NO SOLACE IN THE GLASS CLOSET: LGBTQ ACTIVISTS STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN
RIGHTS IN JAMAICA

By

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To all those who have suffered oppression and still choose to repair the world

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ARV	Anti-retroviral
CAUSE	Churches Action Uniting Society for Emancipation
CVM	Community Television Systems Limited
F.A.S.T.	Families Against State Terrorism
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV/HIV+	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ HIV positive
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
ICI	Informal commercial importer
JASL	Jamaica AIDS Support for Life
J-FLAG	Jamaica Forum for Lesbians, All-Sexuals, and Gays (the oldest and most established LGBTQ organization in Jamaica)
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
LB	Lesbian and bisexual women
LGBTQ	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer
MSM	Men who have sex with men
NADA	National Anti-discrimination Alliance
PBCJ	Public Broadcasting Corporation of Jamaica
PNP	People's National Party
PSA	Public service announcement
QCJ	Quality of Citizenship Jamaica
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Policies
SO((U))L HQ	The founders keep the origin of the acronym secret, but it is a queer-friendly arts collaborative and safe meeting space.
STI	Sexually transmitted infection

TVJ	Television Jamaica
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UTECH	University of Technology
WfW	Women for Women
WHO	World Health Organization

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NO SOLACE IN THE GLASS CLOSET: LGBTQ ACTIVISTS STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN
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By

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Homophobia in Jamaica goes beyond mere sentiment to permeate the very

fabric of Jamaican society, with substantial effects for: popular culture, the state, the

economy, and religious practices. Overarchingly, this phenomenon can be summarized

as a preoccupation with nonnormative sexuality as observed in interactions with straight

Jamaicans, in media, and music. Some of my research consultants identify this

phenomenon as the "glass closet," which I define as an overlapping set of

heteronormative ideologies and practices resulting in LGBTQ social exclusion and their

hypervisibility in society. The potential cost for transgressing homophobic zones of

exclusion is high, as evidenced in the tragic murders of Brian Williamson, co-founder of

Jamaica Forum for Lesbians, All-Sexuals and Gays (J-FLAG) and HIV/AIDS activist in

2004, and Steve Harvey, another co-founder of J-FLAG who was abducted and

murdered in 2005. The loss of these LGBTQ advocates was a significant blow to gay-

rights organizing in Jamaica. Since then, dozens of homophobic attacks have resulted

in injuries and deaths.

Despite the risks involved, however, a vital activist community works to counter

popular anti-homosexual values and increase human rights for Jamaica's sexual

minority population. I liaised with organizations serving various segments of the LGBTQ population. These ranged from established and rather institutionalized groups, to grassroots startups formed to support nonnormative identities marginalized within the larger community. I encountered these organizations utilizing a variety of different strategies, some, of course, more successful than others. Each face unique challenges, but many similarities also emerge upon comparison. Collectively, a shared project to make their work more visible to the public is motivated by hopes of both normalizing nonnormative sexuality as well as to promote public accountability in cases of misconduct or violence.

Despite mainstream critiques that the "gay agenda" seeks to undermine or destroy the core of Jamaican identity, this is unlikely to be the case. These perceptions do belie the folk belief that homophobia is a cultural value, raising the stakes for activists seeking to counter its effects. Ultimately, it should be evident that a freer society is more stable, a benefit to all citizens. It is toward this goal that the activists with whom I work are striving.

CHAPTER 1
STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE: IS PEACE WITH THE SEXUAL OTHER POSSIBLE IN JAMAICA?

Jamaica Is Not All Sun, Sand, and Sea

As small island nation of just under three million largely Afro-descended people (STATIN Jamaica 2017), Jamaica is culturally distinctive and has had a profound effect upon the world via reggae music, the Afrocentric religious traditions of Rastafarl, its creolized cuisine, and its world class athletes. It lies in the Caribbean's Greater Antilles, and is one of only two major islands completely surrounded by the Caribbean Sea. Jamaica's history tells the complex and tragic story of colonization. Its creole fusion of indigenous, African, European, East, and South Asian cultures (with more recent arrivals from the Middle East) has arisen out of the cataclysm of the colonial project.

Jamaica is a relatively new postcolonial nation, independent from the United Kingdom since 1962. Like many former colonies, its historically export-driven economy struggles to compete on a global scale. As a small island economy dependent upon imports and a limited number of exports, Jamaica is susceptible to external economic fluctuations as well as natural disasters. It also bears a disproportionately high public debt, approximately 120% of GDP (World Bank 2017), incurred through multiple attempts to stabilize the economy via International Monetary Fund and World Bank loans since the 1970s. Added to this are an incredibly stagnant rate of economic growth of 1.44% in 2017, representing an improvement from -1.5% in 2010 (World Bank 2017), and high rates of unemployment, over 12% for the general population, and an average of 25.45% for young people 20-26 years old in 2017 (STATIN Jamaica 2017).

The formal Jamaican economy lacks diversification. Although current measures seek to make Jamaica more favorable for entrepreneurship and new industries, the current productive economic sectors remain: agriculture, manufacturing, transport, tourism, mining, and utilities (STATIN Jamaica 2017). Capitalizing on Jamaica's warm, tropical climate and plentiful beaches, tourism is arguably the most important domestic source of revenue over the last 40 years, comprising approximately 15% of Jamaica's GDP (CIA 2017). This ties it for remittances, sent to Jamaica from abroad, making up about 15% of GDP (CIA 2017). Tourism, which relies heavily on services, is the single largest employment sector (directly and indirectly), at 24% (WTTC). Tourism is also highly flexible: it is seasonal, affected by hurricanes, as well as market trends in the consumption of tourism. Thus, employment in the tourism sector can be unpredictable, especially for entry-level jobs. Such unpredictability amounts to financial insecurity for households dependent upon income from work in the tourism sector.

Tourists often remark on the relaxing, laid-back atmosphere they experience on their vacations, which in Jamaican Creole, is called *irie*. It hardly seems possible, then, that Jamaica is also a place where poverty and violence mark the lives of many of its residents, particularly its most vulnerable citizens, including lesbian, gay, bisexual transgender and queer (LGBTQ) Jamaicans. But, in 2008, Prime Minister Bruce Golding memorably declared, "homosexuals will find no solace in any cabinet formed by me," (the statement which helped to name this dissertation) it was unmistakable that the Jamaican state had a clear stake in barring equity for its sexual minority population (Sakur 2008).

Accessing Diffuse Communities

Historically, Jamaicans were much more community-oriented, especially in rural settings. But as the economy shifted away from agrarian production and the population became urbanized and proletarianized during the 20th century, communal approaches to problem solving became less common. Kingston, Jamaica's capital, remains the most populous city, at just under 700,000 residents (STATIN Jamaica 2017). Like many other capital cities in Latin America and the Caribbean, it has urban primacy. Kingston is four to five times larger than the next largest city, Montego Bay (STATIN Jamaica 2017).

The city was the logical place in which to conduct my fieldwork for several reasons. During my first visit to Jamaica, my work was primarily conducted in Montego Bay. In that time, it became clear to me that there were several logistical challenges working outside the capital city. To access the organizations serving the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer population, I needed to be in Kingston because most choose to base their operations there. I accessed my vulnerable target community first through the activist organizations serving them. Although I attempted to schedule meetings with key gatekeepers at these organizations ahead of time by email, I found I had the best success setting up meetings by either calling a day or two in advance of a desired meeting time, or by simply showing up and hoping to be accommodated.

Kingston is desirable as a location for LGBTQ folk for many reasons. The largest city is a lure because it offers greater anonymity over the often-stifling closeness of small towns or even small cities where everyone (or at least everyone in a small social circle) knows everyone else's business. It offers the chance to network with a much wider group of like-minded people. Kingston also offers many more options in the dating pool. It offers, too, the chance of a clean start away from the rules and eyes of extended

family members. Anonymity is a priceless commodity for sexually minorities. In many cases, gay folk who want to move to Kingston imagine life there as freed of the restrictions to which their small(er) towns subject them.

Anonymity is also important in other ways. In my work, social media sites are important sites of field research for LGBTQ communities hiding in plain sight. Treating social media platforms as bona fide fieldsites is a relatively recent turn in anthropology, and a contested practice (Boellstorff 2008; Bonilla and Rosa 2015). However, in this project, social media provide a vetted, filtered means for LGBTQ organizations to directly access their target audience, and sometimes this translates into various kinds of action, as well. With QCJ, for example, we could design quick, anonymous surveys to begin to collect baseline data about the lesbian and bisexual population and their experiences with harassment and sexual violence. Restricted or invitation-only social media pages are an excellent mode to convey sensitive information, as with the specific locations of LGBTQ parties, activist events, Pride Parades (beginning in 2015). These measures help to ensure the general public is unaware of the specific locations in which such events will be held, to minimize premeditated acts of aggression.

Anonymity has been a driving force in activism until very recently. At the start of this project, all activists used professional pseudonyms. Even now, many of my interlocutors, especially those newly coming out, use pseudonyms. Most organization founders and activists with titled positions have transitioned to using their given names, which is a new trend in LGBTQ organizing.

There is an ongoing social project to suppress LGBTQ identities in Jamaica. First emergent in the 1990s, during the worst economic conditions since 1962, homophobia

became palpable in churches, popular music, political rhetoric, and outbreaks of violence against members of the LGBTQ community. Once it was no longer a taboo topic, hatred of sexual minorities helped to solidify a distinctive core of Jamaican values in opposition to intrusive globalizing forces while simultaneously supporting cohesion across segments of political constituencies which otherwise would have very divergent interests: namely, to bind together the interests of elites and the very poor in opposition to the perceived threat of homosexuality.

Human Rights: Who's Right, Whose Rights?

Poverty and violence compromise more than just the citizenship of LGBTQ Jamaicans. Indeed, the occurrence of high homicide rates, the HIV epidemic, lack of access to water and electricity in impoverished inner-city communities, high rates of childhood malnutrition and domestic violence are just a few examples of the social problems facing the Jamaican people. These represent human rights challenges which must be addressed.

Human rights are a core concern of this project. It is true that overall, violence in Jamaica is very high: since 2005, the homicide rate hovers between 1300-1700 murders per year, approximately 36.1/100,000 (OASC 2017) (Ser 2016). Jamaica's homicide rate remains in the top five globally (OASC 2017). Other rates of violence remain high, too. For example, in 2011, 833 incidents of rape were reported to authorities, and 763 cases of "carnal abuse," (sexual relations with girls under the age of 16) (USDoS 2012:16). J-FLAG (Jamaica Forum for Lesbians, All-Sexuals and Gays) reported 68 incidences of "sexually motivated" violence and harassment, 53 of which were "attempted or actual assault(s)" (USDoS 2012:21). These data included two confirmed murders of LGBTQ persons in 2011 (USDoS 2012:21). Collecting numbers of

violent acts is a limiting constraint, that is, it is reduces the overarching problem of homophobia to violent acts, as well as to focus modes of intervention from organizations to merely tabulating cases of violence. Unfortunately, however, this is the basis of intervention, and baseline rates of violence against LGBTQ individuals must be established to counter claims by the Jamaican government that the status of sexual minorities is improving (USDoS 2012:21).

There are competing discourses vying for primacy regarding human rights (further discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2). In discussions with normative Jamaicans, many bristled at the very idea of human rights. Some see the concept as an imperialist scheme bent on destroying Jamaican values, especially connected with the idea that sexual minorities seek "special rights." Often, this critique is levied alongside arguments that the LGBTQ movement is an imperialist project intending to erode Jamaican morality. Others see such deep structural problems in Jamaica that human rights are tangential to first dealing with those larger issues. This amounts to a struggle between politics of representation versus a politics of distribution of resources, or economic rights as a discussion of poverty.

Within the LGBTQ community, activists are careful to frame their argumentation for rights within a human rights context. They seek to refute popular arguments that the seek "special rights," engaging a model of compromised citizenship instead. They envision their work as addressing the effects stemming from compromised citizenship as well as addressing the social structures that create the conditions of compromised citizenship.

Worldviews Shaping Experiences

The experience of LGBTQ individuals in Jamaica can be summarized as multifold kinds of vulnerability. It emanates from almost every aspect of Jamaican social life. While there are big structural, global forces working to create macro social conditions, there are particularities of Jamaican social life that reinforce the vulnerabilities experienced by sexual minorities. One of the most important of these is the deeply conservative, Judeo-Christian moral outlook of the vast majority of normative Jamaicans. It is widely, and often proudly, proclaimed by such individuals that Jamaica has more churches per capita than anywhere else on Earth—a largely unsubstantiated claim. Further, given Jamaica's colonial history, there are competing value systems (namely British and West African) that have collided within Jamaica's moral economy. The outcome is that there are both religious and moral explanations for why homosexuality is bad, and these are used as justification for mistreatment of LGBTQ persons.

Racial Hierarchies

Given Jamaica's colonial history, its racial hierarchy also reinforces vulnerability for sexual minorities. Today, approximately 95 percent of Jamaicans have African ancestry, and there is a high degree of miscegenation with other groups (CIA 2017). Here, the hierarchy can be described as colorism: racism based on a spectrum of color-based privilege. It differs from the hypodescent system in the United States (see Page 2015), in that there are more color categories and a few more modes of transcending the stratum into which one is born. It differs also from the system in Brazil, in that it has fewer color categories, although the effects of Jamaican color system are much closer to those in Brazil. Like all racial-caste systems, an individual's location within the racial

hierarchy determines their access to privilege and resources. Here, as in Brazil and the United States, Blackness is nearly synonymous with underclass.

Racial-caste systems have deep implications for romantic relationships, sexual access, sexual violence, marriage practices, and kinship (Alexander 1997, Burdick 1998, Goldstein 2003). These tensions and their impacts for non-heterosexual people are explored later in this writing. Particularly for individuals who are both Black and LGBTQ, there is much potential for further marginalization (a core concern in Chapter 6). In this dissertation, I have chosen not to capitalize referents for whiteness as a conscious effort to decenter it in relation to Blackness and Brownness as historically devalued racial categories.

Homophobic Scapegoating

Increasingly, since the mid-1990s, discrimination and violence against LGBTQ Jamaicans has been taking place. These incidents, set against the backdrop of already high rates of violence, punctuate this milieu because they are entirely different kind of occurrences. The difference lies in the systematic targeting of sexual minorities.

This work does not seek to dismiss Jamaican homophobia as merely a cultural problem, but instead to situate it within specific historical processes and contemporary motivations that reinforce its perpetuation. It can be expected that in other contexts with similar history and ongoing incentives, that homophobia prevails under such conditions, and indeed, it does (Alexander 1997, Puar 2007, Tomlinson 2017).

The project of nation-building in postcolonial contexts necessarily excludes certain categories of people to create an exclusive sense of belonging (Anderson 1993). During the colonial project, the excluded category of people, were, of course, Black. In

postcolonial Jamaica, where Blackness has been subsumed into the heart of national identity, the enemy of the nation has become the sexual minority.

Genealogical Tracking of a Movement in Jamaica

Another goal of this research is to trace the origin and evolution of this burgeoning movement. To date, the work within this movement has been sporadic, experiencing many setbacks. Although an interlocking set of limitations have constrained their efficacy, a fragile coalition of LGBTQ activists is emerging in response to the shared oppression of homophobia.

By tracing the limitations faced by this fledgling coalition, I have been able to plot out the initial trajectory of the movement for LGBTQ human rights in Jamaica. Through my observations and conversations with activists in Kingston, it is evident that a stronger, united, and integrated movement will be the most successful in achieving the goals of this burgeoning coalition, which include: decriminalizing same-sex intercourse between consenting male partners, providing legal anti-discrimination protections in the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and better access to legal redress within the constabulary and court systems for victims of anti-LGBTQ hate crimes.

While it has been difficult for LGBTQ activists to engage issues of human rights (addressed later in Chapter 1 and in Chapter 2), in part due to push back from antigay groups, the movement is becoming more impactful. There are now more LGBTQ organizations in Jamaica than ever before. There is a great sense of resolve to meet the needs of marginalized groups within the sexual minority population. And, there is now also more urgency to cope with increased violence and other LGBTQ humanitarian crises (such as homeless queer youth living in storm drains).

It is therefore my aim to situate Jamaican homophobia within the historical and

political conditions which begat it, while identifying the incentives to its perpetuation and

the struggle of the activists working to combat its most deleterious effects on sexual

minorities. Even as mainstream Jamaicans assert homophobia as a cultural value,

sexual minorities are scapegoated for many reasons other than a conservative value

system: most importantly because mutual hatred of queer Jamaicans unites the political

interests of the poor and elites, stabilizing the Jamaican state. Thus, homophobia in

Jamaica is of a specifically political nature (see Boellstorff 2004).

**Summary of Research Questions, Theoretical Framework/Analysis, Methods and
Fieldwork Considerations**

Tom Boellstorff, in his essay "The Emergence of Political Homophobia in

Indonesia: Masculinity and National Belonging," argues for

> anthropological attention to the public face of emotion and the heterosexist
> gendering of national belonging [which] can contribute to a better understanding
> of how violence is not the 'primordialist' suspension of culture, but the working
> out of cultural logics of inequality and exclusion to their horrific but
> comprehensible conclusion (2004:482).

My work takes up this charge, and goes beyond it to understand how sexually

minoritized people are working to counter Boellstorff's "horrific conclusions" with

homegrown activism and realize positive social change. In Jamaica, queer grassroots

groups and NGOs are organizing within the context of a homophobic society that

incentivizes their continued exclusion. It is therefore necessary for me to unpack the

systemic nature of this exclusion as well as to evidence their work in combatting it.

Boellstorff observes that "while all homophobia has political effects, the notion of

'political homophobia' is useful for highlighting violence deployed as a means for

controlling who can make claims to belonging" (2004:480). This leads me to ask a set of

interrelated questions, which I detail below.

Research Questions

To analyze the complex of beliefs, practices, and activism surrounding political

homophobia in Jamaica, it was necessary for me to ask several questions. The

questions guiding this project are concerned with the conditions of the emergence of the

movement for the human rights of sexual minorities. Specifically, why is the movement

occurring? Invoking a network approach, what is the context of the movement? Why is

scapegoating of LGBTQ persons taking place? Following Harrison (1997a), what kinds

of consciousnesses are developing among this minoritized population in response to

their oppression and subsequent resistance to it?

Theoretical Frameworks

Given the complexity of analyzing the structure and mechanics of political

homophobia, no single framework is sufficient to apply to the situation in Jamaica.

Therefore, I draw upon the work of several scholars in concert with one another to

reveal the subtleties present in my research. Situated in various aspects of feminist and

queer theory, as well as moral panic theory, and political economic theory, these

scholars interrogate belonging and moral panic in postcolonial nation-building projects,

how scales of local and global interpenetrate paradigms of same-sex intimacy, and the

role LGBTQ activism plays in disrupting hegemonic structures.

M. Jacqui Alexander's (1997) notion of heteropatriarchal recolonization is integral

to conceptualizing state violence against racialized sexual minorities in postcolonial

contexts. Alexander's reformation of heteropatriarchy demonstrates postcolonial nation

formation as predicated on exclusion of nonnormative sexualities (1997). Engagement

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of heteropatriarchy as hegemony makes Alexander's analysis essentially Gramscian.

Alexander's analysis is based in the Bahamas, a close neighbor in the Anglophone

Caribbean making it an appropriate analogue regarding laws prohibiting same-sex

intercourse. Thus, it can be said that like the Bahamas, the Jamaican state has also

sought to reorder itself as an essentially heteropatriarchial nation which retains the

colonial gender hierarchy. Rather than shrugging off the ideologues of colonization,

Alexander, argues, "the (in)visible subject of imperial law has not been entirely replaced,

nor in any of the neocolonial state's contemporary gestures to adjudicate the imperial

through law and within the political economy" (1997:97). By retaining and even

expanding on imperial laws, the heteropatriarchal state is cemented. Any identities

which defy heteropatriarchial norms, to include lesbians and gay men, Alexander

asserts, present a "profound dilemma" to the heterosexualized state (1997:97). But,

ongoing action is necessary. "If… these groups cease making demands upon the state,

they make it more possible for the state to solidify noncitizenship status, to continue to

make citizenship masculine, and to continue to make women irrelevant to the project of

nation-building" (1997:97). Thus, sexual minorities' struggle against heteropatriarchial

hegemony must continue.

Analyses of moral panic are highly relevant to understanding state and popular

reactions to LGBTQ activism. They also serve to open other aspects of Gramscian

hegemony for analysis. Two of the earliest social theorists to engage the concept of

moral panic are Stuart Hall et al. (1978) and Stanley Cohen (1972). Hall at al. and

Cohen uncover the nexus of state power and social power, moral rejection of "folk

devils" (Hall et al. 1978). Sharing much in common with Hannah Arendt's (1951)

analysis of totalitarian state power, read together, these analyses shed light on the consolidation of power over scapegoated segments of the population, as has happened to sexual minorities in Jamaica.

More recently, David Murray, Janet Irvine, and Gilbert Herdt have specifically applied the moral panic concept to sexual minorities. Their analyses emphasize the social component of hegemonic exclusion of LGBTQ citizens, which shares much in common with Foucault's notion of discipline. Murray works intensively with the notion of moral panic underwritten by a shadowy, peripheralized threat posed by homosexuality capable of collapsing normative society (2009). Irvine engages the concept of revulsion and the role it plays in fueling homophobic moral panic: a kind of righteous disgust toward homosexual sex practices (2009). For Herdt, cultural anger is the engine which powers homophobic moral panic (2009). Hatred of the sexualized Other not only socially stigmatizes queer people, it dehumanizes them, so that normative society can then justify discrimination and violence against them (Herdt 2009). In the work of Herdt, Irvine, and Murray, these cultural expressions of hegemony serve to ideologically segregate sexual minorities.

By combining the three perspectives of consolidation of state power (brought forth through the works of Arendt, Hall, et al., and Cohen), alongside the social hegemony perspective (as presented by Murray, Irvine and Herdt), I uncover powerful sources of marginalization for queer Jamaicans which are rooted in both state and social power. Drawing together these perspectives was inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) notion of habitus, itself influenced by Gramscian hegemony. Thus, the social

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ideologies which Otherize queer folk, in tandem with the social practices reinforcing their continued exclusion comprise the habitus of political homophobia.

Analyses of the tensions present in local/global interactions are also highly relevant in postcolonial, creolized contexts. In my project, the conflict between local and global is most present in LGBTQ human rights discourse. Conservatives argue that pressure from the international human rights community for the Jamaican government to acknowledge the plight of sexual minorities is compromising national sovereignty. Latoya Lazarus (2011) traces the beginning of this culture war to 2004. In that year, Human Rights Watch issued the report *Hated to Death* (discussed in Chapter 2), making explicit the kinds of violence and the failure of the Jamaican state to protect sexual minorities (Lazarus 2011). Lazarus points to the fact that Jamaica is a voluntarily signatory to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and had previously been a signatory to the Optional Protocol of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (2011). But, because Jamaica did not have a fundamental charter guaranteeing basic rights until 2011 (which, even after revision, does not specifically guarantee legal protection for sexual minorities), LGBTQ activist organizations were all but compelled to use an international discourse of human rights to make claims of human rights abuse prior to 2011. Thus, international rights discourse was invoked long before domestic claims of human rights abuses could even be articulated domestically within Jamaica.

For these reasons, my analysis does primarily engage notions of international human rights discourse, alongside the frameworks that LGBTQ activist organizations are developing on the ground. But, I also acknowledge another framework, presented by Kathleen Jones (2015) that specifically invokes a basis for queer human rights as

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adapted from Hannah Arendt's concepts of "conscious pariah" (1951:67) and "the right to have rights" (1951:297). While this framework is not yet being utilized by my interlocutors, I believe it offers a unique perspective and an interesting supplement to the theorizations of human rights these activists are working to develop in Jamaica.

Methods

In carrying out my study, I gathered data via interviews, direct observation, and participant observation. I relied on the extended case study method advocated by Karen Sykes (2014) and Michael Burawoy (1998). Although the extended case study method emerged out of the Chicago School's grounded theory, the extended case study method arose out of the Structuralist Manchester School in England (Tavory and Timmermans 2009). Essentially, the extended case study method utilizes observation of phenomena to discern structure, so it is influenced by British Structuralism. The extended case study method differs from grounded theory in that it is deductive, using theory during both the observational and analytical portions of research, what Tavory and Timmermans identify as "theoretically driven ethnography" (2009:244). Grounded theory relies on inductive analysis, seeking to derive theory from observational data (Burawoy 1998) (Tavory and Timmermans 2009). An additional difference of the extended case study method lies its analysis of conflict, particularly postcolonial contexts (Sykes 2014).

The extended case study method is therefore a valuable tool to analyze the social conflict around the exclusion of LGBTQ Jamaicans precisely because it uses this phenomenon to discern the structure of political homophobia. Through participant observation, I have been able to immerse myself in the struggle of the activist community. This experiential aspect has allowed me to accurately assess the extent of the structural exclusion of sexual minorities, the stakes for the community involved in

activism, and the kinds of action required to move toward conflict resolution and greater inclusion of LGBTQ citizens in Jamaican society.

Getting Situated: Entry Points

My first visit to Jamaica was in 2006, a year after Steve Harvey, a co-founder of J-FLAG (the oldest LGBTQ organization) was murdered. I was participating in baseline data collection on Improved Governance and Citizen Security with a group of students from University of the West Indies (UWI), Mona Campus and the University of Florida. We were divided into two groups working in Grant's Pen in Kingston and Flanker Community, Montego Bay. My group was in the latter. We conducted one-on-one interviews and focus groups aiming to survey how grassroots community based organizations were filling the gap left by the retraction of the state in response to social service cutbacks required to meet guidelines for structural adjustment policies. We set up very clear expectations that the interviews were to be focused on the various kinds of outreach their organizations were focused upon. The unexpected outcome of these interviews was that for every one of the 30 days I spent working on this project, I heard the interviewees speak at some length about how much they hated gay people. They would often justify such diatribes by an obligation to explain to me, an outsider, and they made sure I understood what the "real" Jamaica was all about: not being gay. I found this paradigm odd and worthy of further inquiry because I had never encountered homophobia of that intensity before. I often wonder how these interviewees saw me. As an unmarried woman, did they think they were offering me romantic advice in helping me choose the "right" kind of romantic partner? If this was the case, then offering this kind of guidance was also an expression of the very rigid gender norms that subject women to patriarchal domination. But, as a then-closeted bisexual woman, I was

terrified they somehow knew my secret, and were offering me warnings to not break the

gendered rules. It was clear that transgressing these unwritten rules could result in

verbal abuse, physical violence, or worse—the people whom I had interviewed had

been very clear about the kinds of mob attacks on gay men, for example.

While I encountered at least a sense that the normative Jamaican rationalization

for homophobia is that the "gay agenda" is being foisted on them by imperialist outside

forces, I quickly discovered that was not the case. Once I discovered the existence of J-

FLAG, for example, that had been working on furthering the human rights of sexual

minorities on the island since 1998, I knew I wanted to investigate the problem of

homophobia as resisted by local organizations. I also knew that I wanted to diverge

from a substantial literature that strictly dealt with medicalized interventions on gay men

via public health concerns for HIV and AIDS. I was much more interested in accessing

the lived realities of people coping with the oppression of homophobia.

I visited Jamaica again in 2007 and 2009 to identify key stakeholders and to

attempt to liaise with as many of them as possible. During these visits, I sought to

access both state and non-state actors. I made contacts with several ally organizations,

as well, which was helpful to designing this project.

Once I arrived in Jamaica for dissertation fieldwork in 2012, however, things did

not work quite as well as they had on previous visits. Several of my contacts in the

organizations I had earmarked had left their positions, speaking to the high degree of

uncertainty and risk surrounding this kind of work in Jamaica.

One difficulty that presented itself rather quickly was the resistance of J-FLAG's

director, Dane Lewis, to allow me to access much of the organization or to assist with

any upcoming projects they had planned. This was peculiar given that I had met with him many times previously on visits to the field. I met with Dane every month for the first four months, and could not get much more than a lukewarm progress report. Frustrated, I started to search for other organizations serving the LGBTQ community. I met a very young activist who called herself Cupid working with the National Anti-Discrimination Alliance (NADA), who was also getting connected with a brand-new startup organization, Quality of Citizenship Jamaica (QCJ). Although my working relationship with Cupid would eventually be short-lived, this was the break I needed. Cupid and her girlfriend ended up leaving QCJ after a conflict at the second group meeting, never to return. While I had contact with her for a couple more weeks after the argument she had with QCJ's co-founder Jalna, she soon distanced herself from me. Once I accessed QCJ, the second half of my fieldwork was much more satisfying. I was able to assist the fledgling group with some basic data collection, advise them on drafting grant applications, and to participate in planning and executing several community outreach events. And, with affiliation with an organization, I began to be introduced to many other activists whom I would not have otherwise met, some with quite a bit of longevity working on issues of LGBTQ human rights.

Through my time working with QCJ as an advocate as well as a researcher, I began to become very aware that the rigid gender hierarchy at work in Jamaica had implications for marginalizing lesbian and bisexual women, too. It was evident that there was a double burden to being both female and sexually minoritized. Our initial efforts to collect data were focused on quantifying and qualifying some of the modes by which that marginalization takes place.

With QCJ being a startup group, they did not have a designated meeting space. Instead, like a lot of other small organizations with whom I met, they gathered most often in public spaces like restaurants and hotel lobbies. Later, they met in one another's homes, taking turns hosting when we needed privacy to hash specific plans. I offered my home to these meetings, too. They also met with other organizations, as when they planned events for International Day against Homophobia and Transphobia (IDAHOT) and to commemorate the life of Brian Williamson. For some of those meetings, we met on the UWI campus. On another occasion, I traveled with QCJ to meet with another lesbian women's group, Women for Women, and we met in Portmore. We had to rent a car for that trip, which was wonderful because we got to spend a lot more time discussing strategy before and after the meeting, instead of our usual parting of ways right after our regular meetings.

These meetings were typically closed, with the designated meeting place only sent out to regularly participating members. Even events to which we garnered wider participation, security concerns were paramount. So even when the event venue was decided weeks in advance, we did not advertise even within the community the specific location until shortly before. We also arranged travel for those events that might otherwise have been difficult for attendees to reach, to ensure their safety as well as a good turnout. Most of the arrangements for meetings took place via social media, which allowed us to target the specific audiences and potential members we wanted to include.

In these meetings, modes of better accessing lesbian and bisexual women via social media (mostly Facebook) were discussed. It had been observed by Angeline and

Jalna at QCJ that lesbian and bisexual women were harder to reach, largely due to the multiple ways in which they are marginalized by society and within the LGBTQ community. When QCJ wanted to implement small surveys, they found it was difficult to find respondents, so they wanted to strategize ways to increase participation while using some new advertising functions Facebook offered. Some of the meetings were event planning and brainstorming sessions for activities and outreach to better include lesbian and bisexual women, as well.

"Community" and Sexual Geography

Defining the LGBTQ population as a community is somewhat problematic as they are highly factionalized as well as quite diffuse. In most cases, this term is used either by my interlocutors or by myself in attempting to describe the conditions of a shared plight, but is not yet a unified alliance. In other words, our use of the term is aspirational, as it is general recognized by us to be a goal and an important strategy to achieving greater inclusion in Jamaican society.

There is tension in balancing a politics of recognition versus a politics of equality in these arrangements. This is centered around the activists' managing of security. Security comprises many considerations, including: protecting the identity of individuals who wish to keep their identity and/or sexuality anonymous, organizing events so that details such as location and attendees are not made public, and the use of extensive security measures at organizational offices, as J-FLAG and JASL did (keeping doors locked, only using gay-friendly services for transportation and courier, visits by appointment only, for example). These secrecy and security concerns are leveraged against tactics which increase visibility of the population and the activists themselves: Pride events, activists using their given names, advertising the services and missions of

the organizations on billboards, and appearing in on television and video on social media, to name a few. The activists believe that by being out Jamaican society, they remove the power of being forcibly outed in the media. They naturally want the work of their organizations known. They want to advertise the outreach their organizations offer to better serve the LGBTQ community. But, these modes of publicity also increase vulnerability, at least over the short term.

Communities typically have gathering spaces. In Jamaica, however, physical gathering spaces for LGBTQ activism and social events alike are extremely challenging to locate because they are frequently moved to protect the safety of attendees. These locations are also kept secret. Often, because so many of the organizations with whom I have worked are very grassroots startups, they have no resources to physically rent space—they do not have other options. Instead, they opt to meet in public locations in New Kingston like restaurants, hotel lobbies, and shopping centers. So, while there is risk involved in meeting in public, and possibly encountering trouble with disapproving eavesdroppers, the grassroots activists must hide in plain sight. The exception was the old J-FLAG and JASL building, a house converted into offices and meeting spaces located in Trafalgar Park. Any meetings where invitations were extended to other LGBTQ organizations and stakeholders were held there. Additionally, with the various kinds of outreach services supplied to homeless sexual minorities, this location and its grounds became a daytime gathering space for lower class Black gay and trans people, which did not go unnoticed by neighbors in the surrounding properties. Furthermore, others were making observations about the types of people frequenting the grounds of the J-FLAG/JASL offices. On a couple of occasions, cab drivers who supposedly came

from vetted, safe agencies commented (while transporting me from the site to my home) about whether I was aware that there were lots of gays on site, cautioning me to be careful about spending time in the company of gay folk. It was evident that they feared some sort of contagion, and that they were very uncomfortable being near to the presence of people of nonnormative sexuality. They were clearly curious what business a white woman from *farin* might have with gay men. Additionally, it was made clear to me that there was growing discontent among the leadership of the organizations, particularly J-FLAG and JASL, that the modes of socializing of homeless gay and transwomen, and, even their very presence, were looked down upon and regarded a security risk. It was evident that racial and class bias on the part of these leaders was clouding their decision-making. J-FLAG and JASL rented the building from an elderly couple who, in addition to wanting to retire from the real estate business, also eventually succumbed to the disapproval and growing complaints of the neighbors. The landlords did not renew the lease for the upcoming 2013 lease term, and gave the organizations notice to vacate the property. Once J-FLAG and JASL moved their respective locations to new sites, the feeling of disconnectedness deepened.

I interviewed and collaborated with members a few organizations apart from J-FLAG and JASL. These organizations included: Quality of Citizenship Jamaica (QCJ), which is a lesbian and bisexual women's organization, and would ultimately become my home-base (although they lacked a physical address), Colour Pink, an organization founded by a transgender former sex worker to support sex workers, Aphrodite's Pride, an organization to support transgender people, National Anti-Discrimination Alliance, an organization addressing the lack of legal protections for anti-discrimination on the basis

of sex, sexuality, religion, or disability, Women for Women, a lesbian and bisexual-friendly women's support organization, PRIDE In Action, a campus-based LGBTQ support organization for college students, and SO((U))L HQ, an LGBTQ-friendly arts collaborative.

New Kingston is arguably the most gay-friendly part of Kingston, and it is the commercial, financial and entertainment center of town and one of the most affluent nonresidential areas. Gay and trans sex workers work in these areas in the evenings, close to where their patrons work. It makes sense, the middle class and upper middle-class individuals who work in finance, upper management in corporations like Digicel, GraceKennedy, Lasco, or in media like Television Jamaica, Jamaica Gleaner and Jamaica Observer newspapers, have more disposable income and tend to socialize in establishments nearby to their jobs since they have limited, albeit reliable off-hours. Consumption of sexual services provided by gay and trans sex workers tends to take place in New Kingston. But, it should be noted that most sex workers do not reside there, they commute to work in this area nightly. Although this population was not my main focus, since I primarily connected with the activist groups, I paid attention to the struggles of this very vulnerable population within the LGBTQ community. Many of these sex workers stay in downtown areas, geographically in the central and south-central areas of the city, typically impoverished. inner city neighborhoods affiliated with either the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) or the People's National Party (PNP) (such communities are referred to as garrison communities, see Gray 2004 and Harrison 2008). In the earlier phase of my fieldwork, stories in the Jamaican Gleaner and Jamaica Observer newspapers identified squat houses where homeless youth were

camped out, mostly in middle-class areas. I noticed many homeless sex workers and gay and trans teens stayed in unoccupied homes in wealthy neighborhoods, sometimes with verbal permission of the landowner. I came to know these youth by locating them in my own uptown neighborhood of Millsborough, where they were living in the house an on the grounds of a home within walking distance of my apartment. However, during my fieldwork, police crackdowns resulted in the ejection of most of the people squatting in these homes. When I was packing up to return to the United States, I carried bags of clothing and household items I hoped would be helpful to these vulnerable teens. Some transgender girls were so excited to have a few new items of women's clothing that they cried. It was incredibly humbling to witness their deep appreciation for my cast-off clothes. After their eviction, with virtually no other options, many of these homeless youth ended up in a variety of temporary shelters, including a number taking refuge in storm drains. It deeply upsets me to know that these beautiful, creative, and energetic gay and trans teens are living in even more tenuous conditions. Every time a tropical storm descends on Jamaica, I worry for their safety—they live where the water goes after the rains fall.

During my time in Kingston, I observed that there are three groups of sexually minoritized people most likely to experience overt discrimination: gay men, lesbian women, and trans women. Trans women, specifically, do not easily blend into Jamaica's normative society, for several different reasons. Immediately visible on encounter, they are singled out for verbal abuse and threats consistently. Gender-nonconforming lesbians, especially those that appear more masculine are also likely to experience a lot of verbal abuse. Corrective rape, a more hidden form of violence, is inflicted on lesbian

and bisexual women. However, most visible and best documented is homophobia and violence toward gay men. Epithets often heard referring to gay men include*: battyman*, *chi chi man*, and *fish*. For lesbians, the most common pejorative was *sodomite*. Derogatory terms for trans women frequently were the same as for gay men—the average Jamaican does not distinguish between gay and trans identity.

Normative Jamaicans use a high degree of visual scrutiny to search for evidence of gender nonconformity among the people with whom they interact or see in their daily activities. I became aware of this phenomenon during my very first visit to Jamaica in 2006. Unprompted, both women and men felt the need to explain to me that because I came from *farin* (foreign), I needed to understand how to identify gay men. This was often happening within the interview context when I was helping to collect baseline data for the USAID project, which seemed highly unusual to me. At the time, I was told that gay men could be identified by having both ears pierced, wearing tight pants, and perhaps bleaching of the face. These identifiers are no longer strictly relevant to gay men, in part because they have been adopted as fashion attributes more widely outside the gay male population, thanks in part to the vastly popular dancehall artist Vybz Kartel, known for his unconventional style and his criminal record (he is now in prison for murder). More durable methods of identifying gay men, involve spotting men behaving in effeminate or flamboyant ways.

Overall, normative Jamaicans are cued into very subtle aspects of gender presentation and performance that Americans, for example, would not ordinarily see. Carrying any one of these characteristics is cause for further scrutiny in the eyes of the average Jamaican. Now it should be noted that there is a rather tight feedback loop

between fashion trends among LGBTQ folk and those trends becoming identifiable by normative Jamaicans, not unlike a cat-and-mouse game. This makes sense: sexually minoritized people need subtle ways of signaling one another in public without being detected. Once those trends are readily recognizable by mainstream folks, they necessarily need to change to fly under the radar. Bisexual women and men do escape some aspects of discrimination because they can engage in a kind of sexual "passing," leveraging a certain amount of sexual privilege to protect themselves. Normative Jamaicans do not distinguish bisexual men from gay men. Bisexual women are almost completely invisible to mainstream Jamaican society.

One instance in which I witnessed the identification process at work in a public setting was late in my fieldwork experience. I was close to wrapping up a meeting with QCJ in our usual spot, a popular jerk restaurant in New Kingston on a warm evening in late May. We liked to frequent this spot because we could usually find semi-private space and were not usually bothered. The restaurant has a labyrinthine configuration of mostly roofless outdoor rooms of different sizes. We found if we lowered our voices, we could discuss almost any topic we needed to, even those of a more explicitly sexual nature. The members would go their separate ways at the close of the meeting, but Angeline and Jalna and a couple of others would usually linger with me until my ride came for me, a protective gesture that always worried me just a bit. They were just as concerned for my safety as I was for theirs. We joked and talked as we stood in the darkness, headlights of parking cars occasionally flashing over us. As a man and woman leaving the restaurant passed us they looked at us, a bit longer than normal. The woman remarked to the man, "oh just a bunch ah *sodomite*, dem." The strangest

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thing to me was that her demeanor was not threatening. She was using the term as an identifier, and not in a hostile way. Shocked, I stared at my companions for their opinions, but they were not fazed. Jalna just shrugged, laughed and said quietly, "we are a bunch ah *sodomites*!" Her casual dismissal told me I should not be afraid, though I did feel much more vulnerable.

Anonymity vs. Visibility: What's Safer?

Regarding activists' strategies there is very clearly tension around the desire to protect safety, and how to operationalize the protection. Following the murders of J-FLAG co-founders Steve Harvey and Brian Williamson (both of whom were publicly out) over 12 years ago, activists went into hiding, albeit hiding in plain sight. This recent move to come out of hiding is a political claim on public space. It is a marked departure from the policy of secrecy which dominated when I first learned about the plight of LGBTQ people in Jamaica in 2006. The reality is that there is really one degree of separation between normative people and LGBTQ people: everyone knows at least one person who is gay, lesbian, bisexual, trans or queer. Maurice Tomlinson, a Jamaican and activist at AIDS Free World puts it this way: "visibility is liberty." What I have learned from Maurice and many other activists is that the glass closet is only as powerful as the consent given to remain inside it.

But, the freedom that comes with leaving the glass closet also makes activists vulnerable. They know that they are agreeing to be the vanguard to push Jamaica to be more inclusive by being out and working toward this change. Where once they were faceless voices critiquing the actions of the state and actors in public culture, these activists being out humanizes them. It gives the Jamaican public a potentially different way of viewing LGBTQ people not as enemies of the state, but as citizens working to

make the state work for more of its people. Further, this calculated risk forces the hand of accountability, should some unfortunate event take place, there is much more likely to be a domestic and foreign call to hold the Jamaican state responsible.

Despite this turn toward greater transparency in the activist community, the risk may outweigh the potential benefit. Several activists, including Maurice, have had to flee the island. Similarly, Javed Jaghai retracted his Supreme Court lawsuit after death threats not only toward himself, but his family.

Hegemony and the Glass Closet

The "glass closet" is a local, Jamaican LGBTQ expression to capture the invisible social forces segregating sexual minorities while at the same time rendering them highly visible and vulnerable. I first had contact with this term via activists. Jamaica's LGBTQ population is beginning to break out of the "glass closet" through organizing, public coming out of activists, and media campaigns calling for tolerance amid a climate of disapproval and violence toward sexual minorities. This step toward public acknowledgement of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer citizens is largely viewed as taboo and transgressive. Hypervisibility is a threat and tool used to reinforce the social boundaries of the glass closet.

Generally, any activism on the part of the sexual minority community is regarded as threatening, pushing an agenda, or aggressively flaunting nonnormative sexuality. Of course, this is itself a manifestation of homophobia. In conversations with straight conservatives, I have encountered such sentiment to be a launchpad for homophobic diatribes. In these conversations, it became clear to me that there are defined conceptual boundaries for Jamaican sexual norms. Sometimes, without realizing, I would use a word in these kinds of exchanges that would kick off a homophobic rant.

Through experiencing this phenomenon repeatedly, I began to discern the linguistic boundaries of the glass closet. I found one of the most incendiary terms, "human rights," to be particularly telling: normative Jamaicans dislike the idea that sexual minorities should be entitled to the same consideration regarding the law and civil society as they themselves. But, instead of perceiving equal consideration before the law, persons of this outlook interpret human rights as "special rights." As expected, this situates LGBTQ individuals in a very precarious position socially. Any measures taken to bring awareness to the effects of homophobia are potentially "outing" oneself, allying oneself with highly unpopular views, and making oneself highly vulnerable to verbal abuse, if not worse.

It became evident to me that the daily struggle for survival by sexually minoritized people in a homophobic society requires a complex linguistic calculus geared around the balance of self-preservation and identity politics. This is of course, in addition to a myriad of other maneuvers performed in everyday life: logistical, geographic, class, race, legal, safety and so on. It requires a deftness to keep different aspects of life compartmentalized, and if the boundaries among the compartments are breached, can have quite dire consequences. It is life lived on the razor's edge.

The reverberating theme in this writing is of the heretofore durability of the trope of the glass closet. In it, I explore the multifaceted ways in which it operates, is reinforced, and its weaknesses. Ultimately, it is my hope that these weaknesses will be exploited and used to dismantle the glass closet.

Like all aspects of culture, the glass closet is bound to change. Its boundaries are already altered via the efforts of the activists with whom I have liaised. But, where

boundaries are challenged in a hegemonic setting, pushback is inevitable. This is the historical moment in which we find ourselves, one in which conflict over the future role of sexual minorities is taking place. There are many who wish to turn back the clock to a time they imagine was less permissive of nonnormative sexuality. However, as I discuss later, the glass closet phenomenon has only come into existence rather recently. Several examples show that even forty years ago, sexual identity was more flexible and negotiated than it is now (Silvera 2006). Transnational cultural features, like television evangelists, helped to galvanize the social boundaries around the glass closet, at a time when rigid gender norms were harnessed to consolidate the power of a disparate majority. There are internal and external forces maintaining the bounds of the glass closet. Its door presently stands ajar because of the efforts of LGBTQ activists. That it is not slammed shut again remains the primary source of struggle for sexually minoritized folk.

Historically Negotiated Identities

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer identities have not always been the focus of such public scrutiny in Jamaica. Indeed, the scapegoating that is happening now has only been a project of the nation-state over the last 25 years. Before that, such focus on sexuality would have been an assault on the norms of social respectability.

The history of same-sex relationships in Jamaica is unclear. There do not seem to be localized terminologies for same-sex relationships in Jamaican history. What is more apparent, however, is that there was the possibility for negotiated identities. Recalling her grandmother's memories, Jamaican-Canadian novelist Makeda Silvera (2008) explains that before 1962 (Jamaican independence) in Jamaican villages, people always knew women and men who were *that way*, because they had same-sex

relationships. The norms of polite society demanded that neighbors did not pry overly much into others' private lives. And, since small town life also requires a higher degree of community interdependence, and you might not know when you need to call in a favor from a neighbor, it would be short-sighted to publicly embarrass them. Thus, Silvera notes several instances where specifically women had same-sex relationships, even while married to men, and folks in town might whisper a bit, but nothing further.

Affective Politics: Perpetual Grieving and Fictive Kin

The politics of exclusion cut LGBTQ individuals from their birth families, from friendships, and other sources of support. For this reason, fictive kin, or "the family we choose," become even more important. Cross-generational connections within the community stand in for lost familial relations. Community elders (not that there are many) convey wisdom, much the same way parents or grandparents do. These vital support networks buoy the community, so when elders die, their loss is acutely felt. When Steve Harvey and Brian Williamson were murdered, so much pain was left in the aftermath for LGBTQ Jamaicans. Not only were Harvey's and Williamson's murders sensationalized, and the sexual minority community vilified, but community elders, leaders who are still thought of as parents to the movement, were lost. The loss of their knowledge, their momentum, and courage was a setback for Jamaican LGBTQ activism. Even more than a decade later, Harvey and Williamson are still mourned and honored by the community. Each year, on their birthdays, they are remembered with events in their names, and candles lit in their memories.

Observing the reverence with which these martyred activists are commemorated made evident to me the long-lasting effects violence, and threats of it have upon queered communities. Violence not only attenuates participation in activism, but it also

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is palpable as a collective burden. In moments, this burden is unbearable. When I would ask my interlocutors about their experiences with violence, their body language would change: they would crumple. They often expressed feelings of being trapped on an island where the average Jamaican wanted to hurt or kill them. For most, escaping to exile would be unattainable. They grieved for themselves even as they worked to make Jamaica safer—something they did not expect to see within their own lifetimes.

Finally, survivorship, and the guilt it often accumulates, too are perpetually present in LGBTQ activism. Among some of the first generation of activists, the co-founders of J-FLAG, like Mark Clifford, I encountered feelings of guilt in having survived to a see a new generation of LGBTQ activists. In some ways, Mark seemed wistful for the boldness of the very earliest days of the movement. But, when I asked him about Harvey and Williamson, I he indicated that what happened to them could have happened to himself. He regretted the ways in which he, and other gay Jamaicans, had been forced into hiding out of self-preservation. He also expressed concern for the new trend toward greater visibility that activists like Maurice Tomlinson were taking. At the same time, he still seemed hopeful. In speaking with Mark, I concluded that the other burden of survivorship is the obligation to carry forward the light of those who have been lost, and to keep working to make Jamaica safer for its vulnerable LGBTQ citizens.

Structure of the Study

In each of the analysis chapters of this writing, I have identified outcomes of homophobia. These problems are tied to many different aspects of Jamaican social life. And, while these problems affect LGBTQ people most acutely, they underscore issues affecting other vulnerable segments of the population, as well.

Chapter 2 addresses the role intersectionality and marginalization play in creating multiple modes via which LGBTQ identities are marginalized. Overlapping categories reveal the concomitant effects of racial categorization, gender norms, and governmentality as they converge with varying degrees of peripheralization for sexual minorities. These multiple layers of vulnerability, I argue, result in a hyper-marginalization for sexual minorities.

I detail the role financial hurdles play in creating social vulnerability, as well as the implications of resource scarcity in Chapter 3. Competition over resources perceived to be scarce has resulted in infighting, effectively preventing intergroup collaboration and over the longer term, preventing the creation of a coalition able to unite resources and people to effect social change.

In Chapter 4 I describe the ways in which the state participates in the ongoing peripheralization of LGBTQ people via retention of antiquated law, and other institutionalized ways of marginalizing sexual minorities. Despite government officials' insistence that the state has no stake in perpetuating the mistreatment of sexual minorities and violence against them, there is substantial evidence to the contrary.

Chapter 5 highlights the specter of violence as it looms over the whole of Jamaican society. Its effects are long ranging. Violence impacts communities in multiple ways: inflicting trauma and loss, depriving community of leadership, forcing exile and leaving further gaps. For LGBTQ Jamaicans, these effects of trauma have an even deeper effect, given the small population size and being targets of particular kinds of violence.

Chapter 6 measures social exclusion and its effects. What I have found is that the very little social space in civil society means that substantial changes in public culture will have to take place for the social stigma against LGBTQ folks to lessen and for them to be conceptually included as citizens. These may prove to be the most difficult aspects of social change to tackle, and are expected to take the longest to achieve.

By connecting with the ideological origins of homophobia in Jamaica, I have been able to define the cultural logics that underwrite its existence. Through tracing how homophobia is operationalized as a tool for constituency-building, I have identified an incentive for its perpetuation. This approach is an application of a political-economic analysis to homophobia. I was inspired to utilize this approach by the work of Faye Harrison, who has used political-economic analysis in her work on social movements and race (1997, 1997a, 2005, 2008). What is most useful about this approach is that the social conditions that sustain deleterious aspects of social hierarchies are made visible. Moreover, the durable aspects that reinforce the oppression of homophobia can be analyzed in such a way that they can be compared in other contexts in global perspective—providing useful data for researchers and activists working to combat politically-reinforced homophobia in those locations.

The Big Shift: Building Constituencies where Consensus is Not

After independence, and with the Jamaican economy entering a period of fluctuation, eventually requiring outside intervention via the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, major social shifts begin to take place. Beginning in the late 1970s and through the 1980s, Jamaica faced a dramatic middle-class exodus from the island. Typically, the middle class socially and economically stabilizes a society. But

in the near-absence of the middle class, Jamaica's two-party parliamentary democracy struggled to create functional constituencies out of those who remained: the elites, and the very poor.

Ordinarily, these groups have little in common regarding economy and politics. A shorthand way to forge a commonality among such disparate interests is via scapegoating of a common enemy. History is rife with these examples: antisemitism in Germany in the 1920's (Brackman 2000), or anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe following the 2008 global recession (Henkel 2012). Creating an Othered population on which to blame social ills then works to build consensus and to create cohesion where otherwise there could not be any. When I presented this thesis to my activist research consultants, they agreed with my assessment, although this is not a commonly circulating idea among them.

In Jamaica, this Othered population is, of course, sexually minoritized people. Hatred against them builds throughout the late 1980s and 1990s. In the early 2000s, it explodes—which the 2004 Human Rights Watch report *Hated to Death* captures. Thereafter, Jamaican national identity is reshaped through the state and public culture, in opposition to a homosexual Other, in several distinct and overt ways. It soon becomes very clear that being a sexual minority and Jamaican national identity are now fundamentally at odds with one another. Through an analysis of political economy and public culture, this research identifies the roots of Jamaican homophobia and the strategies used by local activists to dismantle it.

Tracing the complex of beliefs and behaviors underwriting Jamaican homophobia, as well as its practices, through the collision of hierarchies of race, class,

economy, gender, sexuality, and the state, this research aims to inform this and other

contexts in which scapegoating a segment of the population on the basis of sexual

orientation is utilized to create consensus within the polity. Not the least of these is to

solidify a common basis for political constituency among the very poor and the elite—

who under any other circumstances, would have interests so divergent so as to be

unable to relate to one another. My work seeks to identify the multiple layers of

discrimination meant to segregate LGBTQ individuals from the whole of Jamaican

society—but also the work and lives of the activists working to dismantle it.

CHAPTER 2
METHODS AND THEORY TO UNPACK THE CULTURAL LOGIC OF PUBLIC AND
STATE WORLDVIEWS

Life in the Field

Accessing and researching and a sexually stigmatized community hiding in plain sight requires a deft understanding of the cultural logics and tactics of reinforcing the glass closet. As such, I as the researcher needed to be able to move between disparate groups and demonstrate knowledge and sensitivity for the challenges they face daily. I quickly developed a mindfulness of the pervasive feeling of vulnerability resulting from perpetual vigilance.

I accomplished this by honing my praxis through my theoretical lens. It was logical to rely on queer theory to unpack complexities of sexuality and gender, while still attending to other embodied aspects of identity such as race and social class to make my analysis. Situating myself in queer reflexive discourse allowed me to connect with Jamaica's burgeoning movement for LGBTQ inclusion in ways both meaningful and personal.

It was also important for me as a researcher to understand how both local and global aspects of nonnormative sexual identity intersect in Jamaica. Attitudes among normative Jamaicans often frame homosexuality and human rights as a foreign infiltration, an unwanted consequence of globalization. Conversely, among Jamaican LGBTQ activists, there is a trend to acknowledge historical evidence of same-sex expressions within the region.

Postcolonial Sexualities

The first portion of this chapter is concerned with theoretical approaches to postcolonial sexualities. Like the reactions of transnational versus local interpretations

of Jamaican LGBTQ sexual expression mentioned later, analysts of postcolonial same-sex sexualities in the postcolonial global South diverge around the effects of globalization on local and transnational sexual identity (Babb 2003). Some place greater emphasis on local, indigenous identities. Others emphasize transnational, Westernized, sexual identities. Drawing on both perspectives, I situate myself in a hybridized approach, which I detail below.

Sexual difference is more fraught in postcolonial contexts than in the Global North. Competing discourses of sexuality and sex norms emerge out of the crucibles of these complex milieus. Although these discourses identified below have a historical origin, their potency has not diminished over time. If anything, the durability of tropes of sexual difference have increased and prolonged the vulnerability of sexual minorities.

A core orientation of this research is a human rights approach to LGBTQ Jamaicans' plight. As such, I advocate queering human rights concepts, which requires reinterpreting seminal human rights theories beyond the scope the original theorists intended. This demonstrates the inclusivity and flexibility of queer theory to remain rooted in in these perspectives while applying them to new contexts of marginalization. Similarly, I adapt Bourdieu's (1993) concept of habitus to maintaining norms of sexual difference in the following section.

Local, Indigenous Sexual Identities

The analysts on this side of the debate acknowledge the importance of indigenous sexual identities. While they are cognizant of the intrusion globalization represents, they resist this intrusion in favor of older, localized expressions of same-sex sexuality. These localized contexts, then, are the primary stage upon which such identities are enacted.

In Gloria Wekker's work, the convergence of same-sex sexuality among Afro-descendants is showcased. She investigates Afro-Surinamese same-sex sexuality among women, emphasizes the role of "*mati* work," a flexible relationship that is particularly Surinamese (2006). It is therefore "traditional," it stands in resistance to globalizing trends that might elide the specificities of the *mati* relationship between women as a variation of a lesbian relationship (2006:225). Indeed, Wekker seeks to register her opposition to the hegemony of globalization. She writes: "I want to mark my resistance to this "master" model of globalization, which is deeply embedded in the various binaries that modernity has spawned" (Wekker 2006:224). While she does not intend to propose a model to understand "sexual globalization," Wekker instead seeks the essential components of such a model (2006:224). Wekker's resistance to globalization is, in part, due to the association of globalizing trends with the colonial power of the Netherlands. Indeed, there is debate and disbelief in Dutch discourse that same-sex *mati* relationships persist. *Mati* relationships endure the influx of globalized lesbian identities arriving in Suriname via the Netherlands.

In his introduction to *Tropics of Desire*, Jose Quiroga points out: "the specificity of a "gay identity" has been rejected by writers and artists in Latino America" (2000:16). Such a distinction also Others same-sex sexualities, Quiroga acknowledges (2000). It is possible, Quiroga observes, to live an approximation of an "out" gay lifestyle in many of the bustling urban centers in Latin America, sites that themselves attempt to replicate Europe or America (2000). This does not necessarily extend out to Latin American same-sex sexual identities, however, and Quiroga cautions: "we must not essentialize identity; rather we should privilege the network of relationships that will allow subjects to

construct an identity" (2000:17). Thus, Quiroga favors a particularly Latin American sensibility in understanding same-sex sexual identities.

Transnational Sexual Identities

Several theorists seek to privilege transnational, Western same-sex sexual identities. They acknowledge the homogenizing capacity of the almost-irresistible novelty of these emergent transnational same-sex sexualities. These theorists admit the possibility that indigenous conceptions of same-sex sexuality may become casualties in this trend toward sexual globalization.

Dennis Altman (2001) acknowledges such a possibility. He notes: "new sexual identities mean a loss of certain traditional cultural comforts while offering new possibilities to those who adopt them, and activists in non-Western countries will consciously draw on both traditions" (2001:95). In Altman's understanding, the old must give way to the new. Additionally, the loss of traditional sexual sensibilities is, to Altman, a primary motivator for activists to consciously and strategically deploy traditional sexual identities in political ways.

Povinelli and Chauncy identify a "transnational turn" in sexuality studies (1999). The focus of this turn, they argue, is that sexuality should learn from globalization (Povinelli and Chauncy 1999). But, they also suggest that globalization studies can learn from sexuality studies, too—especially when it comes to problems of scale (Povinelli and Chauncy 1999). The issue of scale for Povinelli and Chauncy is that the impersonal meta-level of flows and transnational interaction have little connection to "current cultural forms and subjective interiorities" (Povinelli and Chauncy 1999:445). Povinelli and Chauncy's intervention on the intersection of sexuality and globalization is

therefore not wholehearted: they have identified a gap. This gap is addressed particularly well by the work of anthropologists discussed below.

Bridging the Sexuality Gap: Simultaneously Local and Global

A few analysts seek to bridge the divide between indigenous and transnational, globalized conceptions of same-sex sexuality. Resistant to the loss of indigenous same-sex sexual identities, they assert the agency of their interlocutors. Rather than an all-or-nothing proposition, these analysts offer the potential for postcolonial same-sex sexual identities to choose how and how much their identities are globalized.

Florence Babb's (2003) interrogation of local and transnational sexual identities has guided me through this survey of the literature on the subject. Babb's research in Managua is, in part, a critique of the globalizing, homogenizing tendency eroding localized expressions of same-sex sexual identities. At the same time, she acknowledges the neoliberal trend that opened a conceptual and political space in Nicaragua following the end of the Sandinista government, making globalized gay and lesbian identities more accessible. This political shift created "needed opportunities to expand sexual expression and sexual rights…" even as this shift has "benefited some far more than others as sexual subjects and citizens…" (2003:319). Babb calls attention to one glaring gap produced by this shift: the differential between Nicaraguan gay men and lesbians (2003). She urges future work in this area of scholarship to attend to the differences in access, participation, and experiences in wider society of gays and lesbians (Babb 2003). The gender component is not dissolved simply by same-sex sexual identity, Babb contends, as society at large holds different norms for same-sex loving women and men.

Tom Boellstorff (2005) makes a clear linguistic distinction that the Indonesian terms *gay* and *lesbi* should not be confused with the English terms gay and lesbian. Boellstorff argues that *gay* and *lesbi* are strictly Indonesian sensibilities and identities (2005). The effects of globalization, Boellstorff contends, can be understood through the metaphor "dubbing culture," a term he defines as "surfing the boundary between emic and etic…." wherein "two elements are held in productive tension without the expectation that they will resolve into one…" (2005:5). This term also conjures up a concept borrowed from Diasporic cultural expressions: dubbing and sampling techniques in music like hip-hop and Jamaican Dancehall. In this case, the two elements are, of course, globalized sexual identities and Indonesian sexual identities. The tension, then, is the resistance that *gay* and *lesbi* Indonesians maintain to preserve their own indigenous understanding and roles that these same-sex sexualities play in Indonesian culture.

Martin Manalansan (2003) is one who has taken seriously the gap earlier described by Povinelli and Chauncy (1999). Manalansan's goal for his work in *Global Divas* is to present "an ethnographic case study of how processes of globalization and transnationalism are negotiated through the processes of identity formation and everyday life of Filipino gay immigrants in New York City" (2003:9). Thus, transnational gay Filipino lives do not replicate "generic "McDonaldized" lives": instead, Manalansan shows his research consultants as agents moving between the complexities of lives that are "at once global and local "(2003:9).

Richard Parker locates his work at the intersection of local and global (1999). His goal is to interpret "local meanings through which Brazilian homosexualities are lived

and experienced and the global processes that increasingly impinge on local contexts and meanings" (1999:3). Despite the action of these global processes, Parker demonstrates that they are not totalizing—far from it. Instead, there exists a spectrum of multiple same-sex sexual identities (Parker 1999).

Jasbir Puar resists the reduction of the "imported versus indigenous binary" with regard to the collision of transnational identities with localized ones (2001:1061). Puar reveals that the homogenizing tendencies of globalized sexual identities necessitated her desire for "a "queerer than queer" counternarrative" (2001:1061). She goes on to explain that she applies the terms "gay" and "lesbian" to her Trinidadian subjects reluctantly, whilst reserving "queer" to refer to herself (Puar 2001). She does not apply "queer" to Trinidadians because it is not a term present in discourse there (Puar 2001). Like Puar, I initially resisted applying the "queer" label to my research consultants until I met Georgia and Afifa who proudly identified not only themselves as queer, but their arts collaborative, as well.

Lisa Rofel observes the emergence of large numbers of large numbers of young gay Chinese struggling with nonnormative identity (1999). This emergence signals to Rofel that globalized "transcultural" processes are at work (1999). One shift Rofel identifies is political: young gay Chinese are coming out and aligning themselves with a globalized gay identity, in contrast to an older generation of individuals who do not identify as gay, but engage in same-sex sexuality. This political shift is possible, Rofel argues, because "socialism had been dismantled" making space for transnational sexual identities (1999:451). Rofel's interviews with inter-generational groups of research consultants elucidate this generational gap around same-sex sexual identity.

While younger gay interviewees discussed coming out and increased political participation, older participants identified with filial obligations to parents, explaining coming out as unnecessary (Rofel 1999). Rofel demonstrates that traditional notions of family, the fundamental unit of Chinese society, are at odds with new transcultural expressions of gay identity—highly Western and individually oriented.

Mark Padilla situates gay Dominican culture as quite integrated into transnational gay identity, and he points out that the larger Dominican society is very transnational in orientation, as well (2007). According to Padilla,

> the globalization of *gay* as it unfolds in the Dominican Republic should not be understood as a process that leads to the inevitable erasure of traditional identities and practices, but as one that incorporates, reworks, and commodifies particular constructions of sexuality vis-à-vis global capitalism (2007:103).

Padilla's focus on tourism and HIV/AIDS calls attention to indigenous categories of same-sex sexuality in the Dominican Republic. Like Babb, Padilla explains that men who engage in same-sex intercourse as the active partner are not automatically considered gay, and often also engage in intercourse with women. Thus, the "theoretical separation of "homosexual" and "heterosexual" spheres…" is not an entirely useful distinction to make in this context (Padilla 2007:214).

Richard Parker locates his work at the intersection of local and global (1999). His goal is to interpret "local meanings through which Brazilian homosexualities are lived and experienced and the global processes that increasingly impinge on local contexts and meanings" (1999:3). Despite the action of these global processes, Parker demonstrates that they are not totalizing—far from it. Instead, there exists a spectrum of multiple same-sex sexual identities (Parker 1999).

Framing Sexual Difference in Context: Queer Theory

Sexual difference exists in a matrix of heteronormativity which casts any deviation from heterosexuality as aberrant. Michel Foucault's first volume of *The History of Sexuality* is a seminal treatise reinterpreting Victorian conceptual shifts toward establishing Western sexual norms regulating sexual practices and identity (1990). This is particularly helpful in understanding the theoretical origins of Victorian codification of sex norms into law. In the Anglophone Caribbean, many of these laws, such as those prohibiting sodomy, have been preserved, which continues to marginalize gay men. Foucault also discusses the Victorian treatment of homosexuality as an aberration (1990). Since Foucault is also concerned with discursive flows, he proposes that the discourse structuring homosexuality as unnatural contains within it the possibility of a counternarrative that upholds homosexuality as part of a natural spectrum of sexual behavior (1990).

Victorian sexual norms that Foucault identifies as central to discourse of abnormal sexuality are alive and well in Jamaica. Rebecca Schleifer, author of the groundbreaking Human Rights Watch Report *Hated to Death* notes that Jamaica's laws against same-sex sex, the "Offences against the Person Act" was codified during the British Victorian era, and remains on the books to this day, virtually unchanged (2004). It criminalizes male homosexual sex, even that which is consensual between adults. The Offences against the Person Act also minoritizes homosexuals, it is the primary justification for continued legal and social discrimination against them. There are two charges that may be applied to men caught in the act by police. The felony charge is "buggery," which, Schleifer attests, can consist of anal sex between a man and woman, or two men, or a man and an animal and is punishable by imprisonment and hard labor

for up to ten years (2004). Schleifer points out that the lesser charge; "Gross indecency"

is a misdemeanor that involves any sex act between men that does not include anal sex

(2004). According to Schleifer, these charges can be applied in either public or private

locations (2004). These laws do not address lesbians, however. While not criminalized,

lesbians face discrimination, albeit usually less than gay men typically experience.

Schleifer also notes "Jamaican law provides broad latitude for police to detain

individuals on ill-defined charges including *suspicion* of buggery or gross indecency"

(2004: 22) [emphasis mine]. Further, police are not required to present a warrant to

arrest individuals caught loitering between the hours of 7 PM and 6 AM, if the arresting

officer has "good cause" to believe that a crime is about to be committed (Schleifer

2004: 22). Additionally, Schleifer reveals that believable accounts from citizens can also

be employed to make arrests without warrants (2004).

Convictions on buggery charges are rare, Schleifer observes. As one of

Schleifer's interviewees notes, "the damage is in the charge," and is made in public

court (2004: 23). Thus, there is much fear for gay men to be outed in this way.

Newspapers also publish these public records, Schleifer points out, including the names

of the men charged, which humiliates and is potentially dangerous for them.

Jamaica's laws prohibiting same-sex sex are of Victorian British origin. However,

Schleifer stresses that in 2000, the UK and its territories abolished these laws when it

became signatory to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

(2004). According to Schleifer, this law did not apply to the Commonwealth, and

Jamaica did not alter its prohibition on same-sex sex.

Law is a site of conflict for gay rights. White and Gerke claim that Jamaica refuses to "legalize homosexuality," and the retention of laws that criminalize same-sex sex justifies discrimination (and worse) by the state (2004: 156). Further negative public sentiment often stems from an understanding, or more to the point, misunderstanding of Jamaica's law. Rescinding the "Offences against the Person Act," however, only addresses part of the problem. Certainly, this action will be necessary to the rights struggle. But given the pressure put on Jamaica's government by international human rights organizations as well as human rights bodies, legal reform remains a fraught, if potentially productive part of social change toward a more inclusive Jamaica for its lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex citizens.

It should be noted that Jamaica is but one of at least 76 countries worldwide that criminalize same-sex intercourse and partnerships (Colin, et al 2016). Some countries carry harsher penalties: Belize and Trinidad, for example, ban sexual minorities from even entering their respective borders (Tomlinson 2017). Six Caribbean countries— Antigua and Barbuda; Barbados; Belize; Dominica; Grenada; and Guyana—carry a penalty of ten years or more for a conviction of same-sex activity between men (Tomlinson 2017). This places Jamaica among this category of criminalization. So, it could be considered that anti-gay sentiment is maintained, at least in part, as a Caribbean cultural value. Those societies feeling the most pressure from other globalizing forces in the region often cite this explanation as justification for further persecution of sexual minorities. The struggle of LGBTQ activists is situated amid a culture war or a moral panic, a dangerous place, indeed.

Following Foucault, in *The Epistemology of the Closet*, Eve Sedgewick approaches social constructions of homosexuality in both historical and discursive perspectives (2008). Like Foucault, Sedgewick identifies the latter part of the 19th century as the origin of the concept of homosexuality, which she asserts is put into use before heterosexuality becomes commonly used (2008). Added to this are experiential components which greatly enhance these explanations beyond the theoretical realm. One of her most useful interventions is her discussion of "closetedness" as performance of "many silences" (2008:3). This phenomenon is common among my research consultants where elisions about nonnormative sexual identity are frequently made to aid in hiding LGBTQ identity. Encompassing and expanding Butler's (1990) discussion of the performativity of gender, Sedgewick (2008) argues that concealing one's homosexuality is as much a performance as expressing it. Indeed, in conversations with my interlocutors about hiding their same-sex romantic lives from family members, friends, and workmates, remaining closeted requires an extensive amount of mental labor, and a constant worry about presenting (feigned) hetero-authenticity—clear evidence of the challenges of the performance of the closet to which Sedgewick (2008) alludes.

Junxi Qian, studying gay men in China, a context like Jamaica in which sexual minorities are stigmatized writes "homosexual identity is imbricated in discourses of heterosexuality, it seems not surprising to discover that public sex culture has been constrained and constituted, across different places and social contexts, by the regulatory power of normal/normative heterosexuality" (2014). As in Jamaica, homosexuality and gender nonconformity are simultaneously taboo and highly visible as

subverting expected social norms, and these can be thought about as essential characteristics of the glass closet, the regulatory power of heteronormativity to constrain LGBTQ identities.

Queering Human Rights Discourse

Kathleen Jones (2015) reinterprets Hannah Arendt's concepts of "conscious pariah" (1951:67) and "the right to have rights" (1951:297) through a queer lens in her analysis of a Minneapolis-based Jewish lesbian women's group inspired by Arendt's writings. Jones admits that this is, at first blush, counterintuitive, given Arendt's personal aversion to politics of gender and sexuality (Jones 2015). However, Jones goes on to demonstrate how the Hannah Arendt Lesbian Peace Patrol (HALPP) came to organize under an Arendtian conceptual umbrella (2015). HALPP sought to organize itself around Arendt's "conscious pariah" because of its emphasis on the responsibility of minoritized people to become aware of their oppression and to work against it: essentially a call to action Jones (2015). This stance transforms minoritized people into political actors, imbuing them with greater agency (Jones 2015). The potential consequences for taking such a stance, Jones explains, can be quite high but must embraced by the conscious pariah, including exclusion and exile (2015).

My research consultants may not be familiar with Arendtian theory of rights; however, they have very much operationalized these same concepts. The activists with whom I work have taken up the mantle of "conscious pariah" in an applied manner, particularly with regard to conscious resistance and acceptance of political consequences in the struggle for state and public recognition of their human rights. And, although Arendt herself might have been uncomfortable with queer, minoritized people

situating themselves in her conception of rights, I think she would agree that this is an apropos use of her ideas.

Beyond the Law: Sexuality and the State

The relationship of the state to reproduction is naturalized, and the heterosexuality/reproduction dyad is presumed the foundation for the state. Because this relationship has been naturalized for centuries, its processes of exclusion are nearly invisible. It is therefore necessary to make visible these often-overlooked, naturalized practices to understand why homosexuality is such a threat to the national identity of the state.

Tom Boellstorff argues that in the Indonesian context, the Otherness of *gay* and *lesbi* Indonesians implies failure of the nation (2005: 195). Indonesian gays and lesbians, Boellstorff contends, do not "come out," and often express obligations to marry heterosexually. Boellstorff, like Alexander, observes that "nonnormative sexualities and genders" come to represent "threats to national authenticity" (2005: 214). Thus, difference is constitutive and threatening to the nation simultaneously.

In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler (1990) maintains that cultural and ideological process of naturalization of the binary of gender, excluding other sexual possibilities as outside nature. Butler gives a good example of this when she discussed how homosexuality becomes considered "polluting" (1990: 168). Sexual identity, therefore, is reduced solely to sexual acts, ones that are prone to contamination.

David Evans focuses on the interaction of the state and the market and their effects upon sexualities, particularly nonnormative ones. Evans writes: "The full weight of civil, political and social rights machineries is employed to define degrees of citizenship or, to be more precise, the non-citizenship of those manifestly outwith the

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absolute reified standards of the moral community" (1993: 6). Different classifications or qualities of citizenship is disruptive to social cohesion, according to Evans. These ruptures serve to further segregate citizens and non-citizens. This is precisely the social mechanism at work in Jamaica, with very similar outcomes.

Ken Plummer's (2003) discussion of dichotomous "intimate conflicts," particularly concerning moral conflicts contested identity is central to his concept of "intimate citizenship." He contends: "the pro-gays and the anti-gays exist symbiotically, helping to fashion each other's debates" (Plummer 2003: 37). Thus, struggle is inherent to identity formation. Plummer envisions such conflict in a U.S. context, one that has more discursive space in which these debates take place. In the Jamaican context, however, public discursive space is far more constricted.

David Bell and Jon Binnie maintain that "poverty not only promotes homophobia; it also denies the 'enabling resources' of sexual citizenship…" (2000: 85). Guillermo O'Donnell, et al (2004) corroborate this finding among Brazilian favela residents in their discussion of compromised citizenship and access to democratic apparatuses. This also accurately captures current social conditions in Jamaica. Poverty, then, is another powerful factor in the maintenance of Jamaican heteronationalism.

Crises of the state create opportunities to consolidate state power. Moral panic, originally theorized in the 1970s by Stanley Cohen (1972) and Stuart Hall, et al (1978), has its roots in sociology of crime. Cohen (1972) maintains that consolidation of power is dependent upon the vilification of "folk devils," similar to Arendt's (1951) concept of the "pariah." Stuart Hall, et al. (1978) describe folk devils as emerging under social duress and "becom[ing] the bearers of all our social anxieties, but we can turn against

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him the full wrath of our indignation" (Hall, et al. 1978:161). In Jamaica, of course, the folk devils are sexual minorities, and their continued persecution marks an essentially permanent kind of moral panic. Jack Young, departing a bit from Cohen, suggests the concept of protracted, permanent moral panics (2010). While he fails to connect this concept to the consolidation of state power, the implications of permanent moral panic certainly denote pariah status.

Gilbert Herdt has dedicated an edited volume to sex and moral panics, with an eye toward their effects for minoritized people, including queer folk (2009). Herdt contends that such panics are inherently destructive to communities, and likens them to natural disasters (2009). Some of the most destructive effects, however, are those that compromise citizenship (Herdt 2009). Cultural anger accompanies these panics, and media representations fuel fiery moral condemnation (Herdt 2009). Panics themselves generate "state and nonstate stigma, ostracism and social exclusion" (Herdt 2009:3). The outcomes of social discipline, however, may be of the greatest concern: "sexual panics may generate the creation of monstrous enemies—sexual scapegoats. This "othering" dehumanizes and strips individuals and whole communities of sexual and reproductive rights, exposing fault lines of structural violence (e.g., racism, poverty, homophobia, etc.)" (Herdt 2009:3).

Janice Irvine is also included in Herdt's edited volume, and she, too, highlights the practices of scapegoating in her discussion of affect's role in sex panics (2009). In her estimation, the normative population seeks to stigmatize the sex practices of the scapegoated population, dredging up feelings of contagion, threat, and revulsion (2009). As the panic progresses, it becomes more socially acceptable to publicly decry very

specific kinds of practices, such as sex acts (Irvine 2009). Thus, it becomes appropriate for conservative preachers to describe in detail, for example, the moral depravity of those practices which define sexual otherness (Irvine 2009). While I am familiar televangelists' labeling nonnormative sexuality "abomination," I was mentally unprepared, for how far this phenomenon had progressed in Jamaica in my absence. On a Sunday, only a few days after my arrival in Kingston to begin fieldwork, I tuned into a program hosted by Dr. Wayne West. He explicitly described certain practices of anal sex in painful detail on a program aired afternoon when anyone, including children could be exposed to such raunchy descriptions. These were clearly intended to disgust and horrify audiences, galvanizing them against the evils of homosexual sex. Thus, the role of affect in fueling moral/sex panics must not be discounted, according to Irvine.

Sexual Habitus

The combined effect of Jamaican mediascapes and ideoscapes on shaping individual and societal constructions of lesbians, gays and all-sexuals is a social field that takes heteronormativity as its ground. Thus, I draw upon Bourdieu's notion of habitus (1993) to understand how this social field is constructed and maintained. Habitus is reinforced in the social field, according to Bourdieu, through two means: a "craft," the practices and social infrastructure and (1993: 72) "beliefs," the ideologies underpinning them (1993: 72). Thus, the ideologies and practices reinforcing the construct of the glass closet I mentioned earlier operate by precisely the means that maintain Bourdieu's notion of habitus. Within the social field of heteronormativity in Jamaica, the glass closet is a way to limit full participation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered individuals.

During fieldwork, I sought to highlight the lived experiences of sexual minorities coping with the restrictions imposed by the social norms of the glass closet. At the same time, it was important to my project to chronicle the burgeoning social movement working to combat the institutionalized forms of discrimination and violence perpetuating the most damaging practices of the glass closet. It was imperative for me to understand the activists who participated in my research as individuals, and on deeper personal levels, as the nature of the study is simultaneously personal and political.

Methodological Framework

In this latter portion of this Chapter 2, I detail the methods I used during fieldwork. I begin with the theoretical underpinnings of my approach. These include engaging both professional and personal lives of research consultants as well as the value of the extended case study method. Then, I go on to explain the specifics of my data collection methods and sampling techniques.

Approaching Lived Realities: Personal Lives

To access the lived realities of those enduring the strictures of the glass closet, I needed to know my research consultants in their personal lives as well as via their activism. "Personal life," as framed by sociologist Carol Smart, "map[s] out overlapping core concepts with which it should be possible to frame more subtle research questions in order that feelings emotions memories, biographies and connections do not remain afterthoughts but can be built into original research questions" (2007:5). It became important to me to engage finer-grained understandings of LGBTQ life in Jamaica that go beyond merely medicalizing the population to explicate deeper questions of the experiential aspects of queer Jamaican life. In studies emphasizing lived aspects of queer lives, such as Antu Sorainen's work among lesbians in Helsinki, this goal can be

explained as a method to "aerate links between queer lives, care, and kinship …

recogniz[ing] not only the importance of cultural and personal memory, but also of

generation" (2015:32).

Because life beyond activism is important, I made sure to attend to fluctuations in

the personal lives of my research consultants. I listened to their hopes, fears, and life

goals. I did my best to comfort the anguish of broken hearts, or the difficulties of

navigating a small romantic scene where nearly everyone in it has a high degree of

sexual history with one another. Naturally, this degree of interpersonal intimacy quickly

transforms such relationships, and research contacts became friends, as budding

rapport began to develop. Becoming immersed in the everyday lives of particularly

lesbian and bi-women helped me to deepen my understanding of the ways in which

they are multiply minoritized, and to recognize the profound effects of the rigid

sex/gender system has on the lives queer Jamaicans.

By becoming engaged in the lives of my interlocutors, I was compelled to

confront my own closeted sexual identity. I had to come out whilst in the field. In

acknowledging my subject position as a bi-woman (albeit a very privileged white North

American one), I felt the connection among the lives of my research consultants and

myself in a personal way. I also felt the weight of obligation to support their efforts in an

ethical and nuanced manner, and to spotlight some of the hidden processes that

heighten the vulnerability even within the LGBTQ community.

Thus, it was vital to me to become involved in the activism of my interlocutors. As

a participant observer among LGBTQ human rights activists, it followed that I should

become involved in organizing activities myself. Becoming an activist-researcher was

not entered into lightly, but instead is a core methodological orientation within this research project. It originates out of both ethical obligation and necessity: it seems only right that I should use my privilege as a white North American bi-woman researcher to support the efforts of sexually minoritized activists in a fraught Southern context. Gaining access to my target community involved failed starts with J-FLAG and NADA, although ultimately these failures proved to be learning experiences that offered the opportunity to explore the ongoing challenges of sexual identity-based activism in Jamaica.

Lisa Duggan identifies the evolution of queer movements as highly variable in her now-classic essay "Making It Perfectly Queer" (1992). While she uses queer as an umbrella term to refer to sexually minoritized people, she acknowledges that struggles for different segments within the population have been quite varied (Duggan 1992). Lesbians, for example, were peripheralized in the earliest part of the movement and continue to face very different challenges related to being both female and same-sex loving (Duggan 1992). This closely mirrors the lag in inclusion that Jamaican lesbians are currently experiencing. Intersections of race, and class, too, are highly relevant in structuring relations within the sexually minoritized population: they are, as Duggan shows, more likely to be relevant, with the sexuality component lagging behind (1992). This also closely echoes the ways in which privilege confers protection and status, even within the marginalized LGBTQ population in Jamaica. But, in advocating for queer as an inclusive term, Duggan does not question the elision of differences and struggle that can be subsumed within such an umbrella term.

Thus, the variability, high rates of attrition, and inter-group struggle I witnessed are common in growing LGBTQ social movements, according to Duggan. Important among the concerns I have identified earlier is the high level of inter-group competition. Moving between groups with often-prickly interactions with one another, I saw my role as an activist-researcher to be one to promote supportive, collaborative relationships among organizations. Toward this end, I was proud to help four LGBTQ groups: QCJ, PRIDE in Action, NADA, and SO((U))L HQ to collaboratively sponsor an event for IDAHOT and to remember the life of Brian Williamson. While a very successful collaboration, it was clear that this was not the norm for such a gathering. Further, the somewhat peripheralized status of these groups served to equalize relations among them. Had a more prominent group, such as J-FLAG been involved, it would have undoubtedly hijacked the spotlight from smaller, less established groups.

Moving among these groups required a balance of managing my outsider and partial insider roles as both researcher and activist. It was a crucial mission within this research project to get at the "multiple consciousness" of persecuted groups which Faye Harrison identifies as resultant from the "interpenetration of national, racial, sexual, or class oppressions" creating the vulnerability of minoritized populations (1997a:90). As an observing participant bearing some marked differences between myself and my research consultants, it was imperative that I spend much more time listening and contextualizing the identities, issues, and problems they face, which required taking in detailed litanies of complaints and slights, along with new ways in which queer youth were reinventing themselves, or sympathizing with fears and stresses not only related to being gay, but also financial vulnerabilities, as well.

Additionally, it was important to access allies and adversaries outside the LGBTQ community. This sometimes meant utilizing other aspects of my identity to gain access to these individuals and groups, and enduring perspectives with which I did not agree. But, this was a largely productive endeavor, because it led me to make unexpected connections I might not otherwise have made. For example, I attended Shaare Shalom Synagogue in Kingston during my fieldwork. As the only synagogue on the island, it was interesting to connect with a very different minority population from my target group of queer Jamaicans, although a minority in numbers only, as many congregants were affluent and prominent in Kingston society. To my surprise, I found many allies among them, including Dr. Karen Carpenter, a psychologist specializing in sexuality. Dr. Carpenter has a longstanding professional relationship with Laura Garcia, a trans woman and the founder of Aphrodite's Pride, and facilitated connecting us. But, I also encountered other congregants who were equally unsupportive. One older male congregant became verbally combative upon my mere mention of human rights. I endured his diatribe railing against human rights as Western imperialism the shortest amount of time I could manage before clumsily excusing myself. I did approach the rabbi (an ally) about the incident afterwards, which he found amusing, as he frequently disagreed with this man about many other social issues.

Extended Case Study Method

Following Gluckman and the Manchester School, Karen Sykes (2014) argues that the extended case study method is particularly applicable to postcolonial contexts. This method is very useful where people are joined together by conflict within a shared social system (Sykes 2014). Sykes is firm on the notion that in conflict, people use sound reasoning in their decision making; and this method renders visible both the

conflict and the reasoning people use in attempt to resolve it (2014). This encapsulates

a situational analysis, as it begins with conflict and moves toward resolution. With the

extended case study method, cross-scalar analysis of individual cases allows for

extrapolation to larger society. These latter two features (conflict as a starting point and

the extrapolation of individual cases to the societal level) are ostensibly the most

relevant to my research. The extended case study method is an appropriate framework

to utilize as it is relevant to postcolonial Jamaica, in a setting of conflict around the plight

of sexually nonnormative Jamaicans within a homophobic mainstream society.

Michael Burawoy (1998) makes a strong argument for utilizing the extended case

study method in postcolonial contexts. The strength of this method, he contends, is that

it "dig[s] beneath the political binaries of colonizer and colonized, white and Black,

metropolis and periphery, capital and labor, to discover multiple processes, interests

and identities" (Burawoy 1998:6). Thus, the extended case study method is apropos in

circumstances in which hierarchical vulnerability is at work. Furthermore, Burawoy

insists upon reflexivity in the application of the extended case study method (1998).

Burawoy feels that discursiveness and intersubjectivity necessarily follow from reflexivity

and are integral to the multiple and simultaneous interactions of "participant[s] and

observer, knowledge and social situation, situation and its field of location, folk theory

and academic theory" (1998:14). Rather than shy away from the notion that such

interactions are problematic, Burawoy views interventions in reflexive science as

virtuous, and necessary (1998).

This framework, with its emphasis on conflict in postcolonial contexts, has

permitted me to analyze the conflict present around nonnormative sexual identity amid

homophobia in Jamaica. I grapple with the reasoning motivating LGBTQ supporters as

well as that of their opponents. Following Gluckman, Burawoy and Sykes, I extrapolate

the cases consulted for this research to the wider activist community and normative

Jamaican society. The extended case study method is integral to this work by rendering

visible the multiple processes by which homophobia is motivated and operates.

Reflexivity, too, is woven throughout my analysis to acknowledge differences in identity,

knowledge, and experience. Finally, given my positionality as both researcher and

activist, an interventional approach is central to my methodology. I embrace Burawoy's

notion that an interventional approach is virtuous.

Queering Reflexivity and the Interventional Approach

To engage a discourse of reflexivity and its praxis, I must first define its usage.

Reflexivity, is of course, burdened by multiple meanings and interpretations (Mc Donald

2013, Cassel, et al 2009, Cunliffe 2003). Queer reflexivity, rooted in feminist practices of

reflexivity, is particularly concerned with self-reflexive practices in which the researcher

acknowledges the impact their own social positioning has upon research consultants,

and ultimately the products of the research itself (Mc Donald 2013, Veroff and DiStefano

2002). Furthermore, methodologies of feminist reflexivity emphasize attending to power

differentials between researchers and interlocutors; while at the same time,

contextualizing those interactions within a cultural milieu or society at large (Mc Donald

2013, Carrington 2008, Rodriguez 2010, Weiner-Levy 2009).

At the core of self-reflexivity is the practice of identifying the researcher's social

location, which includes unpacking the researcher's own intersectionality. Each

individual can be thought of possessing "multiple identifications" (Twine 2000:15), we

simultaneously belong to racial, gender, sexual orientation, or class categories, and this

exemplifies the concept of intersectionality. Intersectionality has grown beyond Kimberle

Crenshaw's original explication (1991) of the marginalization of Black women via the

intersection of race and gender to acknowledge other social locations prone to

discrimination, such as sexual orientation, social class, or physical disability. Adding the

concept of self-reflexivity to intersectionality allows for mobilizing the premise that

belonging to multiply disadvantaged categories exposes the various ways in which

discrimination disproportionately affects people belonging to them. Reflexive

intersectionality, then, is an orientation in praxis: a call to action (Jones 2010). Jones

suggests an embodied approach to such praxis, one that is rhizomatic in structure and

conjures up a network imbued with lifeforce (2010). Such systems must be nurtured and

maintained for their continued existence to be ensured.

Following McDonald (2013) and Jones (2010), I add a queer lens to self-reflexive

intersectional analysis. According to McDonald (2013), this is a crucial layer of

examination because it disrupts bell hooks' (1989:90) notion that within systems of

oppression some narratives are more authentic than others—those that align with the

oppressors'. Disrupting a hierarchical approach is relevant to LGBTQ interlocutors given

the shifting nature of the categories which may not be embodied (McDonald 2013).

Queer reflexivity holds the possibility of engaging those categories which may not be

immediately visible, or are ephemeral, thus the queer reflexive researcher may capture

categories otherwise lost to an only-embodied, hierarchical approach (McDonald 2013).

Drawing on queer, reflexive practices may also yield finer-grained analyses of power

dynamics which are fluid, constantly changing, and often-invisible (McDonald 2013).

One distinct benefit of using queer, reflexive methods is that it can capture the ways in

which concealment or disclosure of those less visible aspects of identity and social

positioning affect the research process, as well as shift over the duration of a project, for

McDonald (2013). A final argument for harnessing queer reflexive analysis

acknowledges that the researcher's identity has had a developmental trajectory prior to

initiating research, and may change over the duration of the research process

(McDonald 2013). One example from my own fieldwork comes from one of my last

meetings with Stacy-Ann Jarrett, former Executive Director of JASL. In the latter portion

of my fieldwork, Stacy left her post at JASL, very suddenly. She refused to go into much

detail about her sudden departure, even when pressed. At the same time, she stopped

identifying herself as a lesbian, reconciled with her estranged mother, and found a male

partner. She revealed to me that she was expecting a baby at this meeting, as well. Her

complete paradigm shift is baffling to me. I still do not fully understand Stacy's

abandonment of the LGBTQ community; however, I must accept her rebranding herself

as a newly straight woman, whatever her motivation to make this transition might be.

Rather than identify her as a defector, queer reflexivity gives me the intellectual

flexibility to cope with sudden and unexpected course changes like Stacy's, especially

considering the stifling social conditions for LGBTQ people in Jamaica.

Accessing Communities Hiding in Plain Sight: Methods

Sampling

Relying on earlier contacts made in previous research trips, I accessed research

consultants through existing LGBTQ grassroots groups and NGOs. I primarily

connected with new research participants via referral of previous contacts, otherwise

known as the snowball method. This method was determined to be the safest and most

ethical means to access members and allies of a highly marginalized population of people.

My sample for this project consisted of 60 research participants with whom I consistently liaised over the duration of my fieldwork (see Table 2-1). While most of these are activists who identify with the LGBTQ community, a few are allies supporting the community's goals. Of the 60, 38 of my research participants identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer. My research consultants range in age from 18-70, although most them are under 35. The activist community is overwhelmingly youthful. Twelve non-governmental and/or grassroots organizations participated in this research, nine of which are LGBTQ-affiliated organizations.

Data Collection Methods

My data collection methods relied upon interviews, participant observation, direct observation, and some light surveys. After establishing a connection with new research consultants, they would often recommend I speak with other community members or allies, point me in the direction of particular resources, or connect me with social media groups and events.

Most interviews took an unstructured format. I needed to be flexible to connect with my research consultants, and structured interviews created distance between my research consultants and myself. Interviews typically began with a few open-ended questions from me, and just allowing the interviewee to talk freely. Rarely this meant interviews took wild tangents, but for the most part this technique was very successful. I learned early on that it was imperative that my racial and class privilege not alienate me from my research consultants. Thus, allowing interviewees the agency to talk about topics that were important to them, as well as one that were timely, gave me access to

much more information than if I alone determined the interview agenda, and I learned

about events in real time. Further, this method helped me to gain the trust of my

research participants. Rather than position myself as an expert, I leveraged my outsider

status to encourage participants to share their lived realities with me, someone who

genuinely wanted to understand their circumstances. I conveyed my care and concern

for my research consultants in these interviews in part by sharing the stakes with them.

Participant observation for me was grounded in activist work, often in the context

of a supportive role in organizational meetings. It was important to me to demonstrate

my commitment to the overall project of greater inclusivity in Jamaican society while

avoiding any sort of leadership role which might be construed as pushing an agenda. In

other words, my goal was not to direct the course of events, but to support these

organizations in achieving their own outcomes. I also spent a fair bit of time engaging

social media frequented by activists and the LGBTQ population. Social media proved to

be a crucial way to access the wider community served by activist organizations, as well

as to gauge the perceptions, concerns, and interests of the sexual minority population.

Later, as I built deeper connections with my interlocutors, this included spending time

with them socially, as well.

Direct observations were made on a daily basis, by paying attention to

conversations, current events, media representation, and public opinion, to name a few.

Within the LGBTQ community, direct observations were made via social media, as well.

In many circumstances, these observations required me to withhold my own perspective

on the matter, as to identify myself as anything but impartial social scientist would have

stymied further conversation, or was necessary to protect the anonymity of research consultants.

Survey questions were the final method I used. I contributed to social media surveys collaboratively produced with QCJ. These surveys were distributed using SurveyMonkey online via social media (primarily Facebook) to lesbian and bisexual women (QCJ's target audience). As QCJ's then-resident social scientist, I was asked to review the surveys before they were deployed, and offered refinement/additional questions for final review by QCJ's Executive Director Angeline Jackson. After her approval, the surveys were made available to voluntary, anonymous respondents, allowing QCJ to tabulate the findings. These surveys, to our knowledge, are among the first quantitative and qualitative data collection attempts of solely the lesbian and bisexual population of Jamaican women.

Table 2-1. Self-identified sexual orientation of research participants

Organization	LGBTQ	Straight	Total
JFLAG	4	0	4
JASL	3	0	3
AIDS-Free World	1	0	1
FAST	0	1	1
Code Pink	2	0	2
PRIDE in Action	6	0	6
NADA	6	0	6
WfW	6	0	6
QCJ	3	1	4
SO((U))L HQ	2	0	2
Aphrodite's Pride	1	0	1
Jamaicans for Justice	0	1	1
University Contacts	1	7	8
Unaffiliated	4	11	15
Total	**39**	**21**	**60**

CHAPTER 3
ORGANIZATIONAL HALF LIFE: THE FRAUGHT LANDSCAPE OF LGBTQ
ORGANIZING

Financial Vulnerability

A long history of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) and debt servicing has left

Jamaica financially vulnerable. Nearly a half-century of outside financial interventions

have done little to shore up Jamaica's fluctuating economy. While some fluctuations

have necessitated innovations like micro-entrepreneurialism, such benefits have been

outweighed by overwhelmingly negative effects of increased poverty, particularly among

youth. It should be noted that Jamaica's economy is markedly more stable than in the

earliest era of SAPs in the 1970s and 1980s, however the gap between the poor and

the classes above them has not significantly improved in the ensuing decades. These

effects are measurable primarily in indices of health and education, as well as rising

costs in basic necessities (Harrison 1997).

Soon after its independence from Great Britain in 1962, Jamaica was subjected

to SAPs beginning in the late 1970s, and it continues to be plagued by the poverty they

facilitated (Harrison 1997). Economic instability has remained Jamaica's norm, rather

than the exception, and its effects have undermined the very fabric of Jamaican society,

exacerbating class conflict (Bernal 1984). SAPs have compromised Jamaica's social

structure, manifest in a staggeringly high murder rate, widespread unemployment, shifts

in the gendered division of labor, high infant/maternal mortality rates, high childhood

malnutrition rates, high rates of new HIV infections, as well as a paucity of basic social

services (Bernal 1984, Harrison 1997, Thomas 2004). These internal pressures have

weakened social cohesion in Jamaica, resulting in divisiveness.

Neoliberalism is characterized by variability. Thus, when neoliberalism flows through sovereignty and state power, especially in small states, it injects this variability into these institutions, creating political, economic and social instability. Instability is inherently destructive in each of these spheres of influence.

Neoliberal reform was especially detrimental to civil society through erosion of social services. The effects were multifold: elimination of social services left a void to be eventually filled in part by grassroots groups and NGOs (Page 2015); but, the prolonged vacuum also altered the public's perception of the provision of such services to the most financially vulnerable. In other words, neoliberalized thinking trickled into middle class and elite Jamaican consciousness. The outcome skews approaches to human rights issues along class lines.

Consequently, there is virtually no funneling of public funds into support for LGBTQ issues. I have observed that there is more outreach by minority activist groups into governmental agencies than vice versa. The funding that LGBTQ groups rely upon comes primarily from international donors, and is never guaranteed. Access to continuous funding depends on successful grant applications, in most cases. Grant funding is dependent upon successful grant writing--requiring a skillset that less educated activists typically lack. There is a clearly delineated boundary here, one that effectively blocks financial access to activists of poorer backgrounds.

This institutional skills problem is not one immediately visible to grassroots activists. Instead, it is often interpreted as a resource-scarcity problem. Bitter competition amongst LGBTQ organizations for financial resources is the result. This is a highly unfortunate outcome for several reasons. One, there is more potential funding

available than is utilized by these groups (for several reasons). Two, the competition stifles new organizations from participation in activism and from growing beyond the grassroots phase. Three, it routinizes existing organizations that made it beyond the grassroots phase into the NGO phase, making them the recognized "authorities," to the exclusion of entire segments of the LGBTQ population. Four, it isolates those segments experiencing differential access further, making them even more vulnerable and difficult to reach.

Thus, the organizational landscape is a pressure cooker, largely due to limited access to funds and the great deal of human rights needs beyond those of the LGBTQ population. As a result, there exists a great deal of competition within and among LGBTQ activist groups for those limited resources, leading to tension, mistrust, and non-cooperation. The outcome is a disunited patchwork of NGOs and grassroots groups with diverse and minimally effective outreach and advocacy. In Chapter 3, I identify the groups with whom I had contact, their outreach activities, and how I interacted with them.

It is also necessary to dissect Jamaica's financial history with SAPs over the last 45 years. Connecting with the human tolls of neoliberal reform is essential to understanding the ongoing marginalization inflicted upon lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer Jamaicans. Here, I also engage this history to contextualize the vulnerabilities it creates, the boundaries it maintains, and the hardships it imposes for sexual minorities.

Structural Adjustment Policies: Adjusting to Austerity and Adversity

The SAP story is almost always reiterated in social analyses of Jamaica, and with good reason: neoliberal economic reform exacerbated every existing fault in the

newly independent country's fledgling economy, as well as creating new dilemmas. Export economies like those of most former colonies are ill-suited to structural adjustment. Their reliance upon just a few sources of revenue is part of the very reason such restructuring is frequently unsuccessful--they lack the diversity needed to ride out fluctuations in global markets.

Originally, Jamaica's exports were primarily agricultural. Historic connections with its former colonizer, Great Britain, ensured market demand for most of the agricultural products Jamaica produced prior to implementation of SAPs. With the onslaught of economic reform programs, Jamaica was compelled to open its markets globally to compete with the economies of much larger producers, some supplying subsidies to farmers. This unequal advantage of more powerful agricultural producers doomed small Jamaican farms. As these farms shuttered, imports of cheaper, subsidized foods were needed to meet domestic food demands. At the same time, the population rapidly urbanized, and agricultural jobs were no longer competitive. Cities like Kingston and Montego Bay ballooned with migrants seeking work. Their infrastructures were unprepared to accommodate such rapid increases in population. Inexpensive housing was at a premium. Shantytowns began to spring up as migrants built the homes they desperately needed, without any basic services or central planning. Nevertheless, they stand as testament to the resourcefulness of Jamaica's urban poor.

Tourism was introduced as a measure to diversify Jamaica's hobbled economy. But, with the majority of the pioneering hospitality companies being owned offshore, the bulk of profits were hemorrhaging overseas. Poor Jamaicans with little education filled the ranks of the service jobs needed to make hotels run smoothly. The vast amounts of

start-up capital needed to invest in tourism were an effective barrier to all but the elite. Upper class, wealthy, landed, and connected Jamaicans were the only of their countrymen who could engage this new industry beyond the entry level. Wealth continued to flow out of the hands of poor Black Jamaicans and up the social hierarchy. In many ways, the development of the tourism industry mirrored the plantation system, sometimes even exploiting and fetishizing it for economic gain. Thus, tourism development in the Caribbean can be identified as neocolonial.

Austerity measures were implemented shortly thereafter. In an attempt to curb future debt service and boost exports, currency devaluation was deployed. With the small number of exports, currency devaluation imposed a severe hardship. Imports of necessary products were slashed, just as domestic producers of same were going out of business. The squeeze was nearly unbearable for the poor. Inflation quickly escaped control and interest rates skyrocketed.

With economic instability came social upheaval. The newly established democracy quickly became dominated by wealthy, privileged families. They leveraged their power against the people. A rapid and marked drop in inequality occurred between 1958 and 1968: the poorest 40 percent of Jamaicans saw their incomes decrease from 7.2 to 5.4 percent (Bernal 1984: 7). At the same time, income per capita also saw a dramatic drop of 30 percent from J\$32 to J25 (In constant 1958 dollars) (Bernal 1978:7; NPA 1978:6). Violent citizen protests accompanied the sharp downturn as class struggle ensued (Harrison (2008) Bernal 1984).

During this period, the two-party parliamentary political system became highly contentious, as well. Post-independence, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) dominated for

a decade from 1962-1972 on a platform of attracting passive international investment via certain incentive programs, such as tax breaks (Bernal 1978: 7). When this model did not realize the financial growth that was intended, the Michael Manley-led People's National Party's (PNP) model of social democracy gained popularity as the JLP succumbed to corruption. Amid rising violence, the PNP won in a landslide in 1972, due to its emphasis on redistributive economics, appealing as a balm for growing disparity across social classes, but particularly among Jamaica's poorest citizens (Bernal 1984).

Just eight years later, in 1980, under Edward Seaga, the JLP seized power back from the PNP, amid crisis that the PNP had led Jamaica into dreaded socialism. The country's debt had doubled during this time via IMF loans meant to stabilize the floundering economy through the flood of imports, to stem capital divestiture to offshore locations (primarily by middle-class and wealthy Jamaicans), and to fund state initiatives intended to increase support to bolster the poor (Harrison 1997). Those programs were ended soon after Seaga took office, and widespread layoffs and job cutbacks compounded income shortfalls across middle class and poor households (Thomas 2004). Black entrepreneurship in the formal economy floundered during this time, as well (Thomas 2004).

Being that Jamaicans are resourceful Caribbean people, enter the rise of the informal economy: with limited access to the formal economy, but rising need to survive, Jamaicans turned to other ways to make ends meet. Seeking to quash socialism in the Western Hemisphere, the United States engaged in covert operations (in Jamaica as well as elsewhere in Latin America) designed to topple these movements. During the Manley years, Jamaica sought guidance and support from Cuba regarding

implementation of social programs aimed at redistribution (Bernal 1984). However, after 1980, the JLP government quickly severed all diplomatic ties to Cuba, and curried connection anew with the United States' Ronald Reagan administration via the Caribbean Basin Initiative (Harrison 1997). Unofficially, the JLP government followed the United States' recently declared "war on drugs," cracking down on trade in narcotics as well as ganja (Thomas 2004).

Yet despite the crackdown, demand in the United States for this illicit commodity fueled a lucrative trade, with routes directly through the Caribbean. Dons and posses in Jamaica exploited their supply and distribution chains amassing wealth, but also wreaking devastating effects. Violence proliferated along these chains, and trade in arms along with narcotics was visited upon the countries engaged in this trade network, including Jamaica (Harrison 1989, Harrison 1990). So, the stakes for engaging in this trade were very high indeed: high profits leveraged alongside high risks. The poor, of course, shouldered the burden of the greatest risk, with disastrous effect. Extrajudicial killings by police, skewed gender ratios in communities with high participation in trafficking due to murder and incarceration, and deteriorating relationship of the state to those communities are lasting outcomes disproportionately experienced by these garrisons.

Other manifestations of informal economy include unregulated entrepreneurism. A wide array of informal businesses ranging from cook shops, child care, tailors, hairdressers, and informal commercial importers (ICIs), the latter Gina Ulysse has written upon extensively (2007). These unregulated businesses tend to proliferate in poor neighborhoods, although it is my observation that "side-hustles" are also frequently

utilized by middle class people in times of increased economic fluctuation. Middle class side-hustles include marketing of higher-end products and services: boutique t-shirts, courier/delivery services, cosmetics, car rental, and trending food products (organic juices, farm-to-table, etc.). The consumers of these products and services tend to be middle-class peers as well as wealthier clients. The flexible nature of these activities means that they can be incorporated into the off-hours of a normal working day: the demand especially for services peaks in off-working hours and weekends.

The last component of restructuring, and perhaps the most germane, is cuts in government spending. Intended to curb the biggest portion of Jamaica's budget, the most impactful were deep cuts in social services. The retraction of the state (of which I have written about elsewhere) reshapes its relationship with citizens (Page 2015).

Outcasts Among the Marginalized: Making Safe Spaces and a Seat at the Table

As the financial hardships bore down on the urban poor, the pressure became unbearable. There were few opportunities to safely vent frustration about economic and political hardship. With stakes high for survival, any threats to it would be met with immediate and fierce opposition. Citizen protests, sometimes violent, were one of the few modes of resistance of government oppression poor urban Jamaicans had (Harrison 2008) (Gray 2004).

In almost every way, the interests of the poor were divergent from those of the middle class and elites. Most political constituencies struggled to gain consensus from such disparate interests. The lived realities of elites and the poor simply could not be bridged without some pervasive commonality, a reshaped set of shared values.

Enter the televangelists in the early 1980s promoting conservative values alongside fiscal freedom: offered as an antidote to the moral and fiscal panic pervading

Jamaican social life. The ubiquity of television access made these values equally accessible to poor and wealthy alike. For elites, there was appeal in restoring a sense of moral order they felt had been lost. For the poor, this view offered an alternate explanation of how society had become so unbalanced. The shift in social blame was diverted from them and onto a new kind of badman: the sexual minority.

Mutual hatred of gay men helped to forge cohesion across class lines and added an additional dimension to Jamaican national identity. Scapegoating of an even more vulnerable group created the possibility of a common enemy to unify the disparate interests of wealthy and poor Jamaicans, otherwise living in opposing realities. This practice was also harnessed within the political system for a similar purpose.

In 1998, Jamaica Forum for Lesbians, All-Sexuals and Gays (J-FLAG) emerged out of a need to provide support to the sexually outcasted, with an aim toward human rights. It is the first and oldest such organization on the island. J-FLAG set out to be an inclusive group of the wide range of sexuality and gender expression present in Jamaica.

Due to its longevity as well as its prominence, J-FLAG has gained recognition as the leader of the movement for LGBTQ inclusion. Founded by a dozen mostly middle class, professional lesbians and gay men, the organization could tap into a deep set of intellectual resources. Early on, however, there was an understanding that the mission of the group must also be inclusive and serve poor sexual minorities, as well. Long before his death in 2004, Steve Harvey, for example, would risk arrest to distribute condoms to male sex workers in New Kingston. But even as the organization sought to serve the interests of poorer gays, its leadership did not reflect the same inclusivity.

Other manifestations of a lack of inclusivity also became apparent over time. By the beginning of the very earliest iterations of this project, for example, J-FLAG had become known as a gay man's organization. Its mostly male leadership as well as mostly gay male beneficiaries indicated the group might not be meeting the needs of a diverse, if threatened, population of lesbians, trans, queer and intersex people. Also, J-FLAG was entirely staffed by a new generation of activists. The original cofounders had all transitioned out of activism: two were murdered, some had migrated after receiving threats and, some founded new organizations to address concerns that had come to the fore.

That other groups should spring into existence to meet a growing need should not be a surprise, then. But, where there was an opportunity to foster a vibrant panoply of related groups under its umbrella, J-FLAG missed that opportunity. Instead, its approach was quite the opposite.

Missed Opportunities: J-FLAG Drops the Ball

My observations have repeatedly shown members of the LGBTQ community to express frustration with J-FLAG, feeling that the organization does not serve them, and is failing in its mission to advocate for and support the LGBTQ community. I have also experienced J-FLAG's indifference to my presence as well. Despite repeated meetings with the director, I was unable to establish a meaningful connection. Much of the criticism from the LGBTQ community was much more visible after an incident of violence at a university in Kingston, sparking new responses and action from previously unengaged individuals.

An unfortunate incident of note was the beating of a reportedly gay University of Technology (UTECH) student by campus security guards on November 1, 2012. The

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incident was filmed by an onlooker and posted to social media. The activist community

as well as many in the LGBTQ population were shaken by yet another infliction of

violence.

After the incident, J-FLAG and Jamaica AIDS Support for Life (JASL) organized

a town-hall style meeting, and invited a few affiliated organizations and members of the

LGBTQ community to attend. But, as it turned out, the incident was tangential to the

meeting's unadvertised objective of focusing on the homeless sex worker population, an

issue that had become acute more than two months prior with the closing of the joint J-

FLAG/JASL homeless shelter. Many attendees were frustrated when they tried to bring

up the beating of the young UTECH student and were redirected back to the topic of the

reestablishment of a new shelter and homeless "MSMs" or "men who have sex with

men." This is a term I find problematic because it categorizes individuals solely on the

basis of sexual activity without considering their own identities. I was also surprised that

it was not at least addressed as a supplemental issue for discussion. It seemed that J-

FLAG and JASL were refusing to respond to the issue appropriately as far as the wider

activist community was concerned.

This vignette justifies the feelings of dissatisfaction LGBTQ groups outside J-

FLAG and JASL. As anyone who plans community events knows, getting a critical mass

of activists together in person is challenging. This rare chance to process the trauma,

fear, and anger rippling through the LGBTQ population in this group setting was a gross

miscalculation on the part of both host organizations. The feeling of bait-and-switch just

added to the perception that J-FLAG was quickly falling out of touch with the

communities they reportedly serve. This is ironic, of course, since they had a

community-based outreach on the table for discussion. However, with little attempt to address the issue of greatest concern, the effect gave the impression of J-FLAG's callous disregard for anything but its own agenda.

During my last stint of fieldwork, I witnessed a dramatic confrontation between two members of Quality of Citizenship Jamaica (QCJ): Cupid and Jalna. It should be noted that I had recently been made aware of Cupid's separation from an established organization, the National Anti-Discrimination Association (NADA) as well. Cupid was very young at the time (younger than 21) and both ambitious and impatient. She was the treasurer of NADA and cash was taken from NADA's smallholdings. Per NADA's president in a conversation long after the incident, Cupid was never suspected of taking the funds. Nevertheless, she unceremoniously cut ties with NADA immediately.

At QCJ's third meeting, Cupid took offense to an offhand comment Jalna made to her. Rather than take Jalna aside after the meeting to discuss the issue privately, Cupid felt her honor had been threatened and she and her girlfriend stormed out. Given that these meetings took place in public at an outdoor eatery, the noisy nature of the disagreement was quite visible to patrons around us. Later, Cupid told me she was finished collaborating with QCJ, saying "nobody disses me." It was my hope that I would be able to remain in contact with her going forward, but she was suspicious that I remained cooperative with QCJ and eventually accused me of spying on her, suggesting that I was turning over the content of our conversations to Angeline and Jalna, QCJ's leadership. Cupid cut off all contact at that point.

The Good, the Bad, and the Moderately Helpful

J-FLAG does periodically give small grants to start-up grassroots LGBTQ groups, but it is not a sustained kind of support. Each grant is smaller than $500 US, but does

require an application. Typically, only those organizations with the greatest potential for future institutional capacity are invited to apply. For QCJ and Colour Pink, for example, the J-FLAG grant application was their first application, respectively. Both organizations received this grant and went on to pursue other funding opportunities. However, there was not sustained mentorship for grant-writing. Often, in conversations with members of both organizations, I would offer suggestions and help do legwork to scout funding opportunities to assist them locate new international donors. Grant writing is a time-consuming practice, and one that often can feel akin to flying blind. Both groups expressed a great deal of trepidation and anxiety about grant writing. They often felt the time invested in grant writing could be better spent elsewhere, especially considering their small number of volunteer members. When they approached J-FLAG for assistance in completing grant applications, neither received assistance. Some other groups (who declined to be identified) allege that when they approached J-FLAG for help with grant applications, they were turned away, only to discover later that J-FLAG was granted the award their organization was seeking. This does not immediately signal misconduct, but it does suggest that competition among J-FLAG and newer LGBTQ organizations is taking place.

Many international donors are looking for institutional capacity and accountability--something that grassroots groups lack. This automatically disqualifies them from consideration from many kinds of funding. This remains an aspect important to the longevity of nascent activist groups.

Flows of Support: Bottom Up

Ironically, state agencies are among the immediate beneficiaries of the work LGBTQ organizations do. Police sensitivity trainings, for example, are one way that an

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investment in time and expertise are made by LGBTQ organizations in the state. While this work is very important in terms of better relations between constabularies and the populations they serve, it is an expensive and potentially unsustainable practice over the long term without reliable funding.

Such trainings are purely voluntary: the organizations offer them, and the police constabulary decide to agree to receive the training. There is no mandate or requirement for any such training at present. Preliminary findings suggest that trained police officers respond more humanely in their dealings with the LGBTQ population, and suggest that trained personnel tend to positively impact their colleagues in this way, as well. Clearly the benefits outweigh their associated costs.

So, it stands that in the foreseeable future, the continued investment of NGO and grassroots groups will be made in governmental agencies. It seems unlikely that the state will in, turn invest in programs that benefit the LGBTQ population. The flow of investment moves from the bottom up.

Economic Marginalization: Lesbians, Bisexuals, Trans, and Queer People Pushed to the Margin of the Marginalized

The action of J-FLAG taking center stage as primary point of contact and main utilizer of donor funding for LGBTQ activism, and its emphasis on gay men to the exclusion of other sexual minorities (whether intentional or not), has resulted in deeper marginalization of lesbians, bisexuals, trans, and queer people.

While creating a need for grassroots activism to reach these underserved groups, it has simultaneously made successful organizational management all but impossible. By pushing organizations like Aphrodite's Pride and Colour Pink (who seek empowerment of trans women), or QCJ (supporting lesbian and bisexual women), to

the periphery has undermined them further. J-FLAG does strategically include them by inviting them to large annual events, but this contact is sporadic and conspicuous, often in the context of international donor events. Whether this is intended to create the appearance of cohesion and inclusion to outsiders is unclear, however, the lack of sustained, everyday forms of support (not just monetary), gives the activists in these marginalized groups the feeling of insincerity on the part of J-FLAG.

Outcomes of the Scarcity Interpretation

Many factors contribute to the erroneous conclusion that resources are in critically short supply. This matrix is comprised by institutional, as well as practical hurdles. These are discussed in detail below.

Widespread economic deprivation caused by the pervasive effects of SAPs has altered approaches to social problem solving. Resources are more difficult to access, which can result in de facto scarcity. Prolonged exposure to survival conditions also alters how resources are accessed and allocated.

There exists an institutional skills gap and/or an organizational growth gap which functionally bars access particularly to international funds sources. This may point to differences in Northern organizational practices at odds with Southern organizational challenges. There is also a demonstrated lack of knowledge potential funding opportunities. Grassroots groups, especially, may benefit from informative sessions about additional funding sources to pursue. A lack of mentorship opportunities for new grassroots groups may prevent them from growing and specializing their organizations.

Inter- and intragroup competition has a damaging effect. It is counterintuitive that among a small population of sexually minorities, that such deep factionalism would be occurring. It is unfortunate that J-FLAG has resisted the opportunity to truly collaborate

and nurture new groups seeking to support LGBTQ Jamaicans. There are some exceptions documented here, but the overall effect is that there is minimal intergroup cooperation.

With a coalition nonexistent, a critical organizing component missing. These challenges add up to a divided, instead of united, alliance of LGBTQ groups. Strong collaboration among them could offer the possibility for sharing resources, paring down redundancies to cut expenses, and most importantly, to present a powerful opposition to anti-gay sentiment.

Additionally, the long-term effects of economic restructuring have distanced government from social responsibility to protect the most vulnerable citizens. Neoliberalized thinking has pervaded these institutions, providing an ideological basis for the lacuna in protections. The overall economic conditions have rendered the government unable to afford the provisioning of safeguards for LGBTQ citizens, and necessitated the proliferation of grassroots and NGOs to meet social needs for protection of rights. Largely unsupported, with no guarantee of even the most basic rights, the organizations seeking to help sexual minorities exist in a peripheralized wild West marked by instability and cults of personality. With few existing lines of support dependent upon outside donorship, and limited technical skills, significant barriers to organizational longevity for new startups remain. The groups able to surmount such barriers have come to dominate the sphere of LGBTQ activism, to the exclusion of smaller, younger ones that may better serve the groups they represent. The ability to weather structural challenges, rather than institutional capacity to serve the needs of a diverse population of sexual minorities, then, has become a primary determiner in those

groups that become routinized into the role of community ambassadors. Ultimately, the outcome is a common postcolonial one: the "rule of experts" (Mitchell 2002) means that those people at the margins of the marginalized have little opportunity to overcome the obstacles before them and to have a fair chance at greater inclusion within the LGBTQ community, and eventually, in Jamaican society.

CHAPTER 4
SEXUALITY AND THE STATE: INTERSECTIONS OF THE STATE AND PUBLIC
CULTURE WITH LGBTQ IDENTITY

Landmark Cases

As evidenced through two landmark cases and Parliamentary review of laws

targeting sexual minorities, Chapter 4 engages the state's qualified stance on the

LGBTQ population. Additionally, public culture intersects this discussion through the

actions of the media. This is particularly apparent in Tomlinson's Supreme Court case

below.

What emerges from reading these examples together is an overall

misunderstanding of sexual minorities, in part due to intentional blind spots in policy,

law, and best practices. What also becomes clear is that the outlook of the state is

softer than that of public culture, an unexpected outcome of this research. This is largely

due to institutional indifference of state officials, the benefit to which is twofold: a less

defined stance is beneficial for re-election of individual members of Parliament (a

classically political strategy), and at least the illusion of state benevolence toward the

LGBTQ population leaves the possibility for inclusion, as well as continued justification

for foreign aid, and avoidance of further criticism in the international arena for sexuality-

based human rights violations. Of the branches of government, police have shown the

most anti-gay bias, although many great strides have been made recently in the form of

sensitivity training.

Public culture, on the other hand, is a much more polarized and volatile realm.

Media frequently distort current events, display anti-LGBTQ political cartoons, and

display a distinct reporting bias against sexual minorities (and some media outlets are

worse than others in doing so). Indeed, there exists a problematic feedback loop

between the producers of media and consumers of media products: to sell copies and advertising, the media must meet public demand for such representation of anti-LGBTQ bias. This, in turn, results in a certain amount of legitimation for the continuation of discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer Jamaicans.

There exists, then, a certain amount of tension between public culture and the state. This tension is particularly present in the Tomlinson case, but is also present in the Bain case discussed later in Chapter 4. For now, public culture remains the more dynamic and focused venue for the continued marginalization of nonnormative sexuality and gender expression.

Theoretical Perspectives on the Vulnerability of LGBTQ Bodies

One critical intervention of the anthropology of the state, then, is to trace observable state effects to invisible processes, and then to expose the invisible practices of the state, its methods of discipline and surveillance (Nagengast 1994; Foucault 1991; Aretxaga 2003; Linke 2006). An example from my own research project, I illustrate that homophobia is a political symptom, not just an expression of longstanding cultural bias. Toward this end, I seek to illuminate how these processes emerge out of particular political conditions and conjunctures, historical trajectories and experiences, for example.

Crises of the State and Implications for Queered Bodies

Carole Nagengast's (1994) work represents another entry-point into the anthropology of the state. Nagengast's focus on crises of the state illustrates an important feature in the anthropological study of the state: that the forms of governance utilized by states are prone to violence and instability. The crises Nagengast interrogates include: warfare, genocide, and violence (including symbolic violence)

(1994). These crises are ruptures in the social fabric, and their costs are high: loss of life, human rights violations, social exclusion, and economic exclusion, to name a few.

In line with Nagengast's treatment of state-sponsored violence is the concept of structural violence (Harrison 1997, 2005; Farmer 2003). Faye V. Harrison (1997) defines structural violence as

> the symbolic, psychological, and physical assaults against human subjectivities, physical bodies, and sociocultural integrity that emanate from situations and institutions structured in social, political, and economic dominance (457).

Structural violence, then, includes the overt violence that occurs during crises of the state, but it also allows us to get at the hidden ways in which states and institutions subjugate vulnerable communities and persons.

In what can be considered part of structural violence, Nagengast also highlights intimate, corporeal experiences of state violence that are often expressed in sexual contexts, such as in her example of inmate rapes by guards in Turkish prisons—a tool of discipline (1994). Such violence is not intended to kill, Nagengast argues, but "creat[es] punishable categories of people" used to establish and sustain categories of difference, as well as to "[build] consensus around those categories," resulting in the maintenance of social norms for persons in those categories—a project that "legitimates and de-legitimates specific groups" (1994:122). Uli Linke (2006) and Begoña Aretxaga (2003) both engage aspects of intimate, sexual penetrations of the state into the bodies of citizens and enemies of the state. Linke is concerned with the "sensual life of the state," wherein pleasure can be derived from punishment, at least by those meting out the discipline (2006:205). Furthermore, Linke argues that the dangerous flip-side of the docility of bodies obeying the state is that they can become instruments of the state's

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violence. Like Nagengast (1994), Linke cites examples of sexual violence in prisons and during war (2006). Aretxaga highlights regimes of violence asserting the binary of "territorial sovereignty and heterosexual forms of political control" (2003:403). This dichotomy is the basis of Aretxaga's argument that the nation-state is imagined to be masculine (2003), an argument also made by Jacqui Alexander (1997), and Jasbir Puar (2007). Aretxaga identifies "sexual-political violence" within the modes of heterosexualized control and discipline, explained as the "endless performances of violent control of the body of the nation by the state body" (2003:397).

Public Culture and the State

A growing body of literature deals with the interaction of public culture with the life of the state, another area of focus within the anthropology of the state (Navaro-Yashin 2002; Aretxaga 2003). Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge originally theorized public culture as a field of interaction amongst state and non-state actors as a site of contestation, debate, and cultural production (1988). I use the concept of public culture to access the space(s) in which the life of publics and the life of the state interact and are a product of specific historical trajectories, as evidenced in public preoccupation with homosexuality in the Anglophone Caribbean (Alexander 1997; Silvera 2008; Murray 2009). Examples of such arena(s) include: media, public discourse, and popular culture (Hall 1997; Murray 2009); nationalism (Anderson 2006), and social conventions/norms (White & Gerke 2007; Whitehead 1986; Chevannes 2001; Lewis 2003; Reddock 2004).

Habitus and the State

I draw upon Bourdieu's notion of habitus (1993) to understand how the social field is constructed and maintained, as well as its role in the life of the state. Habitus is

reinforced in the social field, according to Bourdieu, through two means: a "craft," the

practices and social infrastructure and (1993:72) "beliefs," the ideologies underpinning

them (1993:72). Bourdieu's habitus, then, is a way to peer inside the hidden beliefs and

practices at work within the state. Habitus is particularly useful to understand how

consensus is built around (and about) particular categories of people, specifically,

"peripheralized" categories (Nagengast 1994:109). I liken Bourdieu's notion of habitus to

Gramsci's concept of common sense values (Gramsci 1988). Through consensus-

building hegemonic public discourse, the social field becomes normalized, accepted,

and unquestioned: a commonsense ground that is taken for granted (Gramsci 1988).

Nationalism and the State

Benedict Anderson's oft-cited treatise on nationalism is essential to

understanding how ideologies can unite vastly different segments of a stratified society,

resulting in an "imagined political community" (Anderson 2006; Hall 1999; Linke 2006).

This potential for unification that crosscuts social stratification is perhaps the most

salient aspect of the role of the "imagined community" (Anderson 2006). National

identity is grounded in the conditions and beliefs that are foundational to the state,

namely the construction of the state as heterosexualized and masculine (Alexander

1997; Linke 2006; Puar 2007; Murray 2009). Identities that resist or transgress these

presumed norms pose a threat to the integrity of national identity (Alexander 1997;

Peterson 1999). These threatening identities are thus situated outside, or even in

opposition to normalized, mainstream hegemonic values and social mores (Alexander

1997; Peterson 1999; Linke 2006; Boellstorff 2005; Puar 2007). The outcomes of this

struggle of the nation-state for hegemonic control of national identity as expressed in

tension in public culture and attacks upon identities that do not conform to the ideals of the national imaginary are discussed in more detail in the following section.

Differentially-Situated Subjects

Ethnographic research offers useful insight into the experiences of the state for differentially-situated, embodied subjects; as well as their responses to the limitations and excesses of sovereignty. This sovereignty is expressed in a variety of contexts including but not limited to: global social, economic and political restructuring; widening gaps in global disparity; neoliberalism; and globalization (Ong 2006). Expressions and excesses of sovereignty in these contexts have profound effects for those subjected to them: these state and state-like effects are identifiable in: the crises of the state mentioned previously (Nagengast 1994); in the ways that habitus (Bourdieu 1993) and common sense values (Gramsci 1988) are used to establish and maintain consensus about categories of differentially-situated subjects; and in constructions of national identity that exclude differentially-situated subjects (Alexander 1997; Peterson 1999). An established corpus of work attests to the effects of neoliberalism, globalization, and the related effects of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) with consequences for national and economic sovereignty—the brunt of which has been borne by women, especially poor, racialized women (Alexander 1997; Harrison 1991, 1997, 2005, 2008; Safa 1995; Deere, et al. 1990; Freeman 2000; Slocum 2006; Thomas 2004; Ulysse 2007). While women in the global South have been disproportionately affected by neoliberalism, globalization, SAPs and the accompanying weakening of state power (complicated by a loss of social services once furnished by the state), they have also resisted these in a variety of ways, as discussed below.

Rights-based social movements emerge in response to deleterious experiences of state effects, as well as the habitus and common-sense values of the state I have outlined above. Many of these rights-based social movements are gendered and racialized: they are a product of the peripheralization women and racial or ethnic minorities experience. Given my focus in Latin America and the Caribbean, most of the examples I reference come from within the region, emphasizing the collaborative work of women activists and community leaders seeking to ameliorate the oppressive consequences of neoliberalism, globalization, SAPs and the retraction of the state (Harrison 1997, 2008; Slocum 2006; Ulysse 2007; Bolles 1996, 1996(a), 1997; Ford-Smith 1997). These studies highlight the necessity, creativity, and resourcefulness of these activists despite the odds stacked against them.

My work with Jamaican lesbians, gays and all-sexuals (themselves differentially-situated and embodied subjects) is informed by theorists situating homosexuality in relation to the state. Essentially, they locate homosexuality as outside the state: non-reproductive sex is a threat to the nation (Alexander 1997; Peterson 1999; Boellstorff 2005). As such, the state is naturalized as inherently heteronormative, relegating homosexuality as aberrant, dangerous, and against nature (Alexander 1997; Peterson 1999; Boellstorff 2005; Butler 1990; Herdt 2009; Murray 2009). Jasbir Puar's (2007) work is crucial to my inquiry into Jamaican homophobia. Her observation of the necessity of nonnormative identity to normative national identity captures exactly the situation in Jamaica: "the nation is founded on the (homo)sexual other" (Puar 2007:49). Similarly, Jacqui Alexander emphasizes that the Bahamian nation-state is founded upon male heterosexual hegemony, and that in the criminalization of homosexuality,

citizenship is forfeited "because within homosexuality inheres the power to dissolve the family, the foundation of the nation, and the nation itself" (1997:89). Non-reproductive sex is a threat to the state. Alexander also explains why in Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas "not just any(body) can be a citizen anymore…some bodies have been marked by the state as non-procreative…" (1994:6). Those marked bodies, Alexander argues, reject "the heterosexual imperative of citizenship…" and consequently they represent "a profound threat to the very survival of the nation" (1994:6). It is the project of nation building in this era of post-independence and international economic intervention, she contends, that has heightened the exclusion of the sexual Other. Neoliberal globalization, Alexander maintains, has effectively resulted in "re-colonization" and has reinforced "racialized colonial pattern of poverty, private ownership and lack of access to resources" (1994:15). For Tom Boellstorff, the Otherness of *gay* and *lesbi* Indonesians implies failure of the nation and "threats to national authenticity" (2005:214). V. Spike Peterson asserts, "pronatalist policies are threatened by non-reproductive sex" (1999:45). This consequently criminalizes non-reproductive sex (Peterson 1999). Heterosexist practice is naturalized, and gendered—but also potentially a site of resistance for these very reasons (Peterson 1999:55).

Varying degrees of non-citizenship create ruptures in a community (Evans 1993). These ruptures serve to further segregate citizens and non-citizens, but can be bridged, by rights-based organizing, for example. Like the collaborative activism mentioned in association with rights-based social movements above, it is my goal to demonstrate the similar ways in which sexuality-based organizing is utilized by Jamaican human rights activists. Members of the coalition of human rights organizations with whom I have

engaged here acknowledge the contributions of these earlier iterations of gender, sex, and race-based activism in Latin America and the Caribbean. These organizations simultaneously create a sense of community while working to increase citizenship and social participation in society at large. Ethnographic research is a capable tool to document the experiences and responses of differentially-situated subjects and informing frameworks to address the structural conditions resulting in their situated Otherness (Harrison 2008:237). It should also be democratized and made available to these subjects, who are our interlocutors and co-collaborators. In their hands, this research can be utilized in legitimating claims, accessing greater rights, and deepening the networks in which this work takes place.

2009 Sexual Offences Act

In 2009, Jamaica sought to review laws concerning the criminalization of incest and rape. The outcome was that The Incest (Punishment) Act was repealed (Jamaica Parliament 2009). The Offences against the Person Act of 1864 was revised to add provisions for rape and to create a Sex Offender Registry (Jamaica Parliament 2009). The punishment for knowingly committing incest has been increased to life imprisonment, and female as well as male offenders can now be found guilty of incest (Hanna 2009). Marital rape is now punishable, but only if the husband and wife are separated (Jamaica Parliament 2009). But, rape is defined as a crime that a man commits against a woman (Hanna 2009). This therefore leaves out the possibility that men can be raped (as well as women raped by a woman)—an unfortunate omission that particularly leaves victims of same-sex rape vulnerable and unprotected.

The 2009 revision was generally regarded as a disappointment in the activist and LGBTQ communities. The failure of the Parliament to protect vulnerable sexual

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minorities was not unexpected, but since there was considerable debate in creating the law, as well as in public culture, it cannot be said to be merely an oversight. Instead, it probably represents a calculated move to solidify the status quo.

Tomlinson v TVJ, CVM, and PBCJ

Fast forward four years: I sit in the smallest courtroom of the Supreme Court of Jamaica, Courtroom Nine, on a narrow bench against the back wall. The room is hushed and cool, yet airless and tense. I am squeezed in between an activist friend and a bored reporter for TVJ. All are present to hear Day Two of the Supreme Court hearing of Maurice Tomlinson, activist and head of the group AIDS Free World, whose public service announcement (PSA) promoting tolerance for LGBTQ citizens had been barred by Jamaica's media houses: Public Broadcasting Corporation of Jamaica (PBCJ), Community Television Systems Limited/Videomax Limited/Mediamix Limited (CVM) and Television Jamaica (TVJ). According to a press release from AIDS-Free World May 28, 2013, the PSA does not violate any rules for content, yet was denied being aired.

The thirty-one second PSA, produced by AIDS-Free World (Tomlinson's organization based in Toronto), features Tomlinson and Yvonne McCalla Sobers (of Families Against State Terrorism). Tomlinson greets his "Auntie 'Vonne," in a back garden, and she embraces him (AIDS-Free World 2012). She asks, "How you do?" (AIDS-Free World 2012). He tells her he is "Still trying to get Jamaicans to respect his human rights as a gay man" (AIDS-Free World 2012). She says, "I love you as my son. I don't know why you are gay, but as a Jamaican, I respect you and I love you. And love is enough for all of us" (AIDS-Free World 2012). They embrace again, the logo appears for AIDS-Free World, and the PSA is over (AIDS-Free World 2012).

Tomlinson's case is built on the recent expansion of the Constitution to protect free speech. He claims that the media houses' refusal to air the PSA interferes with his right to voice an opposing view, resulting in a de facto rule of the status quo. Per AIDS-Free World, Tomlinson's claim is a "constitutional challenge using Jamaica's new Charter of Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" (2013).

My environs are surreal: in the courtroom, counsel for TVJ pronounces that Tomlinson is furthering his "gay agenda on the Jamaican media houses" and that the sovereignty of the state is in jeopardy. Beside me, the bored TVJ reporter texts a friend and updates her Facebook status. She is overdressed for court in spike heels and a mini skirt that resembles a second skin, seemingly missing the irony as the attorney for her employer lays out the argument—the argument that is the crux of this research— that neither the Jamaican state nor its people are prepared to accept the LGBTQ segment of its populace. Of course, I think to myself, of course TVJ would send the most disinterested reporter to witness these proceedings, as it virtually guarantees incomplete and biased reporting.

The courtroom is starkly different from those back home in the United States. The panel of judges wear beautifully embroidered robes bearing the national colors. Counsellors, too, wear robes, though plain. The courtroom feels colonial and British. Many of the older spectators genuflect toward the dais upon entering and leaving the courtroom. Tradition weighs heavily and awkwardly in this bastion of the state.

In his opening statement, Lead Counsel Lord Anthony Gifford discusses censorship in terms of barring access to the airwaves only those opinions management disagrees with is an inherent breach of free speech. He makes comparisons to the

articles in the U.S. Constitution protecting free speech and the freedom of press with Jamaican understanding of the roles of the press and media. Gifford asserts that it is in the public's interest to represent minority interests and views as well as mainstream ones.

The justices interrupt Counsel Gifford to ask if there is a difference between print and broadcast media. They also raise the question that has been heavily latent from the start of the proceedings: Is not Tomlinson's case seeking special rights for a small minority? The level of tension and frustration in the room briefly peaks. Angeline elbows me, and I return her jab. We cannot believe our ears. Counsel Gifford counters by insisting that any denial of rights of free speech must be justified with sound, verifiable reasons.

Counsel for TVJ, Georgia Gibson-Henlin, asserted that the content of the PSA amounts to "private property," and "politics dressed as rights." Since the claimant suffered no harm, there is no need for constitutional redress, Gibson-Henlin argues. Indeed, while the Charter makes no exclusive protection on the basis of sexual orientation, it does mandate that "the state has an obligation to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms…" (Charter 13:1 2011). Additionally, Gibson-Henlin notes that there is no protection for expressions that are either illegal or promote violence.

As court was adjourned for the day, questions about private ownership and intellectual property percolated in my mind: to whom do the airwaves belong? Can private ownership supersede citizens' rights to freedom of expression? What are the limits of editorial privilege? Given that there were only about six seats available to

observers, I felt guilty taking up a seat on a following day when there were so many other activists who wished to be present for subsequent days and had not yet had the opportunity. I opted to follow the case via news and blogs—just as others interested in the outcome were doing. As it turned out, the proceedings lasted only two more days, after which the justices announced their decision would be made soon.

"Soon" turned out to be five and a half months later, when the three justices published their ruling, which includes their summaries of the arguments and the justices' comments upon them. The justices also interpret the scope and intention of the Charter, which was twenty years in the making. Each of the justices makes statements on portions of the ruling, but curiously, there is no synthetic closing statement in which the full implications of their decision are derived. Toward a clearer understanding of the importance of this landmark case, I have done so below.

Per Justice Sykes, to succeed, Tomlinson needs to demonstrate the following:

1. he has sufficient standing to bring this claim, that is, he must show that a Charter right has been, is being or is likely to be infringed in relation to him;

2. the act he wishes to do or has done is protected by the Charter, that is, the conduct must be within one or more of the provisions of the Charter;

3. the defendants are bound by the right(s) claimed;

4. the defendants' conduct infringed his Charter right;

5. there are no other adequate means of redress (Supreme Court 2013:45).

Linguistic and Conceptual Hurdles

In the proceedings, debate took place in which counsel for Tomlinson argued that the PSA in question not be referred to as "paid advertisement," but instead be called simply "video." Further, TVJ's and CVM's' control of a significant portion of Jamaican

airwaves presents a difficult challenge, as private corporate policy differs significantly from issues of public concern--the goal of private corporations is chiefly to generate profit for shareholders.

Gibson-Henlin argued that although a Jamaican national, Tomlinson does not reside in Jamaica full time, and so is not a legitimate claimant. She asserted, too, that he is merely a pawn of overseas financiers wishing to push their own agenda. It is of note that this is a legal interpretation of a folk perspective--that pressure from the outside world seeks to fundamentally change Jamaican culture and force Jamaica to accept its LGBTQ citizens. Because the Charter is a completely new document in Jamaica, there is considerable reliance in this case upon precedents from other legal contexts, namely South Africa, United Kingdom, and the United States.

In his summative remarks, Justice Sykes ultimately determines that Tomlinson does not prevail, and the media houses are not obligated to air his PSA. He goes on to note that Tomlinson has not been prevented from presenting his views, indeed Tomlinson has been given the opportunity to address the public via talk shows and interview programs (Supreme Court 2013). It is worth mentioning here that the format of talk/interview programs and PSAs is very different, with opposing views juxtaposed in interview programs. So, while access to the public itself has not been denied, the quality of that access has been attenuated.

While the Supreme Court decided against Tomlinson--the state did not order the media houses to air the PSA, they did make certain provisions in his favor. Chief among these was that the media houses were required to cover Mr. Tomlinson's legal expenses. Although PBCJ is a state-owned broadcaster, it is subject to strict provisions

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prohibiting paid advertising, which the PSA is evidently classified. Another important

outcome of this case is the determination that fundamental rights apply horizontally, as

stated by Sykes (Supreme Court 2013:80). What this means is that the type of case that

Tomlinson brought before the Supreme Court is allowable under the Charter--it is a

precedent-setting case. It is therefore possible to sue the state or a private party for

violations of Freedom of Speech. This follows the South African and U.S. examples

raised in the case.

Jaghai v. the Sodomy Code

Javed Jaghai's case seeks to prove the inherent unconstitutionality of the

Sodomy Code considering the 2011 Charter of Rights' provision for the protection of

privacy. Jaghai was evicted from his home by his landlord for being gay, a conclusion

that Jaghai asserts was reached only via a breach of his privacy. Jaghai's central claim

is hinged on the illegality of enforcing the law behind closed bedroom doors between

consenting adults.

Jaghai's case was delayed in being heard by the Supreme Court. At the time of

Tomlinson's hearing, it was expected that Jaghai's case would go before the Supreme

Court within a few months. This was not the outcome, however. In the ensuing months,

Jaghai endured nearly continuous delays and numerous threats. When violence was

threatened on his family members during this difficult time, Jaghai felt he could no

longer justify pursuing the court case. On August 31, 2014, he announced his

withdrawal of his case from consideration by the Supreme Court. At that time, his

counsel believed the case would not be heard until at least mid-2015, if not later.

During this time Jaghai also experienced emotional trauma in the illness and death of

his sister, Jodi. Even despite a successful social media campaign to raise funds for treatment over the summer, Jodi passed away on October 5, 2014.

Interpreting Sexuality through the State

Jamaica's implementation of the Charter provides the instrument through which the state's stance on sexual minorities may be interpreted. It is not, however, a clear image. Instead, like an antique looking-glass, its backing has clouded and partially conceals understanding. Nevertheless, there is much we can learn from these two cases.

The Tomlinson case, apart from being the first case of its kind, is noteworthy in its goal of addressing incomplete LGBTQ citizenship from within a legal appeals process. In his case, citizenship is both necessary and questioned. That Tomlinson is a Jamaican national is not directly interrogated, although his Jamaicanness is clearly suspect. This suspicion is palpable in Ms. Gibson-Henlin's argument, for example (Supreme Court 2013). She asserts that because he resides outside Jamaica, he is not a legitimate claimant. Further, Gibson-Henlin argues that Tomlinson is a mere pawn of outside financial backers wishing to promote an agenda (Supreme Court 2013). It is noted that this represents a legal expression of the argument in defense of homophobia that I have encountered in many forms before: the outside world is pressuring Jamaican government and culture to tolerate sexual minorities. While Tomlinson does reside outside Jamaica, spending most of his time in Toronto, his departure was under duress, rather than voluntary. Tomlinson fled Jamaica amid threats against his life as an out gay man. Not surprisingly, the Supreme Court document ignores this fact. Tomlinson is still very much connected to Jamaica—his family, friends, and activist network cause him to frequently visit every few months.

Bain v. University of the West Indies

Dr. Brendan Bain, a physician and professor whose research on HIV/AIDS among Caribbean MSM, was terminated from the University of the West Indies following his support for anti-gay legislation in Belize. Many of his arguments run contrary to global HIV/AIDS policy and scientific research, and his recommendations inflected with anti -gay bias. Shortly after his termination from UWI, the United States-funded program that sponsored his research withdrew funding, in an unrelated coincidence. Bain filed a lawsuit against UWI for wrongful termination, and UWI countersued on grounds that with the funding gone, there was no professorship to which Bain could be reinstated. Bain testified in 2010, in support of retaining Belize's laws criminalizing male same-sex intercourse. His argument maintains that these laws help protect against the spread of HIV/AIDS in the MSM community and general population. This flies in the face of conventional interventions and years of data accumulated by the UN, USAID, DFID, and many other NGOs working globally to ameliorate the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Bain had served as the director of the Regional Coordinating Unit of the Caribbean HIV Training Network (CHART) prior to his dismissal. CHART receives support from many U.S. and international sources, including the Clinton Foundation, Harvard University, Johns Hopkins University, UNDP, USAID, The World Bank, and the WHO, among others.

On September 26, 2014, the Supreme Court ordered UWI to reinstate Bain pending the hearing of his case on January 12, 2015. This was interpreted by LGBTQ activists as ominous, amidst fears the Supreme Court was about to support Bain. On January 12, 2015, the court upheld the University's right to terminate Bain, and he was released from paid leave. Bain sought legal damages from the University incurred by his

termination. Interestingly, Bain's counsel argued that his right to the freedom of expression was breached, and on August 1, 2017, the former ruling was overturned. UWI must now pay legal damages to Bain in the amount of JM$ 4.27 million (Mundle 2017).

2014 Parliamentary Review of Sexual Offences Act

The 2014 Parliamentary Review deliberated two considerations. The first questioned that there exists no provision for 16 and under to consent to a sex partner the same age. The second argues expungement for convictions under Section 10. There was no consideration given to debate the Sodomy Law.

Maurice Tomlinson (76 Crimes Blog) raised several concerns. The first suggests that the anti-sodomy portions of the law fail to prevent new cases of HIV. Tomlinson contends that keeping the law on the books encourages homophobia and closeted MSM sex, making health interventions to prevent STIs much more difficult. Third, Tomlinson asserts, that the law is impossible to enforce, as it requires the state's intrusion into the private lives of citizens. Tomlinson's fourth concern is that the law punishes vaginal rape far more harshly (with life imprisonment) than anal rape (with a 10-year maximum sentence). Ultimately, in Tomlinson's view, the lesser maximum punishment for anal rape could further stigmatize gay male victims.

Jaevion Nelson, LGBTQ activist, cites a collaborative case compiled with the help of several activist groups in the Jamaica Gleaner. Nelson highlights concerns that the 2014 law unjustly stigmatizes the sexual minority community. According to Nelson, the definition of intercourse needs to be revised to include oral, vaginal and anal penetration by either a penis or an object (Nelson quotes a recent study by UWI scholar

Boxill indicating 86% of Jamaicans wish to see the penalty made the same for both anal and vaginal rape).

Nelson goes on to point out that this definition should be aligned with the 2009 Child Pornography (Prevention) Act. He argues that it should extend the definition of rape to include non-consensual oral and anal penetration as well as several other considerations. There should be a clause for non-consensual vaginal penetration, he contends. All marital rape exceptions should be removed, according to Nelson. The language within the Act should be made to be gender-neutral to be more inclusive. Perhaps contentiously, Nelson advocates for decriminalizing prostitution, which has been successful in some other jurisdictions. Nelson suggests that the law does not protect older adults, and suggests provisions for elderly victims of sexual assault. Finally, Nelson asserts that provisions for a spouse to be induced to testify in cases of child sexual abuse are necessary to improve child welfare.

Review of the Act by a joint committee is ongoing, however, the committee has issued no statement of progress one year after the inquiry was initiated. Some of the recommendations from QCJ, JASL, J-FLAG, Caribbean DAWN and WMW Jamaica and compiled by attorney Tenesha Myrie are quite practical, (such as to streamline and use the same language across all pertinent legislation), and will likely be realized. Some of the more provocative recommendations, such as abolishing the prohibitions on sex between men and those against prostitution, are unlikely to be altered in any way. But, as the rather clandestine machinations of legal review take place behind closed doors, public pushback about the review has been outspoken, visible, and dramatic.

Renewed public interest in dramatic forms of gay-bashing, and anti-gay fear mongering has emerged in public culture. Several media stories, like The Observer's "The Pushback against Gays Has Begun," an unverified Observer report of a male jogger's gang rape, and an account of gangs of gay men with guns bearing the title "Homo Thugs!" in the Observer piece, emerged just as the committee began their review of the Offences against the Person Act. This is certainly no coincidence.

On June 29, 2014, 25,000 Jamaicans gathered in Half Way Tree in Kingston to protest the committee review of the Offences Against the Person Act (Merevick 2014; Surtees 2014). The event was organized by Jamaica CAUSE (Churches Action Uniting Society for Emancipation) (Merevick 2014). Drawing heavily on social understandings of "family values" standing in opposition to homosexuality, Alan Bailey, chairman of the rally (as quoted by Merevick 2014) told the throngs gathered

> Our emancipation means standing up for strong families, our emancipation means standing against the homosexuality agenda, emancipation for us means standing up against the repealing of the buggery law.

This is certainly one of the single largest anti-LGBTQ demonstrations to date. The sheer numbers of participants, combined with an emergent financially-backed anti-gay lobby seeks to prevent legal and political action to grant full citizenship to lesbian and gay Jamaicans. This is of grave concern to Tomlinson and other activists at QCJ, J-FLAG, JASL, and other groups.

What is palpable in these examples is the throb of moral panic reaching a threshold. Homosexuality is fiercely upheld as a spectral threat to national identity, or even the solvency of society itself. This recalls David Murray's (2009) work in Barbados. Like Barbados, national identity and normative media discourse in Jamaica is

predicated upon "a national body imagined to be heterosexual and masculine, which is perceived to be under attack from outside and inside forces" (Murray 2009:148). The defense of the homophobia-as-culture stance clearly illustrates the internally and externally contested nature of what makes up Jamaican public culture. Outside pressure to curb homophobic dancehall performances or to promote the safety and well-being of Jamaican lesbians, gays, and all-sexuals continues to increase social tension—heightening the "spectral" presence of non-normative sexuality in public culture. The unsubstantiated accounts of gays enacting violence against citizens reinforces the supposed spectral threat of homosexuality.

CHAPTER 5
ALWAYS LOOKING OVER YOUR SHOULDER: HYPERVIGILENCE AND OTHER STRATEGIES FOR SURVIVAL

Everyday Wounds

The everyday wounds and threats of homophobia make for a stressful and scary day-to-day existence of LGBTQ Jamaicans. Chapter 5 incorporates the many kinds of violence and fear that sexual minorities endure. Moreover, it shows them to persist, and even take back some aspects of territorial and public space. Some of the common themes that emerge from these individual experiences are double lives; fear of being discovered; loss of family, home, or job; threats of harm; difficulty or avoidance of healthcare (even for symptoms of HIV), and the ever-present burden of life lived under scrutiny and self-guardedness. Drawing on these themes, Chapter 5 explores some of the personal accounts of discrimination, hurt, and loss experienced--the human toll of homophobia.

Contested Public Space

Social privilege plays a significant role in the amount of safety and privacy to which an individual has access, regardless of sexual orientation. That said, the consequences for LGBTQ Jamaicans for transgressing social norms can be quite dear. By extension, the most privileged sections of the city are also the most tolerant of nonnormative sexuality. Communities within the "Golden Triangle," as well as New Kingston are regarded as safer zones by the activist community, and by those outside, as bastions of *nastiness* because there is typically less scrutiny for sexual minorities there.

Within this zone of exception, drag queens gather in parking lots to strut, and sometimes harass supermarket patrons. Male sex workers catering to male clientele

can be seen along busy intersections after dark. Activists gather, hidden in plain sight, at hotels and restaurants to strategize and handle organizational business. There are even house parties held at the homes of wealthier gays and lesbians with almost exclusively LGBTQ guest lists. These are not new occurrences, either. This holding pattern has been in place for decades, a terse standoff between sexual minorities seeking greater inclusion and normative Jamaicans largely refusing to accept them.

The public displays of the drag queens in shopping mall parking lots can be read as a kind of territorial activism. By visibly occupying public space, they are provocatively performing a type of activism. Their mere presence invites commentary from passersby, to which they baudily respond, sometimes jeering and taunting those who insult their hair, clothes, or shoes--the performance of femininity that normative Jamaicans frequently find so threatening. While the participants on both sides appear to be engaged in rather heated interaction, the entire scene is rather comedic. Verbal sparring is raised to an art form in Jamaica, not unlike many locations in the Black Atlantic. Yet, drag queens are inverting the power dynamic and mocking those who threaten violence in a playful, proud way, in public space. The cheeky playfulness, so much a part of both Jamaican verbal sparring AND drag culture, then, is used as a tool by drag queens to demonstrate how fierce and rooted they are. In making themselves unflinchingly visible, they are taking back public space and attempting to dominate these encounters.

Organizing in Plain Sight

Most of the organizations with whom I have liaised are grassroots groups without regular support, office space, or facilities. To hold meetings, or reach out to target groups, gathering in public places is necessary. Restaurants, libraries, hotel lobbies, college campuses, and bars are commonly used. Any group of LGBTQ individuals of

more than three are likely to draw the attention of passersby. Most often, this amounts to stares and negative comments of outsiders. In response, activist group members typically modulate their behavior in an attempt to be less conspicuous. They lower their voices, try not to dress in noticeable ways, and even meet in shifts to avoid drawing attention. But, because the Jamaican anti-gay gaze is so subtly tuned, most observers are still aware of what is going on. Grassroots activists must be able to tolerate a certain amount of discomfort to facilitate face-to-face meetings, in most cases.

The few groups with offices are not spared scrutiny either. JFLAG and JASL struggled to keep their locations secret. Even so, their addresses end up getting published. People living in the vicinity are aware of the influx of sexual minorities in their midst, and express displeasure verbally as well as in letters to newspaper editors. In some ways, having a physical location is a vulnerability requiring security systems, locked gates, and only two local taxi companies were approved to come onto the premises. Even despite precautions, safety is not guaranteed.

As a visitor, my presence represented a vulnerability. Even though I departed in the taxi called for me by the JFLAG receptionist, I was rudely questioned by the driver who picked me up. He insisted that a "lot of gays" were in the area and that I should be careful. He wondered, "did you know that they used to mill around all over this property?" I attempted to claim ignorance, trying to hide behind my outsider status. When he tried to press me for more information about my business there, I simply said I meet with human rights organizations, and that I was on official business. I took the driver's name, and reported the incident to JFLAG, asking them to be more selective of the drivers they call in future.

On another occasion, I met with lesbian activists in a popular New Kingston outdoor restaurant, and the meeting lapsed past nightfall. When I called my preferred driver to pick me up, he was busy, sending a colleague instead. I was unhappy about the substitution, and a bit fired up from my productive meeting. I said goodbye to the activists, and got into the car. Immediately, the driver started making unsolicited comments about gays--much to my dismay. Fearing an uncomfortable ride home, I went on the offensive and immediately challenged his negative views. A spirited debate was held on the way back, but I could not wait for the ride to be over. As soon as I reached home, I called my regular driver, and asked him not to send his colleague for me again-- for which he profusely apologized. I suspect that my regular driver knew what I was up to in my research, but he was thankfully a very tolerant and kind person.

Homelessness

Homelessness is an ongoing struggle, particularly for LGBTQ youth. As Jermaine's example illustrates below, homelessness is a serious and pressing issue among sexually minoritized Jamaicans. Creating a safe house for displaced and homeless presents a few significant challenges, chief among them the safety of the inhabitants and staff. In the wake of this gap, there exists no sufficient safety net. Abandoned buildings, vacant houses, gullies (open sewers and storm overflow culverts), and sewers (closed) are all used as shelter by homeless youth. "Sofa surfing" is another option, which makes it difficult to get a fix on the exact number of homeless gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender youth who are displaced.

Many of these homeless youths are the victims of "turning out," a phenomenon wherein a teen is discovered by family members to be gay, or suspected to be, and is kicked out of the family home because their sexual identity is deemed to be

unacceptable. Without any means of support, many turn to sex work to sustain themselves. Forced to leave school, homeless teens are unlikely to return or finish secondary education.

Double Life

Among gay men, the *down-low* is a very common phenomenon, to the point that it is cliché. However, the *down-low* is practiced by every sexual minority segment. When one conceals their sexual and gender identity from family, friends, and coworkers, a double life is in action. This is a very common occurrence, even among individuals in the activist community.

What is most damaging about *down-low* life is that it creates conditions in which sexually transmitted infections (STIs) proliferate. In these arrangements is a total breakdown of communication and informed consent between sexual partners. So, in the *down-low* male scenario, the male partner has unprotected sex with at least one female partner in a socially sanctioned relationship, while also having unprotected sex secretly with multiple male partners outside the home. The sex with men is unprotected because carrying condoms by male partners would likely arouse suspicion from the female partner. Consequently, both young women's and the population of men who have sex with men (MSM) HIV and STI infection rates continue to climb.

Living under Threat

A life lived under scrutiny is a life lived under threat: of outing, of loss, of enduring hardship and pain. Sexual orientation insults (*battyman fi dead, fish get fry*) are frequently heard, and developing a thick skin in public is a necessity. While most such occurrences are mere nuisances, there are moments where insults escalate into something more dangerous. Violence, and the threat of it is also commonplace. The

specter of physical violence and sexual assault is a burden borne by LGBTQ Jamaicans daily. Acid attacks, beatings, stonings, and murders are a part of the shared consciousness of the sexual minority experience. Similarly, sex workers frequently have been affected by violence. Sex workers are often dehumanized by johns, and worse, at high risk for becoming victims of violent crime.

Weariness and burnout from constant vigilance are a common occurrence. Many times, they are expressed as a desire to migrate. Burnout is also a significant threat to effective activism. The heavy burden of existing as a hated person in society must be carefully managed by activists.

Loss is a persistent theme among Jamaica's sexual minorities. This may come in the form of death, or outmigration. Premature death from violence and illness, as well as the voluntary exile of many members of the community leaves behind vacancies that are difficult to fill, particularly when a senior gay or lesbian is lost. The result is a population skewed to the very young and disconnected from the community's history.

Personal Encounters

Angeline

Angeline is a survivor of sexual assault. She and another young woman were kidnapped at gunpoint. During the attack, she was digitally penetrated, and taunted by her attackers with comments about how she was not really a lesbian anymore--now that she had been with men. This cruel and destructive type of attack is known as corrective rape. It is commonly believed that women are lesbians because they have not yet had sex with men. It is yet another way to brutalize lesbians into silence. When Angeline tried to report the assault, she found that what happened to her was not only not incredibly difficult to report (she had to out herself repeatedly to police personnel who

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clumsily handled her case), but the actual assault was not considered illegal. Digital

penetration was not (and still is not) considered to be a provision of the Offences

Against the Person Act.

Angeline, seeing the ways in which women were left out of the LGBTQ advocacy

landscape, went on to co-found QCJ. She is quickly becoming a global spokesperson

for the struggles in Jamaica. She frequently travels in her advocacy work, and was

recently recognized by name by President Obama for her efforts during his 2015 visit to

Jamaica.

Jude

I met Jude at the Roots of Pride event in which QCJ participated, in collaboration

with several other LGBTQ organizations (discussed later in Chapter 5). She is

extremely quiet and shy. She is very butch, even down to her name, by which she

chose to be known. She has a special needs son who was born when she was very

young. The teen boy's father was disturbed that Jude was living with her female partner

to raise their son. He outed Jude in court. The court removed Jude's son from her

custody. She had no visitation rights for 3 years, until he reached 14 years old, when he

then advised the court that he would rather reside in his mother's custody. When I met

her, Jude was anticipating regaining custody of her son in 6 months' time. Because she

and I fell out of contact after returning from the field, I do not know if this reunion took

place.

Maurice

Here is a brief personal history of Maurice Tomlinson, the activist working with

AIDS Free World, and at the center of the two landmark legal cases discussed in

Chapter 4. In 1999, Maurice felt compelled through familial and social pressure to get

married to a woman who knew he was gay. During his four-year marriage, they had a son together. Eventually, though, Maurice found he really could not stop feeling attraction to men, and he and his wife divorced, although they remain on good terms and he co-parents their son long distance.

After starting his working career as a flight attendant, Maurice became an attorney (trained in Italy at University of Turin) and a human rights advocate. In 2009, Maurice became a legal advisor to AIDS-Free World for marginalized groups like LGBTQ citizens. For two years, while also a lecturer at University of Technology, Maurice collected victim reports of human rights violations to challenge the portions of the Offences Against the Person Act prohibiting sex between men. To accomplish this, Maurice filed a case with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) in 2011.

In 2011, Maurice married his husband. Without his permission, his wedding photos were published in the press and he began to receive threats. His husband resided in Toronto at the time, so Tomlinson left Jamaica to prevent threats against his own life from being carried out. He did not wish to break his contract at UTECH, however. His solution was to commute between Toronto and Kingston three days per week until the term finished. Following the completion of his teaching contract, Maurice chose a life in exile rather than risk his partner's and his own life. Maurice does make frequent brief visits to Jamaica and other Caribbean islands with prohibitions against LGBTQ persons.

Because Maurice resides outside Jamaica, he exists in a transnational space. Apart from participating in advocacy in Jamaica and his adoptive country, Canada, he is

active in Belize, Trinidad and Tobago, Bahamas, and Uganda. While he does deploy a certain amount of globalized sexual minority rhetoric, he is very much a Jamaican. He longs to live in the land of his birth, albeit a Jamaica that welcomes her LGBTQ citizens with open arms. In public lectures, he often recalls an earlier time in Jamaica when there was greater tolerance for nonnormative sexuality. (This mirrors Silvera 2009.) Because Maurice is a cultural insider, he cannot be said to be imposing a transnational gay agenda upon Jamaica from the outside.

Jalna

Jalna is not a feminine woman. She prefers to dress butch. She has predominantly Indian and European ancestry, and has a very light complexion, so she is instantly noticeable. She is a very direct, plain speaking person. These characteristics are at odds with Jamaican middle-class norms for female behavior. At one point, Jalna struggled to conform to these norms, but she was miserable. She constantly constrained herself, but always felt at risk of her true self becoming known. After holding a job in a popular retail big box store, Jalna allowed herself to relax a bit, and not long after, she and another gay employee who occasionally wore nail polish to work found themselves unemployed. Jalna searched for a different job, and went on many interviews. She claims that her skills and knowledge ought to have more than qualified her, yet she was turned down repeatedly. Because she refused to wear dresses, and behave in traditionally feminine ways, Jalna feels she was discriminated against, with little recourse. Eventually, she abandoned her search and dedicated herself to activism as a co-founder of QCJ.

Jermaine

Jermaine is a mid-twenties transgender activist and the founder of the Colour Pink Group. At 16, she was "turned out" of her home. Her mother left her by the Kingston Waterfront downtown because of her gender expression and sexual activity with men. Jermaine became a sex worker to survive. She slept in abandoned lots and empty buildings, moving through different areas of the city to meet clients. She was trafficked to other parishes on several occasions. Jermaine confessed how frightened, desperate, and worthless she felt during this time. She contracted HIV. Her break came when a woman offered to help Jermaine attend school. At first, Jermaine only attended because she wanted a stipend, but she soon found she was excelling, and got good grades. She never got the chance to thank her benefactor, but this opportunity dramatically changed the course of Jermaine's life. She became a sex worker turned activist, seeking to reach out to others in her former circumstances, to lift them up and allow them to reclaim a sense of worthiness while accessing education and job training to escape relying on sex work.

Laura

Laura is one of the few fully transitioned transgender research consultants with whom I liaised. To accomplish this, Laura was forced to seek therapy for gender dysphoria. Jamaican medical experts--doctors, and psychologists, still regard transgendered individuals as diseased/disordered. Laura endured much scrutiny as she sought the medical interventions she needed to become a whole person.

Laura is a web coder by trade. She works from home so that she can be self-employed and not be subjected to scrutiny in the workplace. She participates in activism, both online and in real-time. Her group, Aphrodite's Pride provides support

and advocacy to transgender Jamaicans. But, Laura is becoming more reclusive. She battles depression, and she wants desperately to leave Jamaica. She is intensely creative. She is a dreamer. In her spare time, she writes. She also invents new ways to use her skills as a web coder, including designing social media apps to support community policing and to empower LGBTQ citizens with a function to document and report instances of discrimination and violence.

Georgia and Afifa

Georgia is an activist and artist. So is Afifa. They both identify as queer. They choose this identification because they feel that labels serve to divide nonnormative Jamaicans. Together, they have created an alternative, welcoming space north of Kingston, SO((U))L HQ, which is part art studio, vegan kitchen, and commune. It is a queer-friendly gathering space, as well. Georgia is an active participant in Women's Media Collective. Afifa is a practicing Rastafarian, from a feminist, queer vantage point. Together, they host a variety of art and LGBTQ events in their facility. Afifa's worldview is particularly remarkable because Rastafari generally maintains a very anti-gay perspective. Many Rasta dancehall performers, for example, are well known for their homophobic lyrics. Afifa sees her spiritual life as a way of deeply owning her Jamaican identity and maintaining pride in her African ancestry, and for those reasons, is worth "taking back" Rastafari for herself and other queer Jamaicans.

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Moments of Victory

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The last six weeks of my fieldwork stay were focused on assisting with organizing and executing a Pride event with some smaller LGBTQ activist organizations. The planning and staging of the event were remarkably fruitful, helping to establish a closer

working relationship between QCJ, NADA (National Anti-Discrimination Alliance), and Pride in Action, along with SO((U))L HQ (a queer-friendly art collaborative.) All of these grassroots groups are actively working toward LGBTQ inclusion and to fill a perceived gap in action-oriented activism.

The event was originally conceived as an International Day Against Homophobia event, but quickly shifted into a Pride celebration due to some planning hurdles as well as a desire among the event planners to distance "the movement" from negative images of the LGBTQ community. Considering that homophobia frequently operates at the level of rhetoric in Jamaica, a consensus was quickly reached by the four organizations that focusing on the positives of the community would be more productive as the community-building exercise they envisioned for the event.

What was chosen instead was June 9th, the anniversary of the death of Brian Williamson, whose life was dedicated to LGBTQ activism. While it might sound rather morose, the groups wanted to celebrate Brian's life and dedication. Further, because the date has significance to the Jamaican LGBTQ struggle, it made sense to solidify this date as a tragic but important milestone. Because so many LGBTQ youth are out of touch with their community's history, it also made sense that this event could be used as a method to educate and reinvigorate interest from young folk.

We encountered some difficulties, of course. It was difficult to locate a space for the event. Eventually, SO((U))L HQ graciously offered their space, which was ideal except for the Stony Hill location, which made it difficult for some to reach. This was mitigated by renting a car and shuttling attendees from a meeting point in Half Way Tree. The main feature of the event was to be a film screening of "Call Me Kuchu," a

documentary about the life and murder of David Kato, an LGBTQ activist from Uganda.

Figure 5-1 is a flyer created for the event:

Figure 5-1. Flyer for Roots of PRIDE event (Image courtesy of Quality of Citizenship Jamaica).

The film was followed by a discussion. Prior to the film, attendees could visit each group's informational setup, to get flyers, talk with the members and to interact with each other. Refreshments were available before dusk when two performance pieces were put on by "Activist Alley," a group of theatrical members of NADA (Figure 5-2). After the film and discussion, attendees wrote messages of hope on fabric leaves which were to be incorporated on the rainbow tree that was cooperatively painted by some of the more artistic participants (Figure 5-3). QCJ displayed membership

information and offered LGBTQ books for on-site perusal (Figure 5-4). Other kinds of

information about consent and safe spaces were posted (Figure 5-5). To close the

event, a candlelight vigil was held to remember Brian's life and to inspire hopefulness

for the challenges to come. After the event, the proud organizers posed for a group

photo with the Jamaican flag and the rainbow flag, side-by-side (Figure 5-6). The photos

from the event, taken by QCJ documentarian and co-convener Jalna, are used with her

permission here.

Figure 5-2. NADA display table (Image courtesy of Jalna Broderick).

Figure 5-3. Collaborative art project (Image courtesy of Jalna Broderick).

Figure 5-4. QCJ display table (Image courtesy of Jalna Broderick).

Figure 5-5. Safe space infographic (Image courtesy of Jalna Broderick).

Figure 5-6. The organizers (Image courtesy of Jalna Broderick).

CHAPTER 6
QUEER BLACKNESS: MULTIPLE OTHERING OF JAMAICA'S SEXUAL MINORITIES

Constructions of Otherness

Race, class, color, and gender—powerful social forces that are palpable in so many other facets of Jamaican culture, are very much at work in sexual politics as well. Jamaica's colorism, its native color hierarchy, is a racial system. Race is also present in Jamaica's class system, manifest in privilege conferred upon the lighter skinned and the financially privileged. Gender is highly structured, males are on top, women beneath them. There are, of course, numerous examples of exceptions (Harrison 1997, Safa 1995, Ulysse 2007). When applied to those on the LGBTQ spectrum, the normative gender hierarchy is curiously reproduced: gay men, followed by lesbians, and trans- and queer individuals near the bottom. In part, the historic context of gay men's longer participation in activism and greater institutionalization of gay-male organizations also contributes to this bias.

As will be unpacked below, these crosscutting social forces converge in the Uptown/Downtown phenomenon (Thomas 2004, Ulysse 2007). While geographic terms originally, they have evolved to much greater social significance. Uptown is, generally, synonymous with privilege, Brownness, conservative morality, and social order. Downtown is associated with poverty, ghettoized Blackness, wanton sexuality, loose morals (*slackness*), and lawlessness. Together, these divergent sets of mores comprise the value.

There is a voyeuristic and privileged trope of consumerism in which White and Brown Uptowners make use of Downtown Black bodies for work, for sex, and for entertainment so common that it is cliché in Jamaica (Thomas 2004). Black parties

downtown, Dancehall music, and its provocative dances are readily-recognizable

examples of white/Brown privileged consumption of Black culture. Privilege insulates

from insecurity, violence, and to some extent, the worst abuses of intolerance. But, in a

few notable exceptions, the tables have been turned, and Downtown violence has been

meted out against Uptown victims. Within the LGBTQ population, such encounters have

made headlines when violence against wealthy Uptowners has occurred.

These biases are also very present in LGBTQ organizing, so that poor, Black,

and gay youth are ostracized, and ultimately underserved by activist groups.

Essentially, this leaves them out of outreach campaigns as well as participation in

organizational decision-making. Thus, the schisms creating vulnerability for

marginalized portions of the population further peripheralize young queer, Black

Jamaicans.

One outcome of ostracism is a growing homeless population of LGBTQ youth,

many who now reside in the gullies, or sewer systems of Kingston. They are known as

Gully Queens, or Scary Queens (a pejorative applied to them by privileged outsiders).

They exist in a liminal space socially, which heightens their fragile position at the

margins of society. Liminality has a long history of study in anthropology, which can

denote an undefined, "betwixt and between" status (Turner 1969:107). In such

circumstances where an individual's status is undefined, a temporary reprieve from the

ordinary social norms may take place. One example of this phenomenon I have

observed is brief social tolerance for men cross-dressing in Jamaican Carnival parades.

Or, liminality can indicate a dangerous, threatening kind of un-belonging, which

structures social hierarchies (Douglas 1966). It is this second categorization, which I

have observed most often, that constitutes a repulsion based on moral judgements, and is the threshold to moral panic as well permanent outsider status (Douglas 1966, Irvine 2009). Because they are so visibly different, and very poor, even activist groups like J-FLAG have sought to distance themselves from substantive engagement of these gay and trans youth and their dangerous, liminal, un-belonging. Yet, they are most in need of positive intervention.

Lesbians and bisexual women, like the women of QCJ, have also struggled to maintain an activist base due to the strictures of these race/gender systems. They have historically evaded the kinds of discrimination faced by gay men, which contributes to their invisibility. However, they are more likely to experience certain patterns of violence, such as corrective rape, which are no less damaging. And, as with global patterns of sexual violence worldwide, such assaults are underreported, for many reasons.

Economics come to bear differential effects on Jamaica's sexual minority population. Beyond the effects that reinforce vulnerability of the minoritized population, there is evidence to suggest that homophobia has many economic costs associated with it. These include hurdles in education and the business world for lesbians and gays, permanently limiting their participation in these arenas.

Seropositivity still plays a role in the Othering of those affected by it within the LGBTQ community. While greater tolerance now exists, the most vulnerable among them still experience the highest rates of infection, in conjunction with their higher rates of participation in sex work (and thus, resultant of occupational exposure and not sexual orientation). Sexual minorities are subject to the same stressors, if not more acutely felt with regard to STIs. Thus, the burden is magnified.

Race in Structural Inequality

Studies of racial politics (Gilroy 1987; Ifekwunigwe 1999; Brown 2005) and structural inequality (Firmin 2000; Harrison 2008) clarify some of the hidden processes of institutionalized racism. The study of race is polyvalent, and highly intersectional. It is significant in nearly every context within the study of African Diasporic peoples. Race has a long history of intellectual inquiry and critique, as evidenced by Firmin (2000) in *The Equality of the Human Races*, a book clearly ahead of its time (originally published in 1885) for its cogent argument against a biological basis for race, identifying instead social and structural origins for the disparities between African-descendants and whites.

Faye V. Harrison has long been concerned with structural inequality (1982, 1997), and in *Outsider Within*, she continues academic discourse on "reworking anthropology," to include sustained attention to issues of racialized and class-based global inequality (2008). In a chapter devoted to challenging "global apartheid," Harrison explains her reworking of this term, which she conceptualizes as "inequality in the United States and the world at large…structured around more than a single axis of difference and separation" (2008:221). Drawing on a genealogy of engaged scholarship associated with the work of Johan Galtung (1990), Gernot Köhler (1995), and, in anthropology, the work of Paul Farmer (2003), Harrison characterizes the phenomenon as the severe widening of disparities "in the US and the world at large" and solidifies her argument for the persistence of global apartheid (2008: 221). The concept is closely associated with that of structural violence. Harrison charges anthropology to do more than merely documenting aspects of this apartheid, indicating that the discipline is capable of developing critical frameworks and indeed, "acting against the invidious reality of global apartheid" (2008:237).

Social Class

Jamaica's social hierarchy situates poor Blackness as Othered. Jamaican society frames Uptown values as normative, while Downtown values are structured as degraded and dysfunctional. In reality, both tropes exist parallel to one another, inherited from colonial norms. Uptown values, tied to privilege, are essentially the descendants of white, British Victorian mores. Downtown values, associated with Blackness, poverty, and instability are still denigrated because Blackness itself is still fraught in postcolonial Jamaica.

Deborah Thomas (2004) observes the effects of social class in her fieldsite of Mango Mount. There she found that the differences between Uptown and Downtown to be tied to social values concerned with respectability and wealth. Adhering to such values, often through the religious practices of conservative Protestantism, Thomas shows the moral hierarchy can be leveraged by those who are upwardly mobile. This is yet another expression of the reputation/respectability dyad originally posited by Wilson (1969). The popularity of downtown parties by Mango Mount youth, then, illustrates the willingness of young people to test the boundaries of social confines while still enjoying the privileges of upper class life.

Gina Ulysse observes a different aspect of the trope of respectability from the vantage point of a Black Caribbean woman: that Black market women are marginalized by society as low class, uneducated and interrupting the status quo of respectability. However, she demonstrates them to be empowered through the market and making money to attain parallel status to many in the middle-class. Thus, they participate in the global economy as individual actors.

Clearly the rigidity of the class system, particularly as expressed via Wilson's (1969) reputation/respectability dichotomy plays a profoundly impactful role in structuring the boundaries between Jamaican social classes. However, Thomas (2004) and Ulysse (2007) reveal instances in which the dyad is subverted. Like all hierarchies that position individuals largely as a consequence of heredity, the power of the system is never totalized (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991).

Colorism

Blackness is Othered via Jamaica's racial system. Because more than 90% of Jamaica's population is Afro-descended, (CIA 2017) the social hierarchy is distributed along a convergence of skin color and social class, with preference given to lighter skin and wealth. It can be said that vastly different social norms apply to wealthy white and Brown circles, as opposed to mostly poor and Black ones.

In Jamaica, Deborah Thomas (2004) has characterized this as a fluidity of colorism through occupation, land ownership, and family ties. It is important to note that the greatest mobility is typically afforded to people of mixed ancestry, however. Furthermore, new expressions of entrepreneurship have created new opportunities for climbing the social ladder (Ulysse 2007). Education is also an important factor in social mobility, but access to it is highly differential.

John Burdick shows the color hierarchy in Brazil to be most restrictive for Black women (1998). The racial hierarchy affects almost every aspect of their lives, from romantic partners, to limiting employment opportunities, and educational opportunities. While some flexibility exists for changing how one is racially perceived in some situations, such modifications likely involve invasive alteration of hair texture through

chemical relaxers, or educational attainment (Burdick 1998). Both are costly for poor women, but modification of appearance is most accessible.

Collision Course: Class and Colorism in LGBTQ Context

The previous discussion of class and colorism illustrates how closely these systems overlap. While there are numerous examples of conflicts arising out of these systems, here I add the additional system of homophobia for analysis. The following events encapsulate the intersection of class, color, and sexual identity.

Ambassador Peter King was found murdered in his Stony Hill, St. Andrew home March 20, 2006. King served as Chairman of the Trade Board and Special Envoy of Jamaica. He also led a double life, of which his wife was unaware. It is rumored that he frequently entertained young Black men as overnight guests and sex partners. He is believed to have also filmed these escapades, with more than 460 videos of sexual content seized by police, although none were admitted to evidence by the court in this case. Pusey, the man convicted of killing and mutilating the body of King, claimed he committed the murder because King had attempted to rape him.

While this is a horrific example, it conveys the power privilege carries, even for a gay man. A Brown man, King, by virtue of his education and occupation, felt entitled to consume sex with young, poor, Black men. That he filmed many sexual exploits suggests that he felt a certain entitlement to do so. He also kept meticulous logs of all the visitors to his home, including their photos and addresses, which implies he was concerned for safety—he knew he had an Achilles heel. Ultimately, King's status as an ambassador is one reason that his killer was brought to trial and convicted, all within three years, a comparatively brief period for the usually backlogged Jamaican justice system.

The consumption of Black bodies by white/Brown privileged ones is not a new story in Jamaica, or indeed, anywhere in the Black Atlantic. But, the minoritized position of gay/bisexual men does reveal some critical aspects of their vulnerability in Jamaican society. Even a highly positioned gay man is vulnerable to being outed, or turned on by a jilted sexual partner.

Gay on Gay Violence vs. Homophobia

So, is King's a case of homophobia? Or is it merely gay on gay violence, as asserted by media sources? I argue that the conditions of homophobia are ultimately responsible. The social sanctions of homophobia caused King to be closeted. It raised the stakes for Pusey's need to protect his identity.

The pressure to appear outwardly straight caused Pusey to be on the down low. The economic pressures affecting gay youth disproportionately necessitated him to be "gay for pay." Pusey did not identify himself as a gay man, and when threatened with being outed by King, he retaliated with violence rather than suffer the social consequences.

Thus, the threat of exposure and outing, combined with societal expectations for masculinity caused Pusey to violently protect his sexual identity. Violence is one of the few modes of demonstrating masculinity available to poor, Black Jamaican men (Harrison 1997, Whitehead 1986). Harrison, building on Whitehead (1986), explains the Black male gender trope to include "such 'reputational' attributes as virility, physical prowess, toughness, and defiance of authority…masculinity is constructed in terms of the ability to be tough and defiant enough to use violence…" (1997:461). It makes sense, within this context, that Pusey would respond in the brutal manner he did,

because he had little other recourse that would not expose him as a gay man to outsiders and authorities.

Global Index on Legal Recognition of Homosexual Orientation

Kees Waaldijk believes that all societies go through a similar process of contesting homosexuality and struggling over whether its legalization is warranted (2009). Globally, Waaldijk asserts that most countries are moving toward legalizing and accepting homosexuality (2009). Only in a small minority is the process reversing (Waaldijk 2009). Decriminalization comes first, per Waaldijk, then the inclusion of sexual orientation in anti-discrimination legislation, then partial or complete recognition of LGBTQ marriage/union and family (Waaldijk 2009). This process is reflected in European and U.S. contexts, for example. Waaldijk notes that this is tied into the colonial legacy of Europeans and the United States because an imperialistic directive to structure social relations in former colonies. But, it should be noted that three non-European postcolonial countries were the first to include specific provisions protecting sexual minorities in their constitutional documents: South Africa, Fiji, and Ecuador (Waaldijk 2009:3). Of course, there is often a gap between de jure codifications and the reality of law enforcement and implementation, as discussed in Chapter 4. Legislative and legal reform is necessary but insufficient as a sole mode of social change.

From the process described above, Waaldijk found four categories emerged: "decriminalization, anti-discrimination, partnership recognition, and family recognition" (Waaldijk 2009). Drawing on data from already-published studies, and anonymous, unfootnoted sources (such as: Amnesty International, Behind the Mask [African LGBTQ media NGO], press reports, etc.). It should be noted that the latter are included but not considered conclusive by the author, and actual data from such sources are not

represented in the tables.   With inputs from 39 countries, Waaldijk asked the following eight questions:

1a: Are homosexual acts between adults legal in criminal law? If so, since when?

1b: After decriminalization, are age limits now equal for homosexual and heterosexual acts? If so, since when?

2a: Is sexual orientation discrimination in employment explicitly forbidden in legislation? If so, since when?

2b: Is such discrimination in relation to goods/services explicitly forbidden in legislation? If so, since when?

3a: Is there any recognition in law of non-registered cohabitation by same-sex partners? If so, since when?

3b: Can same-sex couples enter into a registered partnership or civil union? If so, since when?

4a: Is joint and/or second-parent adoption by same-sex partner(s) legally possible? If so, since when?

4b: Can same-sex couples get legally married? If so, since when?

Jamaica is unfortunately not one of the countries included in Waaldijk's chronological overview of global same-sex recognition. Nevertheless, applying the eight questions to Jamaica, and viewing the preliminary results of Waaldijk's overview help to understand Jamaica's position among the 39 countries included. By answering the eight questions using knowledge gathered during fieldwork, Jamaica is among the bottom tier countries on the Global Index, unsurprisingly.

Gay Economics

Homophobia has economic costs. I have preliminarily calculated approximate losses to the Jamaican economy. Using a few readily available governmental statistics, and approximate population size ratios, the numbers are simple enough to calculate. Jamaica population is 2,723,246 according to recent census information. The highest estimate of the LGBTQ population is 10%, so that is 272,324 for a maximum population.

Jamaica's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (in USD) is 14.36 billion. The LGBTQ segment of GDP (at 10% max) is 14.36 million. Jamaica's total workforce size is 1,715,644.98 (or 63% of the total population). If we multiply the total workforce size by .6, the LGBTQ workforce size is estimated to be 163,394. The segment is used as a maximum possible contribution for LGBTQ population to argue that if the GDP remains static, this ought to be the amount they contribute. However, this is not the case, for several reasons discussed later.

Homophobia harms the economy in specific ways. It is hard for gay business owners to thrive outside LGBTQ niche. Most of these operate in tourist towns like Montego Bay, Ocho Rios and Negril (and towns between them), and operate shops and restaurants that cater to tourists (but not exclusively gay clientele). In Kingston, the handful of gay business owners own clothing shops or work in the entertainment industry.   The costs in lost tourism are difficult to calculate. The international LGBTQ community is very aware of Jamaican homophobia, and gay travelers generally avoid visiting Jamaica. There have been various campaigns to boycott travel to the island, as well as its products (such as Boycott Jamaica), with nominal success. The overall costs remain elusive.

Homophobia harms the economy and society in terms of lower educational attainment due to harassment and discrimination in school. In addition, as sexual orientation and gender identity emerge in the teen years, a common practice in religiously conservative families is to "turn out," or completely shun LGBTQ adolescents, rendering them homeless and forcing them to leave school. Every young person I met had either experienced the trauma of being kicked out of the family home, was living

under the possibility of being kicked out, or had already been threatened with it. Without any chance to finish school, these homeless teens frequently engage in sex work to survive. In either instance, overall lower levels of educational attainment result in potentially measurable outcomes: a lifetime of lower earnings that continue the cycle of poverty and exclusion of sexual minorities. During my fieldwork, police were cracking down on the communal squat houses where homeless queer youth lived. Many of these vacant homes were in upscale neighborhoods (like mine), which neighbors disliked. Once evicted, these young people had few options, and many resorted to living in storm drains closer to either New Kingston or downtown.

In workplaces, similar kinds of discrimination and employee harassment create hostile work environments. Most successful LGBTQ employees can only find success by "playing straight," by concealing their sexual orientation from coworkers and supervisors. This can be very tricky, as most of my research consultants who work in the formal sector are employed in either retail or service spheres that deal directly with the public (not surprisingly, as these are among the largest employment segments in the economy) and subject to complaints by patrons. Workplace discrimination, compounded by overall lower educational attainment results in lower workforce participation, smaller GDP, and a smaller workforce. Ultimately this means smaller tax income, with implications for decreased state resources. It should be noted that decreased overall economic productivity, causes a decrease of consumer spending, and an increase in unregulated/informal market activities as well as contributing to overall economic instability.

The Role of Infectious Disease in Reducing Labor Market Participation

Infectious disease is another important factor in creating vulnerability and reducing formal labor market participation. Illness, not surprisingly, results in missed days at work, But, in the case of HIV, which can result in long term disability, particularly in cases in which patients have reduced access to healthcare to manage symptoms effectively.

Homophobia contributes to increasing STI & HIV rates in several important ways. First, homophobia in the workplace creates a hostile work environment for sexual minorities. Minoritized workers who have experienced workplace discrimination may avoid their jobs, resulting in lost wages/time off from work, as well as high attrition from the workforce. Living with HIV and STIs has increased associated healthcare costs (personal, state and NGO). For very poor persons living with HIV and other STIs, these costs may be prohibitive, and they may engage in riskier sexual behavior, increasing risk of infection to sexual partners. Black gay youth, are disproportionately affected by lack of economic opportunity, and therefore experience the most extreme effects of this system.

Gay Blackness: The Double Burden of Being Both Black and Gay

Having already discussed some of the economic factors that peripheralize poor LGBTQ youth, here the overlay of racial identity is further unpacked. The intersection of the racial hierarchy and the sexual hierarchy creates unique stresses on this doubly minoritized segment. Even within the sexual minority community, the schisms of gender, race, and class can be felt.

Overall, activist community outreach underserves poor, Black gays and lesbians. But, it should be noted that a micro-hierarchy also exists: gays receive more

representation than lesbian and trans women. This reproduces race and gender hierarchies found in wider society.

Largely, the reproduction of racial and class schisms within the activism landscape leaves poor, undereducated gays, trans and lesbians out of the decision-making process. Similarly, they were frequently excluded from strategic action, and leaves with little to no representation for future outreach. In meetings with stakeholders and ally organizations, the few brave representatives for the downtown LGBTQ population were trivialized and talked over, effectively silencing them.

Frequently, I witnessed the application of class bias by middle-class LGBTQ activists to poor gays and lesbians where there frequently was also a color differential. This was especially visible at J-FLAG. Poor gays and lesbians were regarded unruly, badly behaved, gaudy, loud, and drawing the wrong kind of attention--that jeopardizes the safety of the compound. Ultimately, at J-FLAG, this was packaged as a security risk. In the immediate sense, and is at least partially understandable. J-FLAG's location at that point was in the Golden Triangle (an Uptown neighborhood), and neighbors of the property did make some complaints. However, in my observation, this was more a case of internal policing of behavioral norms of respectability, and an expression of expectations tied to social class than anything else. It was clear to me that greater value was placed on restrained middle-class expressions of gay identity, in which there was little respect for raucous drag queens.

It also became clear that these forms of discrimination against Black sexual minorities mirrored tropes of Black dependence already present in society. The types of outreach were generally charitable in orientation, and not geared toward empowerment

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or making structural changes to mitigate the deeper sources of these vulnerabilities. The actions of grassroots groups focused on making such changes came from within the downtown population itself, unsurprisingly. One example comes from Colour Pink, in which a transwoman, and former sex worker who succeeded in finishing school, sought to provide the same opportunities to other gay and trans sex workers.

The color hierarchy is manifest in other damaging, but observable ways. One practice familiar from other plantation societies, is the notion of Black bodies as hypersexualized. This concept has many expressions I have touched on previously such as the urban art form of dancehall, for example. White uptown voyeurs frequently seek thrills by attending downtown street parties, as well. A direct legacy of the plantation is the sexual consumption of Black bodies by white bodies.

Black bodies are also valued differently in the color hierarchy. The bodies of Black people are frequently regarded as disposable, unworthy (when it comes to abuses of power, this is highly relevant), or in need of physical discipline. Police brutality in poor Black communities is common. The bodies of Black sexual minorities are not spared the reach of physical discipline. If anything, they are subject to greater scrutiny and brutality.

A critical outcome of the limitations put in place by Jamaica's color hierarchy are the structural hurdles that constrain the movement, advancement, and citizenship of Black people. For Black sexual minorities, this effect is magnified. They experience more flagrant forms of discrimination, increasing their marginalization. They are more vulnerable to violence (physical and sexual), as a result, as well.

After experiencing violence or sexual assault, Black LGBTQ victims have less institutional access. This means that reporting crime, filing complaints, and getting effective protection from police are not guaranteed. Consequently, this engenders a lack of trust of law enforcement on the part of sexual minorities. In some cases, the lack of trust borders on outright fear of the constabulary. It should be said that police response has improved in recent years, in large part due to sensitivity training initiated by LGBTQ activist groups. Recently, police have protected LGBTQ victims from their assailants, such as the case of a man pursued by an angry mob in Old Harbour, St. Catherine in 2013; May Pen in 2014; and in Half Way Tree in Kingston in 2015.

Hypervisibility, in which sexual minorities are subject to greater scrutiny, is prevalent. It takes many forms: from a media preoccupation with anti-gay news stories, to surveillance in public places, LGBTQ people ultimately feel watched, but not seen. The constant negative message they receive from society and its institutions cultivate a sense of deviancy, which is internalized over time. This leads to the paradox of "hiding in plain sight," and lends an ephemeral quality to life as a misfit in a society with rigid gender norms. Homosexuality looms large as a vague threat to the perceived order of gender norms, one that needs to be carefully constrained to prevent its spread. This is the quality of "spectral homosexuality" that David Murray identifies in "Homo Hauntings" (2009:146).

Surviving Being Gay and HIV+

Being seropositive and LGBTQ results in another class of Othering in Jamaica. The people most vulnerable to HIV, Black, young sexual minorities, find themselves multiply ostracized should they become ill. Jamaicans commonly associate gay men with HIV, even though young women 18-24 have the highest rates of HIV infection. The

discrepancy is partially based in cultural understandings of HIV as a "gay disease," as well as the folk belief that sex with a virgin girl will cure STIs.

Gay and down low HIV+ individuals often delay treatment due to fear of discrimination by doctors, nurses, and medical staff. This fear is not unfounded, there exist numerous cases of documented discrimination.

Effective antiretroviral (ARV) treatment also requires excellent nutrition. For the homeless HIV+ population, ARV therapy is out of reach due to cost as well as for the quantity and type of nutrition needed. This is a known problem throughout the developing world where both HIV and insufficient nutrition occur together, or are syndemic. The implications for this are profound and life-altering, in many cases. Some HIV+ sex workers continue to engage in risky sex for pay even after diagnosis, out of bare necessity. Some HIV+ down low men have unprotected sex with their female sex partners to conceal the fact that they also engage in same-sex sex.

Black Lesbians: On Being (Mostly) Invisible

Chapter 6 has helped to elucidate the ways in which Blackness correlates with invisibility in systems of global apartheid. Black women particularly fall into the void of invisibility. For Black Jamaican lesbians, this is even more evident, as they have even less visibility than others on LGBTQ spectrum.

There are an incredibly small number of LB (Lesbian and Bisexual) women's groups. Lesbians are underserved for services and outreach. Historically, J-FLAG has minimized or ignored the needs of the LB women's community. In my own interactions with J-FLAG, I observed this, along with indifference and a lack of inclusion. As a woman, I found my identity heightened my outsider status when I interacted with members of the organization. It should be noted that the only women I observed on J-

FLAG staff were nurses who assist with health interventions like STI treatment and ARV distribution, as well as counselors who help with emotional trauma. Unsurprisingly, these are traditionally female-dominated professions. No women were found in decision-making capacity at J-FLAG.

The organization that formerly cooperated closely and shared facilities and some personnel with J-FLAG, Jamaica AIDS Support for Life (JASL), does have a history of female leadership over the last six years. But, its close ties with J-FLAG, as well as its focus on Jamaicans living with HIV and AIDS, also diverted focus away from the LB community. The pool of international financial resources that both J-FLAG and JASL rely on tend to earmark funds specifically to help gay men, which further skews the types of outreach they can provide away from LB as well as trans women.

Because J-FLAG and JASL retained blinders about female sexual minorities, a few small organizations specifically targeting them have emerged. The ones with which I worked most closely, Quality of Citizenship Jamaica (QCJ) and Women for Women, (WfW), face many institutional hurdles. They are disadvantaged by being new on the grassroots organizing scene, for targeting an underserved population, and for competing with older, established organizations that, on paper, claim to attend to the entire LGBTQ population for limited international donor funds.

Lesbians have less access to transnational grant funding. QCJ and WfW feel they are ultimately viewed as competition with J-FLAG and JASL for limited international financial resources. Seeking out new sources of funding is difficult, and new start-up groups frequently lack the savvy required to research grants, assemble applications for them, and to establish the formalized allocations usually required by donor groups to

receive funds. These hurdles tend to weed out all but the most determined new organizations, functionally limiting the playing field to the most established organizations, serving to institutionalize and privilege them over recently established groups seeking to help underserved portions of the populace. Ultimately, this is detrimental because the lack of access to funds and services for neglected segments, like the LB and trans women communities, serves to bar access to the organizing landscape.

The Jamaican gender hierarchy positions lesbians lower than gay men. This is a direct effect of Jamaica's rigid gender hierarchy. While perhaps initially counterintuitive, the profound effect the gender hierarchy has at the societal level has implications for gender relations between gay men and lesbians in activism.

Lesbians are fetishized by the straight male imaginary. This contributes to their Othering in several substantial ways. One is that they are viewed as a pool of potential sexual partners. The fact that they "opt out" of sex with men is viewed by straight men as a challenge to be overcome. Another is that the dark side of this perceived challenge is punitive: to make lesbians submit to sex with men, resulting in the phenomenon of corrective rape.

Corrective rape is a common, but only recently identified phenomenon among lesbian and bisexual women. It is also an underreported form of violence. The practice is an extension of paternalistic thinking. Essentially, it stems from believing that same-sex sex between women occurs in a state of lacking a man's presence.

A resultant folk belief is that lesbians will convert to straight women after having sex with men, even that which is unwanted. The outcome, of course, is trauma inflicted

on lesbian women, another outcome of their Othering. Since discrimination is still pervasive in Jamaican institutions, reporting corrective rape is always a fraught process. Some women are successful at pressing charges through the constabulary and legal system. Others are harassed when they approach police to record an account of corrective rape. Sensitivity training of police forces has been successful in mitigating such outcomes, but much work on this front remains to be done.

Black and Trans

As invisible as lesbians have been in activism, transgender identities are even more so. Partly this is due to a lack of understanding of trans identity. Trans identity can be understood as having a liminal quality in societies where sex/gender binaries are emphasized. Historically, anthropology has highlighted the dangers of liminal states, most notably studies of life cycle milestones. Sexual liminality (incorrectly associated with trans people), then, is viewed by gender-binary societies as a highly undesirable state.

Despite invisibility in activism, trans people have nowhere to hide in mainstream society. A key component of trans identity is that it is highly visible. This is tied to the fact that in part, outward expression of sex/gender identity is subject to scrutiny. High visibility, combined with anti-trans bias, means that trans people face social stigma in an unavoidable way.

Workplace discrimination against trans people is virtually ubiquitous. Employers remain unwilling to challenge the status quo by hiring gender nonconforming individuals. For this reason, trans people are almost totally excluded from formal economic participation.

Of course, exceptions to these norms exist. Laura Garcia, founder of Aphrodite's Pride, is a trans woman who founded the organization on Valentine's Day 2010, in an attempt to meet the needs of the underserved trans community, as well as those of lesbian and bisexual women. Garcia is a success story in her own right. She had to struggle to make her transition, including extensive psychological counseling to legally change her biological sex, encountering anti-trans bias of psychology practitioners in the process. Garcia is also unique in that she is an information technologist and software engineer. Given the anonymity of such work, Garcia has been able to shield herself from some of the more damaging types of workplace discrimination. She is largely self-employed, though. This is both blessing and curse. She finds herself chronically underemployed and unable to disentangle herself from the complex web of familial obligation complicated by misunderstandings of family members. I frequently encountered Garcia longing to leave the island to free herself of such obligations to pursue an easier life in the U.S., Canada, or the UK. This was somewhat surprising, given her level of commitment to LGBTQ activism. However, sexual minority activists often espouse such sentiment. I find that it is a coping mechanism employed by activists to help deal with the intrusive and painful reality of daily discrimination as well as the incidences of violence which punctuate the lives of transgender, lesbian, bisexual, queer and gay Jamaicans.

Blackness in Sex Work: Replication of Racism/Colorism vis a vis Sex Norms

As stated earlier, Blackness is associated with sexuality, an inheritance from the plantation era. This contemporary racialized economic system replicates colonial-era attitudes toward Black people's sexual value in society. This trope is reflected in sex

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work, as might be expected. White and/or privileged bodies tend to be the ones consuming sex services from Black sex workers.

This means that there is a flow (albeit a small one) of cash from privileged patrons to Black workers. The commodity is not agricultural labor, but sex. It positions Black sexuality as inferior and dirty, yet necessary.

Of Jamaica's sexual minorities, gay men and trans women are the most likely to participate in sex work. Overwhelmingly, their clientele is male. There is a geographic component to sexual consumption, as well. Most transactions take place in New Kingston. New Kingston is more tolerant of sexual minorities than other parts of the city, most notably Downtown. It is also where many privileged patrons work, giving them easy access to consume sexual services in the evening.

Each evening, there is a mass movement of sex workers from their homes to New Kingston. Since there is there is discrimination in the rental housing market, impoverished trans people face significant hurdles in acquiring safe housing. Many trans sex workers reside in improvised conditions: "couch surfing," squat houses, and in open storm drains, or "gullies." They leave the relative safety of these daytime refuges to venture out toward New Kingston's big intersections to meet their clients. This nightly commute does not happen unnoticed, however. Many Kingstonians seize the opportunity to hurl epithets or stare at the "Gully Queens/Scary Queens" on foot, with condemnation and judgment as they pass in cars on the road.

Out of sheer necessity, the "Gully Queens" are carving out a place for themselves in public space. With few other options, they use their visibility as a tool

toward this end. It is an inherently risky bargain, while violence against trans people remains high.

Black Trans Femininity

As will come as no surprise, Black trans women's femininity is deeply affected by social class. Here too, the power and privilege that come with financial means are also felt. Even as trans femininity is visible, it remains transgressive. Because of outsider status, Black trans women have needed a certain boldness and fearlessness to survive.

Black trans femininity is transgressive in that sexual nonconformity is taboo in Jamaica. Survival as a Black trans woman is dependent upon successful navigation of this outsider status. Nevertheless, trans identity is one that is endangered by its liminality.

Gender authenticity, as a concept, is highly contentious and driven by an individual's social location. In a polarized gender system like Jamaica's, there is no room for ambiguity. Authentic gender performance requires individuals to adhere to a narrow range of roles. These roles do vary across social classes; Ulysse (2007) addresses middle-class perceptions of market women as partially masculinized, for example. But, it is important to note that norms for Jamaican men do not allow for a feminized male gender performance—that is always considered taboo. Thus, for middle-class Black trans femininity, authenticity in gender performance is of critical importance, and the aesthetic of "camp" is eschewed. "Camp" is an expansive range of social critique of gender norms through gay culture, exemplified in the drag scene. Several winners of Ru Paul's "Drag Race," such as Bob the Drag Queen, and Trixie Mattel embrace this over-the-top caricaturized female gender performance. In contrast, a less exaggerated gender performance is vital to middle-class Jamaican transwomen.

Authentic gender performance is difficult to gauge, and yet, authenticity in gender performance is readily recognizable by virtually anyone. Authenticity, for this reason, encompasses some paradoxical realities. It also creates schism along class lines since authentic gender performance has an economic component. Greater authenticity can be achieved with finer accoutrements: better wigs/hair extensions, cosmetics, clothing, etc. to approximate being a "real woman." Of course, this amounts to greater expense.

However, among the poorest trans women, the Gully Queens, there is a rejection of at least some of the norms of authenticity. In a spirit akin to the embrace of "camp" aesthetic among American gay men and drag queens, the economic hurdle of visual authenticity is rejected by the Gully Queens because it is financially unattainable. What is striven for instead is behavioral authenticity. Many Gully Queens adopt the stage name and persona of popular performers into their gender performance repertoire.

Paired with a rejection of visual authenticity in gender performance, is the performance of "fierceness." "Fierceness" is a difficult quality to measure, but amounts to fearlessness and boldness. Use of the term does have history among gay men. Fierceness is virtually required for all trans women in Jamaica (and all Jamaican women, really), but is an especially important value for Gully Queens. This recalls Ulysse's engagement of the ICI's "toughness," a requirement for doing business on the street (2007). Because they occupy public space while defying mainstream gender norms, Gully Queens use fierceness to push back against the tyranny of mainstream norms. This use of fierceness amounts to a kind of activism. More than just consciousness raising, fierceness empowers poor trans women to carve out a place in public space for themselves.

Moving Forward?

There exist several approaches to mitigating the deleterious effects of the multiple othering of sexual minorities. The following discussion describes campaigns for action by LGBTQ organizations. Each tackle specific aspects of perpetuating homophobia. These interventions range various strategies, and some have more longevity than others.

Maurice Tomlinson founded Dwayne's House, a shelter for homeless LGBTQ teens. Meant to specifically address the additional pressure put on dislocated/homeless youth by evicting them from squat houses, which reemerged as a strategy used by police in 2013, Dwayne's House seeks to provide safe housing. Many dislocated youths migrated to Kingston's storm drains following their expulsion from communal squat houses, where they often stayed with permission of the absent landowners after a renewed effort by police to crack down on such unregulated home occupation. I visited one squat house in my neighborhood in 2013. There were approximately 20-25 young people living in the house and on its grounds. The home did not have active electrical service or running water inside (these had long been turned off by the owner). People were bathing outdoors from a hose, and several young trans women were getting dressed to get ready to head down to New Kingston that evening. They spoke to me, even as they were in various stages of preparation, as comfortably as if they were receiving me in their own living rooms, because, indeed, they were. They spoke of multiple visits by the police to evict them. During these, they would flee, and return at night. They did have verbal permission from the landowner to live in the home, but adjacent homeowners did not like their presence, and complained. Because this home was located Uptown, police readily complied, not wanting to upset wealthy residents.

So, ultimately, the permission granted did not matter, because the norm of respectability took precedence over the rights of dislocated youth with nowhere else to go.

As will be discussed in detail later, legal reform, in the form of Supreme Court cases challenging the laws making sexual minorities more vulnerable is an important strategy. These challenges are a first step in legal reform. The next steps involve repealing and replacing them. This process is aided by the rather recent addition of a charter of essential rights (similar to the United States' Bill of Rights) in 2011. The Charter is also expected to need reform to be inclusive of sexual minorities.

Police sensitivity training has been a longstanding intervention of J-FLAG and JASL, and has been ongoing for 10+ years. The benefits have begun to be reaped in recent years, with police now giving protection to particularly gay men fleeing violence. This is remarkable, and occurring consistently enough to note an emergent trend. At the same time, it does not happen across the board, and so more work remains to be done. It can be expected that police sensitivity training will continue, as the need for it will not diminish until greater social acceptance at the societal level is achieved.

Targeting down-low population for outreach, HIV education, condom use remains important, and although efforts have been ongoing, they have not very successful. This work remains critically important, however fruitless it may seem. That is because this population should be included in the wider population of sexual minorities. It is almost entirely due to homophobia pushing these individuals into anonymity. Greater efforts to include, hold accountable, and educate this group will result in measurable gains in lowered HIV and STI infection rates.

Nutrition programs to complement ARV dispensing programs for homeless/ sex worker populations will continue to be critical to supporting poor LGBTQ persons living with HIV. It is irresponsible to dispense ARVs to patients without complementary food/nutrition programs for the simple reason that the virus can still be shed if the patient is not stable enough nutritionally. Beyond this, it should be a mission of holistic care to ensure these patients are properly cared for in aspects of their health other than HIV.

Social inclusion and dismantling social stigma represent the hardest part of the equation. Media campaigns, like Tomlinson's PSA, and others by JFLAG aimed at broadcasting an inclusive message, attempt this. To date, their range has been curtailed through exclusion by the media houses, although they have circulated via YouTube. Police sensitivity training has shown some results, too. It should be noted that from 2009 to 2012, a dramatic change took place: activists went from using pseudonyms to using their real names, and from hiding their identities to appearing on TV and Internet interviews. This demonstrates a calculated risk on behalf of the LGBTQ activist community, but also shifts public perceptions, at the same time.

CHAPTER 7
THROUGH THE SOCIAL MEDIA LOOKING GLASS: ESCALATING TENSIONS AND VIOLENCE POST-FIELDWORK

Queer Optics

This dissertation draws on the variety of ways in which the optics of sexual minorities represents a contested social field. As much as mainstream media have sought to maintain the homophobic status quo, social media have provided a necessary conduit for LGBTQ activist groups to counter it. At the same time, social media have also been sites of antigay bullying, homophobic conflict, and threats against the lives of activists.

Social media sites have also served to keep me connected with happenings in the field. Since departing, this connection has become more voyeuristic and less participatory. Largely this is due to sheer necessity to analyze the data collected to complete the dissertation write-up. In this way, social media have served as a sort of backward view through this digital looking glass through which I have been able to reflect upon the impact of political homophobia on queer Jamaicans and their modes of resisting its deleterious effects.

Substantive Connections

At the very beginning of this research project, I restricted my interests in the plight of Jamaican sexual minorities to purely academic concerns. Over time, a certain uneasiness grew the longer I worked on the project. I was hiding a part of myself, and in so doing, I was holding back from a substantive connection with my research consultants. Being a deeply closeted bisexual woman was interrupting the potential for meaningful connection, for rapport, with my interlocutors. As I started to come out to

them, so many of the blockages that created gaps in my connection to my research participants began to disappear.

This realization also helped me to understand the multiple ways in which I, as a white, North American, bisexual woman, am privileged. I have included some vignettes in this writing of instances of being mistaken for being in charge, for example. But, I would be remiss if I did not unpack other aspects of my privilege that only became visible after this personal revelation. Bisexuality is a fraught category (leaving considerations of homophobia aside for a moment) due to misunderstandings about how this orientation works. Some consider it a form of indecision, or a way to "play both sides of the fence." Others see it as an intermediary status to identifying as gay or lesbian, for example. Or, there are bisexuals who choose to "play straight," as I had done, either out of necessity or convenience. But, this inauthenticity carries a heavy burden. I could hide behind my privilege, using it to my advantage to conceal my true self. My interlocutors, of course, saw through this.

Once I started to come out to them, and to friends and family members, I also began to appreciate the complexities of the coming out process. The first epiphany related to this is that it is, indeed, a process, one that may never be complete. There is a careful calculation made each time before revealing this intimate part of oneself with another. Sharing personal vulnerability in this way is incredibly humbling, often a gut-churning experience. But it is this soul-bearing that has also revealed so many beautiful moments I could not have otherwise experienced. In them, I was given a precious gift of existing in a shared reality with my research participants. But, it also comes with a set of responsibilities, as well.

The most important of these is to use my privilege in an accountable way. In addition to no longer hiding my identity, I acknowledge the ways I can leverage my privilege to bridge the academic and activist worlds. This is not merely subscribing to a theoretical orientation, but instead, a deeply reflexive praxis in which I am obligated to use my training as an anthropologist to connect my interlocutors to academic research they might not otherwise access, to help them connect their struggles with activists in other contexts, to voice their challenges and concerns in substantive ways, and to help to diminish the skills gap that has doomed so many grassroots organizations. In this way, the perspective I have gained is one of a lifelong commitment to this praxis. It is one of the most profound realizations I will take away from my time working on this project.

In taking stock of the entirety of the fieldwork experience, several difficulties have come to the fore. Each of these issues illuminates different aspects of the marginalization of Jamaica's LGBTQ population. What is evident is that although the deck is stacked against sexual minorities, they persist in activism: ultimately, they have hope. Through determination and out of sheer necessity, they refuse to give up.

Resistance is an important tool for survival. I have observed varied and beautiful expressions of resistance: some overt like the drag queens taking back public spaces, or the joyous celebrations of Pride. Other examples are subtler: JFLAG and JASL's distribution of Christmas meals to homeless gay men, or Jalna and Angeline of QCJ taking time to comfort and counsel a lesbian woman who was distraught when her son's father refused to allow their child to live with her and her partner.

Violence Since Leaving the Field

Incidents of violence have not decreased since my fieldwork ended. In fact, there are increased numbers of violent incidences against LGBTQ people, but numbers of claimants remain low, due to little confidence in the constabulary/investigative process, fear of reprisals, and incapacity of the legal system. Efforts to train police to treat victims of human rights abuses with respect are working, but there is much more ground to be gained in this endeavor.

A problem that has followed the duration of this research is the lack of statistical data. Underreporting of human rights abuses represents only a portion of the issue. There is the problem that police are not retaining data on such claims. These kinds of data are simply elided in police recordkeeping. To gain perspective on just how extensive homophobic violence is, a more comprehensive repository of these incidents is required. J-FLAG and the Inter-American Commission do keep their own records, but acknowledge their incompleteness. So, the next phase of police sensitivity training must take this aspect into account. If applied broadly to other minoritized segments of the population, then reporting on domestic violence, and violence against minors may also become more traceable. It is my hope that a searchable, open-source database may one day be built out of this data compilation.

These violent spectacles convey normative society's condemnation toward LGBTQ folk and the extent to which it is threatened by them. These societal responses reinforce the fragility and the confinement of the glass closet. In some cases, these instances of violence galvanize the minoritized community and spur collective action. However, this action seems challenging to sustain. As much as spectacularly horrific incidents inspire collective action, repeated loss bludgeons the community into inaction.

This constant grief without substantial healing is a heavy burden continually borne by sexual minorities.

Implications of Strategies Employed Thus Far

Jamaica's LGBTQ population is now gaining increased visibility. When President Obama visited Jamaica on April 9, 2014, he recognized the activism of the sexual minority community, and personally called out Angeline's work with QCJ, as well as Maurice's efforts with the Supreme Court cases as well as his stands in Emancipation Park. This kind of exposure also has implications for pushback, as evidenced by the Jamaica CAUSE movement, the subsequent rally protesting Brian Bain's employment termination as director at CHART (Caribbean HIV/AIDS Regional Training) Network on June 29, 2014 (RJR 2014). It can be expected that these modes of resistance and backlash by straight conservatives will continue to increase as visibility of LGBTQ activism increases.

Many activists now use their own given names. This is a big change over the use of pseudonyms prevalent at the start of this research project. While this has created the opportunity for abuse and violence against out activists, the positive effects greatly outweigh such risks, according to the activists themselves. It is important to overall social change for out LGBTQ activists to be present in society. By refusing to be faceless specters at the fringes of normative society, these activists are making a conscious choice to normalize lesbian, gay, transgender and queer lives, even at substantial risk to themselves.

The implications of Maurice's taking up the Buggery Law case instead of a different claimant, after Javed (the original claimant) and his family were threatened, are that he absorbs additional risk. After Javed and his family were threatened, Javed left

Jamaica. Although Maurice lives in Canada, his parents reside in Montego Bay, and I often worry about their safety, I know Maurice does, too. The Buggery Law is frequently referred to as justification for continued discrimination and violence, so this struggle is the lynchpin to dismantling the state's role in perpetuating exclusion. There is an ongoing high risk of violence regarding strategies emphasizing greater visibility because such tactics create vulnerability while homophobic values still dominate. It can be expected that there will be a tradeoff in the form of a spike of violent reprisals as more activists embrace identity transparency.

Recommendations for Future Strategies and Addressing Lacunas

Violence continues to be used as a tool for enforcing status quo. These incidents often take the form of macabre spectacle: gruesome mutilation of the deceased's body, and media sensationalism (including speculation about the deceased's "lifestyle" as well as interviews with anti-gay community members). Measures to ensure fair and balanced reporting in media have not yet begun. This is a difficult area to access because of the nature of private ownership, an issue made visible in Maurice's Supreme Court case against the media houses.

It seems counterintuitive, foolhardy, even, but Maurice is right: visibility IS liberty. Social media will continue to be the platform from which campaigns aimed at educating the public about the need for protection of rights and promoting greater inclusivity will be launched. This is particularly evident in the wake of the Supreme Court decision regarding Maurice's claim of free speech abridgement. The role that social media can play is one of moderating the heretofore unfavorable representations in tradition media formats. Just as easily, however, these sites can be used as vectors to communicate

more brutal homophobic sentiments. Careful moderation must be employed in dealing with such complexities.

An important project looming on the horizon is to make Jamaica safer for local activists, especially those who are poor and Black. Generally, it has been only middle-class activists who can escape the island. Some of the recommendations here will help, but better standards for establishing clearer immigration rules for amnesty on the basis of persecution for sexual orientation are needed.

As identified by numerous activists and scholars, repealing the Buggery Law is a critical part of long term strategy because the presumed illegality of homosexuality is still being used as justification for discrimination against sexual minorities. And, although repeal has been discussed as a provisional requirement for British Commonwealth countries receiving foreign aid from the United Kingdom, this process cannot be initiated from outside Jamaica, lest dire consequences ensue. Instead, a more deliberate process of consensus building must take place.

It can be expected that other modes of resistance will continue, such as the stands in Emancipation Park. With an aim to better access to mainstream media for more favorable coverage, I anticipate more engagement of the activist community with traditional media. Although problematic coverage has been offered by the media houses to date, these durable forms of access remain the primary ones the average Jamaican accesses. So, while they are imperfect, they are still viable modes of working toward greater inclusivity.

Similarly, improving solidarity within the LGBTQ activist community is an important goal. Just a few weeks after I departed the field, J-FLAG hired Latoya Nugent

in July 2013. Nugent is a lesbian and women's' rights activist (Nelson and Lloyd 2015). Her perspective will undoubtedly address some of the critiques I have made here. However, promising a first step toward mending the rift, it does not diminish the fact that substantial outreach remains sparse and must be addressed going forward.

Communities in Exile

Without first understanding the daily lived realities of Jamaica's LGBTQ population, it makes little sense to connect with those who have fled its harsh conditions. For this reason, I have long envisioned that the part two of this research would require accessing the Jamaican LGBTQ diaspora. Much can be gleaned from ethnological comparison of these two contexts.

The future of this research project, then. is to connect with communities in exile, particularly in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. I want to see what role these communities play in activism back home in Jamaica, as well as in their immediate communities of residence. I hope to gather data on their experiences of living in exile, the challenges they encounter, and their aspirations for the future. Given that most live within normative West Indian enclaves in their host countries, I want to discover if homophobia persists in these communities and, if it does, what forms it takes. I am currently seeking to secure funding to carry out research in these three locations.

In viewing exiled LGBTQ communities from the perspective of the Jamaican activist community, overseas queer sites seem to play an important role both hypothetically and practically. In the hypothetical sense, LGBTQ communities in exile represent hope to escape brutal treatment at home. To LGBTQ Jamaicans, they represent freedom to self-express, freedom from daily fear. In the practical sense, they

offer a platform from which more sustained activism is possible. I have observed

repeatedly that the fantasy of escaping the poignant vulnerability felt by sexual

minorities is a commonly shared sentiment. It borders on a lamentation for poor LGBTQ

Jamaicans who know there is little chance for them to leave the island for safer ground.

Emigration, in their minds, is tied with safety as well as economic opportunity, a potent

potential reward for enduring such painful hardship.

What is overlooked in all of this is the difficult reality of living in exile: being far

from home in a foreign place without the benefit of a support network. I am keen to learn

about these experiences first-hand from those living abroad because I expect that they

will almost certainly reveal a sense of isolation and loss that initially, these exiles did not

expect to encounter. While I hope I will find many success stories, I know that uncertain

economic opportunities as well as the racial hierarchies of the host countries will almost

certainly present substantial hardships for those exiled. But, knowing the

resourcefulness of Caribbean people, I also expect to find clever ways in which those

barriers are circumvented.

Looking Forward: Dismantling Political Homophobia

The final glimpse I want to make in this writing is not backward, but forward. The

challenges to dismantling an institutionalized system of political homophobia are

certainly great, but not insurmountable. The work of the activists I have detailed in this

dissertation is beginning to gain international recognition. Maurice Tomlinson was

awarded the David Kato Vision and Voice Award in 2012 for his efforts to combat

homophobia, particularly through the legal system, and Angeline Jackson was

personally recognized by President Obama during his Town Hall visit to UWI when he

toured Jamaica in 2015.

This increased visibility, combined with the number of positive changes I have observed since beginning this research convince me that Jamaican political homophobia is about to be dismantled. Given the numerous ways in which it has become enmeshed in Jamaican social life, this is no small task. The most challenging of these, of course, is in diluting the power homophobia has held in structuring political constituencies.

It is therefore with cautious optimism that I look forward to seeing the inevitable shifts necessary to Jamaica becoming more inclusive of its vulnerable sexual minority population. Though the gains of this burgeoning movement have been modest so far, they represent important first steps in combatting decades-long oppression of LGBTQ citizens. Ultimately, establishing basic protections and accountability measures that ensure minimum inclusion of sexual minorities will serve to enhance the citizenship of all Jamaicans and foster a more stable social and economic future for this dynamic island nation.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sarah E. Page is a Caribbeanist sociocultural anthropologist specializing in gender and sexuality, political anthropology, race, and social movements. Born in Texas to a Southern mother of Irish and Jewish descent and a white Yankee father, she was raised in rural New Hampshire with her younger brother. When she was a high school sophomore, she spent a year abroad as an exchange student in Berlin, Germany. Her lifelong love of immersion in unfamiliar cultural surroundings was cultivated by this formative experience, and she became fluent in German during this time. In 2006, she participated as an intern researcher for a USAID-funded initiative on Improved Governance and Citizen Security in Montego Bay, Jamaica. During this initial visit she made her first observations of homophobia that would become the subject of her dissertation research.

Ms. Page visited Kingston, Jamaica in 2007 and 2008 to conduct preliminary research and returned there in 2012 and 2013 to carry out the dissertation research itself. In that time, she liaised with LGBTQ organizations, and their allies, establishing connections that continue to enrich her understanding of political homophobia. She looks forward to implementing the next phase of her project to access the LGBTQ community living in exile outside Jamaica. In 2015, along with several members of her University of Florida cohort she was published in a special issue on Latin American and Caribbean perspectives on Barack Obama's 2008 presidential race in *Transforming Anthropology*. She received her PhD from the University of Florida in the spring of 2018.