

# The Securitization of Homosexuality in Uganda

The relationship between the securitizing actor and the  
audience in the process of securitization

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# Abstract

This study adds to the extensive body of research concerning different aspects of the Securitization Theory formulated by Buzan, Waever and de Wilde in *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (1998) and focus on the theoretically underdeveloped relationship between the securitizing actor and the audience. The case studied is the securitization of homosexuality in Uganda with the proposal of the “Anti Homosexuality Bill” and the material is gathered from three online newspapers and parliamentary debates. Inspired by Skinner’s concept of normative language I hold that, to be accepted, the securitizing move needs to be formulated in resonance with the discursively constructed frames of the normative language of the audience. To test this hypothesis I use Hansen’s method for poststructural discourse analysis to compare the representations of homosexuality and Ugandan identity of the discourses held up by the securitizing actor and the relevant audiences. The results imply that the audiences affect the securitizing actor during the entire process and that the acceptance is conditioned to how well the securitizing actor relates to the normative language of the audiences. It is argued that an inclusion of the importance of historical discourses would contribute to a better understanding of why issues get securitized.

*Key words:* Securitization, Anti Homosexuality Bill, Discourse analysis, Security, Uganda

Words: 10000

# Table of contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	The Purpose and the Problem of the Study .....	1
1.2	Disposition .....	2
1.3	Earlier Research and Relevance of this Study .....	2
<b>2</b>	<b>Theoretical Framework.....</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1	Securitization Theory .....	4
2.2	Normative Language .....	5
<b>3</b>	<b>Methodology .....</b>	<b>6</b>
3.1	Poststructural Discourse Analysis .....	6
3.1.1	Language, Discourse and Identity .....	6
3.1.2	Delimitations and mode of procedure .....	7
3.1.3	Material .....	8
3.1.4	Methodological reflections.....	9
<b>4</b>	<b>Homosexuality and Identity in the Ugandan debate .....</b>	<b>11</b>
4.1	The Basic Discourses .....	11
4.1.1	The Anti Homosexuality Discourse .....	11
4.1.2	The Liberal Discourse .....	14
4.2	The Securitization Discourse .....	16
4.3	Model 1: The Official Discourse.....	18
4.4	Model 2: The Wider Political Debate .....	20
4.4.1	Opposition Parties .....	20
4.4.2	Religious leaders .....	20
4.4.3	Media.....	22
4.4.4	International Decision Makers .....	23
<b>5</b>	<b>Results and Discussion .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>References.....</b>	<b>28</b>

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 The Purpose and the Problem of the Study

The Securitization Theory, developed by researchers associated with the so called Copenhagen School, has had an important influence on international security studies. Since 1998, when Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde presented the theory in *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* it has been the subject for a wide academic debate concerning its theoretic strengths and weaknesses. The securitizing actor-audience relationship has been especially attended to but is still in need of further theorizing.

According to the theory a security threat is constructed when someone – “the securitizing actor” – articulates that a referent object is existentially threatened and that some emergency measures need to be adopted. The issue gets securitized when the securitizing actor convinces the relevant “audience” of the legitimacy of the proposed countermeasures (Buzan et al., 1998:25; 1998:31). The securitization is thus fully accomplished first when the audience accepts the securitizing move making this acceptance sort of the moment of truth in the process. That this crucial part of the theory is not thoroughly discussed by Buzan et al. is a problem for the strength of the theory which have been noticed by several critics.

This theoretic lacuna is what motivates this study and its purpose is to provide a discussion concerning the securitizing actor-audience relationship and the conditions for the acceptance of the securitizing move. The theoretical and methodological framework used in this study has not been applied before and combined with the case studied it could provide to a better understanding of the securitization process and how it is discursively limited. The case in focus is the securitization of homosexuality in Uganda relating to the proposed ”Anti Homosexuality Bill” (Bahati, 2009) and my central research question is: *how can the relationship between the securitizing actor and the audience be described in the securitization of homosexuality in Uganda and under which conditions was the securitizing move accepted by the audience?*

Building on the Copenhagen School framework and Quentin Skinners concept of “normative language” (Skinner, 1978:xii-xiii) my hypothesis is that for the securitization to be successful the securitizing actor needs to formulate the securitizing move in concordance with the ideas and conceptions belonging to a wider audience. The securitizing actor needs to articulate the securitizing move within the discursively constructed frames of the normative language of the

context in which the securitizing move is made. With a poststructural discourse analysis of the case this hypothesis is tested.

## 1.2 Disposition

After the enquiry into earlier research made about this subject in the introducing chapter, chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework of the study; the Securitization Theory and the concept of normative language. In chapter 3 I describe the discourse analytical method provided by Hansen and how I have carried out the study methodologically and what material the analysis is based on. In chapter 4 the analysis of the securitizing move and the relevant audiences is undertaken. Chapter 5 contains a comparison of the different discourses and I present the results of the analysis which then are discussed and possible directions for future research are suggested. Chapter 6 concludes the study and a concrete answer to the introducing question is presented.

## 1.3 Earlier Research and Relevance of this Study

The Copenhagen School has inspired to the creation of a large body of research on different aspects of the theory.

According to some, the focus on security as a speech act is inadequate for grasping situations where security threats cannot be expressed verbally (Hansen, 2000:287) or are expressed through other ways of communication; like televisual images (Williams, 2003:2) and physical action (Wilkinson, 2007:12). McDonald (2008:564) asserts that securitizations that occur through incremental processes rather than through a speech act are not covered by the theory. According to Vuori (2009:76), the speech act proposed by the Copenhagen School is just one of several types of speech acts that could be included in the theory.

I do not see that my analysis has suffered from the exclusive focus on speech and text, but in some cases it might be useful to include other types of communicative action, perhaps especially when the securitizing actor is a non-state entity.

Most relevant for my study is the research made on the actor-audience relationship which might be the most discussed aspect of the theory.

Balzacq argues that the “nature and status” of the audience “remains unaccounted for” (2005:173) and that the perlocutionary effects and the relation between the actor and the audience are ignored (Balzacq, 2005:175-176). This might, however, be contested since it is, as mentioned by Vuori (2008:74), the perlocutionary effects (the acceptance by the audience) that determines the successfulness of the securitizing move in the original theory.

Also McDonald asserts that the role of the audience and the so called “facilitation conditions” (Buzan et al., 1998:32-33) need further theorizing (McDonald, 2008:564; 572).

Vaughn sees the “constitution of the audience and its relationship with securitizers” as a weakness in need of further theorizing especially concerning cases with multiple audiences (Vaughn, 2009:279-280). Salter deals with this problem and introduces the concept of “setting” arguing that “the setting of a securitizing move is determined by the actors and their roles, the rules of the discourse permissible within that space, and the expectations of the audience” (Salter, 2008:328). My hypothesis is somewhat in line with Salter’s, although I would not try to formulate standing categories of audience types. I am inclined to agree with Vuori that the type of audience is socio-historically dependent and that “[i]t does not make sense to define the audience in the theory in a specific way” (Vuori, 2008:72).

Stritzel proposes an “embedded understanding of securitization” (2008:369) saying that “securitizing actors speak to and from a broader linguistic context by framing their arguments in terms of the distinct linguistic reservoir that is available at a particular point in time” (ibid.). As Stritzel (2008:370), I hold that the successfulness of the securitization is dependent on its resonance in the existing, wider discourse but I do not divide the external and the internal aspects of securitization.

Judging by the enquiries made into the securitizing actor-audience relationship, there is still need for further theorizing. The critique mentioned above show no general pattern and has been more or less distanced from the original theory. My goal is to contribute with a discussion concerning the securitizing actor-audience relationship that I believe is close to the reasoning in the original theory but more extensive since I have the possibility to focus on one aspect of it. I have not encountered any earlier attempts that fully incorporate the importance of discourse in the way that the poststructural methodology provided by Hansen enables and I believe that it would contribute to the actor-audience discussion.

My main focus is the theoretical discussion but the empirical analysis could be of some value for those interested in an account of the antigay sentiments in Uganda as well.

## 2 Theoretical Framework

The Copenhagen School has made a considerable contribution to the widening of the security agenda proposing a framework that deviates from the state-centrism and the focus on military issues found in realistic perspectives on security. According to Eriksson (1999:314), the perspective of the Copenhagen School could be seen as a combination of neo-realism and constructivism. As Buzan et al., writes (1998:4) the aim is to “incorporate the traditionalist position” in the wider agenda. The Securitization Theory is a way to define the limits of the broadened security agenda to avoid the risk of a security concept that is too all encompassing (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2010:76). Security is thus defined as an issue that has been securitized.

### 2.1 Securitization Theory

Securitization is an extreme politicization of an issue taking it beyond the normal rules of politics (Buzan et al., 1998:23). By referring to something as an existential threat; that if nothing is done to this particular threat everything else will be of no importance, certain actions not normally performed get legitimized (Buzan et al., 1998:24). What is to be considered as a threat has nothing to do with the objective nature of the threat and the theory has no ambitions to define objective criteria for what constitutes an existential threat since this is determined by the process of securitization and dependant on the referent object for security.

Securitization is a “speech act” which means that the securitizing actor is also doing something when saying that something is existentially threatened. It is not just a statement but an act (Buzan et al., 1998:26). Security issues are created through successful speech acts although not everything can be securitized, “[t]here are socially defined limits to what can and cannot be securitized” (Buzan et al., 1998:39) and the successfulness of the speech act is dependent on the acceptance by the audience (Buzan et al., 1998:31) making securitization an intersubjective process (Buzan et al., 1998:24-25).

The facilitating conditions of the speech act – the conditions that makes the act possible – are internal meaning that the speech act follows the “grammar of security” and external in two ways: the authority and the social capital of the securitizing actor and the material features of the articulated threat (that it is usually considered a security threat) (Buzan et al., 1998:33).

When using the theory there are three things to identify: the securitizing actor, the referent object and the audience.

An individual actor often plays several roles at once and it can be unclear if the speech act represents the individual actor himself or his role as spokesperson for a collective. According to Buzan et al. (1998:41), it is not necessarily the individual himself performing the speech act that is of greatest interest, one should rather consider if the logic shaping the action is individual or organizational.

The referent object is more easily identified since it is explicitly pronounced in the security speech act. It is what the securitizing actor refers to as existentially threatened. Within some limits, a securitizing actor can try to securitize practically anything (Buzan et al., 1998:36).

The audience is not really defined in the theory except that it decides if the securitization is successful or not (Buzan et al., 1998:31) but ultimately it is the actor(s) who decides (directly or indirectly) if the proposed countermeasures will be adopted or not.

This study treats the “societal security” sector which concerns threats against a collective identity (Buzan et al., 1998:22-23). As described by Buzan et al.: “Threats to identity are thus always a question of the *construction* of something as threatening some ‘we’ – and often thereby actually contributing to the construction or reproduction of ‘us’” (1998:120, original emphasis) and that challenges or changes to identity can be argued to be threatening “us” since if nothing is done “we will no longer be us” (Buzan et al., 1998:23).

The securitizing move – the articulation that something needs to be done to protect a referent object presented as existentially threatened – has been accepted if the existential threat “gain enough resonance for a platform to be made from which it is possible to legitimize emergency measures or other steps that would not have been possible had the discourse not taken the form of existential threats” (Buzan et al., 1998:25).

How this acceptance is being performed by the audience is, as said, not clearly formulated which has led to some of the aforementioned criticism.

## 2.2 Normative Language

In *the Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (1978) Quentin Skinner wrote:

Thus the problem facing an agent who wishes to legitimate what he is doing at the same time as gaining what he wants cannot simply be the instrumental problem of tailoring his normative language in order to fit his projects. It must in part be the problem of tailoring his projects in order to fit the available normative language (Skinner, 1978: xii-xiii).

I find this thought useful when thinking about how the securitizing actor tailors his speech act to fit the audiences he is trying to convince. The success of the securitizing move is thus dependent on how well the speech act resonates with the normative language of the context in which it is uttered. This means that representations of the threat in the securitization move need to fit the representations belonging to a wider discourse that the audiences are bearers of.

# 3 Methodology

## 3.1 Poststructural Discourse Analysis

In *Security As Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War (2006)* Lene Hansen presents a method for a “Poststructural discourse analysis” which is suitable for this study since my focus is on the linguistic construction of security threats and the use of identity to mobilize support for the securitizing move. The method gives the opportunity to study how homosexuality is related to the mobilized identity in the securitizing move and to find out if these representations are present in the discourses of the audiences and thereby a possibility to test my hypothesis.

According to Hansen (2006:Preface), a politician arguing for a policy decision has to relate to a wider political field – a wider discourse – and mobilize different identities to motivate the decision. Policy and identity is interlinked since different representations of identity cause decisions but are also produced or reproduced by policy decisions (Hansen, 2006:1). The poststructural discourse analysis is used to identify these links (Hansen, 2006:18).

### 3.1.1 Language, Discourse and Identity

Language, discourse and identity are central concepts of this study and therefore in need of a clear definition.

Language is socially constructed in the relationship between human beings, built of codes and conventions that make us understand each other (Hansen, 2006:18). In line with Derrida, Hansen (2006:19) describes language as constructed by signs that are placed in juxtaposition to other signs where one of the signs is valued over the other (e.g., civilized – barbaric). Language as the creator of meaning is in itself always political. It is through language that identities are produced and reproduced and what meaning words like “woman” or “immigrant” are given influences which political rights they are considered eligible for (Hansen, 2006:18).

Identity is discursively created and never existing independently of the language (Hansen, 2006:19). Identity is built up by a set of links between linguistic signs. As exemplified by Hansen, the identity of “women” in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was produced by two simultaneous processes of linking, one negative and one positive. The positive linking connects related signs with each other, like

motherly and emotional while the negative linking differentiates the female signs with its male opposites, e.g., the emotional woman versus the rational man (Hansen, 2006:19-20). The construction of the “Self” by comparison with a more or less radically different superior or inferior “Other” is thus simultaneously the construction of this “Other” (Hansen, 2006:39-41).

There are three ways of constructing the Self: spatially, temporally or ethically (Hansen, 2006:46-51). Spatially constructed identities refer to some geographical boundary. Temporally constructed identities could for example be the concepts of “developed” and “developing” countries. The ethical construction of identity concerns the way that discourses constructs responsibility, ethics and morality. The state, for example, has responsibility for its citizens and non-responsibility towards the non-citizen Others (Hansen, 2006:50).

Identities are produced and reproduced through discourse (Hansen, 2006:21), which Beckman defines as “a set of linguistic expressions and ideas around a subject” (2005:87, my translation). Hansen (2006:23) as Neumann (2003:17) emphasizes that discourse might be both verbal expressions and non-verbal practices. But, according to Hansen (2006:23), political actors are very verbal which make the study of spoken and written language natural. Common for Beckman, Neumann and Hansen is that discourses contain the thoughts and ideas of their bearers and thus constitute their reality.

Discourses are structural phenomena which are collectively upheld and guiding for the bearers’ behaviour (Beckman, 2005:88), but can be more or less stable and possible to change if its representations are challenged (Hansen, 2006:21). There is room for individual action but the actor is limited by the discourse since policy cannot be formulated without relating to it (Hansen, 2006:21).

### 3.1.2 Delimitations and mode of procedure

This type of a study requires an in-depth analysis of each case. A comparative study containing several cases is of course desirable but would have required a more extensive study for the results to be satisfying. The Ugandan case was chosen because it is a good example of a securitization process, with a clear securitizing move, explicitly expressed referent objects and proposed countermeasures. It provides possibilities to study the theoretical assumptions of the Copenhagen School and eventually to propose new aspects to include. The results, however, are case-specific and cannot be seen as representative for all securitizations and should be viewed as an addition to other empirical studies that could be used in the future development of the Securitization Theory.

In line with Hansens methodological advices (Hansen, 2006:75) I have delimited the study in four ways: temporally, the number of selves, type of discourses and the number of events.

The discourses have been delimited around the time for the securitizing move – the Anti Homosexuality Bill – in 2009. I look back some in time to trace the discourses although not as far as required if the purpose had been to fully trace

the development of the discourses (Hansen, 2006:79). I have studied a period of time stretching from 1999 to December 5<sup>th</sup> 2011.

Apart from the self of the securitizing actor I concentrate on those audiences that influence the political life in Uganda and therefore are important for the securitization to be realized. These selves are the Ugandan decision makers and political opposition, international decision makers, the media and religious leaders. I do not ignore the importance of NGOs and academics in Uganda for putting the issue on the international agenda and their statements are being accounted for in the establishing of the basic discourses but I focus on the audiences who have the largest impact on the realization or non-realization of the proposed countermeasures.

Hansen is presenting four intertextual models, each containing different types of discourses (Hansen, 2006:59-65). I have studied two of these models: the official discourse in Uganda (model 1) and a wider discourse belonging to the media and the political opposition in Uganda (model 2). In this second model I include statements made by religious leaders since they have a large influence in Uganda as well as the international decision makers who are a mix between model 1 and 2 since statements from both foreign officials and international governmental organizations are included.

The first step of the analysis is the creation of the basic discourses (Hansen 2006:52) in the Ugandan homosexuality debate. They are based on the reading of a large amount of texts and built by identified key representations of identity, explicitly articulated in the texts (Hansen 2006:52-53). The chosen basic discourses should be the “main structural positions in the debate” (Hansen 2006:52), articulate the Selves and Others in different ways and probably propose different policy suggestions (Hansen 2006:53-54). The basic discourses are used as lenses through which the material is viewed (Hansen, 2006:95-96).

After establishing the basic discourses I turn to the securitizing move and establish the links between identity and homosexuality that are being mobilized in the bill. Since all texts are situated in or against a wider discourse (Hansen, 2006:55) it is important to include other statements made by Bahati and other bearers of the “Securitization discourse” that the securitizing move is related to. By adopting this intertextual approach (Hansen, 2006:55-59) I can say more about the connection between identity and homosexuality represented in the securitizing move than by studying the bill by itself.

The next step is to establish the discourses present in the two models and describe the representations of homosexuality and the construction of identity in each discourse.

Lastly, I compare the “Securitization discourse” and the discourses belonging to each audience to test the formulated hypothesis.

### 3.1.3 Material

This study is based mainly on primary material gathered from parliamentary debates published on the Ugandan parliament’s website and three online

newspapers: Daily Monitor, The Observer and The Red Pepper. They are all politically independent newspapers based in Kampala. I have studied every article and parliamentary debate found by using the following search words in the search engine of every newspaper and the parliament's website: "homosexual", "homo(s)", "lesbian(s)", "gay(s)", "sodomy", "same sex" and "anal sex". To study the medial discourse through these three newspapers could limit the reach of the study in some ways. First, the radio is more popular in Uganda than written news. Second, all newspapers are based in Kampala and read largely by an urban middle class. This do not have to be a problem since it is almost exclusively in that stratum that homosexuality and the Anti Homosexuality Bill is being *actively* debated (Weibahr, 2011). The possibility to cover the debate is therefore not essentially limited.

To study the international response to the bill I have chosen to cover statements by international decision makers that are quoted in Ugandan media and sometimes gone back to the original source referred to.

Complementary material has been gathered through an interview with one person at the Swedish embassy in Kampala. The interview was used to validate some of the result of the textual analysis and to get a better understanding of the opinion in Uganda. More complementary material has been gathered from two TV-shows made by MSNBC and BBC which Bahati attended.

Some secondary material has been used to trace the roots of some of the representations present in the basic discourses.

### 3.1.4 Methodological reflections

The use of discourse analysis demands certain ontological and epistemological choices. In this study I consider our perception of the reality as discursively dependent. According to Neumann, perception is something active, done with the help of models or representations – how things appear to us after passing through a linguistic filter (Neumann, 2003:30; 33). We need language to give meaning to what is around us. Therefore, language is seen as ontologically significant and more than just a way to express an objective reality experienced through the senses (Hansen, 2006:18). Everything is not text, but language stands between our-self and reality and since there is no possibility to experience a reality independent of our linguistic representations everything can be read as text (Neumann, 2003:23). To learn about the social reality one should therefore study discourses (Neumann, 2003:52).

The approach of this study is to understand action through studying the premises of action (Neumann, 2003:30) as the meaning actors put into them. It is thus coherent with a hermeneutic perspective to science and knowledge (Hollis, 2006:17-18). Since language is considered as the creator of meaning, the way to get into the head of the actors to understand the meaning of actions is through studying discourses.

Concerning if the meaning actors put into certain actions is determined individually or structurally – the question of ontological individualism contra

ontological holism (Hollis, 2006:169) – discourse analysis tend to value the latter over the former since discourses are considered as structural phenomena. However, it is always possible that individual action might change discourses but this is always done in relation to the discourse which is considered to have a certain amount of inertia. Thus, discourses both enable and limit the room for individual action.

An important difference between poststructural discourse analysis and positive science lies in the ambition of finding causal explanations of phenomena. Since the relation between identity and policy is considered as constitutive rather than causal (Hansen, 2006:10) it is not fruitful to discuss if the identity Y is to be seen as dependent of the policy X or vice versa (Hansen, 2006:26). This is an ontological and epistemological choice and does not make the study less scientific. According to Hansen's argument, what is to be defined as knowledge is always politically and historically determined making the causal epistemology as historically situated as any other scientific discourse (Hansen, 2006:10) and therefore not mandatory to adopt.

# 4 Homosexuality and Identity in the Ugandan debate

## 4.1 The Basic Discourses

### 4.1.1 The Anti Homosexuality Discourse

The first basic discourse, or variations of it, is common in the Ugandan debate. It contains negative representations of homosexuality and constructs the homosexual Other as radically different to the Ugandan Self.

Homosexuality is deemed unnatural or abnormal (Butagira, 2010b; Buturo, 2009; Hamson, 2010; Kavuma, 2009a; Kyama, 2005; Naturinda, 2010; Wantaate, 2010). “[N]ot even ‘cockroaches’ who are in the lower ‘animal kingdom’ engaged in homosexual relations” according to Reverend Okwi (Otage, 2009). A negative link between the abnormal homosexual Other and the normal Ugandan heterosexual Self is thus manifested.

Homosexuality is uncompanionable with Ugandan culture (Kasasira, 2009; Mukasa, 2005; Lumala, 2003; MSNBC, 2010), as put by Buturo: “Uganda doesn’t believe in homosexuality” (Wandera & Lanyero, 2010). Rather homosexuality is “a new situation that our country is facing” (Buturo, 2005; 2006) and “these crimes [...] are mainly attributed to forces of globalization” (Buturo, MCA).

Representations of homosexuality as “un-African” (Diri, 2005; MSNBC, 2010; Mwesigwa, 2009) are common. In reference to a donation given to the LGBT-movement in Uganda, Araali stated that the “act is against our African culture” and that “[t]hese people are trying to globalise and bring bad culture to Africa” (Araali, 2003). Some nations are said to try to “impose homosexuality on the rest of us” (Njoroge, 2011), which is a common opinion (Buturo, 2005; Jabo, 2011; Kavuma, 2009a; Lumu, 2009; Ndagire, 2011; Ndawula, 2011; Red Pepper, 2011c; Ssempangi, 2003). One can thus identify a spatially constructed identity of Ugandans by a positive linking to “Africanness” and negative linking to the “un-African” homosexuals but also an ethical construction where African or Ugandan culture is considered superior to the “imposed culture”.

According to Bahati, “recruitment of children is going on in schools and promotion of this behaviour is rampant” (Kasasira, 2009) which is a common argument (Jabo, 2011; Kavuma, 2009b; Kigozi, 2009; Lumu, 2009; Mbidde,

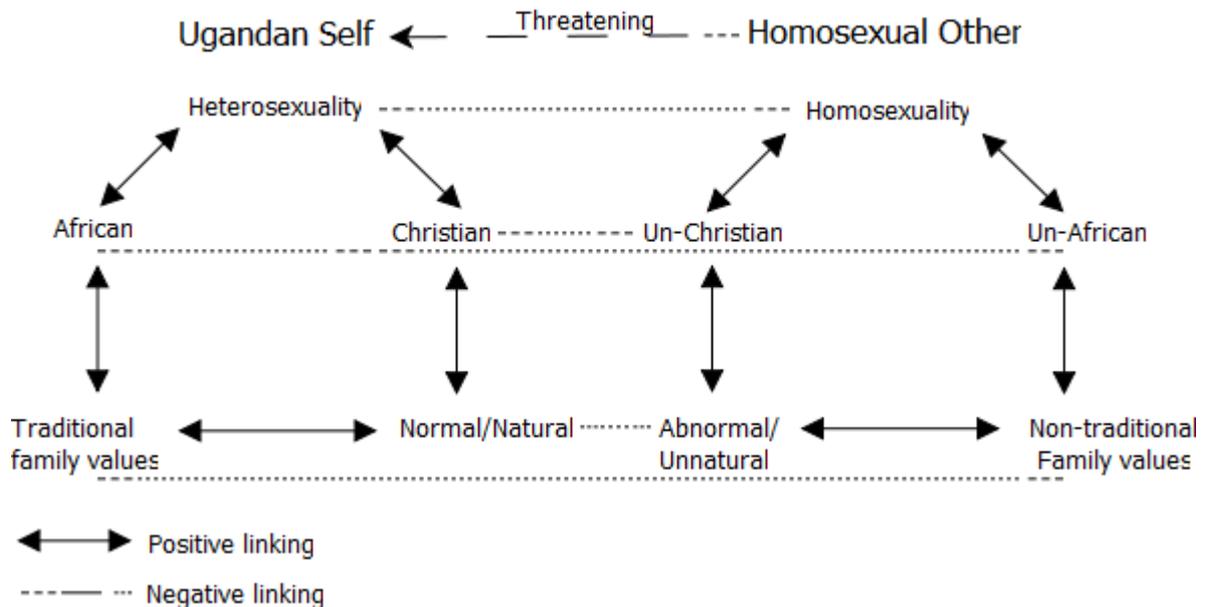
2009; Mubangizi, 2010a; Nabiruma, 2009) that is held up by the thought that no Ugandans or Africans naturally can be homosexual which makes recruitment to a threat against the Ugandan youths and children.

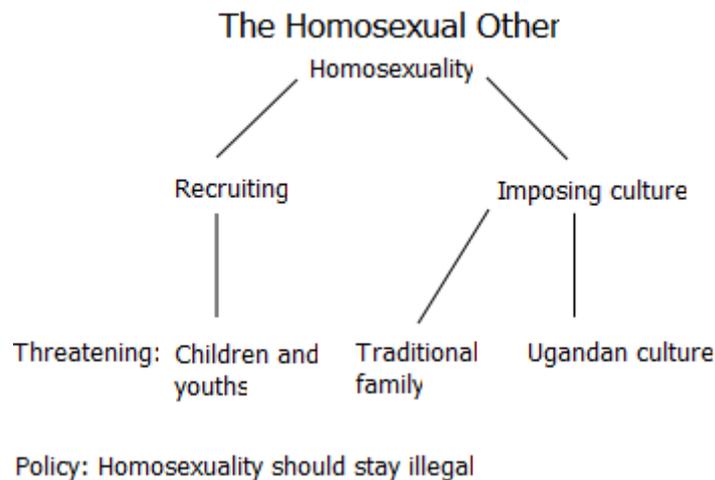
Homosexuality is seen as a threat against Ugandan family values (Kavuma, 2009b; Lumu, 2009; Mwesigye & Miwambo, 2010; Kasasira, 2009) as it, according to Wantaate, “could destroy the basic unit of our society. The traditional family unit (two opposite sex parents)” (Wantaate, 2010). The traditional family constellation is portrayed as given by god and nature making “traditional family values” constitutive for Ugandan identity which the existence of non-procreative same-sex relationships is threatening.

Representations of homosexuality as opposed to the teachings of Christianity are also common (Buturo, MCc; Hamson, 2010; Kabushenga, 2005; Kasasira, 2009; Kavuma, 2009; Lumu, 2009; MSNBC, 2010). For example, Orombi wrote that “homosexual practice has no place in God’s design of creation, the continuation of the human race through procreation, or His plan of redemption” (Orombi, 2010). Ugandan identity is thus positively linked to Christianity and negatively linked to the un-Christian homosexuals.

To express one’s sexuality outside the heterosexual norm is not regarded as a human right (Buturo, 2009; Kasasira, 2009, Lumu, 2009; MSNBC, 2010; Njoroge, 2011; Naturinda, 2010; Orombi, 2010).

Figure 1 shows the process of linking that constructs the Ugandan Self and the homosexual Other and the perceived threats of homosexuality. The rulers of the state have a responsibility to protect the Ugandan children, traditional family values and culture from the threats of homosexuality. The policy advocated by this discourse is that homosexuality should stay illegal in Uganda.





*Figure 1: The Anti Homosexuality Discourse*

The representations of this discourse have its origins in Uganda’s pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history.

According to John S. Mbiti, it is through marriage and procreation that the past, the present and the future of humanity meet and the chain of humanity is kept unbroken in traditional African religion (Mbiti, 1969:133). To die unmarried without children is thus to be disconnected from humanity (Mbiti, 1969:25). The belonging, through lineage, to the extended family or the clan has traditionally been how individual existence is given meaning (Van Zyl, 2011; Otiso, 2006:81-82). This is one reason to why the construction of homosexuality as a threat to the family is effective since human reproduction naturally is the product of the relationship between a man and a woman.

The importance of traditional gender roles in the Ugandan society (Otiso, 2006:93-96) should not be ignored neither. The strong opposition to homosexuality have much to do with the threat that same-sex relationships are creating by altering traditional gender roles and the power invested in them (Van Zyl, 2011:338; Arnfred, 2004:20). With globalization and socio-economic changes, these traditions are being eroded but still have an important effect on the sub-Saharan societies.

With colonialism and the increased spread of Christianity on the continent came moral norms concerning sexuality and marriage and the earlier divide between “sex for pleasure” and “sex for procreation” was put under the same moral code. Before colonialism same sex relations was not condemned as long as “such desires” did not “overshadow or supplant procreation” (Arnfred, 2004:21).

The stereotype of the “heterosexual Africa” was for a long time upheld in western academic discourse (Epprecht, 2008:30-39) and the view of homosexuality as un-African is not exclusively an African invention. According to Kaoma, the common negative view of homosexuality has been used as a wedge by U.S. Christian conservatives to increase their influence on the continent (Kaoma, 2009:3; 13; 17). These actors have allegedly tried to reinforce the view of homosexuality as a “western phenomenon” playing on anti-colonial feelings and framing the opposition against homosexuality as opposition against western “imperialism” (Kaoma, 2009:3-4; 7).

In *The Antigay Agenda* (1997), Didi Herman is studying the antigay sentiments in the American Christian right which are similar to the Ugandan sentiments. Homosexuality is anti-Christian (Herman, 1997:50), unnatural (Herman, 1997:76) and a mutable condition that can be rehabilitated (Herman, 1997:69). The “recruiting youths”-argument (Herman, 1997:47; 57; 62; 78) and the link between homosexuality and sexual crimes (Herman, 1997:50) are also present. One U.S. conservative, Scott Lively, expressed some of these representations at a conference in Kampala saying that homosexuality is un-Christian and that the goals of homosexuals are to recruit young people and to replace the marriage system and the traditional moral system (Lively, 2009).

Combined with the historical factors already mentioned, the U.S Christian right seems to at least have affected or inspired some (religiously motivated) actors partaking in the Ugandan homosexuality debate.

#### 4.1.2 The Liberal Discourse

The second basic discourse is the “Liberal discourse” which is less common in the national debate. “Liberal” means that the discourse is more understanding towards homosexuality and do not in any way condemn it.

According to the “Liberal discourse”, sexual orientation is given by birth which renders homosexuality a natural phenomenon. As said by Mulera, “homosexuality is not an acquired condition” (Mubangizi, 2010b) and as stated by Ikatekit: “Homosexuality is not a disease. You do not ‘catch’ it by associating with gay people” (Ikatekit, 2009). This is challenging the negative link between natural, heterosexual Ugandans and unnatural homosexuals in the “Anti homosexuality discourse”. Further, the representation of homosexuality as “un-African” is challenged as the argument is claimed to be post-colonial rhetoric (Akumu, 2009) since there always have been homosexuals on the continent.

By questioning the premises upon which the perceived threat of homosexuality is built, this discourse tries to destabilize the representation of homosexuality as a threat to children, the family and Ugandans in general.

As questioned by Rwakafuzi: “how will the two consenting adults in their bedrooms interfere with public security?” (Kasasira, 2009). In the same manner the motives behind those wanting to protect the family are questioned (Matanda, 2011). According to Kalende those “who plead the supremacy of family values over other human values have one of two motives: either they are biblical fundamentalists [...], or [...] steeped in irrational fear of their own sexual orientation” (Kalende, 2010) and Kabumba asks: “how can it be said that the traditional family is under threat from a handful of persons having sex covertly at night” (Kabumba, 2010).

A different interpretation of Christianity compared to the “Anti homosexuality discourse” is expressed. As Kato said: “The spiritual relationship is between me and God”, “[w]hy should religion-inspired activists [...] try to impose their version of morality [...]?” (Kavuma, 2009). Homosexuality is not seen as un-Christian since, as Mulera said: “I believe Jesus calls upon us to care for homosexuals and

lesbians” (Mubangizi, 2010b) and “[a]ren’t Christians supposed to be all about tolerance and forgiveness?” (Matanda, 2011). Thus, this discourse tries to destabilize the negative link between Christian Ugandans and un-Christian homosexuals.

Figure 2 shows how the “Liberal discourse” tries to destabilize the links constituting the homosexual Other and the negative links between the Ugandan Self and the homosexual Other in the “Anti homosexuality discourse”. This discourse advocates that homosexuals should be entitled to the same human rights as heterosexuals (BBC, 2011a, Mulondo, 2011a; Mubangizi, 2010b; Nakanjako, 2010; The Observer, 2011; Red Pepper, 2011a; Red Pepper, 2011b) and push for the decriminalization of homosexuality (Akumu, 2011a; Pillay, 2010a; BBC, 2011a).

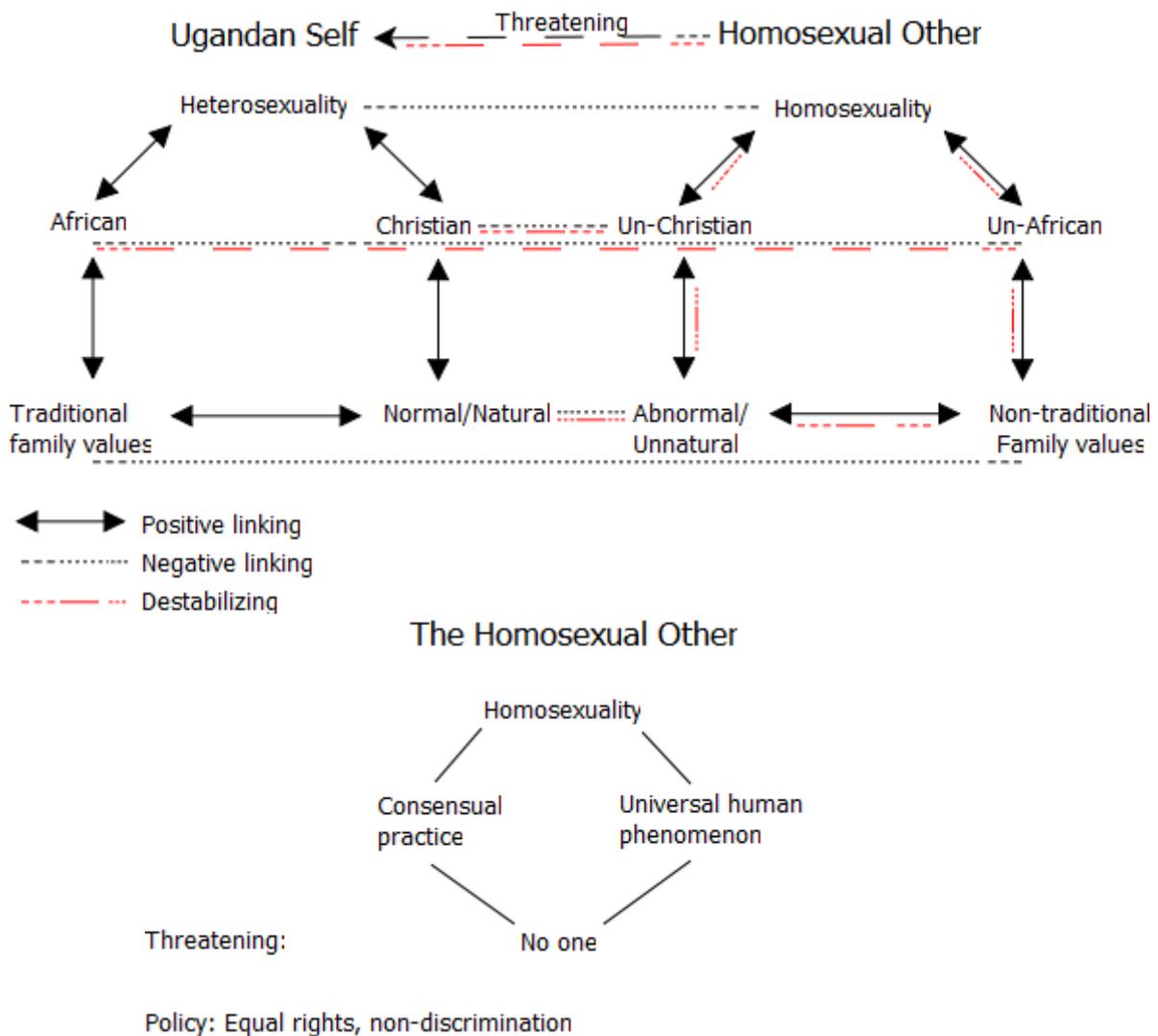


Figure 2: The Liberal discourse

The underlying argument in this discourse is the universality of the human rights regardless of gender identity which lately has been underlined by the UN General Assembly in resolution 2504 (UN General Assembly, 2009) and in a

letter signed by several member states who “condemn the human rights violations based on sexual orientation or gender identity wherever they occur, in particular the use of the death penalty” (Argüello et al., 2008). UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navanethem Pillay, who has been active in the Ugandan debate, quotes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Pillay, 2010b) referring to the “‘inherent dignity’ and the ‘equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family’ as the ‘foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world’” and thereby expressing support for a universalist perspective on human rights derived from the thought of “the intrinsic identical nature of all human beings” (O’sullivan, 1998:44).

This perspective with its focus on individual, natural rights which, according to O’sullivan, “have evolved from a western tradition of human rights philosophy” (O’sullivan, 1998:22-23) is not necessarily coherent with many other cultures of the world where, as common in African countries, the rights of the collective is considered as equal or superior to the rights of the individual (O’sullivan, 1998:22-23; 38). It is clearly at odds with the more relativistic view of, for example, Buturo and Bahati who claim that they accept that other countries consider homosexuals as eligible to enjoy the same rights as heterosexuals but that it is against the Ugandan culture (Buturo, 2009; MSNBC, 2010).

## 4.2 The Securitization Discourse

In 2009 Bahati submitted a private member’s bill called “The Anti Homosexuality Bill” (Bahati, 2009) which’s objective is to “strengthening the nation’s capacity to deal with internal and external threats to the traditional heterosexual family” (Bahati, 2009:1) and to “protect the cherished culture of the people of Uganda, legal, religious and traditional family values of the people of Uganda against attempts of sexual rights activists to impose their values of sexual promiscuity on the people of Uganda” (Bahati, 2009:1). Homosexuality is also considered as threatening to “children and youths of Uganda who are vulnerable to sexual abuse and deviation as result of cultural changes” (Bahati, 2009:1) and seen as an “innate and immutable characteristic” (Bahati, 2009:1).

“[T]he offence of homosexuality” (engagement in sexual intercourse with a person of the same sex) inside or outside the borders of Uganda (Bahati, 2009:10) should be punishable by imprisonment for life (Bahati, 2009:5). “Aggravated homosexuality” should be punishable by death (Bahati, 2009:6) and apply, for example, if the person committing the “offence” is HIV positive or a serial offender. All attempts to commit homosexual acts, promote homosexuality or aid homosexuals should also be made punishable according to the bill. A person omitting to report any of these offences to the authorities within twenty-four hours is liable on conviction to prison or to a fine (Bahati, 2009:10).

The process of linking between the Ugandan self and the homosexual Other is similar to the “Anti homosexuality discourse”. Ugandans are heterosexual, natural, living in traditional heterosexual families and are linked to traditional

Ugandan and religious values opposed to the unnatural homosexuals linked to imposed foreign culture and non-family values. Adding to the links of the “Anti homosexuality discourse” the bill portray homosexuals as offenders and Ugandans as victims of homosexual recruitment or sexual abuse.

Even though it was Bahati who introduced the bill to the parliament the logic shaping the securitizing move is not individual. Both Bahati (Sharlet, 2010:133) and Buturo (Sharlet, 2010:178) have said that the bill is a product of a parliamentary group headed by Bahati called “The Fellowship” created with “The Family” as a model (Sharlet, 2010:132). “The Family” is an American Christian Society which’s contacts with Bahati have been brought to attention (The Observer, 2009; Sharlet, 2010:ch 10; MSNBC, 2010) but allegedly they have opposed Bahati’s methods (Sharlet, 2010:189). The logic shaping the securitizing move seems none the less to be organizational and since Buturo and Bahati are the only members of “The Fellowship” that I have seen mentioned I will consider their statements as parts of the securitization discourse.

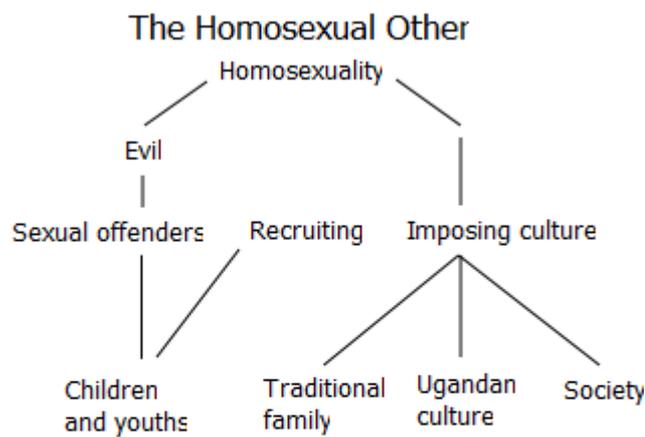
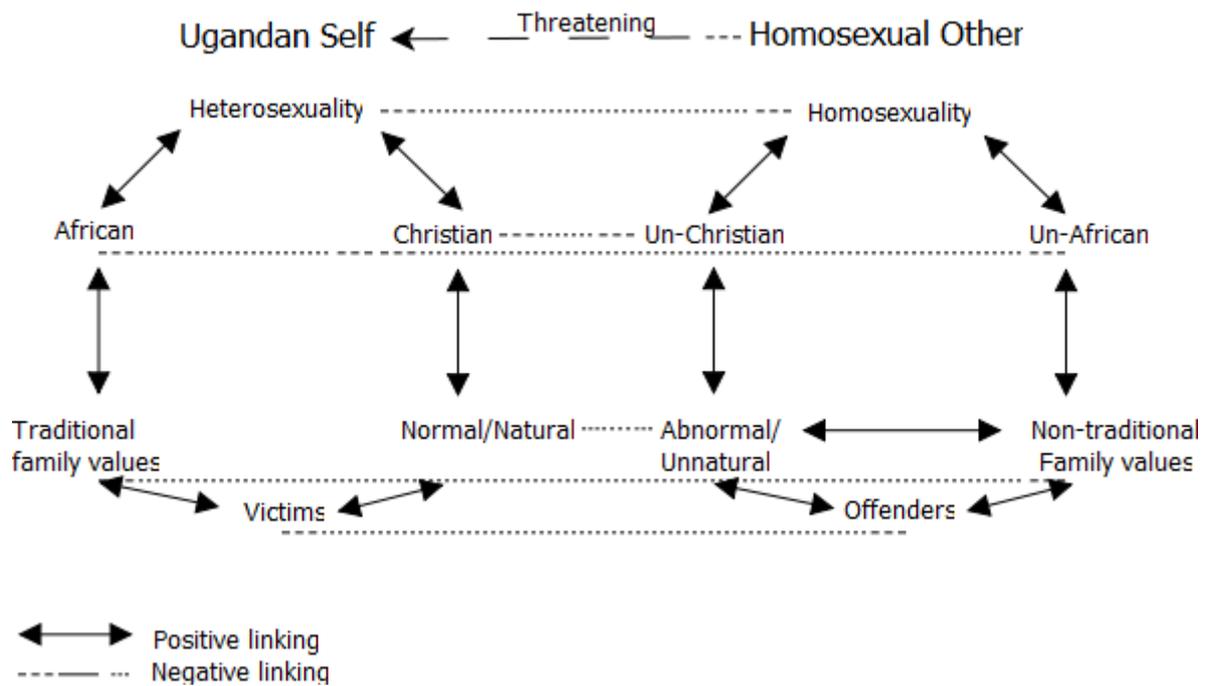
Their statements portray homosexuality as a new threat in Uganda (Buturo, 2005; Buturo, 2006; Buturo, MCa) which have been imposed from the outside (Buturo 2005a; Buturo, MCa; Njoroge, 2011). “Our [Ugandan] social and cultural values as a people do not recognise it [homosexuality] as acceptable” according to Bahati (Kasasira, 2009), which is often mentioned (Buturo, 2009; Lumu, 2009; MSNBC, 2010; Wandera & Lanyero, 2010). Homosexuality is thus un-African (BBC, 2011b; MSNBC, 2010) and considered as an abnormal practice that can be “unlearned” (MSNBC, 2010). This is a confirmation of the links of the “Anti homosexuality discourse” concerning abnormality and “un-Africanness”.

Another similarity is the perceived “un-Christianness” of homosexuality; that it is against God’s law and a threat to procreation (Kasasira, 2009; Lumu, 2009; MSNBC, 2010; Buturo, MCc).

The perceived threats of homosexuality are also similar to the ones of the “Anti homosexuality discourse”. Bahati sees homosexuality as a serious threat to the families (Lumu, 2009; Mwesigye & Miwambo, 2010; Kasasira, 2009; Kavuma, 2009b; MSNBC, 2010) and their children who are being recruited into homosexuality (Kasasira, 2009; Kavuma, 2009b; Lumu, 2009; MSNBC, 2010). Homosexuality is further seen as a threat to society, in the words of Buturo: “a consistent barrage of Ugandan society with glamorous stories on homosexuality, witchcraft, infidelity and prostitution can only lead to the death of our society” (Buturo, MCb). The Bill will according to Bahati provide “protection of our families, children and society from this creeping evil” (Kasasira, 2009).

The representation of homosexuals as evil (see also Lumu, 2009) makes the “Securitization discourse” more radical than the “Anti homosexuality discourse”.

According to Buturo, “[h]omosexuals can forget about human rights” (Njoroge, 2011). It is clear that the human rights is not considered as applicable to homosexuals in Uganda (Buturo, 2009; Kasasira, 2009; MSNBC, 2010). The statements made by Bahati and Buturo construct the Ugandan Self and the homosexual Other according to figure 3. These are all echoed in the securitizing move – the bill.



Threatening:

Policy: Further criminalization needed, including death penalty

Figure 3: The Securitization Discourse

### 4.3 Model 1: The Official Discourse

The official discourse is based on statements made by members of the ruling party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) except Bahati and Buturo to avoid a circular reasoning where the same actors simultaneously are securitizing actors and audience.

Ugandan MPs are generally opposed to homosexuality (Bbumba, 2006; Byamukama, 2003; Mallinga, 2003; Matembe, 2003; Museveni, 1999; Ruhindi, 2005; Onek, 2005; Wopuwa, 2007; Muhmuza, 2009a). For example, as Lwanga stated, “[w]e do not want homosexuality and we will not change that law” (Lwanga, 2003) and according to Musumba, “we should go further and prohibit a sexual relationship between people of the same sex” (Musumba, 2005).

The construction of the Ugandan Self and the homosexual Other is identical to the “Anti homosexuality discourse”. Homosexuality is seen as unnatural or abnormal (Butime, 1999; Butagira, 2010b; Hamson, 2010; Kyama, 2005; Lumu, 2011), “it is a fact beyond any reasonable doubt that naturally, a man goes with a woman, a bull goes with a cow, a cock goes with a hen, and that is the order of nature” one MP said (Hamson, 2010).

Homosexuality is imposed by outsiders, “imported into Africa” (Diri, 2005), a “vice invading our society” (Hamson, 2010). It is un-Christian (Hamson, 2010) and against the Ugandan culture (Lumala, 2003; Mukasa, 2005). Bbumba warned the parliament for how “homosexuals and the like have managed to forge their way through in other countries by identifying with minorities” (Bbumba, 2006).

There are no references made to concrete threats as in the “Anti homosexuality discourse” and the “Securitization discourse” but that homosexuality should remain illegal in Uganda is, with one exception (Nkkuhe, 2005), not questioned, although there is some discrepancy regarding how radical the countermeasures should be. One MP wants to execute homosexuals (Onek, 2005), one prefers life imprisonment since death penalty do not give room for rehabilitation (Hamson, 2010) and one says that the focus should be on rehabilitation instead of punishment (Diri, 2005).

Since the proposed bill created intense international criticism (see 4.4.4) the Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni had to balance the national support for and the international protests against the bill. This led the President and parts of the executive branch to assert that the bill was unnecessary because homosexuality already is illegal or that the bill needs to be soften before it get passed (Muhumuza, 2010a; Muhumuza, 2010b) and in 2011 the Cabinet (which consists of the President, the Vice President and a number of ministers, see Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995:83-84) said that they would “throw out” the bill (Naturinda, 2011). This led to some parliamentary opposition claiming the law should not be dropped because donors said so (Imaka, 2011). The bill was shelved with the closing of the 8<sup>th</sup> parliament (Kakaire, 2011) and still waits to be debated in the 9<sup>th</sup>.

## 4.4 Model 2: The Wider Political Debate

### 4.4.1 Opposition Parties

I have found relevant quotes made by actors tied to the Democratic Party (DP), Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), Ugandan People's Congress (UPC) and one independent (Reverend Kabushenga). MP's are generally not expressing any opposition to the official discourse. There is expressions of general opposition towards homosexuality (Araali, 2003; Katuntu, 2005, Nkayi, 2010) and that homosexuality is unnatural or abnormal (Araali, 2003; Maikut, 1999). For example, according to Kagoma in a statement confirming the "Anti homosexuality discourse's" links between homosexuality and unnaturalness and un-Christianness: "even if we are to disregard God's good intentions in creating the institution of marriage, most of the literature points to the fact that homosexuality is a behaviour, a habit learnt just like bestiality, pedophilia, smoking, or theft" (Nkayi, 2010) and as put by Alisemera: "You would look at homosexuality like you look at a goat and a human being" (Alisemera, 2003).

Homosexuality is against Ugandan culture and according to Alaso, "the people of this country are worried. The people think that probably some gays inject money into our economy and now they want us to submit to them" (Alaso, 2007). The representations of homosexuality as un-African (Araali, 2003; Wanambwa, 2011) and un-Christian (Kabushenga, 2005; Nkayi, 2010) are also common. No concrete threats are referred to except that homosexuality threatens the "endangered natural African race and family" (Nkayi, 2010).

Besigye said that "[t]he resources and energies spent on homosexuals could be spent [more usefully] elsewhere" (Kigambo, 2011) so there is some questioning of the importance of this issue in the political sphere. I have found one politician who expresses more liberal views of homosexuality. He, Mulera, said that "homosexuality is not an acquired condition" and that one has to "recognising that we are talking about human beings" (Mubangizi, 2010b).

### 4.4.2 Religious leaders

In the discourse including Church leaders and leaders of religious organizations the representations of the Anti homosexuality discourse are common. Homosexuality is threatening "the traditional family unit" which is "the foundation of any society" (Wantaate, 2010). The supposed threat to society is also expressed by Stephen Langa who claims that sexual immorality will destroy the society (Nsimbe, 2009). "Homosexuality is an abnormality" (Wantaate, 2010) and homosexual acts are "not the natural sex acts permitted by God" (Nsimbe, 2009) that "not even 'cockroaches'" are engaged in (Otage, 2009).

The view of homosexuality as imposed by outsiders is common (Ndawula, 2011; Nsimbe, 2009; Wantaate, 2010). Homosexuality is seen as un-African (Mwesigwa, 2009) and “Ugandans and Africans are repulsed by the whole idea of homosexuality” according to Langa (Kavuma, 2009a) who further says that “[i]n one study, 73% of homosexuals admitted molesting children” and asks if “this [is] a lifestyle we want to promote?” (Kavuma, 2009a). The recruitment threat is also present (Mubangizi, 2009).

“[H]omosexuality is not compatible with the word of God” according to Archbishop Orombi (Kasozi, 2010), which is agreed to by many religious actors (Kavuma, 2009a; Mubangizi, 2011; Nsimbe, 2009; Orombi, 2010; Otage, 2009). The Church of Uganda wants the new version of the Anti Homosexuality Bill to ensure “that sexual orientation is excluded as a protected human right” (Orombi, 2010).

There is a larger focus on the representation of homosexuality as immoral (Mwesigwa, 2009; Ndagire, 2011; Wantaate, 2010) compared to the “Anti homosexuality discourse” and homosexuality is being linked to evilness (Kavuma, 2009; Kasozi, 2010).

The present laws are supported (e.g., Bagala & Kasasira, 2011; Tumushabe, 2010) but there are different opinions concerning the bills proposed countermeasures. One strand demands more stringent laws or supports the Anti Homosexuality Bill (Mulondo, 2011b; Muhumuza, 2010c; Mwesigwa, 2009; Nsimbe, 2009) and the other strand thinks that the law is too draconian and opposes the death penalty by principle (Tugume, 2009; Wantaate, 2010).

I have found one quote, made by Reverend Kasabante, that expresses a more liberal view of homosexuality pointing out the importance of framing homosexuality as imposed by the west in the “anti-colonialist political propaganda” (Akumu, 2009).

The construction of the Self and the Other is very similar to the “Anti homosexuality discourse” and no links are challenged or added, although there is a larger focus on the “un-Christianity” representation of homosexuality. The religious actors confirm the threats included in the “Securitization discourse” and adds a perceived threat against morality (figure 4).

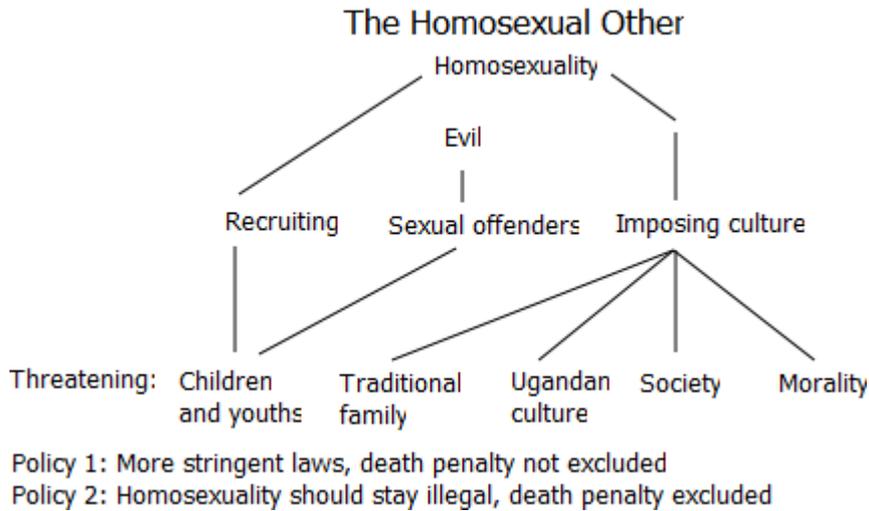


Figure 4: Religious leaders – perceived threats of homosexuality

#### 4.4.3 Media

Medial actors are not as active in the debate around homosexuality as politicians and religious actors but there are some editorials and articles written that lean towards the “Liberal discourse”. Three articles referred to are written by guest writers (Jabo, 2011 – Kimumwe, 2010 – Ikatekit, 2009) and how much their opinions reflect the newspapers is hard to tell, but they have at least been published.

Attempts to humanize homosexuals are made. Some highlight the health risks (mainly concerning HIV/AIDS) created by stigmatization and discrimination (Akumu, 2010a; Kimumwe, 2010). “Our country did not become a model in the fight against HIV/AIDS by pandering to the ‘abnormal’ and ‘unnatural’ practices of homosexuality” W’Angamba writes (W’Angamba, 2009).

Some are critical to the official rhetoric (Akumu, 2010b; Butagira, 2010a; Matanda, 2011) demanding an “honest national dialogue” about homosexuality (Daily Monitor, Editorial, 2011). For example, “[w]hy would someone who has problems of global proportions to solve be bothered with the way people have sex in the privacy of their homes?” Akumu asks (Akumu, 2011b). Muhumuza questions Bahati’s arguments writing that “[a]lthough Mr Bahati said he was not in a hate campaign, he could not explain the lack of facts to back his case [...] or provide evidence to back claims that European gays were recruiting in Uganda” (Muhumuza, 2009b).

Arguments against that homosexuality is un-African (Akumu, 2009), un-Christian (Matanda, 2011), threatening the families (ibid.) and against the “recruiting youths”-argument (Muhumuza, 2009b; Ikatekit, 2009) are also being heard. The Anti Homosexuality Bill is deemed unnecessary and risks an increased discrimination of homosexuals (Daily Monitor Editorial, 2011).

Several articles do not represent the “Liberal discourse” and reports of the dangers created by “homosexual recruiting” (Jabo, 2011; Kigozi, 2009; Mbidde, 2009; Mubangizi, 2010a; Nabiruma, 2009).

#### 4.4.4 International Decision Makers

The bill was met by strong criticism on the behalf of international decision makers. Mostly, their statements are straight forward protests against the bill without explicit reference to identity except that “Securitization discourse” is criticized. As in the “Liberal discourse”, the universal human rights are the fundamental argument.

The Swedish development assistance minister, Gunilla Carlsson, said that Sweden might consider cutting aid to Uganda if the “wretched” and “appalling” law is passed (Muhumuza, 2009c). Carlsson said that she had thought that Uganda and Sweden “had started to share common values and understanding” (Muhumuza, 2009c).

The Bill has been criticized by the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights and the European Union High Representative (Mulondo, 2011a). By referring to the “UN treaty bodies and international jurisprudence” they “urged Uganda to engage in an informed debate and repeal all legislation that criminalises same sex and other ‘unnatural’ sexual behaviour” (Mulondo, 2011a).

The Canadian government accuse the bill of being “vile and hateful” (Muhumuza, 2009a) and the British Prime Minister at the time, Gordon Brown, “raised the issue” during a Commonwealth summit in 2009 (Muhumuza, 2009a). More recently the British Prime Minister, David Cameron, urged the Commonwealth members to decriminalize homosexuality (The Observer Editorial, 2011; BBC, 2011a).

U.S. President Barack Obama condemned the bill in 2010 saying that “surely we can agree that it is unconscionable to target gays and lesbians for who they are” (Daily Monitor Editorial, 2010). U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has expressed her “strong concerns” about the bill to President Museveni (ibid.).

The delegation of the European Union together with the American and the Norwegian embassies turned in a formal protest against the bill to the Ugandan Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2009 (Izama, 2009).

## 5 Results and Discussion

In this section the analysis is concluded with a comparison of the “Securitization discourse” and the discourses of the studied audiences and how the securitizing actor-audience relationship and the acceptance of the securitizing move can be described in this case is discussed.

The official discourse and the discourses of the religious leaders and the political opposition construct the Ugandan Self and the homosexual Other in the same way as the “Securitization discourse” except that there is a more articulated representation of Ugandans as “victims” and homosexuals as “offenders” in the “Securitization discourse”.

However, the proposed countermeasures of the securitizing move do not fit as frictionless as one could imagine given the shared identity construction. Some actors in all the three audiences agree with the proposed bill in its original form but there are many who prefer imprisonment instead of death penalty as the most severe punishment. Thus, the initial securitizing move cannot be said to be in perfect concordance with the opinions amongst the religious actors, the political opposition and the official actors in Uganda.

The discourses of the international decision makers and parts of the Ugandan media stand in opposite to the “Securitization discourse”. The construction of identity is questioned and the links upon which it is built are challenged. It need hardly be said that these discourses condemn all proposed countermeasures. The “Liberal discourse” is not well spread in Uganda but its bearers influence the national homosexuality debate since the international decision makers, as aid donors, are in a position of power. This led the executive branch of the Ugandan government into trying to convince the domestic audiences that the law is unnecessary.

Thus, the securitizing move (with the death penalty) resonated with the normative language in parts of the official actors, the religious actors and the political opposition but not at all with the normative language of the international decision makers and parts of the media. This was probably a reason to that the securitizing actor changed some of the content in the bill and excluded the death penalty. This made the earlier critique in the domestic audiences apart from the media and the executive branch irrelevant and made the securitizing move fully tailored to the normative language in those audiences. The opposition remained on the behalf of the international decision makers, parts of the Ugandan media and the executive branch.

Since the bill not yet has been subject for a vote in the parliament the countermeasures proposed in the securitizing move has not been realized and the bill might be vetoed by President Museveni. This does not necessarily mean that the securitization has to be regarded as unsuccessful. As said, it is enough if the

existential threat “gain enough resonance for a platform to be made from which it is possible to legitimize emergency measures” impossible otherwise (Buzan et al., 1998:25). In the views of the Ugandan politicians and religious leaders I would say that the threat of homosexuality has gained enough resonance to legitimize emergency measures and that the international pressure on the Ugandan executives really is the only obstruction.

These results imply that the way to see the relationship between the securitizing actor and the audience is that they both are sprung out of wider discourses which they both contribute to produce and reproduce and which determine the normative language that limits the possible securitizing moves at a certain time. The securitizing actor is limited by the discourse setting the frames of the normative language, first, when the securitizing move is being formulated by the normative language of the context in which the securitizing move is made and the normative language of every audience the securitizing actor thinks he need to convince. Second, when the securitizing move has been made there is also the risk that non foreseen audiences will introduce themselves and affect the likelihood of the securitizing move to get accepted by blocking the realization of the countermeasures or by trying to influence other audiences to do so. If this is the case, the securitizing actor needs to modify the securitizing move in order for it to get accepted. That it might be impossible to know which audiences the securitizing actor needs to convince makes the tailoring of the initial securitizing move into the normative language more complicated and strengthens Vuori’s claim that every empirical analysis have to decide who is constituting the audience and that it indeed does not make any sense to formulate theoretically who exactly the audience is.

That the securitizing move had to be modified and drop the death penalty in order to get accepted by the domestic audiences strengthens the idea of securitization as an intersubjective process where “security [...] ultimately rests neither with the objects nor with the subject but among the subjects” (Buzan et al., 1998:31). As argued above, the audience is present in all phases of the securitization process limiting the possibilities for the securitizing actor. Further, the successfulness of the securitizing move could be seen as conditioned to how well the securitizing actor relates to the normative language of the audience. This, however, does not mean that the speech act approach is inadequate. The results imply that a successful securitization *is* a speech act where the securitizing actor relates to the normative language of every relevant audience in the securitizing move along with the other facilitating conditions.

It is true, however, as noted by McDonald that the focus on the specific moment when the speech act was made “does not help us understand how or why that particular intervention became possible at that moment” (McDonald, 2008:576). For this understanding a tracing of the historical discourses is required. In this case the historical construction of the “Ugandan” made the bare existence of the homosexual Other threatening against the Ugandan “us” which facilitated the securitizing move. Bahati’s securitizing move was a reproduction of this historical discourse which the speech act intensified, and gave a sense of emergency to the issue which forced politicians and other officials both in Uganda

and elsewhere to take a stand and formulate their ideas of homosexuality. Thus, the links between the Self and the homosexual Other had to be formulated or reformulated in the argument for and against the bill. But the securitization would probably not have been possible if it had not related to the historical discourse.

To talk about “results” of a discourse analysis might be problematic since all discourses in fact are my own constructions which could lead to a wishful thinking scenario where the discourses unconsciously are constructed to fit my own pre-understandings of the problem. To avoid this and to render it possible for others to criticise my interpretations of the empirical material I have carefully referred to every statement that are used in the analysis and tried to be clear in how I have interpreted them. In my view, however, the results of the analysis point out three interesting topics for future research.

The first concerns the desirable condition of security issues. Buzan et al., favour de-securitization; when the security issue is put back into a state of normal politics, and see “security” as a negative state. The securitization in this case unquestionably led to a larger insecurity but this might not always have to be the case.

Second, the results might resonate with the concept of “macrosecuritisation” (Buzan & Waever, 2009), that some securitizations are structured by a securitization at a higher universal level (Buzan & Waever, 2009:256). The opposition against homosexuality would then be a sign of opposition against a perceived western “exclusive universalism” (Buzan & Waever, 2009:260-261) that historically (at least) has promoted “western culture” as superior to “African culture”.

Third, in a wider sense the results pose the question of how states with the ambition to enforce human rights globally should treat reluctant post-colonial states. The international pressure and the perceived submissiveness of the Ugandan executive branch stirred up anti-colonial feelings in Uganda which might have increased the support for the bill and made the human rights situation worse for LGBT individuals in Uganda. To uphold the normative obligation to condemn such acts and at the same time effectively encourage states with a colonial past into adopting the human rights framework is a difficult act of balance.

## 6 Conclusion

The initial hypothesis stated that for the securitizing move to be accepted it had to be formulated “within the discursively constructed frames of the normative language of the context in which the securitizing move is made”. This study shows that the answer to the introducing question is somewhat more complex but in line with the hypothesis.

The results imply that the relationship between the audience and the securitizing actor should not be described as if they were two distinctly separate units where the first proposes something that the other then approves or disapproves of. They are both sprung out of wider discourses and the audience affects the securitization before, during and after the securitizing move. Before, it limits the room for possible securitizing moves by together with the securitizing actor discursively setting the frames for what can and cannot be said to pose a threat. During, it affects the securitizing actor who tries to figure out how to tailor the securitizing move to fit in these frames or how to change them in order to legitimize the measures he wishes to undertake. After the securitizing move, the audience ultimately decides if to realize or not the advocated measures. If the issue will be accepted as an existential threat depends on the historical discourse of the audience, if the securitizing actor successfully relates to it in mobilizing support for the securitizing move and if there are some other audiences functioning as bearers of other, maybe rivalling discourses, that in some way changes the normative language of other audiences.

Since only one case have been studied the possibilities to generalize are limited but the results suggest that the focus in the Securitization theory on a specific moment or act could still be motivated but that a more explicit inclusion of the importance of historical discourses concerning the issues and referent objects referred to in the securitizing move would be a contribution to the theory since it would provide a better understanding of why certain issues get securitized.

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