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*SECURING PRIDE: SEXUALITY, SECURITY, and the POST APARTHEID STATE*ⁱ

Abstract

In this essay, I argue for a reconceptualization of security sector reform in Africa, taking into account how Queer Theory might expand our understandings of security and insecurity on the African continent. Drawing from theories of human security, I argue for the denaturalization of gender and sexuality in considerations of security in sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, I argue for the importance of forms of vernacular security. Using Soweto Pride as an example, I demonstrate how cultural and representational practices become key sites for forging lasting forms of security for vulnerable populations. I conclude by revealing how Queer Theory framework in relation to security sector reform might allow for framing security outside of carceral state practices.

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary South Africa, security has emerged as a key word in the postapartheid neoliberal state. Insecurity was a marked feature of the declining years of the National Party government from the late 1970s to the 1994 elections. Insurrectionary, near revolutionary conditions created by internal dissent fueled various different forms of state reprisal and repression. These forms of state repression, while not new took on a different interpretative character as South Africa was positioned internationally as a pariah state that could no longer claim moral authority in relation to state sponsored violence both within and outside its borders. Its last gasp of legitimacy, as a bulwark against communism ceased to be a sufficient cause for blatant racial oppression post 1989.

The National Party, rocked by internal dissent, unable to govern the black masses, and increasingly isolated internationally, sought a negotiated settlement. Technocrats within the National Party, many of whom were trained in western neoliberal economic orthodoxy, won the internal battle over who would best manage the crises of 1980s South Africa. They sought to create the conditions to maintain the operations of global and local capital, and

realized that political representation of the black majority would be essential to achieving this goal. Importantly, this was in line with consumer business interests of South Africa that had long pressed for a relaxation of apartheid laws in order to nurture a black consuming middle class that would buy its products as well as expand themselves transnationally to exploit a growing African middle-class. Key to the settlement negotiation was the idea that the post-apartheid black majority government (stewarded by the ANC) would ensure the security of a post-transition South Africa. What has remained unresolved is for whom does the state guarantee safety and security? Critics would suggest that safety and security has been achieved for the machinations of global capital yet everyday South Africans (particularly the black poor majority) must live lives of constant insecurity. Hence the ANC government can claim as it represses worker dissent in Marikana with deadly force that it is representing the interests of South Africa. Maintaining investor confidence in its ability to manage black labor and by proxy the black majority population is more important than the lives loss in the massacre. Activists and scholars however, do not see the actions of the state as justifiable, instead they suggest that the state has been captured by corporate capital and guarantees the safety and security of those interests above all others. The tension inherent in how security is defined and by whom is a central debate of legitimacy and authority in South Africa.

For the purposes of this study, I examine what safety and security might mean for black LGBT populations in South Africa. As I discuss elsewhere, black LGBT South Africans exist at the intersection of multiple forms of power, making them in many ways some of the most vulnerable members of the South African polity.ⁱⁱ If black South Africans must struggle daily against numerous forms of insecurity, then black LGBT South Africans are especially susceptible. I argue for the need for serious consideration of LGBT populations in discussions of security in Africa. Following the work of various feminist

critiques of security sector work in Africa, I call for an intersectional black feminist/black queer theory of security. In this way, I hope to illuminate what taking seriously sexuality as an issue of security might add to our understanding of security sector development in Africa.

This paper is divided into four parts. In the first, I discuss the literature on gender and security in Africa and develop a framework for discussing sexuality and security. In the second, I discuss some preliminary research findings related to an ongoing project examining sexual citizenship in South Africa. Third, I explain how the issue of sexuality engages questions of hybrid governance in South Africa. Lastly, I suggest how deployment of my queer studies framework might provide a more critical engaged understanding of security in Africa.

PART I: GENDER AND SECURITY IN AFRICA: TOWARD A QUEER FRAMEWORK

Discussing security in the developing world context, political theorist Paul Amar suggests that “security” is often used in the context to suppress those at the margins of gender or sexual propriety including sex workers, and LGBT individuals.ⁱⁱⁱ Amar discusses what he terms “securitized humanitarianism” a form of Global South governmentality whereby the familiar doctrine of humanitarian rescue through which the Global North frames the Global South is repurposed to consolidate elite interests in the Global South. This “humanitarian rescue doctrine” combines the protection and moral rehabilitation of the citizenry with the “securing and policing of certain forms of space, labor, and heritage seen as anchors for counterhegemonic development models”.^{iv} Certainly throughout much of the African continent, Amar’s observations would seem to hold significant explanatory weight. LGBT subjects are made hypervisible, becoming the source material for a host of moral

panics that must be managed by the state. Uganda, Senegal, and Nigeria have all seen public moral panics and state responses to those panics with regard to their LGBT populace.

However, in South Africa the state has ostensibly played a different role at least with respect to LGBT rights. What Thomas Boellstorff argues as political homophobia has not been a central tenet of the post apartheid state.^v In the South African case, the state suggests that far from punishing and disciplining its LGBT population, it instead would act as guarantor and protector. The forces of state security, so often turned against the African LGBT population, would instead be used to guarantee its safety and freedom. And yet, LGBT life in South Africa, particularly for the most vulnerable is far from ideal. What framework for analyzing security might be helpful in the South African case and how might that framework inform our discussions concerning LGBT rights continent wide? How might Amar's discussion of securitized humanitarianism inform both our explanation of LGBT insecurity in postapartheid South Africa as well as a reconsideration of the South African security state?

The idea that gender and thus sexuality should be a strong consideration in discussions of security sector work was developed from theorists that worked to consider the importance of human security. A number of theorists challenged monolithic considerations of national and state security and pushed for understandings of security that centered the individual rather than the state. Feminist theorists emerged quickly to complicate this new paradigm, which in its application often entrenched patriarchy by failing to consider the unequal status and vulnerability of women in security studies. Feminists often pointed to the dangers that were present when the specific needs and experiences of women were overlooked in universalist conceptualizations of human rights. As Hudson

argues, “despite the broad and inclusive nature of the human security approach, the gender dimension tends to be overlooked, hence providing only a partial understanding of security issues”.^{vi} Hudson argues that human security as an intervention must acknowledge gendered difference in the ways in which state actors empower, protect, and engage its citizens. She is highly critical of a liberal-empiricist paradigm that simply assimilates women into “mainstream security discourse without questioning the dominant scientific assumptions of positivist inquiry”.^{vii} For Hudson, the benefit of engaging gender within the human security framework is to acknowledge that “people become the primary referent of security”.^{viii} “The main point is to understand security comprehensively and holistically in terms of the real life, everyday experiences of human beings and their complex social and economic relations as they are embedded within global structures”.^{ix}

While Hudson is to be lauded in her engagement of feminist theory with security studies, she does perhaps not go far enough in challenging the paradigms of the human security approach. One criticism that is key for understanding my research on queer life in South Africa is the fact that Hudson does not seem to interrogate the very categories of gender that she suggests are so crucial to understanding security in Africa. That is, gender seems to operate as a metonym for women, rather than as an analytic critique that exposes how the experiences of women (and men) are gendered in ways harmful to all people. Romaniuk and Wasylciw draw heavily from Hudson but suggest that what is needed in security studies is a denaturalized dismantled gender hierarchy.^x They note that the benefit of the gender and security approach outlined by several feminist scholars is that the approach moves past monolithic militaristic conceptualizations of the state and is able to account for “multilevel”, “multidimensional” approaches to the study of security.^{xi} However, they note that when gender is acknowledged an unfortunate “reification of existing constructions”

occurs running the risk of securing existing “constructions of gender and sexuality rather than denaturalizing them”.^{xiii} Romaniuk and Wasyliw criticize what they feel is a tendency in which a consideration of gender implies a “discussion of women at the expense of interests that women and men may both share”.^{xiii} What they hope for is an approach that can understand how the various experiences of men and women are gendered and how that gendering can be denaturalized in ways empowering to both women and men.

If we consider seriously the denaturalization of gender, then we must also account for the ways in which the interrogation of gender often assumes a gender binary that remains intact and can neither be traversed nor conceptualized with fluidity. Queer theory takes many of the analytics of feminism and gender theory and suggests that gender and sex far from being naturalized binary opposites are in fact spaces of fluidity. In this way, queer theory is able to account for trans, intersex, and genderqueer bodies.^{xiv} In a recent article by Shephard and Sjoberg the authors argue for the consideration of the non-cisgender body in security studies.^{xv} They argue that much as feminist theory has critiqued the masculinist privilege and assumptions of security studies, it has often left intact the assumed cisgender nature of the people and bodies being studied. As the authors argue “cisprivileg (a neologism combining the terms cisgender and privilege) is a form of gender privilege which often combines the valorization of masculinity and heterosexual norms in global and local social and political life to constitute the boundaries of appropriate gendered behavior”.^{xvi} The authors are ultimately concerned with the ways in which contemporary security strategies, by “reproducing gender differences and the concept of gender difference” actually creates the structures whereby non-normative bodies are made more insecure.^{xvii} In questioning the presumed cisgender nature of bodies being studied the authors call for security studies to:

- 1) destabilize gender and sex orthodoxies and hierarchies
- 2) move away from the tendency to render trans bodies deviant and victimized
- 3) to queer security/International Relations and question cisprivilege as rigorously as masculine privilege has been interrogated.^{xviii}

In sum, the authors call for the engagement of queer studies with security studies and International Relations. In a recent text, Cynthia Weber argues for the engagement of queer studies with international relations. She suggests that Feminist, Queer Studies, and International Relations have long written and spoken past one another. “What queer IR and transnational/global queer studies scholars say about sexuality and sovereignty is that the anxious labor required to produce sexualized subjectivities like the ‘homosexual’ the ‘gender variant’ and the trans, and that is required to produce order as opposed to anarchy nationally and internationally are intimately intertwined. In queer IR terms, this is because the ‘sovereign man’ of sovereign statecraft is always produced as knowable as/in relation to various ‘normal’ and perverse sexed, gendered or sexualized figures”.^{xix} What Weber is describing is something that African Feminists have suggested for some time and that I would like to extend to the queer/LGBT bodies that animate my study. The postcolonial state is often mobilized in explicitly heteropatriarchal and heteronormative terms. What this means is that the others, those deemed deviant are constantly failed subjects in need of state guided beneficence, protection, and potential discipline and regulation. Thus if we take the insights of feminist and queer theory seriously regarding its influence on African security studies, we can see the usefulness of a vernacular security that speaks to the need of security studies to engage with the processes of the everyday.^{xx} Jarvis and Lister suggest six aspects

of vernacular security that are instructive for thinking about the study. They list vernacular (everyday) security as

- 1) physical survival
- 2) belonging
- 3) hospitality
- 4) equality
- 5) liberty
- 6) negative: the curtailment of liberties in order to ensure safety^{xxi}

Vernacular security is important to the way that I engage this study because much of it is situated in allowing communities to tell their stories and describe their everyday realities. It is also situated in my ethnographic participation in black LGBT communities. It is thus feminist and queer in its theoretical and methodological orientation, seeking to use quotidian moments to shape interpretation and create theory. For the purposes of my study I see all of these definitions of vernacular security (except for the negative) deployed by my research subjects in the field.

If we return to Paul Amar's formulation we can see how even though the South African state does not secure its general citizenry against an "undesirable" LGBT population who is excluded simply because it is LGBT, the state does position itself to regulate gender and sexuality. In doing so, the state promises to protect and secure the lives of some LGBT citizens, but it prescribes what the terms of inclusion will be and who may enter. For those South African queers who fail the tests of inclusion (black, working class/poor, women, gender-non-normative) they cannot count on protection from the state. Furthermore, there are significant limits to state recognition and inclusion even for those queers properly

assimilated under this regime. This is where the notion of hybrid governance forms a crucial nexus that helps negotiate terms of inclusion and exclusion, which in turn become vectors through which security is granted or withheld. Community structures of belonging, ranging from the safety of mobility on the streets to the decisions of traditional chieftancy or religious leaders, all factor into the ways that black LGBT South Africans consider security. For my purposes, a Feminist, Queer, Security Studies must form the bedrock of the analysis. This theorization extends well-established conceptualizations of human security and the gendered critiques of these conceptualizations to include a critical interrogation of sexuality and gendered binaries central to queer theory.

Likewise, my theoretical intervention informs the methodological practice of this study. Because my engagement with vernacular security was important it was crucial for me to gather stories and to inhabit the space of black LGBT South Africans through the prism of critical ethnography.^{xxiii} Critical ethnography pushes beyond participant observation in order for the researcher to engage fieldwork as an embodied advocating subject. In the case of critical ethnography, the researcher is often part of the very practices that they critique and analyze. In this case while not South African, I am a black queer diasporic subject and as such my body is unable to perform objective detachment. Furthermore, I am implicated in many of the discourses that I critique and analyze. Instead of detached observation, I perceive fieldwork as political, and as such it is performed to advocate on behalf of a people or a policy. This methodological framework required me to practice engaged listening to the myriad forms of cultural creativity that I consistently encountered. The types of cultural creativity spanned myriad genres and actions ranging from political marches and festivals, to social media accounts, to artistic performances. The idea was to encapsulate the ways that black queer South Africans tried to think through and beyond insecurity, recognizing that

their engagements with security as an idea might otherwise be non-intelligible to those who are not used to imagining cultural creativity as securitized politics.

PART II: SOWETO PRIDE AS VERNACULAR SECURITY

In order to begin some of my examinations concerning hybrid security governance and queer security studies I attended a number of pride events during the Fall of 2015 (Spring 2015 in South Africa). I examine these events as cultural, political, spatial, and embodied events. By embodied events, I mean to locate the way in which politicized sexual identity was inscribed on the bodies of the attendants within the spaces that they occupied. Pride, in many ways combines the cultural creative and the political, delineating the intersection between the two. While it is my intention to highlight the functioning of pride events as an important form of visibility politics, my examination here is not meant to suggest that pride events are the only forms of vernacular security available to black LGBT South Africans. Because of their public visibility however, they become key sites for negotiating the politics of state recognition and societal inclusion in contemporary South Africa.

During the months of September and October there are a number of pride celebrations in and around Johannesburg. Pride functions as a unique combination of politics and commerce and as spaces of visibility and pleasure. The multiple pride celebrations attract slightly different crowds of people yet there is some overlap in constituencies and communities served. Importantly, the pride events tend to combine a march/parade, celebratory, and political element. Those that participate must be willing to enter into the space created by the pride organizers as political sexual subjects. Peripheral events not attached to the official pride party (such as house parties and after parties) tend to

attract a more diverse and larger crowd of people who want to participate in celebratory spaces with LGBT people but who might eschew public political identification as a member of the community. There were a total of four pride celebrations held during the Spring of 2015. Due to a scheduling conflict, I was only able to attend three out of the four. I will use this space to demonstrate how Soweto Pride, the first of the four pride celebrations held in Spring of 2015, functions as an example of vernacular security for black LGBT communities and what its current endangerment might mean for black LGBT politics, visibility and security moving forward.

The Forum for the Empowerment of Women (FEW) started Soweto Pride in 2004. FEW was organized by black lesbians and gender non-conforming women to address the issues surrounding violence against black lesbian women in township areas. A number of high profile cases around the country, including in the Johannesburg area revealed the intersecting vulnerabilities of black lesbian and gender non-conforming women particularly in township spaces where most lived and socialized. Soweto Pride was about providing safe spaces for Black LGBT visibility (especially for black LGBT women) in township areas as well as creating forms of political visibility for black LGBT citizens in black communities. Soweto pride was a combination of a demand for visibility, recognition as human, and a call to the community to acknowledge the right to safety and security as black LGBT individuals (particularly black LGBT women) navigated social space. Central to the endeavors of the Pride celebration was also the call to create political pressure on what was considered indifferent or hostile police prosecution of numerous crimes committed against black LGBT individuals. The political praxis of FEW fostered the idea that because the violence against black lesbian and gender non-conforming women was explicitly gendered, that the political response to that violence needed to be gendered. The formation of FEW also tacitly

recognized that already existent women's organizations and LGBT organizations possessed insufficient capacity to deal with this problem of gendered, sexualized, racial violence. Women's organizations did not seem to fully address sexuality, while LGBT organizations were unwilling to sufficiently address racialized gender. ^{xxiii}

The creation of Soweto pride was also explicitly about claiming space in South African townships for some of the most vulnerable members of the LGBT community. Prior to Soweto Pride, there were no sustained annual pride events held in majority black space in South Africa. In order to attend pride, one had to enter predominantly white spaces in the northern suburbs. As I have discussed elsewhere, the lack of explicit black queer space in the townships of Johannesburg did not mean that black LGBT populations were absent.^{xxiv} Rather, black LGBT populations found creative ways to repurpose or reuse heterosexual space. In the process they revealed how township space is specifically inhabited and marked as black and heterosexual and how their engagement with the space disrupted that process of heterosexualization. Soweto Pride was about making a particular political claim to space, a right to the township for black LGBT people. As a claim to a right to exist in place, Soweto Pride was not therefore about the racialization of white queer space, the queering of black heterosexual space, or the racialized sexualization of white heterosexual space. It was instead about creating a specific black queer space articulated to portions of the city materially and representationally coded as black. If the township is coded as the space of insecurity for black queers (particularly black queer women), what might it mean for black queer women to publicly declare their sexuality and gender non-conformity on the streets of Soweto? What work do such public declarations and claiming of spaces accomplish?

The 2015 edition was a renewal to a call for political action. Over the years, the pride celebration had shifted to various different locations around the township, beginning in Credo Mutwa Park in 2004. Due to renovations at the Credo Mutwa facility, the event returned to Meadowlands Park Zone 2, near the Meadowlands Police Station. The location of the event was symbolic, as the murders of black lesbians Sizakele Sigasa and Salome Masooa remained unsolved. According to the advocacy coordinator for FEW Siphokazi Nombande, the return to Meadowlands was meant to place renewed pressure on the police to solve the murders and bring additional attention to sexuality based hate crimes in South Africa. A large march was held through the main streets of Soweto, along with a political program that was based on the notion of “Our Lives Matter: Safety, Justice, and Freedom Are Our Rights.” The pride celebration itself was highly accessible, located in a park that did not charge admission. Participants were encouraged to bring lawn chairs, picnic baskets and coolers for their own drinks. Most of the booths featured non-governmental and governmental organizations handing out information along with a few small business owners and entrepreneurs selling various gay pride merchandise ranging from stickers to t-shirts. Absent in the space were commercial vendors representing larger corporations. Held during the day, the event was well attended particularly by young black women who made up the majority of the crowd.

The key component to Soweto Pride was the march through the main streets of Soweto and the Political Program/Picnic in Meadowlands Park. Both of these events were significant in the way in which they reimagined the township space for a few hours as a space of vernacular security for black queer men and women. Much of the violence experienced by black queers is explicitly gendered in that black gender non-conforming and black lesbian women remove their bodies from certain prescriptions of masculine control,

while black gender non-conforming queer men reveal the artifice and construction of masculinity. Much of the violence experienced by black queer women then, is an attempt by black men to reassert masculine control and patriarchal privilege over women who dare to explicitly perform their gender and sexuality in ways that mark their bodies as unavailable for male pleasure. While for black gender non-conforming men, they are punished for violating the codes of prescriptive masculinity. What does it mean for a few hours, on a bright and warm Saturday afternoon, for black queers to have the safety and security of space in the township? As black queers march through Soweto demanding justice for lost lives, they are escorted by police patrol. For once, the state ensures their safety and security. At the park next to the police station black queers were safe. The municipality had employed minders to observe the proceedings and ensure the flow of participants in and out of the space, but next to the police station the black LGBT population could safely gather. As thousands of predominantly young black queers representing a diverse array of stylistic presentations of gender and sexuality congregated in the park next to the police station, they took pleasure in one another's visibility. They watched black queer women give speeches and perform, they received information about available services they could access from other black queer women, they watched feminine black queer men twist and twirl on stage. They formed and participated in community. Importantly, this was a space that because of its central public location and daytime activity was open and available for black queer youth.

As I entered the space I was struck at how the space skewed toward black queer women and their presence in space. I was quickly reminded of how urban space is a constantly fraught for all women and the rarity of black women occupying public space unmolested. I saw young, carefree black women engaging one another, kissing, holding hands publicly, and smiling, flirting with each other. Expressing their sexuality and sexual

desire publicly as any other young person might on a warm spring afternoon in a public park. Knowing how rare this space was, I experienced the space as welcoming and accepting of difference, accommodating of all different kinds of black LGBT bodies. As a result black queer men were there as well in all their difference, yet unlike other pride events they did not dominate the space. In a queer space of Johannesburg that is often divided by gender, I saw this predominantly woman and feminine centered space that still was nonetheless capable of accommodating men as an experience of possibility and solidarity. I felt the power that creating and making space for black queer women by black queer women in the moment. Safety and security was predicated on the creation of space that could accommodate difference, particularly differently sexualized and gendered black women. Importantly, the state offered both explicit and less explicit markers of support for the forms of security present. And yet within the securitized space of pride, a vernacular security was created that emphasized forms of belonging, hospitality and liberty as identified by Jarvis and Lister.

Contrary to the first Soweto pride, where after party events were held in local homes and black LGBT folk migrated to nearby taverns, a number of targeted after-party events have emerged in the intervening years. These events attempt in various different ways to capture the “Pink Rand” and to commodify Black LGBT identity in township space. In the absence of a regularly operated Black gay/lesbian club in Soweto the rise of these pride afterparties requires a nuanced and complex engagement with understanding what kinds of politics can and do emerge from being recognized as a market. My goal is to not simply dismiss such events as “multicultural capitalism” at its most insidious, but to understand how identity gets constituted in and through markets and what kinds of pleasures and possibilities emerge in these spaces that might have significant meaning to the lives of otherwise marginalized black LGBT people. It has also led me to interrogate the pleasures

and forms of commerce that might emerge in the specifically political space of the pride event itself.

I examine the spaces of afterparties because these spaces provide a more heightened sense of the forms of vernacular security that function in black township spaces. They also are conceptualized as less specifically political space. Entrepreneurs who seek to make a profit out of providing space for black LGBT community are typically the organizers of these afterparties. Part of the choice of planning the day of festivities was determining which afterparty one might attend as there were several occurring both in the vicinity of Meadowlands Park as well as surrounding areas of Soweto. For me, the mainstream acceptance of Soweto Pride as an important event on the social calendar in Soweto was the fact that well-known landmark gathering places for the social elite and tourists of Soweto such as Nambitha in Orlando were hosting pride after parties. According to the flyers, charges for the parties ranged from a nominal 5 Rand to 50 Rand. Along with house parties and other unofficial organized events, this suggests that price points could suit a wide range of economic classes. That being said, these prices were for cover charge only, and did not include the price of drink or food which could easily run into the hundreds of Rands.

Part of my job as a researcher was to determine which after-parties were the best for attendance. My goal was to attend the after party that was most diverse in its membership based on gender and age. However, my plans were thwarted when a friend of mine mentioned that he wanted to go to the “official” afterparty of Soweto Pride which would be hosted at the Rock located in Moroka, Soweto. In the early 2000s the Rock had emerged as a key site of nighttime conviviality where mixtures of Sowetan citizens accompanied by white hipsters and foreign tourists mingled in an upscale Soweto nightclub. As I have

discussed elsewhere the Rock also allowed for black LGBT South Africans to claim and repurpose heterosexualized space.^{xxv} Hence, the Rock was known as a place of fluid sexuality and contact between black heterosexual and black queer South Africans. Over the years the club had ceased to operate on a regular basis and now functioned only to host special events. One of those special events was the official afterparty of Soweto Pride. Because my friend was close with the organizers of the party, we were able to procure 5 tickets for the price of 4. The price of admission for the party was 50 Rand for regular admission and 80 Rand for VIP admission. These prices were in keeping with admission prices at many mid range clubs and bars in Johannesburg. While not exorbitant, they would be beyond the reach of someone without regular employment or a generous parental allowance. What also must be factored in is that there is no nighttime transportation in Soweto, so nightlife for those without a car or access to a ride is always a negotiation for those who are less resourced. Many young people will arrange carpool transportation or walk home in groups in order to provide some form of securitization after a night of partying. The ability to walk home from a nightclub space though is heavily gendered as women rarely take the risk to walk home even when accompanied by male companions. Hence, the location, the timing (in the evening past 10pm) and the cover charge as well as the price for drinks would mitigate who could attend this party.

Because of the parameters that I described it is no surprise that the crowd skewed older and better resourced, and yet it was predominantly made up of women most of whom seemed to be in their 20s and 30s. They were a fashionable well dressed crowd, certainly better attired than much of the young people who earlier at the park had been in casual dress dominated by short skirts, shorts, culottes, for more feminine women, and jeans and t-shirts for those going for a more masculine look. The attire could best be described as nightclub

chic, office attire with a bit of edge and a twist. A skirt cut a little more revealingly, pants fitting slightly looser, shirts and ties with bolder pattern and more colorful schemes. There were two forms of security. First, there were security car guards who watched over the parking lot and made sure that the attendee's cars were unmolested. While not officially part of their job description, they also kept an eye on the proceedings in the parking lot areas outside the club. The Rock has a long history of informal partying that occurs outside the club itself. When it operated as a club it was not unusual to see more people outside than inside. With individuals barbecuing and others pumping music out of the sound systems of their car, the outdoor space surrounding the club was just as festive, if not more so on some occasions as the inside of the club. Although the Rock had no cover charge, the main complaint from many was that the prices for alcohol were too high and that one could have more fun drinking outside with alcohol purchased elsewhere. If you wanted to, you could always enter the club later and dance to the music. It appeared that on this evening this established pattern was being repeated with an informal party occurring outside the venue. The parking lot attendants (all of whom were men) were responsible for managing the outdoor festivities. Secondly, there was security that determined who would be allowed admission and generally kept an eye on happenings inside the club. It was unclear to me whether the owner of the venue contracted the private security or whether the party organizers hired the security. In my general experience, venue owners typically provided the security, which was included in the rental venue price. In a mirror to the day's earlier events, the non-state security actors provided their services for the protection and enhancement of safety and security for black LGBT South Africans. An important difference however, was the commodified nature of the arrangement.

On the night's occasion, there were two interrelated concerns for those who wanted to join the party. First, most of the tickets were presold, and evidently the event had sold out. Secondly, even if one managed to get a ticket the drinks were on the more expensive side. Hence, like in the old days a crowd gathered outside the venue to drink, hang out and be a part of the festivities without entering the demarcated venue space. In this sense, those outside extended the black queer space created by the venue to the surrounding streets and parking lot around the club. Whether inside or outside the venue was dominated by black lesbian and gender non-conforming women who were out to celebrate pride and their supportive friends. Because two members of our party decided not to attend the event, we were able to easily sell our extra tickets at cost to two black queer women who wanted to attend, but could not because the venue had sold out.

Once inside I was struck by how many young black queer women occupied the space. While there were a few gay men in the space, it was also clear that black queer women dominated and created the space. While security was no longer provided by the state, private security created a sense of safety for the attendees. There was also perhaps the psychological impact of safety by numbers, in that the large constellation of black queer women demarcated the space and made violation of the space and the temporary safety it provided impossible. The nightclub space as a venue both allows for large groups of strangers to come together yet also demarcates the public that might constitute its space. In this sense it functions as a public-private venue. Nightlife itself is a space where people are often performing alternative versions of the self, taking pleasure in the escape from the everyday. Yet it also is a space where various different kinds of social arrangements can be made and remade, everything from finding a tailor for your next dress to a lead on a government job can be procured in nightlife space.^{xxvi} Hence, it allows for a laxity of strict

social mores. The pleasure of nightlife is in pushing boundaries and constituting community. For many of the women in the space, the afterparty might be one of the few 'safe spaces' where they can experience and exhibit public desire for other black women, free from the gaze of heterosexual men. While belonging, hospitality, and liberty were all part of the space, there was also a sense of equality, a sense of being able to experience the same rights of pleasure and sensual communion that heterosexuals routinely experience in their youth. Black queer women rarely get this opportunity in public space. As I looked around I spied black women coupled, swaying against one another entwined in a spell of intimacy. I noticed a nattily dressed woman, a funky retro look defined by a defiant afro hold a drink in one hand while she casually caressed the shoulder of her companion. Two friends hugged in excitement and laughed uncontrollably almost giddy with what the night had in store. On this night, in this space, in this moment, black queer women defined sensuality and pleasure for themselves. While understanding that this moment is made possible through commerce and commodification, I also want to insist that the market mediates many aspects of black South African lives. Black LGBT people should not be overburdened by the expectation that their cultural practices and pursuit of pleasure totally escape market forces and consideration.

Ultimately, I did not spend my entire evening in this space. As my companions were black queer men they wanted to go to a space where there were more black queer men present. As a result we shifted spaces after midnight and found ourselves in a bar that while not hosting an official afterparty, seemed to have a sizeable contingent of people there. I was not able to get the name of the bar, but it was located in Mapetla a township within Soweto with less middle class roots than Moroka. The bar was typical of Sowetan shebeens/taverns with its lack of cover charge. What was unusual about the space was its

size. There was an outdoor courtyard, an entrance area, a large dance floor and a long bar where food and drink could be ordered. The crowd also seemed for the evening to be entirely made up of black queer men, hence reproducing some of the social divides existent in the Johannesburg black LGBT community. I noticed that a local health organization was advertising its services and handing out packages of condoms and lubricant, which also suggested that the party was known in the community and that local health organizations saw the party as an opportunity to reach men who have sex with men (MSM).^{xxvii}

What was unclear to me were the terms under which this venue operated. Was it typically a club that hosted heterosexual clientele that was “queer” because of Pride? Was it a queer space that hosted Soweto queer men? These questions I was not able to answer. From talking with the men present I got the sense that the club space was known to the LGBT community and perhaps functioned unofficially as queer or “queer friendly” space. What was noteworthy about this evening was the almost exclusively queer male space. However, gender was not the only significant difference from the previous party space. Class differences were apparent given the more casual dress (that in many ways replicated the attire from earlier in the day), the lack of cover charge, and the cheaper drink prices. It also could be said that security, such that it existed was far more lax. There was no guard patrolling the parked cars. The club had no dedicated parking spaces and patrons parked on the streets surrounding the club in typical township fashion. And yet there were few cars there in relation to the numbers of people inside. By my own estimation the number of cars was less than a fourth of the number of cars at the Rock. This is not to suggest black queer women are more economically resourced than black queer men. Instead, the classed locations of the clubs themselves produced different kinds of black queer people. Also, I would observe that in general black queer women (even those of the middle class) have

fewer women dominated spaces to congregate, hence the Soweto Pride afterparty would be a more important event on the social calendar for black queer women than similarly situated events occurring for black queer men.

The only security was a search before allowing an individual into the entry foyer of the club. After being searched and once inside though, the politics of joy that encapsulated much of the day were on display here in this space. Importantly, this was a space that younger, less well-resourced black queer men could access given both its location and its price point. Dancing with abandon and freedom, the DJ played his music in unison with the crowd which seemed to take on a special communal feeling that occurs when everyone is under the spell of music. Overt sexuality permeated many of these displays with winding sensual-sexual movements, hip thrusts, hands moving over bodies and open kissing and make out sessions, and packages of used condoms discarded in the bathroom. For me, the lack of security was both perhaps a nod to the materiality of the space (there literally being less wealth to account for) and the tacit acceptance of the community to the existence of this queer space on this evening. Ultimately, I argue that the Pride parade and its subsequent afterparties mark an important instance of claiming racialized, sexualized, space, in this case black LGBT space. The Pride events and the afterparties mark important forms of cultural labor that are politicized due to the invisibility and indifference with which black LGBT people must navigate their daily lives. Important sociopolitical events such as those I describe above reframe everyday forms of violence and invisibility. They become simultaneously a reworking of the everyday as well as a specific moment that exceeds the everyday.

Space does not allow for a fuller consideration of the other pride events over the Spring. What I do want to consider is that other Pride celebrations catered to different crowds due to their organizers, the presence and absence of corporate sponsorship, their location, and the stated aims of the organizers. I highlight the work of FEW and Soweto Pride in order to examine the ways that black queer women are creatively reimagining politics, pleasure, and space for contemporary South Africa and in the process creating forms of security in ways that challenge the myriad insecurities they experience as black queer women in South Africa. At the same time, I understand that by carving out women-centered and women friendly spaces, FEW is also rewriting South African public space and queer publics in ways that create possibilities for a more inclusive, diverse South African LGBT community.

The recent controversy over the cancelation of the 2016 version of Soweto Pride (and the uncertainty over whether the event will happen again) highlights the vulnerability of both the community structures in civil society that support black LGBT communities, and the vulnerability of black LGBT communities themselves. It also highlights Amar's argument that states will use issues of security to discipline unruly sexual subjects and promote the kinds of sexual citizenships they desire. The organizers stated that the 2016 event had to be postponed due to state coercion. In their (FEW's) estimation the coercion took two forms. First, the event was upgraded to a higher risk category, from low risk to medium risk. This required the organizers to hire more police and security detail, despite the fact that the South African Police Service (SAPS) could not cite specifically the forms of disruption and unruliness that required this upgrade. Having attended the event myself I did not see any behavior that would constitute a change in risk categorization. For FEW, the upgraded risk category would mean an additional 22 Johannesburg Metropolitan Police

Department (JMPD) officers, 300 marshalls, and 80 security guards at a prohibitive cost of 146,000 Rand. Secondly, SAPS also suggested that the group orient the pride away from its inclusive measures that I have outlined above, which included holding the pride in accessible space during the day (while transport is still running), not charging admission, and allowing community members to bring their own provisions into the space. Authorities had demanded that FEW charge an entrance fee as a means of crowd control and obtain a liquor license and sell alcohol at the venue, both of which the organization has pointed out is against the ethos of accessibility. In particular, the authorities wanted to ban cooler boxes so as to limit the intake of alcohol and thus minimize the ‘risk of chaos.’

For their own part FEW points to the increasing state distrust and attempts to manage protest and dissent at being at the heart of these measures. By imposing impossible to meet conditions, the South African police service insure that the event (and its politics that it creates) does not happen. Furthermore, for the organizers this was not just a matter of finances, this was also about to what extent does a politics of black queer life submit to state management and control. I would also like to add that there was perhaps a discomfort at the symbolic and material nature of black queer bodies, occupying space, particularly in large numbers (as the event has increased in popularity). Perhaps it is the black queer body, particularly black queer women and gender non-conforming subject that are the unruly subjects. Their sheer existence and desire to claim space and critique the state makes the event and its participants unruly and disruptive.

At the same time, the more white elite dominated Johannesburg (Joburg) Pride seems intent on moving its festivities to ever more exclusive enclaves. In 2016, the event was

held in Melrose Arch, an uber exclusive development. While admission was free, food and drinks needed to be purchased in that space and being a night-time event transportation was an issue. The queer body has been reduced to its availability to the market as a consumer. Twitter commentary from a variety of attendees remarked that the event felt like attending a European Pride event, making some black attendees feel like strangers in their own land. In many ways this maneuver complimented the policy of apartheid which simultaneously recreated a minority population into a constitutive majority and a majority population into a minoritarian sphere. I do think there is potentially a political project in making these kinds of spaces more accessible for all, but part of the failure of Joburg Pride is that we have to ask these questions about accessibility in the first place. Excluded both literally and figuratively from Joburg Pride, the black queers who do not have the means and access, are now also left without the Soweto Pride festivities.

Ironically, the decisions made by Joburg Pride to hold the event in Melrose Arch were a result of the same constraints placed on the Soweto Pride organizers. Joburg Pride organizers specifically cited the untenable costs of hosting open air accessible prides as the reason for the relocation to Melrose Arch instead of perhaps other venues such as the open air Mary Fitzgerald Square in more centrally located Newtown. While Soweto Pride organizers resisted the commodification and coercive practices of the state, the Joburg Pride organizers appear to have capitulated in the name of safety and leisure. But important questions have to be asked about safety for which queer bodies? Who has the right of pleasure and leisure in which spaces? It seems that when queer bodies can be managed as consuming upscale subjects they are both visible and protected by the state. In this way, the state uses the apparatus of security to produce acceptable LGBT citizenship (upscale,

predominantly white, consumptive) and police more unruly forms of LGBT citizenship (poor/working class, predominantly black).

PART III: ASSESSING HYBRID SECURITY AND GOVERNANCE

The African Security Sector Network argues that approaches to SSR must engage the concept of hybridity in order to fully account for the complexity of the security sector in the African continent. They write, “ Although understanding and controlling the state dimension remains essential, the complexity of Africa as well as the recent crises that have occurred on the continent involving the security apparatus call inseparably for a deep understanding of societal realities, often informal, within which security governance in Africa is rooted”.^{xxviii} For Bagayoko, Hutchful and Luckham, discussions of security in Africa require the deployment of a more interdisciplinary strategy that takes into account “the perspectives offered by sociology and anthropology in the daily functioning of security provision”.^{xxix} The aim is to understand these processes of hybridity to increase knowledge about SSR in Africa, but also to develop more effective public policy. In the research for this project I engage the concept of hybridity through three preliminary conclusions regarding black LGBT South Africans.

First, informal norms surrounding gender and sexuality often affect how police in particular respond to violations of the bodies of LGBT individuals. When violence is suspected, particularly if it is of the sexual or domestic variety, questions are often asked of the victim of the violence. Gendered violence (and by extension sexuality based violence) is often unreported because black LGBT people fear that they will not be protected by the police. Feminist activists have pointed out the high levels of violence that heterosexual

gender conforming women experience in South Africa. They have spoken pointedly about how notions of masculinity require the performance of heteropatriarchal authority that many men are increasingly unable to fulfill. Violence against women can be one way that men can reassert their authority. For black LGBT populations, particularly those who are gender non-conforming they can hardly hope that state functionaries would treat them better, and understand that their experiences with violence are often an extension of violence against heterosexual women. State functionaries often subscribe to reified forms of gender normativity themselves and may internalize these notions despite gender and sexuality based sensitivity training. In addition, political and social elites often mobilize their access to tradition/culture/customary law and or Christianity or Islam to suggest that black LGBT populations are worthy of exclusion and that they are deserving of the violence they experience. In fact, it might be best to understand cultural explanations in the service of maintaining gender and sexuality hierarchies as examples of class interests conceptualized through the vector of culture and/or religion. As a result, we can see how the organizers of Soweto Pride feel that the unsolved murders of black lesbians require public political critique and organizing. These murders are not simply about lack of state capacity, but instead are an extension of non-state practices of exclusion (both formal and informal) that indicate the lack of value placed on black lesbian lives.

Secondly, in South Africa, the main form of non-state security and informal policing is private security guards. These guards run the gamut from unarmed watchers of cars or other personal property to paramilitary trained armed guards and hence it is difficult to generalize about their function. However, I would argue that when it comes to issues of gender and sexuality their effect on black LGBT populations is not distinctive from the police. Non-state and informal actors such as churches, conservative family based NGOs

and traditional authorities have much more influence on security policing and justice by virtue of their ability to influence public opinion and in the process determine who is worthy of protection and who is not. In this sense such actors are competitors with the state if we understand that the state is expected to intervene on behalf of LGBT populations per the constitution, while these actors reinforce forms of gender and sexuality discrimination. An exception might be traditional authorities, since they are accommodated in the constitution as well, thus we might argue that the state is inherently hybrid. On the one hand it provides space for traditional authority to practice homophobia while guaranteeing protection and equality for LGBT subjects on the other. Therefore, I would argue that traditional authority is both competitive and substitutive of the state. As competitive, it provides a legitimate state sanctioned voice critiquing the incorporation of LGBT South Africans in the South African polity. As substitutive, traditional authority is often the primary form of governance in rural areas. While my work does not take place in rural areas, my findings would seem to suggest that a rural black LGBT subject within territory primarily governed by customary law might have severe difficulties existing as a visible LGBT subject. To date, no black LGBT South African has attempted to challenge the exclusionary nature of customary law. This might suggest that customary law has found ways to accommodate gender and sexuality variance that bypass western categories of sexual difference. Or it might also point to the fact that the forms of exclusion are so powerful that queer visibilities are impossible in rural space. As a precaution, women who have challenged customary law have often found that legal decisions made by constitutional courts in their favor are incompletely enforced.

Lastly, the impact of hybrid security leaves black LGBT South Africans in an unenviable position. They are only allowed to engage the state as citizens qua human rights language vis a vis the protections of the constitution. What they are not able to do is to

engage the state as cultural citizens since customary law and cultural practices exclude their subjectivity. Add to this religious doctrine and the forms of exclusion potentially multiply. While religious leaders are not ensconced in the state (although they are powerful non-state actors) traditional authorities are in fact part of the state. This suggests that cultural belonging will be an important battleground for black LGBT acceptance, and the reason that forms of cultural labor that work to create cultural belonging are so central in my study.

PART IV: CREATING EFFECTIVE INCLUSIVE SEXUALITY JUSTICE AND SECURITY

Questions abound as to what an effective inclusive sexuality justice and security could look like in South Africa. In this conclusion, I offer some preliminary insights based upon my research. First, state recognition has its limitations. Across the African continent it might be best to see forms of state recognition as necessary but hardly sufficient conditions of possibility. Perhaps more controversially, Tushabe argues in their forthcoming work that state recognition actually does little to help the most vulnerable gender and sexuality non-conforming Africans.^{xxx} Instead, such recognition simply adds additional state regulation to intimate practices and privileges some African LGBT individuals (those whose practices allow them to be visible as “gay” or “lesbian”) to the exclusion of other African queer folks, those whose practices and ways of knowing fail to conform to the global LGBT model. Osome argues that contemporary African LGBT organizing and the forms of state recognition that emerge from it are simply class based movements benefiting a small cisgender male elite who are able to obtain and manipulate the forms of visibility required by the state for their benefit.^{xxxi} We might see the cancellation of Soweto Pride within the twin

concerns raised by Tushabe and Ossome, that the state recognizes a particular kind of LGBT subjectivity while suppressing another.

Secondly, there has been much discussion of the need to abolish and curtail the carceral state. The carceral state is founded on regimes of punishment and containment and its expanse includes but is not exhausted by the criminal justice system. In fact, it includes technologies of surveillance, infrastructure, and private security. The apartheid state with its rigid pass laws and criminalization of large swaths of the black population was a quintessential carceral state. And yet, the demise of apartheid has not meant a dismantling of the carceral state apparatus. In fact, it seems only to have shifted its emphasis so that its mechanisms are not as visible. Given that South Africa still has one of the highest prison populations in the world, and that large parts of public space are fortified enclaves behind both high walls and securitized gates, it could be argued that the carceral state has simply reordered itself but has not disappeared. Along with a critique of the carceral state is a critique of carceral feminism. Carceral feminism “relies on state violence to curb violence against women”.^{xxxii} It “describes an approach that sees increased policing, prosecution and imprisonment as the primary solution to violence against women”.^{xxxiii} It ignores the fact that police and security sector workers are often the “purveyors of violence against women [as well as] the ways that race, class gender identity and immigration status leave certain women more vulnerable to violence”.^{xxxiv} By presenting itself as progressive policy the reliance on the carceral state to solve the problem of gendered violence justifies an increase in carceral apparatuses of surveillance and containment. Consequently, it directs attention away from cuts to social welfare programs that might allow women to more easily escape gendered violence.^{xxxv} Likewise, the critique of carceral feminism could be expanded to queer subjects and bodies as well. As such when LGBT activism expresses a default to

carceral regimes they mimic both the supposed promises as well as limitations of carceral feminism.

So what should follow if we do not default to the carceral state? If the idea is to create greater security for vulnerable populations then it is clear that increased calls for police, additional security, and carceral solutions of containment do not in and of themselves allow black queer people to live freely. In the aftermath of the attack at the Pulse Nightclub in June of 2016, it was frightening to see how easily (white) LGBT communities could be mobilized towards the ends of US Imperialism and War against Muslims and the Global South. In this case, security and humanitarian ends were mobilized to protect a vulnerable LGBT population against a terroristic fanatical Muslim. In the service of fighting terror which had now targeted LGBT communities, these same communities could be counted on to support US military incursion into the Middle East and Global South, discriminatory immigration policy, and the increasing surveillance and militarization of public space (especially leisure space). It is interesting that when Soweto Pride organizers refused state intrusion and the increased surveillance and securitization of their public space, they were prevented from holding their event, while predominantly white queers ensconced in elite hypersecuritized space of Joburg Pride, where able to hold their event unencumbered.

Similar to calls by Angela Davis, proponents of decarceration are advocating forms of restorative justice.^{xxxvi} The idea of restorative justice attempts to think about the needs of the community in relationship to victims and offenders. Instead of working toward punishment to satisfy the administration of criminal justice, the idea is that victim and offender in relation to community have a dialogue that results in healing and accountability in order to determine how best to restore the harm done to the victim. It also works toward

calls for prison abolition, and a decarceration of the state. Decarceration would entail a larger process not just of prison abolition but also of the increasingly tangled web of ways in which carceral states function. This would include a shift to greater social welfare investment, the change in public spaces from defensible to communal, the shift in architecture from guarded to accessible. While these are preliminary conclusions my suggestion is that increasing “security” and policing do little to actually solve the problem of insecurity that black LGBT people face in South Africa. In many ways it is easier to devote additional funds to policing and security than it is to imagine alternatives to neoliberal capitalism that might place greater emphasis on economic redistribution and social welfare. That being said ending economic insecurity does not in and of itself remove discrimination based on gender and sexuality. This is the main reason why I emphasize the important work of cultural capital and the need for security work in Africa to pay attention to queerness, queer cultural production, and representation as critical sites to imagine new possibilities.

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Notes

ⁱ In this essay the term “queer” popular in academic circles is used as an all encompassing term for gender and sexual non-conformity. I use it interchangeably with the term LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) a term more popular in NGO and governmental circles. My use of both of the terms is meant to express the lack of consensus regarding which term(s) best describe the LGBT community and create the conditions to make change.

ⁱⁱ Xavier Livermon, “Soweto Nights: Making Black Queer Space in Post-apartheid South Africa,” *Gender Place & Culture* 21, no.4 (2014) : 508-525.

ⁱⁱⁱ Paul Amar, *The Security Archipelago: Human-Security States, Sexuality Politics and the End of Neoliberalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

^{iv} Ibid, 6.

^v Tom Boellstorff, *The Gay Archipelago: Sexuality and Nation in Indonesia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

^{vi} Heidi Hudson, “‘Doing’ Security as Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security,” *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 2 (2005): 157.

^{vii} Ibid, 159

^{viii} Ibid, 163.

^{ix} Ibid

^x Scott Nicholas Romaniuk and Joshua Kenneth Wasylciw, “‘Gender’ Includes Men Too! Recognizing Masculinity in Security Studies and International Relations,” *Perspectives* 18, no. 1 (2010).

^{xi} Ibid, 27.

^{xii} Ibid, 31.

^{xiii} Ibid, 35.

^{xiv} Trans has emerged in LGBT Studies and Queer Studies as an overarching term used to be inclusive of a number of identities where an individual feels that his or her gender identity does not match the sex designation assigned at birth. It often encompasses individuals who identify as transsexual and transgender. Genderqueer individuals are those that do not subscribe to conventional gender definitions but identify with neither, both, or a combination of male and female genders.

^{xv} Laura J. Shephard and Laura Sjoberg, “Trans Bodies in/of War(s): Cisprivilege and Contemporary Security Strategy,” *Feminist Review* 101, no. 1 (2012): 5-23. Cisgender is a neologism coined by feminist and queer scholars to describe someone whose gender identity matches the sex designation assigned at birth. In practical terms this person is a non-trans individual.

^{xvi} Ibid, 6. The authors define cisprivilege as the unearned power and resources accrued to non-trans and gender normative bodies.

^{xvii} Ibid.

^{xviii} Shephard and Sjoberg, “Trans Bodies”

^{xix} Cynthia Weber, *Queer International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); 4.

^{xx} Nils Ole Bubandt, “Vernacular Security: Governmentality, Traditionality and Ontological (In) Security in Indonesia, No. 2004:24. DIIS Working Paper.

^{xxi} Lee Jarvis and Michael Lister, “Vernacular Securities and Their Study: A Qualitative Analysis and Research Agenda,” *International Relations* 27, no. 2 (2013): 158-179.

^{xxii} D. Soyini Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011).

^{xxiii} While it is common in many areas of the world to have women specific LGBT organizations it is true that across Africa this has tended to be less common. However, cleavages between women and men, trans and non-trans LGBT constituencies do exist outside of South Africa and cannot be said to be produced primarily by a history of racialization, although that is an important factor to consider in LGBT organizing that makes South Africa distinct from other countries. Cisgender gay and bisexual men are more visible in the movement but the reasons for this visibility seem to be more about economic access and patriarchal notions of women’s sexuality. See Lyn Ossome, “Postcolonial Discourses of Queer Activism and Class in Africa,” in *Queer African Reader*, eds. Hakima Abbas and Sokari Ekine (Oxford: Fahamu Books, 2013), 32-47; Audrey Mbugua “Transsexuals Nightmare: Activism or Subjugation?” in *Queer African Reader* eds. Hakima Abbas and Sokari Ekine (Oxford: Fahamu Books, 2013), 123-140; Zandile Makahamadze and Kagendo Murungi, “‘Nhorondo – mawazo yetu’ Tracing Life Back: Our Reflections – Life Story” in *Queer African Reader*, eds. Hakima Abbas and Sokari Ekine (Oxford: Fahamu Books, 2013), 290-304.

^{xxiv} Livermon, “Soweto Nights”

^{xxv} Xavier Livermon, *Diaspora Space/Kwaito Bodies: The Politics of Popular Music in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, UC Berkeley (Ph.D. dissertation) 2006.

^{xxvi} See David Grazian, *On the Make: The Hustle of Urban Nightlife* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2008) and Marcus Anthony Hunter, “The Nightly Round: Space, Social Capital and Urban Black Nightlife,” *City & Community* 9, no. 2 (2010): 165-186, for discussions of the social capital of urban nightlife.

^{xxvii} MSM (men who have sex with men) is often used in public health to describe potentially at risk populations for HIV without resorting to identity markers such as gay or bisexual since it is acknowledged that a significant percentage of men who have sex with men that could potentially be at risk do not identify as gay or bisexual.

^{xxviii} Niagalé Bagayoko, Eboe Hutchful, and Robin Luckham, “Hybrid Security” <http://africansecuritynetwork.org/assn/hybrid-security/> .

^{xxix} *Ibid.*

^{xxx} Tushabe Tushabe. *Decolonizing Homosexuality in Uganda*. Forthcoming manuscript.

^{xxxi} See Lyn Ossome, “Postcolonial Discourses of Queer Activism”

^{xxxii} Victoria Law, “Against Carceral Feminism” *Jacobin Magazine* (2014) <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/10/against-carceral-feminism/>

^{xxxiii} *Ibid*

^{xxxiv} *Ibid*

^{xxxv} *Ibid*

^{xxxvi} Angela Davis. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2011)