, heterosexual, and able-bodied' (Isin, 2017 502) persons hold such privilege.

entails binary either/or logics, the shifting positions of citizens, strangers, outsiders, and aliens illustrate queer dynamics of being simultaneously one thing and another (Weber, 2014, 2016). Not fully included, not totally excluded, queer Zimbabweans complicate the regulation of citizenship as they exceed categorizations which oppose normal and perverse. They are border figures (Anzaldúa, 1987, 3) who are continuously in a state of transition. This is attested in the birth right to citizenship they have according to the Zimbabwean 2013 constitutional requirements of citizenship, while simultaneously being treated as morally inferior, as threats to the nation, being criminalized, and not having access to constitutionally established rights such as anti-discrimination laws. Add to that queer Zimbabwean activists' claims to their gender identities, sexualities, and their membership in the polity. They refuse to signify monolithically, and their plural performances demonstrate how citizenship is queer.

Performative acts of citizenship are materialised through political action, which instantiates relational ways of being: claiming, performing, and exercising rights and duties constitutes citizens and simultaneously creates others in opposition to them, making different ways of being with others visible (Isin, 2008, 18). Acts of citizenship reveal performances of citizenship and political action by becoming actively implicated in the spectrum of (not) belonging (Isin, 2017; Neveu, 2015). They are diverse in their content and are not necessarily inclusive since they are not always in favour of subjugated groups. They can contribute to the emancipatory promotion of justice and acceptance of others, but can also institute or entrench unequal power relations (Isin 2008, 38; 2017, 519).

Activists are positioned in the intersection of various identities and affiliations. From them they perform citizenship, negotiating their position in relation to the polity through their political agency (Isin, 2017). While enacting their claims to citizenship, they navigate the boundaries of their ambiguous positionality and promote different political projects. Among LBT Zimbabwean groups, for example, while some adopt a feminist program which tends towards queering gender, others embrace a grassroots approach which reaffirms what are seen as traditional values of gender differentiation.

Acts of citizenship transform conventions, practices, traditions, laws, and institutions. These acts can take various forms which, invoking conventions, breach or transcend them. When performed by persons who are othered and excluded from (full) citizenship, they enact a tension between the delimitation of rights and their entitlement to such rights. In that moment, a subject who is excluded from the universal lays claim to it, speaking from a split position, simultaneously authorized and de-authorized. This site can be understood as a position of 'promising ambivalence' (Butler, 1997, 368): the act being performed appropriates the norm which is predicted on the subjects' exclusion and, exposing the

discrimination which sustains it, demonstrates its failure in being universal and thus has transcending effects over it (Isin, 2017; Zivi, 2012; Butler, 1997). This way the tension enacted by acts of citizenship asserts the right to a liveable life where there was no enabling convention (Butler, 2004). Subjects constitute themselves as citizens as they creatively navigate the borders of belonging transforming them and their own positionality in relation to citizenship by upholding principles they believe in.

Acts of citizenship are ephemeral accomplishments which divert our gaze from the established normative order to the ruptures they produce in social-historical patterns and dominant discourses. This transformation displaces previous arrangements of citizenship transforming them in unpredictable ways. Not necessarily signifying the establishment of a new system, they breach normativity reframing the sense of what is possible (Isin and Nielsen, 2008, 4). The diverse possibilities acts of citizenship open through their performative character are imbued with the potency of rupture, disorder, and dissidence.

This concept provides an innovative approach to the literature on citizenship which, usually focused on orders and the practices which characterize them, conceptualises disruptions as distortions in the system, or signs of the emergence of a new order (Isin, 2008, 20-26). An act of citizenship does not imply that a new order will be established, even though this is a possibility. It does not predetermines the specific citizenship arrangements which can emerge from it. As such, to concept is a useful tool for queer African studies. It allows analysing sexual politics of societies where there has been no legal change in sexual citizenship arrangements towards inclusion or exclusion of queer subjects. It also is valuable for cases where there has been change – either favouring or further discriminating sexual minorities as a result of queer activisms.

The performative citizenship perspective exposes the limitations citizenship entails while highlighting excluded groups claim their place in the polity (Isin, 2017, 508). Regardless of their formal result, the enactment of acts of citizenship which assert queers' position as constituents – or beings with rights and obligations – produces activist citizens who are creatively perform ways of becoming political. This approach is valuable to understand the political agency of queer Zimbabwean activists, who although active for decades have not been able to achieve the decriminalization of their sexualities. Regardless of the result of their efforts, they are activist citizens.

2.4 Concluding summary

This thesis was developed supported by a theoretical framework which was inspired by queer and decolonial perspective and merges sexual and performative citizenship scholarship. These approaches allow queering citizenship as they expose it is not fixed nor an either/or relationship between subjects and the state.

Citizenship is sexual. It includes/excludes subjects according to with their compliance with moral standards of sexuality and gender performance. It places them in descending gradations between the opposing poles of being citizens/non-citizens. Citizenship is also performative. It is enacted in political acts of citizenship which precede and determine the content of legal citizenship arrangements. Differentiating between formal and substantive citizenship, this approach allows understanding how subjects who are legally citizens but denied substantive citizenship due to their sexualities and genders can contest such arrangements. Understanding citizenship as sexual and performative allows interpreting queer Zimbabwean activists' political agency as acts of citizenship and furthering a political project to queer and decolonize sexual citizenship.

In the next part of the thesis, I analyse activists' discourses as acts of citizenship. The activists fracture the distinction between citizens and non-citizens as absolute positions by showing how they simultaneously are legal citizens but their access to substantive citizenship is limited. They claim their entitlement to citizenship through their political agency and, that way, constitute themselves as activist citizens who creatively disturb the heteronormative boundaries of belonging.

The next part of the thesis presents my analysis. In chapter three I intersect the literature on Zimbabwean citizenship and sexuality studies to demonstrate the role of sexuality and gender in structuring the borders of inclusion and exclusion in precolonial, southern Rhodesian, and post-colonial nationalist political projects. The following chapters focus on queer Zimbabwean activists' political action. They demonstrate that citizenship is a process in the making, found in the politicization of belonging enacted in distinct settings. Acts of citizenship do not have a specific predetermined form or results. In chapters four to seven I analyse queer Zimbabwean activists' discourses and demonstrate they adopt different strategies to claim their substantive citizenship while connecting individual, local, national, and international sexual politics.

Part 2

Chapter 3:
(Sexual) citizenship in Zimbabwe

We are not gays (Mugabe, 2015).

The sexual and gendered aspect of citizenship is frequently overlooked in Zimbabwean citizenship studies (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Mlambo, 2013; Daimon, 2016; Dorman, Hammett and Nugent, 2007; Dorman, 2014). When gender is explicitly mentioned, it is restricted to the differentiation between (cis) women and men (Cheater, 1986, 2009; Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996; Gaidzanwa, 1993; Barnes, 1999). These limitations do not mean that there is little or no public discussion of sex, gender, and citizenship in Zimbabwe. On the contrary, since the 1990s deviant sexualities are a recurrent topic in Zimbabwean politics and there is a rich literature on the theme, but it is not directly connected to the concept of citizenship.

This gap highlights the heteronormative assumptions implicit in discussions about inclusion and exclusion in Zimbabwe, a problem which I address in this research. In this chapter I review the literature on what has been historically associated with citizenship and (not) belonging in Zimbabwe. I demonstrate how gender and sexuality were fundamental in the design of the borders of inclusion and exclusion in post-colonial Zimbabwean and Rhodesian[8] nationalist projects, as well as among some of the peoples who lived in the territory in precolonial times. Juxtaposing the literatures on Zimbabwean citizenship and sexuality studies, I outline who has (and who has not) access to full citizenship while underscoring the performative, sexual and gendered aspects which underlie such differentiations.

I do this by tracing dominant narratives of what it means to be Zimbabwean, or how insiders and outsiders were defined in national projects developed in the territory according to the specialized literature. The debates focus on the settler-colonial regime; the liberation war; the first decade after independence in the 1980s, when ZANU-PF's nationalist program promoted racial reconciliation; and the Zimbabwean crisis, which began in the second half of the 1990s and peaked in the first years of the

[8] I will use the name Rhodesia to refer to the territory during the colonial period considering the changes its name went through. The colony was named by the British Empire in 1898 as Southern Rhodesia, became part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, or Central African Federation between 1953-1963 and, in 1964, when Northern Rhodesia achieved independence and became known as Zambia, the Southern Rhodesian colonial government unilaterally adopted the name Republic of Rhodesia, with no success in gaining international recognition. In 1979, the country became independent as Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and finally in 1980 became Zimbabwe.

new millennium, when the economy crashed, the ruling party increased its authoritarianism, and shifted its nationalist discourse. I address these periods as different socio-political arrangements in three main sections which cover precolonial sexual politics, the Rhodesian settler-colonial state, and post-colonial Zimbabwe. This division was organized to highlight the different relationships between states and subjects/citizens among these societies. I draw attention to the ways in which such arrangements are connected and how the different sexual citizenship configurations of the polities which chronologically preceded the others influenced and were re-signified to support subsequent discourses of belonging.

The literature on Zimbabwean citizenship recognizes that the borders of belonging shift throughout time and space revolving around the issues of race, ethnicity, indigeneity, access to land, partisan politics, and anti-imperialism. These categories were mobilized as criteria for citizenship in nationalist projects to constitute the nation (and its borders) through difference. I merged this literature with sexuality studies which recognize the fundamental role of sexuality and gender in exclusionary constructions of membership. This way I established patterns of dominant Zimbabwean sexual citizenship discourses which, setting the research context, open the way to examine how queers perform sexual citizenship through their activisms.

The discourses considered in the literature on Zimbabwean citizenship tend to focus on the performative roles of policies and ruling elites' discourses. Despite being privileged actors with power over the citizenship machinery, this scope is limited. There are other narratives of belonging, such as the ones promoted by queer activists. These, the subjects of this research, offer counter-hegemonic discourses about being Zimbabwean which will be considered in depth in the following chapters. This chapter applies the research's theoretical framework to the dominant discourses about sexuality and belonging in Zimbabwe. This analysis strengthens the claim that all citizenship is sexual, and that way supports the thesis' argument. Describing the shifting processes of defining boundaries of belonging, this chapter also justifies the methodological choices made in this research, and grounds the analysis developed in the following chapters.

3.1 Patrilineal Taboos: the role of gender and sexuality in precolonial boundary-making

To analyse the precolonial sexual citizenship arrangements among the different polities which existed in the territory which became Rhodesia and later Zimbabwe, I build on the work of African

sexualities' historians such as Marc Epprecht (2008, 2013, 2004), who examined historical artefacts to counter claims that sexual relations among persons of the same sex are 'unAfrican' (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Ngwena, 2018). First, I explore narratives about African sexualities constructed within the political project of modernity. I then detail the gendered, sexualized, and performative character of belonging among the Shona and, to a lesser extent, the Ndebele and Ngoni to demonstrate the role of gender and sexuality in precolonial socio-political orders.

The relationships between Africans and Europeans affected understandings of African sexual politics due to the imposition of colonial rule as a political, social, and economic system. They were also influenced, however, by previous discourses about African sexualities constructed from outside the continent as part of the project of modernity/coloniality. Before settler colonialism was established, western perspectives were influential in construing knowledge about African sexualities. They frequently entailed racist and ethnocentric bias embedded in tropes about Africans being backwards which affirmed, by opposition, ideal of a civilized and enlightened west (McClintock, 1995; Stoler, 1995; Tamale, 2011a).

The earliest records of research on African sexualities were made by western missionaries and colonial explorers who framed Africans as primitive, dangerous, exotic, immoral, lascivious, and inferior to whites. They approached black African bodies and sexualities within an evolutionary colonial/modern epistemology, framing them as inadequate and in need of fixing, thus justifying and legitimising the civilizing objectives of colonialism (Tamale, 2011b).

African sexualities' studies made by non-Africans also contributed to develop the myth of African straightness, monolithically restricting African sexualities to heterosexual reproduction (Epprecht, 2008; Murray and Roscoe, 1998; Hoad, 2000). These were supported by accounts made by European travellers which since the sixteenth century identified the high value most African societies placed on heterosexual marriage and reproduction. They also mentioned, however, deviance, which was depicted as perverse until the eighteenth century, when the topic was mostly silenced in European/North American discourses about Africa (Epprecht, 2008).

In the nineteenth century heteronormative and evolutionary scientific knowledge constructed 'the homosexual' as a sign of the decadence of civilization and Africans as savages uncapable of creatively developing sexual relationships diverging from 'natural' reproductive heterosexuality. This discourse not only reaffirmed the heteronormative notion that sexual desire is adequate when focused on the opposite sex in connection to binary (masculine/feminine) frames of gender identity aligned with biological sexual characteristics. It also positioned homosexuals and black Africans in opposing poles at the margins of

Eurocentric sexual ideals (Epprecht, 2008; Hoad, 2000; Murray and Roscoe, 1998). The combination of racist assumptions with heteronormativity and the lack of unambiguous vocabularies about non-heterosexual behaviours in several African societies silenced diverging discourses on the topic. The result was the occlusion of non-heterosexual sexualities which allowed the myth of African being heterosexual to develop (Epprecht, 2008; Aarmo, 1999; Phillips, 1997).

These narratives were not, however, the only ones. In the territory which is now Zimbabwe there are artefacts which evidence same-sex sexual relations in a period that stretches from more than a millennia until current times (Epprecht, 2004). The rock paintings in caves made by Bushmen are an example of this. One of them is more than two thousand years old and is interpreted as three men engaged in anal sex.

The Bantu-speaking migrants – ancestors of the peoples who shared certain linguistic, cultural and political characteristics and were identified by colonizers as the Shona in the late 19th century (Mazarire, 2009) – began to arrive in the region around a thousand years ago. Their heteronormative and loosely patrilineal societies (Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996) shared an appreciation for fertility. They highlighted the link between sexual intercourse and female pregnancy in their spirituality and arts, and encouraged large families, necessary for an agrarian political economy (Epprecht, 2008; Jeater, 1993).

Before colonial occupation Shona social identities were to a great extent determined by the positions people occupied within a network of lineage relationships. Sex was an essential element within complex social identities, and sexualities were understood within the framework of membership in a family group. The performance of gender roles was connected to production, it was learned since childhood, and reinforced in adulthood through taboos. Heteronormativity was encouraged in practices of trial-marriage when children acted out gender roles. Marriage enacted sexual citizenship connecting sexual activity with authority, resources, labour, property, and reproduction, as well as gender and generational relations in socio-political relationships. The bridewealth exchange was an especially important performance, when these complex relationships were consolidated and the persons involved had their social identity confirmed (Jeater 1993).

The familial ties of women in precolonial Shona societies illustrate how citizenship is gendered, performative, not fixed, nor necessarily divided by the binary belonging/not belonging. In these loosely patrilineal formations, women would belong to their paternal family. When (and if) married, they would move to live with the husband's family, to which they would then belong. However, men did not have the same type of control white settlers had over their wives in colonial Rhodesia (Gaidzanwa, 1993).

Shona women would still maintain their ties with their natal relatives, which guaranteed them protection against abusive husbands. Women performed important membership roles as wives, daughters-in-law, and especially mothers, but also in their patrilineages as sisters, aunts, and daughters. The patrilineal society created ambiguous arrangements of citizenship for women, who belonged to two lineages in ways which were not known to men (Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996; Cheater, 1986; Schmidt, 1992). The overlapping allegiance performed by women demonstrate how citizenship was gendered and queer.

Although the literature highlights the importance given to reproduction, sexual desire was also recognized as fundamental in married life, as indicated by the knowledge about contraceptive methods. Performances of sexuality were regulated in relation to family obligations with the goal of honouring the ancestors and contributing to the lineage (Jeater 1993). However, other sexualities also existed, and their performance contributed to symbolically differentiate groups in heterodox arrangements of belonging.

Among elites, symbolic sexual dissidence from heterosexuality was instrumental to uphold centralized state structures in southern Africa. The *Mutapa*, main sovereign authority of the *Monomutapa* (Karanga Shona) state between the sixteenth and nineteenth century, was understood as a divine being. This differential status was symbolically reaffirmed by practices such as ritual incest with his full sister, which broke one of the greatest social taboos. Non-heteronormative sexual relations were also present in his relationships with his court, and among them: the *Mutapa* was supported by a group of warriors known as his *sono* (women), described as 'swaggering dandies' (Beach 1980, 106 cited in Epprecht, 2004, 42) to whom, in turn, a group of honoured men acted as wives. These relationships demonstrate the role of sexuality in structuring socio-political hierarchies and boundaries. They also show the prevalence of gendering practices organised according to logics which diverge from the biological sexual dimorphism hegemonic in contemporary modern societies.[9]

Among commoners, sexual and gender performances which deviated from cis/heteronormativity also enacted socio-political differentiation. Among peoples identified as Shona, Ndebele, and Ngoni, this was seen as proof of spiritual possession which denoted spiritual and political authority. In such situation, to respect the spirit, the person would either become celibate or marry someone of their gender. Celibate women could become an important spiritual asset to the community, acting as guardians of the chief (Epprecht, 2004, 40, 41, 46). Ritual sex among men also played important medicinal and magical roles

[9] Such logics are examined in the works of African feminists who challenge the taken for granted heteronormative use of the categories 'woman' and 'man' in contemporary modern understandings of gender (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2009; Oyewumi, 1997; Amadiume, 1987).

among commoners, being used to promote political ambitions, soil fertility, and to cure impotence. This was not restricted to Shona peoples. The Ndebele, who invaded the territory in the 1830s, advocated sex between men for political and military purposes and allowed them to marry women only after completing their military service (Epprecht, 2004).

Epprecht (2004) identified through oral testimonies same-sex acts continue to be practiced contemporarily by ambitious men for its effects. These performances were considered so powerful that they were comparable to witchcraft. As such, they would be seen as the cause of hardships such as famine and diseases and could be punishable by death or exile (Chigweshe, 1996, 45). Such sentences were, however, rarely enacted because the causes of queer sexualities and genders were ambiguous and not all practices were necessarily transgressive, often playing a role in socio-political differentiation.

Appropriateness depended on how the infractions affected the wider web of familial social relationships, property, and family health. Most commonly, when sexual transgressions were identified, reprimands were discreetly established. Adultery committed by women, for example, could be resolved through the payment of compensation to the family the man victimised (Jeater, 1993). Non-performance of fertile normative sexualities were often dealt with the custom of *kupidira*, or 'the raising of the seed'. This practice allowed a family to avoid the shame of a man not impregnating his wife by inviting a trusted male relative to accomplish the task. It was also respectable for men to have a *sahwira*, an intimate male friendship which could conceal sexual intimacy (Epprecht, 2004, 38, 246).

Same-sex desires and transgender expression understood as fruit of possession by spirits with a gender different from the possessed were not problematic unless they were scandalous and threatened the lineage (Epprecht, 2004, 2008; Murray and Roscoe, 1998). If this was the case and the deviating performance was misdiagnosed as witchcraft and resulted in execution, the unappeased spirits could return creating greater problems in retaliation. Due to this, most known same-sex relationships were usually explained in non-threatening terms.

Even if those who participated in same-sex relationships were regarded as bewitched or as witches (*muroyi*), they were often not disturbed for fear that they might use their powers against the accuser (Jeater, 2013; Epprecht, 2004, 246). The accusation of witchcraft is a way to redefine the community's limits and establish who belongs and who are outsiders. Witchcraft or 'the dark side of kinship' (Geschiere, 1997, 11) is usually directed towards members of the community with whom tensions emerged, and was a way to transform insiders into outsiders (Jeater, 1993, 137). Establishing connections between witchcraft acusations, othering, and the use of political violence in Zimbabwe, Jeater argues

witchcraft reflects visceral forms of belonging, deeper than legal understandings of citizenship, which continue to prevail in the territory.[10]

The connection of same sex relationships with the transformation of insiders into outsiders was recuperated by ZANU-PF discourses which denounced homosexuality as unAfrican and homosexuals as outsiders within, who threatened contaminating the polity. This will be further discussed in the third section of this chapter. Interpretations about the relationship between belonging and sexuality changed across the periods of colonial conquest, domination, liberation war, and the development of a modern post-colonial state. Precolonial genders and sexualities were connected to the interests of individuals, the family, and their ancestors, but not organised according to contemporary heteronormativity. To equate valuing reproduction and the continuation of the lineage with homosexuality being against 'African culture', as much of colonial knowledge did, transplants modern Western understandings of sexuality as an identity and notions of perversion rooted in Christian morality to a context where they did not exist as such. Same-sex sexual practices and varied gender identities/performances structured in logics different from modern heteronormative frames, however, existed. And they played important socio-political roles.

3.2 Colonial frames of citizenship: race, gender and sexuality in Rhodesian power hierarchies

In this section I demonstrate how colonial Rhodesia's gradations of citizenship were sexual and interweaved racist, sexist, and heteronormative assumptions to the privilege of white and heterosexual men. I first discuss the racial aspect of citizenship, which is identified in the literature as the main criteria for the distribution of belonging and for legitimising segregation. Supported by the analysis of sex panics I then argue gender and sexuality tempered racism, influencing the access of racialised, gendered, and sexualized groups to citizenship in ways that contributed to maintain colonial hierarchies. Subsequently I detail how the combination of colonial economic interests, evolutionary discourses, and the (in)visibility of certain court cases discursively constructed homosexuality as a white men's practice.

[10] The persistence in post-colonial Zimbabwe (as well as in other locations in the African continent (Geschiere, 2017)) of entanglements of witchcraft with modernity (Geschiere, 1997) and understandings of homosexuality are demonstrated by interviews Epprecht (2004, 246) developed in 1998. Although not further developed in this thesis, the shift in the status of belonging operated by accusations of witchcraft provides an interesting avenue of research to queer citizenship demonstrating how to belong is a shifting and relational condition marked by ambiguity.

The territory which now corresponds to Zimbabwe was colonized by the British in the end of the 19th century. During colonial rule, Rhodesian socio-political and economic relationships were based on the opposition between white settlers and the colonised. This distinction was instilled with hierarchical notions of racial superiority and inferiority, making citizenship racialised (Dorman, Hammett and Nugent, 2007). The borders of belonging were articulated and policed by the colonial state in its institutions and policies, which performed them stressing racial and cultural difference (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009).

In Southern Rhodesia people were divided according to racist criteria and colonial interests. Citizenship was a privilege of the small minority of whites,[11] who were regarded in this system as civilised. Black Africans were framed as subjects who needed white tutelage. Policies were designed to humiliate and exclude them from political and economic participation, and legitimise colonial rule (Mlambo 2013: 57). While politically and economically powerful white settlers enjoyed full southern Rhodesian citizenship, the black African majority was subjected to customary law and regarded as wards under white paternalist care (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Mamdani, 2018a).

The division of the colonial state into settler citizens and colonized subjects obscures how the boundaries of belonging were contested and porous. The population was also divided among Europeans, Asians and Coloured, and Natives – the last further separated between 'aboriginal' or 'foreign' (Mlambo, 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Daimon, 2016, 2018). Further divides also affected seemingly stable category such as whiteness, which was at the centre of Rhodesian citizenship narratives: whites were distinguished by locality, occupation, class, and ethnicities (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009a) such as British, Afrikaans, Poles, Italians and Greeks, among others. The lack of consensus about what constituted Rhodesianness and the hierarchies implicit even among colonizers are attested by the British tendency to regard themselves as whiter than other Europeans and resist the immigration of European

[11] In the early colonial period, in the second half of the 1890s, there were around 2000 white men and 350 white women distributed in Bulawayo and Salisbury, the main cities of South Rhodesia (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009, 62). In the 1960s, the European population was of around 220 thousand, and its numbers peaked in the following decade after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) reaching almost 250 thousand, which corresponded to 5% of the total population (Fisher, 2010). The small size of the white population and the extreme economic exploitation of black Africans restricted the emergence of an African middle-class and impeded industrialization (Good, 1974). Mining and agriculture were the main Rhodesian industries. They grew under the control of white settlers with the support of increasing interventionism by the settler colonial state, which pushed for the monetisation of the economy taxing and undermining traditional African's livelihoods through the expropriation of their land and cattle (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Phimister, 1988). That way, the African men were forced to sell their labour cheaply to mines and farms, guaranteeing them the labour force they required (Herbst, 2000), while black women were banned form the cities and confined to rural areas where they developed peasant agriculture (Gaidzanwa, 1993, 50).

Jews to the colony (Mlambo, 2013). The racist gradations of Rhodesian citizenship impacted political rights and material access to resources. This is demonstrated by the 1969 Constitution which, to co-opt Asian and Coloured minorities, extended them voting rights while continuing to segregate their access to schools, hospitals, and land reserved for Europeans (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009a).

Gender and sex also permeated Rhodesian political hierarchies and the relationships between individuals and the state. The intersection between colonial racial and gender differentiation introduced a dual citizenship arrangement, restricting the dichotomous distinction between men and women to those considered human and carriers of civilization: whites (Lugones, 2016, 2007, 2010; Oyewumi, 1997). White lives were demarcated by colonial conceptions of what it meant to be men and women, constituted around biological dimorphism and heterosexualism. White men, idealized as civilized middle-class heterosexual Christians, were recognized as endowed with reason and fit to rule. White women had access to subjectivity within the limits of performing their heteronormative social role of reproducing the white race and capital according to gendered and racist eugenic ideals of sexual purity and passivity.

Colonial gradations of citizenship also used gender to differentiated non-whites who, denied subjectivity and described as closer to nature, were excluded from civilised humanity and modern 'manhood' and 'womanhood' (Lugones, 2007). The objectification intrinsic to this racist and sexist matrix is clear in the contrast between 19th century exhibitions of black female bodies across Europe, frequently centred on their genitalia, and the threat represented by a black man seeing the body of a white woman in the colonies. In the racist and sexist imperial order, while the first situation was normalised as educational, the latter was unacceptable. This was the case because it upset racist power hierarchies by symbolically promoting the subjectivity of black men while objectifying white women.

The entanglements between sexuality and racism are demonstrated by the phenomenon of sex panics around black and white peril which affected British settler colonies such as Southern Rhodesia (Phillips, 2011). In most cases the sex panics did not mean the occurrence of sexual offences, but the fear of threats to the colonial society's social and moral order fuelled by influential social figures and newspaper campaigns (Jeater, 2002; Kennedy, 1987; Pape, 1990; Phillips, 2011; McCulloch, 2000; Jeater, 1993). These performances of social anxieties reveal borders of belonging constructed and policed in line with modern racist, sexist, and heteronormative epistemologies. The connections they established between citizenship, race, and sex demonstrate how the regulation of sexual desire is a fundamental mechanism for the exercise of power. They also show how the Rhodesian state intervened in intimate relationships and, through them, reaffirmed the colonial hierarchys.

Olliver Phillips' (2011) analysis of the British South African Police's (BSAP) 1915 report 'Black and white peril' demonstrates the symbolic importance of controlling interracial heterosexual sex to protect white civilization and preserve the settler-colonial sexist/racist hierarchy. The sex panics took place between the legal changes from the 1903 Immorality Suppression Ordinance to the Immorality and Indecency Suppression Ordinance of 1916. The sexualized tensions of this period are reflected in the shift from the first decree, which forbade interracial sexual intercourse, to the second. The 1916 act extended the prohibitions to any act of indecency between black men and white women, coined specific terms, and graphically described the sexual dangers which mobilized popular fears (Phillips, 2011).

The legislation targeted sexual relationships between black men and white women. This suggests that it had the eugenic aim of curbing miscegenation, but also sought to maintain social and sexual distance between these specific groups. Black men were harshly punished for the (suspected and proven) rape or assault of white women (black peril), death being among the possible sentences. White women who had consensual sex with black men (white peril) were also penalised. When the sex was transactional, they were publicly humiliated and subsequently deported from the colony as undesirables. Those who were not identified as prostitutes but were thought to have had sex or encouraged advances of black men were, depending on their class, discreetly removed, hospitalised, or imprisoned (Phillips, 2011, 10). Such punishments demonstrate how these subjects did not have access to full citizenship and (the suspicion of) sexual practices between them defied the limits of colonial morality, warranting banishment and death in disciplinary performances.

The gradations of citizenship and white men's privileges are revealed by the different treatment dispensed to white men and black women involved in interracial sex. Relationships about which there were no similar worries. Although publicly disapproved and forbidden by the Native Affairs Department 1898 regulations, some white men did have black African wives (Phillips, 2011; Jeater, 1993). The 'danger lay specifically between white women and black men [since] neither was a stable marker of superordination or subordination' (Phillips, 2011, 113). While citizenship of white men and the objectification of black women were indisputable in the colonial order, white women's and black men's status in the descending gradations of citizenship was uncertain.

Black men's subjectivity was as hindered by race, while any women's status depended on their relationship with men. Since from a heterosexist perspective in sexual relations women are subordinated to men, sex involving a white woman and a black man subverted colonial epistemology and hierarchies. It implied that white women were lowering themselves from the privileged colonizing class to the level

of the colonized and, instead of fulfilling their social role of reproducing white civilisation, were endangering it (Phillips, 2011; Jeater, 1993; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). The contingent status of white women and black men demonstrate how Rhodesian citizenship was racist, gendered, and sexualized, and favoured whiteness and masculinity. While the privileges of white male citizens were not disrupted by interracial sex, white women and black men occupied the positions of citizens, subjects, or aliens. In the latter case they conformed threats to the polity and had to be removed through banishment or death. These arrangements also demonstrate the silencing and objectification of black women, doubly denied subjectivity due to their gender and race.

Pressures from white Rhodesian women and black African chiefs for the enactment of racial restrictions on the sexual practices of white men were not successful in establishing laws nor in engendering moral panics (Pape, 1990; Jeater, 1993; Phillips, 2011). As indicated by the attorney general's refusal to extend the prohibition of acts of indecency to all females, the aim of colonial discourses was to protect white heterosexist civilisation (Phillips, 2011), not women, whose belonging was contingent. While black women were objectified, white women embodied civilisation, and their citizenship was conditioned to performing their responsibility of maintaining the conventions of the colonial society that censured their behaviour. This explains the specific combination of gender and race which elicited social anxieties over sexual relationships between white women and black men in ways which were not observable in similar relationships between white men and black women. From the perspective of white settlers, sex between white women and black men subverted colonial racist and evolutionary assumptions, threatening the foundations of white imperial civilisation with degeneracy (Phillips, 2011, 108).

Rhodesian sex panics can be understood as collective acts of citizenship which reinforced the colony's borders of belonging in line with racist and sexist differentiation. They strengthened laws and morals which protected and reproduced the political order which privileged white men by establishing which groups constituted threats to colonial society and what degree of citizenship the deserved. The unequal treatment of racialised heterosexual relations illustrates how sex, gender and race were central to the colonial order and its arrangements of sexual citizenship.

The borders of Rhodesian sexual citizenship were not, however, only racist and sexist. They were intrinsically heteronormative, as indicated by the laws, prevailing discourses on family and gender roles, and the occasional mention of sodomy as a threat to the colony. Contemporary Zimbabwean anti-sodomy laws and discourses which situate this practice as something foreign, from which the nation must be

protected, can be traced back to Rhodesian regulations (Goddard, 2004; Epprecht, 2005). The 1914 Immigration Act was the first to acknowledge sodomites in Rhodesian public forums and did it framing them as foreign threats. It complemented the British South African Company's (BSAC) 1903 immigration law which regulated the entrance of migrants to work on mines and farms by prohibiting foreigners convicted of sodomy form entering the colony. Subsequent laws reaffirmed this stance forbidding the entrance of sodomites and prostitutes in 1954, 1966, 1979.

The literature on Rhodesian citizenship describes how the management of the movement of the indigenous population was gendered. The (male) colonial administration and black African chiefs – whose power was transformed under the colonial dual system (Mama, 2007; Tamale, 2020, 2011b; Mamdani, 2018a) – collaborated to control non-white women (Cheater, 2009; Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996; Gaidzanwa, 1993). The limitations of black women's citizenship in colonial Rhodesia are demonstrated by their restricted access to land and mobility to urban areas, instrumental to ensure they accomplished their rural duties and remained under the control of the reformed patrilineal male traditional authority (Gaidzanwa, 1993).

This gendered segregation inadvertently encouraged the development of same-sex relationships in mines, urban areas, and prisons, institutions which were essential to the colony. The economic activities in cities and mines depended on the attraction of African male workers to them, environments which were made inaccessible to indigenous women. This, added to the criminalisation of sex between black men with white women, reduced opportunities for heterosexual sex in these locations. This does not mean that homosexuality emerged in Rhodesia because men were deprived from intimacy with women and needed to have sex. Nevertheless, sex between men was prevalent in these spaces. To maintain the exclusively male arrangements in mines and cities which were necessary to stabilize the black labour force for the extractive economy, colonial authorities overlooked the very practices it proscribed (Phillips, 2011; Epprecht, 2008, 1998b; Jeater, 1993).

It was also during the colonial period that the idea of homosexuality as an identity was constructed in the territory. Influenced by Victorian morals, the colonial legal regime classified any sexual act between men as an 'unnatural offence' (Phillips, 1997: 476). A proscription which remains in place in Zimbabwe, now codified as sodomy. Even though intimacy involving white men corresponded to less than 10% of all sodomy/indecent assault criminal court cases between 1892 and 1923 (Epprecht, 1998a), these were the most visible ones. Cases involving only black men, most of whom could not access legal representation, were tried in lower courts and their data was more difficult to access, while those involving

whites were tried in higher courts and stood out in the media. When black and white men were involved, the prevailing racist assumptions interpreted the black participants as incapables while the white men, supposedly civilized, were held responsible and had to be sanctioned. In this situation white male citizenship was disciplined to conform with heteronormativity.

The visibility of white participation in sodomy cases promoted the perception that white men were disproportionally involved in these practices. This obscured the participation of black men and stabilized the meaning of homosexuality as something characteristic of white men (Phillips, 1997).[12] This phenomenon presents a different combination of race, gender and sexuality from that which enticed the fears of black and white perils. Although not mobilizing sex panics in the way the treat of relationships between black men and white women did, same-sex relationships were considered immoral and were instrumental to the definition of the borders of citizenship.

Same sex relationships were, as were homosexuality and effeminacy in men, associated with decadence and degeneracy – a disease which corrupted men. This notion, fundamental to the constitution of knowledge about homosexuals, complemented racist discourses which connected black sexualities with savagery. Terms such as 'arrest,' 'retardation,' 'decadence' and 'degeneration' superimposed time onto space and gender and placed colonized peoples and women in the past of white empires and heterosexual men (Hoad, 2000). In the modern/colonial world, the decadent/degenerate homosexual (man) was, like women and peoples raced as primitive, denied a place in the present. While gender and race legitimised placing women and non-whites in the past of white men, homosexuals were located in an undesirable future. They were all pushed to the borders of heteronormative, sexist, and racist citizenship and discursively constructed as threats to the body politic which had to be contained and controlled by white heterosexual male rule. These symbolic dangers demonstrate Rhodesian anxieties about sex corrupting white civilization. The impacts of the coloniality of gender and sexuality over Rhodesian citizenship arrangements persisted in post-colonial Zimbabwe under ZANU-PF rule, as will be discussed in the next section.

[12] The way in which same-sex sexual crimes were framed – around charges of sodomy and indecent assault, both of which required proof of lascivious intent in the form of an erect penis – also silenced same-sex sexual practices between women (Epprecht, 1998b).

3.3 Dominant constructions of sexual citizenship in post-colonial Zimbabwe

3.3.1- Sexist constructions of citizenship built on colonial foundations

The protracted armed struggle against Rhodesian settler-colonialism did not promote a broadly shared sense of belonging beyond ending foreign domination, and the meaning of being Zimbabwean had to be constructed in the young post-colonial state (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009). To foster a new sense of nationhood, in the 1980s, the ZANU regime promoted a narrative of reconciliation and equality across racial and ethnic differences and invited previous enemies to unite. The party's discourses sought to build a 'community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to political practices and values' (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003: 25) among peoples estranged by colonialism and war. Most studies on Zimbabwean citizenship focus on the aspects explicitly addressed by nationalist discourses, connecting belonging to patriotism and issues of race, ethnicity, indigeneity, land distribution, and partisan politics. In this section I focus on the gendered dimension of Zimbabwean post-colonial citizenship. It contributes to the chapter by demonstrating how discourses of belonging in the young nation were built from the structures of the Rhodesian state and reinterpretations of custom, conforming new citizenship arrangements permeated by the coloniality of gender to the benefit of the newly established male elite.

The Lancaster House constitution, established as part of the independence arrangements, satisfied the white elite and international capital. It guaranteed white representation in the parliament, reaffirmed the inviolability of private property, and contained radical restructuring of the economy, thus ensuring the continuity of the Rhodesian economic production structures (Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2009). To reduce the economic inequality these arrangements preserved, the state promoted economic growth and wealth distribution through the expansion of social services and infrastructure, and policies to improve the life conditions of the majority which had been exploited and neglected under colonial rule (Raftopoulos, 2003). Access to land, however, continued to be exclusionary: During the first two decades after independence most fertile areas remained under the control of a white minority while the majority of black Africans remained in crowded reserves, perpetuating their resentment against the colonial domination (Mlambo, 2013).

The new regime shifted the way citizenship was assigned without revising the structural exclusionary character of colonial citizenship. ZANU and its loyalists inherited the privileged position

previously enjoyed by the white minority (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009a), thus leaving ‘unfinished business’ (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003, 38) in the revolutionary project. Estrangement also divided the Patriotic Front, which had united the liberation movements ZANU and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) against colonial domination to negotiate the independence treaty. Their rivalry peaked between 1983 and 1987, when ZANU demarcated the boundaries of belonging by violently repressing groups it identified as anti-government dissidents in what became known as the Gukurahundi massacres (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009b).

The identity of the dissidents was established through a combination of ideological and ethnic differences and included ZAPU supporters and Ndebele civilians in Matabeleland and the Midlands. It is estimated that the state violence against them involved a ‘random killing, abduction and torture…, raping of women and girls,… attempts to force Ndebele-speakers to speak Shona, and indoctrination aimed at forcing people to support ZANU(PF)’ (Muzondidya, 2009: 179). The violence only ended when ZAPU agreed to merge with ZANU creating ZANU-PF. The Unity Agreement neutralized the major opposition party and confirmed ZANU-PF’s control over the post-colonial state. This grisly episode demonstrates how ZANU used coercion to strengthen its regime while limiting political diversity and dissent in an exclusionary interpretation of citizenship based on ethnic and political criteria (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Mlambo, 2013; Raftopoulos, 2003) using, among other instruments, gendered discrimination and violence.

The different ways through which cis women were included/excluded in the anti/post-colonial political formations demonstrate the role of gender in socio-political differentiation. In this section I focus on discourses which affected cis women, since trans persons in general were (and continue to be) silenced in Zimbabwean legislation. During the liberation war heterosexism was reinforced. The liberation movements promoted gender equality in their official discourses, recognizing women’s emancipation as a necessary element in the struggle for progress. These discourses were centred, however, on an ideal of male warriorhood. Women constituted a small part of the guerrilla forces and were included mostly in supportive roles (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009b; Lyons, 2004; Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003). During the independence struggles women were targeted by violence and sexual exploitation (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009) while also disciplined by puritanical discourses which combined custom and Christian values to control sexual relations and marriage and emphasized the role of men in defending women’s honour (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009b; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009).

Privileging discourses about race, the post-independence national reconciliation project occluded the prevalent sexism. The post-colonial state further entrenched gender inequality in its membership by determining that Zimbabwean nationality would be transmitted according to a patrilineal approach to citizenship by descent. Although this system was legitimised by discourses of tradition, it was different from the precolonial patrilineal arrangements, in which, as discussed earlier in this chapter, women belonged simultaneously in their paternal and wedded families. The words of the 1984 Zimbabwean Minister of Home Affairs that 'it is not possible for a person to have complete allegiance and loyalty to two sovereign States at the same time' (cited in Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996, 194) demonstrate the prevalence of a male perspective of the patriline, oblivious to the overlapping loyalties which characterised women's belonging in precolonial societies.

While during the colonial period white settlers discriminated against the indigenous populations and colluded with African chiefs to control black women, post-colonial citizenship privileged the black elite's males, again at the expense of indigenous women. The shift in the actors with power to enforce certain performances of citizenship to favour their hegemony is demonstrated by the dislocation of social anxieties connected to sex from the colonial interracial sex panics towards relationships between indigenous women and outsiders.

The unilineal (patriarchal) *jus sanguinis* system limited women's formal citizenship, denying it to their families if they were married to foreigners. The discrepancy between this system from precolonial lineage arrangements is noted by Cheater and Gaidzanwa (1996). They highlight how, given the relevance of human resources for precolonial societies (Herbst, 2000), women were encouraged to wed outsiders. This promoted alliances between clans and to brought foreign husbands with valued skills to the agnatic family. The neo-patrilineal system was also different from Rhodesian citizenship which, to privilege settlers and the colonial economy's human capital needs, promoted mobility and contractual achievement in *jus solis* arrangements.

These shifts demonstrate citizenship is sexual and arranged to the benefit of male elites. In these different societies performances of gender and reproduction determined on which side of the boundaries of belonging people are allocated. These variations also demonstrate how citizenship is contingent, and its borders shift over time in line with the changes in the needs of elite's political and economic projects. Women's citizenship was limited by post-colonial frameworks built on the settler-colonial state's regulations. This was legitimised in the name of sexist traditions, continuing the colonial practices of chiefs re-interpreting custom in ways that cemented their power.

Zimbabwe's post-colonial modernization projects also rested on gender differentiation. The World Bank style 1991 ESAP implemented neoliberal policies which undermined female economic activities (Gaidzanwa, 1993) normalizing their dependency on men. The 1999 *Magaya vs. Magaya* case[13] demonstrated customary law promoted heterosexist interpretations of 'African culture' framing women as inferior to men and limiting their access to property. Women's economic activities were also restrained in line with 'colonial notions about urban/rural divides…, which explicitly excluded… women from cities' (Dorman, 2016, 86). This was done by arresting mostly female informal workers (Dorman, 2016) and preventing also predominantly female informal traders from crossing state borders (Cheater, 2009).

The limitation of women's citizenship is comparable to that of 'alien workers', *i.e.,* the farm workers descending from Malawians, Zambians and Mozambicans who entered the territory during the colonial regime to work in white-owned farms. Mlambo (2013) argues that Zimbabwe is best understood as an immigrant society due to its racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity. This aspect was present in precolonial societies and enhanced by colonial rule, since Rhodesia attracted black African labourers from the region to work in the mines and plantations. After independence immigrant workers and even their descendants who had been born in Zimbabwe were discriminated as aliens.

Influenced by Rhodesian categorisations of 'aboriginal' and 'foreign' natives, post-colonial Zimbabwe granted full citizenship to 'ancestral Zimbabwean' groups, that is, populations who lived in the territory before colonial domination (Mlambo, 2013; Daimon, 2016).[14] Although this policy's main target were whites, the majority of the population affected by it were the 'alien' farmworkers. Identified as foreigners which were subordinated to whites and engaged in a form of labour seen as lowly and backwards, they were discursively constructed as incapable of contributing to the nation, and therefore less deserving in their claims to citizenship (Rutherford, 2007; Dorman, 2014).

Zimbabwean citizenship has become increasingly exclusive since independence (Gaidzanwa, 1993), being organized in line with the state's vision of 'itself as having inalienable rights to its own

[13] This case denied the eldest daughter of a Zimbabwean of Shona descent and practitioner of traditional custom her inheritance rights in favour of her younger brother. This decision was based on customary law § 68(2) of the Administration of Estates Act, which interpreted that women were not able to receive inheritance whenever it could be passed to a man. The possibility of this constituting gender discrimination was dismissed based on Article 23(3) of the 1980 Constitution, which separated customary and civil laws (Biggie and von Brisen, 2000).

[14] The 1983 Amendment Act No.3 prohibited Zimbabweans from having dual citizenship, and those entitled to another nationality had to renounce it if they were to maintain their Zimbabwean citizenship (Manby, 2019). The process of renouncing any possible foreign citizenship was complicated by several legal changes and administrative decisions which resulted in disenfranchisement for many (Raftopoulos, 2009). The 2013 constitution finally allowed dual citizenship to citizens by birth. The Citizenship of Zimbabwe Act however, was not revised and continues to (unconstitutionally) prohibit dual citizenship, while those with potential to obtain other citizenships face difficulties in acquiring Zimbabwean documents (Manby, 2019).

citizens and no obligations' (Cheater, 2009). The limitations of cis women's and 'alien' farmworkers' citizenship demonstrate how, in post-colonial Zimbabwe, citizenship does not revolve around the promotion of individual rights, freedoms, and entitlements. It is best understood as a strategic gendered political instrument which strengthens the state and male elite against its constituents (Cheater, 2009; Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996; Dorman, 2014). Supported by heterosexist and nativist discourses, citizenship was constructed as a privilege to be earned by those who prove they deserve it through demonstrations of undivided loyalty to the state (Dorman, 2014) and, as will be discussed in the next section, to the ruling party.

3.3.2- The proliferation of homophobic discourses in the Zimbabwean crisis

In the 1990s, when the Zimbabwean economic crisis unfolded following the ESAP which increased inflation, deindustrialization, unemployment, and poverty (Muzondidya, 2010), the rationale supporting ZANU-PF's nationalist discourse shifted. The dominant public debates in Zimbabwe were polarized between a governmental anti-imperialist rhetoric which emphasised sovereignty and land restitution, and the opposition's liberal approach advancing respect of private property and good governance (Worby, 2003).

This divergence promoted a rupture between imaginaries of African autonomy and human rights which had been connected in the liberation struggle narratives and influenced post-independence citizenship discourses (McGregor and Chatiza, 2020). The concept of citizenship was eliminated from the government's narratives. It became associated with liberalism and framed as part of western 'bogus universalism' (Ranger, 2004) which was strengthened with the end of the cold war. The ruling party promoted an authoritarian, pan-Africanist, and anti-imperialist nationalism which expected loyalty to the one-party state form its citizens. Such patriotism clashed with the civic nationalism sponsored by the opposition, which was based on legalistic notions of citizenship, democratization, human rights, and a universalist defence of globalisation and neo-liberalism (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Jeater, 2013; Muzondidya, 2009; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Dorman, 2014). In this section I analyse how ZANU-PF mobilized sexuality in its discourses about belonging since the mid-1990s, a period which coincides with the emergence of the Zimbabwean economic and political crisis which exploded in the following decade.

Othering can be a political tool to (re)define the boundaries of belonging and (re)construct national identity (Dorman, Hammett and Nugent, 2007b). ZANU-PF used this strategy in its nationalist ideology, while increasing the authoritarianism and militarisation of the state as demonstrated by the approval of repressive laws and the violent coercion of the opposition. The party did this to secure its continuance in power after the emergence of the economic crisis and its first electoral defeat in the 2000 Constitutional Referendum (Raftopoulos, 2009, 2003). In this new nationalist discourse, or patriotic history, as conceptualized by Ranger (2004), ZANU-PF mobilized the revolutionary tradition of the *Chimurengas*,[15] or revolutionary struggles in Shona. Mobilizing anti-imperialist and ethnic antagonisms it redefined Zimbabwe as the result of a Shona nation-building process which had been disrupted by colonialism and that ZANU-PF was recuperating. As Zimbabwe's crisis deepened, the party summoned Zimbabweans to fight in the *Chimurenga* against neo-colonialism and the liberal political opposition (Ranger, 2010, 2004).

The government's discourse also focused on land redistribution, framing 'the land issue' as if it had been the sole demand of the liberation struggle (Raftopoulos, 2003, 2007). Connecting citizenship with having access to land, ZANU-PF initiated a Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) and justified the violent expropriation of (mostly white owned) farms as the righting of past wrongs (Rutherford, 2007). The FTLRP did manage to change colonially based racial patterns of land ownership through resettlement (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Moyo, 2013; Chipenda, 2021). However, most of the plots where allocated to the ruling party's supporters,[16] highlighting the connection between loyalty to it and access to land and to Zimbabwean-ness (Dorman, Hammett and Nugent, 2007). Within patriotic history discourse citizens were recognized as 'authentic and patriotic Zimbabweans' (Daimon, 2016, 120). The 'sons of the soil' (Rutherford, 2007, 111) who had a legitimate claim to land were black and indigenous Shona whose ancestors had been born in Zimbabwe, lived in rural areas, had liberation war credentials, and supported ZANU-PF (Daimon, 2016, 120; Mlambo, 2013; Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003).

Patriotic history narrowed the broad social, political, developmental, and welfare agendas of the liberation movements, reducing them to land redistribution and the protection of the national sovereignty against foreign intervention (Muzondidya, 2009; Ranger, 2004). The literature on Zimbabwean

---

[15] The first *Chimurenga* was the unsuccessful resistance to the establishment of white colonial rule in 1896-1897 (Ranger, 1967; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009) and the second one was the liberation struggle initiated in 1975 which achieved independence in 1980 (Mtisi, Nyakudya and Barnes, 2009b).

[16] The problems of the FTLRP demonstrate how land redistribution within extractive logics is not enough to counter colonial-rooted exclusions and inequalities, as these continue to prevail. Although celebrating precolonial traditions, the FTLRP reinterpreted them to the benefit of the post-colonial elites while reaffirming modernity/coloniality epistemologies presupposed in categories of (re)productivity and private property (Tuck and Yang, 2012).

citizenship consistently identifies in this discursive strategy the reinterpretation of the past to promote social cohesion around a political project. It socializes the majority of the population into a particular perspective which constructs 'others' against which the positive identity of the new elite is affirmed (Dorman, Hammett and Nugent, 2007). The literature is silent, however, on the heteronormative assumptions which supported this revisionism.

The expression 'sons of the soil' is telling of a masculinist and heteronormative interpretation of citizenship. It celebrates indigenous males and suggests the importance of (re)production. The connection it establishes between the land and belonging encourages the citizenry to contribute to the nation by cultivating the soil and breeding new (male) citizens. In this discourse women are obfuscated, and their implicit role is to birth the sons of the soil. Queers, who supposedly are not able to conceive, are altogether erased from the picture, beyond any kind of belonging. When they are contemplated, it is in ways which justify their elimination.[17] Patriotic history circumscribed understandings of belonging around black, male, indigenous, and heterosexual citizens.

The literature on Zimbabwean citizenship states patriotic history redefined the borders of citizenship and narrowed and ranked citizens by dividing the nation between revolutionaries and sell-outs: At the top ZANU-PF members were glorified as 'super-citizens' (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003, 27), defenders of the nation and its sovereignty. Celebrated as national heroes, they were not only entitled to rights, but also above the law. Those who opposed the ruling party such as the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party, whites, and 'alien' farmworkers, were categorised as non-citizens, intruders, traitors, and enemies of the state, and therefore underserving of state protection (Raftopoulos, 2003, 2007; Dorman, 2003).

The literature overlooks the strategic use of sexual politics in this context to entrench power hierarchies by promoting sex panics against same-sex relationships. ZANU-PF recuperated the socio-economic significance of heterosexual and reproductive marriage in precolonial patrilineal traditions, revised it through western notions of morality, and employed biopolitical systems of surveillance and regulation to repress same-sex practices. The combination of reinvented traditions with white visibility in known cases of sodomy and the unresolved economic grievances inherited from colonial rule allowed a homophobic pan-Africanist nationalism to reaffirm the myths of African straightness and

[17] This claim was demonstrated by Mugabe's 2013 statement 'I should like to shut them up in some room and see if they get pregnant; if they don't then it's jail' (Lavers, 2013, [no pagination]).

homosexuality as a white disease (Phillips, 1997; Murray and Roscoe, 1998; Epprecht, 2008), that way consolidating heteronormative sexual citizenship.

Although same-sex acts between men continued to be criminalized after independence since the state upheld the colonial anti-sodomy laws, they were not always translated in explicit homophobia.[18] The political narratives of liberty and human rights promoted by the liberation movements implicitly supported sexual and gender diversity. During the first years of independence, while there was not much public debate about this issue, magazines and newsletters for homosexuals were launched, discreetly gay-friendly venues were opened, and the first gay pride event took place in 1985 involving mostly middle-class English-speaking whites (Epprecht and Clark, 2020; Goddard, 2004). In 1990, a group of them created Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ), the first LGBTI association in the country. GALZ promoted counselling and support for people struggling with their sexual orientation and gender identity or being subjected to blackmail or harassment (Epprecht and Clark, 2020).

In 1994, however, while the adverse economic impacts of the ESAP started to be felt by the population, especially low income and vulnerable groups, the sexualized and gendered gradations of citizenship were brought to the public eye. The press began inciting attacks against GALZ denouncing its activities as illegal and the result of western influence. The then Minister of Home Affairs stated that the government would 'root out such evils that were foreign to Zimbabwean culture' (Goddard, 2004, 84).

The following year, the issue of homosexuality gained widespread attention after the government banned GALZ on 'cultural grounds' from the 1995 Zimbabwe International Book Fair (ZIBF) (Aarmo, 1999, 261-262). At the event's opening address, Mugabe described homosexuals as offences to nature and morality (Dunton & Palmberg, 1996, 14). The violence continued, and during the campaign for the 1996 presidential elections Mugabe described homosexuals as worse than animals and pledged that if re-elected he would protect the people from the moral threat they represented (Epprecht and Clark, 2020; Goddard, 2004). Homosexuality had been thrust into the national limelight and homophobia would become a constant in Mugabe's (and other ZANU-PF officials') discourses until the end of his presidency.

[18] Zimbabwean law frames homosexuality as a male problem indicating a phallocentric interpretation of sex. Intimacy between women, however, can be criminalised as indecent acts (The Other foundation, 2017). Queer women also face risks if they refuse traditional heteronormative feminine roles, such as marrying men, or resisting their husband's demands for sex (Clark, 1997).

Many theories have been raised to explain this shift from a tradition of discreet heteronormativity to explicit homophobia in Zimbabwean public debates. Explanations include competition between rival Christian churches,[19] Mugabe's personal politics,[20] as well as the exposure of the limits of ZANU-PF's power, since there were several court rulings in favour of GALZ in cases denouncing repression, police abuses and blackmail (Epprecht and Clark, 2020). These theories, although accounting for the permanence of homophobia in ZANU-PF discourses in the long term, do not explain why these narratives were added to ZANU-PF's rhetorical repertoire since the mid-1990s. That period coincides with the emergence of the Zimbabwean economic crisis which damaged ZANU-PF's legitimacy and threatened the party's continuance in power.

Sexual panics are an effective way of diverting attention from governmental failures in moments of crisis (Ireland, 2013; Phillips, 1997; Bosia and Weiss, 2013; Epprecht and Clark, 2020; Tamale, 2011b; Matebeni, Monro and Reddy, 2018; Lewis, 2011; Aarmo, 1999; Youde, 2017). This is the case because heteronormativity is a fundamental element in the sexual citizenship machinery. Public displays of homophobia enact exclusionary performances of citizenship. They strengthen hegemonic projects by setting and disciplining restrictive boundaries of citizenship supported by moral values. In the name of protecting the moral community, the Zimbabwean political elite attempted to fix the meanings of belonging in a sexual citizenship arrangement that legitimated its high status in the gradations of citizenship and, therefore, its right to rule.

In homophobic discourses ZANU-PF performed logics of equivalence and difference (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) to weaken antagonisms against it and redirect them towards sexual minorities. Dividing the population in line with racial, ethnic, and sexual difference, as well as political allegiance, it established a political hierarchy of citizenship while dislocating antagonisms away from the dissatisfactions with its administration.[21] The party also restructured political divisions using logics of

---

[19] The strategic use of homophobia for religious institutional growth is illustrated by the failed attempt of Nolbert Kunonga, bishop of Harare diocese from 2001 to 2008, to create the Anglican Church of the Province of Zimbabwe and secede the Harare Diocese from the Anglican Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA) by accusing the latter of being pro-homosexuality (Ndlou, 2016).

[20] In 1999 and 2001, gay rights activist Peter Tatchell attempted to perform citizen's arrests on Mugabe when the president was in London (Carter, 1999; Osborn and Henley, 2001).

[21] The economic crisis which followed the ESAP's liberalization promoted deindustrialization and increased the informalization of the economy, unemployment, and inflation (Muzondidya, 2010). This added to disillusionment with the government which had been building up due to the persistence of racial economic inequalities, corruption scandals, and the deterioration of the state's bureaucracy while the ruling elite and war veterans were privileged. Facing political pressure, the one-party state's transparency declined while authoritarianism increased supported by legislation which limited citizens' rights to have meetings and protection against political violence (Raftopoulos, 2003).

equivalence by discursively structuring a polarization between patriots and sell-outs, the latter framed as threats to the nation. Traitors included whites, political dissidents, and sexual deviants. In opposition to them, the ruling party reaffirmed its legitimacy and position at the top of the citizenship hierarchy by adding to its liberation war credentials its stance against the threat of neo-colonial intervention. The sexual aspect of citizenship demonstrates how Zimbabweanness was constructed in opposition to not only economic and political intervention, but in moral terms. ZANU-PF was to be seen as the rightful governmental authority because it was fighting the menace posed by the 'white disease' of homosexuality to Zimbabwean/African culture and traditions. Political homophobia emphasized certain aspects of Zimbabwean identity: heterosexuality, black masculinity, anti-whiteness, and anti-imperialism. Assembling these identities within a polarized discursive formation, the ruling party sought to dislocate antagonism away from its regime and reaffirm its normative authority by fixing the borders of belonging so that those it identified as the enemies of the state were alienated.

ZANU-PF mobilized domestic and international politics to discursively frame homosexuality in opposition to an idealized noncontaminated African culture – a practice of reinterpreting traditions by male elites which has become popular in the continent (Tamale, 2011b). These discursive constructions of (not)belonging reframe precolonial traditions which emphasise fertility as 'African culture' as the imperative to demonstrate loyalty to the state through the reproduction of the heterosexual and heteronormative family. This idealized (re)productive family unit is disrupted by homosexuality as it is by female empowerment, which defy stereotypical sexuality and gender roles prevalent in Zimbabwe's heteronormative hierarchy (Aarmo, 1999; Epprecht and Clark, 2020; Chitando and Mateveke, 2017).

These discourses intersect heteronormativity with race and (anti)imperialism. Recuperating the metaphor of homosexuality as a white man's disease, ZANU-PF represented homosexuals as threats who can infect the body politic and authentic (heterosexual) Zimbabweans with their moral decadence. Within this discursive horizon, homosexuals are not only alien to Zimbabwean culture, but anti-Zimbabwean and anti-African western puppets (Epprecht, 2004, 2008; Sigamoney and Epprecht, 2013; Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Phillips, 1997). International power differences and the imposition of LGBTIQ rights by western politicians[22] strengthened narratives that portrayed sexual deviance was part of a neo-imperial campaign to promote homosexuality in Africa (Tamale, 2007). Due to this, alliances with western associations can be counterproductive for queer Zimbabwean and other African activists.

[22] In 2011, David Cameron and Obama declared that their governments would link their aid policy to states' respect for sexual minorities (BBC News, 2011b; McVeigh, 2011).

Heteronormativity dominates the discursive horizon of Zimbabwean citizenship. This is attested by the lack of consistent support for sexual minorities by the political opposition. During the negotiations for the 2013 constitution, the then leader of the MDC and Prime Minister, Morgan Tsvangirai reluctantly supported a clause promoting the protection of sexual minorities while highlighting that this was not a priority and that same-sex relationships were alien to Zimbabwean culture (BBC News, 2011c; Tanhira, 2013). His successor at the MDC leadership and, since 2022, leader of the CCC party Nelson Chamisa followed suit. Even though Chamisa positioned himself against the persecution of homosexuals by the state, he reaffirmed they were beyond the limits of the moral community, that homosexuality was a sin, and that homosexuals would be tried by God (Epprecht and Clark, 2020). Although countering legal arrangements which deny queers citizenship, these discourses perform acts of citizenship which reaffirm sexual minorities do not belong, and therefore legitimates the denial of substantive citizenship to them.

Although ZANU-PF continues in power, with the demise of Robert Mugabe at the end of 2017, the attention given to sexual minorities in public debates shifted. Since Emmerson Mnangagwa took over the presidency, the explicit state sponsored political homophobia scaled-down. The new president has been mostly quiet about sexual minorities, having spoken only once about them, when specifically asked about the topic. In that situation Mnangagwa stated: 'people who want it are the people who should canvass for it, but it's not my duty to campaign for this' (Quest and Mckenzie, 2018). Although reaffirming same-sex marriage was unconstitutional and informing that he would do nothing to advance the rights of sexual minorities, Mnangagwa did not frame them as a threat as his predecessor had done. His narrative demonstrates the unstable and contradictory quality of queer citizenship: the highest-ranking representative of the state recognized the presence of queers in Zimbabwe. He did not, however, upholding their full citizenship and rejected any responsibility to guarantee their rights. At the same time, he acknowledged their right to claim rights, that is, to perform citizenship.

The shift from vocal homophobia to a more discrete limitation of sexual minorities' citizenship is seen by some researchers (Epprecht and Clark, 2020) and queer organizations (Mamba Online, 2018; New Zimbabwe, 2018a) as an improvement. It allows more room for queer activists to develop their advocacy. The dominance of heteronormativity, however, has not been challenged. If sexual minorities are to be fully accepted as Zimbabweans, queer Zimbabwean activists must have their rights, not just the right to claim them. To this end, they engage these restrictive moral narratives to weaken them and dislocate understandings of sexuality and gender towards new and more inclusive constructions of citizenship. While the absence of explicit political homophobia facilitates their political action, these

changes must be weighed against the increase in violent repression of protests and dissent under the new administration (Human Rights Watch, 2019, 2020). It was in this context that most of the queer activisms examined in this research took place.

3.4 Concluding summary

By examining discourses about Zimbabwean and Rhodesian constructions of citizenship, as well as precolonial political uses of sexuality and gender for socio-political differentiation, this chapter demonstrated the different ways these societies used sexuality and gender to erect the borders of belonging and distribute inclusion and exclusion. This overview supports the project of queering citizenship in two ways. It shows how the citizenship of minorities – racialized, gendered, sexualized – is unstable and incomplete. It also demonstrates the shifting and contingent nature of the borders of belonging, which are repeatedly (re)organized in line with political projects.

The chapter also demonstrates the central role of sexuality and gender in the establishment of social roles, hierarchies, and in the maintenance of the elites' dominance by being used as criteria for accessing citizenship. This way it supports the thesis' premiss that all citizenship is sexual and demonstrates how queer Zimbabweans' citizenship is limited and unstable. It also highlights the importance of intersecting Zimbabwean citizenship and sexuality studies by exposing the heteronormative bias of the literature on Zimbabwean citizenship, a field which mostly overlooks the role of sexuality and gender in the structuring of the borders of belonging. When this is addressed, it is in a narrow fashion, considering the limitations of cis women's citizenship. The literature abundantly recognizes the role of race, ethnicity, indigeneity, and partisan politics in the design of Zimbabwean borders of belonging. And indeed, these are central elements to understand Zimbabwean-ness since they have been prevalent in Rhodesian and ZANU-PF nationalist discourses. However, as demonstrated here, gender and sexuality are also fundamental to constructions of citizenship.

The chapter detailed the use of the sexual citizenship machinery in post-colonial discourses, which mobilized colonial legacies and re-interpreted precolonial traditions in ways which were politically beneficial to the ruling elites. Although political homophobia is not as explicit now in Zimbabwean public debates as it was during the Mugabe administration, heteronormative sexual citizenship has not been displaced. This chapter contributes to the thesis by presenting the dominant discourses queer Zimbabwean

activists must engage with as they perform acts to dislocate imaginaries of belonging towards discursive formations which contemplate sexual minorities as part of the citizenry. Some of the ways in which they engage with and disturb dominant heteronormative discourses of belonging are detailed in the following chapters.

Chapter 4:
Constructing queer Zimbabwean identities: linguistic performances of citizenship

> In society we are brought up with certain values and norms that dictate who is the man, who is the woman and so forth… you find yourself to be quite different from who the society says who you are… and don't fit what the norm is (Matsikure, Heart and Soul ZIM, 2020 8:45-9:20').

Sharing a sense of identity and common interests is central to the effectiveness of political activism, as it allows groups to collectively organize and to develop their claims (Kabeer, Milward and Sudarshan, 2013, 252). As such, queer Zimbabwean activists who are organised to defy exclusionary citizenship arrangements that criminalize, marginalize, and promote violence against sexual minorities in hostile environments strategically promote the construction of a shared queer Zimbabwean identity which supports their claims to citizenship.

This chapter demonstrates some ways queer Zimbabwean activists do this using language and group meetings to support sexual minorities develop their understandings of themselves as part of a queer Zimbabwean community. The chapter contributes to the thesis by demonstrating how the activists support identity and community formation which I interpret as non-confrontational and everyday acts of citizenship. The activists promote the construction of shared understandings and positive meanings about queer Zimbabwean identities which, merging being Zimbabwean and queer, disrupt dominant heteronormative discourses of citizenship which preclude this intersection.

Language in a major arena of dispute in the project of legitimising queer sexualities. It is, therefore, central to queer Zimbabweans' claims to citizenship. Queer African studies' literature (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Epprecht, 2004; Matebeni and Pereira, 2014; Epprecht, 2013) highlights the importance of using local African originated languages and categories to interpret African non-heteronormative identities in ways that disrupt hegemonic exclusionary sexual citizenship arrangements and contribute to queer Africa (Nyanzi, 2014). This chapter was structured understanding language as a socially constitutive practice which fundaments the construction of political identities.

The first section examines the relational character of identity politics, performed through discursive antagonism. As mentioned in chapter three, Zimbabwean citizenship is connected to heterosexual identities in opposition to whiteness, the west, and sexual deviance. Performances of queer identities

contest these discourses and enact openings for more inclusive forms of citizenship. Building on that discussion, this section supports the rest of the chapter which engages the use of language and group discussions in safe settings as routes to queer Zimbabwean identity formation that facilitate performances of queer citizenship. It also demonstrates how this research responds to the African studies literature's call to Africanize homosexuality (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017).

The second section centres on the use of language as a political instrument in sexual citizenship disputes by constructing novel understandings of Zimbabwean identities. While chapter three demonstrated how this was done by ZANU-PF heteronormative discourses, this segment shows how activists' linguistic choices strategically use of vernacular and global terminologies to perform citizenship – a construction which is not monopolized by the state. I explore the linguistic choices used by the activists to refer to themselves in the interviews I conducted and in the bilingual dictionary in isiNdebele and English developed by Sexual Rights Centre (SRC). Translating some of the LGBTIQ global vocabulary in English to local understandings in isiNdebele – a vernacular language, the dictionary enacts queer Zimbabwean citizenship by merging different discursive horizons, claiming the rights of queer Zimbabweans, and discouraging stigma against them. This section demonstrates how activists use language and references to international labels to construct more inclusive interpretations of Zimbabwean identity. Disseminating knowledge about this identity among non-queer Zimbabweans, they foster more inclusive arrangements of sexual citizenship.

In the third section I analyse an audio document produced by GALZ (2019) which contains the recording of one of the association's meetings where the topic of coming out was discussed. This artefact, supplemented by excerpts of the interviews I developed, allows glimpsing how a queer organization supports their constituents as they navigate the challenges coming out of the closet. I engage this notion as more than disclosing one's deviant gender or sexuality. Before this can happen performances of queer identities are enacted and constitute the actors participating in them. I address coming out as an intersubjective process of queer identity formation and community construction. GALZ helps queer Zimbabweans navigate this process, which can contribute to embed queer Zimbabweans in society and strengthen their claims to full citizenship. And, publicizing their discussion about what it means to be simultaneously Zimbabwean and queer, it performs an act of queer citizenship.

4.1 Relational citizenship and identity politics: from othering to political organizing

Performative sexual citizenship highlights how everyday acts are sexual, gendered, political, and shape belonging. This is the case because gender and sexuality constitute a modern epistemological regime (Sedgwick, 1990) which permeates all spheres of one's life. It shapes subjects' identities, social relationships, and their possibilities of membership in the polity (Evans, 1993, Richardson 2018, 2005). Degrees of citizenship are constituted through repeated performances which discipline sex, gender, and the borders of belonging.

Gendered and sexualized subjectivities are understood and performed differently in distinct cultures, and vary with time (Muparamoto and Moen, 2020). This is the case because the social construction of sexual and gendered identities 'organise ways of being and ways of thinking about the sexual' (Weeks 2017, 15) in specific historical contexts. The binary of homosexual/heterosexual identities, for example, is a modern construction which took shape in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is, as is the hegemony of normative heterosexuality, contingent and dependent on political hierarchies. Individual sexual and gendered identities are influenced by multiple factors, intersecting dynamics of class, race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, age, among other elements which configure local sexual cultures (Weeks, 2017) that develop intertwined with global discourses.

Identities can be understood as narratives which subjects perform in ways that indicate to themselves and others who they are, who they would like to be, and who they are not (Yuval-Davis, 2010). These narratives are constructed in revolutionary moments but also in everyday life (Muparamoto and Moen, 2020). Sexual and gender identities are relational cultural productions which, through the repeated enactment of social practices 'create the effect of the natural, the original, and the inevitable' (Butler, 1999, xxix). They are 'regulative fictions and ideals through which conformities are generated, reinforced and normalized by constant reiterations' (Weeks, 2016, 97) which make the meanings of sex, gender, and desire change over time as the result of continuous political disputes.

Identity formation can promote exclusion and violence based on its determinations of who people are/are not. Dominant cultural discourses exert pressure over subjects to conform to the hegemonic heteronormative arrangements, constantly reinforcing them through language, rituals and social interactions (Weeks, 2016). The power relations that support heteronormative hegemony can, however, be contested, and identity formation can contribute to this political dispute by supporting the creation of

communities among those who, in the borderlands (Anzaldúa, 1987), make the exclusions of sexual citizenship visible and thus, questionable.

An example of the transformative role of sexualized identities can be found in the political effects of Mugabe's homophobic narratives on the topic of GALZ's participation at the 1995 ZIBF mentioned in the previous chapter. Although the former president's highly visible narratives framed sexual minorities as immoral and unnatural, they also contributed to publicize the existence of GALZ and their political struggle. This visibility made the organisation, which was previously mostly comprised of whites, better known among black queer Zimbabweans, many of whom joined it, becoming the majority of its constituents (Goddard, 2004; Epprecht and Clark, 2020). This demonstrates how Mugabe's performance of an exclusionary Zimbabwean citizenship was critically received by queer Zimbabweans who join GALZ as a community they felt they were part of.

Dominant discourses of Zimbabwean sexual citizenship exclude sexual minorities through opposition: to be a Zimbabwean citizen means being a heterosexual black African, thus foreclosing the possibility of queers being 'true Zimbabweans'. If queer, one is not *really* Zimbabwean, but an outsider. The strength of this association is manifested in the myths of African heterosexuality (Epprecht, 2008) and of homosexuality being a white disease (Phillips, 1997; Epprecht, 1998b). In a state which has been independent from white minority rule for little over 4 decades after a bloody civil war, and where anti-imperialism has been an important element in the governmental rhetoric, the political implications of these narratives for queer Zimbabweans are noteworthy. To defy exclusionary citizenship arrangements that criminalize, marginalize, and promote violence against queer Zimbabweans, activists strategically encourage a sense of shared identities and interests from which they can claim their belonging. This is central to the effectiveness of political activism, as it allows the group to collectively organize and develop their claims (Kabeer, Milward and Sudarshan, 2013, 252). Zimbabwean activists do this by claiming their position as simultaneously queer and Zimbabwean – an identity which disrupts the opposition between these two elements.

The strength of dominant heteronormative understandings of what is means to be Zimbabwean was demonstrated by one of the informants. When interviewed they highlighted how the interpretation of sexual deviance as foreign makes it difficult to establish dialogue with the broader community:

> We have a whole generation of adults who have put it in their mind that there is nothing like this … It is not easy to pass the information without people thinking that it is something that you are trying to plant that is of western culture.

The connection of sexual deviance with western influence is reinforced by international power differences and the foreign policies of some western states which promote the rights of sexual minorities as a marker of civilization (McVeigh, 2011; Massad, 2002). These connections demonstrate the entanglements between the national and international sexual politics, which may inadvertently contribute to framing sexual minorities as outsiders. An example of this took place in 1994 when William Courson, of the north American Magnus Hirschfeld Centre for Human Rights, denounced the Zimbabwean government at the African Commission on Human and People's Rights for violations against Zimbabwean homosexuals' rights. Although Courson withdrew his complaint, this episode was publicized by the local media as an 'attempt by foreigners to introduce their abhorrent lifestyles onto Zimbabwean culture' (GALZ, no date).

Within this narrative, queer activism promotes neo-imperialism. For activists to disrupt these constructions they must engage this discursive cluster of sexuality, race, and geopolitics and challenge the association of sexual deviance with foreignness and, more specifically, western intervention. It demonstrates how international alliances, especially with western-led associations can be counterproductive for queer Zimbabwean activists. They can substantiate narratives which denounce them as agents of neo-imperialist schemes and fuel anxieties around the preservation of African identities and cultures (Rao, 2010). One of the informants shared their reflection on this when interviewed:

> The minute I work in collaboration with international people, that are not in Africa, it always comes back with the backlash to say I am bringing the colonial mindset in an African space… People will not be receptive to it. Because they will be thinking that I am bringing western culture. But it is also good because I'll be receiving more information that will be able to develop my country, or my Africa, or my spaces that I'm trying to reach out.

In this excerpt, the activist describes how the understanding of queer activism as being unpatriotic alienates them from their community. This challenge, which is also noticeable in the previous quote, was recurrent in the interviews I developed. It was also noted as an obstacle for queer Zimbabweans to come out of the closet by participants of the GALZ Bulawayo meeting, which is examined in detail in section 4.3. As will be demonstrated in section 4.2, one way activists challenge this is by combining vernacular languages and global LGBTIQ discourses (in English).

The activist cited above identifies international alliances can have conflicting effects for queer Zimbabwean activisms because of understandings of Africa and African culture in opposition to the

international and western culture. They dissolve this opposition by proposing that what is understood as western culture can contribute to Africa, a location they identify as their space. Embracing Africa as their homeland they frame their message as part of a pan-Africanist project, hinting at the similar challenges queer persons face in other parts of the continent. What this activist suggests can be connected to African sexuality studies' push to Africanize homosexuality (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017). Highlighting the importance of valuing African cultures this proposal repudiates the use of western categories when writing about queerness. This is not based on nativism, but because the use of African lexicons can make nationalists more open to accept sexual minorities while foreign concepts can be appropriated to legitimise heteronormative claims that homosexuality is unAfrican.

Identifying their activism can contribute to Africa, the informant disputes the opposition between what is African and western culture. Framing this combination as a source of benefits they defy nativist narratives which construct and police the borders of belonging in exclusionary, homogenising, essentialist, and heteronormative ways. Africanist nativism, although opposed to imperialism, shares its 'ahistorical understanding of identity which inclines towards producing stereotypes' (Ngwena, 2018, 6) by ascribing collective, unified, and foundational racial and cultural characteristics to African identities in exclusionary logics.

The activist also highlights the importance of another aspect of international collaboration: the exchange of knowledge to promote change in the spaces where they identify as a member. This formulation demonstrates an awareness of discourses which frame knowledges from outside Africa as more accurate than local ones. It brings to mind the geopolitics of modern knowledge production, which promote the interpretation of phenomena in the metaphorical borders of the international modern state system through western-centric lens (Connell, 2010). However, when developing their understandings of sexual and gendered identities, queer Zimbabwean activists do not uncritically apply Anglo-American-centred global discourses of sexual and gender deviance. They re-interpret them in line with their own interests.

Queer activists also Africanize homosexuality resorting to African history. They demonstrate, by identifying precolonial sexual and gendered practices which deviate from heteronormativity, that same-sex desire is indigenous. One of the informants detailed when interviewed:

> There are recorded cases of homosexuality in Africa pre-colonisation. There is that village in Lesotho/Swaziland… where there are no men. And in some parts of Africa there are even reported instances of lady husbands and boy wives. Men slept with men in the Zulu kingdom during war because apparently it

> increased their strength. There are many scholars who have evidence showing homosexuality is very African and very Zimbabwean. If anything, homophobia is a western concept because it came with the Bible. African queer identities are not as documented same as our history because we mostly relied on oral tradition.

The activist claims queerness is African by referencing precolonial practices which, within modern epistemological frameworks of sexuality and gender, can be understood as homosexuality. They counter dominant heteronormative citizenship discourses using the establishment of anti-sodomy laws and Christian morals during the colonial period to demonstrate that it is not sexual deviance, but homophobic othering and repression which are colonial (foreign) legacies. This reversal destabilizes nativist narratives which legitimate ZANU-PF's leadership's status as 'super-citizens' (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003, 27) by implying the role of post-colonial elites in embracing colonial regulations of sex and gender detailed in the previous chapter.

Returning to the precolonial scene can be a source of political legitimacy and contribute to reaffirm the authenticity and belonging of queer Zimbabweans. Africanizing homosexuality and gender identities/expressions which diverge from the hegemonic cis binary can be a strategy to disrupt the prevalent sexual citizenship arrangements and open new possibilities. As will be detailed in the following section, queer Zimbabwean activists combine vernacular languages with international terms to perform their queer identities as African.

4.2 Performing sexual citizenship through language: identity labels and an LGBTI dictionary

To elicit responses that encouraged the informants to speak about their identities according to their own narrative frames, I initiated my interviews asking them to tell me who they were. Most informants presented themselves as being Zimbabwean and mentioned their nonconforming gender or sexual orientation. They positioned themselves in relation to these two discursive horizons – being Zimbabwean and queer – in ways which offer clues as to how they identify. Their Zimbabwean citizenship was framed as something settled, established by their birth. Their sexual orientation and gender were framed in different ways.

Some described their gender identity and/or sexual orientation as fundamental aspects of who they are: ‘I identify as a man, binary’ or ‘25 years old lesbian butch from Zimbabwe’. Some framed it as the result of a discovery at some point in their life which changed their understanding of themselves:

> I am a Zimbabwean by birth. I have identified as a lesbian for the past 25 years… I started my gender activism about 25 years ago when I got divorced and found myself and started identifying as a lesbian.

This informant describes her lesbian sexuality as a revelation which changed the way she understood her identity. It affected her politics, since from that point on she also became an activist. The impact of her identity over her politics can be associated with the shift from being an active citizen to an activist citizen (Isin, 2008). She saw beyond her formal citizen status and, owning the substantive limitations of her queer sexual citizenship, took on the challenge of performing new and disruptive discourses of belonging which made the shortcomings of sexual citizenship knowable.

Others, while emphasizing the prominent role of their sexuality and/or gender in their understanding of themselves, identified as queer, stressing the non-essentialized and mutable aspects of their identity. One activist explained, when interviewed, how fixing their identity limits who they are, and brings with it the need to enact certain performances. They see themselves as more than gendered and sexualized categories and reject forsaking their complexity to fit into these classifications:

> I identify as queer… I mostly just hate being boxed. I found that these labels, they come with a set of dos and don’ts, and it can be a bit problematic… So, I just call myself queer, as in my gender. Queer as in my sexuality.

The ways in which the informants identified reveal some of their stories and worldviews. The variety of responses show the diversity of identities which are covered by the label queer I use in this research. Each one of the informants went through a process in which they established that they did not fit into dominant heteronormative roles due to their gender performances and/or their desires. And while not conforming is the norm among them, what they do with this is undetermined. One of the participants in the GALZ Bulawayo meeting (examined in section 4.3), described the uncertainty of establishing one’s identity:

> I’m a lesbian? I would say I have sex with women, but I’m not lesbian… Can I be bisexual? Because I love good looking guys. But no, that’s not me… You are coming out to say what? (GALZ, 2019, 07:50-08:45’).

For this speaker, as for the one which authored the previous quote, assuming an identity is not straightforward. She also demonstrates how queer Zimbabweans who do not fit into heteronormative roles use the codes drawn from global LGBTIQ activisms even if it is to point out they do not see themselves in them.

The activists who granted me interviews, however, did identify with some category or other of the LGBTIQ acronym. The limitation of the identities mentioned to me to these western-originated categories was conspicuous. I reflected this may have been influenced by the information previously shared with them as part of the interview protocol (Appendix 4), where I framed the research as an investigation on LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activisms and mentioned the interview would be in English. These parameters may have encouraged the informants to bring forth interpretations of their identities which could be understood in English and matched the research delimitation.

I also noticed, however, the same use of globally known labels in the digital artefacts produced by queer Zimbabwean activists. This I associated with a desire mentioned by one of the informants to reach wider audiences and establish international partnerships. Even though international collaborations may cause problems for the activists such as accusations of 'bringing the colonial mindset in an African space' as one of the interviewees put it, several of them confirmed they have participated in some form of partnership with international organizations. As identified by O'Mara's study on Ghanaian activists, (2013) Queer African activists sometimes follow western terminologies because organizations from the global north offer them support in the form of funding, consultations, and sharing information. But they also develop new vocabularies and epistemologies to interpret and communicate their sexualities and gender (Homewood, 2016).

I compared this consistent use of LGBTIQ terms in my interviews to what has been identified in the literature. Zimbabwean sexuality studies show that there are many other ways queer Zimbabweans refer to themselves and highlighted the limitations of my archive. To supplement my data, in the following paragraphs I bring the findings of a study which demonstrates other ways queer Zimbabweans identify, shows how internationally used words such as gay acquire new meanings in Zimbabwe, and merging international and vernacular vocabularies, defy the understanding of queerness as foreign to Zimbabwe.

Based on research they developed with men attracted to men from Harare, Muparamoto and Moen (2020, 2) argue that when constructing their identities, these men merge local and global discourses on queerness. The label gay, for example, is used to refer to '[m]en whose primary sexual and emotional attachments were to persons of the same gender' (Muparamoto and Moen, 2020, 5). Their informants

associated this label with the 'absence of sexual attraction to people of the "opposite" sex' and 'a strong and possibly irresistible desire for men' (Muparamoto and Moen, 2020, 6) which motivated seeking same-sex sexual relations.

In Harare 'genuine gays' are understood as men who engage in sex with other men due to their desire in opposition to narratives which imply that men have sex with other men with pecuniary motivations. These particular meanings reflect specificities of Zimbabwean discourses about sexualities and demonstrate how queer Zimbabweans' use of global labels to describe themselves does not mean they adapt their subjectivities to pre-existing western originated concepts. They appropriate these labels translating their meanings to their realities. The act of contesting narratives which frame sexual relations between men as the result of monetary motives is an example of this. It asserts same-sex desire is genuine and felt by Zimbabwean men.

The authors also identified vernacular terms used to identify persons who desire individuals of the same sex. Some were well known words among the broader society, such as *hungochani* (in ChiShona) or *inkotshani* (in IsiNdebele). This term was adapted in the 1990s by queer activists adding the prefixes hu- and ubu-/i- to the older and derogatory term *nkoshana* to indicate an intrinsic characteristic (Epprecht, 2004, 4), that way framing same-sex desire as an identity. The term's genealogy makes its use ambivalent: employed by queers it is acceptable, but used by outsiders from this community it is offensive (Muparamoto and Moen, 2020).

Zimbabwean history of homophobia encourages the use of coded language by queer Zimbabweans to identify themselves. Examples of this are *gumutete, bhutsu*, and *ordaa*. *Gumutete* means a male sexual partner but within the queer community it indicates that a man is attracted to other men. *Bhutsu* literally means shoe but is used by queer Zimbabweans to refer to their partners. *Ordaa* – which stems from the English verb of ordering as in having something delivered – is also used among queers to refer to themselves, being popular to the extent that GALZ's newsletter uses this name. This use of coded language – a practice used among other African queers – demonstrates how sexual minorities straddle the visible/non-visible divide. It also shows the importance of members of the community sharing skills to read concealed queer performances (O'Mara, 2013).

Men who are attracted to men also use vernacular labels ironically to deal with their othering. One is *ngengirosi/ngingirosi*, which literally means like an angel. This term is ambiguous: it can refer to the angelic elegance of feminine men. But it also frames men who are attracted to other men as fallen angels,

who once outed were thrown out from their churches and homes. As such it denounces the role of Christian morality in homophobic interpretations of same-sex desire as a sin.

Another local label which engages homophobic discourses is *Mwana waEriza/waEliza.* Translated to 'child of Elizabeth', it claims same-sex attracted men descend from the UK's Queen Elizabeth (Muparamoto and Moen, 2020, 10). By claiming the status of British royalty this expression mocks understandings of same-sex desire as something brought to Zimbabwe by British imperialism.[23] These ironic syncretic constructions also demonstrate the use humour as an everyday form of resistance (Obadare and Willems, 2014) to power hierarchies (Willems, 2011b, 2010, 2011a).

Vernacular gendered labels are also used to refer to feminine men who desire men, such as '*anasisi* (sisters), *askana* (girls), and *anagogo* (grandmothers)' (Muparamoto and Moen 2020, 11). This usage was criticized by some who, finding them outdated or mistaken, considered the label gay was more appropriate. This stance demonstrates the complexities of the relationship between local and international sexual politics. It manifests an aspiration to develop international alliances and, demonstrating the presence of sexual/gender deviance worldwide, normalizes it and strengthens the claim to rights which have been achieved by queer communities in other countries. But it also shows how these discourses can frame global perspectives – often associated with the history of western activisms – as superior to local understandings and further entrench the opposition between queerness and Zimbabweanness.

Queer Zimbabwean activists are aware that using LGBTIQ terms can have contradictory effects over their political projects. Therefore, in their efforts to contest exclusionary sexual citizenship arrangements and to promote dialogue between queers and the heteronormative citizenry, they engage global concepts while reclaiming indigenous knowledges and languages. This was detailed by one of the activists when interviewed:

> The people that need to receive this information are those people who were in those times when colonization was taking place… our parents… our elders… and… the people which are part of the… law-making and law-enforcing… I find it so important to use local languages… to pass information because they are solemnly holding on to the issue that Africa has got its own culture and richness, and anything that comes to them in another language is actually something that is being adopted from the west. I's quite different when you get to an elder, or a set of people, or a group of people that you want to pass information to about the LGBTI community and you are speaking in your mother tongue… They quickly understand because it is something

[23] Although Muparamoto and Moen (2020) did not link the reference to the British queen to drag queens, I contend this is a possibility. The term queen is used by queer Zimbabweans in connection to drag as is demonstrated by the Miss Jacaranda Queen Drag Pageant, and event where 'Zimbabwean LGBTI persons… celebrate PRIDE locally (GALZ, 2021b, [no pagination]) which was held in the country between 1995 and 2013, and then again in 2020 in a digital format.

> that is really his home, and that touches their intellect. Unlike when you come with big, big words, like transgenderism, heterosexualism, homosexualism… You see, when you say those words, they quickly think 'How do you say them in the home tongue if you are saying it's also African?'… Language plays a very important role when it comes to passing information about anything, because you are touching home, you are also expressing in a way that they can understand, that you can make them understand, that you yourself can also understand. Because the minute you express yourself in a home language, or in a tongue that you speak, you also are proud and confident to give information because you know what you are talking about, because you are part of the people but different to them. Different, yes, for a short time, but the minute you set the correct information in their language they will understand that 'no, I's just the same'. You find out issues like homosexuality has been running in Africa for a long time.

The activist stated how colonial domination, which was imposed over Zimbabweans for almost a century and was dismantled less than 50 years ago, influences the perceptions of older Zimbabweans and, among them, the political elite. These understandings can be associated with a pan-Africanist perspective developed in opposition to colonial domination, which frames foreign (western) influences as threats to African cultures. The global LGBTIQ vocabulary, in English, can contribute to frame queers as outsiders and their discourses as foreign, increasing their alienation from the local community.

Aware of these effects, activists strategically use language to perform their identities as queer Zimbabweans who straddle both worlds of local cultures and the global LGBTIQ movement. They are aware of the political importance of using local languages when promoting dialogue about sexual and gender minorities: explaining deviance from heteronormativity within traditional epistemological vocabularies and logics improves understanding and breaks barriers that exist against what is perceived as foreign. It also furthers sexual minorities' claims to citizenship by constituting their identities and practices as part of local traditions/cultures. The speaker also highlighted how this practice is important for them as a queer person and activist. They describe global terms as 'big words' whose meanings may not be understood by queer Zimbabweans themselves. The use of vernacular languages allows them to be confident in their knowledge and, that way, to proudly claim they belong in the community.

Sexual Rights Centre (SRC) is a Zimbabwean organization which since 2007 promotes the wellbeing and quality of life of Zimbabwean LGBTI and sex workers through a human rights and key population-led approach in and around Bulawayo (Sexual Rights Centre, no date). It connected local languages and global terms to facilitate queer Zimbabweans' access to citizenship by publishing *Isichazamazwi Sobulili Obubanzi* (Sexual Rights Centre, 2019), translated to English as *The LGBTI Dictionary*.

This bilingual book in isiNdebele and English can be understood as an act of sexual citizenship. The association found sexual minorities felt discriminated when seeking healthcare due to the use of

derogative terms towards them by the health care workers. The clinicians, in turn, claimed their words reflected broader social perceptions regarding this group, and argued that they did not have an alternative vocabulary to address these clients. The narratives of both groups demonstrate the limitations of queer Zimbabwean's citizenship. Although formally entitled to access health, because of their lower position in the rungs of citizenship sexual minorities were substantively denied it in discriminatory performances of citizenship enacted by health practitioners. If queers were to use medical services, they had to submit to being degraded while accessing them in acts of simultaneous ministrations of care and abuse.

The dictionary offers alternative words that health care workers, and others, can use when interacting with queer Zimbabweans (Sexual Rights Centre, 2019). It was elaborated with the aim of being inclusive and comprehensive towards sexual minorities while also accepted by the heteronormative Ndebele community. To achieve a contextually and culturally relevant text, SRC adopted a consultative approach when constructing the dictionary. Queer Zimbabweans were involved suggesting 'words or terms that they deemed, perceived or felt would be affirming, less demeaning and they can be more comfortable with' (Sexual Rights Centre, 2019, vi). SRC also engaged 'services providers, linguists, gatekeepers (traditional chiefs), opinion leaders and other culture experts and custodians' (Sexual Rights Centre, 2019, vi). This latter group did not contribute with many words, which the organization attributed 'to the fact that sexual orientation, gender identity and expression (SOGIE) discourses have been culturally supressed in the Ndebele culture' (Sexual Rights Centre, 2019, vi-vii). An initial draft was made based on that research and was then edited by the Language Department at the Lupane State University.

The dictionary is organized providing a term in isiNdebele, its translation to English, and an explanation of its definition in isiNdebele. The English terms included in the book suggest that its contents do not promote a single way of understanding sexuality and gender. It covers concepts connected to desire such as sexual preference, sexual orientation, but also romantic and emotional attraction. Sexual practices and attraction are coded in relation to the genders of who feels attraction and who they are attracted to – such as gay, lesbian, bisexual, straight, MSM, WSW, homosexual, and same gender loving. They are also organized considering only on the gender of the object of attraction such as androsexual and gynesexual, regardless of the gender of the person who feels the attraction. The book also includes terms to convey possibilities of sexual desire or absence of it which are not connected to gender at all, such as asexual, aromantic, demisexual, and demiromantic.

Around the topics of gender identity, performance, and presentation, the dictionary includes words which indicate essentialist conceptions of gender identities, such as transman and transwoman, and others which focus on the expression of gender, such as masculine presenting and feminine presenting. There are also terms which highlight the socially constructed understandings of gender, such as gender non-conforming, sex assigned at birth, and gender binary. The book also offers concepts which indicate epistemological frames and practices connected to them, such as heteronormativity, cisnormativity, heterosexism, cissexism, transphobia, biphobia, homophobia, and outing.

This way the dictionary demonstrates various ways of understanding gender, sexuality, desire, and attitudes towards persons whose gender performances and desires are at odds with heteronormative frameworks. It does not promote one interpretation of sexuality and gender. Instead, it opens possibilities of understanding sexual and gender difference, as well as the practices which individuals develop in connection to their understandings of sexual and gender norms, their desires, and the identities they perform. The knowledge conveyed by the dictionary does not lock in one specific discourse of citizenship to be enacted. By offering tools for health practitioners to address sexual minorities it enables them to choose which citizenship they will perform in their consultations. The freedom that this openness implies reaffirms the performative aspect of citizenship, which is repeatedly re-enacted in everyday scenes. The medics necessarily enact citizenship when they engage sexual minorities. But the content of this performance, inclusive or exclusionary, is undetermined until it is enacted and out of SRC's control.

Combining key words which are part of global discourses about sexual desire, gender identity, and performances; terms in isiNdebele; and their explanation in this language, *The LGBTI Dictionary* is a political artefact which enacts queer Zimbabwean citizenship. Making globally circulating English terms related to queer sexualities and genders intelligible in a vernacular language, it facilitates communication, unsettles the opposition between local and global knowledges, and normalizes queerness as something which exists on a global scale.

The dictionary also authenticates the existence of queer Zimbabweans, demarcating their belonging as citizens who are part of the nation and require/deserve access to healthcare while not being subjected to stigma and discrimination. Its performance is almost poetic as it connects the vernacular insider and the cosmopolitan western with the aim of promoting the health of those who are discriminated for being associated with a foreign sickness. That way, it demonstrates a creative way through which a sexual minorities' association enacts citizenship. The dictionary intercedes in a non-confrontational way in Zimbabwean performances of citizenship. Its contents, enacted by SRC, continue performing citizenship

when they are used/refused by those who have been in contact with them. The openness of these performances which are yet to come reaffirm the contingent content of the borders and acts of citizenship.

The strategy of developing innovative discursive constructions combining western and indigenous concepts has been used by other queer African activists. In Mali, for example, the Bamako also have been developing plural understandings of queerness which address external influences while respecting local realities (Broqua, 2013). In this case the result was not the cultural homogenization in line with western standards that nativist discourses warn about, and the outcome did not follow evolutionary patterns or the trajectory of western queer activisms. Instead, it demonstrates how socio-political realities can be discursively constructed through the syncretic connection of local/international histories in ways which can actually strengthen local cultures.

SRC's dictionary demonstrates what GALZ (no date) identifies as a normalization strategy, that is, the embedding of sexual minority associations in civil society through the formation of partnerships with other sectors, such as public health. This non-contentious approach has been developed by other Zimbabwean associations and has provided some success: In 2018 the government announced that five health centres for MSM would be opened (New Zimbabwe, 2018b) and the Health Ministry adopted new training manuals for health professionals which contemplated the need to provide specialized services for 'men who have sex with men, transgender and non-gender conforming people' among other key populations (New Zimbabwe, 2018c). These achievements indicate how queer Zimbabwean activisms are attaining progress towards substantive queer citizenship by using language to reduce the stigma sexual minorities are subjected to and promote the recognition of their existence and identities as queer Zimbabweans.[24]

4.3 Coming out of the closet as a queer identity formation

[24] In July 2022, the Zimbabwean government supported recommendations of the United Nation's Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review (Human Rights Council, 2022a) which establish the need to 'Protect intersex minors from non-consensual surgeries and violations of bodily integrity' and 'Strengthen efforts to address violence against women, children and all persons on the basis of their sexual orientation and gender identity' (Human Rights Council, 2022b, 19, 21). These decisions, which advance the citizenship of Zimbabwean sexual minorities were influenced by the advocacy of queer Zimbabwean organizations GALZ, Pakasipity, TIRZ, Treat, VoVo, SRC, Intersex Advocate Trust Zimbabwe, Neoteriq, and Pow Wow (Human Rights Council, 2022c). The ways in which queer activism contributed to this shift are not examined in this thesis because the decisions were published a few weeks before the submission date. This topic, however, should be investigated in further research on Zimbabwean sexual citizenship.

To authenticate queer Zimbabweans claims to citizenship in a heteronormative context, activists perform their belonging as a group whose identities intersect being Zimbabwean and queer. Sexualized and gendered identities are mutable and their relationship with the state can be redesigned over time through political struggles. Among their strategies to support queer claims to full citizenship queer activists offer support to the construction of identities (Kabeer, Milward and Sudarshan, 2013). Performances of queer Zimbabwean identities tension dominant heteronormative understandings of belonging which rest on the opposition of these two characteristics. By enacting such performances queer Zimbabweans constitute themselves as such and position themselves as political agents who discursively contest and reconstitute the limits of belonging.

This section demonstrates how the activists from GALZ contribute to the development of queer Zimbabwean identities among their constituents. Among other actions, GALZ organises meetings in safe spaces where it offers counselling, psychosocial support, advice on wellbeing and on health issues with specific attention to the needs of sexual minorities. To investigate how the association contributes to identity construction I analysed the recording of a discussion developed at a group counselling session on the topic of coming out (GALZ, 2019b).

This artefact was made available by GALZ in its YouTube page. It contains the recording of a meeting carried out as part of the activities of the Bulawayo Affinity Group. Established in 2002 these groups provide group counselling, social gatherings, and support the development of local capacities through workshops on financial management, and proposal and report writing (GALZ, no date). They work in areas other than the capital Harare, where the association is based. The recording presents a conversation between 14 anonymous individuals moderated by one activist. In this conversation the participants consider different aspects of coming out of the closet, such as reasons why they should/should not come out, what it is like to go through this, and why there is a closet in the first place.

The discussion demonstrates how the association supports its constituents as they navigate life in the borders. In the meeting, although highlighting how coming out queer Zimbabweans can contribute to the queer movement, the moderator does not pressure the participants to do so. The audio demonstrates that the participants feel secure as they share their stories, joke, and laugh while discussing. It is a safe space where they share the challenges involved in performing an identity that runs contrary to the prevailing norms so that if/when the associations' members decide to embrace and disclose their queerness, they are aware of what it can entail and know that GALZ can support them.

Coming out can be understood as an intersubjective process, which allows mapping out the contested socio-political terrain where being queer and Zimbabwean intersect. I interpret excerpts of the discussion considering coming out as performances of sexual dissidence. Embodying a position illegible in heteronormative discourses, queer Zimbabweans enact a form of resistance which contributes to the political project of changing sexual citizenship arrangements by destabilizing its heteronormative assumptions.

The meeting's moderator used the metaphor of a journey to address the meaning of coming out of the closet:

> As someone who has come out, I won't lie to you guys. It's been a difficult journey throughout… I'm still on the journey as I'm speaking right now. It is not something easy. You can come out to your family, you also need to come out to the society, you also need to come out in a lot of spheres (GALZ, 2019, 00:42-01:05').

The speaker described coming out of the closet as more than making a choice or taking action once. Comparing the various circumstances where one must come out with the different locations where one passes in a journey, they frame it as a process of establishing and revealing one's identity through performance. A process that is influenced by internal and external pressures and advances asynchronously in distinct environments and relationships.

The excerpt also indicates coming out is challenging. This aspect was acknowledged by other participants in the meeting: 'at the end of the day you will see many people who come out but right now they are suffering… they can't get the job' (GALZ, 2019, 45:38-46:20). The potential of backlash is such that some consider 'no one would want to own up and be associated with a sexual minority' (GALZ 2019, 10:40-11:00'), and therefore find it is best to conceal or be discrete about their queerness. Others strategically differentiate where and to whom they disclose their non-normative identities:

> I haven't come out… I am a Christian and bisexual… At home I am expected to act a certain way… with you guy's I act a different way (GALZ, 2019, 1:40-2:05').

In this fragment the speaker discloses how queer Zimbabweans' performances shift depending on where and with whom they are, as has been identified in other African contexts (Broqua, 2013; O'Mara, 2013; Nyeck and Epprecht, 2013a). Disclosing how it does not suffice to be in a private space to feel safe, they denounce the political and heteropatriarchal character of the domestic sphere and families, which

are permeated by sexual politics and the state's sexual citizenship machinery (Weber, 2016; Peterson, 2014). As will be further discussed in the next chapter, the heteronormative family unit, especially when infused with Christian morality, is often a hostile place for those who deviate from the norm. Among other queer Zimbabweans, however, the participant found they could enact a different performance. The testimonials given at the meeting also show that even when queer Zimbabweans are willing to face the repercussions of having their queerness known, like other Africans (O'Mara, 2013), they struggle to self-define. They do not, for example, necessarily understand their identities as essentially connected to gender/sexuality:

> I only started coming to community three, five years back. But before that I have always been a human being… I feel there is more about life than just one having sex (GALZ, 2019, 40:38-41:22).

This speaker does not define themselves by their sexuality. Noting how circumscribing one's subjectivity to one essentialist identity is reductive they find that an identity connected to their sexual desires does not fully capture who they are. This excerpt raises the question asked by Stella Nyanzi (2014, 61) when declaring her position as a queer African scholar: 'why are boundaries of inclusion and exclusion forcibly drawn – and usually based on essentialist readings'? Since being queer defies the construction and policing of boundaries, why should queer Zimbabweans restrict their identities to their sexuality? Refusing to be just a gendered and sexualized subject the activist defies the modern western paradigm of fixing an authentic self grounded on individual sexual subjectivities. It can be interpreted as an anticolonial act which enacts an African citizenship by embracing pan-Africanist *Ubuntu* philosophy's emphasis on the establishment of individual identities through the acceptance of the full humanity of others (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017).

This excerpt also demonstrates how, although gender and sexuality are constitutive of modernity/coloniality discourses (Sedgwick, 1990) and shape how subjects are understood in their various relationships – including their citizenship – this discourse can be contested. The pervasiveness of heteronormativity for queers to define their identities as sexual deviants was mentioned by another speaker:

> Where is the pressure on the heterosexuals? They are so empowered to the point that they know that they don't need to tell you that they are heterosexual (GALZ, 2019 43:55-44:05).

This excerpt highlights the hierarchies of sexual politics and the double standards of sexual citizenship. The understanding of heteronormativity as natural allows performances of sexuality and gender which align with it to be culturally taken for granted and make their contingency invisible (Currier, 2012; Van Veeren, 2018; Haraway, 1988). Those who perform them are protected from public scrutiny and have no need to explain themselves while deviance is culturally coded as an aberration and persons in the lower gradations of citizenship are publicly dissected. The participant demonstrates queer Zimbabweans also resist sexualized epistemologies which support the promotion of difference (Ncube, 2016) in ways that consolidate normative identities and naturalize contingent power hierarchies.

Another speaker highlighted the disciplinary character of heteronormativity by identifying how they internalize it:

> Where does this closet then come from, that you are supposed to come out from? Just from being born a different person already we have this cross to pay of this closet! This box you are put into and all your life you are very conscious of it so that consciousness of that difference becomes that box that you live in, every single day. And then that difference doesn't fit in with whatever is considered normal by everybody else (GALZ, 2019, 24:20-24:58).

For them the closet is a metaphor of the constrain heteronormativity enacts over queer bodies and performances. They also use the notion of having a cross to pay, a Christian theme which evokes moral interpretations of sexual deviance as a sin. Conscious of their othering, they feel confined and pressured to self-discipline their performances to avoid abjection. This excerpt reveals some of the challenges queer Zimbabweans face in performing their sexualities/genders. Struggles which are deepened by their inability to control others' perceptions about their identities as another participant detailed:

> Most of us are kicked out of that very same closet that has been created. Every single day and every experience you go through, be it when you are walking down the street and people start yelling curses at you about you being different, or in work environments. In every single area of our social existence you have people literally kicking you out, not giving you that time to make the decision about whether or not you want to disclose… There are so many other differences. Why is there no closet for people to come out from for all the other various differences that they have from all of the rest of society? (GALZ, 2019, 24:58-26: 30')

The speaker is aware that their queerness affects all dimensions of their social life. They identify how, among other possible characteristics to be used to differentiate persons, sexuality and gender prevail. This demonstrates how gender and sexuality are political arenas where power is exercised and how they are instrumental to regulate citizenship. The passage also highlights how queers are constantly constrained by sexualized and gendered norms which force them into the metaphorical closet of

heteronormativity pressuring them to conform, and then repeatedly kicks them out. Entangled in these norms, sexual citizenship simultaneously confines, erases, and exposes queers.

The excerpt also demonstrates how perceptions of deviance are based on performances of gender and sexuality which are enacted by subjects irrespective of their awareness or intentions. Gender is constantly being created as 'a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint' (Butler, 2004, 1). It is performed collectively through social discourses that produce and normalize certain meanings. Meanings which, within heteronormative settings, discipline gender identity within the masculine/feminine binary according to biological sexual characteristics and frame sexuality as normal when desire is directed towards the opposite sex.

Coming out of the closet is qualitatively different from being kicked out of the closet. Being outed is one of the threats Zimbabwean queers are vulnerable to. It often is connected to blackmail, and can result in discrimination, eviction, and disownment (GALZ, 2018a). In such situations GALZ offers legal advice and support, contributing with crisis management by promoting family re-integration, for example (GALZ, no date). Stigma and abjection undermine the personhood of queers (Butler, 2004), place them in the position of outsiders, and violently reaffirm heteronormativity to their detriment. From this position queers can perform 'the speech act of a silence' (Sedgwick, 1990, 3), which follows African customs of social discretion around sexual practices (Tamale, 2011a, 14). This tradition has been, however, undermined by the emergence of public debates about sexuality which toughened the barriers of sexual citizenship in Zimbabwe since 1995 and were later replicated in other African states (Hoad, 2007; Epprecht, 2006, 2004, 2008).

If queer Zimbabweans perform deviance, they engage the socio-political dynamics of the scene in which they are placed (Tucker, 2009) challenging the heteronormative sexual citizenship. Queer identities expose that 'the terms that make up one's own gender are… outside oneself, beyond oneself in a sociality that has no single author' (Butler, 2004, 1). The social performance of queer identities, which are as fictional as cis and heterosexual constructions of gender and sexuality 'do' (Butler, 2004, 1) gender and sexuality. This way they shift the relations from the erasure of deviance to visibility, sowing queerness is a viable possibility. By exposing heteronormativity's contingency and the violence which is required to uphold it, these performances disrupt it.

By collectively debating the issue of coming out queer activists help Zimbabweans who do not fit in the dominant sexual citizenship arrangements to navigate the structural pressures which weight over them, whether they want to come out of the closet or not. The Bulawayo meeting demonstrates how the

activists facilitate the performance of queer Zimbabwean identities by offering a space and a community where the participants can reflect and safely talk about their desires, self-identification, as well as their experiences of othering. It is an encounter which opens possibilities. The outcome of the discussion is not fixed, it may result in performances which claim queer Zimbabwean citizenship or not, but the activists create conditions for queer citizenship to be enacted. Regardless of what takes place outside the meeting – if the discussants do end up coming out of the closet or not – in that moment, they establish a collective of people who recognise themselves as queer Zimbabweans and share their experiences of being denied full citizenship. In that safe space where they are at home to experiment and perform their genders, sexualities, and identities the participants strengthen a community which, performing queerness, constitutes queer Zimbabweanness.

The activists weigh the repercussions of claiming queer identities considering individual and collective impacts. The conversation is not lead by the aim of making those present come out of the closet, they are aware that this can entail negative impacts which not all wish/are able to endure. The meeting's moderator acknowledges coming out 'is good for movement building, for advocating, but… as individuals all we need is to have your sexual practice as you see fit more than telling people why you did it.' (GALZ, 2019 35:45-36:02). For some it is important to come out of the closet as an act of public self-affirmation of their identity. In the meeting, one participant declared 'I need that affirmation. I have to insist that you call me a "he". Which means that I have to come out on a day-to-day basis' (GALZ, 2019, 46:40-47:15). For others it is an act through which the subject transcends their individual interests and contributes to socio-political change:

> The reason why I came out to the community was because I felt there was a need for people to understand who we are so that they will be able to actually deal with other people… I was talking to a councillor… I had to come out to her because… she doesn't know how to tell the situations when it comes to LGBTI community. That's why I feel it is important to come out… So that people can have information about our community, so they can be able to treat people in other instances, especially when they are counsellors (GALZ, 2019, 4:45-5:35')

This speaker highlights the importance of having sexual minorities' identities known to claim their entitlements – in this case, the right to mental health support. The quote demonstrates the political value of publicly assuming a queer identity: claiming the specific needs of sexual minorities, this subject asserts the existence of queer Zimbabweans, exposes the substantive limitations of their citizenship, and demands their rights.

Epprecht highlighted the profoundly unsettling effect of the 'mere existence of out gays and lesbians' (Epprecht, 2004, x) over political hierarchies, describing to them as sexual dissidents. Whether identifying as activists or not, by performing queer identities, queer Zimbabweans take on the role of political dissidents who are enacting political struggles in the contested terrain of sexual citizenship. Demonstrating the contingency of heteronormative political structures they create openings for different possibilities of being Zimbabwean which are not restricted to heteronormativity.

In encounters such as the Bulawayo meeting, queer Zimbabweans find support to go through processes of self-discovery and when/if, they find themselves ready to accommodate their subjectivities in a queer identity and disclose it, they can contribute to queer activism performing their sexual citizenship. Although the meeting took place with a few participants who were talking amongst themselves with no expectations of, through this discussion perform public acts of citizenship, they did that. By consummating the meeting and making it available as a digital artefact GALZ performed an act of citizenship. As others listen to the recording and interpret it, this act continues to be enacted because interpretation (reception) is part of the act itself, regardless of the initial intention of the agents who initially enacted it (Morrison, 2008b).

4.4 Concluding summary

The ways in which queer Zimbabweans understand and refer to themselves demonstrate the complexities of inhabiting and performing queer Zimbabwean identities. The challenges of identifying with and communicating sexualized and gendered performances show how they are positioned as outsiders of sexual citizenship. From the margins, they enact their citizenship as they perform their identities strategically merging local and global discourses and creating new interpretations of what it means to be queer and Zimbabwean.

Queer activists contribute to processes of identity and community formation using language to counter discourses which deny them belonging by associating homosexuality with what is foreign. To open novel horizons of citizenship in non-confrontational ways they assemble indigenous and imported concepts. Bridging local and global knowledges about being queer the *LGBTI Dictionary* defies the opposition between homosexuality and Zimbabweanness. It allows sexual minorities and those who interact with them to enact inclusive performances of belonging. While the content of these performances

is not pre-determined, they are informed by the knowledge offered by the activists about how queerness is present in Zimbabwe.

The activists also contribute to the development of a queer Zimbabwean community as they support sexual minorities navigate the heteronormativity which constrains them. By offering a safe location where queer Zimbabweans can be open about their sexuality and gender identity, the activists allow them to perform their queerness and experience full belonging in a community of sexual minorities. Publicly embracing queer identities can be an act of citizenship which contributes to the sexual citizenship struggle by defying dominant sexual citizenship discourses and claiming, through their visibility, the recognition of queer Zimbabweans and their rights. As such, the very act of publicizing a meeting where queer Zimbabweanness is performed enacts citizenship. It asserts the existence of a group deemed unintelligible in dominant discourses which limit Zimbabwean and African identities to performances of black heterosexuality, that way revealing alternative possibilities of Zimbabwean and African sexual citizenship.

Chapter 5:
Belonging as outsiders in everyday scenes

You must remember you don't belong to yourself (GALZ, 2019b).

Although citizenship is typically associated with its formal aspects, or the legal relationship between individuals and the state, substantively citizenship is also connected to the local communities where individuals are placed in and develop their socio-political life. African ideology of *Ubuntu*[25] emphasizes 'a person is naturally a communitarian being who connotes both the social and political aspects of a human being' (Tamale, 2020, 224). It is valuable to understand the communitarian aspect of performative sexual citizenship. In their regular and mundane everyday relationships queer Zimbabwean navigate their sexual citizenship. I demonstrate this in this chapter by analysing their relationships with their families and their Christian church communities, as well as their access to banal spaces which are heavily regulated by gender such as public toilets. In these commonplace scenes, they are routinely othered as outsiders because of their sexualities and genders. They navigate these borderlands performing their sexual citizenship in different ways which include silencing, refusing, defying, and re-signifying their relationships and membership in these groups.

The chapter is divided in two main sections. In the first part I engage the notion that in Zimbabwe citizenship is connected to loyalty (Dorman, 2014) while examining queer Zimbabweans' relationships with their families and Christian religious communities. To this end, I analyse excerpts of activist's discourses in the recording of the GALZ 2018 Bulawayo Affinity Group meeting (GALZ, 2019b) which was used in the previous chapter, an interview three activists gave on the celebration of GALZ's 30th anniversary (Heart and Soul ZIM, 2020), and the interviews I conducted. Their narratives show how queer Zimbabwean activists are devoted to their families and communities. They feel, however, that in familial and Christian spaces they are not fully accepted: they are othered, pressured to change, pushed to the margins, or excluded. From the borders, they creatively develop new understandings of family, Christianity, and belonging.

[25] Sylvia Tamale conceptualizes *Ubuntu* as 'an African traditional ideology of justice and fairness based on the philosophies of humanness, communitarianism, solidarity and interdependence' (Tamale, 2020, xv) which, although popularized in post-apartheid South Africa, is present in the cultures of many African societies.

In the second segment I narrate the story of trans-rights activist Rikki Nathanson based on the transcript of the civil court case (Bulawayo High Court, 2019) she raised and the interview she granted me. The horror of her experiences demonstrates how in the borders of sexual citizenship ordinary acts such as using a toilet can escalate to unlawful imprisonment and degrading treatment. Refusing to be silent in the face of discrimination and using the judicial system to resist, Rikki performed an act of citizenship which contested the limitations of sexual citizenship and disrupted dominant cis/heteronormative discourses. Her story also demonstrates that legal arrangements do not guarantee access to substantive citizenship. Although Rikki's judicial victory redefined the limits of trans sexual citizenship and reaffirmed her belonging as part of a transnational transgender community she was not able to enjoy her entitlements in Zimbabwe.

The different cases presented in this chapter contribute to the thesis demonstrating various ways the activists enact citizenship while being faithful to their communities and to their own personhood. They demonstrate this case-study contributes to the literature that argues that queer Africans perform their citizenship on their own terms, which are different from western models (Nyeck and Epprecht, 2013a; Broqua, 2013; O'Mara, 2013; Chitando and Mateveke, 2017).

5.1 'You don't belong to yourself'

Sexual and gendered subjectivities are developed constantly through performances enacted in relationships between individuals and their families or among local communities, such as a chuch congregation. This section examines the how queer Zimbabweans navigate the boundaries they encounter as they inhabit these heteronormative environments which are usually seen as apolitical due to their association with the private and the ordinary (Neveu, 2015).

To investigate how they perform citizenship in these spaces traversed by private and political dynamics, I analysed the audio recording of the GALZ (2019b) Bulawayo Affinity Group meeting which also based the analysis presented in section 4.4 of the previous chapter; the audio-visual recording of an interview three activists from GALZ and RAWO granted to Zimbabwean radio program Heart and Soul ZIM (2020) to commemorate GALZ's 30th anniversary; and excerpts of the interviews I developed with Zimbabwean activists. The data shows how the activists strategically perform their queerness in their

interactions with their families and the community, here approached as Christian church groups, which are central institutions for the performance of Zimbabwean moral codes.

In the Bulawayo gathering, while discussing the topic of coming out of the closet, the participants also debated issues which are relevant for them in their everyday lives and revealed contradictions which permeate being at once queer and Zimbabwean. One of them highlighted the importance of individuals' relationships with their family and community:

> You are raised in a family that is in a way largely heteronormative, you are raised in a society that has certain expectations from an individual… towards his family… You must remember you don't belong to yourself… You belong to your mother. She has her expectations of how you should be. You belong to your community (GALZ, 2019b, 32:03-33:20').

Relationships of belonging with the groups the activist mentions were repeatedly mentioned in the recording in a way that, in line with the quote above, indicated the speakers took them for granted. This framing indicates that this understanding is naturalized by the participants who, fearing losing these otherwise essential connections, are concerned about how having their queerness known could endanger these relationships. The way in which the activists approach this topic indicates the responsibilities that queer Zimbabweans feel towards their families and communities, which resonate *Ubuntu* and the understanding that to belong is a privilege which is earned though displays of loyalty to the group.

While in public discourses the allegiance required to belong in Zimbabwe is connected to the state and the ruling party (Dorman, 2014), I observed this relationship in discourses towards families and religious communities. Although these connections are different from individual's relationships with the state, they demonstrate how the descending gradations of sexual citizenship (Evans, 1993) are present in sexual minorities' every day.

The activists concern with the family's expectations shows how – differently from sexual citizenship studies focused on western contexts which centre on individual rights (Richardson, 2017) – as discussed in chapter three, Zimbabwean citizenship is performed through demonstrations of loyalty towards the collective. In the next subsections I demonstrate how these contexts are heteronormative and restrict queer Zimbabweans citizenship in daily interactions. I also show how these scenes are points of departure from which the activists perform their queer Zimbabweanness creatively developing new scripts of belonging, family, and Christianity. They enact citizenship non-confrontationally, in ways which can fit into African cultural traditions and local laws.

5.1.1- Families

As discussed in Chapter three, kinship relations have been historically relevant to the design of belonging in Zimbabwe, be it in the form of loosely patrilineal precolonial arrangements which encouraged reproduction, or Rhodesian racist and gendered control to reproduce the white race and capital. In highlighting how queer Zimbabweans belong to their family, the excerpt cited in the previous section and the discourses examined in this section demonstrate how the activists' bridge and the relationships between queer Zimbabweans and their kin. Through them I demonstrate how sexual citizenship frames everyday familial relations, how they are connected with the state, and how queer Zimbabwean activists enact queer belonging in these relationships.

The relationships between the activists and their kin are varied. They range from those whose families know they are queer and support them and their political action, to those whose families banished them or tried to change their sexualities and gender through conversion therapies. As mentioned above, these different relationships are connected to the familial expectations. One of the activists at the GALZ's anniversary recording explained: 'That expectation is: I'm a guy, I go to school, I marry, have a house with a picket fence and a couple of kids running around' (Heart and Soul ZIM, 2020 34:37-34:48'). The prospects indicate what is understood as 'success in a heteronormative, capitalist society[, that is] reproductive maturity combined with wealth accumulation' (Halberstam 2011, 2). Mentioning a picket fence, an Americana trope for the ideal middle-class suburban life, reveals how this expectation is illusory.

Despite that, the force of heteronormativity is visible in the extent to which families pressure queer individuals to achieve this ideal through practices such as conversion therapy. The same activist, who used to be a family therapist, describes how that takes place:

> People have always tried to find ways of turning somebody who is considered to be gay, bisexual, trans, to be straight. To be the norm… You have people that are taken to mountains and spend 40 days and 40 nights in the mountains being prayed by pastors, being beaten up, and whipped… to try and make you straight… Families, after the rituals, they then say 'we will find you a woman' (Heart and Soul ZIM, 2020 32:20-34:27')

Using the word 'always' the activist frames efforts to change deviant sexualities or gender performances as a tradition, as something common, a norm which dates back to immemorial times.

Conversion therapy is often sought by families through traditional healers or Christian pastors, and many African independent and Pentecostal churches have incorporated some form of healing and deliverance rituals in their ministry (Muparamoto, 2016). These processes include ordeals and sometimes, in the case of women identified as lesbians, sexual violence (GALZ, 2017, 2018a).

The same activist claimed that 'this comes with families truing to adapt to what is expected from the family' (Heart and Soul ZIM, 2020 35:16-35:22'). This interpretation of the origin of pressures to conform to heteronormativity reveals the understanding that families are not necessarily heterosexual units and that compliance to heteronormativity is as unreal as the picket fence. Families seek to achieve this status by promoting compliance to heteronormative performances. These patterns echo pre-colonial cultural emphasis on reproduction and are constitutive of the heteronormative moral economy of modern states which require heterosexual families to guarantee social reproduction over time through practices spread throughout all levels of social existence (Stevens, 1999; Smith, 2020). Persons who do not correspond to these expectations are understood as not contributing to the maintenance of the family, of the community. Seen as unfaithful, they are denied belonging.

For queer Zimbabweans, however, the meaning of family is not set in stone as a heteronormative reproductive unit. As demonstrated by the two following excerpts drawn from interviews the informants granted me, they are aware that dominant understandings of family are heteronormative. Based on their experiences, however, they re-interpret the concept :

> I define family in two different ways. The first one is relatives. The ones from your blood and also extended. They play an important role in my life. Then the second one is the ones that share or give love unconditionally regardless that we are not blood related in any way. I cherish this type of family. They are the ones that can accept you for who you are. They are also less toxic than the first one [relatives]. Love makes a family whether blood or not.

The differentiation of families of origin and of choice was also mentioned by another informant who detailed how they came to understand family as an open-ended concept:

> For a certain period of time, I solemnly believed that family was a place where you are born into. A place where you grow up. A place where you are given a name or a surname. A place where everybody whom you know or who knows, you are related to you by blood. But as I grew up after being rejected by what I had known as family, I started realising that family goes beyond blood. Family is wherever you can create interconnections, understanding, agreement, also disagreement. It is something that you can create for yourself. Family can be a mother and a father and children. Family can be a mother and a mother and children and pet. Family can be a father and a father. Family can be anything that a person makes out of it… That [heteronormative] idea of what family is got me broken so much, because when that family decided to say

> ‘this what you are is not part of what could be accepted by the family’, I had to reach out and make a family of my own, with the people who understand me… made me feel sane and… as a human being.

This activist was raised into knowing family according to modern heteronormative conventions, associated with their bloodline, birth, name, and coexistence. When denied belonging because they did not conform to the norm, they dealt with exclusion by developing their own understanding of family, queering it as an unstable and anti-essentialist institution which is defined by performances of acceptance, understanding, and humanity. Although emphasizing these positive aspects, the activist did not romanticise the family. They recognized that familial relations involve dissent and underlined the importance of one’s agency in creating their own familial community.

These excerpts demonstrate family is a concept which has two meanings. It designates blood relatives who are connected by birth and constitute families of origin. It is also connected to significant persons who provide a support system, or a family of choice. Both families are important for the informant, having different roles in their life. While the ‘family of origin “regulates” support depending on its members’ sexual [or gendered] identity’ (Mizielińska, 2022, 67), families of choice offer alternative kinship practices which perform the functions traditionally assigned to families, of providing support and care in line with global tendencies which emerged in the 1980s when the AIDS epidemic emerged (Mizielińska, 2022; Mizielińska, Gabb and Stasińska, 2018; Pidduck, 2009).

The informant’s relationship with their family of origin demonstrates how its membership is conditional to performances of loyalty, which are enacted by conforming to discourses of heteronormativity, that is, performing heteronormativity (even if one identifies as queer). In the blood family, belonging is distributed hierarchically, from top to bottom, if subjects demonstrate their commitment to the group by continuing the lineage and reproducing its members and wealth. The allegiance necessary to belong in this family is refracted in the understanding of Zimbabwean citizenship as a privilege that is earned through demonstrations of loyalty (Dorman, 2014). This interpretation is valid for the Zimbabwean context where historically political power was attached to the control of people and not the territory (Herbst, 2000). Kinship practices are also, however, the mechanisms through which states reproduce themselves through citizenship arrangements by blood (through birth) and by contract, which entrench the family as the foundation of the polity through institutions such as marriage (Stevens, 1999).

The intimate connection of citizenship and blood, and therefore to heteronormative families of origin, is demonstrated by formal access to citizenship by birth. Substantive citizenship, however,

practised in access to rights such as protection, can be associated with the practices of care found in families of choice. Forming and maintaining new, non-heteronormative families performs an act of citizenship. The existence of these synthetic families demonstrates possibilities of kinship which open new horizons of belonging: a citizenship of care, solidarity, and support. These performances on the local familial level exist as anomalies within modern citizenship – arranged around blood and contract – and disrupts it, demonstrating their political and contingent character and other possible arrangements.

The two interpretations of family (and citizenship) are not opposed to one another. Queer Zimbabwean activists reconcile them in ways which demonstrate the interconnectedness and the ‘‘collective/inclusive nature of family structure… and the value of interpersonal relationships’ (Tamale, 2020, 21) in line with *Ubuntu*. Blood families can be complemented and reconnected by solidarity ties. Queer associations intervene in the contentious relationships of many queers and their blood relatives to foster good relationships between them. GALZ, for example promotes the Parents, Friends, Liaisons and Allies of GALZ (PFLAG) program, which creates spaces where the parents (as well as friends and allies) of queer Zimbabweans can meet to give support to each other. In this space, where parents who are unhappy about their kid’s sexualities and genders are invited to attend, counsellors develop conversations to promote understandings of family which revolve around love and support systems to avoid the breakdown of the blood family and queer Zimbabweans being cut off from their kin (NewsDay, 2021).

Some of the activists in the Bulawayo meeting, considering the weight of heteronormative familial expectations, recommend patience and a dialogical practice: ‘Most of us come from typical traditional families who do not have tolerance… Are they ready for you? … is there a level of engagement?’ (GALZ, 2019b, 8:54-9:30). Recognizing the limits of others, the activist suggests a non-confrontational approach. Having been disciplined by the hegemonic heteronormativity, families need to be acquainted with other discursive frames to understand their queer relatives. To that end, they suggest:

> You bring information, different criteria, you talk about the [queer] community. In this scenario maybe they understand… It took something like three years for me to actually build that certain atmosphere for us to be able to talk about who I am really (GALZ, 2019b, 6:20-6:43’).

This strategy suggests gradually developing understanding about another way of being among relatives. Centred on dialogue and prioritizing respect for the family links and its members, it seeks to minimize violence and erode the heteronormative mindset by cultivating communication and engagement, raising awareness, and building trust and understanding with time. It demonstrates the

strength of *Ubuntu's* communitarianism and an African way (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; O'Mara, 2013) of claiming queer Zimbabweans' belonging and citizenship. It reawakens a culture of inclusiveness and defies the popular heteronormative interpretation of African culture which denies queers' citizenship. Discreetly promoting connections and communal understandings of queerness, it is different from western approaches which publicly demand individual rights (Ahmed, 2010).

Support can also be obtained through less noble attitudes that mobilize moral codes: 'I know that I can go to [my brother's] house… I knew that he would never tell anyone otherwise I would also tell people his indiscretions.' (GALZ, 2019b, 29:00-30:00'). This activist reversed the threat of blackmail, common to queer Zimbabweans who are often pressured into extorsion for fear of being outed (GALZ, 2018a). This raises another dimension of household dynamics: expulsion. Many queer Zimbabweans fear that if their deviance is known they will be evicted and placed in situations of vulnerability and homelessness (GALZ, 2018a). Families can banish queers in a similar way sexual citizenship pushes them to the borders of belonging, as outsiders. The above excerpt, which counters the documented practice of eviction of queers from the family, demonstrates the importance of recognizing research subjects as individuals with their own specific contexts and conditions of liveability. The concern about being outed to the family varies. This disparity was illustrated by another member at the meeting:

> For me there was nothing they could tell me… whatever they would tell me, I could stick my finger up and be like 'Well I'm paying the bills… I'm not going anywhere. You may be older than me, but you are listening to me' (GALZ, 2019b, 18:25-19:13).

The speaker is aware that being the source of the family's income favours their acceptance. Their contribution to the household is acknowledged, thus guaranteeing them a position of power and their membership. They demonstrate how the importance of being accepted by the family varies according to class and may be more relevant to queers who do not have financial independence.

In the interviews I conducted, the informants also addressed the topic of family in connection to marriage, offering different interpretations of this concept. Some framed matrimony in individualistic terms which resonate western understandings, such as gaining independence from their relatives: 'It is just a way of getting away from your parents'. Others understood it as committing to a life partner, 'an achievement that shows growth in terms of commitment and maturity. It's a great feeling finding someone to grow old with.'

Another activist framed matrimony according to what is traditionally understood as marriage in the Zimbabwean context. Not as the union of two people, but between two extended families: 'I can't do a traditional marriage because it would require buy-in from both families and that's unlikely to happen'. The use of the word unlikely indicates that the union of two lineages is improbable, but does not foreclose this possibility, which is contingent on the support from relatives and does not require state registration. The same activist dismissed legal, state-sanctioned marriage as impossible: 'If ever I want that, it has to be out of Zimbabwe.' They differentiate traditional marriages from legal, state registered[26] ones. While the first was a remote possibility, the second was out of the question within Zimbabwean frontiers. This way the activist demonstrated the difference between formal and substantive citizenship. They also highlighted the difficulty of challenging legal limitations of queer Zimbabweans' citizenship: same sex matrimony is constitutionally proscribed and there is no foreseeable change in that area.

None of the activists – even those who expressed a desire to form their own families and have kids – mentioned same-sex legal marriage as something they are fighting for. Substantively, however, traditional marriages may provide a way to enact a sexual citizenship which breaches this discrimination. As such, queer Zimbabweans' interpretations of marriage destabilize unidirectional perspectives that propose there is a correct, homonationalist way of fostering queer citizenship, and that is through rights-claiming towards the modern state (Puar, 2007; Richardson, 2017). Customary traditions can be a more queer-friendly route to achieve belonging. Bypassing the modern state and not directly defying the formal citizenship machinery, they maintain open the possibility of forming and connecting families through solidarity and marriage.

5.1.2- The Christian Community

Religion is not a private matter, it is connected to politics and the public life, it links private and public morality (Casanova, 1994 cited in van Klinken and Chitando, 2016a), and supports moral arrangements of citizenship. Religious institutions have an important role in African sexual politics. They commonly frame homosexuality as unnatural and seek to eliminate it from their congregations[27]

[26] A new marriages bill was passed after this interview, in March 2022. It unified Zimbabwean marriage legislation, which previously was divided between the Marriage Act and the Customary Marriages Act. This shift contributed to cis women's rights in heterosexual unions by requiring consent from both parties, establishing a minimum age for marriage, and allowing marriages to be celebrated with no bride payment. In line with the 2013 constitution, the possibility of same-sex marriages was not addressed.

[27] For examples in Nigeria see Azuah, 2016, Uganda see Hart and Dillwood, 2015; Lusimbo and Bryan, 2018; Rao, 2020b, Zambia see Van Klinken, 2014, 2013.

(Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Van Klinken, 2013; Hoad, 2007; Epprecht, 2004; Chitando and Van Klinken, 2016; Van Klinken and Chitando, 2016b). Zimbabwe follows this trend and Christianity, especially, plays an important role in its sexual citizenship disputes (Gunda, 2011; Ndlou, 2016). The religion is the faith which has most supporters in sub-Saharan Africa, allowing it to be understood as Christian region (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017; Van Klinken and Obadare, 2018). Its diffusion, which was initiated through colonial conquest and settlement, more recently has been taking place among protestant branches. The rise of Pentecostal-Charismatic African Christianity, which provides spiritual and practical guidelines to ethically navigate post-colonial neoliberal settings, has influenced moral and political referents, shaping understandings of the nation and belonging (Van Klinken and Obadare, 2018; Chitando and Van Klinken, 2016; Epprecht, 2013) in discursive horizons which frame Christianity as African and homosexuality as un-African (Chitando and Mateveke, 2017).

Christianity is the dominant religion in Zimbabwe. It is used as the national religion for state functions (Muparamoto, 2016) and the majority of the population (more than 85%) is Christian (CIA, 2021). The country has a competitive religious market, and religious leaders disseminate discourses which connect biblical literalism with policies and laws to favour their institutions' growth (Chitando and Van Klinken, 2016; Epprecht and Clark, 2020; Muparamoto, 2016). Zimbabwean Christian leaders such as Michael Mawema from the African Reformed Church, Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa from the United Family International Church, and Nolbert Kunonga of Harare's Anglican diocese, for example, promoted attacks on homosexuals (Muparamoto, 2016). One of the activists emphasized when interviewed how literalist Christian beliefs shape perceptions among their community:

> Our communities have different perceptions when it comes to gender and sexuality, most of them negative. The majority of these perceptions are framed around biblical beliefs with constant reference to Sodom and Gomora, where anything outside of heterosexuality and male and female gender binaries is seen as demonic and/or evil making it difficult for people who are mostly Christian to accept LGBTIQ.

The activists perceive the dominance of a heteronormative biblical perspective, according to which God created a cis and heterosexual world and deviance from this is a sin that should be avoided and fought by the members of the religious community. This approach can be connected to the Pentecostal-Charismatic conception of the world as a battleground between divine and demonic powers, which shapes how the followers engage the spiritual, but also social and political arenas making the transformation of their communities and nations as their responsibility (Van Klinken and Obadare, 2018). It creates a ripple effect which extends the implications of Christian morals to queers' every day, influencing how

communities, families, and the state treat them. As another interviewee described this connection: ‘You can’t run to your family because they told you that you are sinning and tried to find a pastor to pray the gay away’.

The political relationship between Christianity and homophobia in Zimbabwe makes sexual acts in public especially meaningful as resistance (Homewood, 2016). But queers can also resist the heteronormativity which denies them belonging discreetly. Sexual and gendered performances impact the access of queer Zimbabwean Christians to places of worship and important rituals, such as funerals. To illustrate how queer activists navigate experiences of not belonging at Christian churches I detail two cases:

Most of the experiences of queer Zimbabwean activists in Christian spaces recounted to me in interviews or described in material they made available online were of being targeted by hate speech or treated as outsiders. One of the informants, a transgender woman, narrated how after transitioning she frequented a small Pentecostal congregation of around 50 persons. She came to understand, however, that she was not a full member of the parish. In a manner comparable to the downwards gradations of sexual citizenship, which hinge on maintaining the purity of the heteronormative moral community, she was tolerated in the congregation as long as she performed the role of other. Someone who was there to be saved through prayer by the congregates.

When she sought to contribute to the community in other ways, providing support to the church’s administration with her expertise, her offer was declined ‘because of who you are. We have to pray for you, pray for the demons in you to leave.’ She could be a member of the community provided it was in the position of a victim who needed absolution. She rejected that role and, although continuing to identify as a spiritual person, stopped attending the services and developed a critical stance towards Christian institutions. The narrative of attending a Christian church as part of family traditions growing up and ceasing to do so as the result from exclusionary treatment due to their sexuality/gender was recurrent among my informants. Most did not reject their spirituality or the Christian faith, but they avoided frequenting churches where they were treated as outsiders.

The challenges that participating in the Christian community pose for queer Zimbabweans were also discussed by the activists in the GALZ’s anniversary interview (Heart and Soul ZIM, 2020). For them queer Zimbabweans experience rejection and lack of acceptance in churches and one narrated her personal ordeal. She identified as a spiritual person who came from a family with strong ‘traditional

influence', had a 'deeply religious' mother, was baptised as catholic and although not a regular, recognized the importance of the church, especially in the moments of birth and death.

When her eldest son died the local parish refused to have a service in his memory and bury him in the church's cemetery because of her 'lesbianism.' In this situation, the communitarian idea of children belonging to their mother previously addressed resulted in the denial of burial ground to a member of the parish due to his mother's sexuality. The issue was resolved with the activist's mother, a prominent member of the church, requesting the priest to bury her grandson using her name in the registry, as if the deceased did not have a mother. Since this episode, the activist distanced herself from the Catholic church. The pain this traumatic experience caused her, annulling her existence in a moment of grief, is relived in the interview, as she dried her eyes while telling her story. Although this solution silenced the activist as if she did not exist, it demonstrates there is flexibility within the family which allows preserving the kinship links. In this situation the blood family provided the support the queer individual could not find in her religious community.

These two experiences demonstrate how churches deny belonging to queer Zimbabweans when their sexuality/gender non-conformity is known. The second case also reveals how, in times of need, queer subjects develop creative strategies to deal their othering, and may count on their blood family to help them in this. It is not a heroic resistance, but what they believe they need to do to solve issues which come up in their lives because they are excluded from the moral community, sometimes at great personal cost. The case also demonstrates how the African tradition of discretion and ambiguity around sexuality issues is practiced in religious spaces. While churches exclude queers, their othering is enacted discretely, by treating them as outcasts or as absent (Manyonganise, 2016). This allows not publicising homosexuals' presence and, that way, corroborates public narratives which construct homosexuality as alien, absent from the nation. Practices of silence are ambiguous, and differently from what is proposed in most western queer liberation narratives, they demonstrate not just oppression but can also enact self-protection and even defiance (Nyanzi, 2013b; O'Mara, 2013). In this case, it was the way found to access the church's funeral service and graveyard.

My findings are in line with the literature which connects homophobia and the oppression of queer persons in African societies with religious conservatism (Awondo, Geschiere and Reid, 2012; Ireland, 2013; Thoreson, 2014). This correlation is, however, not necessary. As demonstrated by the contributions of various authors in van Klinken and Chitando (2016b), the relationships between queer sexualities and religion in Africa are complex, ambiguous and multifaceted. Leaving Christian spaces is not the only

option for queer Zimbabweans, who can chose to remain in churches, finding in them opportunities to perform their queerness (Homewood, 2016). This demonstrates the limitations of my archive, which only covered queer access to Zimbabwean religious spaces in the role of sinner who needed deliverance.

Interpreting Zimbabwean Pentecostal churches as liminal spaces, which are heteronormative but also present performances of homoeroticism, Homewood demonstrated that gay men enact queer meaning and world-making combining religion, sexuality and publicity as they perform counter-intimacies in churches. He argued new and creative ways of being queer can be found by understanding sexualities through religious epistemologies, vocabularies, symbols and ideas (Homewood, 2016, 252). I did not find similar understandings in my data. This discrepancy may be connected to my informants' predominant use, as activists, of human rights frameworks as interpretative keys to their worldviews.

Homewood also argued that defiance of heteronormativity is not always performed by opposing regimes of the normal. It can be enacted by inserting queerness in the normal, changing it from the inside. This aligns with an exception among my informants' mostly negative views about Christian churches: an activist who sees Christian churches as a refuge which welcomes queers. In her interview, she mentioned she did 'Christian religion activism', that is, she celebrated her sexuality in her creed and disseminated information about the 'Christian faith reconciling it with sexuality and gender identity'.

The opposition between Christianity and queerness is not necessary, and queer Zimbabweans can be visible as queer Christians (Epprecht, 2013; Muparamoto, 2016). This activist conciliated her sexuality and religion by promoting dialogue within churches to show 'LGBTI people are also able to be in the Christian faith'. She was aware of the challenges to promote this synthesis, since her first experience of rejection took place at church and in them 'there are so many people of big names, who are up there, [and do] not allow people to actually hear us'. In her interview she explained how she resists this disputing heteronormative understandings of Christianity and queering god's identity in an inclusive Christian cosmogony that accepts queers:

> I try to always place God as They or Them … If we are agreeing that God is our creator and everything that we see right in front of us is within their creation, it means God is They or Them… That's what God is to me, a supreme being of power that I know that I came from and anything that is within me, in me, surrounding me, is from Them. There is no way that people can affirm a God that's a He and try to reject everything else that has been created by They or Them. So that's who or what God is to me: a creator and supreme being and higher power that is above me and what I have come to be and come to know.

Her worldview unifies Christianity and queerness by interpreting gender and sexuality from the theological notion that God created all beings as they are. From that perspective, God must have intended for her and other queers to have their non-heteronormative sexualities and genders. That way, she separates Christian spirituality and morality from formal religious institutions, contests literal biblical discourses which frame queer sexualities and genders as perverse, and normalises queerness as a manifestation of the divine.

This queer-inclusive Christian perspective demonstrates that queer resistance can be performed openly from Christian perspectives. This activist, however, enacts this outside Zimbabwe as she practices her religion and activism in South Africa. In this neighbouring country there are several queer-inclusive churches and laws which construct sexual citizenship differently from that of Zimbabwe. This case demonstrates, as does that discussed in chapter 7, that the diaspora can be a location from which it is possible to enact Zimbabwean queer citizenship. She spreads her message to Zimbabweans through digital activism, promoting the themes #queerchristian, #mysexualityisamistery, and #queerchurchgirl in social media campaigns, not in the physical space of Zimbabwean Christian churches.

This activism demonstrates how, as argued by Homewood (2012), Christian churches can be sources of community and acceptance where queerness is articulated in normative ways. However, although demonstrating how a queer Christian can celebrate their faith contesting discourses which oppose being Christian and queer, in my data this is not done by participating in religious services in Zimbabwean churches, which this activist recognized as hostile environments. My findings are at odds with Homewood's. While he found queerness was enacted in relationships of dissent among the straight Zimbabwean congregations, my informant was able to enact her homosexuality in a church were this was not seen as deviance. These divergent findings demonstrate how data archives shape research.

My findings were also constrained because my archive's data was restricted to Christian religious experiences. While this demonstrates how my findings' reach is limited, it does not mean that they are not valid. I offer an interpretation of certain ways sexual citizenship is enacted in Zimbabwe and do not claim to have conclusive and all-inclusive findings. My data on religion, although limited to the Christian faith is representative, since in Zimbabwe, like in other African locations, traditional religions have had less impact on political homophobia. This may be due to their lower levels of institutionalisation, their diminished status in contemporary African societies, or their ambivalent interpretations of same-sex practices (Van Klinken and Chitando, 2016a; Epprecht, 2004).

5.2 Enacting citizenship between a toilet and the justice system

The fundamental role of sexuality and gender in the structures of modern societies, shaping all aspects of the day-to-day lives is illustrated by the story of transgender activist Rikki Anne Nathanson. In this section I detail how in her experience the mundane act of using a restroom gained dramatic dimensions and was used to justify detention, abuses, and accusations of public nuisance. The first part of the section is descriptive, a choice I made to demonstrate the horror of her experiences, which severely impacted her and ultimately made her afraid for her life to the extent that she left Zimbabwe. The way Rikki[28] dealt with the trauma she endured opened, through a judicial victory and repeatedly retelling her story, a path to the recognition of transgender persons' citizenship in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. I tell her story based on the testimony she gave in the interview she granted me and the assessment of the transcript of the judicial decision (Bulawayo High Court, 2019) on the civil case she initiated in 2017 and was resolved two years later.

Rikki was born and raised in a very cosmopolitan family, whose ancestry demonstrates the diverse composition of Rhodesian and Zimbabwean societies. Her parents descended from Lithuanians and Indians who moved to southern Africa during the Second World War. Her ethnic background positioned her in an ambiguous position in the racist settler colonial hierarchy and within Zimbabwean citizenship, whose dominant discourses continued the Rhodesian tradition of dividing the population between blacks and whites. This may have influenced the sense she disclosed of always having felt that she did not fit in, even before transitioning.

Rikki was a successful entrepreneur and by the age of 25 was the youngest company secretary that ever worked at Zimbabwe's stock exchange. She discovered when she transitioned, however, that she could not occupy that space as a transwoman. The impossibility of her blue-chip career demonstrates the burden of sexual citizenship's moral boundaries. The issue of ethnicity, which – as demonstrated in chapter three – is far more recognized in Zimbabwean citizenship studies, had not been a problem for her to work in a large enterprise. As a transwoman, however, she was confronted with the brutal limits of sexual citizenship and could no longer occupy that position.

[28] You may notice throughout the section I use Rikki Nathanson's first name. I opted to do this because I want to enflesh her as a human being. I want to make you feel like you know her as a person. Maybe someone you care for. I do this because, after talking to her I do care about her.

Rikki established a modelling business, and it was while working on this project at a hotel that, in 2014, she was arrested. She was detained by six armed Zimbabwe Republic Police Officers after refusing to concede to a man who had tried to extort her and then called law enforcement to ‘fix’ her for being ‘a man walking around in a woman’s dress’ (Bulawayo High Court, 2019, 6). She was taken to the Bulawayo Central Police Station, where she was illegally detained for three days in inhuman circumstances. Since she arrived, she was kept in a cold and dirty cell and was repeatedly humiliated, declared to be ‘a man masquerading as a female’ (Bulawayo High Court, 2019, 6). Her detention demonstrates a threat which looms over transgender persons in Zimbabwe: because gender deviance from the sex attributed to one at birth is not recognized, trans persons can be criminalized for impersonation and false identity.

Rikki was forced to undress in front of five police officers who wanted to determine her gender. This examination, without her consent was inconclusive, and she was twice escorted to hospitals for ‘gender verification’ (Bulawayo High Court, 2019, 7) by doctors. The second doctor established that although biologically a man, she was transgender. This mismatch between legal and medical discourses demonstrates the ambiguity and fluidity of sexual citizenship. During her time in jail, Rikki was demeaned by the police while no charges were formalized against her. After three days she was let go and formally accused in court. Camminga (2020) stated that in African contexts the existence of transgender persons is frequently denied and they are understood as homosexuals, which allows framing their gender expression under the scope of sodomy laws. This was not Rikki’s case. Her detention was justified by the police based on her use of a hotel’s women’s restroom, declared a criminal nuisance (Bulawayo High Court, 2019, 8).

The commonplace act of using a public toilet, which many are required to perform several times a day, is a privilege which was morally off-limits to Rikki because of her gender. Preciado (2017) argues public restrooms’ architecture demonstrates segregation technologies which control and discipline gender through repeated performances of norms which are, that way, naturalized. These spaces, divided in line with the male/female diptych, defy the public/private split as they insert cisnormative domestic codes of gendered spatial distribution in collective spaces. The gender of the users is scrutinized by those who frequent the bathroom, and dissonance between the signs on the doors and the perceived gender of those who go through them can be punished and controlled by alerting public authorities, as was done with Rikki. Her harassment by an individual who had tried to blackmail her into giving him money demonstrates how a transgender performance disrupts cisnormative moral standards and, therefore, does not belong and has ‘to be fixed’ (Bulawayo High Court, 2019, 35).

Almost two years later the charges against Rikki were found groundless because there was no clear offence committed by her that fit into charges of criminal nuisance. Seeing her free, the man who first accused her and called the police felt entitled enough to threaten her and the public prosecutor outside court. Fearing for her safety, she went into hiding (Bulawayo High Court, 2019, 8). Her arrest and court appearance attracted a lot of negative attention from the press, and she was humiliated again in what she described to me as 'a very public case.' Having her citizenship denied in several ways due to her gender performance, Rikki decided to claim her rights by pursuing a civil suit against all who had wronged her. In her interview, she described her motivation to act:

> I felt to take it upon myself to stand up for myself and for other transgender individuals in the country. And for the abuse and violence that I experienced from the police. So, I took on a civil suit against the police of Zimbabwe, and the Minister of Home Affairs and the Police Commissioner. Everybody I could think of suing I sued in a civil suit.

Rikki sought, through a judicial strategy, to highlight the institutional dimension of the abuse she suffered and the of cisnormativity of Zimbabwean sexual citizenship which was displayed by the law enforcement apparatus. Taking upon herself to counteract the violence she was subjected to, by establishing judicial precedents, she enacted an act of citizenship which benefited the transgender community. Her case was heard in 2017 and two years later the High Court of Zimbabwe recognized, in a ground-breaking decision, that based on the incorrect assumption of her gender, Rikki was unlawfully arrested with no warrant and use of excessive force. It found that she was maliciously prosecuted and charged with a criminal offence which was not present in Zimbabwean criminal law, and that while in custody she was submitted to cruel, degrading, and inhumane treatment (Bulawayo High Court, 2019). Based on these findings the court ruled in her favour and that way affirmed her rights as a citizen.

The ruling judge defied the boundaries of sexual citizenship as he asserted recognized that the rights of transgender individuals must be respected because they are a part of Zimbabwean society. This was not the first successful trans litigation in the southern-African region. In 2017 two trans persons had their gender identity legally recognized in Botswana and, a couple of months before Rikki's case was finalised, Jade September's right to gender expression and to not be submitted to degrading treatment while imprisoned was recognised in South Africa. Recorded as jurisprudence, these legal decisions are milestones in trans citizenship. Their impact towards the respect of the rights of sexual minorities is international, since in line with the common-law tradition which prevails in these post-colonial states, they can be referenced in cases which arise in other countries which follow this body of law.

Rikki, however, was not able to enjoy her victory and the recognition of her rights in Zimbabwe. When interviewed, she disclosed that before the ruling came out, after being repeatedly followed and having her house broken into, she sought asylum in the United States of America (USA) fearing for her life. Once again, her experience demonstrated the degrees of sexual citizenship which curtail trans rights and deny them a liveable life.

The impacts of the violence and demoralisation Rikki underwent are still felt by her. In her interview, although open to discuss this (she raised the topic when presenting herself), she was visibly in pain: she looked away while talking about these events, implied that everyone knew what happened to her, and mentioned that this rekindled difficult emotions. Seeing her pain and knowing that her traumatic experience was widely publicised (I had previously read about the issue, had access to the judicial decision, and was confident that I could source information on that theme through documents), I steered the conversation to different topics.

The change in her countenance when discussing other issues was notable. Chatting about her family, for example, Rikki opened a broad and beautiful smile, as she described their close relationship which is strong even though they are dispersed worldwide. She also detailed her impressive work as part of the trans movement. She founded TREAT, 'the first trans-specific, trans identified, and trans-lead organization in Zimbabwe and the second in southern Africa'. She led 'the first regional trans movement to southern Africa, the Trans Forum' for five years. She worked at Casa Ruby in Washington and currently is at OutRight Action International and on the board of GATE (Global Action for Trans Equality), which was instrumental to the de-pathologizing of being transgender (World Health Organization, 2018).

I returned to the difficult subject towards the end of the conversation thanking her for sharing and acknowledging that it must have been difficult. She responded:

> I've told my story so many times. If I think of the day of my arrest and what happened, being arrested at gunpoint, and being taken to a side room and stripped naked in front of five police officers at gunpoint. That still hurts… It's still going to be painful to talk about, but it's necessary. I do understand the importance of why it needs to be done. And that's why I'm willing to speak to anybody I can because I do realize how… that can go a long way to correct the injustices that we face as trans identifying people.

Rikki used the word necessary to describe retelling her story as part of her activism. She understands talking about her past is imperative despite the pain it causes her. In recounting her plight, she demonstrates queer Zimbabweans inhabit the lower gradations of sexual citizenship. They are

discriminated in ordinary acts such as accessing a toilet, even though there are no specific laws against this. Even when the law is in their favour, substantively queers are not full citizens.

However, as well as the coercive power of the citizenship machinery, her story also demonstrates how sexual minorities can disrupt dominant cisnormative arrangements by standing up to those who harass them, even if that is the Zimbabwean state's disciplinary apparatus. She performed her claim to citizenship through the judicial system, another state institution, using inconsistencies between formal and substantive citizenship in her favour. Repeatedly narrating her story, she re-enacts this act of citizenship, revealing the limits Zimbabwean of sexual citizenship and unsettling them.

Witnessing the personal cost entailed by Rikki's activism, I inquired how she felt about it and if she saw herself as a brave. In response she reflected:

> To be honest I don't see it as being brave. Even when I decided to take on the state of Zimbabwe, I didn't look at it as an act of bravery. To me it was something I needed to do. Because throughout my life, especially if you're somebody who is different, like being trans for example, you question: What is my purpose? Why am I here? … I have never, to be honest, never thought of myself as being brave. But now, in retrospect when I think about it, I do see an aspect of bravery in what I do. Because I stand up to a lot of people. In all the pieces of work that I do, there is an aspect of fighting the system at varying levels… And I stood up to the government of Zimbabwe and I beat them… But then again, to me it is just who I am. And I always feel I need to fight for what I believe, or what I know to be the correct thing. If it means I've got to be brave to do it, that's what it is. But it hasn't been a conscious decision… I felt that this was my calling. To get this thing right. And I saw it through. I won. And I'm still alive today. So I think that I've achieved my purpose.

Rikki implied that she had no other option other than seeking reparation through the justice system, highlighting how being brave was not what motivated her to act as she did. There always are, however, different paths one can take, and inaction has performative impacts within discriminatory orders. In hindsight, Rikki recognized her approach was courageous. The complexity of her actions demonstrates the uncertainties which characterize an act of citizenship, whose political content takes shape after its enactment, through its effects. While taking legal action, Rikki did what she thought would help her to claim her rights as a citizen who had been denied them. During that process, her rights were not guaranteed, and she had to go into hiding. Her victory confirmed her entitlement to legal citizenship and, changing Zimbabwean judicial archives, contributed to trans citizenship more broadly.

Her case, initiated to deal with her personal trauma, addressed more than her individual rights and became a resource for other trans persons to claim their citizenship and not have to go through similar experiences. Rikki's final thoughts in the excerpt indicate this contribution to the trans community makes it bearable for her to repeatedly relive the violence she endured as she tells her story. For her, to come out

alive from the traumatic experiences she went through and be victorious in court gives meaning to her life. Therefore, despite the pain that reliving her past entails, she continues to tell the story, re-enacting performances of citizenship that highlight the limitations of transgender Zimbabwean sexual citizenship and demonstrate how these boundaries can be contested and more inclusive citizenship arrangements promoted.

As Rikki looked back she recognized there is bravery in her actions and the judicial affirmation of her legal citizenship can be framed as a victory for the trans movement. Rikki left a judicial legacy which breaches the cisnormative borders of Zimbabwean sexual citizenship. Her success is, however, ambiguous. Although it confirmed her legal rights, it did not protect her from stigma and social hostility. While the case was being decided she denied full citizenship. Fearing for her life and not able to count on her right to protection, she had to leave Zimbabwe. As such, she can be seen as a martyr of sexual citizenship. This interpretation is strategically valuable to the transgender movement, as was demonstrated by several of the queer activists I interviewed mentioning it as a milestone in the recognition of their rights.

Rikki has developed impressive work in several fronts to contribute to the transgender movement in Zimbabwe, southern Africa, and globally. Considering the structural modern/colonial sexual geopolitics, some may be tempted to extend this narrative from a western-centric and Christian approach to interpret her sanctuary in the USA as being reborn in a queer paradise after her metaphorical sacrificial death in Zimbabwe. Rikki, however, is aware sexual citizenship in her new home is also limited. She admitted in her interview that she had fantasised about living in the USA, but the day-to-day as a transgender refugee made her aware of how sexual citizenship there was also exclusionary:

> Before I left it all seemed amazing… it was like a fairy-tale fantasy. You know, the USA, a first-world country, being able to walk around freely as a trans woman. But living here now I realize the flaws in the system, the civil rights, and racial injustices. The racial injustice that was highlighted by the George Floyd case was a shocker to me. I was coming from a country that had been colonized, that was free… And then to come here and to see only last year they were changing street names, they were taking down statues, and things which in Zimbabwe and South Africa took ten years.

Rikki was appalled by the socio-political problems in the USA. Her perspective as a transwoman from a country with a vibrant anti-colonial history allows reversing racist narratives which, from a unilinear notion of progress, idealize the west. Her surprise at the racial injustices in North America is understandable given that dominant modern/colonial geopolitics tend to obscure the USA's colonial

history. She reverses notions of western superiority highlighting that the USA was not able to achieve in more than 200 years of independence and 150 years of the abolition of slavery what Zimbabwe and South Africa were able to do in ten.

Rikki contested international hierarchies as she described her work at Casa Ruby, an organization named after a transwoman refugee which is based in Washington and provides social services for LGBTQs. In that position she was constantly in contact with black and brown persons in situations of homelessness and poverty to an extent she 'had never, ever been privy to before'. Rikki was also alarmed by the high incidence of violence against trans women of colour in the USA, which she attributed to

> the same issues we have back home: discrimination, no education, bullying, depression, suicide. The issues that we have as trans people are the same across the globe… I can relate to what's going on in the global south and, looking at what's going on in the global north, it is actually the same.

Rikki did not reaffirm dualist notions of international geopolitics. She is aware of the intersectional nature of the exclusions and how these entangle national and international politics in ways which defy the western-centric division of the world between normal and pathological states. She challenges geopolitical dichotomies denouncing the pervasiveness of the challenges faced by trans persons and emphasising how cisnormative sexual citizenship is common among very different units which are part of the same modern capitalist state system.

5.3 Concluding summary

This chapter focused on queer Zimbabweans performances of belonging and citizenship enacted while they navigate scenes which are part of their ordinary every day, such as their relationships with families, church communities, and their access to public toilets. Their discourses reveal these commonplace scenes are dominated by cis/heteronormative discourses which deny them belonging. To counter this, the activists develop different approaches. Their acts include leaving these groups and building others where they feel they fit in, re-interpreting the logics which base their membership, or using judicial instruments to challenge sexual citizenship arrangements.

This chapter contributes to the thesis by demonstrating how the cis/heteronormative discourses of the sexual citizenship machinery delimit the moral community and influence social relationships within families and local communities. It demonstrates how formal citizenship, which emulates blood families,

can be superseded by substantive citizenship, a citizenship of care and solidarity resembling the ties of families of choice. This way the chapter also strengthens the thesis' critique of the public/private dichotomy.

Detailing the activists' diverse strategies, the chapter also demonstrates how queer Zimbabwean activists develop new forms of belonging in their everyday by performing citizenship in ways which make sense in their specific contexts. These approaches are different from western ones and demonstrate how they value their social relationships in line with *Ubuntu* ideology. This way, the chapter also connects this research with other queer African studies which highlight the strength of African communitarian traditions and politics of discretion. The comparison with other queer African studies also highlights the limitations of my archive, which does not cover all the ways in which queer Zimbabweans sexuality and religiosity are connected.

Rikki's action through the justice system to claim rights which are foreseen in Zimbabwean law also demonstrates how formal and substantive citizenship can clash. The results of her case are ambiguous: they strengthened the entitlements of the trans community in Zimbabwe and demonstrated how the boundaries of sexual citizenship can be contested, providing resources for trans struggles beyond national boundaries. Having to leave Zimbabwe to be safe, however, she was not able to enjoy the full Zimbabwean citizenship the court recognized she was entitled to. Repeatedly reliving her painful past as she retells her story, Rikki demonstrates her allegiance to and membership in the trans community. This group which can be understood as her substantive community is not circumscribed by state borders. Dedicating them a citizenship of care Rikki contributes to defy cis/heteronormative sexual citizenship arrangements in and beyond Zimbabwe.

The chapter also showed some limitations of my data and, therefore, my research. Differently from what I found, the literature demonstrates queerness and Christianity are not necessarily opposed, and churches can be community which offer acceptance even within Zimbabwe. While this divergence demonstrates the boundaries of my archive, it does not invalidate the research. As I declared in chapter one, I do not offer a final interpretation which covers all the ways in which queer Zimbabwean citizenship is enacted. Although limited, my findings reflect the reality of some queer Zimbabweans and can be valuable for further queer African studies.

Chapter 6:
The struggle continues! Dislocating the borders of belonging by commemorating independence

> A patriot is not a weapon. A patriot is one who wrestles for the soul of her country as she wrestles for her own being (Rich, 1991).

'[R]ituals of commemoration are among the most important instances of the enactment of citizenship' (Morrison, 2008a, 289). These events demonstrate the disputes over the borders of belonging as they reveal different interpretations and constructions of what is being commemorated and what such a date constitutes as the state's foundational myths. Dominant understandings of Zimbabwean citizenship were constructed by ZANU-PF supported by the anti-colonial liberation war. This allows drawing Zimbabwe's borders through opposition to British imperialism and Zimbabwean citizenship through demonstrations of loyalty (Dorman, 2014) to the post-colonial state, the ruling regime, and by continuing the struggle for independence. This same opposition to western imperialism allows positioning queers in Zimbabwe, as in other African states, beyond citizenship by emphasising the supposed foreign origin of homosexuality and how it constitutes a threat to the state. In this chapter I analyse how queer Zimbabwean activists enact citizenship as they discursively oppose this exclusionary narrative using the commemoration of Zimbabwean independence to perform acts of citizenship. This event is traditionally celebrated on the 18th April with festivities around the country and thousands of people gathering at Harare where the lighting of the 'eternal flame of independence' (Ziwira, 2020, [no pagination]) takes place, and the president speaks to the nation.

The analysis is based on GALZ's discourses about what it means to celebrate Zimbabwean independence, or the official end of colonial domination and minority rule. To that end I analysed written documents produced and publicized by GALZ in its website on the topic of commemorating the national independence day between 2018 and 2021 (GALZ, 2018b, 2019a, 2020, 2021a) – the years when such statements were publicized. I analysed these documents considering this ritualistic event provides an opportunity for queer Zimbabwean activists to engage well-known narratives and (re)construct the borders of belonging. There are many resemblances among the texts, and some passages are repeated verbatim. I therefore created an assemblage of GALZ's texts using excerpts from them.

The chapter is divided in three main sections, which are structured to demonstrate how, through these texts, GALZ enacts queer Zimbabwean's claims to substantive citizenship. In the first section, I show how the association interprets the importance of the revolutionary struggle to the nation-building process. Using this well-known symbol and the national flag they demonstrate their loyalty to the state within the terms proposed by ZANU-PF and, therefore, as subjects worthy of citizenship.

The second section describes how the activists denounce colonialism, its legacies, and British imperialism, framing them as threats to the independence of all Zimbabweans, heterosexual and queer. This way GALZ disrupts heteronormative nationalism by positioning queers are on the same level as other citizens and that way implicating the rest of the population in its anti-imperialist act.

The third section demonstrates how GALZ critically engages the results of Zimbabwe's independence. The activists claim the end of colonial/minority rule was not enough to build the citizenship all Zimbabweans, queer and heteronormative, expected. The association demonstrate queer Zimbabweans' loyalty to the state by framing its activism as the continuation of the revolutionary struggles. That allows it to reinterpret the fight for independence and citizenship in terms of accessing human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Engaging themes which prevail in ZANU-PF's nationalist discourses while offering GALZ's perspective of what their country's independence means, the statements show how the activists enact their citizenship. The analysis contributes to the thesis by demonstrating how the activists strategically use the independence commemorations to reinterpret popular national symbols and that way present themselves as loyal subjects and claim their citizenship.

6.1 GALZ joins the Nation celebrating the fight for liberation

The publicization by GALZ of texts celebrating Zimbabwe's independence demonstrates how the organization uses well-known symbols repeatedly performed by ZANU-PF to, from an unauthorised position, claim their citizenship. They showcase the activists' skills to re-signify tacit discourses all Zimbabweans can interpret to, in a non-confrontational way, position queers within the borders of belonging.

This is demonstrated from the beginning of the texts, in written but through images, which increases their visual appeal. The four statements are headed by images of flags: In 2019 and 2020, an illustration

of the Zimbabwean national flag (Figure 1) is displayed. In 2018 and 2021 (Figure 2), the texts are preceded by a picture containing two emblems: the Zimbabwean national flag and the rainbow flag, which is associated with the LGBT movement. Both flags are hoisted to the top of their respective poles and flutter in the wind against a bright blue sky.

Figure 1: Image heading GALZ 2019 and 2020 independent statements

Source: GALZ, 2019a, 2020

Figure 2: Image heading GALZ 2018 and 2021 independent statements

Source: GALZ, 2018b, 2021

These visual choices manifest GALZ's patriotism. They also demonstrate that the opposition between homosexuality and being Zimbabwean is not necessary. This stance is explicit in Figure 2, where the flags representing the southern-African country and the LGBT movement wave in the wind, side by side against the blue backdrop which emanates energy and heat, conveying a sense of optimism. Next to each other the symbols of queerness and Zimbabwe demonstrate how these two identities are on the same level and can coexist. This image challenges the notion that being Zimbabwean precludes homosexuality.

Figure 1 performs a similar message. The limitation of the imagery to just one flag, the Zimbabwean national emblem, may seem to be less contentious in a text about the commemoration of independence. However, its use by an association which describes itself as serving the needs of the LGBTI community in Zimbabwe is disruptive. Since 2016, following the #ThisFlag movement initiated by pastor Evan Mawarire, the use of the Zimbabwean flag became a symbol of anti-government protest. Zimbabwean citizens use the flag to criticise ZANU-PF's governance while demonstrating their patriotism. This is done by disputing the connection between the national flag with ZANU-PF (Dodo, 2016) – whose flag uses the same colours (ZANU-PF, no date).

GALZ's use of the national banner is simultaneously a testament of GALZ's patriotism and a challenge to heteronormative sexual citizenship. Queer Zimbabweans may not be commonly associated with the national flag nor be explicitly included in Figure 1 as they are in Figure 2. They are, however, represented everywhere on the website which hosts the Zimbabwean flag. By using the national emblem in this way the association asserts the identity of queer Zimbabweans and stakes their claim to membership in the polity.

The message that GALZ and sexual minorities belong is also conveyed through written words. The opening paragraphs of the 2019 and 2020 documents (with small variations in the text from 2018) express the association's connection to the Zimbabwean nation as it celebrates the independence milestone. Reaffirming the well-known trope of Zimbabwe being born from the liberation struggles, GALZ declares:

> GALZ joins the nation in commemorating… independence from minority rule. GALZ applauds the courageous efforts of men and women, past and present that have fought and continue to fight for the total liberation of Zimbabwe (GALZ, 2019a; 2020, [no pagination]).

The organization specifies that what is being celebrated in the independence commemorations is the end of minority rule and attributes this achievement to the liberation struggles. The acknowledgement of the efforts of those who fought in the liberation war is a recognizable nation-building narrative, one which is a central element in the ZANU-PF's nationalism. In 2006, for example, Mugabe stated in the occasion that the independence 'was achieved first and foremost through the gallant efforts of our sons and daughters, the freedom fighters or liberation veterans' (Mugabe, 2016, 37). As mentioned in chapter three, the narratives of patriotic history promoted by ZANU-PF since the mid-1990s divided Zimbabweans between revolutionaries and sell-outs (Ranger, 2004; Raftopoulos, 2009). This antagonism was buttressed on the interpretation that participating in the revolutionary struggles against colonial domination demonstrated allegiance to the nation (Ranger, 2010, 2004b; Mlambo, 2013; Muzondidya, 2009). These narratives classified citizens in descending gradations, placing contributors to the liberation struggles at the top, as authentic and patriotic Zimbabweans or 'super-citizens' (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003, 27).

Highlighting the importance of the revolutionary struggle in its discourses, GALZ positions itself and queer Zimbabweans as citizens who celebrate Zimbabwe's independence and the heroes who fought for it. Using the trope of the revolutionary struggle GALZ inserts queer Zimbabweans within the borders of belonging established by dominant bellicose constructions of nationalism. It enacts a non-confrontational performance of citizenship which, by reaffirming dominant discourses that exalt war and fighting, euphemizes the sexual aspect of citizenship to reverse its exclusionary logics. Employing the tools that ZANU-PF uses to mobilize support to re-interpret the moral borders of belonging, GALZ disrupts the party's monopoly over the symbol of the struggle for independence.

6.2 Fighting the legacies of colonialism

Logics of equivalence (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) are a strategic way to discursively build alliances. They divide the socio-political space between two antagonistic poles by establishing chains of equivalence between different social groups who share their opposition to a discursively constructed threat. That way they can dislocate the borders of belonging and join normative and deviant groups against a common antagonist. The previous section detailed how GALZ mobilized the well-known trope of the fighting the liberation war to discursively construct itself as loyal to the nation. This section demonstrates how it uses antagonism against colonial domination – another recurrent element in Zimbabwean nationalist narratives connected to the liberation war – to discursively connect queer Zimbabweans to other citizens who inhabit the upper levels of sexual citizenship.

In its independence statements, GALZ frames the legislation which criminalises same-sex intimacy between men as a colonial legacy:

> We should not ignore the fact that the current legal system which oppresses our community in Zimbabwe was modelled on the Rhodesian system of domination. Section 73 of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act is a Rhodesian law which has long since outlived its time and has no place in present day Zimbabwe and GALZ and the LGBT community should propel our efforts to have this archaic law abolished. (GALZ, 2020, [no pagination])

Zimbabwe's current legislation outlaws same-sex marriages (Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe, 2013), criminalizes same-sex sexual relations between men, allows framing sexual relations between women as indecent acts, and deviant gender performances as identity fraud (Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe, 2008). GALZ mentioned in the passage the specific section of the criminal law which outlaws sodomy. Connecting this legislation with Rhodesian settler colonialism, the association mobilizes anti-colonialism to challenge the criminalization of queer Zimbabweans. GALZ frames colonialism in a way similar to ZANU-PF's patriotic history narrative: as a threat to the nation which must be repelled. It reverses, however, the narrative that homosexuality is a foreign threat and, instead, frames homophobic laws as the imperial legacy. By demonstrating how institutionalized homophobia, which criminalizes persons who do not fit in heteronormative roles, was brought to Zimbabwe by imperial rule, GALZ performs an act of citizenship which establishes new boundaries of post-colonial citizenship. Similar strategies have been developed by queer activists throughout Africa and other post-colonial states (Garrido, 2019; Rao, 2020a, 2014; Nyanzi, 2013a; Macharia, 2015; Currier and Gogul, 2020).

The association defies legal sexual citizenship exclusions while reaffirming patriotic history's anti-colonial discourse by arguing that the continuation of sodomy laws has no place in independent Zimbabwe. These laws are interpreted as an indicator that decolonization is unfinished and they should be repelled for liberation to advance. This message is strengthened by GALZ's repeated use of the theme of (the liberation) fight throughout the independence commemoration texts. The 2018 and 2020 statements end with '*Aluta*!' – or the fight/struggle in Portuguese.[29] This slogan was often used by Mugabe to finish his speeches with '*Aluta Continua*!' (Mugabe, 2016a), or the struggle continues, to indicate that the fight for independence was not over. GALZ's use of this popular expression demonstrates the association does not confront patriotic history discourses and pays homage to the liberation struggles. It also redirects the importance of continuing the fight to achieve Zimbabwean sovereignty towards addressing the colonial legacy of sodomy laws, using them to demonstrate that the construction of independent Zimbabwe and its citizenship are still under way.

Nation-building is not a harmonious process. It implies the violent differentiation of social groups to impose a homogenous national identity over other forms of life (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011, 10, 20). Despite their differences, Zimbabwean liberation movements shared an anti-colonial stance in their nation-building projects (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011; Alexander, McGregor and Ranger, 2000). Framing the criminalization of sexual minorities as a colonial legacy, GALZ activates a powerful element in the project of forging a common Zimbabwean identity and citizenship. Claiming it was not homosexuality, but the institutional persecution of nonconformity that was inserted in the territory through colonialism, the association disrupts interpretations of homosexuality as part of the colonial threat. Interpreting the criminalization of queers as part of colonialism and coupling it with the need to continue the liberation struggle, GALZ's disturbs heteronormative understandings of Zimbabweanness and invites patriots to fight the sodomy laws.

GALZ non-confrontational approach towards the ruling regime's discourses is also confirmed by not attributing any responsibility to ZANU-PF for maintaining colonial laws. Instead, the association seeks its support as it:

[29] This slogan was initially used by Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO's (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*, or Mozambique Liberation Front) first President, to mobilize the population (Africa Information Service, 1973). It became an important trope in the liberated areas of Mozambique and in Southern Africa. Its reach was continental and long lasting, and was subsequently used in Nigerian and South African higher education students' movements, as well as by Ugandan queer activists (BBC News, 2011a; Zouhali-Worrall and Fairfax Wright, 2012).

> encourage[s] the President of the Republic to disinherit the archaic British colonial laws that are used to punish and discriminate LGBTI individuals in Zimbabwe (GALZ, 2018b, [no pagination]).

Openly antagonizing the state can entail further oppression. Seeking presidential support to continue the fight to overcome the colonial past by decriminalising queer Zimbabweans GALZ positions itself as an agent working towards nation-building in partnership with the ruling party. It obscures post-colonial elites' practices of reinterpreting tradition to consolidate their power. This way the association demonstrates its loyalty to the ruling party, attests its patriotic credentials and, therefore, enacts queer Zimbabweans' place as loyal citizens.

In the above excerpt the association highlights British imperialism's role in Zimbabwe's problems. Blaming the Rhodesian Front would limit the potency of GALZ's discourse because this white supremacy regime no longer exists, and therefore does not warrant the continuation of the struggle. Directing the critique towards the UK justifies the continuation of the fight and counters the ruling party's discourses which, as mentioned in chapter three, frame sexual minorities as western puppets, that way strengthening its claim to citizenship.

Denouncing Britain's role in the criminalization of sexual minorities GALZ's also disturbs the homonationalist divide of the world between normal and deviant states according to their sexual citizenship arrangements. This discourse establishes being 'gay-friendly' is a desirable indicator of development, civilization, and capacity for national sovereignty, and therefore to legitimate international hierarchies. Homonationalism obscures how laws targeting sexual minorities of many western states changed only in the 20th century, as queer liberal subjects endowed with the right to privacy and economic freedom became a symbol of normality. As mentioned in chapter three, the UK has used homonationalism in its foreign policies to reaffirm its normalcy as a moral member of the international community, declaring it would condition its foreign aid to respect for sexual minorities' rights. By highlighting the role of the UK in the establishment of Zimbabwean sodomy the association reminds Zimbabweans that the British did promote homophobia. It reveals the inconsistencies of the former imperial power's politics towards sexual minorities, that way demoralizing its approach to queer inclusion, and attesting its own anti-imperialist politics.

Representing sodomy laws as something 'archaic' which 'has long since outlived its time', GALZ claims they are not acceptable in the post-colonial present. Sexual minorities' full citizenship, however, is a necessary element in the nation-building process because the continuation of queer criminalisation

extends colonial control. This way GALZ antagonises colonialism, attests its loyalty to the state, and demonstrates how the association engages international power hierarchies to enact queers' claim to citizenship.

6.3 Implicating the population in the fight against the failures of post-colonial citizenship

Zimbabwean nationalisms are modernist projects which emerged as a response to the challenges of colonialism imbued with aspirations of participating in modernity – understood as nation-building, in terms of the 'making of nation-as-state' and 'making of nation-as-people' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011, 10). The GALZ independence celebration statements consider the expectations the Zimbabwean citizenry had with the end of colonial domination and minority rule but were not fulfilled. These failures include the persistence of an economic crisis, the ruling regime's increasing authoritarianism, and the denial of basic rights such as freedom of expression and peaceful dissent to the entire population and protection to sexual minorities.

These problems cast a shadow over the independence commemorations. This section demonstrates how GALZ exposes the limitations of all Zimbabweans' post-colonial citizenship, not just queer ones. Employing logics of equivalence between queer and normative Zimbabweans the association demonstrates they are all denied substantive citizenship. At the same time, framing their activism as continuing the nation-building, the activists also demonstrate their loyalty to the state and that way establish their entitlement to full citizenship.

In the 2020 commemoration statement, GALZ compares with its own anniversary to Zimabbwe's:

> GALZ's 30 Anniversary is a real cause for celebration across the LGBTI sector in Zimbabwe and the region, providing an opportunity to pause, reflect and appreciate the achievements since its inception. Undoubtedly the founding members of GALZ could not have foreseen GALZ's immense impact on the LGBTI community in Zimbabwe. Today, over a dozen LGBTI organisations are active in Zimbabwe providing various services to the community. The founding members could argue that their goal was achieved. We are proud of this achievement. (GALZ, 2020).

Casting GALZ's birthday as an authentic commemoration the association raises the question of whether there are reasons to celebrate Zimbabwe's anniversary. The use of the word real implies that life in post-colonial Zimbabwe may not be something worth celebrating and hints there are failures in

Zimbabwean nation-building which limit Zimbabwean citizenship. GALZ's anniversary also highlights the importance of queer activists' victories. Even if they were not able to guarantee queer subjects full citizenship or end violence and discrimination, they contributed to the development of other associations which are advancing queers' claims to substantive citizenship. This way the association proposes an equivalence between queer activists and the heroes of liberation celebrated by ZANU-PF.

Representing itself as an agent of liberation, thus mobilizing an important symbol in dominant understandings of Zimbabwean patriotism, GALZ counters representations of sexual minorities as threats to the nation:

> Against a background of being society's scapegoats to deflect attention from glaring shortcomings by inciting homophobia, GALZ has fought an uphill struggle every step of the way to gain audience and recognition. We stayed the course and continue to chip away steadily on the structures that hinder our liberation. (GALZ, 2020).

Reinforcing the narrative that queer activists are continuing the liberation fight, this section also denounces the use of sexual minorities to obscure the failures of independence. This way the organization hints that all Zimbabweans, queers and heteronormative have been denied their entitlements and deserve more from their citizenship. Fighting for liberation, GALZ's efforts are framed as contributing not only to its queer constituency, but to the benefit of the entire citizenry.

The 2018 statement also emphasised GALZ's struggles, declaring 'We believe that sustained activism based on a politics of hope can win extremely inspirational victories, as it is the basic policy of GALZ, to turn apparent defeat into triumph.' (GALZ, 2018b). Queer activism is announced as a path to reverse the flaws of post-colonial citizenship and, that way, contribute to the nation-building. This way GALZ reaffirms the understanding of Zimbabwean citizenship as something that is earned through demonstrations of loyalty (Dorman, 2014), much like ZANU-PF does in its nationalist narratives. Using the familiar narrative of fighting to demonstrate patriotism, the association makes a strong claim to Zimbabwean citizenship while reversing heteronormative understandings of who fights for the nation.

In the 2020 independence celebration statement, GALZ lists the shortcomings of the post-colonial citizenship it referenced which put in question the success of the independence struggle:

> Despite the great strides taken to ensure total independence and equal opportunities for all Zimbabweans by Government and various stakeholders, GALZ notes that a large section of the population still experiences difficulties in enjoying the fruits of this hard-won Independence that they are entitled to as equal citizens in

> Zimbabwe. The immediate challenges the nation is facing in overcoming social deprivations such as violence, unemployment, education and a health crisis compounded by the global pandemic has impacted negatively on Zimbabwean citizenry, affecting [its] ability to enjoy fundamental rights and freedoms which are a key tenant of Independence. (GALZ, 2020)

While recognizing the efforts made to build the nation, GALZ argues that the expectations of independence were not met. The association lists hardships that citizens have endured which hinder the access to equal opportunities and fundamental rights and freedoms to all Zimbabweans.

In similar fashion to neighbouring Southern Africa, Rhodesian settler colonialism was marked by intense racial segregation. The expectations of citizenship after its end can be associated with the concept of National Democratic Revolution (NDR), articulated by the South-African African National Congress. According to Thabo Mbeki (cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011, 61-62) the revolution required a first phase of achieving political independence from colonial domination and minority rule. This would be followed by a second stage when poverty and underdevelopment would be tackled by reducing inequalities while ensuring economic growth and cementing democracy. These prospects reflect what Ferguson (2019) identifies as the mythology of modernization which, since the 1960s, supported the idea that Africa and post-colonial African states were emerging, that is, converging with industrialised states in line with a western model of modernization and development.

In line with this progressist teleology of modernity, Zimbabwe's first decade after independence was characterized by optimist promise: the post-colonial state was seen by the international community as a stable young democracy promoting racial reconciliation and offering a possible model to be followed by neighbouring South-Africa (Chan, 2003). During that time ZANU's nation-building efforts were developed entangled in national, regional, and international power struggles (Engel, 1994). The party sought hegemony in the domestic political scene while strategically managing the influence of the cold war and the threat of the apartheid regime in neighbouring South Africa (Nkiwane, 2001; Van Wyk, 2002; Clapham, 1996). Within this unstable balance and restricted by the Lancaster House Agreement, the government emphasized racial equality to unite the nation while maintaining white economic privileges and gradually extending social rights to the black population (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011; Hammar and Raftopoulos 2003, 25).

Since the mid-1990s when the Zimbabwean economic and political crisis began, however, the state's promise of development lost its credibility, and what was seen as potential became the threat of decadence. Civil society movements contested the meanings ZANU-PF attributed to Zimbabwean

citizenship, instead connecting it with human rights, increased governmental accountability, respect for the national constitution, freedom for social movements and trade unions, while advocating for the expansion of democratic spaces (Dwyer and Zeilig, 2012). In response to the challenge which these mobilisations posed to its hegemony, ZANU-PF increased its authoritarianism and reframed notions of belonging by polarizing society between its supporters and the opposition. While the former were affirmed as super-citizens, the latter were declared enemies of the nation and therefore undeserving of citizenship (Raftopoulos, 2009). This shift curtailed NDR downplaying the connection between liberation, democracy, and human rights, now framing their demand as a neo-imperial project which threatened sovereignty (Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003; Jeater, 2013; Muzondidya, 2009; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Raftopoulos, 2009, 2007).

GALZ recovers the NDR discourse promoted by ZANU(-PF) during the liberation struggle and the 1980s by emphasizing the principles of equality and fundamental rights. Recuperating the imaginary of the revolution, it indicates the discrepancy between the citizenship Zimbabweans expected and feel entitled to, and what most of the Zimbabwean citizenry got in their post-colonial society: social deprivation, violence, unemployment, and shortcoming education and health. This way the association demonstrates how ZANU-PF's 1990s patriotic history nationalism limits the aims of the independence struggle in exclusionary interpretations of citizenship. It downplays the division of the nation between revolutionaries and sell-outs while highlighting the frustrated expectations of liberation. Enumerating the unrealised expectations of all Zimbabwean citizens, the association implicates the rest of the population in the act of citizenship it performs through the independence commemoration texts. Defining the entitlements expected by the population GALZ enacts a call for their allegiance to its claims for substantive citizenship to be realized.

A similar strategy of focusing on the frustrations of the citizenry was also developed by Zimbabwean opposition to criticise the ZAN-PF administration. It also used the mantra '*Aluta*!' to indicate that the struggle needs to continue because Zimbabwe's political and economic challenges persist (Matenga, 2019). GALZ's discourse also converges with that of other Zimbabwean social movements – in particular the trade union movement which later organised the MDC and became the most effective political opposition to ZANU-PF. Both frame citizenship from a liberal democratic perspective, as the fundamental rights and freedoms Zimbabwean citizens are entitled to (Dwyer and Zeilig, 2012; Raftopoulos, 2009). When the association specifies that '[o]ne of the reasons for the struggle for Independence was to bring about equality for all before the law' (GALZ, 2018b) it merges the narrative

of equality, present in ZANU-PF's original national liberation narratives, with the liberal approach to citizenship which emphasizes the legal rights of citizens. This way it disrupts the polarization of society between patriots and sell-outs and proposes reconciliation.

Having underscored the shortcomings of Zimbabwean citizenship, GALZ describes the limitations of queer Zimbabwean's sexual citizenship:

> Despite the greats strides taken to ensure independence and equal opportunities for all Zimbabweans…, our community continues to live in fear of violence and abuse… because of their real or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity (GALZ, 2018b).

Describing how queer Zimbabweans are prevented from accessing the equality they expected to achieve with independence, GALZ positions itself and its constituency on the same standing as other Zimbabwean citizens: frustrated with their independence because their entitlements are not fulfilled. This way, the association performs an act of citizenship which includes heteronormative citizens in its fight to disturb the legitimacy of descending levels of sexual citizenship. The limited access of all to citizenship is highlighted by citing some challenges faced by all who are *perceived* as queer, regardless of how they identify.

By framing queer Zimbabweans grievances as shared by the rest of the citizenry, the activists include non-queers in their act which embodies the collective will and opens the possibility of an alliance of disenfranchised social groups to claim their full citizenship. This act of citizenship, performed during the ritual commemoration of the birth of the Zimbabwean state and, with it, Zimbabwean citizenship, demonstrates how GALZ opens possibilities of a more inclusive sexual citizenship. It also shows how this research can draw attention to possible alliances which have potential to contribute to Zimbabwean and African political disputes over citizenship and democratization which are entwined with sexual politics as identified by queer African studies (Nyeck and Epprecht, 2013a).

Reminding the reader that independence was fought for all Zimbabweans, GALZ recuperates the universalist claim for equal rights of Zimbabwean liberation narratives. ZANU(-PF) interpreted this narrative in racial terms as it claimed the inclusion of black Zimbabweans as full members of the post-colonial state (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Hammar and Raftopoulos, 2003) and obscured the exclusion of sexual minorities. When GALZ, an association whose vision is to achieve 'a just society that promotes and protects human rights of LGBTI people as equal citizens in Zimbabwe' (GALZ, no date), lays claim to this universal from which its constituency is excluded, it performs a tension. The activists speak

from a position of 'promising ambivalence' (Butler, 1997, 368), simultaneously authorized as Zimbabweans and de-authorized as queers. Demonstrating the limitations of Zimbabwean citizenship that affect most citizens and including queer Zimbabweans among them, GALZ exposes the limitations of Zimbabwean citizenship and the discrimination upon which it is based. That way, the activists dislocate heteronormative discourses and assume the role of 'claim-making subjects' (Isin, 2017, 2008: 16) who enact queer Zimbabwean's claims to full citizenship.

While highlighting the limits of citizenship in post-colonial Zimbabwe and establishing equivalence between queer and normative citizens, GALZ does not explicitly identify the antagonist who impedes the enjoyment of full citizenship by all Zimbabweans. This antagonist can be interpreted as the ruling elite considering the instrumental use of homophobia by ZANU-PF to obscure the shortcomings of its administration (Youde, 2017; Ireland, 2013; Bosia and Weiss, 2013). This understanding is supported by the reports of elite accumulation of land and wealth, state-sanctioned violence against workers and peasants, and structural heterosexism (Dashwood, 2000; Mlambo, 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011; Muzondidya, 2009; Cheater and Gaidzanwa, 1996). The organization's refusal to explicitly name this antagonist in its independence statements demonstrates it is using the 'weapons of the organised' (Kabeer, Milward and Sudarshan, 2013, 251).

Activists can use soft power tactics appropriating and reframing well-known nationalist tropes and narratives to claim the legitimacy of their full citizenship. This strategy allows them to engage power hierarchies and promote change without directly confronting the state which, in authoritarian contexts, could backfire and result in further oppression (Česnulytė, 2017; Kabeer, Milward and Sudarshan, 2013). Through its statements GALZ claims queers belong and are part of Zimbabwean citizenry in equal terms with the rest of the population in a way that is not threatening to the established regime, so as not to 'ruffle the waters'(Česnulytė, 2017). Instead, it seeks its aid:

> We call on the leadership to implement progressive measures in the application of rights and freedoms already enshrined in the Constitution such as those pertaining to privacy, human dignity, non-discrimination, right to assemble and health access, which proactively encourage a culture of meaningful human rights protection in this country including interventions in the legal, health, education and medical spheres. Only then can we truly be free. We encourage the President to strive to create an environment of tolerance and respect among Zimbabweans and that all citizens are treated with dignity and respect (GALZ, 2021a).

Similar messages were included in the commemoration statements for Zimbabwe's 39th and 40th anniversaries (GALZ, 2019a, 2020), calling on the president to extend substantive citizenship to all. This

appeal is an act of citizenship which involves the government's leadership in the project of accessing full citizenship while framing this as the continuation of the liberation struggle. Instead of antagonizing ZANU-PF, GALZ enacts claims to citizenship supported by elements of anti-colonial liberation narratives in a two-pronged strategy to dislocate the boundaries and the very meaning of citizenship. It demonstrates it is loyal to the state by a) acknowledging ZANU-PF's efforts to fight for independence, b) demonstrating it also contributes to this fight, and c) appealing to the government to further Zimbabweans' access to their full citizenship. This way it legitimates queer Zimbabweans entitlement to full citizenship based on their allegiance (Dorman, 2014). At the same time, it draws attention to the shortcomings of citizenship as defined in the Zimbabwean constitution – a symbol of national sovereignty. This way the activists dislocate the meaning of Zimbabwean citizenship towards a liberal democratic approach, in terms of human rights and freedoms, whose enjoyment would signify full access to citizenship.

6.5 Concluding summary

This chapter demonstrated how, as proposed by Morrison (2008a), commemoration rituals offer an opportunity to examine different interpretations of citizenship which reveal disputes over its contents and over who is positioned within or outside its borders. Although limited to discourses produced by one LGBT association, the texts analysed show queer activists strategically engage Zimbabwean independence commemorations to perform an act of citizenship. This event allows them to, from an unauthorised position, to re-interpret citizenship in a way that places them within the borders of belonging by being simultaneously loyal to the state and government, and by fighting for values such as the right to equality.

They do this using the well-known trope of the revolutionary struggle to frame its activism as the continuation of the fight for independence. Reaffirming dominant narratives that identify Zimbabwe's origins in the liberation struggle and the valour of those who fought it GALZ enacts a non-confrontational act of citizenship. It uses these taken for granted elements to demonstrate its allegiance to the state and government and, from that position, dislocate dominant discourses which frame sexual minorities as threats to the nation, that way disrupting the heteronormative borders of sexual citizenship.

The association also positions queer Zimbabweans on the same level as the rest of the citizenry due to the limitations they all face in their access to substantive citizenship. By identifying Rhodesian settler colonialism and the British empire as responsible for the shortcomings of Zimbabweans citizenship, GALZ builds a discursive unit among heterosexual and queer Zimbabweans, placing them on the same side of citizenship's borders. Highlighting these opponents – who are already framed as hostile to Zimbabwe's sovereignty in ZANU-PF's discourses – the activists also show that queer Zimbabweans share anti-imperialist values and are, therefore loyal to their state.

The association also claims queer Zimbabweans' place within the boundaries of citizenship by comparing the limitations of queers' sexual citizenship – such as the persistence of sodomy laws – with the shortcomings of heteronormative Zimbabweans' citizenship. This correlation allows dislocating the meaning of citizenship from something that the state distributes according to demonstrations of loyalty towards liberal interpretations, of accessing fundamental rights and liberties.

Emphasizing the right to equality, which was fundamental in African liberation movements' narratives, GALZ argues all Zimbabweans, queer or normative, are unable to fully enjoy the citizenship they fought for. This way it opens the possibility for the formation of a coalition among disenfranchised groups to claim their substantive citizenship. While dislocating the meaning of citizenship in a way which opposes patriotic history narratives, the association does not specify the ruling party's role in the limitations of Zimbabwean citizenship. It represents the government as an ally, which it calls upon to make full citizenship accessible to all Zimbabweans in a non-confrontational strategy which allows it to dispute the meanings of citizenship while continuing to develop its activism in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 7:
Denouncing the exclusions of sexual citizenship from the diaspora: film as queer African artivism

> [E]veryday you wake up alive, relatively happy, and a functioning human being, you are committing a rebellious act. You as an alive and functioning queer are a revolutionary (Queer Nation, 2020 [1990]).

Resistance to state-sponsored homophobia is the central theme of many queer African films (Green-Simms, 2022). Several of these are produced by queer collectives, such as Nairobi-based Art Attack and Nest Collective, and perform acts of citizenship through art (Van Klinken, 2018; Green-Simms, 2022). In this chapter I demonstrate how the independent short film *Because I am – Being LGBT in Zimbabwe* (Zidyana, 2016a) does this (Van Klinken, 2018; Ercel, 2008). Like other movies about queer African citizens, it 'simultaneously document[s] the pain inflicted on queer persons and invite[s] a listening for and thinking through… "otherwise possibilities' (Green-Simms, 2022, 25).

I argue this film is a pan-African artivism, or 'a convergence between "activism" and digital "artistic" production' (Sandoval and Latorre, 2008, 81) enacted by queer Africans in the diaspora which contributes to claims for substantive Zimbabwean/African sexual citizenship. A comprehensive analysis of a film as an act of citizenship must consider the relationship between the fictional acts of citizenship performed *in* the motion picture and what is enacted *by* the movie while it is produced and when it is watched (Morrison, 2008b). To analyse the ways in which this artivism performs acts of citizenship I examined its content, structure, circulation, and production. In line with these aspects, the chapter is divided in two main sections.

The first section brings a semantic analysis of the movie's content and structure which destabilizes heteronormative citizenship by demonstrating the existence of queer Zimbabweans and exposing the politically motivated denial of their basic rights. In the second section, I highlight the film's potential for enacting citizenship considering its creation process and its reception by its audiences. I argue that the movie's production, which involved various queer Africans in the diaspora, allows interpreting it as an African artivism that highlights the political agency of those involved in its creation, thus contributing to its performative effects. I also detail how, when engaged by an audience, *Because I am* acquires new meanings which open the way for the performance of further acts of citizenship.

The analysis is based on the video *Because I am* (Zidyana, 2016a) which was made available online on YouTube by the production company Hona Africa (no date). It was supported by the contents of another short movie by the same director: *How to make a short film* (Zidyana, 2016b). This second film, also accessed in Hona Africa's YouTube profile, describes the process of creating *Because I am*. The analysis was complemented by an interview granted by the films' director Lawrence Zidyana in June 2019.

7.1 Acts of citizenship performed in the story

This section is dedicated to the semantic analysis of *Because I am*. I explain the main elements of the film's narrative and the way it was structured, that is, how the sensorial perceptions of its contents were creatively organized. This facilitates interpreting the story and demonstrates how the movie's narrative performs acts of citizenship, which it does in two ways. One is by exposing the limitation of queers' access to basic rights and how homophobia and sexual citizenship are political, it demonstrates the need for a more inclusive sexual citizenship and how a queer Zimbabwean claims it. Also, by using a specific arrangement of perceptibility it shows how a queer Zimbabwean is part of the national community and that way contests discourses that homosexuality is foreign to Zimbabwe/Africa.

7.1.1- Exposing and resisting the limitations of sexual citizenship

Because I am is set in Zimbabwe, at some point after 1995, when anti-gay discourse was prominent during the Mugabe administration. The protagonist's outline is feminine, as is the voice which narrates her reflections. From the movie's title and plotline, she can be understood as queer. Other characters include Robert Mugabe, his supporters, and a police officer. These characters antagonize the protagonist. They attack her, encourage or enact assaults, or do nothing to stop them.

The story depicts a politician stating Zimbabweans are not gay and encouraging violence against homosexuals. This narrative is well received among the supporting characters who subject the main character to diverse forms of violence. In the resolution of the story, after being assaulted, the protagonist gets up and, although limping, walks along the streets of Harare while the narrator declares she refuses to give up.

This audio-visual narration demonstrates how Zimbabwean sexual citizenship is limited for queers, who endure violence because of who and what they are. The absence of any depiction of same-sex intimacy suggests que protagonist's queerness is part of her identity, not a result of any specific act she performs. Despite all the hardship, the protagonist lives on and expresses her subjectivity as a queer Zimbabwean. Her persistence, within the hostile environment of a state which encourages brutality and denies her protection, demonstrates that despite being denied the entitlements of full citizenship she embraces her identity as both Zimbabwean and queer, that way enacts her rights.

Digital artivism combines different aesthetic forms not just for the sake of experimentation, but to propose transformative possibilities of hope and justice (Sandoval and Latorre, 2008, 105). The visual arrangement of *Because I am* uses shadow play, so that the audience sees only the silhouettes of the actors who portray the characters against a backdrop of illustrations. This aesthetic choice makes the film's contents ambiguous. This does not reduce the effectiveness of movie's discourses, on the contrary, the dubiousness about who is being portrayed opens more possibilities for viewers' interpretations and can support different possibilities of action (Hansen, 2011).

The protagonist's feminine silhouette, for example, could represent any woman: lesbian, bisexual, heterosexual, trans, cis, black, brown, or white. She can be understood as queer because of the movie's title, the homophobic rhetoric it denounces, its use of the rainbow flag's colours, and because she is repeatedly faced by abjection. The narrative does not, however, depict any specific behaviour from her part that demonstrates she does not fit into the norms. This ambiguity exposes to the spectators how the precarity that taints her life is unjust and could be directed at anyone who does not fit in a contingent citizenship arrangement, organized according to any moral code.

Her indeterminacy appeals to universality and whatever the reason for her abjection, it can be understood that it is problematic. This raises the question, is there any justification, any cultural or socio-political differentiation, which legitimates treating a human being in such a way? Why should anyone not deserve a liveable life? This protean protagonist, whose only fixed content is a feminine outline, allows viewers to project their understandings of what is fair or not, and empathize with her, while antagonising her opponents.

The female narrator describes the protagonist's subjectivity, which is transformed throughout the story. At first, she ignores the abjection that is targeted against her:

> I thought oh well, I have enough on my plate to deal with. So I brushed it off, dusted myself up and smiled. Soon smiles turned into frowns and all happiness faded (Zidyana, 2016a, 1:27').

Discrimination impacts the protagonist. She loses all joy while trying to dismiss the hostility she faces. As the abuse increases, she questions why she is in such a position and the very liveability of her life:

> I am hurting. Should I die or should I try? Why would I want to be beheaded? Who would choose to be bashed and used as an election winning tool? Who would choose to lose privileges?' (Zidyana, 2016a, 3:45').

The narrator's words in the first person draws the audience to the main character. They let them know how it feels to be othered, to have violence targeted towards you. They illustrate her pain and insecurity, and how precarious her life is. They frame what it feels like to be a sexual minority in Zimbabwe: the denial of substantive citizenship impedes access to security, dignity, even life. It transforms basic rights into privileges. The narrator's questions go unanswered. They hover like spectres over the spectators.

The narrator also exposes the role of the political leadership in her plight:

> My leaders speak of peace, yet for me they declare death. Because I am what I am, they threaten my hopes. Peace lies somewhere, but for me it is nowhere (Zidyana, 2016a, 2:43').

For those denied citizenship the state offers only abjection. In the two excerpts above the narrator highlights the role of the ruling elite in establishing the boundaries that deny those in the lower degrees of sexual citizenship the most basic right: life. Although formally a citizen, because she is placed outside the moral community and beyond any of citizenship's entitlements. Yet despite the boundaries structured by this exclusionary narrative, she still asserts she is Zimbabwean. She exists as a body which encompasses possibilities which are unthinkable in the dominant discourse: simultaneously queer and Zimbabwean, she is an alien and a citizen. That way, telling her story, the film performs an act of citizenship which destabilizes the heteronormative limitations of sexual citizenship. At the same time, by showing the multiple and shifting positions the protagonist occupies it also queers citizenship defying the notion that it has fixed borders.

Towards the end of the story, after being attacked, the narrator declares: 'I will rise with hope, strength and determination. I will fight. I am who I am, because I am what I am.' (Zidyana, 2016a, 5:08').

She embraces an identity constructed from the othering she endured. For those who are pushed to the borders and denied citizens' most basic rights, to be alive and functioning is an act of resistance. She does not do this conforming to a heroic ideal of activism. She does not promote a progressive political agenda through a structured political program which results in highly visible, structural, or revolutionary socio-political change.

Her resistance emerges from her vulnerabilities (Green-Simms, 2022, 21) and she enacts her citizenship through her insistence to survive, day after day. 'Asserting that a group of people is still existing, taking up space and obdurately living, is already an expressive action, a politically significant event' (Butler, 2015, 18). Representing this act of citizenship the film politically challenges the limitations of sexual citizenship which deny a liveable life to sexual minorities, and the power structures which sustain them. Drawing attention to the protagonist's struggles it disrupts heteronormative conventions, contests the negation of her entitlement to citizenship, and reframes citizenship not around a boundary, but as a frontier. A border zone which occupies simultaneously both sides of the boundaries.

The narrative of *Because I am* demonstrates how is life in the borders for sexual minorities who did not get what they want (Rao, 2020a). They are the obverse sexual minorities who achieved liberal rights that assimilate them in heteronormative capitalist orders. Instead, they get what they do not want. For them to be is to resist. Narrating the deprivations which characterise the life of a queer Zimbabwean, the movie describes the experience of being denied substantive citizenship and problematizes the limitations of sexual citizenship. At the same time, making the protagonist visible as a political agent who inhabits the borderlands of being queer and Zimbabwean and resists her precarious situation, the movie draws attention to her activist stance towards her citizenship. The political roots of sexual citizenship and the protagonist's struggle recall the trope of the fight for liberation detailed in the previous chapter. This fight continues against an exclusionary order where the identity of certain subjects justifies their abjection.

The movie's narrative disrupts the normative order and enacts a representation of an activist citizen (Isin, 2009, 2008) who, although not having her membership in society recognized, by rejecting the abjection and death which are dedicated to her, breaks away from the position of being the other. She does not give up nor change to fit in. She resists by existing the way she is, in a representation that configures a political performance of being at once queer and Zimbabwean. Positioned as the constitutive outsider (Butler, 2004, 190-191) of Zimbabwean sexual citizenship, simultaneously a formal citizen and a non-citizen, the protagonist invokes her entitlement to rights. By claiming the full citizenship denied

her by the state while being who she is, she defies the exclusionary character of universalist constructions of citizenship and demonstrates this status is relational, unstable, and contingent.

7.1.2- Blurring the boundaries between fact and fiction to disrupt heteronormative sexual citizenship

According to the movie's director *Because I am* was created to reveal the situation of 'gay rights, or rather non-gay rights in Zimbabwe' (Zidyana, 2016b, 0:20'). Blurring 'the boundaries between fiction and fact' (van Munster and Sylvest 2015, 230), the film can be understood as a documentary. To explore its meanings I examined its arrangement of perceptibility (van Munster and Sylvest, 2015), that is how it asserts and shows a representation of reality.

A movie's creative arrangement of perceptibility incorporates what it shows, or a 'combination of images, sounds, music that interacts with the narrative content' (van Munster and Sylvest, 2015) and what it says, urging the audience to take an attitude of belief toward its claims. The combination of these two elements can take different forms. While privileging what is said over what it shown proposes the exposure of a hidden truth, favouring what is shown over what is said throws light over something which was not known. Another way these components can be combined is through contradictions. In this circumstance, the arrangement produces a narrative which self-reflectively problematizes and destabilizes meanings conveyed through it. I argue the arrangement of perceptibility deployed in *Because I am* is that of contradiction. The homophobic discourses and images which it shows are destabilized by the voice of the narrator, which directs the audience to follow the protagonist's perspective.

The movie's narration can be understood as the voice of the protagonist. The text was inspired by the homonymous poem by queer Zimbabwean activist Tinashe Wakapila (2013). Combined with the imagery, this text constructs the core narrative of the protagonist's struggle. There are, however, other voices in the movie. Some of them are attributed to Robert Mugabe and cite documented quotes authored by him. There is also a chorus, which cheers the masculine voice attached to Mugabe's image and jeers the protagonist in ChiShona and IsiNdebele. I was not able to translate what is specifically spoken in these excerpts, but when consulted, the director confirmed my interpretation. I focused on the English-speaking voices of the narrator, associated with the protagonist, and that assigned to the former president, her antagonist.

The film opens to a rainbow-coloured setting followed by illustrations of Harare by L. Precious. The song Stronger, by Ugandan musician Marky Dan, plays ‘got to be stronger, stronger than ever, everyday’ (Zidyana, 2016a, 0:01'), signalling that what is shown is a story of hardship. As the song fades, we can hear Mugabe’s voice at the UN General Assembly in September 2015, declaring to ‘reject attempts to prescribe new rights that are contrary to our values, norms, traditions and beliefs. We are not gays’ (Mugabe, 2015, 0:01').

This speech has become a well-known symbol of anti-homosexuality among African political leaders. It has been interpreted by western media and LGBTIQ organizations as a demonstration that while ‘gay rights improve in much of the world, they’re getting worse in a handful of countries in sub-Saharan Africa’ (Fisher, 2015 [no pagination]). Such understandings contribute to the maintenance of the continent the lower rungs of neo-imperial sexualized international moral hierarchies by framing the acceptance of the rights of sexual minorities as an indicator of normality (Weber, 2016; Bosia, 2015; Puar, 2013; Rao, 2010) which would be absent in Africa. Mugabe’s speech affirms this opposition between Africanness and homosexuality, but reverses what its moral meaning by framing the latter as an indicator of decadence (Muparamoto, 2020). This moral demarcation of Zimbabweanness/Africanness in opposition to homosexuality and the rights of sexual minorities is an example of how the international politics of sexuality, entangled with race and culture, play a central role in the discursive production of African peoples (Ngwena, 2018) in modernity/coloniality.

The film represents the normalisation of the limitation of queers’ citizenship by listing its effects over other social actors: ‘So much hatred in these elderly veins, encouraging murderers, rapists and priests to torment my soul’(Zidyana, 2016a, 2:24'). This excerpt groups together criminals and priests – an odd combination given that the first two elements are usually identified as lacking moral principles while the latter, as representatives of a religion and the human connection with the divine, are determinant in establishing what is moral. This assemblage implies the complicity of Zimbabwean Christian churches in the discrimination of sexual minorities addressed in chapter five.

The film also demonstrates the normalization of homophobia depicting a crowd cheering a leader while the male voice cries ‘worse than dogs and pigs’ (Zidyana, 2016a, 1:21') and ‘we will behead them’ (Zidyana, 2016a, 1:44'). This relationship highlights the strategic role of homophobia in political disputes. This is emphasized by the narrator as she asks: ‘Could these be the utterances of a human being lacking knowledge or deliberately diverting attention by inciting hatred?’ (Zidyana, 2016a, 1:57'). Unanswered, this question remains with the audience and suggests the political motivations of homophobia, a notion

which disrupts discourses which establish homosexuality as essentially anti-Zimbabwean within an idealized static national culture.

Mugabe is represented several times in the film by a male voice which recites documented homophobic declarations made by the former president and by written texts in images of newspaper clippings. Referring to the UN speech in particular the director emphasized that the voice

> at the beginning of the film *is* by Robert Mugabe himself. It is *his* voice, it wasn't me, it wasn't anybody. It is *his* words, *his* voice, *his* speech at the UN (Zidyana 2016b, 5:15').

The emphasis used by Zidyana (indicated by the added italics) and the rhetorical use of repetition demonstrate how the short movie blurs the borders between facts and fiction. Using a recording of Mugabe's voice, it makes a claim to represent the truth of what is it like to be a queer Zimbabwean. While Mugabe's statement is heard, a sitting room is depicted, where the silhouettes of two people protest as they access something (presumably the speech that the audience can hear) through a laptop.

Figure 3: Still from *Because I am*

Source: Zidyana, 2016a, 0:33

An element which stands out in this scenario is the clock on the wall. Shaped like the map of Zimbabwe, it pictures an elephant and a rhinoceros in the savanna, animals which can be found in the country, and a vegetation which predominates in it. When interviewing Zidyana, I inquired about that object, and he explained:

> I put that clock because so many Zimbabwean homes have got that clock. [laughs] Because I knew if anyone from Zimbabwe watches this, that is going to be so familiar!… I wanted to say this is Zimbabwe. You know? When Mugabe says we, who is he representing?… He is not representing me. I don't think the same way he does… and I'm Zimbabwean. And I'm not the only one who thinks the same way I do, there is a lot more other people who are the same.

By including that object, a well-known symbol of Zimbabwean homes, the movie makes a claim as to what constitutes Zimbabwean identities. It destabilizes the opposition structured by Mugabe's words between being queer and belonging as a Zimbabwean. The clock, a traditional Zimbabwean object, clashes with the simultaneous assertion: 'We are not gays' (Mugabe, 2015). That way, the movie's arrangement of perceptibility displays a discrepancy between what is said and what is shown. While the leader's statement denies the existence of homosexuals in the country defining being Zimbabwean and African in opposition to being queer, the scene of this sitting room shows that speech is untrue. The film disrupts the heteronormative demarcation of Zimbabweanness/Africanness by depicting the negative reception of this narrative by queer Zimbabweans, whose belonging is symbolized by the clock on their wall. The two persons in that living room simultaneously occupy the two positions which are declared as incongruent in Mugabe's discourse, that way contradicting it.

The scene establishes the discursive universe of *Because I am*, or the 'theoretical horizon within which the being of objects is constituted' (Howarth and Stavrakakis, 2000, 3) around the opposition between one of the two persons in the living room (the protagonist) and Mugabe. Arrangements of perceptibility convey power relations, and the film privileges the protagonist's perspective over Mugabe's discourse. Although leader's voice is included, this is done not in support of his message, but to dispute it as it clashes with the imagery. It represents a 'they' who antagonizes the main character, allowing us, as spectators, to identify with her and share this antagonism against him.

Mugabe's homophobic texts are also visually depicted in the form of newspaper clippings (Zidyana, 2016a, 1:38'). Some frame homosexuality as something which is external and irreconcilable with Zimbabwe: 'We did not fight for this Zimbabwe so it can be a homosexual territory. We will never have that here'. As mentioned in chapters three and six, in ZANU-PF's exclusionary nationalism, homosexuals are positioned as the antithesis of patriotic Zimbabweans, who fought for independence. This quote demonstrates the central role of sexuality in the demarcation of Zimbabwe's borders of belonging by mobilizing the liberation war trope against homosexuality.

Other clippings affirm homosexuality is western. One reads: 'Mugabe says of Obama's gay rights push, "We ask, was he born out of homosexuality?"'. Referring to the legalisation of same-sex marriage in the USA which took place the year before the film was launched, this quote frames homosexuality as a western threat which the USA is imposing on Zimbabwe. It also opposes homosexuality to biological reproduction, framing is as a threat to a fundamental element for the continuation of the nation-state, while also invoking precolonial traditions (Epprecht, 2013, 2008). The clippings also include messages on the topic of violence against homosexuals: 'Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe President, Threatens to Behead Gay Citizens' and '35 injured in anti-gay attack in Zimbabwe'. The movie demonstrates these narratives' brutal effects: Against the background of the clippings the protagonist is attacked with stones and the screen is sprayed with blood (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Still from *Because I am*

Source: Zidyana, 2016a, 1:50'

The ways in which the Zimbabwean state denies queers full citizenship is also indicated in a scene where the protagonist is taken to prison by a police officer (Zidyana, 2016a, 2:00'). She was not depicted committing any crimes, on the contrary, all the violence shown in the film has been committed against her. This sequence implies queer Zimbabweans do not have access to substantive citizenship or any support from the state. Because they are outside the moral community, many feel that violence against sexual minorities is legitimate and are confident that they can perpetrate crimes against them with impunity. It is queers' existence as threatening deviants which is persecuted, even if that is not a crime in itself. The danger of being imprisoned without committing any crime was demonstrated by Rikki's story

in chapter five. Due to this many victims of crimes do not denounce offences against them fearing they might become the suspects in other criminal investigations (GALZ, 2018a).

The limitations of sexual citizenship are also represented in the movie through a scene where the protagonist is raped. As she is attacked by to men who tell each other to 'teach the dyke a lesson' (Zidyana, 2016a, 4:28'), the scene is frozen and the silhouette of a police officer slowly walks by. The officer looks around, demonstrating this actor – symbolizing the state – is aware of what is taking place, but does nothing to stop it. Here, the film denounces the state's failure to act in cases of violence against sexual minorities. It demonstrates the incompatibility between formal and substantive citizenship, since persecuting and denying protection to queer Zimbabweans in line with the descending degrees of sexual citizenship, the state weakens its own laws.

Because I am's approach towards the state is different from the non-confrontational strategy detailed in chapter six. The film antagonizes the state denouncing how it violates sexual minorities' basic rights. It also and suggests a way to modify that situation: in the background of the rape scene a graffitied wall reads 'arise and protect your vote' (Zidyana, 2016a, 4:28'). Documenting state-sponsored homophobia the movie presents no loyalty towards the state or ZANU-PF. It confronts them and holds them responsible for constructing and policing exclusionary borders of belonging which deny queer Zimbabweans access to basic rights, protection, and the recognition of their humanity. This way, it performs a confrontational act of citizenship and invites the audience to act contribute to promote change.

7.2 Acts of citizenship performed by the artivism

7.2.1- The encounter with the audience

Because I am has been presented in festivals such as the International Monthly Film Festival (2017) in Copenhagen and the Stamped Pensacola LGBT Film Festival (2017). It was in the movie selection of the Manchester Film Festival (2017), the S.O.U.L. Celebrate: Connect (2016) in London, and the 'I Imagine' Film Festival in New York (2016). It was a semi-finalist at the Los Angeles CineFest, was presented at the Watch Africa, Wales's African Film Festival (2017), the Silicon Valley African Film Festival (SVAFF) (2017), and the Reel Q Film Festival (2017) in Pittsburg. All these film festivals took place in Europe or the USA, demonstrating the movie was able to reach several locations in areas usually understood as the west. This international reach *Because I am* achieved indicates the effective

administration of politics of information to engage western audiences and publicise among them the challenges sexual minorities face in Zimbabwe.

This shows the potential of activisms to jump the scale (Cox, 1998), that is, connect local and international politics with the aim of canvassing international support for a local cause. Activists can mobilize extra-local actors to gain leverage over local authorities and governments in a process known as extraversion (Bayart, 1999). The practice of extraversion to pursue political causes requires awareness of unequal international relationships and their strategic management to promote political projects in their homelands (Bayart and Ellis, 2000). The movie does this to contest Zimbabwean sexual citizenship arrangements through the mediation of its western audiences.

It is common for queer African films to be screened at film festivals across the world. However, they may be more easily available to western viewers than to those based in African states (Green-Simms, 2022). This raises the question of whether their narratives reach the peoples in the countries where their stories take place and thus are able to foment local popular support towards sexual minorities.

The people who participated in the production of *Because I am* had hopes that it would be seen by local policymakers. In the *How to make a short film* video of one of the cast members declared they wished that the film

> will send a message out there to our governments, who are meant to protect LGBTI people but they tend to turn a blind eye and many of them are actually perpetrators of these practices (Bliss in Zidyana, 2016b).

Zidyana informed me when interviewed that he tried to engage the actors he feels are responsible for the problems denounced in the movie by sending *Because I am*'s trailer to Zimbabwean politicians. The only response he got was being digitally blocked by a couple of them. He also entered the film in a few African festivals, but it was never accepted. Once a Ugandan LGBTQ organisation sought to showcase it in a film festival in this country, but the event was cancelled after some of the organisers were arrested. Zidyana understood that there was no opening for the film's narratives of governmental criticism and queer resistance and stopped applying to African festivals. Various queer African films have been blocked or have been allowed to be screened only a few times in their country of origin – this was the case of *Stories of Our Lives* and *Rafiki*, both censored in Kenya – the latter being allowed to screen only for seven days (Green-Simms, 2022, 13).

This censorship is enacted because when and after they are watched, these movies perform acts of citizenship which can disrupt heteronormative sexual citizenship. On one level the story that is told and the way in which it is told depict acts of citizenship. On another, as an audience interacts with an artivism, different meanings are attached to and become part of it, enacting further acts of citizenship (Morrison, 2008b). This is the case because artivisms invite performances of citizenship to be enacted by outsiders who engage them. The event of an audience viewing *Because I am* opens the way for the performance of other acts of citizenship by the spectators, who are invited to become performers.

Artivists use this potential strategically. In the case of *Because I am*, this is demonstrated at the end of the movie, which closes with the following message written against a rainbow-coloured background:

> Justice can and must triumph over hatred and prejudice. It is time to reaffirm our commitment to equality and dignity for all persons, regardless of their sexual orientation or gender (Patience Mandishona cited in Zidyana 2016a, 5:33')

After exposing the limitations of queer Zimbabweans' citizenship this conclusion leaves the audience with a critique of this arrangement. It implicates the audience in the film's claim to substantive citizenship for queer Zimbabweans. It does this by inviting the viewer to enact justice and act against the discrimination that was depicted. The way in which its narrative is delivered to the audience, through arrangements of contradiction and leaving unanswered questions, invites them into the movie's reality. By highlighting they can, at the moment they are in when they finish the movie, make a difference, the film enacts a powerful act of citizenship.

Many African activists have been displaying innovative uses of digital technology to promote their political agendas through art propagated using websites, social media, blogs, and YouTube videos (Green-Simms, 2022; Van Klinken, 2018; Currier and Migraine-George, 2016). These media enhance the potential of artivisms by allowing them to reach different publics worldwide and draw attention to their cause. The access to digital artivism is, however, limited by the digital divide. As mentioned in the methodological chapter, only a third of Zimbabweans are estimated to be internet users, and access to YouTube is expensive in the country. These conditions demonstrate the limits of the film's reach among those who are portrayed in it.

Zidyana recognized in the interview that he had not reached all the audiences he had hoped to. He emphasized, however, that an artivism could not only generate impact by being seen by millions and becoming well known. Highlighting the value of 'doing what is right' through art and the importance of

those who were involved in the project believing in it, he claimed that the movie's relevance could be found in making a difference among the few who watched it and those who participated in its creation. This second aspect is considered in the next section, which argues the film's production process also performs an act of citizenship that disputes the borders of sexual citizenship in African states by developing political consciousness.

7.2.2.- Making a movie as an act of citizenship

Political resistance does not necessarily result in immediate or structural change (Obadare and Willems, 2014; Scott, 1987). It can allow 'occasional "moments of freedom"' (Obadare and Willems, 2014, 14) by promoting the development of political consciousness and allowing disenfranchised subjects to raise their voices against injustice. This section demonstrates how the value of an artivism can be found in its production process (Harman, 2016). In it I consider the actors involved in the process of creating *Because I am* and their socio-political position in an international context.

This analysis was based on the interview I conducted with Zidyana and his *How to make a short film* (Zidyana, 2016b) movie, where he details how *Because I am* was produced and the cast give their testimonials about what participating in this project meant to them. This supports interpreting the film as an African artivism developed in the diaspora which allowed the participants to perform an act of citizenship which engage debates about African sexual citizenship by externalising and asserting their voices against dominant homophobic discourses.

The claim to African identities can problematically affirm an exclusionary universalism that reduces the ontology of Africa to a static sameness (Ngwena, 2018). This homogenising discourse is politically used to construct and discipline the borders of belonging, as demonstrated by Mugabe's quote in the *Because I am*'s opening. It can reaffirm imprecise, racist and ethnocentric discourses which construe Africa as a backwards and violent place (Tamale, 2011b). When directed towards practices of homophobia, it can also support international homonormative hierarchies that use the assimilation of sexual minorities as the yardstick to differentiate between normal and deviant states, and that way further stigmatize African locations as places of negatives (Weber, 2016; Bosia, 2015; Puar, 2013; Rao, 2010).

In this case, however, a pan-African queer identity was collectively constructed by black African sexual minorities in the diaspora. It does not promote universalist claims since the film presents different and contradictory interpretations of what it means to be Zimbabwean/African. Their discourse was

assembled with the aim of disrupting oppressive modes of thinking about Africanness and African sexualities.

The film's director, Lawrence Zidyana, is a Zimbabwean cis and heterosexual man who can be understood as 'straight ally'. When interviewed he affirmed his goal was to contribute to queer Zimbabwean movements and promote justice through his artivism. Zidyana had personal knowledge of the political homophobia promoted by ZANU-PF growing up in Zimbabwe. He became acquainted with the limitations of sexual minorities' citizenship when someone in his close family came out as homosexual. He started making his own films after moving to the UK, where he attended film college and acquired the necessary equipment. The film's producer, Moud N. Goba, is a Zimbabwean queer activist also based in the UK who manages Micro Rainbow, an organisation which provides safe housing, social inclusion, and facilitates access to employment and education to LGBTQI asylum seekers and refugees. The film's cast of six were not professional actresses, five of which had left their countries (Zimbabwe, Uganda, Ivory Coast, and Cameroon) due to fear of persecution because of their sexuality (Zidyana, 2016b).

Based on the origin of the actors involved in the movie's creation, although shot in Southeast London, it can be understood as a pan-African artivism made in the diaspora. The agents involved in this creation had settled in another country where they worked collectively to perform political activism in solidarity with sister communities in their homeland (Bandele, 2010). *Because I am* assembles voices from diverse parts of the African continent. The film's script was based on Wakapila's (2013) poetry. A text which was enriched by the exchange of ideas between the cast, who contributed with stories grounded in their experiences of othering and violence (Zidyana, 2016b). Together, these actors constructed a narrative of what it is like to be denied full citizenship and treated as an outsider in Zimbabwe, Uganda, Ivory Coast, and Cameroon.

The making of *Because I am* functioned as an encounter which allowed the agents involved to reflect on their life experiences and collectively voice their knowledge about what it is like to live in the borders of citizenship. Members of the cast mentioned they chose to represent sexual assault in the film because 'they get raped and beaten up' (Sara cited in Zidyana, 2016b). This scene reflects their knowledge that queer women are attacked because of their sexuality, and that the police does not believe or follow up on their cases (Zidyana 2016b). Aware of these stories and of the limitations of their citizenship, many women do not report such violence because they have no expectation of getting justice and fear being

punished for denouncing the crime. Depicting such violence in the movie allows them to publicize these practices and acknowledge the victims and their need of protection.

By voicing these experiences that they knew about or went through, and re-signifying them in a narrative of resistance, the participants were engaged in story-making and healing in an empowering way. As such, the production of the movie can be understood as an artivism because it was developed through an organic relationship with art and it transforms the world and the agents involved in it (Sandoval and Latorre, 2008; Van Klinken, 2018). Through this production, the cast were able to assert their voices as queer African political actors. Even though constructing their artivism did not produce immediate, highly visible, or revolutionary change, it allowed the development of their autonomy and validated their humanity (Obadare and Willems, 2014, 19) as activist citizens who are fighting for a more inclusive citizenship.

This pan-African encounter produced a story which antagonizes Mugabe's assertion that 'we are not gays' claiming both Zimbabweans and Africans can be queer. Although focused on the Zimbabwean context, the movie's narrative references similar, broader African realities. An example of this is found in the scene where the protagonist is taken to the police station. On the building's wall illustrated on the background, 'Bugema police station' can be read. The director informed me that this detail was included in the movie as an Easter Egg, or a foreshadowed reference to the audience. Bugema is an anagram for Mugabe, and through this veiled reference, the filmmaker indicated how the police were an instrument of the political leader to promote terror.

However, as mentioned in the previous section, different meanings are attached to an artivism as it is witnessed and become part of it and the performance it enacts. Without knowing the director's intentions, I found that Bugema is a place located in the Eastern region of the Mbale District, in Uganda. I interpreted the inclusion of this name as a reference another African state which is known for limiting queers' citizenship in practices such as the criminalisation of consensual same-sex sexual activity. My interpretation expanded the scope of the act of citizenship enacted by the scene beyond Zimbabwe. This example demonstrates how acts of citizenship's enacted by artivisms are not fixed. Their content varies depending on the meanings which are attached to them and when they are engaged by audiences, they enact further acts of citizenship which can be different from its authors' intentions.

One of the cast members reported in *How to make a short film* that she could relate to the issues the film addresses, as they are similar to her experiences in her country of origin: Uganda (Zidyana, 2016b). My interpretaton of the police station scene connected Zimbabwe and Uganda. Together, they

demonstrate how new interpretations do not contradict the authors' intentions, but complement them and expand the scope of the film's impact. It substantiated the claim that the film is a pan-African artivism which performs multiple acts of citizenship. It enacted citizenship when it was constructed by voicing the sexual citizenship claims of queer Africans from diverse contexts. And it continues doing so as viewers engage its dissident narrative of African sexualities and citizenship.

The location where the film was produced – the UK – also contributed to the way in which they were able to perform an act of citizenship. Outside of their home countries and in a location where they were not constrained by legislations that criminalise their sexualities the activists had more freedom to develop the narrative they wanted to convey about the limits of sexual citizenship. Their engagement with dominant discourses is different from the non-confrontational developed by sexual minority associations within Zimbabwe addressed in previous chapters.

When the movie was produced, in 2016 – before most the other artefacts analysed in this thesis were created and publicized – Mugabe was still president and political homophobia was widespread in public discourses. The boldness of representing Mugabe and using his voice while he was still in power demonstrates how contributing to the sexual citizenship disputes from the diaspora provided the artivists different resources from those available to organizations based in Zimbabwe. The actors involved in *Because I am* had greater freedom to contribute to citizenship disputes in their homelands in confrontational ways. This freedom is also shown by Zidyana's act of sending the movie's trailer to ZANU-PF politicians. Something which – as he disclosed in the interview – he feels he can do from the UK.

They do not claim a more inclusive sexual citizenship by attesting their loyalty to the state. Instead, their acts of citizenship denounce how queers are denied full citizenship in their native countries and explicitly indicate who are their oppressors. Even though they are thousands of miles away from their homelands, the artivists assume their role as activist citizens fighting for more democratic and inclusive citizenship.

7.3 Concluding summary

Because I am is an artivism which performs acts of citizenship in three different ways. On one level its narrative claims substantive citizenship for queer Zimbabweans and Africans by exposing the violence

queer persons are subjected and the political motivations that sustain this. It also gives visibility to sexual diversity and demonstrates how to exist as a queer Zimbabwean/African is an act of resistance which tensions reductive understandings of Zimbabwean and African identities and disrupts heteronormative sexual citizenship.

On another level, when watched, the movie performs an engaging call for action towards its viewers. Its aesthetic choices such as the use of shadows and demonstrating the contradictions between what is said and shown establish a dichotomy between 'we', spectators, against 'they', the state, Mugabe, and his supporters who attack the protagonist. This way it fosters empathy of the audience towards the protagonist and appeals to them to act against the injustices depicted. As such, the artivism implicates the audience in its claim to substantive citizenship and invites them to perform further acts of citizenship to contribute to achieve this goal in line with their interpretations of the movie.

Finally, the production of *Because I am* also performed an act of citizenship. The agents who participated in this process were African queers (or allies) who had to leave their countries because of the ways in which they were denied formal and substantive citizenship. Through the film they voiced their stories, thus embodying subjects entitled to rights. That way they developed a pan-Africanist queer solidarity oriented towards making sexual citizenship more inclusive in their countries of origin.

Conclusions

> [T]he outsider has necessarily acquired flexibility in shifting from the mainstream construction of life where she is constructed as an outsider to other constructions of life where she is more or less "at home (Lugones, 1987, 3).

Overall Conclusions

Citizenship is queer. It is contingent and enacted in line with political projects which are intrinsically sexual. Its relational aspect is not limited to an either/or logic. It establishes various positions which can be simultaneously occupied by actors. Although sexual citizenship restricts queers' substantive access to their entitlements, its boundaries are flexible and can be tensioned, bended and breached through acts of citizenship. Performing such acts queer Zimbabwean enact themselves as activist citizens who, from ambiguous and unauthorised positions, claim their entitlements.

Highlighting the acts of citizenship queer Zimbabwean activists perform in their advocacy this research demonstrates queers Africans are not only victims of homophobic norms and institutional arrangements. They are political agents who disrupt the moral boundaries of heteronormative sexual citizenship. Sexual citizenship is the product of entangled local, national, and international politics. The diverse ways this research found citizenship can be enacted demonstrate queer Zimbabwean activists perform citizenship aware of these connections. They navigate the moral boundaries of belonging which affect the intimate ways in which they understand their identities and their relationships with their families, their communities, the post-colonial state, and the international. Defying the opposition between queer sexualities and genders and Zimbabwean and African identities in their acts of citizenship they open possibilities of more inclusive models of sexual citizenship in and beyond Zimbabwe.

This research was structured with the aim of examining how queer Zimbabwean activists perform their sexual citizenship in their post-colonial state. To that end, I implemented an interpretive approach and developed the discourse analysis of the narratives that queer Zimbabwean activists articulated in and through artefacts they made available online. This data archive was complemented by qualitative semi-structured interviews which were developed digitally. The research demonstrates how digital resources can be interpreted as artefacts which enact citizenship. They are adequate resources to curate a data archive with discourses which can be analysed as political performances. The analysis of these artefacts

was supported by a theoretical approach informed by queer and decolonial perspectives which highlighted the sexual and performative aspects of citizenship that allow a queer reading of this institution.

From this approach, I established that the activists perform their citizenship engaging dominant discourses which position sexual minorities beyond the moral borders of belonging. Sexual citizenship is ambiguous in that it simultaneously grants them their formal birth-right to citizenship while representing them as outsiders who threaten the nation. This othering, based on modern racialised and Christian heteronormative conceptions, supports dominant understandings of what it means to be Zimbabwean in line with exclusionary understandings of African identities.

The activists enact queer citizenship and reveal alternative possibilities of sexual citizenship by exposing the contingent and political character of the norms which exclude them. One way they do that is by visibly performing queer Zimbabwean identities to make the intersection of being Zimbabwean and queer intelligible in public discourses in non-confrontational ways. As shown in chapter four, they combine English and vernacular languages to familiarize the population with global queer discourses. To protect queer constituents in a hostile context while enacting queer citizenship, associations also publicize registers of their activities where anonymous queer Zimbabweans perform this intersection making this possibility knowable.

Although in dialogue with international queer activism, as demonstrated in chapter five, Zimbabwean activists also enact more inclusive performances of citizenship using strategies which are different from western models. They honour African traditions of discretion and *Ubuntu* as they enact belonging in everyday scenes in family homes and religious spaces and cultivate relationships of care and support. Queer Zimbabweans can supplant formal ties such as those within blood families with families of choice. Activists also promote, however, the enactment of substantive citizenship performances, constituted by collective rights and responsibilities of care and support within families of origin.

State legal discourses are also mobilized by activists to dispute the limits of sexual citizenship which are sustained by moral boundaries. As described in chapter five, the state's judicial system can rectify the limits of queers' substantive citizenship which are at odds with its own legislation. This act demonstrates how universalist discourses and practices which position queers outside the norm are inconsistent, contingent, and political.

While citizenship is enacted in commonplace scenes, ritual commemoration events present valuable opportunities to engage the foundational myths which play a central role in the establishment of the moral

boundaries of belonging. Queer Zimbabwean activists use the commemorations of their country's independence to claim their place as loyal citizens but also re-interpret these frontiers and dislocate them towards more inclusive versions of citizenship. As I detailed in chapter six, they do this by appropriating widely known nationalist symbols and themes and discursively reframing them.

The acts of citizenship analysed in this research mostly demonstrate non-confrontational strategies. This shows the activists' awareness that the consequences of direct opposition to the prevailing hierarchy can be severe. They promote integration among families discreetly, connect global and local discourses to Africanize homosexuality, and contribute to highly visible ritual events accommodating new interpretations of citizenship supported by well-known national symbols. Yet in some cases, the activists antagonize dominant arrangements of sexual citizenship which strips them from full citizenship. Although this approach can contribute to claim citizenship, as demonstrated in chapter five, when developed in the national territory it can entail harsh individual costs which can entail having to leave the polity where one seeks substantive membership. Such a situation does not obstruct the enactment of acts of citizenship.

If they find they are no longer able to remain the territory of the state which frames them abject queers can seek refuge in other countries, from where they can continue to contribute to the citizenship struggles in their homelands, and even do this with more freedom. This freedom that acting from the diaspora allows is demonstrated by the conditions in which the artivism examined in chapter seven was produced. That chapter demonstrated the multiple ways artivisms can perform acts of citizenship. Telling their stories, the activists embody subjects entitled to rights. Through the content of the artivism they expose the limitations of sexual citizenship. And as the artivism is engaged by audiences, it performs yet another act of citizenship by implicating the spectators in its claims and inviting them to become political actors which contribute to its cause.

The diverse acts of citizenship examined in this research demonstrate queer Zimbabwean activists are constantly performing acts of citizenship. Although most of these acts do not fitting into heroic models of political agency, they challenge the heteronormative performances of citizenship which maintain the unequal order in post-colonial Zimbabwe, dislocate them, and provide other interpretations of citizenship.

Research limitations

This thesis analysed different queer Zimbabwean performances of citizenship based on data generated from digital artefacts and interviews. While these methods were invaluable in accessing various queer Zimbabwean activists' discourses from afar, as any method they are limited. The digital archive which supported the thesis' argument was restricted to artefacts produced by activists who had the inclinations, abilities, and access to resources to produce and circulate digital contents. Considering that around a third of Zimbabweans regularly access the internet it is clear that my informants were not representative of the queer Zimbabwean population. Theis discourses, therefore, represent only a fraction of what is being done by queer Zimbabwean activists. This shortcoming calls for more research to be done on the performances of citizenship enacted by queer Zimbabwean activists which are not publicized online. This research topic can also benefit from further scholarship which examines discourses in vernacular Zimbabwean languages. My qualifications limited my understanding of texts in languages other than English and did not consider discourses of queer Zimbabwean activists who do not speak English or do not use it in their performances of citizenship.

This research's main actors, queer Zimbabwean activists, were discursively constructed joining various groups which, although sharing the denial of full citizenship, face different challenges. Including the discourses of persons who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer I provided space for different perspectives. However, in treating them as a group of queer Zimbabweans I may have obscured specific claims of particular groups. I did not intend to support interpretations which homogenize the claims of sexual minorities. My goal is that this thesis instigates, with both its contributions and its gaps, the development of further research about the specific performances of sexual citizenship enacted by trans, lesbian, gay, bisexual, intersex, and queer Zimbabweans, as well as activists who identify in other ways. Differentiating their claims can throw further light on performances of citizenship.

My positionality and knowledge also limited the research project throughout its execution, from the design of the research, through the data generation and analysis, to the writing of the thesis. It is but one interpretation of queer performances of Zimbabwean sexual citizenship, rooted in the contextual specificities of the research topic and my idiosyncrasies. I defend my findings as the fruit of an interpretive methodology which was developed in line with logically rigorous procedures relying on triangulation, reflexivity, and abductive reasoning. I offer its findings and interpretations to the consideration of the scientific research community with the hope that it can generate insights and support the development of further research which enables the in-depth examination of queer Zimbabwean and African discourses and performances of citizenship.

Meaning making is central to experiencing and performing sexualities, genders, and belonging. As such, I stand by my interpretive methodology as a constructive way to approach this research's topic and the discourses, silences, and political disputes it involves. The self-reflexivity this approach requires allowed me to reflect on the power relationships that developing a research project implies. During this process, I sought to exercise my research ethics and act respectfully towards the informants while generating and analysing data. While writing the thesis I also shared sections of the text with some of them to check if they felt adequately represented and know their perspectives on my argument. One aspect of the interaction with the informants which in hindsight I would change, is to provide the resources to pay for their internet data to carry out the interviews. I had not considered the cost of this meeting for the informants beforehand. It was while I developed the interviews and requests to divide the conversation in more than one meeting or do them without video were repeated, that I understood that data was a scarce resource for several of them. I recognize my shortcoming in not anticipating this and acknowledge their generosity towards me and the research.

This project also allowed me to better understand research practices and to identify how I can contribute to academic debates and the construction of scientific knowledge. Through it I became acquainted with the simultaneous messiness and systematicity which are part of the research process. Both were central components in the iterative processes of generating and analysing data, writing my interpretations, reviewing the project and the theoretical assumptions which underpinned it, to then return to the data and the analysis/writing cycle again.

Being deeply involved in a long-term research project allowed me to develop project management skills and balance the project's requirements with other dimensions of life beyond work. This, as my research agenda, is still a work in progress, but both have evolved during the development of this thesis. I know, as the end of the doctoral program approaches, that more than answers, the research revealed further work to be done in this field. I also feel, however, that I have been able to contribute to academic and political debates about sexual citizenship in Zimbabwe and Africa, to provide a conceptual instrument queer African activists can mobilize in their political struggles, and to offer reflections which can subsidise a more plural academia.

Contributions to the literature and implications

The interpretive discourse analysis of digital artefacts produced by queer activists carried out in this research demonstrates some of the ways queer Zimbabwean activists creatively perform acts of citizenship. It shows how the analysis of digital material is a rewarding route to understand how queer persons experience and perform sexual citizenship in settings where same-sex intimacy is criminalised.

The research demonstrates how queer activists discursively constitute themselves as activist citizens as they perform acts of citizenship to claim their entitlements. Even if they are not able to formalize legal changes, as they seek to have access to more liveable lives they tension, bend, and disrupt the moral boundaries of sexual citizenship. Focusing on queer activists' discourses and how they imprint new meanings to citizenship, the research highlights their political agency. This way it contributes to queer African studies' goal of making queer Africans and their perspectives more visible (Macharia, 2015). It demonstrates they are political agents, not only victims of homophobic norms and that way opposes discourses which describe the continent as lagging behind in terms of homonationalist civilisational standards.

African queer studies have reflected on the connections between queer sexualities and genders and understandings of what constitute authentic African identities. The queer activisms examined in this research demonstrate different ways through which queer activists engage popular discourses that oppose homosexuality and Africanness defying this antinomy to claim their citizenship. The research also demonstrated how the relationships between the state and its constituents is shaped by imperial histories whose heteronormative legacies were upheld by post-colonial elites in ways that benefited them. As such, it contributes to queer African studies which investigate the historical roots of homophobia by showing how national borders of belonging are constructed in a terrain where local and international politics intersect and the past is reinterpreted in ways that favour actors' political projects. The Zimbabwean case proves efforts to decolonize must include resisting the coloniality of gender, since ZANU-PF's anti-imperialist discourses which framed homosexuality as foreign re-enacted colonial sexual citizenship limitations.

Taking the western-originated concept of sexual citizenship to Zimbabwe, this thesis contributes to the efforts to broaden the scope of sexual citizenship studies by shifting the 'white-centric' focus that prevails in them. It addresses a gap in the literature on Zimbabwean citizenship, which has not sufficiently addressed the sexual and gendered dimension of this relationship between constituents and the state. When this has been considered it is within the limits of heteronormativity, focusing on the othering of cis women. Addressing citizenship as sexual and performative, this thesis presents an original contribution

to Zimbabwean citizenship studies. It exposes the heteronormative assumptions on which this field has rested and, showing more could be done to understand the different degrees of citizenship the Zimbabwean population has access to, opens possibilities for further research.

It also contributes to understand the politics of sexual citizenship in African states which share a history of British colonialism and are in similar situations in that they do not present change in legal sexual citizenship arrangements. Many studies consider how discourses about African homophobia have advanced in the last decade as anti-gay laws became harsher in Uganda and Nigeria, increasing punishments for consensual same-sex intimacy and also criminalising persons who support queer citizens. At the same time the scholarship has accompanied the processes of decriminalization of homosexuality in locations such as Gabon, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, São Tomé and Principe, Lesotho and the Seychelles.

While much attention is dedicated to political transformation manifested in legal change, more could be done about political disputes in contexts where there has been no formal change in citizenship arrangements. Zimbabwe presents a case where anti-queer laws have not been tightened or loosened. Understanding the citizenship disputes which are taking place in this context contributes to understand sexual politics which do not result in legal change. The thesis exposes the conceptual limits of legalistic approaches and demonstrates how activisms which do not result in legal, structural, or revolutionary change constitute political forms of resistance. As such it points to the relevance of researching performances of citizenship which contest dominant discourses yet do not dislocate them to the extent that a new order is established.

The research demonstrates how sexual minorities' citizenship is limited beyond laws. They are faced with structural violence and extra-legal discrimination because they are beyond the moral boundaries of belonging. Although sexual citizenship restricts queers' substantive access to their entitlements, its boundaries are flexible and can be tensioned, bended and breached. This paves the way for future research on the political act of claiming citizenship regardless of the formal result of such disputes. Not being able to consolidate a more inclusive legal citizenship does not invalidate the activists' political action. It reveals the gap that exists between legal and substantive citizenship. A political space which is constantly disputed as citizenship's substantive content is enacted by those who are denied it. This way the research also adds to broader political science debates which tend to focus on cases where formal change has taken place – be it in the form of more inclusive or exclusionary arrangements. While

the understanding of socio-political change is important, it is also imperative to appreciate the political agency of actors whose struggles have not resulted in structural change codified in legal systems.

Interpreting citizenship as more than legal arrangements contributes to a political project of queering this institution. It allows understanding it as more than an either/or relationship with the state. Belonging is grounded on moral boundaries which rest on norms about what are adequate sexualities and genders. Building on the literature on sexual citizenship I took a step further by associating it with performative citizenship to demonstrate how citizenship is queer not only because it is sexualized and gendered: it is also unstable and non-binary. It establishes different relational positions which are hierarchical, contingent and can be simultaneously occupied by actors who at the same time formally belong and are denied substantive citizenship as is the case of queer persons. Queer performances of citizenship also demonstrate citizenship's borders can be dislocated by performances of those who, denied substantive citizenship, claim their entitlements through acts of citizenship.

Bibliographic References

Aarmo, M. (1999) How homosexuality became "un-African": The case of Zimbabwe. In: Evelyn Blackwood and Saskia Wieringa (eds.). *Female Desires: Same-Sex Relations and Transgender Practices Across Cultures*. New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 255–280.

Africa Information Service (1973) Mozambique: The Struggle Continues. *The Black Scholar*. 5 (2), pp. 44–52.

Ahmed, S. (2010) *The Promise of Happiness*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Alexander, J. (2006) *The Unsettled Land: State-making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003*. Harare: Weaver Press.

Alexander, J., McGregor, J. and Ranger, T. (2000) *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland*. London: James Currey.

Amadiume, I. (1987) *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society.* London: Zed Books.

Anderson, B. (2016) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 4th edition. London: Verso.

Anon (2013) In Conversation: In conversation with Blessol Gathoni of the Utata Collective in Kenya. Interviewed by Hakima Abbas, November 2012. *Feminist Africa*. 18 pp. 100–102.

Anzaldúa, G.E. (1987) *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Spinsters / Aunt Lute.

Anzaldúa, G.E. (2002a) La Prieta. In: Cherríe Moraga and Gloria E. Anzaldúa (eds.). *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color by Cherrie Moraga; Gloria Anzaldua2* 3rd edition. Saline: Third Woman Press. pp. 220–233.

Anzaldúa, G.E. (2002b) Speaking in Tongues: the Third World Woman Writer. In: Cherríe Moraga and Gloria E. Anzaldúa (eds.). *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color by Cherrie Moraga; Gloria Anzaldua* 3rd edition. Saline: Third Woman Press. pp. 181–193.

Archibald, M.M., Ambagtsheer, R.C., Casey, M.G. and Lawless, M. (2019) Using Zoom Videoconferencing for Qualitative Data Collection: Perceptions and Experiences of Researchers and Participants. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 18 pp. 1–8. doi:10.1177/1609406919874596.

Awondo, P. (2010) The Politicisation of Homosexuality and the rise of Homoserxual Mobilization in Post-Colonial Cameroon. *Review of African Political Economy*. 37 (125), pp. 315–328.

Awondo, P., Geschiere, P. and Reid, G. (2012) Homophobic Africa? Toward A More Nuanced View. *African Studies Review*. 55 (3), pp. 145–168. doi:10.1017/S0002020600007241.

Ayodele Onanuga, P. (2022) Weaponising Digital Architecture: Queer Nigerian Instagram Users and Digital Visual Activism. In: *LGBT Communities [Working Title]*. (no place) IntechOpen. doi:10.5772/intechopen.108760.

Azuah, U. (2016) *Blessed Body: The Secret Lives of Nigerian Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender*. Jackson: CookingPot.

Bandele, R. (2010) Understanding African Diaspora Political Activism: The Rise and Fall of the Black Star Line. *Journal of Black Studies*. 40 (4), pp. 745–761.

Banks, M. and Zeitlyn, D. (2015) *Visual Methods in Social Research*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Barnes, T. (1999) *'We Women Worked So Hard': Gender, Urbanization and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956*. Oxford: James Currey.

Bauer, M.W. and Gaskell, G.D. (2002) *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound*. London: Sage.

Bayart, J.-F. (1999) L'Afrique dans le Monde: Une Histoire d'Extraversion. *Critique Internationale*. 5 (1), pp. 97–120.

Bayart, J.-F. and Ellis, S. (2000) Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion. *African Affairs*. 99 (395), pp. 217–267.

BBC News (2011a) *David Kato funeral: Uganda priest berates gays* [online]. 28 January. . Available from: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12306077 [Accessed 27 April 2022].

BBC News (2011b) *'Transcript Philip Hammond Interview' - The Andrew Marr Show* [online]. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/andrew_marr_show/9627898.stm.

BBC News (2011c) *Zimbabwe's PM Morgan Tsvangirai in gay rights U-turn* [online]. Available from: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-15431142.

Beaunoyer, E., Dupere, S. and Guitton, M.J. (2020) COVID-19 and digital inequalities: Reciprocal impacts and mitigation strategies. *Computers in Human Behavior*. 111 (106424), . doi:10. 1016/j.chb.2020.106424.

Beloso, B.M. (2017) Queer Theory, Sex Work, and Foucault's Unreason. *Foucault Studies*. 23 pp. 141–166. doi:10.22439/fs.v0i0.5345.

Beusch, D. (2007) Textual interaction as sexual interaction: Sexuality and/in the online interview. *Sociological Research Online*. 12 (5), pp. 18–30.

Bhambra, G.K. (2007) Sociology and postcolonialism: Another 'missing' revolution? *Sociology*. 41 (5), pp. 871–884. doi:10.1177/0038038507080442.

Bhambra, G.K. and Holmwood, J. (2021) *Colonialism and modern social theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Biggie, D.M. and von Brisen, A. (2000) Conflict in the Zimbabwean Courts: Women's Rights and Indigenous Self-Determination in Magaya v. Magaya. *Harvard Human Rights Journal*. 13 (2), pp. 289–313.

Bleiker, R. (2017) In search of thinking space: Reflections on the aesthetic turn in international political theory. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. 45 (2), pp. 258–264. doi:10.1177/0305829816684262.

Bleiker, R. (2018a) Mapping visual global politics. In: Roland Bleiker (ed.). *Visual Global Politics*.

New York: Routledge. pp. 1–29.

Bleiker, R. (2015) Pluralist methods for visual global politics. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. 43 (3), pp. 872–890. doi:10.1177/0305829815583084.

Bleiker, R. (2018b) *Visual global politics*. London and New York: Routledge.

Boden, D. and Molotch, H.L. (1994) The compulsion of proximity. In: R. Friedland and D. Boden (eds.). *Now here: Space, time and modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 257–286.

Boellstorff, T. (2011) But Do Not Identify As Gay: A Proleptic Genealogy of the MSM Category. *Cultural Anthropology*. 26 (2), pp. 287–312. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1360.2011.01100.x.

Bonthuys, E. (2008) The Civil Union Act: More of the same. In: Melanie Judge, Anthony Manion, and Shaun de Waal (eds.). *To Have & to Hold: The Making of Same-Sex Marriage in South Africa*. Auckland Park: Fanele. pp. 171–181.

Bosia, M.J. (2015) To love or to loathe: modernity, homophobia, and LGBT rights. In: M. Picq and M. Thiel (eds.). *Sexualities in World Politics: How LGBT claims shape International Relations*. New York: Routledge.

Bosia, M.J. and Weiss, M. (2013) Political Homophobia in Comparative Perspective. In: Meredith Weiss and Michael J. Bosia (eds.). *Global Homophobia: States, Movements, and the Politics of Oppression*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. pp. 1–29.

Brandzel, A.L. (2016) Introduction: the violence of the normative. In: *Against Citizenship: The Violence of the Normative*. pp. 1–30. doi:10.5406/illinois/9780252040030.001.0001.

Brett, E.A. (2005) From Corporatism to Liberalization in Zimbabwe: Economic Policy Regimes and Political Crisis, 1980–97. *International Political Science Review*. 26 (1), pp. 91–106.

Broqua, C. (2013) Male Homosexuality in Bamako: a cross-cultural and cross-historical comparative perspective. In: S.N. Nyeck and Marc Epprecht (eds.). *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory and Citizenship*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. pp. 208–224.

Bryan, A. (2019) Kuchu activism, queer sex-work and 'lavender marriages', in Uganda's virtual LGBT safe(r) spaces. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 13 (1), pp. 90–105. doi:10.1080/17531055.2018.1547258.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bulawayo High Court (2019) *Nathanson v Mteliso & Ors. (HB 176 of 2019, HC 1873 of 2014) ZWBHC 135* [online] p.pp. 1–43. Available from: https://zimlii.org/zw/judgment/bulawayo-high-court/2019/135.

Butler, J. (1991) Contingent Foundations: Feminism and the Question of 'Postmodernism. *Praxis International*. 11 pp. 150–165.

Butler, J. (1999) *Gender Trouble*. 2nd editio. London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2015) *Notes toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Butler, J. (1997) Sovereign Performatives in the Contemporary Scene of Utterance. *Critical Inquiry*. 23 (2), pp. 350–377.

Butler, J. (2004) *Undoing Gender*. London: Routledge.

Cachia, M. and Millward, L. (2011) The telephone medium and semi-structured interviews: A complementary fit. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management*. 6 pp. 265–277.

Caldwell, J., Caldwell, P. and Quiggin, P. (1989) The social context of AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa'. *Population and Development review*. 15 (2), pp. 185–234.

Camminga, B. (2020) One for one and one for all? Human rights and transgender access to legal gender recognition in Botswana. *International Journal of Gender, Sexuality and Law*. 1 pp. 241–267.

Carter, H. (1999) Tatchell faces court over 'arrest' of Mugabe [online]. *The Guardian* 17 November. . Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/uk/1999/nov/17/helencarter [Accessed 23 July 2022].

Carver, T. (2010) Cinematic ontologies and viewer epistemologies: Knowing international politics as moving images. *Global Society*. 24 (3), pp. 421–431. doi:10.1080/13600826.2010.485556.

Carver, T. (2002) Discourse Analysis and the Linguistic Turn. *European Political Science*. 2 (1), pp. 50–53.

Carver, T. (2016) Making Textual Analysis More Inclusive. *E-IR* [online]. pp. 1–4. Available from: https://www.e-ir.info/2016/02/21/making-textual-analysis-more-inclusive/.

Česnulytė, E. (2017) Gendering the extraverted state: the politics of the Kenyan sex workers' movement. *Review of African Political Economy*. 44 (154), pp. 595–610. doi:10.1080/03056244.2017.1406845.

Česnulytė, E. (2020) *Selling Sex in Kenya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chan, S. (2003) *Robert Mugabe: a life of power and violence*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Chaney, M. and Dew, B. (2003) Online experiences of sexually compulsive men who have sex with men. *Sexual Addiction and Compulsivity*. 10 pp. 259–274.

Cheater, A.P. (1986) The Role and Position of Women in Colonial and Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe. *Zambezia*. 13 (2), pp. 65–79.

Cheater, A.P. (2009) Transcending the state? gender and borderline constructions of citizenship in Zimbabwe. In: Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (eds.). *Border Identities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 191–214. doi:10.1017/cbo9780511607813.008.

Cheater, A.P. and Gaidzanwa, R.B. (1996) Citizenship in neo-patrilineal states: Gender and mobility in Southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 22 (2), pp. 189–200. doi:10.1080/03057079608708486.

Chigweshe, R. (1996) *Homosexuality: A Zimbabwean religious perspective.* Harare: Unpublished BA Hons Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe.

Chipenda, C. (2021) Land reform, citizenship and aliens in Zimbabwe. *Africa Review* [online]. 13 (1), pp. 12–39. Available from:

https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2020.1731670doi:10.1080/09744053.2020.1731670.

Chitando, E. and Van Klinken, A. (2016) *Christianity and Controversies over Homosexuality in Contemporary Africa*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Chitando, E. and Mateveke, P. (2017) Africanizing the discourse on homosexuality: challenges and prospects. *Critical African Studies*. 9 (1), pp. 124–140. doi:10.1080/21681392.2017.1285243.

CIA (2021) *Zimbabwe*. Available from: https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/zimbabwe/#people-and-society.

Ciccariello-Maher, G. (2017) Toward a New Dialectics of Race. In: *Decolonizing Dialectics*. Durham: Duke University Press. pp. 47–73. doi:10.1215/9780822373704-002.

Clapham, C. (1996) *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, B. (1997) Lesbian Activism in Zimbabwe. *A Journal of Opinion*. 25 (2), pp. 31–34.

Clifford, B. (2009) Merchants of Morality *Foreign Policy* [online]. Available from: https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/11/13/merchants-of-morality/ [Accessed 30 May 2021].

Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J. (2012) *Theory from the South: Or How Euro-America is Evolving Towards Africa*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Connell, R. (2010) *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R. and Dados, N. (2014) Where in the world does neoliberalism come from? The market agenda in southern perspective. *Theory and Society*. 43 (2), pp. 117–138.

Cox, K.R. (1998) Spaces of dependence, spaces of engagement and the politics of scale, or looking for local politics. *Political Geography*. 17 (1), pp. 1–23.

Currier, A. (2012) *Out in Africa: LGBT Organizing in Namibia and South Africa*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Currier, A. and Gogul, K.B. (2020) African Antisodomy Laws as Unwanted Colonial Inheritances. *Women ' s Studies Quarterly* [online]. 48 (1/2), pp. 103–121. Available from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26979204.

Currier, A. and Migraine-George, T. (2017a) "Lesbian"/female same-sex sexualities in Africa. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*. 21 (2), pp. 133–150. doi:10.1080/10894160.2016.1146031.

Currier, A. and Migraine-George, T. (2017b) "Lesbian"/female same-sex sexualities in Africa. *Journal of Lesbian Studies* [online]. 21 (2), pp. 133–150. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10894160.2016.1146031doi:10.1080/10894160.2016.1146031.

Currier, A. and Migraine-George, T. (2016) Queer studies / African Studies: An (Im)possible transaction? *Glq*. 22 (2), pp. 281–305. doi:10.1215/10642684-3428783.

Daimon, A. (2018) 'Totemless aliens': The historical antecedents of the anti-Malawian discourse in Zimbabwe, 1920s-1979. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 44 (6), pp. 1095–1114. doi:10.1080/03057070.2018.1534055.

Daimon, A. (2016) ZANU (PF)'s Manipulation of the Alien Vote in Zimbabwean Elections: 1980-2013. *South African Historical Journal* [online]. 68 (1), pp. 112–131. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02582473.2015.1118879doi:10.1080/02582473.2015.1118879.

Dashwood, H.S. (2000) *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transformation*. London: University of Toronto Press.

DataReportal (2021) *Digital in Zimbabwe: All the Statistics You Need in 2021* [online]. Available from: https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2021-zimbabwe [Accessed 2 February 2022].

Davids, N. and Matebeni, Z. (2017) Queer politics and intersectionality in South Africa. *Safundi*. 18 (2), pp. 161–167. doi:10.1080/17533171.2016.1270015.

Deakin, H. and Wakefield, K. (2014) Skype interviewing: Reflections of two PhD researchers. *Qualitative Research*. 14 pp. 603–616.

Dietz, M.G. (1998) Context is All: Feminism and Theories of Citizenship. In: Anne Phillips (ed.). *Feminism and Politics*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 378–401.

Dodo, M. (2016) How Zimbabwe Made Zimbabwe's Flag Illegal *Foreign Policy* [online]. Available from: https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/10/14/how-zimbabwe-made-zimbabwes-flag-illegal-mugabe/ [Accessed 27 April 2022].

Dorman, S.R. (2014) Citizenship in Africa: the politics of belonging. In: Engin F. Isin and Peter Nyers (eds.). *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*. London and New York: Routledge. pp. 161–171. doi:10.4324/9781315714264.

Dorman, S.R. (2003) NGOs and the constitutional debate in Zimbabwe: From inclusion to exclusion. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 29 (4), pp. 845–863. doi:10.1080/0305707032000135851.

Dorman, S.R. (2016) 'We have not made anybody homeless': regulation and control of urban life in Zimbabwe. *Citizenship Studies*. 20 (1), pp. 84–98. doi:10.1080/13621025.2015.1054791.

Dorman, S.R., Hammett, D. and Nugent, P. (2007) *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill.

Dow, D.C. (2015) Working with concepts: challenging the Language-Reality Dichotomy. In: Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (eds.). *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* 2nd ed. Oxon: M E Sharpe. pp. 64–79.

Dunn, K.C. (2001) Introduction: Africa and International relations Theory. In: Kevin C. Dunn and Timothy M. Shaw (eds.). *Africa's challenge to International Relations Theory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 1–10.

Dunton, C. and Palmberg, M. (1996) *Human Rights and Homosexuality in Southern Africa* [online]. Available from: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/104914/19_Human-Rights.pdf.

Dussel, E. (1993) Eurocentrism and Modernity (Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures). *boundary 2*. 20 (3), pp. 65–76.

Dwyer, P. and Zeilig, L. (2012) *African struggles today: Social movements since independence*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Ekine, S. and Hakima, A. (2013) *Queer African Reader*. Dakar/Nairobi/Oxford: Pambazuka Press.

Emerson, R.M. (1987) Four Ways to Improve the Craft of Fieldwork. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 16 (1), pp. 69–89. doi:10.1177/0891241687161005.

Engel, U. (1994) *The Foreign Policy of Zimbabwe*. Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde.

Engin, I.F. and Nielsen, G.M. (2008) *Acts of Citizenship*. London: Zed Books.

Epprecht, M. (2005) Black skin, 'cowboy' masculinity: A genealogy of homophobia in the African nationalist movement in Zimbabwe to 1983. *Culture Health & Sexuality*. 7 (3), .

Epprecht, M. (1998a) "Good God Almighty, What's This!": Homosexual "Crime" in Early Colonial Zimbabwe. In: Stephen O. Murray and Will Roscoe (eds.). *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands: Studies in African Homosexualities*. New York: Palgrave. pp. 197–222.

Epprecht, M. (2008) *Heterosexual Africa? The History of an Idea from the Age of Exploration to the Age of AIDS*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Epprecht, M. (2004) *Hungochani: The History Of A Dissident Sexuality In Southern Africa*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.

Epprecht, M. (2012) Sexual minorities, human rights and public health strategies in Africa. *African Affairs*. 111 (443), pp. 223–243. doi:10.1093/afraf/ads019.

Epprecht, M. (2013) *Sexuality and social justice in Africa: rethinking homophobia and forging resistance*. London: Zed Books.

Epprecht, M. (1998b) The 'Unsaying' of Indigenous Homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a Blindspot in an African Masculinity. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 24 (4), pp. 631–651. doi:10.1080/03057079808708594.

Epprecht, M. (2006) Tommy Boys, Lesbian Men, and Ancestral Wives: Female Same-Sex Practices in Africa/Sex and Politics in South Africa. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. 39 (2), pp. 383–386.

Epprecht, M. and Clark, B. (2020) The Struggle for Sexual Minority Rights in Zimbabwe in Context. In: Blessing-Miles Tendi, JoAnn McGregor, and Jocelyn Alexander (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Zimbabwean Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 1–21. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198805472.013.13.

Ercel, E. (2008) Spike Lee's 25th Hour. In: Isin F. Engin and Greg M. Nielsen (eds.). *Acts of Citizenship2*. London and New York: Zed Books. pp. 297–299.

Evans, D.T. (1993) *Sexual Citizenship : The Material Construction of Sexualities.* London: Taylor & Francis.

Fage, J.D. (1989) The development of African historiography. In: Joseph Ki-Zerbo (ed.). *General History of Africa: Methodology and African Prehistory (Volume 1)*. Paris: UNESCO. pp. 25–43.

Ferguson, J. (2019) Expectations of Modernity. *Expectations of Modernity*. doi:10.1525/9780520922280.

Finnegan, R. (2012) *Oral Literature in Africa*. 2nd. Cambridge: Open Book.

Finnegan, R. (2007) *The Oral and Beyond. Doing Things With Words in Africa*. Oxford, Chicago and

Pietermaritzburg: James Currey/ University of Chicago Press/ University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press.

Fisher, J.L. (2010) *Pioneers, settlers, aliens, exiles: the decolonisation of white identity in Zimbabwe*. Canberra: ANU E Press.

Fisher, M. (2015) *Why Robert Mugabe just shouted 'We are not gays' in his UN speech*. Available from: https://www.vox.com/2015/9/28/9411391/why-robert-mugabe-just-shouted-we-are-not-gays-in-his-un-speech [Accessed 13 May 2022].

Flint, A. and Hewitt, V. (2015) Colonial tropes and HIV/AIDS in Africa: sex, disease and race. *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*. 53 (3), pp. 294–314. doi:10.1080/14662043.2015.1051284.

Foucault, M. (1976) *The History of Sexuality. Vol. I.* Paris: Hachette.

Gaidzanwa, R. (1993) Citizenship, Nationality, Gender, and Class in Southern Africa. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. 18 (1), pp. 39–59. doi:10.1177/030437549301800104.

GALZ (2018a) *Actus Reus: An analysis of human rights violations against LGBTI persons in Zimbabwe*. Available from: http://galz.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Violations-Report_Print_Final-1-1.pdf [Accessed 21 February 2020].

GALZ (no date) *Affinity Groups*. Available from: https://galz.org/join-us/affinity-groups/ [Accessed 26 July 2022a].

GALZ (2021a) *Commemorating Zimbabwe's 41st Independence Day: We are independent but not free*. Available from: https://galz.org/galz-statement-on-zimbabwes-40th-independence-day/.

GALZ (no date) *Courson Complaint* [online]. Available from: https://galz.org/courson-complaint/.

GALZ (2020) *GALZ Statement on Zimbabwe's 40th Independence Day*. Available from: https://galz.org/galz-statement-on-zimbabwes-40th-independence-day/.

GALZ (2019a) *GALZ Statement to mark Independence Day Zimbabwe @ 39! "Zimbabwe needs healing."* Available from: https://galz.org/galz-statement-to-mark-independence-day/.

GALZ (2019b) *Hidden Figures Talkshow Bulawayo - Coming Out*. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q92TS-EYG5o.

GALZ (2021b) *Reviving the flowers of GALZ: the Miss Jacaranda Pageant 2020*. Available from: https://galz.org/miss-jacaranda-pageant-2020/ [Accessed 24 July 2022].

GALZ (2017) Stronger Together. *Ordaa!* 1 (3), pp. 1–4.

GALZ (no date) *What is GALZ?* Available from: https://galz.org/about/what-is-galz/ [Accessed 26 July 2022c].

GALZ (2018b) *"Zimbabwe @38" GALZ Statement to mark Independence Day*. Available from: https://galz.org/zimbabwe-38/.

Garrido, R. (2016) Ativismo LGBT num Campo Político Hostil – Uma leitura dos movimentos ativistas no Uganda. *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos*. (31), pp. 95–114. doi:10.4000/cea.2031.

Garrido, R. (2019) Patterns of discrimination based on sexual orientation in Africa: is there a Lusophone exception? *African Human Rights Yearbook*. 3 pp. 93–118. doi:10.29053/2523-

1367/2019/v3a5.

Geschiere, P. (2017) A 'vortex of identities': Freemasonry, witchcraft, and postcolonial homophobia. *African Studies Review*. 60 (2), pp. 7–35. doi:10.1017/asr.2017.52.

Geschiere, P. (1997) *The Modernity of Witchcraft, Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia.

Gilham, B. (2005) *Research interviewing: The range of techniques*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Goddard, K. (2004) A Fair Representation. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*. 16 (1), pp. 75–98.

Gomes da Costa Santos, G. and Waites, M. (2019) Comparative colonialisms for queer analysis: comparing British and Portuguese colonial legacies for same-sex sexualities and gender diversity in Africa–setting a transnational research agenda. *International Review of Sociology* [online]. 29 (2), pp. 297–326. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2019.1641277doi:10.1080/03906701.2019.1641277.

Good, K. (1974) The Royal African Society Settler Colonialism in Rhodesia Author (s): Kenneth Good Published by : Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society Stable URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/720978. *African Affairs*. 73 (290), pp. 10–36.

Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe (2013) *Constitution* [online]. Available from: https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Zimbabwe_2017.pdf?lang=en.

Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe (2008) *Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act.* [online]. Available from: https://www.law.co.zw/download/1698/.

Green-Simms, L.B. (2022) Introduction: Registering Resistance in Queer African Cinemas. In: *Queer African Cinemas*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Grosfoguel, R. (2011) Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality. *TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*. 1 (1), pp. 1–38. doi:10.5070/t411000004.

Grosfoguel, R. (2006) Preface: Postcolonial Studies to Decolonial Studies: Decolonizing Postcolonial Studies. *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* [online]. 29 (2), pp. 141–142. Available from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/40241657.

Gumucio-Dagron, A. (2006) Take five: A handful of essentials for ICTS in development. In: A. Gumucio-Dagron and T. Tufte (eds.). *Communication for social change anthology: Historical and contemporary readings*. South Orange: Communication for Social Change Consortium, Inc. pp. 976–989.

Gunda, M.R. (2011) Gender Prejudice in the use of Biblical Texts against Same-Sex Relationships in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Gender and Religion in Africa*. 17 (2), pp. 93–108.

Gune, E. and Manuel, S. (2011) Doing research on sexuality in Africa: ethical dilemmas and the positioning of the researcher'. In: Sylvia Tamale (ed.). *African Sexualities: A reader*. Cidade do Cabo: Pambazuka Press. pp. 37–46.

Halberstam, J. (2011) *The Queer Art of Failure*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Hall, S. (1992) The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power. In: Stuart Hall and B. Gielben (eds.). *Formations of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press and Open University. pp. 276–320.

Hammar, A. and Raftopoulos, B. (2003) Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation. In: Amanda Hammar, Brian Raftopoulos, and Stig Jensen (eds.). *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: rethinking land, state and nation in the context of crisis.* Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 1–47.

Hanna, P. (2012) Using internet technologies (such as Skype) as a research medium: A research note. *Qualitative Research*. 12 (2), pp. 239–242. doi:10.1177/1468794111426607.

Hansen, L. (2011) Theorizing the image for security studies: Visual securitization and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis. *European Journal of International Relations*. 17 (1), pp. 51–74. doi:10.1177/1354066110388593.

Haraway, D. (1988) Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*. 14 (3), pp. 575–599.

Harlow, S. (2012) Social Change and Social Media: Latin American Activists' Use of Digital Tools in the Face of the Digital Divide. In: *Congress of the Latin American Studies Association*. 2012 San Francisco: . pp. 1–23.

Harman, S. (2016) Research Note - Film as research method in African politics and international relations: reading and writing HIV/AIDS in Tanzania. *African Affairs*. 115 (461), pp. 733–750.

Harman, S. (2019) Seeing the invisible. In: *Seeing Politics: Film, Visual Method, and International Relations*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. pp. 3–18. doi:10.1088/2058-7058/27/07/38.

Hart, C. and Dillwood, R. (2015) Call Me Kuchu: Post-colonial dynamics in transnational LGBT filmmaking. *Feminist Media Studies* [online]. 15 (6), pp. 1009–1024. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1008535doi:10.1080/14680777.2015.1008535.

Hartsock, N. (1983) The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism. In: S. Harding and M. Hintikka (eds.). *Discovering Reality*. Dordrecht, Boston and London: Reidel. pp. 283–303.

Hawkesworth, M. (2015) Contending conceptions of Science and Politics: Methodology and the constitution of the Political. In: Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (eds.). *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* 2nd ed. Oxon: M E Sharpe. pp. 27–49.

Hawley, J.C. (2001) *Postcolonial, Queer: Theoretical Intersections*. New York: SUNY Press.

Hay-Gibson, N. (2009) Interviews via VoIP: Benefits and disadvantages within a PhD study of SMEs. *Library and Information Research*. 33 pp. 39–50.

Heart and Soul ZIM (2020) *Celebrating 30 years of Galz*. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/HStvradio/videos/1091222334641110/UzpfSTI1NDk2NzM3NDY5NDMxODoxNDUwMjk0MzI1MTYxNjEx/?epa=SEARCH_BOX.

Herbst, J. (2000) *States and power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hermanowicz, J.C. (2002) The great interview: 25 strategies for studying people in bed. *Qualitative Sociology*. (25), pp. 479–499.

Hewson, C. (2008) Internet-mediated research as an emergent method and its potential role in facilitating mixed-method research. In: S. N. Hesse-Biber and P. Leavy (eds.). *The handbook of emergent technologies in social research*. New York: The Guildford Pres. pp. 525–541.

Hoad, N. (2007) *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality, and Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hoad, N. (2000) Arrested development or the queerness of savages: Resisting evolutionary narratives of difference. *Postcolonial Studies*. 3 (2), pp. 133–158. doi:10.1080/13688790050115277.

Hoagland, S.L. (2007) Heterosexualism and White Supremacy. *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy*. 22 (1), pp. 166–185. doi:10.2979/hyp.2007.22.1.166.

Hoagland, S.L. (1988) *Lesbian ethics: Toward new value.* Chicago: Institute of Lesbian Studies.

Holbrook, B. and Jackson, P. (1996) Shopping Around: Focus Group Research in North London. *Area*. 28 (2), pp. 136–142.

Holt, A. (2010) Using the telephone for narrative interviewing: A research note. *Qualitative Research*. 10 (1), pp. 113–121. doi:10.1177/1468794109348686.

Homewood, N. (2016) 'I was on fire': The challenge of counter-intimacies within Zimbabwean Christianity. In: Adriaan van Klinken and Ezra Chitando (eds.). *Public religion and the politics of homosexuality in Africa*. Oxon: Routledge. pp. 243–259. doi:10.1080/21681392.2017.1285243.

Hona Africa (no date) *Videos*. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/c/HonaAfrica/videos.

Horrell, B., Stephens, C. and Breheny, M. (2015) Online research with informal caregivers: Opportunities and challenges. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. 12 pp. 258–271.

Howarth, D. (2000) *Discourse*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Howarth, D. and Stavrakakis, Y. (2000) Introducing Discourse Theory and Political Analysis. In: David Howarth, Aletta J. Norval, and Yannis Stavrakakis (eds.). *Discourse Theory And Political Analysis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp. 1–37.

Human Rights Council (2022a) *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Zimbabwe. Addendum Views on conclusions and/or recommendations, voluntary commitments and replies presented by the State under review (A/HRC/50/9/Add.1)* [online]. Available from: https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G22/322/75/PDF/G2232275.pdf?OpenElement [Accessed 26 July 2022].

Human Rights Council (2022b) *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Zimbabwe (A/HRC/50/9)* [online]. Available from: https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G22/301/62/PDF/G2230162.pdf?OpenElement [Accessed 26 July 2022].

Human Rights Council (2022c) *Summary of Stakeholders' submissions on Zimbabwe (A/HRC/WG.6/40/ZWE/3)* [online]. Available from: https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G21/297/02/PDF/G2129702.pdf?OpenElement [Accessed 26 July

2022].

Human Rights Watch (2020) *Zimbabwe: Events of 2019* [online]. Available from: https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/zimbabwe#e0c9cf.

Human Rights Watch (2019) *Zimbabwe: Excessive Force Used Against Protesters* [online]. Available from: https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/03/12/zimbabwe-excessive-force-used-against-protesters.

Hussein, N. and Hussain, S. (2019) Decolonising gender in South Asia: a border thinking perspective. *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*. 4 (4–5), pp. 261–270. doi:10.1080/23802014.2019.1701545.

Ireland, P. (2013) A Macro-Level Analysis of the Scope, Causes, and Consequences of Homophobia in Africa. *African Studies Review*. 56 (2), pp. 47– 66.

Isin, E.F. (2002) *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Isin, E.F. (2009) Citizenship in flux: The figure of the activist citizen. *Subjectivity*. 29 (1), pp. 367–388. doi:10.1057/sub.2009.25.

Isin, E.F. (2017) Performative Citizenship. In: Ayelet Shachar, Rainer Bauböck, Irene Bloemraad, and Maarten Vink (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 499–523. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198805854.013.22.

Isin, E.F. (2008) Theorising Acts of Citizenship. In: ENgin F. Isin and Greg M. Nielsen (eds.). *Acts of Citizenship*. London: Zed Books. pp. 15–43.

Isin, E.F. and Nielsen, G.M. (2008) Introduction. In: Engin Isin and Greg M Nielsen (eds.). *Acts of Citizenship*. London: Zed Books. pp. 1–12.

Isin, E.F. and Turner, B.S. (2002) Citizenship Studies: An Introduction. In: Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner (eds.). *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage. pp. 1–10.

Jeater, D. (2002) Black Peril ' in Southern Rhodesia. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 28 (2), pp. 465–467.

Jeater, D. (2013) Citizen, Witch or Non-person? Contested concepts of personhood, political violence and reconciliation in Zimbabwe's past. In: David Kaulemu (ed.). *Imagining Citizenship in Zimbabwe*. (no place) Konrad Adenauer Foundation. pp. 124–137.

Jeater, D. (1993) *Marriage, Perversion, and Power: The Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia 1894-1930*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, D.R., Scheitle, C.P. and Ecklund, E.H. (2019) Beyond the In-Person Interview? How Interview Quality Varies Across In-person, Telephone, and Skype Interviews. *Social Science Computer Review*. pp. 1–17. doi:10.1177/0894439319893612.

Kabeer, N., Milward, K. and Sudarshan, R. (2013) Organising women workers in the informal economy. *Gender and Development*. 21 (2), pp. 249–263. doi:10.1080/13552074.2013.802145.

Kaempf, S. (2018) Digital Media. In: Roland Bleiker (ed.). *Visual Global Politics*. New York: Routledge. pp. 99–103.

Kennedy, D. (1987) *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Van Klinken, A. (2018) Citizenship of Love: The Politics, Ethics and Aesthetics of Sexual Citizenship in a Kenyan Gay Music Video. *Citizenship Studies* [online]. 22 (6), pp. 650–665. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2018.1494901doi:10.1080/13621025.2018.1494901.

Van Klinken, A. (2013) Gay Rights, the Devil and the End Times: Public Religion and the Enchantment of the Homosexuality Debate in Zambia. *Religion*. 43 (4), pp. 519–540.

Van Klinken, A. (2014) Homosexuality, politics and pentecostal nationalism in Zambia. *Studies in World Christianity*. 20 (3), pp. 259–281. doi:10.3366/swc.2014.0095.

Van Klinken, A. and Chitando, E. (2016a) Introduction: Public religion, homophobia and the politics of homosexuality in Africa. In: Adriaan van Klinken and Ezra Chitando (eds.). *Public religion and the politics of homosexuality in Africa*. Oxon: Routledge. pp. 1–16.

Van Klinken, A. and Chitando, E. (2016b) *Public religion and the politics of homosexuality in Africa*. Oxon: Routledge.

Van Klinken, A. and Obadare, E. (2018) Christianity, sexuality and citizenship in Africa: critical intersections. *Citizenship Studies*. 22 (6), pp. 557–568. doi:10.1080/13621025.2018.1494900.

Kymlicka, W. and Norman, W. (1995) Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory. In: Ronald Beiner (ed.). *Theorizing Citizenship*. Albany: State University of New York Press. pp. 283–322.

Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1985) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. London: Verso.

Lan, D. (1985) *Guns and Rain: Guerillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe*. London, Berkeley and Los Angeles: James Currey, University of California Press.

Lathen, L. and Laestadius, L. (2021) Reflections on Online Focus Group Research With Low Socio-Economic Status African American Adults During COVID-19. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 20 pp. 1–10. doi:10.1177/16094069211021713.

Lavers, M.K. (2013) Zimbabwe president says gays who don't have children should be jailed [online]. *Washington blade* 8 July. . Available from: https://www.washingtonblade.com/2013/07/08/zimbabwe-president-arrest-gays-who-dont-conceive-children/ [Accessed 22 July 2022].

Lewis, D. (2011) Representing African sexualities. In: Sylvia Tamale (ed.). *African Sexualities: A reader*. Cidade do Cabo: Pambazuka Press. pp. 199–216.

Lister, R. (2003) *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. 2nd edition. New York: New York University Press.

Lodge, T. (2013) Introduction: Social movements and political change in Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 31 (2), pp. 147–155. doi:10.1080/02589001.2013.783756.

Lugones, M. (2007) Heterosexualism and the Colonial / Modern Gender System. *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy*. 22 (1), pp. 186–209. doi:10.2979/hyp.2007.22.1.186.

Lugones, M. (1987) Playfulness, 'World'-Travelling, and Loving Perception. *Hypatia*. 2 (2), pp. 3–19.

Lugones, M. (2016) The Coloniality of Gender. *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development*. pp. 13–33. doi:10.1007/978-1-137-38273-3_2.

Lugones, M. (2010) Toward a Decolonial Feminism. *Hypatia2*. 25 (4), pp. 742–759.

Lusimbo, R. and Bryan, A. (2018) Kuchu resilience and resistance in Uganda: a history. In: Nancy Nicol, Adrian Jjuuko, Richard Lusimbo, Nick J. Mulé, Susan Ursel, Amar Wahab, and Phyllis Waugh (eds.). *Envisionins Global LGBT HUman RIghts: (Neo)colonialism, Neoliberalism, Resistance and Hope*. London: Human Rights Consortium, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London. pp. 323–346. doi:10.14296/818.9780993110283.

Lyons, T. (2004) *Guns and Guerrilla Girls: women in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle*. Trenton: Africa World Press.

Macharia, K. (2015) Archive and method in Queer African Studies. *Agenda*. 29 (1), pp. 140–146. doi:10.1080/10130950.2015.1010294.

Maglaras, V. (2013) Consent and Submission: Aspects of Gramsci's Theory of the Political and Civil Society. *SAGE Open*. doi:10.1177/2158244012472347.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2007) On the coloniality of being: Contributions to the development of a concept. *Cultural Studies*. 21 (2–3), pp. 240–270. doi:10.1080/09502380601162548.

Mama, A. (2001) Challenging Subjects: Gender and Power in African Contexts. In: *Identity and Beyond: Rethinking Africanity*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. pp. 9–18.

Mama, A. (2007) Is It Ethical to Study Africa? Preliminary Thoughts on Scholarship and Freedom. *African Studies Review*. 50 (1), pp. 1–26. doi:10.1353/arw.2005.0122.

Mamba Online (2018) *New hope as ruling party meets with LGBTI community* [online]. 17 June. . Available from: https://www.mambaonline.com/2018/06/25/zimbabwe-new-hope-as-zanu-pf-meets-with-lgbti-community/.

Mamdani, M. (2018a) *Citizen and Subject : Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. 2nd edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mamdani, M. (2018b) Preface. In: *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* 2nd edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Manby, B. (2019) *Report on Citizenship Law: Zimbabwe* [online] (January). Available from: https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/60436/RSCAS_GLOBALCIT_CR_2019_01.pdf?sequence=1.

Manungo, K. and Peet, S. (1988) 'We Have a Tradition of Story-Telling' Oral History in Zimbabwe. *Oral History Society*. 16 (2), pp. 67–72.

Manyonganise, M. (2016) 'We will chop their heads off': Homosexuality versus religio-political grandstanding in Zimbabwe. In: Adriaan van Klinken and Ezra Chitando (eds.). *Public religion and the politics of homosexuality in Africa*. Oxon: Routledge. pp. 63–77.

Massad, J.A. (2002) Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World. *Public Culture*. 14 (2), pp. 361–385.

Matebeni, Z. (2014) *Reclaiming Afrikan: Queer Perspectives on Sexual and Gender Identities*. Zethu Matebeni (ed.). Athlone: Modjaji Books.

Matebeni, Z. (2017) Southern Perspectives on Gender Relations and Sexualities: A Queer Intervention. *Revista de Antropologia*. 60 (3), pp. 26. doi:10.11606/2179-0892.ra.2017.141826.

Matebeni, Z., Monro, S. and Reddy, V. (2018) *Queer in Africa: LGBTQI Identities, Citizenship, and Activism*. London: Routledge.

Matebeni, Z. and Msibi, T. (2015) Vocabularies of the non-normative. *Agenda* [online]. 29 (1), pp. 3–9. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2015.1025500doi:10.1080/10130950.2015.1025500.

Matebeni, Z. and Pereira, J. (2014) Preface. In: Zethu Matebeni (ed.). *In Reclaiming Afrikan: Queer Perspectives on Sexual and Gender identities*. Athlone: Modjaji Books. pp. 7–9.

Matenga, M. (2019) It's 'aluta continua' in ED's Zimbabwe [online]. *NewsDay Zimbabwe* 25 December. . Available from: https://www.newsday.co.zw/2019/12/its-aluta-continua-in-eds-zimbabwe/ [Accessed 27 April 2022].

Mazarire, G.C. (2009) Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c. 850–1880s. In: Brian Raftopoulos and Alois S. Mlambo (eds.). *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008.* Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 1–38.

McClintock, A. (1995) *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.

McCoyd, J.L.M. and Schwaber Kerson, T. (2006) Conducting intensive interviews using email: A serendipitous comparative opportunity. *Qualitative Social Work*. 5 pp. 389–406.

McCulloch, J. (2000) *Black Peril, White Virtue. Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

McGregor, J.A. and Chatiza, K. (2020) Partisan citizenship and its discontents: precarious possession and political agency on Harare City's expanding margins. *Citizenship Studies*. 24 (1), pp. 17–39. doi:10.1080/13621025.2019.1691151.

McVeigh, K. (2011) Gay rights must be criterion for US aid allocations, instructs Obama [online]. *The Guardian* Available from: www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/07/gay-rights-us-aid-criteria.

Meisenhelder, T. (1994) Capital, State, Socialism: Lessons of Zimbabwe. *Against the Current* [online]. 51 (July/August), . Available from: https://againstthecurrent.org/atc051/p4616/ [Accessed 24 February 2022].

Mendez, X. (2015) Notes Toward a Decolonial Feminist Methodology : Revisiting the Race/Gender Matrix. *Trans-Scripts*. 5 pp. 41–59.

Michels, E., Mott, L. and Paulinho (2019) *MORTES VIOLENTAS DE LGBT+ NO BRASIL RELATÓRIO 2018* [online]. Available from: https://grupogaydabahia.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/relatório-de-crimes-contra-lgbt-brasil-2018-grupo-gay-da-bahia.pdf [Accessed 23 March 2021].

Mignolo, W. (2013) Geopolitics of sensing and knowing: On (de)coloniality, border thinking, and epistemic disobedience. *Confero Essays on Education Philosophy and Politics*. 1 (1), pp. 129–

150. doi:10.3384/confero.2001-4562.13v1i1129.

Mignolo, W.D. (2006) Citizenship, Knowledge, and the Limits of Humanity. *American Literary History*. 18 pp. 312–331.

Mignolo, W.D. (2007) Delinking: The rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality. *Cultural Studies*. 21 (2–3), pp. 449–514. doi:10.1080/09502380601162647.

Mizielińska, J. (2022) *Queer Kinship on the Edge? Families of Choice in Poland*. London and New York: Routledge.

Mizielińska, J., Gabb, J. and Stasińska, A. (2018) Editorial introduction to Special Issue: Queer Kinship and Relationships. *Sexualities*. 21 (7), pp. 975–982. doi:10.1177/1363460717718511.

Mlambo, A.S. (2013) Becoming Zimbabwe or becoming Zimbabwean: Identity, nationalism and state-building. *Africa Spectrum*. 48 (1), pp. 49–70. doi:10.1177/000203971304800103.

Moraga, C. and Anzaldúa, G.E. (2002) *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color by Cherrie Moraga; Gloria Anzaldua*. 3rd edition. Saline: Third Woman Press.

Morgan, R. and Wieringa, S. (2005) *Tommy Boys, Lesbian Men and Ancestral Wives: Female Same-Sex Practices in Africa*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Morrison, I. (2008a) Acts of Commemoration. In: Engin F. Isin and Greg M Nielsen (eds.). *Acts of Citizenship*. London: Zed Books. pp. 289–291.

Morrison, I. (2008b) Unintentional acts of citizenship (The Joke). In: Engin F. Isin and Greg M Nielsen (eds.). *Acts of Citizenship*. London: Zed Books. pp. 221–223.

Mott, L. and Oliveira, J.M.D. de (2022) 2021 Report Violent Deaths of LGBT+ in Brazil *Grupo Gay da Bahia*.

Mott, L. and Oliveira, J.M.D. de (2020) *Mortes violentas de LGBT+ no Brasil – 2019: Relatório do Grupo Gay da Bahia*.

Moyo, S. (2013) Land Reform and Redistribution in Zimbabwe Since 1980. In: S. Moyo and W Chambati (eds.). *Land and Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe: Beyond White-Settler Capitalism*. Dakar: Codesria. pp. 29–77.

Msibi, T. (2011) The Lies We Have Been Told: On (Homo) Sexuality in Africa. *Africa Today*. 58 (1), pp. 54–77. doi:10.2979/africatoday.58.1.55.

Mtisi, J., Nyakudya, M. and Barnes, T. (2009a) Social and Economic Developments during the UDI Period. In: Brian Raftopoulos and Alois S. Mlambo (eds.). *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008.* Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 115–140.

Mtisi, J., Nyakudya, M. and Barnes, T. (2009b) War in Rhodesia, 1965–1980. In: Brian Raftopoulos and Alois S. Mlambo (eds.). *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008.* Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 141–166.

Mugabe, R. (2015) *Discourse at 70th Session UN General Assembly meeting. 28/09/2015.* [online]. Available from: https://www.unmultimedia.org/avlibrary/asset/1449/1449080/.

Mugabe, R. (2016a) Speech at 12th Zanu-PF Annual People’s Conference (Dec. 9, 2011). In: *Speeches*

through the years: Cde. Robert Gabriel Mugabe. pp. 125.

Mugabe, R. (2016b) Speech in Harare at Zimbabwe's 26th Independence celebrations (2006). In: *Speeches through the years: Cde. Robert Gabriel Mugabe* [online]. Harare: . pp. 125. Available from: https://archive.org/details/MugabeSpeeches/mode/2up.

van Munster, R. and Sylvest, C. (2015) Documenting International relations: Documentary Film and the Creative Arrangement of Perceptibility. *International Studies Perspectives*. 16 pp. 229–245.

Muparamoto, N. (2016) Enduring and subverting homophobia. In: Ezra Chitando and Adriaan van Klinken (eds.). *Christianity and Controversies over Homosexuality in Contemporary Africa*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 143–156.

Muparamoto, N. (2020) LGBT individuals and the struggle against Robert Mugabe's extirpation in Zimbabwe. *Africa Review*. 13 (S1), pp. S1–S16. doi:10.1080/09744053.2020.1812042.

Muparamoto, N. and Moen, K. (2020) Gay, ngochani, ordaa, gumutete and mwana waEriza: 'globalised' and 'localised' identity labels among same-sex attracted men in Harare, Zimbabwe. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*. 0 (0), pp. 1–15. doi:10.1080/13691058.2020.1814967.

Murray, S.O. and Roscoe, W. (1998) *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands: Studies in African Homosexualities*. New York: Palgrave M.

Mutsvairo, B. (2018) *Digital Activism in the Social Media Era: Critical Reflections on Emerging Trends in Sub-Saharan Africa*. (no place) Palgrave Macmillan.

Muzondidya, J. (2009) From Buoyancy to Crisis, 1980–1997. In: Brian Raftopoulos and Alois S. Mlambo (eds.). *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008.* Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 167–200.

Muzondidya, J. (2010) The Zimbabwean crisis and the unresolved conundrum of race in the post-colonial period. *Journal of Developing Societies*. 26 (1), pp. 5–38. doi:10.1177/0169796X1002600102.

Nannyonga-Tamusuza, S.A. (2009) Female- Men, Male- Women, and Others: Constructing and Negotiating Gender among the Baganda of Uganda. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 3 (2), pp. 367– 380.

Ncube, G. (2016) Deconstructing the closet: A sociological reading of Tendai Huchu's novel, The Hairdresser of Harare. *South African Review of Sociology*. 47 (3), pp. 8–24. doi:10.1080/21528586.2016.1163288.

Ndhlovu, F. (2019) Reading Robert Mugabe Through the Third Chimurenga: Language, Discourse, Exclusion. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*. doi:10.1007/s10767-019-09333-8.

Ndjio, B. (2013) Sexuality and Nationalist Ideologies in Post-Colonial Cameroon. In: S. Wieringa and H. Sivori (eds.). *The Sexual History of the Global South: Sexual Politics in Africa, Asia, and Latin America*. London: Zed Books. pp. 120–143.

Ndlou, L. (2016) The anti-homosexuality narrative in the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe. In: Ezra Chitando and Adriann van Klinken (eds.). *Christianity and Controversies over Homosexuality in Contemporary Africa*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 98–109.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2012) Coloniality of Power in Development Studies and the Impact of Global Imperial Designs on Africa. In: *Inaugural Lecture delivered at the University of South Africa, Senate Hall, 16 October 2012* [online]. 16 October 2012 Pretoria: . pp. 1–24. Available from: http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/8548/Inugural lecture-16 October 2012.pdf.pdf [Accessed 6 June 2021].

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2009) Mapping Cultural and Colonial Encounters, 1880s–1930s. In: Brian Raftopoulos and Alois S. Mlambo (eds.). *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008.* Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 39–74.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2011) *The Zimbabwe Nation-State Project: A Historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-Based Conflicts in a Postcolonial State*.

Neveu, C. (2015) Of ordinariness and citizenship processes. *Citizenship Studies*. 19 (2), pp. 141–154. doi:10.1080/13621025.2015.1005944.

New Zimbabwe (2018a) *ED courts gay vote as ZANUPF in surprise meeting with LGBT reps.pdf* [online]. Available from: https://www.newzimbabwe.com/ed-courts-gay-vote-as-zanu-pf-in-surprise-meeting-with-lgbt-reps/.

New Zimbabwe (2018b) Gay clinics set to be established throughout the country [online]. *New Zimbabwe* 14 July. . Available from: https://www.newzimbabwe.com/gay-clinics-set-to-be-established-throughout-the-country/ [Accessed 14 March 2021].

New Zimbabwe (2018c) Zim govt adopts manual for treating gays, sex workers at health centres [online]. *New Zimbabwe* 9 July. . Available from: https://www.newzimbabwe.com/zim-govt-adopts-manual-for-treating-gays-sex-workers-at-health-centres/ [Accessed 14 March 2021].

NewsDay (2021) *Promoting family support for LGBTI people*. Available from: https://www.pressreader.com/zimbabwe/newsday-zimbabwe/20210517/281629603161108 [Accessed 15 April 2022].

Ngwena, C. (2018) *What is Africanness? Contesting nativism in race, culture and sexualities*. Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press - PULP.

Nkiwane, T.C. (2001) Africa and International Relations: Regional Lessons for a Global Discourse. *International Political Science Review*. 22 (3), pp. 279–290. doi:10.1177/0192512101223005.

Novick, G. (2008) Is there a bias against telephone interviews in qualitative research? *Research in Nursing & Health*. 31 pp. 391–398.

Nyanzi, S. (2013a) Dismantling reified African culture through localised homosexualities in Uganda. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*. 15 (8), pp. 952–967. doi:10.1080/13691058.2013.798684.

Nyanzi, S. (2014) Queering Queer Africa. In: Zethu Matebeni (ed.). *Reclaiming Afrikan: Queer Perspectives on Sexual and Gender Identities*. Athlone: Modjaji Books. pp. 65–68.

Nyanzi, S. (2013b) Rhetorical Analysis of President Jammeh’s threats to behead homosexuals in the Gambia. In: S. N. Nyeck and Marc Epprecht (eds.). *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory and Citizenship*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press. pp. 67–89.

Nyanzi, S., Karamagi, A., Nyanzi, S. and Karamagi, A. (2015) The social-political dynamics of the anti- homosexuality legislation in Uganda. *Agenda* [online]. 29 (1), pp. 24–38. Available from:

http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2015.1024917doi:10.1080/10130950.2015.1024917.

Nyeck, S. n. and Epprecht, M. (2013a) *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory, Citizenship*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.

Nyeck, S.N. (2013) Mobilizing against the invisible: Erotic nationalism, Mass Media, and the ‘Paranoid Style’ in Cameroon. In: S. N. Nyeck and Marc Epprecht (eds.). *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory and Citizenship*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press. pp. 151–187.

Nyeck, S.N. (2020) *Routledge Handbook of Queer African Studies*. Oxon: Routledge.

Nyeck, S.N. and Epprecht, M. (2013b) Introduction. In: S. N. Nyeck and Marc Epprecht (eds.). *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory and Citizenship*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press. pp. 3–15.

O’Mara, K. (2013) LGBTI Community and Citizenship Practices in Urban Ghana. In: S.N. Nyeck and Marc Epprecht (eds.). *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory and Citizenship*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press. pp. 188–207.

Obadare, E. and Willems, W. (2014) *Civic Agency in Africa: Arts of Resistance in the 21st Century*. Rochester: Boydell & Brewer.

Okin, S. (1992) Women, Equality, and Citizenship. *Queen’s Quarterly*. 99 (1), pp. 57–72.

Osborn, A. and Henley, J. (2001) Mugabe men beat up Tatchell [online]. *The Guardian* 6 March. . Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/mar/06/zimbabwe.andrewosborn [Accessed 23 July 2022].

Oyewumi, O. (1997) *The Invention of Women: Making African Sense of Western Discourses*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Pape, J. (1990) Black and White: the ‘Perils of Sex’ in Colonial Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 16 (4), pp. 699–720.

Pateman, C. (1989) *The Disorder of Women. Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Pateman, C. (1988) *The Sexual Contract*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Pereira, P.P.G. (2019) Reflecting on decolonial queer. *Glq*. 25 (3), pp. 403–429. doi:10.1215/10642684-7551112.

Peterson, V.S. (2014) Family matters: How queering the intimate queers the international. *International Studies Review*. 16 (4), pp. 604–608. doi:10.1111/misr.12185.

Philipose, E. (2007) Decolonizing Political Theory. *Radical Pedagogy*.

Phillips, O. (2014) Blackmail in zimbabwe: Troubling narratives of sexuality and human rights. *International Journal of Colorectal Disease*. 29 (11), pp. 345–364. doi:10.1080/13642980902758192.

Phillips, O. (2011) The ‘perils’ of sex and the panics of race: the dangers of interracial sex in colonial Southern Rhodesia. In: Sylvia. Tamale (ed.). *African Sexualities: A reader*. Oxford: Fahamu. pp. 101–115.

Phillips, O. (1997) Zimbabwean law and the production of a white man's disease. *Social and Legal Studies*. 6 (4), pp. 471–492. doi:10.1177/096466399700600402.

Phimister, I. (1988) *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe, 1890-1948: capital accumulation and class struggle* [online]. Harlow: Longman. [Accessed 7 June 2022].

Picq, M. (2015) Peripheral prides: Amazon perspectives on LGBT politics. In: M. Picq and M. Thiel (eds.). *Sexualities in World Politics: How LGBT claims shape International Relations*. New York: Routledge.

Picq, M. and Thiel, M. (2015) *Sexualities in World Politics: How LGBT claims shape International Relations*. New York: Routledge.

Pidduck, J. (2009) Queer kinship and ambivalence: Video Autoethnographies by Jean Carlomusto and Richard Fung. *Glq*. 15 (3), pp. 441–468. doi:10.1215/10642684-2008-031.

Preciado, P.B. (2017) Trashgender: Urinate/Defecate, Masculine/Feminine. Translation from Spanish by Sarina Vega. *The Funambulist magazine* [online]. Available from: https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/13-queers-feminists-interiors/trashgender-urinatedefecate-masculinefeminine-paul-b-preciado [Accessed 12 January 2022].

Prior, L. (2004) Doing things with Documents. In: D. Silverman (ed.). *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage. pp. 76–94.

Puar, J.K. (2011) Citation and Censorship: The Politics of Talking About the Sexual Politics of Israel. *Feminist Legal Studies*. 19 pp. 133–142.

Puar, J.K. (2013) Rethinking Homonationalism. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 45 (2), pp. 336–339. doi:10.1017/S002074381300007X.

Puar, J.K. (2007) *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Queer Nation (2020) Queers read this. In: Breanne Fahs (ed.). *Burn It Down! Feminist Manifestos for the Revolution*. London: Verso. pp. 28–40.

Quest, R. and Mckenzie, S. (2018) President Mnangagwa: "Zimbabwe is open for business"' [online]. *CNN* Available from: https://edition.cnn.com/2018/01/24/africa/zimbabwe-president-emmerson-mnangagwa-davos-intl/index.html.

Quijano, A. (2000a) Colonialidad del Poder y Clasificacion Social. *Journal of World Systems Research*. 5 (2), pp. 342–388.

Quijano, A. (2000b) Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America. *Nepantla: Views from South*. 1 (3), pp. 533–580.

Raftopoulos, B. (2007) Nation, Race and History in Zimbabwean Politics. In: Sara Rich Dorman, Daniel Hammett, and Paul Nugent (eds.). *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizeship in Africa*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill. pp. 181–195.

Raftopoulos, B. (2009) The Crisis in Zimbabwe, 1998–2008. In: Brian Raftopoulos and Alois S. Mlambo (eds.). *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre–colonial Period to 2008*. Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 201–232.

Raftopoulos, B. (2003) The State in Crisis: Authoritarian Nationalism, Selective Citizenship and Distortions of Democracy in Zimbabwe. In: Brian Raftopoulos, Amanda Hammar, and Stig Jensen (eds.). *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State, and Nation in the Context of Crisis*. Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 217–242.

Raftopoulos, B. and Mlambo, A.S. (2009) *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*. Harare: Weaver Press.

Ranger, T. (2010) Constructions of Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 36 (2), pp. 505–510.

Ranger, T. (2004a) Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation: The struggle over the past in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 30 (2), pp. 215–234. doi:10.1080/0305707042000215338.

Ranger, T. (2004b) Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: the Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 30 (2), pp. 215–234. doi:10.1080/0305707042000215338.

Ranger, T. (1985) *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*. Oxford: James Currey.

Ranger, T. (1967) *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97: A Study in African Resistance*. London: Heinemann.

Rao, R. (2020a) *Out of Time: The Queer Politics of Postcoloniality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rao, R. (2014) Queer questions. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 16 (2), pp. 199–217. doi:10.1080/14616742.2014.901817.

Rao, R. (2020b) Re- Membering Mwanga, Mourning the Martyrs. In: *Out of Time: The Queer Politics of Postcoloniality*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 75–106. doi:10.1093/oso/9780190865511.001.0001.

Rao, R. (2010) *Third World Protest: Between Home and the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reddy, V., Monro, S. and Matebeni, Z. (2018) Introduction. In: *Queer in Africa: LGBTQI Identities, Citizenship, and Activism*. London: Routledge. pp. 1–16.

Rettie, R. (2009) Mobile phone communication: Extending goffman to mediated interaction. *Sociology*. 43 pp. 421–438.

Rich, A. (1991) An Atlas of the Difficult World. *Bridges* [online]. 2 (2), pp. 55–57. Available from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40357501.

Rich, A. (1971) The burning of paper instead of children. In: *The will to change: Poems 1968-1970*.

Richardson, D. (2017) Rethinking Sexual Citizenship. *Sociology*. 51 (2), pp. 208–224. doi:10.1177/0038038515609024.

Richardson, D. (2018) *Sexual Citizenship*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Richardson, D. (1998) Sexuality and citizenship. *Sociology*. 32 (1), pp. 83–100.

Robinson, J.P., DiMaggio, P. and Hargittai, E. (2003) New Social Survey Perspectives on the Digital Divide. *IT & Society*. 1 (Summer), pp. 1–22.

Rubin, H.J. and Rubin, I.S. (2011) *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Rutherford, B. (2003) Belonging to the farm(er): Farm workers, farmers and the shifting politics of citizenship. In: Amanda Hammar, Brian Raftopoulos, and Stig Jensen (eds.). *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State, and Nation in the Context of Crisis*. Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 191–216.

Rutherford, B. (2007) Shifting Grounds in Zimbabwe: Citizenship and Farm Workers in the New Politics of Land. In: Sara Rich Dorman, Daniel Hammett, and Paul Nugent (eds.). *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizeship in Africa*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill. pp. 105–122.

Sabsay, L. (2012) The emergence of the other sexual citizen: Orientalism and the modernisation of sexuality. *Citizenship Studies*. 16 (5–6), pp. 605–623. doi:10.1080/13621025.2012.698484.

Sandfort, T., Simenel, F., Mwachiro, K. and Reddy, V. (2015) *Boldly Queer: African Perspectives on Same-Sex Sexuality and Gender Diversity*. Hage: HIVOS.

Sandoval, C. and Latorre, G. (2008) 'Chicana/o Artivism: Judy Baca's Digital Work with Youth of Color'. In: Anna Everett (ed.). *Learning Race and Ethnicity: Youth and Digital Media*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Santos, B. de S. (2007) Para além do pensamento abissal: das linhas globais a uma ecologia de saberes. *Novos Estudos - CEBRAP*. (79), pp. 71–94. doi:10.1590/s0101-33002007000300004.

Schmidt, E. (1992) *Peasants, Traders, and Wives: Shona women in the history of Zimbabwe, 1870–1939*. Portsmouth, Harare and London: Heinemann, Baobab Books, James Currey.

Schradie, J. (2018) The Digital Activism Gap: How Class and Costs Shape Online Collective Action. *Social Problems* [online]. 65 pp. 51–74. Available from: https://academic.oup.com/socpro/article/65/1/51/4795348doi:10.1093/socpro/spx042.

Schwartz-Shea, P. (2015) Judging Quality: Evaluative Criteria and Epistemic Communities. In: Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (eds.). *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* 2nd ed. Oxon: M E Sharpe. pp. 120–146.

Scott, J. (1990) Assessing Documentary Sources. In: J. Scott (ed.). *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research.* Cambridge: Polity Press. pp. 19–35.

Scott, J.C. (1987) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Resistance*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Sedgwick, E.K. (1990) *Epistemology of the Closet.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Seitz, S. (2016) Pixilated partnerships, overcoming obstacles in qualitative interviews via Skype: a research note. *Qualitative Research*. 16 (2), pp. 229–235. doi:10.1177/1468794115577011.

Sexual Rights Centre (2019) *Isichazamazwi Sobulili Obubanzi* [online]. Available from: https://wixlabs-file-sharing.appspot.com/api/files/view?instance=0_NSJ584xW3YwOKTMVyFf1XY0bkQZZZKN57Y6ZHAlG8.eyJpbnN0YW5jZUlkIjoiMTJiMzQ0ODAtYzQ5Yy00MzJmLWE1NjQtNWEzZjc1O

WU2YWI1IiwiYXBwRGVmSWQiOiIxNTM3YjI0ZS0yOWQxLTZkOGYtYjhlMS1kNjg2MGY yZjcwYjkiLCJtZXRhU2.

Sexual Rights Centre (no date) *Our Mission*. Available from: https://www.sexualrightcentre.org/about-us [Accessed 3 February 2021].

Shapiro, M. (2013) *Studies in Trans-disciplinary Method: After the Aesthetic Turn*. London: Routledge.

Shepherd, L.J. and Sjoberg, L. (2012) Trans- Bodies in/ of War(s): Cisprivilege and Contemporary Security Strategy. *Feminist Review*. 101 (1), pp. 5– 23.

Shilliam, R. (2015) *The Black Pacific: Anti-Colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections*. London: Bloomsbury.

Sigamoney, V. and Epprecht, M. (2013) Meanings of Homosexuality, Same-Sex Sexuality, and Africanness in Two South African Townships: An Evidence-Based Approach for Rethinking Same-Sex Prejudice. *African Studies Review*. 56 (02), pp. 83–107. doi:10.1017/asr.2013.43.

Smith, B. and Rogers, P. (2015) Towards a Theory of Decolonizing Citizenship. *Citizenship Education Research Journal (CERJ)*. 5 (1), pp. 59–71.

Smith, D. (1974) Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology. *Sociological Inquiry*. 44 (1), pp. 7–13.

Smith, N.J. (2020) *Capitalism's sexual history*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Somers, M.R. (2008) *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to Have Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spurlin, W.J. (2006) *Imperialism Within the Margins: Queer Representation and the Politics of Culture in Southern Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Spurlin, W.J. (1999) Queer identity and racial alienation: The politics of race and sexuality in james baldwin and in the "New" South Africa. *Journal of Literary Studies*. 15 (1–2), pp. 218–237. doi:10.1080/02564719908530226.

Stevens, J. (1999) *Reproducing the State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stoler, A.L. (1995) *Race and the Education of Desire*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Tabengwa, M., Waites, M., Tabengwa, M. and Waites, M. (2020) Africa and the Contestation of Sexual and Gender Diversity. *The Oxford Handbook of Global LGBT and Sexual Diversity Politics*. (June), pp. 200–215. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190673741.013.35.

Tamale, S. (2011a) *African Sexualities: A Reader*. Oxon: Pambazuka.

Tamale, S. (2020) *Decolonization and Afro-Feminism*. Ottawa: Daraja Press.

Tamale, S. (2007) Out of the Closet: Unveiling Sexuality Discourses in Uganda. In: Cathrine M. Cole (ed.). *Africa After Gender* Indiana Un. Bloomington: . pp. 17–29.

Tamale, S. (2011b) Researching and Theorizing Sexualities in Africa. *African Sexualities: A reader*. pp. 11–36.

Tanhira, M.R. (2013) *Zimbabwe LGBTs reject premier who turned on them* [online]. Available from:

https://76crimes.com/2013/03/11/zimbabwe-prime-minister-chameleon-character-castigated/.

Tansel, C.B. (2017) Authoritarian Neoliberalism Towards a New Research Agenda. In: Cemal Burak Tansel (ed.). *States of discipline*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 1–28.

The Other foundation (2017) *Canaries in the coal mines: an analysis of spaces for LGBTI activism in Zimbabwe*. Available from: http://theotherfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Canaries_Zimbabwe.pdf.

Thiel, M. (2017) Queer Theory. In: Stephen Mcglinchey, Rosie Walters, and Christian Scheinpflug (eds.). *International Relations Theory*. Bristol: E-International Relations. pp. 97–103.

Thomas, K. (2013) Profile: Digital visual activism: A profile of Inkanyiso. *Feminist Africa* [online]. 13 (8), pp. 79–81. Available from: http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/s12905-015-0208-z.

Thoreson, R.R. (2014) Troubling the waters of a 'wave of homophobia': Political economies of anti-queer animus in sub-Saharan Africa. *Sexualities*. 17 (1/2), pp. 23–42.

Torfing, J. (2002) Discourse Analysis and the post-structuralism of Laclau and Mouffe. *European Political Science*. 2 (2), pp. 54–57.

Tuck, E. and Yang, K.W. (2012) Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*. 1 (1), pp. 1–40.

Tucker, A. (2009) *Queer Visibilities, Space, Identity and Interaction in Cape Town*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: research and indigenous Peoples*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Turner, B.S. (1993) Contemporary Problems in the Theory of Citizenship. In: B.S. Turner (ed.). *Citizenship and Social Theory*. London: Sage. pp. 1–18.

Van Veeren, E. (2018) Invisibility. In: Roland Bleiker (ed.). *Visual Global Politics*. New York: Routledge. pp. 196–200.

Volpp, L. (2017) Feminist, Sexual, and Queer Citizenship. *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*. (August), pp. 152–177. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198805854.013.7.

Wakapila, T. (2013) *Because I am*. Available from: https://inkanyiso.org/2013/08/28/2013-aug-27-because-i-am/comment-page-1/ [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Warner, M. (1991) Introduction: Fear of a Queer Planet. *Social Text*. 29 pp. 3–17.

Weber, C. (2014) From queer to queer IR. *International Studies Review*. 16 (4), pp. 596–601. doi:10.1111/misr.12160.

Weber, C. (2016) *Queer International Relations: Sovereignty, Sexuality and the Will to Knowledge*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weeks, J. (2017) *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*. 4th Editio. London: Routledge.

Weeks, J. (2016) *Sexuality*. 3rd editio. New York: Routledge (Key ideas).: Taylor & Francis Group.

Weeks, J. (1998) The Sexual Citizen. *Theory, Culture & Society*. 15 (3), pp. 35–52. doi:10.1177/0263276498015003003.

Weldes, J. (1999) Going Cultural: Star Trek, State Action, and Popular Culture. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. 28 (1), pp. 117–134.

Weller, S. (2017) Using internet video calls in qualitative (longitudinal) interviews: some implications for rapport. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*. 20 (6), pp. 613–625. doi:10.1080/13645579.2016.1269505.

Willems, W. (2010) Beyond Dramatic Revolutions and Grand Rebellions: Everyday Forms of Resistance during the 'Zimbabwe Crisis'. *Communicare Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*. 29 (Special Edition), pp. 1–17.

Willems, W. (2011a) Comic strips and 'the crisis': Postcolonial laughter and coping with everyday life in Zimbabwe. *Popular Communication*. 9 (2), pp. 126–145. doi:10.1080/15405702.2011.562099.

Willems, W. (2011b) Political jokes in Zimbabwe. In: John D. H. Downing (ed.). *Encyclopedia of social movement media* [online]. Los Angeles: Sage. pp. 410–412. Available from: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/51182/1/__Libfile_repository_Content_Willems%2C W_Willems_political jokes_Willems_political_ jokes_ Zimbabwe_2011.pdf.

Worby, E. (2003) The end of modernity in Zimbabwe? Passages from development to sovereignty. In: Amanda Hammar, Brian Raftopoulos, and Stig Jensen (eds.). *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State, and Nation in the Context of Crisis*. Harare: Weaver Press.

World Bank (2021) *Rural population (% of total population) - Zimbabwe*. Available from: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS?locations=ZW [Accessed 21 January 2023].

World Health Organization (2018) *ICD-11, International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 11th Revision*.

Van Wyk, J.-A. (2002) The Saga Continues...The Zimbabwe Issue in South Africa's Foreign Policy. *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*. 1 (4), pp. 78–80.

Yanow, D. (2015a) Neither rigorous nor objective? Interrogating criteria for knowledge claims in interpretive science. In: *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* 2nd ed. Oxon: M E Sharpe. pp. 97–119.

Yanow, D. (2015b) Thinking Interpretively: Philosophical presuppositions and the Human Sciences. In: Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (eds.). *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* 2nd ed. Oxon: M E Sharpe. pp. 1–21.

Yanow, D. and Schwartz-Shea, P. (2015a) Generating data. In: Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (eds.). *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* 2nd ed. Oxon: M E Sharpe. pp. 147–160.

Yanow, D. and Schwartz-Shea, P. (2015b) *Interpretation and Method: Empirical research methods and the interpretative turn*. 2nd ed. Oxon: M E Sharpe.

Yanow, D. and Schwartz-Shea, P. (2015c) Wherefore 'Interpretive'? An introduction. In: *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* 2nd edition. Oxon: M E

Sharpe. pp. xiii–xxxi.

Youde, J. (2017) Patriotic history and anti-LGBT rhetoric in Zimbabwean politics. *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue canadienne des études africaines*. 51 (1), pp. 61–79. doi:10.1080/00083968.2016.1276850.

Young, R.M. and Meyer, I.H. (2005) The trouble with 'MSM' and 'WSW': erasure of the sexual-minority person in public health discourse. *American journal of public health*. 95 (7), pp. 1144–1149. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2004.046714.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2010) Theorizing identity: Beyond the 'Us' and 'them' Dichotomy. *Patterns of Prejudice*. 44 (3), pp. 261–280. doi:10.1080/0031322X.2010.489736.

ZANU-PF (no date) *Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front – The peoples party*. Available from: https://www.zanupf.org.zw/ [Accessed 5 August 2022].

Zidyana, L. (2016a) *Because I am – Being LGBT in Zimbabwe* [online]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N62SQ8mvIfU&feature=youtu.be.

Zidyana, L. (2016b) *How to make a short film Making of an LGBT rights film* [online]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ToGgPqW1Hs&.

Zivi, K. (2012) *Making Rights Claims: A Practice of Democratic Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ziwira, E. (2020) Kindling the Eternal Flame of Independence [online]. *The Herald* 5 March. . Available from: https://allafrica.com/stories/202003050447.html.

Call me Kuchu (2012) [online]. Directed by Malika Zouhali-Worrall and Katherine Fairfax Wright. Available from: https://callmekuchu.com/.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Digital archive of primary sources used in the thesis (organized by chapter)

Chapter Four

GALZ (2019b) *Hidden Figures Talkshow Bulawayo - Coming Out*. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q92TS-EYG5o. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Heart and Soul ZIM (2020) *Celebrating 30 years of Galz*. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/HStvradio/videos/1091222334641110/UzpfSTI1NDk2NzM3NDY5NDMxODoxNDUwMjk0MzI1MTYxNjEx/?epa=SEARCH_BOX. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Sexual Rights Centre (2019) *Isichazamazwi Sobulili Obubanzi* [online]. Available from: https://wixlabs-file-sharing.appspot.com/api/files/view?instance=0_NSJ584xW3YwOKTMVyFf1XY0bkQZZZKN57Y6ZHAlG8.eyJpbnN0YW5jZUlkIjoiMTJiMzQ0ODAtYzQ5Yy00MzJmLWE1NjQtNWEzZjc1OWU2YWI1IiwiYXBwRGVmSWQiOiIxNTM3YjI0ZS0yOWQxLTZkOGYtYjhlMS1kNjg2MGYyZjcwYjkiLCJtZXRhU2. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Chapter Five

Bulawayo High Court (2019) *Nathanson v Mteliso & Ors. (HB 176 of 2019, HC 1873 of 2014) ZWBHC 135* [online] p.pp. 1–43. Available from: https://zimlii.org/zw/judgment/bulawayo-high-court/2019/135. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

GALZ (2019b) *Hidden Figures Talkshow Bulawayo - Coming Out*. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q92TS-EYG5o. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Heart and Soul ZIM (2020) *Celebrating 30 years of Galz*. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/HStvradio/videos/1091222334641110/UzpfSTI1NDk2NzM3NDY5NDMxODoxNDUwMjk0MzI1MTYxNjEx/?epa=SEARCH_BOX. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Chapter Six

GALZ (2021) *Commemorating Zimbabwe's 41st Independence Day: We are independent but not free*. Available from: https://galz.org/galz-statement-on-zimbabwes-40th-independence-day/. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

GALZ (2020) *GALZ Statement on Zimbabwe's 40th Independence Day*. Available from: https://galz.org/galz-statement-on-zimbabwes-40th-independence-day/. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

GALZ (2019a) *GALZ Statement to mark Independence Day Zimbabwe @ 39! "Zimbabwe needs healing."* Available from: https://galz.org/galz-statement-to-mark-independence-day/. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

GALZ (2018) *“Zimbabwe @38” GALZ Statement to mark Independence Day*. Available from: https://galz.org/zimbabwe-38/. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Chapter Seven

Hona Africa (no date) *Videos*. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/c/HonaAfrica/videos. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Wakapila, T. (2013) *Because I am*. Available from: https://inkanyiso.org/2013/08/28/2013-aug-27-because-i-am/comment-page-1/ [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Zidyana, L. (2016a) *Because I am – Being LGBT in Zimbabwe* [online]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N62SQ8mvIfU&feature=youtu.be. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Zidyana, L. (2016b) *How to make a short film Making of an LGBT rights film* [online]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ToGgPqW1Hs&. [Accessed 14 May 2022].

Appendix 2: Digital archive of primary sources which were not used in the analysis (organized by institution)

GALZ

GALZ (2018a). *Ordaa!*. 2(1). Available at http://galz.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Ordaa-Vol-2-No.1_Final.pdf. [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ (2018b). *Ordaa!*. 2(2). Available at http://galz.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Ordaa-Vol-2-No.2_Final.pdf. [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ (2018c). *LGBTI Sector Statement- 28 September 2018*. Available at https://galz.org/zimbabwe-lgbti-sector-statement-28-september-2018/ [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ (2018d). *We celebrate HIVOS at 50!*. Available at https://galz.org/we-celebrate-hivos-at-50/ [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ. (2017a). *Perceptions - Perspectives. Access to facility-based health services for LGBT people in Harare and Bulawayo, Zimbabwe A Situational Analysis*. Available at http://galz.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Zimbabwe-Situational-Analysis-REPORT-redesign_2.pdf [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ. (2017b). *Cost of Exclusion*. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vjAHlBck5PA&feature=youtu.be [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ (2016). *An Assessment of the impact of state sanctioned and unsanctioned raids on GALZ premises and gatherings*. Available at https://drive.google.com/open?id=0B5rzYk6W5HlrTFBjY2JhcENXTnM [Accessed 27 November 2018].

GALZ (1999). 'Sexual Orientation and Zimbabwe's Constitution: a Case for Inclusion'. Available at https://drive.google.com/open?id=0B-8K98GaI-y9cmpNVE10RktEU2s [Accessed 27 November 2018].

GALZ (no date a). *GALZ & its African Partners*. Available at https://galz.org/africa/ [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ (no date b). *WCC 8TH ASSEMBLY*. Available at https://galz.org/wcc-8th-assembly/ [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ (no date c). *Orientation of New Members*. Available at https://galz.org/newmember-orientation/ [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ (no date d). *Psychosocial support*. Available at https://galz.org/psychosocial-support/ [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ (no date e). *Constitutional Submissions*. Available at https://galz.org/constitutional-submissions/ [Accessed 13 November 2018].

GALZ. (no date f). *Zimpride*. Available at https://galz.org/zimpride/ [Accessed 28 June 2018].

HQ

HQ (2019) HQ Collective Twitter webpage. Available from: https://twitter.com/hq_collectivezw [Accessed 13 August 2022].

HQ (no date) Harare Queers Instagram webpage. Available from: https://www.instagram.com/hq_collectivezw/ [Accessed 13 August 2022].

Undomesticated Podcast (2019) The LGBTQ+ Community in Zim: UD X HQ. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ROktE5uI6hs [Accessed 13 August 2022].

Pakasipiti

Pakasipity. (no date) *Pakasipiti Zimbabwe*. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/. [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Pakasipiti. 2018. 'Statement to mark International Day against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia – IDAHOT 17 May 2018'. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2018/05/17/pakasipiti-idahot-statement/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Mandishona, Patience. 2016. 'Our Movement'. *Pakasipiti*. 26/02/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/02/26/our-movement/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Dee, Lickle. 2016a. 'A good Woman'. *Pakasipiti*. 26/02/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/02/26/a-good-woman/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Dee, Lickle. 2016b. ‘Anger’. *Pakasipiti*. 26/02/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/02/26/anger/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Dee, Lickle. 2016c. ‘Copy and paste me’. *Pakasipiti*. 21/04/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/04/21/copy-and-paste-me/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Dee, Lickle. 2016d. ‘Pleasure and protection’. *Pakasipiti*. 21/04/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/04/21/pleasure-and-protection/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Dee, Lickle. 2016e. ‘At first glance’. *Pakasipiti*. 21/04/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/04/21/89/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Dee, Lickle. 2016f. ‘Crushed cans and broken bottles. *Pakasipiti*. 26/02/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/02/26/crushed-cans-and-broken-bottles/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Tina. 2016a. ‘In Retrospect’. *Pakasipiti.* 26/02/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/02/26/in-retrospect/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Tina. 2016b. ‘Religion and me’. *Pakasipiti.* 26/02/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/02/26/religion-and-me/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Cde. 2016. ‘The power of body language.’. *Pakasipiti.* 26/02/2016. Available at https://pakasipitizimbabwe.wordpress.com/2016/02/26/the-power-of-body-language/ [Accessed 24 November 2018].

Purple Hand Africa

Purple Hand Africa (2018) PurpleHandAfrica Twitter webpage. Available from: https://twitter.com/africa_hand [Accessed 13 August 2022].

Purple Hand Africa (no date) Purple Hand Africa website. Available from: https://phatrust.org/ [Accessed 13 August 2022].

RAWO

RAWO (2020) Rawo Twitter webpage. Available from: https://twitter.com/AgendaRawo [Accessed 13 August 2022].

RAWO (no date) Rise Above Women Organisation-RAWO Facebook page. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/RAWOAGENDA/ [Accessed 13 August 2022b].

RAWO (no date) Rawo Instagram webpage. Available from: https://www.instagram.com/rawo.agenda/ [Accessed 13 August 2022a].

TIRZ

TIRZ (2018) *The Manhood Project: Trans and Intersex Rising Zimbabwe - Out With It 2018*. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0GnR6EMKgXc&t=9s [Accessed 13 August 2022].

TIRZ (2017) *TIRZ Twitter webpage*. Available from: https://twitter.com/TIRZ7 [Accessed 13 August 2022].

TIRZ (no date) *TIRZ website*. Available from: https://trinrizim.weebly.com/ [Accessed 13 August 2022b].

TIRZ (no date) *TIRZ Instagram webpage*. Available from: https://www.instagram.com/tirz_7/ [Accessed 13 August 2022a].

TREAT

TREAT (2020) *TREAT ORG Twitter webpage*. Available from: https://twitter.com/treat_zim [Accessed 13 August 2022].

TREAT (no date) *TREAT Facebook webpage*. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/treatZim [Accessed 13 August 2022a].

TREAT (no date) *TREAT Instagram webpage*. Available from: https://www.instagram.com/treat_zim/ [Accessed 13 August 2022b].

GALZ (2020) *Introduction and welcome to @Treat Zimbabwe's Out and Proud Live launch*. Available from: https://fb.watch/eTMT7MyPXh/ [Accessed 13 August 2022].

VoVo

Oxfam Ireland (2015) VOVO: Voice of the Voiceless in Zimbabwe. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YYSmQWg0cC8 [Accessed 13 August 2022].

Other resources on transgender activism

Bustop Tv (2021) Transgender in MugabeLand. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8KDUIYxgeX0 [Accessed 12 December 2021].

Other resources about intersex activism

Pang, Y. and Tokanel, R. (2018) She's Not a Boy. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eEXpeq-38Sw [Accessed 13 August 2022].

Appendix 3: Model interview questions for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms*

These questions function as a guide. I may ask variations of them, and use them to explore aspects in connection to them that the informants may desire to develop.

Q1 – Can you tell me a bit about yourself? Who are you? What is your story?
Connected questions:
How do you identify?
Where do you come from?
Do you see yourself as an activist? When did that start? How did you get to this position you are in today?

Q2 – What is your goal in your activism?
What motivates, what inspires you?
What do you think is necessary for your goals to be accomplished?

Q3 – How would you describe your activism? Your daily routine?
Connected questions:
Can you tell me about the different kinds of actions you develop?
Can you tell me a bit more about your organisation?
Do you think your approach makes your work different from other activists? In what ways?

Q4 – What are the challenges you face?
Connected questions:
As a queer Zimbabwean?
As an activist?

Q5 – Do you think different groups in the Zimbabwean LGBTIQ community experience specific challenges?

Q6 – Do you identify with an ethnicity? Do you think that entails specific challenges?

Q7 – How do you feel sexuality and gender are perceived in your community?
Connected questions:
What do you see as your community?

Q8 – Do you go to church?

Q9 – How do you feel about marriage?

Q10 – What does family mean to you?

Q11 – What does Zimbabwe mean to you?
Connected questions:
What does being Zimbabwean mean to you?
Do you feel you belong?

Q12 – How is doing this activist work in Zimbabwe?
Connected question for those in the diaspora: How is doing activist work in this location you are in?

Q13 – Do you work with other activists/ associations?
Connected questions:
How is it to work with other organizations from Zimbabwe?
How is it to work with international organizations?

Q14 – Do you use other languages as well as English in your work? Why do you chose one language or another?
Connected questions:
Do you think using different languages affects how people understand you?
Do you think knowing different languages affects how you understand/use concepts such as homosexuality or other related concepts?

Q15 – How do you feel about your activism?
Connected question: Do you think of yourself as brave?

Q16 – How do you feel about this interview?

Q17 – Is there anything else you would like to add? Anything that you think is relevant to this chat that I didn't ask about?

Q18 – Is there anyone you recommend I should talk to? Can you give me their contact, or ask them if want to contact me for us to talk like we did?

Appendix 4: Interview protocol for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms*

Points to guide informant's briefing about the research project (presented in writing or orally)

What this research is about:
This research is being developed for academic purposes. It examines different forms of LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activisms.
I am investigating how gender, sexuality and activism connect with citizenship in Zimbabwe. I am interested in how you, as a LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activist develop your activism. What are your discourses and performances, what are your perceptions about yourself, your activism and your context? What is your relationship with your country and how you feel about belonging.
To this end I am collecting data available digitally about the (different types of) work Zimbabwean LGBTIQ activists develop and interviewing some activists in English.

Who is carrying out this research:
I am a Brazilian cis woman who identifies as lesbian. I am a PhD researcher at the University of Bristol in the UK, and that is where I am developing this research. I am also a lecturer at the International Relations Department in a university in Brazil.

What exactly participating in the research means:
If you want to contribute to the research, I will arrange an online interview at a date and time that suits you. We can use the platform you prefer, such as Skype, Whatsapp, FaceTime, Zoom.
The interview should take around 1.5 hour. It is a semi-structured interview, and the questions I ask are there to offer a guideline, for you to talk about your experiences and how you understand and feel about the topics.

Recording the data and confidentiality:
If you allow, I will record the audio of the interview. If you prefer I will not record it in any way, and later will write my recollections of the meeting. If you allow recording, I will transcribe that and anonymise the information. Nobody apart from me will hear anything we discuss here.
All information I draw form the conversation (all data, recorded, written, as well as any notes taken) will be anonymised and used confidentiality.
I will store all the data securely. (I will use encryption and passwords and store all data in my personal password protected files in the University of Bristol's system which are accessible only to me and guarded by the University's protections.)

Data analysis:
I will analyse the information searching for themes that emerge and looking at how you frame and indicate understanding these topics. To maintain confidentiality, I will omit information regarding personal characteristics that may contribute to identifying the interviewees.

Findings reporting:
All findings will be used for writing my thesis and may be published in articles or book chapters. As such, they will be open to the general public and most likely will be seen by academics. You will be able to access the research results and I can share them with you.

Potential risks and benefits of participating:
This interview and research may be an opportunity to share your stories, your projects, and the challenges you face. It will contribute to an understudied field. I will share the final products with the informants, and hope they contribute to inform the work of LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activists. I am not offering remuneration for the interviews.
Participating in this research through the interview may entail risks of being overheard as we talk. To avoid that I recommend, if you would like to contribute, to find a location where our conversation will not be overheard so as not to be placed in a compromising situation nor at the risk of physical harm. I will anonymise the data I collect to make sure nobody is exposed to risks due to the research.
The discussion, revolving around the experiences of being queer and Zimbabwean, may bring to mind some traumatic experiences, and as such can cause negative feelings. I have no intention of making you talk about or remember situations you are not inclined to, but if this is the case and you want to stop please tell me. We can stop at any time for a break or end the interview.

Participants rights;
You do not have to participate in this research. The interview is completely voluntary.
If you decide to be interviewed, you can change your mind at any time and stop the interview. You don't have to give me a reason for that.
If you want to participate but do not want to be recorded no data will be recorded.
If you want to participate but do not want to answer certain questions you do not have to. You don't have to give me a reason for that.
Please feel free to ask me questions at any point.

Consent:
I will confirm orally that the informants feel informed about the research project, that they are happy to participate voluntarily and know that they can withdraw from it at any time. If they confirm they are, I will then ask if they allow recording the interview. I will start the interview and if they have given their consent, record the audio.

Appendix 5: Ethics Approval for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms*

Emily Crick/Igne Barkauskaite
SPAIS
11 Priory Road
Bristol BS8 1TU
Tel: +44 (0)117 331 0607
www.bristol.ac.uk/spais
spais-ethics@bristol.ac.uk

Name: Xaman Pinheiro Minillo
Number: 1760454

Date: 14/02/19

Dear Xaman,

Re: Research Ethics Approval

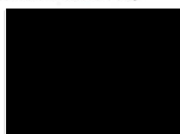
This is to confirm in writing that the School Research Ethics Committee has reviewed your submitted documents and is pleased to give full ethical approval for your project. Because you research is being carried out outside of the United Kingdom, we recommend that you take extra care in following the FCO travel recommendation and keeping the supervisors constantly up to date about the research and fieldwork process.

You are advised to take particular notice of the regulations concerning data storage and data encryption. The Information Commissioner has made it clear that *personal* data subject to the Data Protection Act must be encrypted whenever it is "transported" or "conveyed". This includes data stored on physical media (laptops, CD/DVDs, USB drives, etc.) as well as data transmitted electronically (email, FLUFF, etc.). Failure to do so is a breach of the 7th data protection principle and could result in action being taken against the University in the event of data loss.

- Definitions of personal data and sensitive data can be found here: http://www.bris.ac.uk/secretary/dataprotection/glossary.html .
- Information about data storage can be found here: http://www.bris.ac.uk/infosec/uobdata/research/.
- Information about data encryption can be found here: http://www.bris.ac.uk/infosec/uobdata/encrypt/.

You are encouraged to maintain contact with your supervisors and Dr Filippo Dionigi, Chair of the Research Ethics Committee, informing them of any changes that may occur to your plans or to your research. Should you have any queries or concerns, the Ethics Committee will be pleased to help and support you in any way possible.

Yours sincerely



Emily Crick
On behalf of SPAIS Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 6: Application for ethical approval for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms*

Application for Ethical Approval

Research involving humans by all academic and related Staff and Students in the School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies is subject to the standards set out in the University of Bristol Ethics of Research Policy and Procedure which can be found at: http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/research-governance/practice-training/researchethicspolicy.pdf

It is a requirement that prior to the commencement of all funded and non-funded research that this form be completed and submitted to the School's Research Ethics Committee (REC). The REC will be responsible for issuing certification that the research meets acceptable ethical standards and will, if necessary, require changes to the research methodology or reporting strategy.

Applications to external bodies for research funding must obtain *prior* clearance from the REC.

Name: Xaman Pinheiro Minillo

Student number: 1760454
(if applicable)

Supervisor/s (if applicable): Egle Cesnulyte and Terrell Carver

Please answer 'YES' or 'NO' to the following questions in the boxes below:

Programme Title (if applicable) e.g. MPhil/PhD: PhD

Please confirm (if applicable) that your supervisor is aware of the ethical implications of your research	YES

Title of research project: LGBTIQ activism in Zimbabwe, 1995 to 2019: how does being queer challenge coloniality/modernity?

Questionnaire:

1	Does your research involve living human subjects?	YES
2	Does your research involve only the analysis of secondary data? If yes please specify.	NO
3	Will your participants be taking part with their full consent acknowledged as such by the signing of a consent form? If 'no' please give details under 'Further Details'	NO[1]
4	Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, your own students) If 'yes' please give details under 'Further Details'	NO

[1] Participants will be taking part in the research only after giving their explicit full consent, but it will be acknowledged as such through oral consent, not by the signing of a written consent form. Further details below and in the Risk Assessment Form.

5	Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. students at school, members of self-help group, residents of nursing home). If 'yes' please give details under 'Further Details'.	YES
6	Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at the time? (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places) If 'yes' please give details under 'Further Details'	NO
7	Is it likely that the study could induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life? If 'yes' please give details under 'Further Details'	YES
8	Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? If 'yes' please give details under 'Further Details'	NO
9	Will the study involve recruitment of patients or staff through the NHS?	NO
10	Will you give your informants a written summary of your research and its uses? If 'No' please explain your reason(s) under 'Further Details'.	NO
11	Will you give your informants a verbal summary of your research and its uses?	YES
12	Will your informants be identified in your research? If 'yes' please explain why this would be important to your research under 'Further Details'	NO
13	Will any monitoring devices only be used openly and with the permission of informants?	YES
14	Have you considered the implications of your research intervention on your informants?	YES
15	Will your research be available to informants and the general public without restrictions placed by sponsoring authorities?	YES
16	Does your research involve fieldwork in the community i.e. face-to-face interaction with person(s) off University premises?	YES
17	Does your research involve travel outside the UK?	YES
18	Have you completed a risk assessment form?	YES
19	Have you sought advice on data protection including the safe handling and storage of data and the security of computer equipment	YES
20	Are there any other ethical issues arising from your research?	YES

Further details: Please submit a summary of your research proposal which includes a short explanation of your methodology i.e. who you intend to interview, how/where your interviews will take place and a brief summary of the data you hope to collect.
The research adopts a qualitative approach and an interpretative epistemology, and seeking to understand how LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activists negotiate and reclaim what they see as their own sexuality engaging with the ZANU-PF regime and international actors, the chosen methods for data collection are i) documental analysis, ii) visual and discourse analysis, iii) archival research and iv) semi-structured qualitative interviews. The first two methods should be developed within university

premises and the third should be done during the field research developed in Zimbabwe and South Africa, through accessing the archives of local news agencies such as NewsDay and The Zimbabwean, which have already been contacted. This last method involves developing face-to-face interactions with living human subjects outside the University premises, both inside the UK, and outside, in South Africa and Zimbabwe. It is this method, involving living human subjects, which raises most ethical issues, therefore it is the focus of the explanation below.

The informants

The informants in the research should be LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activists who act individually or as part of an organisation. In the case of the individual activists, four people were selected based on their artistic production on LGBTIQ issues in Zimbabwe, such as publishing in blogs and news-agencies, or producing films. The individual activists have been approached directly and invited to participate in 1-1 semi-structured interviews.

Regarding those involved in organisations, two Harare-based institutions were approached: GALZ and Pakasipiti. Individual activists working within the associations should be recruited for interviews through the procedures preferred by their organisation. This way, the administration of the organisations should function as a gatekeeper for initial access, and with their support the informants should feel more comfortable being interviewed and any possible anxiety they could feel should be reduced. I believe my sexual preferences, as a lesbian, should contribute to approximating me from the informants and gain access to the organisations.

I hope to, with the support of the organisations, adopt the snowballing technique and involve around 10 informants, 6 from GALZ and 4 from Pakasipiti.

The selection of informants considered the implications the research might have for them. The data collection interactions should be restricted to engaged activists who deal regularly with such issues and therefore should not promote psychological stress or feelings of anxiety. However, if I perceive participants are indicting such feelings, their wellbeing will be privileged over the data collection, which can be paused, rescheduled or cancelled.

The conditions for participating in the research

Before any data is systematically collected informants will be orally briefed on the research project, so they know the purpose of the data collection. The participants should be briefed on the research's summary and its uses verbally. The study will not involve persons who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent, such as children, people with learning disabilities, or people who have a pre-existing personal or professional relationship with me. I will not offer financial inducements to the participants but may incur in some reasonable expenses such as a coffee or a meal taken at the time of the interviews.

The informants will not be identified in the research – this type of information is not necessary for the research and anonymity should make participants feet more confident and guarantee the research does not put them at risk,

All informants involved should have knowledge of the research project and have given their consent to participate in it. This implies that there should not be any covert observation in the research, and all subjects participating will be required to give explicit oral consent to participate in the research in order to be interviewed. If they allow it, this consent will be recorded. Such procedures were chosen considering the criminalisation of same-sex sexual practices in Zimbabwe and the risk to participant's security that any paper with personal information on the informants (such as written consent forms) could present to their safety.

The interviews will also be audio recorded if they allow it. In the recordings, participants should be addressed by pseudonyms to protect their identity. In case they want to participate in the interviews and give their explicit oral consent, but do not want to be recorded, I will guard their answers by memory and, once in a safe location, will take notes in a manner that also protects their identity and follows the general security arrangements detailed below. I reaffirm that I will act ethically at all times, and not collect information from informants without their explicit consent.

With the exception of the informant's identity, the research and its products should be available to the general public when the research is published. There are no restrictions placed by sponsoring authorities.

The data collection environment

The interviews should take place in public spaces in which both researcher and informant feel comfortable and there are no people around who can hear the conversations taking place. The organizations involved should be able to provide adequate spaces for the interviews to take place and

this should help the informants feeling at ease (GALZ calls their centre a safe heaven). In cases where that is not an option, such as with the individual activists, a public place where a conversation can take place without being overheard, such as at a mall, in a coffee shop with a secluded table, should be adequate. If in any circumstance I consider the environment does not seem safe, the data collection will be cancelled and, if possible, rescheduled to be developed in more adequate conditions.
The interviews should be registered by a sound recording device as long as the informants give permission. If they require, the information can be collected through handwritten notes where they are not identifiable, or memorised. All data will be stored as soon as possible according to the data protection standards set out in the Code of Practice on Research Ethics and will adhere to the University of Bristol Information Security Policy (see data protection form attached). All procedures involved in interviewing participants, collecting data and storing it have been planned with the aim of guaranteeing the research causes no cause harm or negative consequences to the informants nor me, the researcher.

The nature of the data to be collected

Although the research touches on the issue of sexuality, it does not focus on data regarding the sexuality of the respondents. The data collection targets knowing more about and understanding the ways through which LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activists develop their agency and negotiate and reclaim what they see as their own sexuality; and how they engage with the discourses from ZANU-PF regime and international actors through their activism. The interviews will inquire about the subjects' views on ZANU-PF's homophobic and heteronormative policies and discourses, such as the claim that homosexuality is un-African and a sin, connecting them to their own understandings on sexuality and their experiences as African LGBTIQ activists. The interviews should also bring up their perspectives on how they relate to discourses of Western LGBTQ activists and state policies relating to sexuality, and discourses which associate homosexuality and activism, as well as modernity, with the West.
The research does not focus on informant's sexualities. I will not ask personal questions that might make informants uncomfortable and can contain information which might allow their identification. If informants disclose information on their or other people's sexual preferences/practices that constitute criminal acts in Zimbabwe (same-sex practices), I will not inform the local authorities. Informing them would put the people involved, including myself, at risk. 'The oppressive climate of homophobia prevailing in Zimbabwe means that many lesbian and gay people suffer … real fears of being evicted from home, dismissed from work and being verbally and/or physically abused' (GALZ n.d.). Also, even though intimate contact between consenting adults of the same sex/gender is illegal in Zimbabwe, disclosing such information would violate their right to privacy and could be understood as blackmail. Therefore, all information they provide will be anonymised.

During all the fieldwork, I aim at being flexible and respectful, being attentive to unintentional effects of the research and taking care to guarantee that the project does not put respondents or myself at risk. If I consider the conditions for the data collection present high risks of causing harm or negative consequences I shall alter the fieldwork, and work towards the development of interviews using online tools. Such a possibility can be exemplified by the emergence of a political crisis in the country, such as the one that emerged in the end of January 2019. Despite losing some contextual aspects of being in the informant's environment, which could enrich the research, especially considering being in the organisation's settings, this alternative allows some of the benefits of traditional face-to-face interviews, providing synchronous interaction, maintaining visual and interpersonal aspects and being easily recorded, while also guaranteeing researcher and informants remain in safe locations of their choice (Hanna, 2012). This possibility might also be useful in case there is not enough time to develop all interviews planned during the fieldwork, but it is hoped to at least have some face to face contact in order to establish bonds with the informants. If the field research is not possible the archival research will also have to be postponed or cancelled. I believe that if that is the case the research project is still viable, resting on the other research methods which will be developed.

References

GALZ. (n.d.). *Psychosocial Support.* Available at https://galz.org/psychosocial-support/ access on 25/01/2019.

Please email your completed application document(s) spais-ethics@bristol.ac.uk

Appendix 7: Risk Assessment Form for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms*

SPAIS **Research in the Community and Travel outside the UK**

Section 1: Application Details

Name	Xaman Korai Pinheiro Minillo
Address	[redacted]
Mobile phone number	[redacted]
E mail address	x.pinheirominillo@bristol.ac.uk
Student number (if applicable)	1760454
Supervisor (name and contact number)	Egle Cesnulyte – e.cesnulyte@bristol.ac.uk +441173317272 Terrell Carver – tfcarver@earthlink.net
Programme title e.g. MPhil/Phd	Phd
Title of research project	LGBTIQ activism in Zimbabwe, 1995 to 2019: how does being queer challenge coloniality/modernity?
Previous experience/competency	I have been studying Zimbabwe since 2008, so I have good knowledge on the country and some of its cultural specificities, especially concerning sexualities and the nationalist politics of ZANU-PF. I am aware I am researching a delicate topic and believe my previous experiences and research will allow me to develop this complex project. I worked for 5 years as an evaluation consultant for Trilateral International Development Cooperation projects at Japan's International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Brazilian Office (2011-2016). My work involved planning the evaluation process of projects in joint talks between the staff from JICA and the Brazilian Cooperation Agency. During the evaluation themselves I would develop interviews with people from other developing countries who had participated in the projects, coming form Africa, Asia and Latin America. The interviews took place in various settings, ranging from the commodity of urban based high technology schools to a small boat navigating the Amazon river. This work allowed me to not only have extensive experience in developing interviews, but also develop the ability to negotiate with people with different cultures from mine with ease and have the skills to deal with unexpected situations, a competency which I believe is crucial for developing the fieldwork.

	Since 2012 I have worked as a lecturer at the Federal University of Paraiba in Brazil. During that time, I took a course on conceptual, cognitive and emotional competences to use in the classroom a part of a teacher's training and updating project, which contributed to developing strategies of interacting with people in ways that prevent emotional harm. The university where I am based in Brazil is located in the Northeast of the country, the region which is responsible for the 3rd highest rate of LGBTIQ violence in the country in 2017 (an improvement, since until 2016 it was the 2nd). Unfortunately, although Brazil has legislation protecting some LGBTIQ rights, such as same-sex marriage and allows the possibility of changing gender markers, it is also the country which most murders transsexuals (Transgender Europe 2018) and had 387 LGBTIQs murdered in its territory 2017 (Grupo Gay da Bahia 2018). Living as a lesbian in this country all my life I am aware of the importance of discretion regarding non-heterosexual sexualities, which should contribute to my safety while doing research in Zimbabwe and in South Africa. The challenges in South Africa are more related to high levels of crime and violence, with numbers of murders that can be compared to those of a war zone (BBC 2018). However, they are also comparable to the indicator of large cities in Brazil. Growing up in Brazil, I am aware of the special cares which must be taken in areas were violence is a real threat, adopting security procedures and being attentive to potential threats at all times.

Section 2: Interview Risk Assessment

Hazard	**Control Measures** (e.g. training, supervision, protective equipment)
Risk of physical threat or abuse	The field research will involve developing interviews with LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activists, focusing on their perceptions of their agency and how they are affected by their relationships with the government and international actors. No ZANU-PF officials or members of government will be sought, and the interviews will avoid questions about governmental actions involving violence. Despite the existence of laws prohibiting same-sex sexual relations, there are no laws forbidding this topic to be discussed and 'there is growing tolerance of LGBTI in Zimbabwe especially amongst younger people in urban areas' (GALZ n.d.a). Although my sexuality can help in approximating me from the Zimbabwean LGBTQ activists, to guarantee my security, I will not be performing it openly outside of interview settings. During the field research I will act discreetly and with caution while in Zimbabwe, and will not discuss the research with people who are not directly involved in it. I will adopt the same procedure while in South Africa since, despite homosexuality being legal in the country, there are high indexes of violence against LGBTIQs, such as corrective rape against lesbians.
Risk of psychological trauma to Researcher (as a result of actual or threatened violence or the nature of what is disclosed during the interaction)	Recognizing qualitative research as emotional work (Dickson-Swift et al, 2009), I will be attentive to the well-being of all involved including me. Therefore, I will work towards keeping my mental wellbeing. This involves reserving two days of rest every week, which can be spread depending on the availability of the informants to be interviewed. I also will develop an exercise routine of daily sessions of mat pilates. I have been doing this

	exercise since 2013 and it helps me reduce stress. It also has the benefit of being done with no need of equipment other than a mat (or towel) and can be done at a hotel room, involving no dislocation to other places. I will also keep in touch with my family as frequently as possible, which should provide opportunities to chat about trivial topics.
Risk of being in a compromising situation (in which there might be accusations of improper behaviour)	During the interviews I will ask activists about their perceptions and actions connected to their activisms, how they operate and relate to local and international actors. Although there are anti-sodomy laws in Zimbabwe, people have the right to discuss topics related to same-sex relations. I will not ask informants personal questions, regarding their sexual preferences and practices.
Increased exposure to risks of everyday life and social interaction (such as road accidents and infectious illness)	The FCO (2019) warns that there are sometimes fuel shortages in Zimbabwe, public transport and services are unreliable, traffic accidents are a common cause of death and injury, the roads may be with potholes, poorly lit and badly marked and there have been robberies from vehicles. Road standards are mostly very good in South Africa. During my fieldwork in Zimbabwe I will stay in Harare, so my transportation will be restricted to within the city to develop interviews, visit the researched organisations and to Harare International Airport when I arrive and leave. I will not be renting or driving any vehicles during my stay in both countries. I will use taxis recommended by the FCO and Brazilian Embassy and avoid public transportation, as recommended by the Foreign travel advice**.** I will avoid going out after dark and will always ensure the transportation (taxi) is locked and I will use a seatbelt. During my stay in South Africa, I should restrict my stay to Johannesburg and Durban, and in both cities I will be alert to security threats such as robberies in public places, as recommended by both the FCO and the Brazilian Embassy in Pretoria. I will usually take my passport and some money with me safely stored in a hidden pouch inside my pants. This is a practice I always do when travelling abroad and I used to do it also when walking through areas in Brazil where security was a concern. If these valuables are not with me, they will be safely stored at a safe or a locked luggage in my also locked accommodations. I will keep a copy of my passport with easier access, as well as a small sum of money, which can be used in regular transactions (so I don't have to reveal my hidden pouch in front of people) and in case of a robbery, so that the assailant can take a small amount of money and not threaten my with physical violence. Zimbabwe faces a shortage of physical cash and it is impossible to do cash withdrawals using an international bank card. Financial transactions are mainly conducted in US dollars. I will check in advance if my hotel accepts cards and will take enough money in US dollars to the country for the duration of my stay and a bit extra for possible emergencies recognizing the limitation of entering South Africa with less than US$10,000. The money will either be kept in a safe or a locked luggage in the hotel or in my hidden pouch. In South Africa, I will also avoid withdrawing money from banks and making currency exchanges at the airport for security reasons. I should be able to use my credit/debit cards and leave my money reserve safely stored. I will maintain my bank information and cards details safe at all times and not share it with strangers.
Risk of causing psychological or physical harm to others	I will make sure the participants in the research are not placed in situations that might entail physical or psychological harm. Regarding physical hazards, the informants are people who will be based in Harare and I should meet them at the GALZ Centre, in the Harare suburb of Milton Park, which is described as 'a vital safe haven where

	members can meet each other, establish friendships and express themselves freely' by the organization (Galz n.d. b). If participants prefer, the interviews can take place in other public spaces of their choices, such as a cafe in a mall where a private conversation can take place without being overheard. Therefore, they should not be affected by long travel risks. All my interviews will also be designed to let the informants speak freely, so that psychological or emotional har is avoided. The interviews will be semi-structured, based on general questions that focus on knowing the participants' perceptions about their activism and the politics involved in their customary activities. I will not push them to talk about or remember situations they are not inclined to; such as being subjected to violence, or other situations that might distress them. For example, instead of directly asking an informant if they were directly exposed to violence due to their activism, I will use questions such as: 'Tell me about a normal day in your activism', or 'Why is promoting LGBTIQ rights in Zimbabwe different from activism in other places?', and from their answers ask for details on their perceptions of LGBTIQ activism in Zimbabwe and their inter/transnational links so that they guide the conversation based on their perspectives and preferences. To get the participants engaged the interviews will also be supplemented by pictures of gay pride events in the country, LGBTIQ activisms in Africa and in Europe and nationalist symbols in Zimbabwe, in the same spirit of letting the informant's perceptions guide the conversation. I will avoid pictures and questions that portray or mention violence. The interviews will be in English, which is one of the official languages in Zimbabwe and South Africa, and I am aware (through the activist's previous works) that the participants are familiar and able to communicate effectively using it. I will also be using friendly body language. I will make it clear to all informants before the interview - the purpose of the research; - why they were invited to participate (due to their specific activism actions or by indication from their organization); - that they will be anonymized; - that they are not forced to participate; - they can ask questions at any time; - that they can take breaks; - that they are free to stop/end the interview at any time; - that they can withdraw from the project at any time. Participation in the research will be voluntary. I can purchase a coffee or meal for the informant if the interview is done in a café to make them more comfortable while talking, but other than that there will be no payments or rewards for informants for participating in the research. I will thank informants for their time and their contribution as experts to my project and remind them that we can go over their answers to ensure they are happy with what they said in the interviews and the information gathered does not compromise them or their activities in any way. Informants will have my contact information so they can contact me before and after the interviews and can bring me any questions or doubts they have about the project and their participation. During the interviews I will ask participants to give me their explicit consent to participating. If they allow, this consent will be audio-recorded. I will avoid having any papers related to the research with me at any time considering Zimbabwe places legal restrictions on being LGBTIQ and such papers could be used against my informants. I will not create/carry with me any documents with personal information on the informants (such

	as written consent forms) because this could present a risk to their safety. Due to this reason I will also inform participants of the nature and purposes of my research orally. All research related activities will be done protecting the anonymity of participants. This includes not using their names or offering contextual or personal details which can be used to identify them. In the recordings, participants should be addressed by pseudonyms to protect their identity. This is planned assuming participants will want to maintain their anonymity.
Any other hazards	If it is found that the fieldwork should not advance as planned, for security reasons, for example, if a crisis such as that which emerged in the end of January in Zimbabwe arises, the field research can be postponed or cancelled. The research rests on the triangulation of various methods, including documental analysis, visual and discourse analysis, as well as the interviews and archival research. It can be effectively developed without the interviews and archival research if they become impossible. There is also the possibility of developing the interviews using online tools such as skype, which allows the benefits of traditional face-to-face interviews, while also guaranteeing both researcher and subjects remain in safe locations (Hanna, 2012). This possibility might also be useful in case there is not enough time to develop all interviews during the fieldwork, but it is hoped to at least have some face to face contact in order to establish bonds and trust with the interviewees.

Section 3: Travel Background Information

Travel location	Harare, Zimbabwe Johannesburg and Durban, South Africa
Dates of travel **(please give approximate if date(s) unknown)**	30-45 days between 01/07/2019 – 30/08/2019
Accommodation arrangements **(add address, telephone and e mail where possible)**	Accommodation is to be confirmed at least 2 months before the field research
Travel and Transport **(Licensed drivers, travel to and from the research project from the UK and within the country)**	I will take a plane from the UK to Johannesburg and from there to Durban. After that, I will go again by plane to Harare. From there I should return to the UK, possibly stopping at Johannesburg. In Zimbabwe, the transportation system recommended by the hotel will be favoured, as recommended by the FCO. Taxi services recommended in South Africa by the Brazilian Embassy are - Rixi Taxi - www.rixitaxi.co.za - Zebra Cabs - www.zebracabs.co.za - EZShuttle - Ulysses Tours & Safaris - www.ulysses.co.za - Lamar Tours - http://lamartour.net

Section 4: In country hazards

Hazard	**Control Measures** (e.g. training, supervision, protective equipment)
Physical **(extreme weather or natural**	Weather or natural hazards are not considered as risks in the FCO travel advice (FCO 2019). The CIA factbook mentions there are recurring droughts in Zimbabwe, but these should not directly affect my stay at

hazards)	Harare. The country also faces rare floods, and reports of these indicate they usually take place around March (2017) and November (2014), and therefore should not be a problem at the time of the field research. Durban and Johannesburg are not areas at risk of physical hazards. There are alerts regarding safety in beaches in Durban, but I will be avoiding this activity.
Biological **(poisonous plants, infectious diseases, animals, soil or water micro organisms, insects)**	According to the National Travel Health Network and Centre (NathNac) most travellers are at low risk of cholera and there is very low risk of Malaria in Harare, Johannesburg and Durban. I will prevent diseases communicable through infected water, such as cholera, through taking care with personal, food and water hygiene, and avoiding raw foods. I will also avoid contact with all animals to prevent rabies and will not bath in freshwater to prevent schistosomiasis. I will continuously (day and night) use insect repellent and avoid infected habitats to prevent contamination from vector-borne diseases such as malaria, yellow fever and Zika.
Man-made hazards **(electrical equipment, insecure buildings, slurry pits, power and pipelines)**	In January 2019 there have been protests related to increase in fuel prices in Zimbabwe and, following them, several episodes of government sponsored violence against civilians and the suspension of internet services in the country. I have been in contact with people in Harare and believe that the governmental actions avoid areas with tourists. If a similar situation emerges while I am in the country, with protests arising, I will suspend my activities for a few days to observe the safety of the environment. I will in general avoid areas considered dangerous and be attentive to the information alerts given by the FCO. The FCO (2019) alerts that there are sometimes power cuts and occasional fuel and water shortages. If I believe there is no secure way of getting to the locations I plan to, I will postpone my meetings. To prevent potential water shortage problems I will keep a stock of water bottles in my accommodation and take a portable filter bottle with me for emergencies. When I arrive in my destination, I will acquire a local mobile phone chip to help communication. I am aware that the Zimbabwean mobile phone network and land lines are unreliable (FCO 2019), but I will aim at keeping contact at least daily with my contacts in the UK (my family and UoB contacts) through a call, text message or email. If there is no power/phone access I will do that as soon as possible. Mobile phone reception is generally good in major towns and cities in South Africa. Because I plan on staying in Harare during my stay in Zimbabwe, I should avoid any risks associated with powerlines and pipelines. I will also not go to rural areas, which can be occupied by the National War Veterans' Association and can be dangerous.
Security **(**terrorism, crime, or aggression from members of the public)	There is no recent history of terrorism in Zimbabwe. Since there will be no political contests such as elections, during my time in the country, this possibility is understood as remote. In South Africa there have been some bomb threats in recent months, and to guarantee my safety, during my field research I will keep alert regularly checking news releases, and information on social-medias, such as Facebook and twitter from news agencies, NGOs, the FCO, and local police. In the event of alerts I will move away from/avoid the areas where the threats were reported and follow the instructions of local authorities unless the FCO recommends otherwise. There is a moderate level of crime in Zimbabwe such as mugging, pick pocketing and jewellery theft. In South Africa this threat is greater, being the level of crimes such as rape and murder high. People travelling alone after dark may be more vulnerable, as well as people in central business district in major cities and townships on the outskirts of major cities. To

	avoid such hazards I will avoid isolated or risky areas (such as Berea and Hillbrow districts, and around the Rotunda bus terminus in the Central Business District in Johannesburg, and Durban's city centre and beachfront area), large crowds, and going out when it is dark. When I do go out, I will remain vigilant. I will also always ensure my accommodation and transportation are secure when I enter them. As mentioned above, I should take my passport and some money with me safely stored in a hidden pouch inside my pants, where I will also keep my smartphone and audio-recording device when I am out for an interview. At the same time, I will keep some amount of money in a more accessible place, to be given to an eventual mugger to prevent violent outbursts if they see I don't have any valuable items. This should prevent the theft of sensitive items which are connected to my research and/or to my security during the fieldwork. When I arrive at Tambo airport in Johannesburg I will keep valuables, such as my laptop in my hand-luggage and make sure all my luggage is locked and in my vision at all times to avoid robberies. To prevent robberies I will also not take my laptop out with me. It will remain safely stored in a safe or a locked suitcase in my accommodation at all times. If any sort of threat emerges, I will weigh the risks of staying in my accommodations or seeking the Brazilian embassy if I have a safe means of transportation.
Emergency Arrangements (first-aid, distance from medical facilities, accident reporting)	Before I travel, I will inform my family and contacts at the University of Bristol of my insurance policy details. When I travel, I will take enough funds to cover my stay and a bit extra for possible emergencies. I will also take my international credit and debit cards with me, but I am aware that many locations in Zimbabwe only accept cash. As soon as I have a local phone, I will send my contact information to my family and my contacts at the university. When I go out for field research, I will inform my family and my contacts at the UoB through email. I will also inform them when I have safely returned. If I face a crisis I will: • Be aware of threats recognized by the British government as they emerge through the FCO's email alerts on Zimbabwe and South Africa; • get in touch with my emergency contacts; • in case civil or political unrest develops in the country, I will evaluate whether it is safer to stay in my accommodation, seek the Brazilian embassy, or leave the country. If I consider the best is to leave the country, I will try to leave as soon as it is safely possible. If it is not possible to leave safely (due to disruption, cancellation or overload of commercial transportation operations) I will seek the Brazilian embassy as soon as it is possible in safety, and keep in touch with my airline operator. Although I do not plan to drive/rent a car during the fieldwork, if it is necessary, my Brazilian driver's license is valid in South Africa and I can use it. • in the of a crisis not related to political unrest, such as natural disaster or pandemics, and as long as the FCO travel advice does not recommend otherwise, I will follow the advice of local authorities. To prevent risks I plan to, - avoid crowds, demonstrations or large gatherings in general; - acquire an open return (amendable) air ticket.
Health Issues (prevalence of disease, disabilities, health conditions	The NathNac (2018) reports there are some risks in Zimbabwe, but most of them are very low in Harare, where I plan to stay during the duration of

requirement for immunisations and health surveillance)	my travel to Zimbabwe. Nevertheless, I will take precautionary measures, such as contacting my GP to check if I should take a typhoid fever, measles-mumps-rubella (MMR) and diphtheria-tetanus-polio, or Hepatitis A vaccination at least 2 months before I travel. I will also request from my GP a yellow fever vaccination certificate (which may be necessary to enter South Africa due to my Brazilian passport). I will also check the latest country-specific health advice at least 8 weeks before my trip, as recommended by the NathNac to consider whether I need to take any other vaccination or precaution, and I will familiarise myself with the symptoms of diseases for which there are risks of occurrence. According to the NathNac, most travellers in Zimbabwe are at low risk of cholera, and it just recommends the vaccine in case travellers are going to areas of cholera outbreaks who have limited access to safe water and medical care, which is not my case. I will also act preventively, taking care with personal, food and water hygiene, avoiding raw foods. I should not be at risk of contracting Tuberculosis because it usually transmitted following prolonged or frequent close contact with infected peoples, which does not apply to my accommodation plans and the duration of my stay. I am aware both countries have a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS and will take the usual precautions to avoid exposure to the virus. Bodily fluids will also be avoided considering Hepatitis B. I will take out medical insurance through the University of Bristol which should guarantee I can access medical help and have accessible funds to cover the cost of any medical treatment abroad and repatriation if necessary. Because the regulation and access to certain medicines can be difficult in the countries visited, I will take the adequate medications for the only health condition I have: allergic asthma. That involves one inhaler and some antihistamine tablets to last for the duration of my stay and any unexpected delays.
Cultural Issues (Local laws and customs, for example dress, drugs, sex, taking photographs of the local population etc.)	People in Zimbabwe face state oppression and their freedom of expression is curtailed. The FCO recommends caution and avoiding political gatherings or demonstrations, which can be unpredictable and may turn violent and be subjected to violent suppression. Taking photographs of members of police and armed forces personnel and of demonstrations and protests is not permitted. I will avoid political gatherings, demonstrations, rallies and discussions in public places and any activity in public which can be considered an offense. I am aware it is illegal and will not engage in actions such as making derogatory or insulting comments about the President, carrying material considered to be offensive to the President's office, photographing government offices, airports, military establishments, official residences, embassies and other sensitive places as well as members of police and armed forces personnel. I will avoid the area around the President's Residence in general. I will also avoid protests and demonstrations and taking pictures in sensitive places in South Africa. Conservative attitudes towards same-sex relations prevail in Zimbabwe, especially regarding men. Sex between men is considered to be deviant, a sin and unnatural. It is also illegal. Same-sex marriage is explicitly prohibited by the 2013 constitution. However, the FCO (2019) recognizes that despite the anti-homosexuality laws there is a 'small but active underground gay scene in Harare and prosecutions are rare'. The climate has been improving since Mugabe was ousted from government and the current president, Mnangagwa, has only mentioned homosexuality in public once. When specifically asked about it in the World Economic Forum in Davos, he informed he would do nothing to advance LGBT

	rights in the country since "In our constitution it is banned – and it is my duty to obey my constitution" and that "Those people who want it are the people who should canvass for it, but it's not my duty to campaign for this" (Quest and McKenzie, 2018). The fact Mnangagwa does not spend his energy actively promoting homophobia is an improvement compared to his predecessor, and his Zimbabwe is "open for business" campaign, reaching out to Western partners (BBC, 2018b), indicates a desire to promote good relations with the West and a low probability of government interest in a scandal with a Brazilian researcher associated with a British university. I am aware public displays of affection may cause offence, and I do not plan to disclose my sexual preferences to people not directly involved in the research. I may disclose this discreetly when with people I know are LGBTIQ activists as a way of getting informants' trust. While in South Africa I will adopt the same procedure, considering that despite homosexuality is legal in the country, there are high indexes of violence against LGBTIQs.
Residual Risks	

Section 5: Emergency Plan

Emergency contacts in the UK (name, address and phone numbers of UK contact)	Geanne Gomes de Moura (partner) +44 7401083248 Andrew Harris (brother) +44 7482990929 33 Kensington Gardens, Bath BA16LH
Emergency contacts in the country (name, address and phone numbers of in country contact)	Zimbabwe Nelson Muparamoto (University of Zimbabwe) - mparazi@yahoo.co.uk Hotel – to be updated Brazilian Embassy in Harare (works Monday to Friday from 9:30am to 1 pm) 16 Prestwood Lane, Borrowdale, Harare Telephone: +263 24 2862269/2862277 Emergency phone (in case of death, imprisonment and deportation): +263 772197450 E-mail: brasemb.harare@itamaraty.gov.br Website: http://harare.itamaratay.gov.br Head of Embassy is ambassador Ana Maria Morales, and councilor José Roberto Procopiak. British Embassy in Harare (calling form the UK) + 44 (0) 20 7008 1500 (calling from Zimbabwe) +263 242 8585 5200 Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in London telephone for emergencies: 020 7008 1500 (24 hours). South Africa Police – 10111 or 112 form a mobile phone Hotel – to be updated Brazilian Embassy in Pretoria (works Monday to Friday from 9 am to 12) South Africa Hillcrest Office Park, Woodpecker Place, 1st Floor, 177 Dyer Road, Hillcrest P. O. Box 3269, Pretoria (+27) 12 366 5200 Telephone: + 27 (12) 366.52.00 Emergency phone for Brazilian nationals: + 27 (82) 653.64.68 Email: brasemb.pretoria@itamaraty.gov.br and consular.pretoria@itamaraty.gov.br Website: pretoria.itamaraty.gov.br and

	https://www.facebook.com/Brasemb.Pretoria Brazilian consulate in Cape Town (works Monday to Friday from 10 am to 1 pm) 7 Bree Street, 9o andar, Touchstone House 8001, CBD, Cape Town (00xx27) 21 421 4040 or 021 421-4040 for local calls E-mail: cg.capetown@itamaraty.gov.br or consular.capetown@itamaraty.gov.br Website: capetown.itamaraty.gov.br British Embassy in Harare (calling form the UK) + 44 (0) 20 7008 1500 (calling from Zimbabwe) +263 242 8585 5200 Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in London telephone for emergencies: 020 7008 1500 (24 hours).
Medical care (location and details of closest health care facility where possible)	There are more than 30 hospitals and medical centres in Harare, where I should not have a problem to access a hospital if it is necessary. If I have a medical emergency, I will call my insurance/medical assistance company promptly to be referred to a medical facility for treatment. In South Africa I will also call 10177 (or 122 from a mobile) to ask for an ambulance. As soon as my health insurance is issued (planned for at least 2 months in advance of the journey) I will identify the recommended health care facilities in each of the locations I am staying and save their contacts.
Communication plan (How and when communication with the University will take place and actions following non communications)	Since I have signed up for the FCO travel alerts and will check local police websites and social media pages, I should be informed about eventual risky situations which may emerge. If that happens, I will inform my family and contact at Bristol University of my situation. I should also inform them when I am going out and my plans for the day if it is possible. If am involved in a hazardous situation and cannot contact my family and UoB contacts, I will contact the Brazilian embassy or consulate or, if that is not possible, the British embassy or consulate to see if they can establish communication. I will seek the local authorities if the crisis is not political and the local police forces can be counted on to help and not as part of the threat.

Section 6: Additional Information

Pre-research meeting(s)	I have been in contact through email and Facebook with the individual activists and the organisations which will be part of the research.
Participant Training	There will be no training of informants. They will be informed of - the research's nature and purpose, - my background as a researcher, - the types of questions they will be asked, - what will happen to the information they give me and how it will be used and publicised. Informants will also be aware their identities will be kept anonymous, and that they can stop the interviews and decide to not participate in the research at any time.
Foreign & Commonwealth Office Advice	All the plans mentioned above were developed considering the recommendations of the FCO. I am also subscribing to the organ's alerts so that I can be aware of any threat that emerges and act accordingly.
Permission to work on site	Will apply for research permit once institutional affiliation with University of Zimbabwe is achieved.
Insurance	I will arrange student travel insurance with the UoB (spais-ethics@bristol.ac.uk) at least 2 months before the field research takes

	place.

Section 7: Signatures

	Name	**Date**
Assessment received		
Supervisor		

References

BBC. 2018. *South Africa crime: can the country be compared to a 'war zone'?.* Available https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-45547975 access on 05/01/2019.

BBC. 2018b. "Zimbabwe's Emmerson Mnangagwa: Mugabe family 'left in peace'". 24/01/2018. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-42806057 access on 05/01/2019.

Dickson-Swift V. et al. (2009) Researching Sensitive Topics: Qualitative Research as Emotion Work. Qualitative Research. 9 (1), 61-79.

FCO. 2019. *Advice for LGB&T tourists travelling abroad.* Available at https://www.gov.uk/guidance/lesbian-gay-bisexual-and-transgender-foreign-travel- advice access on 05/01/2019.

GALZ. (n.d. a) *FAQ.* Available at https://galz.org/faq/ access on 05/01/2019.

GALZ. (n.d. b) *The GALZ Centre.* Available at https://galz.org/galz-center/ access on 05/01/2019.

Grupo Gay da Bahia. 2018. *Pessoas LGBT mortas no Brazil: Relatório 2017.* Available at https://homofobiamata.files.wordpress.com/2017/12/relatorio-2081.pdf access on 05/01/2019.

NathNac. 2018. *Travel Health Pro Zimbabwe.* Available at https://travelhealthpro.org.uk/country/248/zimbabwe#Vaccine_recommendations access on 05/01/2019.

QUEST, Richard; MCKENZIE, Sheena. (2018). "President Mnangagwa: 'Zimbabwe is open for business'". 24/01/2018. Available at https://edition.cnn.com/2018/01/24/africa/zimbabwe-president-emmerson-mnangagwa- davos-intl/index.html access on 05/01/2019.

Transgender Europe. 2017. *Trans murder monitoring.* Available at https://transrespect.org/en/map/trans-murder-monitoring/# access on 05/01/2019.

Appendix 8: Data Protection Form for research *Performing sexual citizenship in/from the borders: contemporary queer Zimbabwean activisms*

Appendix 5 – Data Protection Form

Data Protection Form

Research involving humans by all academic and related Staff and Students in the School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies is subject to the standards set out in the Code of Practice on Research Ethics.

Applications to external bodies for research funding must obtain *prior* clearance from the REC.

Name: Xaman Korai Pinheiro Minillo Student number: 1760454

Supervisor/s Egle Cesnulyte and Terrell Carver

Information Security – Summary Points:

- Plan carefully the data you need to collect.
- Personal data held for research must not be used for any other purpose.
- Ensure the purpose for which personal data is collected and processed is made clear to the data subject(s).
- Ensure explicit consent has been obtained from the data subject(s).
- Make data anonymous so that individuals cannot, by any means, be identified.
- Use encrypted storage media or hard drive for storing any sensitive or personal data.
- Ensure paper files containing personal data are kept secure, for example in locked filing cabinets or in rooms that are locked when unoccupied.
- Delete data once no longer required for the use for which it was gathered.

Please answer 'YES' or 'NO' to the following statements.

I confirm my research data[i] will not be:

1	Processed in a way that could cause damage or distress to an individual	YES
2	Published in a form that identifies individuals	YES
3	Shared with people or organisations outside the University (including publication on the web)[ii]	NO
4	Using sensitive or personal data[iii]	YES

I confirm that management of my research data will adhere to the University of Bristol Information Security Policy which can be found at: http://www.bris.ac.uk/infosec/

Specifically, I will ensure that:

5	Any/all sensitive and personal data stored or processed off campus is encrypted	YES
6	Security arrangements are put in place to prevent theft of data	YES
7	Access to electronic and physical data will be restricted	YES
8	Password protection procedures will be used to protect electronic data	YES
9	All data is retained for secure disposal after processing[iv] and after my degree has been awarded	YES

If you have answered 'NO' to any of the above please explain under FURTHER DETAILS:

FURTHER DETAILS

You are also required to give a FULL explanation of where ALL personal data (whether held on paper, audio/videotape or electronically) will be stored:

What security arrangements do you have in place if data is stored off-site?

In order to understand how LGBTIQ Zimbabwean activists negotiate and reclaim what they see as their own sexuality engaging with the ZANU-PF regime and international actors, the research will collect data through semi-structured qualitative interviews, archival research and documental analysis. The documental analysis, which should cover written material from reports produced by organisations, blog posts and audio-visual material, should be done in the context of the University premises. The archival research should be done through accessing the archives of Zimbabwean news agencies such as the NewsDay and The Zimbabwean, and the interviews involve developing face-to-face interactions with living human subjects outside the University premises, both inside the UK, and outside, in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

The data collected from the news agencies' archives should be scanned and stored in my password secured laptop, which is not used by anyone other than me and runs up-to-date anti-virus software. All files will be sent to my personal folder within the University of Bristol files system using University's Remote Desktop Connection, access to which is password protected. This will be done as soon as possible when there is a secure wireless network available. While that is not possible, they will be stored in an encrypted folder in my laptop, which will be kept in a safe location, such as a safe in a hotel room, or a suitcase protected by a lock, inside a hotel room, also locked. Once the data is transferred to the University of Bristol files system it will be deleted from the laptop. No data will be left without being encrypted and inserted in the University of Bristol files and there will be no paper retention related to the research.

The data collected from the informants through interviews (after they have given consent) should be collected and stored in accordance with the UK's current Data Protection Act (2018) and the data protection standards set out in the Code of Practice on Research Ethics, being collected and processed fairly, lawfully and transparently. The data collection and storage will also adhere to the University of Bristol Information Security Policy. To that end, I have planned the following procedures to guarantee that the data is collected and processed in a way that is ethical and does not cause damage to any of the informants involved, nor myself, as well as prevent theft of data:

1- Before any data is systematically collected informants will be orally briefed on the research project, so they know the purpose of the data collection, and give their consent to participating in the research. This consent will be audio recorded if they allow it, as will their interviews. Such procedures were chosen considering Zimbabwe places legal restrictions on being LGBTIQ, and having any documents with personal information on the informants (such as written consent forms) could present a risk to their safety.

In the recordings, participants should be addressed by pseudonyms to protect their identity. In case they want to participate in the interviews and give their explicit oral consent, but do not want to be recorded, I will memorise their answers and, once in a safe location, will take notes in a manner that also protects their identity and follows the general security arrangements detailed below. I reaffirm that I will act ethically at all times, and not collect information from informants without their explicit consent.

2- Because the research touches on the practices involved in the promotion of LGBTI rights in a country where there are laws that criminalise sodomy and same-sex relations, this data can be understood as sensitive data. Due to this, special attention will be given to guarantee that the data anonymises all informants and that I do not carry any documents that connect them to the research. The data collected will be limited to that which is necessary for the research's purpose. The research focus is on the informants' activism and political action, and not their personal information or sexual life. I will not ask questions about sensitive and personal nature (such as regarding the sexual practices of any person), and if any information of this sort is mentioned by the informants, it will be excluded when the data is organised/transcribed and will not be used in the research. All information will be treated in ways that do not cause embarrassment and/or injury of any kind if made public. The data collected should not contain personal information on the informants, or any information which allows their identification.

3- All information will be collected during interviews using an audio-recorder if the participants allow. If they request, notes will be hand-written or memorised.

4- I will not carry with me nor produce during the field research any document containing any identification or personal information of participants, who will be called by a pseudonym. During the interactions, such fictitious name will take the form of a letter, attributed to participants according to a previously planned code, memorised by me and kept in a safe location (my personal folder within the University of Bristol files system).

5- As soon as possible, preferably immediately after the interviews take place, when I am at a safe location such as my hotel room, the information I recall and/or the handwritten data will be typed, and the audio files will be downloaded in my password secured laptop, which, as mentioned above, is not used by anyone other than me and runs up-to-date anti-virus software. When the files are in Word, Excel and PowerPoint format they will be individually encrypted. All files will be sent to my personal folder within the University of Bristol files system using University's Remote Desktop Connection, access to which is password protected. This will be done as soon as possible when there is a secure wireless network available.

6- If the data cannot be transferred to the laptop on the same day it is collected, both the handwritten data and the recorder containing the data will be kept in a safe location, such as a safe in a hotel room, or a suitcase protected by a lock, inside a hotel room, also locked. Once the data is transferred to the laptop it will be deleted from the collecting devices. No data will be left without being encrypted and inserted in the University of Bristol files and there will be no paper retention related to the research.

7- A copy of the files kept at the University of Bristol files system will be maintained inside an encrypted folder in my personal password-protected laptop, which will continuously be kept in a safe location, such as a safe in a hotel room, or a suitcase protected by a lock inside a hotel room, also locked. This data will be deleted when I am leaving Zimbabwe to come back to the UK, maintaining solely the files storer at the University of Bristol files system and accessible through the University's secure, remote access facilities. This will be done because, according to the University of Bristol Information Security Policy on Encryption, 'government agencies in any country may require you to decrypt your devices or files on entry or exit from

the country. If you are travelling abroad with encrypted confidential data this means that there is a risk that the data may have to be disclosed'.

8- The information, data or files collected or produced during the field research will not be shared with people not participating in the research. However, the data collected can be shared with the informant who gave it if they so request. This way, the data will be shared with people outside the university only with the purpose of participants validation. I will be responsible for transcribing the interviews as well as developing all data analysis. After a preliminary analysis of the information, it will be transformed into text related to the thesis and can be published and made accessible to people and organisations outside the University continuing to protect the identity of the informants.

9- After the research project is finished all data will be securely disposed of.

I confirm that I have read and will fully comply with the University's policies on the ethical conduct of research at:
http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/research-governance/practice-training/researchethicspolicy.pdf

I confirm that I have read the University's policy on data storage and protection at:
http://www.bris.ac.uk/secretary/dataprotection/guidelines.html and will fully comply with it.

Signature of Project Leader Xaman Pinheiro Minillo Date 07/02/2019
Please add electronic signature or type name here Xaman Pinheiro Minillo

Please email completed form to spais-ethics@bristol.ac.uk

Explanatory Notes:

[i] **Research Data** refers to raw data that has yet to be anonymised and should be differentiated from Research Product which refers to the final dissertation.

[ii] Although it is permissible to share findings outside of the University, including with research participants

[iii] **Sensitive Data** means data containing the following information:

- Racial or ethnic origin;
- Political opinions;
- Religious or other similar beliefs;
- Trade Union membership;
- Physical or mental health condition;
- Sexual life;
- Convictions or alleged criminal acts;
- Any data that is likely to cause embarrassment and/or injury of any kind if made public.

Personal Data refers to information about a living individual who can be identified from that information and other information which is in, or likely to come into, the data controller's possession.

- Dead persons are not regarded as data subjects, nor are companies or organisations (although, for example, data relating to 'the Vice Chancellor of the University of Bristol'

would be regarded as personal data because it is possible to identify a particular individual from that designation);

- Individuals can be identified not only by name but by any sort of identification, such as national insurance number, employee number, patient number;
- Includes for example:
    - The data subject is referred to by means of a code, but the data user has other information that identifies the individual by means of that code; and including any expression of opinion about the individual; and
    - An expression of opinion about the individual – ‘Student X has convictions for possession of cannabis (fact) and he is now selling it to other students (opinion)’.

[iv] **Processing** means obtaining, recording or holding the data or carrying out any operation or set of operations on data.