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A comparative analysis of Barbados and Guyana with respect to colonial legacies, transnational processes and decolonizing activities involved in queer activism

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Abstract

This study offers an examination of queer social movements through an analysis of both transnational and decolonizing relations. It does this through a systematic comparative analysis of queer (or lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer plus (LGBTQ+)) activism in the two Caribbean countries of Barbados and Guyana. These sites share historical and cultural similarities, but differ geopolitically and demographically, with one important demographic difference being the presence of Indigenous peoples in Guyana. This context lent to a distinctive decolonizing methodology and the engagement of varying strands of social movement theory to examine how the trajectories of queer activism have been influenced by the overlapping forces of British colonialism and transnationalism, as well as other internal factors. The thesis advances the central argument that while the general queer activism arcs, movement dynamics and transnational relations in the two countries bear many commonalities, early key differences in the colonial milieu have resulted in moderate but significant and demonstrable divergences in particularities like strategies, political opportunities, funding landscapes, collective identity, movement cohesion, transnational engagements and interactions with Indigeneity. Queer activists' transnational engagements with Global North actors occurred on a spectrum of power hierarchies and decolonizing considerations. Activists also utilized more implicit decolonizing praxes while proffering other paths of resistance to coloniality's multi-pronged presence. Within these navigations, it is argued that deeper attention can be paid to decolonizing, and enhancing relational interactions, at both the transnational and local levels. These arguments emerged from online and archival research, participant observation and qualitative semi-structured qualitative interviews with forty-two activists in Barbados, Guyana and representatives from collaborating organizations in the Global North. Overall, this research makes a notable contribution to queer sociological analysis in the Global South by addressing both transnational and decolonizing elements of queer activism simultaneously. Grounded in activist realties, it also illustrates the critical necessity of contextual decolonial considerations around Indigeneity and the continuing effects of coloniality in queer activism, while offering possibilities for reorientations.

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Acknowledgements

Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

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List of acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
A.I.D.S	Artistes in Direct Support
B-GLAD	Barbados Gays, Lesbians and All-sexuals
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEED	Community Education empowerment and development
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting
CVC	Caribbean Vulnerable Communities Coalition
ECADE	Eastern Caribbean Alliance for Diversity and Equality
EJA	Equality and Justice Alliance
EU	European Union
FACT	Family, Awareness, Consciousness, Togetherness
GEF	Guyana Equality Forum
GF	Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
GFM	Gay Freedom Movement
GTU	Guyana Trans United
HDT	Human Dignity Trust
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRC	Human Rights Campaign
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
INGO	International Non-government Organization
KT	Kaleidoscope Trust
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer Plus
MOVADAC	Movement against Discrimination Action Coalition
MSM	Men who have sex with men
NAPS	National AIDS Program Secretariat
NGO	Non-government Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
PADF	Pan-American Development Foundation
PANCAP	Pan Caribbean Partnership Against HIV and AIDS
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief

PTBT	Proud to be Trans
SASOD	Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination
SHE	Sexuality Health Empowerment
SMO	Social Movement Organization
SWAG	SASOD Women's Arm Guyana
TAAB	Trans Advocacy & Agitation Barbados
UGLAAB	United Gays and Lesbians Against AIDS Barbados
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UWI	University of the West indies

Chapter 1: Introducing the study: rationale, design and key findings

1.1 Introduction

Colonialism has an ancient history, but unlike the Roman or Aztec versions, the modern European version from the 15th century made unique claims of global supremacy (Stuchtey, 2011) and enacted epic campaigns of demographic, cultural and societal devastation embedded with new hierarchal elements of race and labor (Quijano, 2007). When colonized countries started gaining independence, the British deliberately destroyed thousands of records detailing their Empire's brutal acts (Cobain, 2016), and indeed, colonial and imperial histories, particularly with regards to social violence wrought upon colonized people, may have been successfully erased in some quarters (Lee, 2018, p.62). But the European colonial pre-occupation with suppressing and reorganizing sexual relations to align with cisheteronormative patriarchy for power consolidation and the imposition of racial hierarchies has left its indelible imprint on these societies even after independence (Lee, 2018). The effects have been pervasive, with a very tangible representation in the continued criminalization of same-sex sexual relations in former British colonies (Han & O'Mahoney, 2018). The Anglophone Caribbean's relationship with queerness has been shaped by the centuries of these colonial impositions, but recently activism has accelerated to reimagine this relationship with some significant successes.

Although there is a burgeoning body of research on queer activism in the Caribbean (Attai, 2019; Campbell, 2014; Istodor-Berceanu, 2019; Anderson & Macleod, 2020; De Bruin, M. & Lewis, 2020), this study was the first in the region to engage in a comparative, granular analysis of how Anglophone Caribbean queer activism has been shaped and transnationally linked while simultaneously attending to decolonizing considerations. Barbados and Guyana are both English-speaking Caribbean Commonwealth nations colonized by the British with much shared history, broadly similar educational systems, and until recently, both had "buggery" laws in place. Concurrently, their differences in geography, government, socio-economics and demographics lend to interesting contrasts. The heavily multiethnic composition and presence of Indigenous populations in Guyana is a critical difference that made the dimension of a decolonizing perspective especially salient for this research. This decolonizing lens took a pragmatic

approach, in that it acknowledges that the practical realities of activism and life within multiple oppressive systems challenge the complete uncoupling from such systems, while simultaneously holding space for the incremental nature of decolonizing. By applying varying elements of social movement theory while addressing transnational processes with this pragmatic decolonizing lens, the study makes the argument that although the general activism arcs, movement dynamics and transnational relations in the two countries bear many similarities, early key differences in the colonial milieu have resulted in moderate but significant divergences.

Variances in political opportunities translated to a situation where only Barbadian activism has benefitted from elite political allies, and where contextually tailored strategies and repertoires have differed. Movement cohesion has been more affected in Guyana where the legacies of inter-ethnic tensions exert some influence on organizing, along with considerations around class and gender. And although there are Indigenous populations in Guyana, unlike in Barbados, they have largely been excluded from activist focus. Another divergence has been in transnational engagement, where Guyanese activists have seen more transnational collaborators and funders, and received much larger funding amounts from these sources over time. Guyanese activists also had less engagement than Barbadian ones with Commonwealth and United Kingdom (UK) entities. In-depth explorations around how these circumstances link to colonial and transnational elements are presented in the relevant chapters.

Within these frameworks, activists tended to utilize implicit decolonizing praxes and navigated transnational engagements with Global North actors that were imbued with varying power differentials. They also proffered paths of current and future actions that could realize stronger resistance to coloniality's multi-pronged presence. However, even as these navigations occurred, I argue that more attention can be paid to decolonizing, as well as enhancing relational interactions, at both the transnational and local levels.

The thesis hinged on the central research question: what does a comparative analysis of LGBTQ+ activism in Barbados and Guyana reveal about the role of transnational processes, colonial legacies, and anti-colonial resistances in the evolution of said activism? To address this overarching question, it used the following sub-questions:

i.   What were the trajectories of post-independence queer organizing in both countries and how did British colonialism operating in differing local contexts influence this activism?

ii. What social, organizational and transnational forces have impacted the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts?

iii. How have activists engaged with decoloniality and decolonization in order to advance their agendas?

iv. What has been the relationship between activist movements in Guyana and Barbados and those in the Global North, in terms of collaborations, power relations, and dialogue?

The first section of this chapter looks at the background for the research, giving a brief outline of its context and the state of preexisting literature on queer activism in those contexts. The second section delves into the rationale behind comparative analysis and the case selections for comparisons. It ends with an overview of the literature around queer activism and how this study forms an original contribution to sociological and gender and sexuality work globally and regionally. The third section gives an overview of the research design paying particular attention to why and how a decolonizing perspective was employed. The chapter then moves onto a fourth section that contextualizes terminology and language choices before a fifth and final section that summarizes the structure and key findings of the thesis.

1.2 Background for the study

The Caribbean is comprised of both a physical space with complex cultural, historical, and socio-political ties (Thompson, 1997) and a significant spatially scattered diasporic element (King, 2014). Within this region of tremendous ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural diversity and intermixing, Barbados and Guyana were chosen as case studies. The reasons for their choice are further explicated in the next section, but revolved around how social differences marked them for pertinent comparisons.

Barbados was first and continuously colonized by the British in 1627 in circumstances where the Indigenous population had already been effectively removed by previous visiting Europeans (Beckles, 1990). The country became a settler colony and was where the 'slave codes' for the

rest of the British empire were refined (Beckles, 1985, p.44). By independence in 1966 the ethnic composition was almost exclusively of African heritage although a small elite white minority remained. Barbados has enjoyed economic prosperity for the most part post-independence, and independence itself was a smooth affair, with the country retaining a British head of state until 2021 when it became a republic (Ramsay, 2023). Both Barbados and Guyana are founding members of the regional integrating body Caribbean Community (Caricom), and despite past challenges for Guyanese visiting or immigrating to Barbados, since 2018 the countries have had significantly closer trade relations (Invest Barbados, 2022).

Geographically, English-speaking Guyana is hundreds of times larger than Barbados and was three separate Dutch colonies in the 17th and 18th century before unification under the British in 1831 (Grenade & Lewis-Bynoe, 2010, p.5). Originally home to several Indigenous nations, including the Lokono/Arawak and Karinya/Carib, colonization introduced various ethnicities and religions through African enslavement from the 1660s and predominantly Asian indentureship between 1838 and 1917. Despite the significant land mass, the majority of persons live on the country's coast while the remaining Indigenous population occupies the interior. Large distances, limited transportation networks and sociopolitical factors have helped divide 'coastlanders' from those in the interior, while marginalizing Indigenous persons from national politics and economics (Andaiye & Trotz, 2020). After a tumultuous road to independence in 1966, the country became a republic in 1970, and has endured ethnically polarized politics and severe economic hardships until the economic situation began improving in the 21st century, and especially since the discovery of oil in 2015.

It is within this background that queer activism in both countries take place. The frequent visibility of queerness in Barbados became formalized activism in 2001 with the formation of Gays and Lesbians Against AIDS Barbados (UGLAAB), which was joined by several other organizations after 2013. Since 2018 there were several significant events in the Barbadian activist sphere. These included the first official Pride parade, the inclusion of sexual orientation in the revised Employment (Prevention of Discrimination) Act 2020 and in the new Charter of Barbados 2021, and two legal challenges to the buggery laws. One of the challenges was at the Inter American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) (*Hoffman et al. v Barbados 2018*) and

the other in the local courts (*Holder-McClean-Ramirez et al. v The Attorney General of Barbados 2022*), which declared the law unconstitutional in December 2022.

In Guyana, formal activism began in 1992 with Artistes in Direct Support (A.I.D.S) and several other organizations in the subsequent years. In 2003 the unsuccessful lobbying for the passage of a constitutional amendment that would include sexual orientation as grounds for non-discrimination led to the formation of Students (later changed to Society) Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination (SASOD), which would go on to become one of the most prominent human rights organizations in the country. Like in Barbados, since then other organizations have joined the movement, and 2018 was also a significant year for activism. This was when the challenge to the country's British colonial law against crossdressing (*McEwan and Others v Attorney General of Guyana 2018)*, was declared successful by the country's final court of appeal (Caricom Today, 2018). It was also the year that activists held the first official public Pride parade.

Studies on queer activism in the Anglophone Caribbean have mostly concentrated on Jamaica (Attai, 2019; Blake and Dayle, 2013; Chin, 2019; Gaskins, 2013; Lovell, 2014; Onuora and Nangwaya, 2020) and Trinidad and Tobago (Attai, 2019; Gaskins, 2013; Gill, 2018; Gosine, 2015; Jones and Wahab, 2022), with limited focus on the Bahamas (Gaskins, 2013), Belize (Orozco, 2018), Barbados (Attai, 2019; Murray, 2012) and Guyana (Attai, 2019; Istodor-Berceanu, 2019; Kissoon, 2019; Peters, 2019). Some of these, like Kissoon's (2019) historical review of Guyanese LGBTQ+ rights, are activist and movement literature not focused on sociological analysis, thereby indicating the scope for greater application of sociological and other types of political analysis and research methodologies.

David Murray's (2012) examination of homophobia, sexuality and social change in Barbados through the media, interviews and participant observations touched on activism, especially by UGLAAB, but this was not a central focus and did not undergo sustained sociological analysis. In Guyana, all of the studies were in fulfilment of degrees- two for a Masters and one PhD. Peter's (2018) Master's thesis gave useful generative information on political opportunities and class and ethnic divisions within the movement that concurred with the findings in this study,

however the very small scale of the study (sample size of four persons) is what likely led to their conclusion that political process theory had limited applicability in the country. Istodor-Berceanu's (2019) work leaned more towards transnational examinations, finding that Guyanese activists found their Global North counterparts useful for learning information, sometimes in a bi-directional exchange. Strategies were not always translatable however, with online activism leaving out swaths of Guyanese without internet access, especially in Indigenous communities; decreased feasibility of coming out in such a small population where family ties remain prominent; and more attention paid to finding middle ground rather than the 'winning' mentality of Global North activists (Istodor-Berceanu, 2019). It was noted that while SASOD defined itself as an LGBT organization, its online platforms left space for inclusion of a multiplicity of identities and did not assume static identification (Istodor-Berceanu, 2019). This was taken as an instance of adopting Northern categorization while innovating for local realities, and a good practice for international collaborators to note (Istodor-Berceanu, 2019). Attai's (2019) study of queer lives investigated activism in Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, but analysis of the latter mainly focused on transnational engagements with the Canada HIV/AIDS Legal Network. The examination of Guyanese activism stated the extensive local and transnational connections of SASOD, as well as challenges with transnational funding, but overall Barbados' and Guyana's empirical contributions to his argument on the insufficiency of current queer activism appeared minimal, and there was no explicit engagement with a decolonizing perspective (Attai, 2019).

From this state of the literature on the issue in the two contexts, I now turn to a discussion of the rationale behind choosing a comparative analysis, the case selections, and how this study is significant within broader global and regional contexts.

1.3 Justifying a comparative methodology and study significance

The University of Glasgow College of Social Science's scholarship call for this PhD was entitled "Latin America's queer movements between transnationalism and decoloniality" and was designed by Matthew Waites and Mo Hume for their co-supervision. It specified studying two Latin American or Caribbean countries with attention to transnational processes and a

decolonizing analysis. First, I made the decision to situate the study in the Caribbean. Why? Because as Lillian Guerra (2014) pointed out, in the region the legacies and responses to colonialism are conspicuous and inextricably related to current global conceptualizations around nation, citizenship and freedom; while the "countries may be geographically tiny, their impact on the development of global economies and political thought has been fundamental".

In attending to the selection of case studies within the region, I limited this to the Anglophone Caribbean (given my language constraints), and foregrounded the comparative elements around coloniality/decoloniality and transnationalism. In considering which countries had intriguing and different social relations to these elements, Barbados, Guyana and Belize were forerunners. The varying contexts of Indigenous populations, ethnic compositions, and sociopolitical environments in these countries emerged as particularly pertinent aspects for colonial and transnational comparisons. For example, in contrast to Barbados, both Guyana and Belize have Indigenous populations and significantly heterogenous ethnic demographics. However, Barbados was continuously colonized by the British, unlike the more mixed colonial experience of Guyana and Belize. Secondary considerations centered on representation in queer activism literature, where Barbados and Belize are especially understudied, and established knowledge of queer activist networks in Barbados and Guyana, where I have lived. The latter consideration enabled methods that were responsive to the theoretical needs and concerns of the studies, allowing for a deeper study, and resulting in the choice of Guyana over Belize. Overall, a comparative analysis was helpful for unpacking the research questions because the case contexts contained thematically pertinent differences that would allow a revealing and robust comparison. It bears noting that in the comparative analysis, Barbados and Guyana are not meant to be representative of the wider Anglophone region, but do allow for more broader generalizations between smaller Caribbean countries (like Barbados) and larger, more heterogenous countries (like Guyana).

A review of English-language studies of queer activism in the Global South that intersected with colonialism/coloniality, decolonization/decoloniality, and/or transnationalism showed much of the literature concentrated on Asia and mostly focused on transnationalism. These studies gave accounts of activism in relation to human rights (Chua and Gilbert, 2015; Madson, 2022) and collective litigation (Chua, 2012), analyzed the role of online activism (Phillips, 2014), and

dissected practices such as film-making (Deklerck, 2017). They also examined activist identities (Dave, 2012; Ghosh, 2015; Rana, 2019), alliances and strategies (Dave, 2012), internal differences in movement strategies and identities (Phillips and Yi, 2020), political opportunities (Hildebrandt, 2012), networks and transnational funding (Ghosh, 2015; Gonzalez, 2019; Hildebrandt, 2012, Ng, 2018; Rana, 2019) and resource mobilization (Rana, 2021).

In Africa, Currier and McKay (2017) used social movement theory and transnationalism to interrogate strategic positioning of an organization in Malawi, while Nyrell (2015) specifically focused on the transnational aspect of aid and funding in Kenya. From Turkey there were accounts of activist challenges and utilization of human rights (Tomen, 2018), as well as transnational engagement (Muedini, 2018). In Lebanon, Moussawi (2015) compared the strategic choices and transnational relations with respect to rights discourse and visibility of two organizations. There has also been examinations of political opportunities in Argentina (Encarnación, 2013; 2016) and specifically around political parties in Brazil (Marsiaj, 2006).

This broader literature review was necessarily circumscribed to studies which overlapped with the themes of this research in order to sidestep the overwhelming literature focused on tracing histories and descriptions of queer activism in individual countries. It was also limited by my language abilities. Nevertheless it showed that the literature has been dominated by transnational examinations and possessed a characteristic quality where movement literature written by activists overlapped and commingled with more academic analysis. A demonstrative case has been the book *Envisioning Global LGBT Human Rights* (Nicol et al., 2018), where activism in Belize, Uganda and Kenya was explored by a mixture of activists and academics using both activist and academic frameworks.

This study is therefore noteworthy for applying a more analytical approach to movement history, while simultaneously using social theories and frameworks for examining broader themes of transnationalism and decolonizing. It does this by adopting an interdisciplinary position to focus on a region of the world that needs more representation in the global literature.

Turning now to comparative analysis, which is an old research method strategy (Azarian, 2011) not to be confused with the data analysis methods Constant Comparative Analysis and Qualitative Comparative Analysis. While important comparative work on gender and sexuality in relation to colonialism has been done (Gomes da Costa Santos & Waites, 2019; Lennox & Waites, 2013; Serrano-Amaya, 2018; Stewart, 2017), these did not specifically address activism and comparative studies on queer activism in the Global South are sparse. As with the broader literature, for the three themes of interest, transnationalism was most commonly engaged. Transnationalism was addressed in studies comparing Pride in Uganda and Serbia (Slootmaeckers and Bosia, 2023), the work of Filipino and Indonesian LGBT activists in Hong Kong (Lai, 2018) and transnational funding in Singapore and Malaysia (Ng, 2018). There have also been case studies from Indonesia and Malyasia (Kjaran and Naeimi, 2022), and the expansion of comparison from these two countries to include Singapore (Offord, 2011). In Africa, Ashley Currier (2012) investigated the visibility strategies and manifestations of LGBT organizations in Namibia and South Africa. More case study than systematic comparative analysis, Currier nevertheless used social movement conceptualizations and engaged with the transnational in an expansive look at visibility.

Rafael de la Dehesa (2006) has compared queer electoral activisms in Brazil and Mexico by also using social movement theory and drawing on transnationalism. Within the Caribbean I found three examples of comparisons. Cailey Dover's (2016) Master's thesis explored LGBTQ+ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica to show how key political and legal institutions have lent to differences, but this study only tangentially mentioned activism. Attai's (2019) work in Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica was positioned as a comparative analysis. However, it presented more as ethnographic vignettes and case studies that leaned more on country similarities to assert broader theorizations around queer resistance and space-making in the region. Finally, Gaskins (2013) has offered a comparative analysis of decriminalization efforts around the buggery laws in the Bahamas, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Necessarily exploring the colonial origin of the laws, the study showed how context presented challenges and facilitations around decriminalization activism. It was however limited to this specific focus and lacked both substantial decolonizing and transnational analysis.

The urgent need for further decolonial and anti-racist investigations into the formulations of queer activism in the Global South has been mentioned by other scholars (Josephson, 2020; Rana, 2021), and is evident from the gaps in the preceding literature review. This study therefore addresses that urgency in several ways. Until recently, social movement theory has largely focused on the Global North (Fadaee, 2017), with the notable exception of work during the 1990s from Latin American scholars (Alvarez, Dagnino & Escobar, 1998; Foweraker, 1995). This research seeks to add to these social movement theorizations from the Global South. By virtue of its comparative nature, it addresses the call made by Gomes da Costa Santos and Waites (2019), for comparative systematic sociological research on colonialisms with respect to sexuality. It also goes one step further by doing so in a fashion that places sociology and transnationalism in dialogue with decolonizing approaches. Unlike other studies which have focused on selected aspects of activism, this research explores the totality of the movements. Finally Folúḱẹ Adébísí (2023), has stated that decolonizing strategies are a "toolbox (not a grand theory), to reimagine the world" (p.12) and I posit that this study makes some steps towards this reimagination. It does so by critically examining the current state of how activists themselves are undertaking this reimagining, and offers suggestions for other potentialities. It also pulls at the threads of power relations and explores how these relations can be optimized in the current climate and in the journey to a better place.

1.4 Research design

Since the development of queer Caribbean movements and colonial resistance were/are passionate concerns, I embraced the framework of the scholarship call, but proposed a study whose design and objectives were more aligned to my intellectual and analytical interests.

Considerations around how to address the research question led to a personal interdisciplinary placement and orientation for the study. The research's transnational and colonial focus was related to global historical sociology (Go and Lawson, 2017). Whereas the first two waves of historical sociology have been characterized as 'state-centric', rarely attending to international organizations, transnational networks and the "imperial webs that states were embedded within" (Go and Lawson, p.9), global historical sociology as part of the third wave encourages

interdisciplinary and inter-theoretic pollinations (Go and Lawson, 2017, p.15). This study therefore is also situated within political sociology and gender and sexuality studies.

The research sub-questions on historical trajectories, movement dynamics, transnational influences and engagement with decolonization were not only academic but seen as potentially useful for the movements. Some aspects of transnational linkages were evident based on my activist experiences, but deeper details were needed. To address these sub-questions, there is a central positioning in relation to the sociology of collective action and social movements, but I had to make some choices on the types of activism captured within that broader analytic. Based on constraints of time, labor and access, activism was enveloped within individual activists, activist representatives of non-governmental organizations and representatives of selected Global North collaborators. This translated to some acknowledged limitations in capturing elements of online and every day, less publicly known, forms of activism. This compromise worked however, as some of the questions could be answered at an organizational level while individual activists allowed for further scope. From this choice, the preexisting activist landscapes further influenced the study design and methods.

Given the need for both a historical and contemporary analysis of the movements, it was evident that I had to use several methods for optimal research robustness. These four methods received ethical approval from the University of Glasgow as well as both countries ethics review boards, and were designed as complementary, sometimes overlapping in deployment as well. Recognizing that gaps in the historical record would need supplementation, this was achieved through online and archival research. An online search of the public social media postings and websites of the LGBTQ+ organizations in Barbados and Guyana helped determine the landscape of organizations and selection for subsequent interviews, while also contributing to data on organizational activities and the mapping of transnational engagements. The latter in turn helped to inform which Global North organizations were also selected for a similar online search and approached for interviews, by virtue of being associated with several organizations within and between countries. From the available archival sources, weighing issues of access and time resulted in the selection of newspapers in both countries as a data source. As a past member of

SASOD, I knew, and had assisted with archiving posts from the online SASOD Yahoo Group and so I also received consent to use these.

Speaking with the activists was an important step and involved purposive sampling to select organizations that were primarily or significantly focused on LGBTQ+ persons, and individual activists who would be somewhat familiar with the contours of local organizing and transboundary linkages in Barbados and Guyana. Global North organizations were also purposively sampled based on collaborations with both countries or with several organizations in a country as determined by online research analysis and the local interviews. Using individual interviews led by a semi structured guide, forty-two persons were interviewed between June 10, 2021 and August 9, 2022. Sixteen were from Barbados, seventeen from Guyana, and nine from the Global North. COVID-19 restrictions partially guided the choice of individual interviews (over focus groups), and likely influenced the fact that all but one of the interviews occurred virtually.

To contextualize information gathered from the interviews, online and archives, I also conducted participant observations of six activist events. These were restricted to public and semi-private events that would have been circulated via email or online. Lastly, some of my reflexive engagement, experience and memories were included, but limited to those directly related to data drawn from other sources and were intended to expand upon, or lend context that might otherwise be missing. A more in-depth discussion of the methodology, ethical considerations, and data analysis is given in Chapter Four.

1.4.1 Why and how does this study use a decolonizing lens?

Before unpacking the decolonizing perspective, framing its relation to colonization and other central analytic terms is necessary. Colonization was the period of actual invasions and occupations during which colonial administrations were established (le Grange et al., 2020). These administrations and their subjugation of people(s) constituted the practice and project of colonialism (Kohn and Reddy, 2023). The use of transnational relations in this study centers both cross-national interactions where there is at least one non-state actor (Risse-Kappen, 1995,

p.3), and transboundary exchanges outside the nation-state and national context (Go and Lawson, 2017). From these interpretations the overlap between the colonial and transnational becomes evident: colonialism has always been transnational in nature (Mignolo, 1998), while transnational processes can be, but are not necessarily, colonial in character.

In the time since political independence of former colonies, the ongoing reverberations of centuries-long colonialism has resulted in several conceptualizations. One of these has been neocolonialism, or the continuation of the workings of independent countries being directed by external entities, often through economic means (Nkrumah, 1965). Post-colonial studies, having proposed that their field includes considerations from the point of first colonial contact onwards (Ashcroft et al., 1995, p.2) has also been cognizant of this continuance in many spheres and practices (Said, 1994, p.9). Another interpellation has been coloniality, a term that encompasses the various colonial systems of power that persist in everyday life (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Quijano, 2000). More recently the term living legacies has also been posited to understand the temporal relations of power (Beasley and Papadelos, 2023, p.2) which can act alongside coloniality by retaining colonial elements, while being imbued with other contemporary contextual realignments (Waites, 2023).

Resistance to colonization has been present from the inception, becoming more prominent with the pivotal events of the Haitian revolution, the Bandung conference and subsequent schools of theorizations (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2023). Decolonization initially meant the political independence of colonies, but as early decolonization scholars like Frantz Fanon (1974) presaged, the continuation of the influence of colonialism has necessitated various means of pushing back and/or seeking the end this influence. The schools of thought on this intersect to varying degrees and under the rubric of "decolonization", have been described as a set of strategies "whose instant expression and articulation respond to the relevant space–time manifestation of the evolving and mutating superstructure it refuses" (Adébísí, 2023, p.15). The strain articulated by the decolonial school of US -based Latin Americans however, insists on seeing decolonization as political sovereignty and renaming the subsequent project decoloniality, which is defined as the praxis of epistemic delinking and undoing from European impositions (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p.120-124). This challenge to European narratives is also seen in the work of Asian

postcolonial scholars (Bhambra, 2014) where scholars such as Edward Said (1995) confront the othering of the colonized. In places in North America and Oceania where settler colonialism occurs, decolonization is seen by Indigenous scholars (Adébísí, 2023, p.25) as a project that foregrounds the "repatriation of Indigenous land and life" (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p.21).

In approaching the task of a decolonizing perspective this study therefore draws on all of these theoretical frameworks to varying degrees. Threads of postcolonial studies that speak to hybridity and representation of the subaltern (Spivak, 1988) are utilized alongside decoloniality and considerations of Indigeneity. With regards to the latter, the Caribbean, where colonial processes largely destroyed Indigenous populations and replaced them with the enslaved and indentured, presents an interesting problematic. Simultaneously, the selection of countries that both adhere to and deviate from this trend presents a unique opportunity for a decolonizing approach. While incorporating a decolonizing lens into this research was an alignment of my activist interests with the scholarship call and the logical step of examining resistance when studying the effects of colonialism, its execution was a little more complex. Despite the apparent scholarly ubiquity and popularity of decolonization, merely inserting the word 'decolonizing' is insufficient criteria for a robust decolonial approach. In the absence of a standard model for decolonizing research, it has been suggested that multi-tiered techniques which center the concerns, views and research of the other-ed be employed (Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021). I therefore crafted a study design that emphasized decolonizing in three particular ways – integrating methodological choices that adhered to decolonial principles and practices; interrogating the data to explore how activists conceptualize and deploy decoloniality/decolonization; and applying contextually appropriate decolonial considerations to the analysis. The methodological choices involved actions such as iterative self-reflexivity where there was continuous critical engagement with process, relationships, lived experience, strengths and shortcomings (Dorpenyo, 2020); cultivating sustained relationships with the participants; ensuring respectful and legitimate research and citation practices; and attending to responsibility and appropriation..

The application of decolonial considerations to analysis concentrated mainly on unpacking power relations and tensions, but raised several tensions of its own. One was situating a

decolonizing approach in relation to the Eurocentricity of sociology and particularly the subset of historical sociology (Bhambra and Holmwood, 2021). Scholars have begun the process of addressing these gaps, for instance with Bhambra's (2016) connected sociologies model, but I made this placement with the understanding that the suturing of these programs are contentious and in negotiation. Similarly, the choice of more conventional social science methods and theorizations, like social movement theory, can be perceived as unorthodox for a decolonial perspective. In this regard I center Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) notation that decolonization does not mean total rejection of Western research or knowledge, but rather "centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes"(p.41). Not all scholars agree with this stance of course, but viewing decolonizing as a non-linear, complex, situational process is essential to, and compatible with, my Caribbean identity, which is itself a hybridity of South and West. In this Caribbean context, where the 'land back' version of decolonization is complicated and less congruous, I consequently undertook a more pragmatic decolonizing perspective relative to those, especially in the decolonial sphere, who would espouse a more complete delinking from the Western. Given the centuries long history of decolonizing incarnations, this perspective appreciates that the endpoint of decolonization is perhaps more of an abstraction, and embraces a stepwise process, which as Fanon (1961, p.37) asserts, still strikes a blow against the colonial situation.

1.5 Note on terminologies and language

Both the terms West Indies and Caribbean were applied to the territories in the Caribbean basin and surrounding coastal regions colonized by European powers (Adderley, 2000). The former term enshrined Columbus' blunder on entering the region, which he mistakenly took for Asia, and later designated the 'West' Indies to differentiate it from the actual (East) Indies, while the latter referenced the islands as home to Indigenous peoples the Europeans referred to as 'Caribs' (Allsopp, 1996). By the 20th century the non-English speaking Caribbean had discarded the term West Indian, and it came to be associated solely with the English-speaking countries in the region (Adderley, 2000). This was reinforced in the mid-20th century with such institutions as the University of the West Indies, the short-lived West Indies Federation, and the West Indies cricket

team (Adderley, 2000). After this period and coinciding with the formation of the regional integration body called the 'Caribbean Community' (Caricom), use of the West Indies decreased significantly, and while it still continues, especially in the Caribbean diaspora, it is predominantly associated with those educated by the British colonial system (Kwaku, 2017). To use West Indies to describe the Anglophone Caribbean did not occur to me, so thoroughly has the term been removed from my descriptive lexicon, but when visiting Glasgow, I realized that it still has some purchase out of the region. I therefore employed the term in literature searches, but for this study I only use the term Caribbean, embracing the fact that while it was a term imposed during colonization, it carries considerable local approval, doesn't reference a navigational blunder, and recognizes Indigenous presence.

In this research the term "queer" is utilized both as an identity label as well as an umbrella for non-cisheterosexuality, akin to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer plus (LGBTQ+), but inclusive of any lesser articulated and complex sexualities and identities specific to the Global South (Gosine, 2005). However, its placement within a Caribbean context has been contentious. Some Caribbean scholars have adopted this term with Global North origins without seeing the need to justify its use, as in Kofi Campbell's (2014) book "*The Queer Caribbean Speaks: Interviews with Writers, Artists, and Activists*". Others have used it as a methodology, to emphasize the "multiple transgressions queer people engage in" (Attai, 2017, p. 98) or to explore non-normativity while disclaiming its use as a local identifier (Ghisyawan, 2015; Persard, 2018) and yet others have rejected its use, such as activists in the Dominican Republic who have remodeled the word into "quír" (Lara, 2020, p.37). Some persons problematize the word due to its racialization as white and largely American (Viteri, 2014, p.xxvii), while some Anglophone Caribbean scholars perceive the term as a colonial imposition, and use alternatives like same-sex loving, sexual minority, and women who love women in the absence of a widely recognized regional umbrella word (Attai et al., 2020; King, 2014). I argue that these words are not useful in capturing gendered considerations of the queer umbrella and also do not relocate to a Caribbean specificity. I use queer in this study because of its commodious nature and its resonance with the Caribbean's relationships, sexualities and expressions that have defied the white male heteropatriarchy of colonization and according to some scholars, have positioned the region as "queer" for hundreds of years now (Ghisyawan, 2015; King, 2008). Despite the many

conceptual debates around the word, especially when used as a theoretical framework, queer is increasingly and widely used by LGBTQ+ people within the Anglophone Caribbean in their social life and in activism. In this research seventeen interviewees used the term liberally (one using the specific portmanteau 'queeribbean'), with no one mentioning any problematizations, while three others claimed it as an identity, and an organization incorporated it into its name (Empowering Queers Using Artistic Learning – EQUAL). I still heed Gloria Anzaldúa's (2009) call to be wary of erasing diversity within communities with its use however: "at times we need this umbrella to solidify our ranks against outsiders. But even when we seek shelter under it, we must not forget that it homogenizes, erases our differences. Yes, we may all love members of the same sex but we are not the same'" (p.164).

At various points I also use the terms LGBTQ+, LGBT and lesbian, bisexual and queer (LBQ) as these are terms activists used to describe themselves and their organizations. These are especially employed when discussing organizational work. The variations of the acronym that includes intersex (LGBTQIA and LGBTI etc.) have been avoided since almost no participants used them, and no data emerged on intersex people. Intersex people are greatly invisibilized in both countries (USAID, 2021), and while my intention is not to further add to this erasure, I do consider the fact that some intersex communities would rather be non-aligned with queerness for strategic reasons[1]. The term transgender is used here "both an umbrella term for any number of transgressive gender practices and as a term which refers specifically to those who claim or exhibit unconventional gender" (King, 2014, p.21). But like King (2014), I recognize the problematic nature of this term in contexts where the naming of sexuality and gender is still being negotiated by local communities (Rambarran & Hereman, 2020), and so like King, I also use trans as an umbrella, placeholder term.

Finally a note on language. Creolese and Bajan words are not presented in italics, as part of my personal writing ethos around normalizing their appearance, but words which may be unfamiliar are explained in footnotes. For quotes in the local language and dialect, footnotes are also used to

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[1] This view was shared with the audience by an intersex presenter during the 2020 Human Rights Campaign Global Innovative Advocacy Summit

explain unfamiliar words, as well as provide English translations of words/phrases where they may not be obvious.

1.6 Structure of the thesis and key findings

1.6.1 Structure of the thesis

After the introductory chapter the thesis moves onto a review of the literature which is split into two chapters. The first of these (Chapter Two), presents a contextualization of the Caribbean, Barbados and Guyana that is necessary for appreciating the frames of reference around queer activism. It uses the literature to perform a preliminary historical sociological analysis of politics, class and ethnicity that informs later discussions and arguments. It also explores the historical and empirical literature on queerness and queer activism in the Caribbean and the two countries. Chapter Three then tackles the key theoretical aspects that help to frame analysis with reference to the research question. This includes sections on colonialism, decolonization/decoloniality and transnationalism; on queer Caribbean identities and queerphobia; and theorizations of social movements broadly, and specifically in relation to queer activism and queer activism in the Caribbean. An evaluative engagement with this literature showed prominent gaps, such as the Caribbean being an undertheorized locale in the Global South literature on queer activism and the tendency to focus on single aspects of activism. The literature also revealed a paucity of sociological analysis on queer Anglophone Caribbean activism, within which only one study explicitly related activism to decolonizing (Istodor-Berceanu, 2019). Considerations around Indigeneity only occurred in Guyanese literature, touching on Indigenous erasure in activism and queerness (Attai, 2019; Istodor-Berceanu, 2019; Peters, 2019) and giving brief examination to the challenges with reaching this population (Peters, 2019). While several studies discussed transnational relations to varying degrees, only three used any social movement theories (Lennox and Waites, 2013; Peters, 2019; Waites, 2019). This chapter therefore also highlights the particular research deficiencies this study addresses.

Chapter Four dissects the study methodology by offering insights into both the framing theoretical choices and practical methods process. It illuminates the reasoning and processes that

resulted in a distinctive decolonizing methodology that attends to transnational relations and concerns. The chapter opens by showing how positionality, ontology and epistemology, especially in relation to a decolonizing frame, influenced the research design, methodological choices, and the overall operationalization of decolonization within the study. Alongside a presentation of the ethical considerations, a dynamic insider-outsider positionality is unpacked to demonstrate how research integrity was prioritized in study design, and by navigating activism and work outside the university. It then concludes with a granular description of how data was collected via social media and online research, the newspapers, interviews and participant observation, and subsequently analyzed.

The findings of the study are presented in three analytical chapters where the empirical data and theorizations have been used to explore the sub-questions. In Chapter Five, which is entitled "A historical sociological analysis of queer movements in Barbados and Guyana", the sub-question addressed was "what were the trajectories of post-independence queer organizing in both countries and how did British colonialism operating in differing local contexts influence this activism?" In contrast to other inter-Caribbean comparisons which have either focused on selected aspects, such as the law (Attai, 2019; Gaskins, 2013), politics (Alexander, 1994; Attai, 2019) and activism mainly in relation to these aspects, this chapter uses a more holistic historical sociology approach to encompass the wider and more granular details of the movements to make its arguments. It begins by expanding on the queer histories in both countries with mainly archival material and interrogating some selected aspects of early organizing in both contexts. It then shows that the broad trajectory of post-independence formal queer organizing in both countries started from a response to the HIV crisis and branched out to human rights framed LGBTQ+ specific work that more recently has splintered off to address the needs of sub-populations within that umbrella. A moderate divergence in these arcs was traced to geographical size and political environments, both in turn being linked to colonialism and transnationalism to some degree. With regards to the former, Guyana though geographically larger than Barbados, still functioned as a 'small place' due to colonial interferences, and both countries were subjected to forms of queer silencing and limited strategic options due to size. Politically, the peri-independence machinations of the UK and US left Guyana with a continuing chaotic political legacy that affects Guyanese activism in a way that is absent in Barbados. Also notable was the

finding that any discourse around Indigenous queerness was absent from Guyana's newspaper archive.

This chapter demonstrates that the same imperialistic force (the British in this case) acting on different countries can result in some similarities, and some differences. British colonial governance was often adapted and "innovated" for local context, leading to heterogeneity in governance (Phillips, 2006, p. 220-21). In this instance, this primarily manifested in the comparatively greater infrastructural and institutional development of Barbados, which was in turn linked to the more significant colonial settlement of that country (Dacosta, 2007; ECLAC, 2001). Therefore, any modulation of geographical, administrative, legislative, political, cultural factors or combination thereof during colonialism can also have a knock-on effect, and change the circumstances for activism. This might seem obvious, but sometimes narratives, especially from the Global North, (for example an article on Caribbean LGBT activism by Rachel Nolan (2016)) flatten the region. This draws attention to the fact that while there is space for generalizations, these should be tempered by a consideration of contextualities.

Chapter Six characterized and critiqued the movements while seeking to answer "what social, organizational and transnational forces have impacted the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts?" as well as "how have activists engaged with decoloniality and decolonization in order to advance their agendas?" It used a combination of interviews, archival and online research to examine the networking patterns in each country, showing that recruitment, burnout and movement diversification/fragmentation (more so in Guyana) were significant challenges, and that class and gender played significant roles in both countries. Ethnicity and Indigeneity were larger issues in Guyana and also manifested as complex sociopolitical interplays that resulted in the elision of Indigenous populations and proportionally decreased participation of Indo-Guyanese persons. While there were some differential patterns in resource mobilization, activists in both countries used similar framings and a variety of tactical repertoires and political opportunities. With political opportunities, the Barbadian movement has been able to achieve greater legislative and policy successes through the presence of elite political allies in the country. This chapter also expounds on the continuing significance of Christian coloniality in both countries, which coexists alongside the more implicit, and sometimes explicit, activist

engagement with decoloniality/decolonization. Istador-Berceanu (2019) has noted how in Guyana LGBTQ+ activism is a continuation of anti-colonial resistance, but this study is one of the few in the Caribbean to explicitly adopt a decolonial analysis of queerness or queer activism. By highlighting how different social and organizational forces can result in varying movement dynamics, the chapter ultimately argues that the dominant human rights framing contributes to contouring the movements away from full engagement with decolonization, and that amidst promising moves to expand intersectional collaborations, there still remains more room for considerations around relationality and intersectionality in the movements.

Chapter Seven groups questions of transnationalism, addressing both "what social, organizational and transnational forces have impacted the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts?" and "what has been the relationship between activist movements in Guyana and Barbados and those in the Global North, in terms of collaborations, power relations, and dialogue?" After examining the landscape of transnational linkages in the countries, which skewed more towards Guyana due to funding restrictions placed on Barbados, a more in-depth analysis of examinations showed further differential engagement with the US, UK, Canada and the Commonwealth. Funding was a significant theme around collaborations, power and dialogue. Here amongst the swiftly changing funding environment, the chapter makes the original step of presenting problematic and desirable practices on both ends of funding arrangements along with how Global North based transnational organizations approached colonialism, decoloniality/decolonization. Cognizant that funding was not an essential requirement for all organizing, it also gives activist-centered suggestions on improving and attempting to decolonize funding relationships. The transnational links of Pride and the rainbow flag are then examined along with an interrogation of the transnational trend weaponizing health for human rights and the local emerging framings around economic inclusion from a transnational and decolonial angle. Overall, the chapter tackles the research sub-questions to show how transnational relations are navigated, being subject to both local agency and power hierarchies which continue to replicate (neo)colonial patterns to varying degrees. It takes an understanding approach to the continuation of these relations, and recognizes the necessity of surviving under capitalism, but makes an urgent call for their decolonizing, and for activist attention to potentially problematic areas in emerging transnational engagements.

The thesis ends with a conclusions chapter that offers a summative assessment of findings and recap of the points that shaped this study into one where the dual consideration of decolonizing and transnationalism has led to an original contribution to the literature on queer activism in the Global South.

1.6.2 Key findings

What does a comparative analysis of LGBTQ+ activism in Barbados and Guyana reveal about the role of transnational processes, colonial legacies, and anti-colonial resistances in the evolution of said activism? Through a distinctive decolonizing methodology and the engagement of varying strands of social movement theory, this thesis offers both answers to, and arguments around this question. In these two countries where colonial histories led to differing ethnopolitical situations, queer activism has evolved along similar but moderately divergent pathways. These divergences center mainly on movement strategies, opportunities, and collective identity factors that in turn affect cohesion, resulting in Barbados' movement having somewhat greater cohesiveness. Similarly, the diverging political opportunities and country economics has influenced the transnational landscapes to result in circumstances where Guyana's movement has had a wider variety of transnational engagements, but Barbados' has had more regulatory success.

A central argument of the thesis is that while the activists in both countries have considered or employed decolonizing praxes within their context, this involvement has much room for further foregrounding and exploration. This assumes an especially urgent register in the existential threat of the climate crisis, particularly in a small island like Barbados and a place like Guyana where the majority of the population reside below sea-level. Untangling from the effects of colonialism and strengthening considerations around Indigeneity has significant potential benefits in confronting this threat. Given that queer persons are especially vulnerable in the climate crisis (Higgins et al., 2023), this is likely to amplify the role of the queer movement and organizations in ameliorating oncoming effects. Fostering stronger support and relational mechanisms and processes to face this threat in intersectional, collective ways appears imperative.

This is interrelated with the argument around transnational processes. Both countries have utilized and translated transnational processes and rights based framings to varying degrees and effects. Within these maneuverings, there is cause for caution in embarking on newer strategies and framings, especially in relation to economic inclusion and its imbrication with capitalism. The burgeoning oil and gas industry in Guyana is a particularly illustrative and direct example of extractive capitalism at an ecological cost. Positioning economic advantages in relation to tourism in Barbados (and the developing tourism industry in Guyana), is not without its neocolonial implications and environmental cost either. Simultaneously being sympathetic to the necessity of queer survival in a capitalistic world, and recognizing the potential pitfalls of emergent strategic directions, the queer movements need to balance practicability with the aspirational. In this environment, short term economic priorities and alliances could imperil longer term collective community survival.

Chapter 2: Caribbean contexts of colonial histories and queerness

This chapter offers a mixture of contextual information and literature review to foreground the Caribbean, the countries under consideration and how queer activism has developed within this broader environment. Understanding the Caribbean setting is necessary in unpacking the processes that contributed to, and continue to influence the region. In turn, the intimate linkages, tensions and diversity of the region are constitutive to then processing the situations of Barbados and Guyana. The socio-political, economic, demographic, legal and geographical features of each country have developed along both similar and divergent paths. An appreciation of how land and humans have contoured these features lays the foundation for understanding activism's milieux and are key to arguments and observations I make in later chapters around trajectories and movement dynamics. Alongside these discussions, the chapter also performs a historical sociological analysis of politics, class and ethnicity that informs later discussions and arguments and explores the historical and empirical literature on queerness and queer activism in the Caribbean and the two countries.

2.1 Situating the context - a historical sociological analysis of the Caribbean

The Caribbean can be defined as the islands within the Caribbean Sea, the Greater and Lesser Antilles, the Bahamas, and some coastal Central and South American countries (for example, Suriname, Belize and Guyana) (King, 2014, p.2). While definitions of the region can be narrowed to only the islands in the Sea itself, or expanded to include others like Bermuda and French Guiana, this definition has been chosen to reflect the shared cultural, historical and socio-political ties between these countries (Thompson, 1997). Within the region, boundaries can be drawn based on colonizer language (Spanish, English, French, Dutch), sovereignty (independent vs. non-independent territories like Puerto Rico, Martinique and Curacao) and racial composition (largely Afro-Caribbean, largely Indo-Caribbean, or Mestizo populations) (King, 2014, p.2-3). Recognizing that the place was produced by transnational forces that resulted in residents who are mostly part of other diasporas, Rosamond King (2014) used the term *Caribglobal* to capture the concept of the Caribbean as not just a physical space, but represented by people, culture, and phenomenon both within the region and its diasporas. Facilitated by globalization and

transnationalism, but transcending them as well, King asserts that *Caribglobal* considers that within the diversity of the region, there is also much commonality – histories of colonialism, political and economic situations, and the threat from climate change. Researching the entire region is extremely difficult due to this diversity however (King, 2014, p.5), and for this project, I concentrate on the Anglophone Caribbean.

Figure 2.1: Sketch of Caribbean map showing the twenty-eight Caribbean countries (by author)

In thinking of the geographically based binaries – North/South, West/East - used to conceptualize global power relations and inequalities (Waites, 2020), the Caribbean can be considered "Western". This is not only due to geography or its colonizer-imposed synonym of the West Indies, but socio-culturally. Scholars state that the globalizing forces forming the Caribbean have resulted in the "First World's First World", and a "precociously modern" region (McNeal, 2020, p.76). This was also alluded to in Paul Gilroy's (1993) conceptualization of the Black Atlantic, where transnational and transcultural Black experiences from the US, UK, Africa and the Caribbean have been in conversation with modernity and produced a culture with "inescapable hybridity and intermixture" (p.xi). Neither geographic binary is precise, often

relying on social dimensions (Waites, 2020), and North/South has been imbued with multifocal binaries such as civilized/savage, developed/underdeveloped, core/periphery, and first world/third world (Krotz, 1997). However, I concur with the conceptualization of the Global South as referencing "an entire history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social change through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy, and access to resources are maintained" (Dados and Connell, 2012). Thus, in this research, I refer to the Caribbean as being Global South, rather than non-Western. Similarly, Global North is used not geographically, but to mean those countries and regions with greater power and wealth like the US, UK, Canada, Europe, and Australia (Braff & Nelson, 2022). This conceptualization allows for both the Global South in the North and the Global North in the South, as evidenced by inequities, marginalization and wealth discrepancies in both locales (Krotz, 1997). The Global North in the South can in many instances, be partially traced to what Walter Rodney (1975), building on the work of Frantz Fanon (1974) called the "local lackeys of imperialism" (p.13), who are the elite classes invested in furthering imperial interests in post-independence countries. This research takes the stance that the countries of interest and the wider Caribbean are not merely "outsiders" clashing with the Global North, but engaged in variably coterminous, evolving relationships with that space.

Currently perceived as an idyllic, tourism-centric paradise, the Caribbean featured prominently in the colonizing mission of Spanish, Dutch, French, Portuguese and British empires, who then initiated enslavement and genocide against the Indigenous peoples living there (Newton, 2014). When mineral riches did not materialize, the colonizers brought enslaved Africans to work in crop-producing plantations (Lambert, 2017). The enslaved resisted and fought back in a variety of ways, from full blown revolt, resulting in Haiti/Ayiti becoming the first free Black ex-colony, to using spiritual practices like obeah[2], and covert poisonings and abortions (Mathurin, 2021; Salandy, 2021). Economic development in the colonies was exclusively for the benefit of the metropole, and it was not until widespread labor disturbances in the 1930s that the colonial administrators acknowledged responsibility for colonial welfare and instituted measures that improved quality of life (Reddock, 2021). In the 1980s/90s, neoliberal and globalization policies

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[2] A vilified Afro-Caribbean practice of "healing, harming, and divination through the use of spiritual powers" (Browne, 2009, p.ii)

enacted through the World Bank and the "Washington Consensus" removed many of these programs, along with reparational preferential trade agreements, resulting in the destruction of many legitimate economic activities (Reddock, 2021). This increased regional reliance on the volatile tourism industry and banking, while narcotics, human trafficking and violence interconnected with all these activities and policy developments increased (Reddock, 2021). Reddock (2021, p.57) reminds us that these contemporary regional socioeconomic realities are not new – colonialism shaped the Caribbean through exploitation and transnational movement of goods and people. However, this overview does not imply that the Caribbean is merely a victim of colonial and neo-colonial forces, but rather holds that after centuries of wars, conquests, dictatorships and revolutions, the region is culturally complex and "symbolically represents the constructive forces of creolization processes that offer important impulses for understanding global cultural interdependencies" (Borst et al., 2018a, p.1).

2.2 Situating the contexts of Barbados and Guyana

Guyana and Barbados both became independent from Britain in 1966, but the countries share as many differences as similarities. Unlike the rest of the lesser Antilles, Barbados' 166 square miles was not formed by volcanic activity, making it comparatively flatter and less biodiverse than its neighbors, but also placing it outside the zone of frequent hurricanes (Marshall et al., 2021). Both the Spanish and Portuguese landed in Barbados, but it was first colonized by the British (in 1627). By then almost all of the island's Indigenous population had been destroyed due to Spanish enslavement raids and migration to neighboring islands (Beckles, 1990, p.6-7). The British initially cultivated tobacco and cotton on the island using enslaved Indigenous peoples from Latin America, some enslaved Africans, and many indentured white servants from Britain, a large number of whom were involuntarily brought from Ireland (Tate, 2021). Beckles (1985) argued that this initial indentureship was the British prototype for subsequent African enslavement practices around sugar cultivation in 1640s Barbados, and then throughout the British empire. The island remained an uninterrupted British colony until independence, fifty-five years after which, it removed the British Monarch as head of state and became a parliamentary republic on November 30, 2021. Like Guyana, it remains a member of the

transnational organization the Commonwealth of Nations ("the Commonwealth") which emerged from the British Empire.

Today, the population is 94% Black, with 3% Mixed race, and 3% white, including European immigrants and the descendants of the indentured and enslavement-practicing whites (Marshall et al., 2021). Densely populated with approximately 275, 000 persons, an issue with overpopulation was gradually stabilized by emigration to the Global North and declining birth rates (Marshall et al., 2021). The island's predominant religion is Christianity (75.6%), led by Anglicans (23.9%) and Pentecostals (19.5%). Around 20% of the population have no-religion, and 2.6% are non-Christian, including Hindu, Muslim or Jewish (Barbados Government, n.d.). English is the sole official language but a regional English dialect, called Bajan, is spoken by almost everyone, especially in informal situations (Barbados Government, n.d.). After the decline of sugar at the end of the 20th century, Barbados became a service focused state where tourism and banking services predominate, along with small, locally significant productions of oil and natural gas (Hinds, 2019; Marshall et al., 2021)

Turning now to Guyana, which is exponentially larger than Barbados. Guyana's 83, 000 square miles on the South American coast was originally three separate regions – Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice - settled by Dutch colonizers in the early 1600s, until 1831 when the British took over and subsequently united them as British Guiana (Grenade & Lewis-Bynoe, 2010, p.5). Venezuela claimed most of the Essequibo region of the new country, but this was settled by an 1899 arbitral award agreed to by both sides; Venezuela challenged the award decades later, and as of this writing, this border issue is before the International Court of Justice (Homer, 2018; Ramsay, 2023). In 1970 the country became a republic, removing the British monarch as head of state and resting executive power within the President.
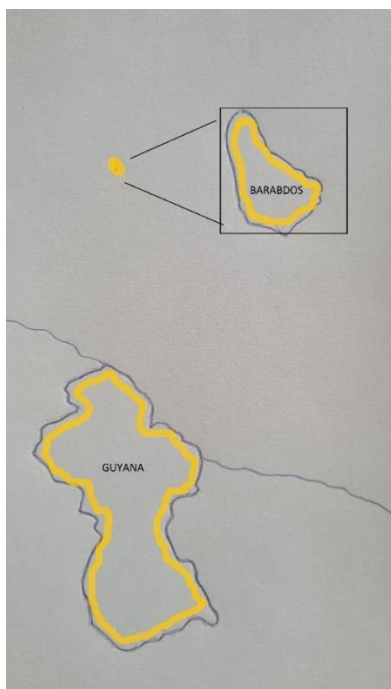
Figure 2.2: Sketch showing size of Barbados in relation to Guyana, with map of Barbados inset (by author)

Originally occupied by Indigenous peoples, today the country has a heterogenous ethnic mix of approximately 40% Indian-heritage, 30% African-heritage, 20% Mixed, and 10% Indigenous/Amerindian (Menke & Richardson, 2021). The term "Amerindian" was instituted during the early 1900s and is used in the census (Bulkan, 2013, 2016). While many Indigenous persons continue to identify with Amerindian, Indigenous NGOs have largely unsuccessfully tried to shift policy terminology to "Indigenous" (Bulkan, 2013). Ninety percent of the 750,000 people reside on the narrow coastal strip, while the rest of the mostly Indigenous population from the nine Indigenous nations[3] live in the biodiverse forests and savannahs of the country's interior (Dacosta, 2007; Minority Rights Group International, 2018). Large distances and limited transportation network have helped divide "coastlanders" from those in the interior, while marginalizing Indigenous persons from national politics and economics (Andaiye & Trotz, 2020). Guyana has seen large-scale emigration and brain drain since the mid-1900s, but within

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[3] These nations are the Lokono/Arawak, Karinya/Carib, Akawaio/Kapon, Arecuna/Pemon, Macusi, Warrau, Wapisiana, Wai Wai, and Patamona (La Rose and MacKay, 2010)

the last decade there has been rising immigration from Brazilians and refugee Venezuelans (International Organization for Migration, 2021).

The predominant religions in Guyana are Christianity (57.4%) and Hinduism (28.4%), with a significant minority Muslim population (7.2%), and less than 5% identifying with no religion (Embassy of Guyana, n.d.). English is the sole official language, but most Guyanese also speak a version of vernacular English-based Guyanese Creolese which co-exists with several Indigenous languages almost exclusively spoken by Indigenous persons (Devonish & Thompson, 2012). The main economic activities center around agriculture and related products (sugar, rice and rum), fishing and the extractive industries – bauxite, gold, diamond and only recently, large reserves of oil (Menke & Richardson, 2021).

A long-reaching feature that has contributed to the differential situations between the two countries has been topology and its colonial exploitation (Dacosta, 2007; Khemraj, 2015). The fertile Dutch-settled, flood-prone Guyanese coast required a series of expensive drainage and sea wall systems (Dacosta, 2007; Khemraj, 2015). These difficult settlement conditions resulted in high rates of disease, especially malaria, exacerbated by the Dutch treating the three regions as trading outposts with mostly absentee owners and absent health services (Dacosta, 2007). Later these conditions also made it difficult for British personnel recruitment, with the high cost of maintaining drainage infrastructure decreasing the profitability of sugar yields, and in turn the colony's potential prosperity (Dacosta, 2007; Khemraj, 2015). Meanwhile, Barbados was relatively disease-free, and within two years of settling, the planters organized local government systems and established a Parliament for local representation in stark contrast to Guyana (Dacosta, 2007). Another fateful decision dictated by land was the importation of over 200,000 Indian indentured servants to Guyana as the formerly enslaved moved away from the plantations, whereas in Barbados the physical lack of land meant freed persons returned to plantation work (Dacosta, 2007). In Guyana the profitability of the plantations then depended on deliberate strife between the freed and indentured, which was exacerbated by culture/language differences and the preferential allocation of land to post-indentured persons to avoid high repatriation costs to India (Dacosta, 2007; Khemraj, 2015). This established a still-existing pattern of Indian-heritage

populations in rural areas, tied to sugar and rice cultivation, and African-heritage persons in urban areas and mining industries (Dacosta, 2007).

Having compared the broader histories and features of these two contexts, the following sub-sections delve into further detail on the political and demographic differences. Subsequent study analyses significantly reference these two key aspects, thereby necessitating their discussion.

2.2.1 Independence and politics

The turmoil of the Great Depression and World War 1 exposed socioeconomic oppression in both countries (and the wider Anglophone Caribbean), leading to widescale riots, and a subsequent Commission in 1939 that recommended extensive reformations for social welfare and constitutional considerations (Basdeo, 1997). In Barbados the Commission's report was mobilized for greater political representation, with Grantley Adams of the Barbados Labor Party (BLP) becoming Premier, followed by an autonomous local government several years before independence (Dacosta, 2007). In Guyana, similar implementations occurred but soon became shambolic. Guyana's constitution changed in 1953 but unlike Barbados, the British retained veto and implementation powers due to political fears over what the Marxist-aligned leader, Cheddi Jagan, of the winning People's Progressive Party (PPP) would institute (Dacosta, 2007). Shortly thereafter, the British, with the approval of the US, sent surprise troops to Guyana, suspended the constitution and placed the PPP leadership under house arrest (Ishmael, 2013). It bears noting that the constitutional suspension was engineered and influenced both by the colonizers and local white and non-white elites with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo (Jagan, 1966). During the three year constitutional suspension the British helped develop an ideological split in the PPP that also ruptured along ethnic lines (Hintzen, 2019). The radical Cheddi Jagan-led fraction won two more elections until redesign of the electoral system gave the People's National Congress (PNC) (formerly the less radical arm of the PPP led by Afro-Guyanese Forbes Burnham) coalition government a win in 1964 (Hintzen, 2019). To this day, the PPP remains aligned with Indo-Guyanese and the PNC (now A Partnership for National Unity (APNU)) with Afro-Guyanese (Hintzen, 2019).

These countries therefore approached independence with divergent political situations. In Barbados, proposals for joint independence with other eastern Caribbean islands were rejected, and in an "intimate dialogue between the metropolis and a rather divided colonial elite" (Cox-Alomar, 2004, p. 686), independence was smoothly implemented in a fashion that did not fundamentally break with the colonial past (Cox-Alomar, 2004). Meanwhile, Guyana suffered a period of traumatic inter-ethnic violence in the early 1960s as labor disputes and political protests evolved into various inter-ethnic atrocities (Andaiye & Trotz, 2020) until independence was achieved in 1966 with Burnham as Prime Minister. The post-independence constitutions of both countries have a section titled the "Fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual", but in retaining colonialism's influence, these sections do not explicitly protect sexuality or gender identity from discrimination.

With regards to transnational relations the countries also diverged. Barbados had the confidence of the international market even pre-independence and was able to diversify away from sugar into tourism and some manufacturing, with tourism circularly encouraging further favorable relations with Global North markets (Cox-Alomar, 2004; Dacosta, 2007). Guyana's attempts to nationalize the large sugar and agricultural sectors run by transnational corporations were met with economic backlash from Global North states, eventually became so "extraordinarily punitive", that it, along with electoral rigging, mismanagement and increasing government corruption, "destroyed the country's economic viability and produced a crisis of poverty and despoliation" (Hintzen, 2019, p. 190). Ironically this backlash led the government to the communist bloc countries the US and UK hoped to avoid with the Marxist PPP. When the Soviet-led bloc also lost power, Guyana turned to transnational financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, as by the mid-1980s the country was technically bankrupt (Goolsarran, 2019; Hintzen, 2019). Since then, Guyana has gradually improved its economic outlook, especially since the discovery of oil in 2015, but inter-ethnic discord over economic resources, racially-based voting, and inattention to key institutions and social cohesion persist (Grenade & Lewis-Bynoe, 2011; Khemraj; 2015). In addition, almost every election in Guyana, even with the restoration of "free and fair elections" in 1992, has been marked by tensions or violence (Chaubey et al., 2011), contrasted with no election-linked violence or electoral misconduct in Barbados (ECLAC, 2001).

In the 1990s and early 2000s, negative reactions to increased Guyanese migration to Barbados generated controversy ("Exploited, undocumented", 2009), but since Guyana's oil discovery, there have been significantly friendlier relations between the countries. This has manifested as recent cooperation agreements in trade and agriculture (Invest Barbados, 2022), and pronounced friendliness between current leaders of both countries (Department of Public Information, 2022), where Irfaan Ali is the first Muslim President of Guyana, and Mia Mottley has enjoyed two sweeping electoral wins as the first woman Prime Minister of Barbados. Both leaders enjoy an image of reformation, and Mottley in particular has been praised for her leadership on the world stage (Rai, 2022), although there is a disparity between this international perception and anecdotal local ones.

2.2.2 Ethnicity and class in context

Class in the Caribbean has always been a "problematized concept" (Barrow, 2001, p.174). Its complexity and nuances in differing locales have stymied scholarship and simple presentations, but generally, the plantation society before the 1840s paralleled race/color. This meant white persons in upper classes of management and administration, brown ("colored") persons in middle classes and Black persons at the bottom of the hierarchy (Stone, 2001). In some post-enslavement societies like Trinidad and Guyana, indentured immigrants added another layer of complexity to the hierarchies, with most of the Indian immigrants being slotted into the "brown" category and whites being expanded into "principal" (European and creole merchants and officials) and secondary ones (employees of principals, Portuguese, Syrian and Jewish persons) (Khan, 2001). After independence this stratification shifted, acquiring different characteristics in more ethnically heterogenous countries like Guyana, compared to more homogenous ones like Barbados. The term "plural" has been applied as a means of signifying this heterogeneity, but as Braithwaite (2001) noted, all societies have levels of plurality. Post-independence, a Caribbean class stratification can be conceived as tiers of upper, middle and lower strata based on income, regulated by race, culture and education (Degia, 2007). That education equates with class based on access to resources is well understood (Greenhalgh-Spencer et al., 2015), and was reiterated by activists in the interviews. The other parameters, especially race, are more complex. Stuart

Hall (1977) stated that in the Caribbean race and color are socially defined in various dynamic ways closely intertwined with culture, such that overlaps between race/color, culture and class/occupation stratifications are an "absolutely distinctive feature of Caribbean society" (p.154). An illustrative example from Barbados is the case of the white Bajan, who is a white person from Barbados, and a Bajan white, who appears white but is a Black person; these two categories having different meanings and implications, and sometimes overlap (Tate, 2021).

After independence, Barbados pursued some social mobility of the masses while leaving the hegemony of the white merchant capital untouched (Ramsaran, 2004, p. 116). As a result, there is overrepresentation of the white Barbadian population in the economic elite class (Ramsaran, 2004), but also the phenomenon of "poor whites" in lower economic strata. There is not a large range separating income classes in Barbados, but the comparatively low level of poverty has been increasing since COVID-19 (Alvarez, n.d.;ECLAC , 2001). Given the intertwined and mutable nature of class in Barbados, it's unsurprising that Greenhalgh-Spencer et al. (2015) found that it is variable, contextual and sometimes contradictory. There is a narrative that in this majority Black population, ethnicity is a less useful or relevant lens for analyzing oppression and disparity (Degia, 2007). But the Black Lives Matter movement, coupled with republican status, has seen a shift in that conversation, with the role of race now being increasingly examined.

Guyana has an inverse situation to Barbados – focus is centered on ethnicity and race with scant attention being paid to class. When the already minimal resident white plantocracy left post-independence, this meant there was no correlate to the white economic elites in Barbados, but conditions for new class stratifications had already been in motion. During indentureship the divisions and selective privileging created by the colonizers created an upper class that would be dominated by the new immigrants – Portuguese, Chinese and Indian (Bisram, 2015). Unlike Barbados, however, politics significantly regulates class divisions, such that George Danns (2014) noted how "class in Guyana is defined not only on the bases of wealth, income and occupational achievement, but also on the political and cultural status accorded those in the different levels of the class structure" (p.65). During the post-independence Burnham administration Afro-Guyanese experienced class elevation relative to Indo-Guyanese and other ethnicities (Bartels, 1980), but this reversed after the PPP administration in the 1990s. Currently,

Indo-Guyanese are over-represented in the highest income bracket, but there is more class inequality between Indo-Guyanese compared to Afro- or Mixed Guyanese (Constantine, 2022).

Within the sparse examinations of class structure in contemporary Guyanese society, analyses incorporating Indigenous populations are rare, although there is evidence that they also experience great class inequality (Constantine, 2022) and have the lowest health, education and socio-economic indicators (UNICEF, 2017). In the past, it has been noted that Indigenous persons are placed lowest on ethnic stratifications (Sanders, 1976), with this placement and anti-blackness resulting in complex interplays that warrant further scholarly examination.

In summary, Barbados and Guyana are both English-speaking Caribbean Commonwealth Republic nations colonized by the British. The legal legacies of this colonization, from laws governing sexual offences to the structure of the legal system, are still present and influencing the societies. They also have a long history, dating to the pre-colonial period, of significant bi-directional migratory waves and political ties (both countries being founding members of Caricom), that have deepened even further with recent trade agreements (Rambarran, 2022). Concurrently, historically rooted differences have led to separate current realities. The larger land mass and decisions on land settlement have made Guyana a more ethnically diverse society where Indigenous populations still form a significant minority. The implications of this difference in Indigenous presence are further explored in the next chapter. Land variation also translated to different resources and economic activities whereby Guyana relies on agriculture and extractive industries and Barbados on tourism and banking services. As a result, Barbados has greater economic wealth, less income inequality and greater political stability. Guyana's ethnically diverse population experiences greater inter-ethnic divisions and conflicts, partially contributing to the greater political instability and a history of economic deprivation.

2.3 Tracing queerness and the origins of queer activism in the Caribbean

An empirical examination of the record shows that in both the Indigenous nations that existed in the Caribbean and in the homelands of the enslaved and indentured persons brought to the region, there existed traditions of recognition and acceptance of non-cisheteronormative bodies

(Allard, 2014; Lara, 2013; Orozco & Williams, 2010). Glimpses of queerness among the transplanted were recorded in the "particular friendship" between the enslaved Robert and Samuel who shared a bed in Guyana (Lean, 2002), mati-ism among Afro-Surinamese women who had sex with other women (Wekker, 1996), and male indentured Indian shipmates charged for sodomy (Caribbean IRN, 2013). Because the British Caribbean colonial project resulted in a predominantly male society and notoriety for sexual license (Gaskins, 2013, p.431), colonialism provided both diverse sexual opportunities (Aldrich, 2003, p.3) and leaned on scientific racism around the hypersexuality of the colonized (Farmer, 2020, p.50-51).

Britain's concerns around moral decay and "abnormal" sexualities fueled by conservative Judeo-Christian values and an interest in the "psychiatry of perversions" (Farmer, 2020, p.47) expanded to a colonial interest in regulating and repressing native sexuality. As a result, the 1860 Indian Penal Code initiated sodomy law in the British Empire and became the basis for similar laws in British colonies in Asia, Africa and the Pacific islands (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Based on similar premises, Britain's 1861 Offences Against the Person Act was then introduced into many Caribbean territories, including Antigua, St. Kitts and Nevis, Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas (Han & O'Mahoney, 2018). By the late 1800s, Belize, Guyana and St. Lucia had also implemented local versions of the law outlawing anal sex (Han &O'Mahoney, 2018, p.16). In Guyana, the sodomy laws put in place during Dutch colonization were continued in the British Criminal Law (Offences) Act 1893, Sections 352 to 354 which penalized "gross indecency" between men and "buggery" with up to life imprisonment, and stand to this day (Carrico, 2012). Persons who transgressed gender norms were also targeted in the Summary Jurisdiction (Offences) Act, Section 153(1)(xlvii) that sanctioned anyone who "being a man, in any public way or public place, for any improper purpose, appears in female attire; or being a woman… for any improper purpose, appears in male attire." (The Unnatural Connexion, 2010). Barbados enacted a buggery law in 1868 that remained post-independence, and to which was added a "serious indecency" law criminalizing "unnatural" acts involving the genitals of any person in 1978 (Civicus Lens, 2022). The immigration law of Barbados, while not explicitly prohibiting homosexuals as in the case of Trinidad and Belize (The Unnatural Connexion, 2010) also has a morality clause that prohibits entry to "persons whose behavior offends public morality" or "seek to enter Barbados to engage in immoral sexual acts" (Barbados Immigration Act, 1979). The

French and Dutch Caribbean colonies did not have similar legislation due to the spread of the Napoleonic code which decriminalized sodomy in the late 1700s (Han & O'Mahoney, 2018, p.29).

Jacqui Alexander (1994, p.12) explained how colonialism othered and subordinated Indigenous, Black, Indian-heritage and Mixed bodies and sexualities. Gosine (2021) saw the laws criminalizing same-sex intimacy as a means of inscribing the animal nature of colonized persons, and their retention post-independence as "a kind of reassurance that colonized subjects would continue to work toward civilization of themselves from more animal to more human" (p.148). Barbados and Guyana, like other Anglophone Caribbean countries, therefore sought to signal "competence through continuity" (p.459) and inserted "savings law" clauses post-independence that prevented the challenging of pre-existing laws (Blake & Dayle, 2013). Further entrenchment occurred when some countries, including Barbados (but not Guyana), added the criminalization of sexual activity between women (through gender-neutral language), which did not occur during colonialism, but only largely because it was not believed that such acts existed (Human Dignity Trust, 2016). Although adult consenting same-sex activities haven't been subjected to prosecution based on these laws in recent times, activists argue that they are a vehicle for the perpetuation of societal and institutional stigmatization and violence (The Unnatural Connexion, 2010).

By the late 1960s England and Wales had decriminalized private sex between men over twenty-one (Waites, 2013) and overt gay activism in the United States exploded into mainstream consciousness with the Stonewall riots of 1969 (Bosia, 2019). In the English-speaking Caribbean of the 1960s, intertwined movements around independence and women's rights were most prominent. After significant involvement in the 1930s labor movement, the 1970s saw women's arms of political parties and newer women's organizations now addressing unpaid work and violence against women (Baksh & Vassell, 2013). In some Latin American countries, out gay and lesbian activists worked in interrelated leftist and feminist organizations, which in Puerto Rico, birthed the first gay rights organization in the region - Communidad de Orgullo Gay in 1974 (Crespo-Kebler, 2003; Serrano-Amaya & da Costa Santos, 2016). But acceptance of sexual diversity in the feminist movement was not universal, with the Cuban women's movement

disavowing lesbians from as early as the 1920s (Cuesta, 2008, p.136). While feminism laid some groundwork for queer interventions (Attai, 2017) in the Anglophone Caribbean, the early women's movement did not amplify queer voices and was preoccupied with more socioeconomic than citizenship issues (Baksh & Vassell, 2013). Anglophone feminism continued to evolve separately, but alongside, subsequent HIV activism to eventually provide a platform for queer organizing and important early scholarship on sexuality (Attai, 2017; DeBruin, 2020; Sharpe & Pinto, 2006).

By the 1970s almost all the Anglophone Caribbean colonies were independent, and Jamaica jumped ahead in forming the first gay organization – Gay Freedom Movement (GFM) in 1977 (Blake & Dayle, 2013). Founded by Chinese-Jamaican Larry Chang, GFM focused on building community awareness through its outreach efforts, including a gay youth program, prison outreach, free clinic and the newsletter Jamaica Gaily News (Blake & Dayle, 2013; Caribbean IRN, n.d). GFM highlighted the role of bars and clubs as loci of socialization and activism, embraced lesbians as equal members and built community at both a national and transnational level (Batra, 2010; Blake & Dayle, 2013), but did not survive the "throes" of the coming HIV pandemic (Caribbean IRN, n.d)

Simmering since the 1930s, (Sharp & Hahn, 2011), HIV became a global pandemic that arrived in the Anglophone Caribbean in 1983 (Gill, 2018). Youde (2019) tells how at first, "international response to HIV/AIDS was a mix of apathy and antipathy" (p.302), forcing gay rights activists to get their governments' attentions and beginning the "reciprocal relationship between HIV/AIDS and LGBT organizing" (p.302) that continues to exist. In the Caribbean, the rhetoric was that HIV was natural punishment for "unnatural" behavior, with media reinforcement that the infection was an issue that affected "outcasts and minorities" (DeBruin, 2020, p.11). When the crisis worsened, to the point where the Caribbean had the second highest prevalence in the world, governments were compelled into unfamiliar conversations on sexual behavior (DeBruin, 2020).

A 1996 meeting convened by Jamaica AIDS Support then resulted in the formation of the region-wide collective Caribbean Forum for Lesbians, All-sexuals and Gays (C-FLAG) (Simpson, n.d.).

The next year, a C-FLAG meeting in Curaçao was attended by fourteen Caribbean country representatives and HIV and queer issues converged (Simpson, n.d.). Although C-FLAG did not survive its early incarnation (it was subsequently revived as CariFLAGS in 2008), the collective indirectly produced several national LGBTQ+ and HIV-focused organizations, like Friends for Life in Trinidad in 1997 and J-FLAG in Jamaica in 1998 (Gill, 2018; UNIBAM, 2014). While these mobilizations were advancing, the Bahamas, with no activist agitation, become the first Global South country in the Commonwealth to decriminalize buggery and lesbianism in 1991 (Gaskins, 2013; Waites, 2016). Gaskins (2013, p.442-443) postulated that this happened because of police raids, a "sissy" list naming non-heterosexual persons (seen as especially dangerous given the possible connection to HIV), and "economic imperatives". The case of the Bahamas is meaningful in that it points to the possibility of change without an activist movement and by referencing constitutional rights as opposed to a legal challenge or one that invokes international human rights (Lennox and Waites, 2013).

By the turn of the 21st century, several national organizations representing sexual minorities had emerged, such as United and Strong in St Lucia (2001); Guyana Rainbow Foundation (GuyBow) (2000) and Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination (SASOD) (2003) in Guyana; United Gays and Lesbians Against AIDS (UGLAAB) in Barbados (2001); and United Belize Advocacy Movement (UNIBAM) (2005). Later, given the "Afro-Caribbean, male-run and androcentric interventions" (Attai, 2017, p.111) of these organizations, women and trans-focused organizations such as Petal (formed in 2011) in Belize; We-Change (2015) and TransWave (2015) in Jamaica; SHE (2018) in Barbados; and Guyana Trans United (GTU) (2012) in Guyana were formed to address the gaps. Activists in the region have also gone on to have several legislative and programmatic successes, including the striking down of the buggery laws in Belize in 2016 and Trinidad and Tobago in 2018, but I now turn to brief overviews of queer activism specifically in Barbados and Guyana.

2.4 Queer activism in Barbados

Reinaldo Walcott (2020) stated "Barbados is a queer society" (p.237), having always known "out" queer Barbadians even though their stereotypical representation of queerness might have

reaffirmed gender roles. Openly queer Bajans owned businesses and had their own band during Cropover celebrations (Walcott, 2020). While verbal insults and ridicule occurred, violence was rare once a person was deemed respectable enough, and conformed to stereotypical gender binaries (Murray, 2012; Walcott, 2020). Murray (2012) recorded the consensus that this state of acceptance decreased in the 1980s due to "the rise of the HIV/AIDS epidemic…the increased popularity of fundamentalist churches…and the increasing popularity of Jamaican music, specifically dance hall in the 1990s" (p.72).

Motivated by the toll HIV had taken on the community, Darcy Dear formed UGLAAB to promote HIV/AIDS education and combat discrimination against lesbians and gays with HIV/AIDS (Murray, 2012, p.120). By the next decade, however, UGLAAB was defunct, replaced by Movement Against Discrimination Action Coalition (MOVADAC) (formed in 2006), Barbados Gays, Lesbians and All-Sexuals against Discrimination (BGLAD) (2012) and Empowerment Quality Unity Acceptance Love Strength (EQUALS) (later renamed Equals inc.) in 2013 (BGLAD, 2017). To rectify the sublimation of women within activism, Sexuality, Health & Empowerment (SHE) and Butterfly Barbados were later formed in 2018 and 2019, with the latter specifically catering to the trans and gender non-conforming community (BGLAD, 2017; SHE, n.d.). Further mapping of the activities and characteristics of these organizations is presented in Chapter Six.

A milestone year for activism in Barbados was achieved in 2018. The Sexual Offences Act was challenged at the Inter American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR); the Inter-American Court on Human Rights, in a ruling applying to Barbados, said countries must allow changing of names and gender markers and same-sex civil unions; and there was the first official public Pride parade (Abbott; 2018; HIV/AIDS Legal Network, 2018; Nicol, 2018). Shortly thereafter, two local legal challenges were launched - the regional body Eastern Caribbean Alliance for Diversity and Equality (ECADE) announced its support for challenges to the buggery laws in five Caribbean countries, including Barbados in 2019 ("Regional group", 2019), and trans activist Alexa Hoffman placed a case of unfair termination due to gender identity before the Employment Rights Tribunal in 2020 (Smith, 2020).

In 2018 the Mia Mottley-led Barbados Labour Party won the national elections, and in 2020 the government passed the Employment (Prevention of Discrimination) Bill which prohibited discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, following through with the party's election manifesto. Despite the recommendations of activists consulted during the drafting process, the Bill left out gender identity as a protected category (Bennett, 2020). Later that year, a tourism initiative that excluded same-sex couples attracted online criticism by activists and the public, leading the government to declare it would recognize same-sex civil unions and place same-sex marriage to a referendum to "end discrimination" and prevent "blacklisting" on human rights (Moloney, 2020). There is no publicly available evidence that this move was called for by local activists or directly influenced by any particular transnational organization, but it might have been the government's indirect response to the Inter-American Court ruling. In any case, it was greeted by mixed reactions from activists, with Alexa Hoffman being "unimpressed" at the advancement while the buggery laws remained in place, and others welcoming the civil union recognition but opposed to a referendum (Moloney, 2020). At the end of 2021, as Barbados became a republic, the new charter presented to parliament stated that "all Barbadians are born free and are equal in human dignity and rights regardless of age…sex, gender or sexual orientation" (Charter of Barbados, 2021), proving a partial win for activists who had been consulted on the wording of the charter, but also wanted the inclusion of gender identity. In 2022 the country began a constitutional reform process to align with its republican status, presenting another opportunity for queer activist agitation. This was also the year that the local challenge to the buggery laws was successful. The IACHR case on this same issue, which was only deemed admissible in 2022 (IACHR, 2022), has now likely been mooted by this ruling.

2.5 Queer activism in Guyana

In Guyana, queerness has shown itself in reports of "all-male" (non-legal) weddings, one of the earliest having occurred in 1884 between a Barbadian and Guyanese (Caribbean IRN, 2021), and then again in 1959, when the couple succeeded in completing the ceremony after previous police interference (Kissoon, 2019). In 1968 the court ordered Compton Bowen to psychiatric treatment for wearing a miniskirt (Kissoon, 2019) and in 1971 the village of Grove was reportedly divided over the daily parade of "men dressed as women" who strolled the streets and staged fashion

shows (Caribbean IRN, 2019). Interestingly, in 1978 the country would perform two gender affirming surgeries, one of which was received by Sabrina, who asserted that since the operation was done through the public health care system, Prime Minister Forbes Burnham paid for her surgery (Kissoon, 2019). There is an anecdotal report[4] from a queer activist that Burnham was persuaded by religious representation to disallow them, possibly constituting one of the earliest instances of anti-LGBTQ+ lobbying in Guyana.

Formal queer activism in the country began in 1992 with Artistes in Direct Support (A.I.D.S), which was co-founded by openly gay artiste Keith Andre Sobryan and utilized the arts to bring awareness to HIV (Grainger, 2019). Emerging from Sobryan's work was the Rainbow Crew, which merged into the next organization - the Guyana Rainbow Foundation (GuyBow) – in 2000 (Rahim, 2020). Initially focused on HIV and the broader LGBTQ+ community, GuyBow has since concentrated on activism around lesbian, bisexual and queer Guyanese women (Istodor-Berceanu, 2019). After a 2001 constitutional amendment bill prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation was vetoed by President Bharat Jagdeo under religious pressure (Campbell, 2014), it was re-introduced in 2003, and Students Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination (SASOD) was formed to lobby for its passage (Kissoon, 2013a). SASOD was unsuccessful in lobbying, changed the students in its name to "society", and after a lull, continued it activism in 2005 with the Anglophone Caribbean's first and longest running LGBTQ+ film festival. Recognizing a need comparable to the one in Barbados that sought increased representation of trans and women's voices in the movement, Guyana Trans United (GTU) was formed in 2012 and the women's arm of SASOD (called SWAG), was formed in 2017. The number of queer-specific organizations further expanded in 2019 with the formation of Empowering Queers Using Artistic Learning (EQUAL Guyana), which sought to empower gender and sexual minorities through engagement and education, and Proud to be Trans (PTBT) in 2020. The latter is the only one of these organizations to be based outside of Region 4[5]. As with Barbados, the activities, and characteristics of these organizations are further discussed in Chapter Six.

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[4] As told to me outside of the study interviews

[5] Guyana is divided into ten administrative regions numbered 1 to 10. Region 4 is the most populous and houses the capital city.

2018 was also a watershed year for activism in Guyana. The Summary Jurisdiction (Offences) Act against "cross-dressing", with a history of being used to target trans women, was used to charge seven persons in February 2009, and the next year four of the charged and SASOD challenged the constitutionality of the law (U-RAP, 2018). The case went before the country's highest court of appeal – the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) – which declared in November 2018 that the law was to be removed, however, it was not removed until 2021, during a session where opposition Parliamentarians cited religious reasons for its retention ("House passes", 2021). In June 2018, after a weeklong series of Pride events, Guyana held the first official Pride parade in the English-speaking Caribbean, where around 300 persons took to the road in the face of considerable religious and online opposition (Peters, 2018).

In the 2015 elections both major parties had manifestos stating persons should not be discriminated against based on sexual orientation (Kissoon, 2019, p.501-502), but by the time the A Partnership for National Unity/Alliance for Change (APNU/AFC) coalition government left office in 2020, no relevant legal reforms had been instituted. Activists in Guyana have been lobbying for an amendment to the Prevention of Discrimination Act to include workplace protections for sexual orientation, gender identity and expression since 2017 (Bhainie, 2020), but unlike in Barbados, have so far been unsuccessful in securing this.

This synopsis of queer activism in the Caribbean, Barbados and Guyana illustrates how the Anglophone Caribbean inherited colonial criminalization around same-sex intimacies and has formal activism largely dating back to the 1990s (with the earlier exception of Jamaica). This activism emerged from HIV activism, with glancing involvement from the women's rights movements. Within the last decade this activism has accelerated, leading to several significant social and legal changes. In Chapters Five and Six, I further unpack how the movements were developed in Barbados and Guyana during this time frame, offering insight into their priorities and strategies for confronting the continued challenges.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter gave the context for appreciating how colonialism, history, and geography have interacted to provide the scaffolding upon which queer activism in the Caribbean, Barbados and Guyana unfolds. The analysis illustrated how within the Caribbean region – a seminal point for European colonial activities – Barbados and Guyana have central similarities as English-speaking republic states in the Commonwealth carrying the legal legacies of British colonization. Concurrently, historical and geographical factors have resulted in a marked divergence in politics, economics and population demographics. In Guyana, where all three of these elements are intertwined, the consequence has been a more ethnically diverse society, with greater inter-ethnic tensions, lesser economic wealth (which is on trajectory to change given the newfound oil industry), more income inequality, and lesser political stability compared to Barbados. It has also translated to a significant minority population of Indigenous persons, unlike in Barbados. In both countries, as in the wider Caribbean, queer activism emerged from an HIV context and has expanded within the last decade, leading to various social, policy and legal changes.

This provides the necessary context for developing the analysis of how queer activism has been influenced, and evolved, in either country. The next chapter will further situate the research by reviewing literatures vital to the analytical theorizations and perspectives, namely, colonialism, decolonization/decoloniality, transnationalism, queer Caribbean identities and queerphobia; and theorizations of social movements.

Chapter 3: Literature review: theorizing colonial resistance, transnationalism, social movements, and their relation to queerness

Having begun the review of activist and historical literature in the previous chapter, this chapter turns attention to key sociological and theoretical concepts that undergird the study analysis, while simultaneously evaluating these existing literatures. The first section unpacks theorizations on colonialism before exploring its varied forms of resistance through the post-colonial, decolonial and decolonization. How decoloniality/decolonization is deployed in the Caribbean, in queer studies, and the gaps in this literature constitute the latter part of the section. The second section of this chapter addresses transnationalism by explicating on its operationalization in this research and identifying overlaps with colonialism, before detailing the intertwining of rights-based activism in the international sphere and concluding with an evaluation of the relevant transnational actors involved in global and Caribbean queer activism. The chapter then moves onto an examination of the two interwoven concepts within which queer Caribbean activism maneuvers – those of queer identity and its opposition – before a final section discussing social movement theories. This final section places social movement theories in conversation with queer activism, and particularly queer Caribbean activism, to illustrate the state of scholarly work and its omissions. The chapter concludes by highlighting the limitations and gaps in the existing literature and how these underscore the utility and originality of this research in presenting a comparative analysis that sutures the decolonial and transnational.

This review utilized a range of sources, from peer reviewed original research, books by prominent scholars, textbooks, and newspapers to organizational publications, grey literature, and websites. The search of databases (Google Scholar, the Gale archives of sexuality and gender and the International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS)) and following bibliographical leads involved focusing on key terms from the research question, such as "queer/LGBT activism/movement", "decolonial/decolonization", "transnational" and "Caribbean/Barbados/Guyana". Apart from Barbados and Guyana, for which all queer activism studies were appraised, the section on social movements confined its analysis to studies that engaged with social movement theory alongside decoloniality/decolonization and/or transnationalism, in alignment with the research question and eliminated studies simply detailing

country activism. Similarly, the critical account of social movement theory in queer Caribbean movements only considered literature on the Anglophone Caribbean. I acknowledge that a tremendous constraint in conducting this review, especially around decoloniality and Global South practices, was the reliance on English publications or translations (although I translated some key decolonial papers using Google translate), which limited the scope of the examination and likely resulted in some voices being lost or appropriated (Pérez-Bustos, 2017).

I further acknowledge that these theoretical frameworks do not exist in isolation, but in conversation with each other and other disciplines such as feminism and queer theory. These inter-disciplinary cross-pollinations especially exist in the sphere of feminism, where lesbian scholars like Jacqui Alexander have examined queer citizenship with a transnational lens and Maria Lugones has been seminal in the discourse around decolonial feminism.

3.1 Colonialism and decoloniality/decolonization

3.1.1 Theories of colonialism and imperialism

Humans have sought to dominate others for millennia, entangling descriptions of this practice in using transnational concepts such as imperialism and colonialism. Often used synonymously and inconsistently in the literature, Kohn and Reddy (2023) explained how the etymological roots of the significantly overlapping terms can lend distinction, such that modern colonialism is European political domination, and imperialism is economic, military and political domination without significant European settlement. Colonization was the period of actual invasions and occupations during which colonial administrations were established (le Grange et al., 2020). Originally equated with empire and acquiring foreign lands, understandings of imperialism shifted with Lenin's analysis of imperialism being the highest stage of capitalism, influencing the conceptualization of the US, with its economic dominance, as being imperialistic (Kohn & Reddy, 2023). Capitalism in turn is the socioeconomic production system predicated on private profit that has led to exploitation and severe inequities (Watts & Hodgson, 2019). It is enabled by the political economic ideological theory of neoliberalism which advances that " liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by

strong private property rights, free markets and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p.2) is best and involves state maintenance of such practices.

Added to external colonialism (domination outside national borders) and internal colonialism (biopolitical oppressions within domestic borders), Tuck and Yang (2012) saw settler colonialism as a manifestation of both of these types, in a process where colonizing settlers foreground land and destroy Indigenous peoples (p.5-6).

In the time since political independence of former colonies, the ongoing reverberations of colonialism have resulted in several conceptualizations. One of these has been neocolonialism, or the continuation of the workings of independent countries being directed by external entities, often through economic means (Nkrumah, 1965). More recently, the term living legacies has also been posited to understand the temporal relations of power (Beasley and Papadelos, 2023, p.2) which can act alongside coloniality by retaining colonial elements, while being imbued with other contemporary contextual realignments (Waites, 2023). Another has been coloniality, a term that encompasses the various colonial systems of power that persist in everyday life (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Quijano, 2000). Quijano (2000, 2007), building off of Black Marxists who used terms like "color caste" and "racial capitalism" (Grosfoguel, 2022), posited the coloniality of power as colonialism's legacy of social classification premised on "race". Introduced in the 16th century, as a new way of legitimizing dominance, it established world capitalism where the "inferior" colonized races did the (often unpaid) work. This "colonial matrix of power" privileging white supremacy has spread globally, affecting all spheres of social existence and effecting power imbalances (Grosfoguel, 2007). Closely related, is the coloniality of knowledge, or "Eurocentrism" (Quijano, 2000). Ignoring that knowledge and technology was also transported from the colonized to Europe, Eurocentrism functions as an "epistemic locus" establishing European experience, knowledge and its production as the only valid norm, eventually helping to secure new "natural" social rankings of race, class, gender, sexuality, spirituality and linguistics while colluding with the power matrix to legitimize asymmetric relations (Harding, 2016; Quintero & Figueira, 2019). Therefore, not only was there physical occupation in Eurocentrism, but a less visible epistemic one that resulted in "epistemicide" (Xiang, 2018).

Interrelated with the coloniality of knowledge is the coloniality of being, which addresses the lived experience of coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). The primacy of epistemology within the philosophy of "I think therefore I am" hides the converse implication that those who do not think do not exist, erasing their being and justifying their domination within the race construct of the coloniality of power (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p.252; Quintero & Figueira, 2019). More recently, the coloniality of nature has also entered the discourse, not only in relation to capitalism, but as an ecological consideration of how nature has been exploited within the dominant world system (Quintero & Figueira, 2019).

In response to a primary focus on race within these theories, Maria Lugones developed the coloniality of gender (Mendoza, 2016), asserting that colonization upended pre-existing social and cosmological relations to impose a dichotomous hierarchy of gender, sexuality and race that did not exist before, and that connected to all the other "colonialities" (Lugones, 2010). While binary sex was recognized in the colonized, the prior absence of dichotomous gender marked them as non-human and exploitable; at the same time, non-white women were erased since different dichotomies were characterized by its superior member, ex. "woman" meant white woman (Lugones, 2010, p.743;757). The evidence for the concept has been disputed by others like Segato and Cusicanqui who claim that gendered systems existed prior to colonization and were only exacerbated post-independence, but agree that the coloniality of gender is intertwined with the coloniality of power and has had profound effects (Mendoza, 2016).

3.1.2 Theorizing resistance to colonialism: post-colonial, decolonial and decolonization

Resistance to colonization has been present from its inception, becoming more prominent with the pivotal events of the Haitian revolution, the Bandung conference and subsequent schools of theorizations (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019). Following from the varying perspectives on colonialism and its consequences outlined above, these theorizations have had different emphases and strands. This section compares these paradigms, identifying intersections and positioning their use in this study.

Emanating from diasporic South Asian and Middle Eastern scholars like Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, post-colonial theory mainly focused on the interactions between these scholars' countries of origin and their colonizing powers during the 19th and 20th centuries, while prioritizing discourse and textual analysis in the cultural space (Bhambra, 2014; Quintero & Figueira, 2019). Decolonial theory emerged from Latin American and US-based diasporic scholars but did not remain confined to Latin America (Harding, 2016). Decolonial theory extended the temporality and geography of modernity discourses to the 15th century and to Abya Yala[6], in relation to the colonial processes of Spain and Portugal (Lyons et al., 2017), drawing on development theory and the Frankfurt School (Bhambra, 2014), while acknowledging a long history of previous decolonial thinkers like W. E. B. Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, Audre Lorde, and Amilcar Lopes da Costa Cabral (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). Decolonial scholars, more at home in social science and philosophy, point to this difference in thought lineages as the "radical" departure point between the projects, with post-coloniality being more heavily influenced by European postmodernism and poststructuralism (Leonardo, 2018; Mignolo, 2007a; Quintero & Figueira, 2019). Mignolo (2007b) asserted that decoloniality "moves away and beyond the post-colonial" in a process of delinking, while the "post-colonial criticism and theory is a project of scholarly transformation within the academy" (p.452). However, others see less of a radical distinction between these two programs, since they both address colonialism/Eurocentricity, and are anti-imperialistic projects that even share some scholars, for example W. E. B. Dubois (Borst et al., 2018a; Leonardo, 2018; Weiner, 2018). For them, the decolonial builds on post-colonial, or just chooses a different emphasis (Bhambra, 2015; Borst et al., 2018a, 2018b); oppositions between approaches are imposed by academia and the combination of perspectives strengthens, rather than weakens analysis (Borst et al., 2018a; Quintero & Figueira, 2019).

Both theories have been critiqued - post-colonial for its reference to European post-modernism, universalizing approach, inattention to capitalism and implications of "post" (Ghandi, 1998; Xie, 1997), and decolonial theory for its production by mostly men in the Global North who claim to think for the subaltern, its exclusion of pre-existing scholarship, especially within Afro-

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[6] Abya Yala is the *Kuna-Tule* people's name for the "Americas" before they were invaded by colonizers. Its use has been advocated by Indigenous peoples and its use is seen as decoloniality at work (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018).

descendent and Indigenous traditions, and academic colonialism by exclusionary publishing and citation practices (Cusicanqui, 2012; Grosfoguel, 2007; Pérez-Bustos, 2017; Zapata, 2018).

Decolonization initially meant the political independence of colonies, but has since evolved to mean the long-term, bottom-up separation of culture, linguistics, bureaucracy, and psychology from imperialism in a way that prioritizes Indigenous knowledge, culture and sovereignty (Beautiful trouble, n.d.; Smith, 2012). This more contemporary usage of decolonization has essentially split into two strands – in one decolonization is used to capture efforts to counteract the damaging effects of colonialism that have especially excluded the global majority, thus becoming almost synonymous with social justice (Moosavi, 2020). In places like North America and Oceania where settler colonialism occurs, the other strand is seen by Indigenous scholars (Adébísí, 2023, p.25) as a project that foregrounds the "repatriation of Indigenous land and life" that rejects the use of the term as a metaphor for social justice (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p.21).

Decoloniality rests alongside these conceptualizations of decolonization, urging thinking from the intersectional spaces from where a person stands, starting from outside conventional frames, but also incorporating them as necessary, to destroy binaries and have an epistemology from the "borderlands" (Harding, 2016; Mignolo, 2017). Mignolo (2007b) argues decoloniality calls for epistemic delinking of the whole conversation to embrace pluriversality, rather than the universality of Eurocentric thinking, while also unsettling the binary between theory and practice. Decolonial feminism has expanded along with broader decolonial studies, entering into dialogue with Indigenous, Chicana and Afro-Latin feminisms, to become influential in Latin America and parts of the Caribbean, but remaining marginalized within Northern academic feminism (Curiel, 2009; Giraldo, 2016; Mendoza, 2016). Decolonial feminism adds that there can be no decoloniality without de-coloniality of gender, and no theory without practice (Bhambra, 2014; Lugones, 2010; Cusicanqui, 2012). The somewhat nebulous aim of decoloniality to unravel the whole matrix of power by transforming all modern/colonial world system hierarchies (Grosfoguel, 2007) has also resulted in academic popularity and "decolonial washing" or a false impression about its use while reducing the project to a buzzword in some uses (le Grange et al., 2020; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Zapata, 2018). The explosion in demands to "decolonize" any and everything, often in superficial and performative fashion (Moosavi,

2020), has resulted in pushback, with rejection of the term, especially in the African context (Táíwò, 2022), and others replacing it with substitutes like anti-colonial[7]. Language is a powerful framing tool (Hiraide, 2021) and while decolonial, decolonization, anti-colonial and post-colonial have different histories, intellectual traditions, and spatial loci (Lyons et al., 2017), they essentially all resist, and urge for liberation from, colonial domination (Hiraide, 2021).

Concurrently, there have been efforts to reconcile the convergences of these resistances into a more cohesive form. For Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2023), building on the connectivities of Bhambra's (2014) and Nimako's (2014) work, these resistances contribute to the "reworlding from the Global South" (p.1). Ndlovu-Gatsheni, takes a particular slant, seeing the Black Radical Tradition as essential to this ongoing reworlding, which encompasses a wide range of geopolitical changes and movements such as Black Lives Matter. Folúkẹ́ Adébísí (2023) makes another effort with a table analogy representing the "the material and structural benefits of colonialism" (p.22). Adébísí (2023) draws post-colonial, decolonization and decolonial movements as varying strands of decolonization, where the post-colonial (Decolonization I) asks for an equal seat at the table/own table or asserts the table was made from our lives; decolonization in settler states and concerning Indigenous populations (decolonization II) wants the table back; and overlaps with the Latin American school of thought (decolonization III) which seeks an "ontological deconstruction" (p.29) of the table. Adébísí (2023) also names decolonization IV as critiques originating within empire, and decolonization X as strands which do not necessarily acknowledge colonialism but implicate it, such as Critical Race Theory and the Black Radical Tradition. Acknowledging that the analogy is imperfect (as Adébísí does), and that it risks a reductive view of these movements, I find its greatest utility lies in the extrapolation that Adébísí then makes about the nature of decolonization: that it is a set of context-based "strategies whose instant expression and articulation respond to the relevant space – time manifestation of the evolving and mutating superstructure it refuses" (Adébísí, 2023, p.15). This contextuality is an essential part of my epistemological perspective on decolonization, which I expound on further in the methodology chapter.

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[7] Information gleaned from a Twitter thread on decoloniality

In line with Adébísí's conceptualization, this research uses several strands of decolonization at various points. Coloniality/decoloniality is wielded in discussions with reference to the strain of Latin American scholarly thought outlined above, while conceptions of hybridity draw on the post-colonial. As will be seen in the methodology chapter however, data analysis collapsed the terms decoloniality and decolonization together, in recognition of their commonly interchangeable use among interviewees. Decolonization discussions also utilized both strains of contemporary usage – incorporating social justice with considerations of Indigeneity. This factoring in of Indigeneity, as well as how Caribbean scholars have resisted theoretical labeling is examined in the next section.

3.1.3 Use of decoloniality/decolonization in the Caribbean

While the early works of decolonial scholars also focused on Indigenous rights, more recently Mignolo and Walsh (2018) have warned of "decolonial dangers" that include the misconception that decolonial praxis is *solely* the purview of the "ethnic", or "rural" and "belongs" to the scholars who produce its theories (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p.81-82). This encourages my use of this framework, especially within the Caribbean context, where scholars have contributed to, and used, decolonial theories and approaches for decades without labelling it as such. Sylvia Wynter, Frantz Fanon, and English-speaking Caribbean scholar-activists like Walter Rodney, Marcus Garvey, CLR James, Claudia Jones and Jacqui Alexander have used radical pan-Africanist, neo-Marxist and Caribbean feminist traditions to process race, class and identity in ways that challenged Eurocentricity and that were decolonizing, but did not formally identify as decolonial (Borst et al., 2018a, 2018b; Reddock, 2014). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2023) included all of these endeavors in the Black Radical Tradition that is essential to the reworlding from the Global South, noting that some like Walter Rodney embraced both the "contesting, collaborating and complementing" (p.5) facets of Marxism and decolonization.

The Caribbean space has been especially fertile for decolonial approaches in gender, where Black and other racially marginalized women have both encountered and resisted intersectional oppression since the beginning of colonization (Borst et al., 2018b). Anglophone Caribbean feminist methodologies that unsettle Eurocentric patriarchal paradigms date back to the 1960s

and the work of Mathurin Mair and Nesha Haniff, with the latter explicitly advocating for an anti/de-colonial feminist framework (DeShong & Kempadoo, 2021). However, Caribbean feminists have more actively pursued exchange with US feminists of color, being wary of engaging with decolonial (and postcolonial) thought that continuously deprioritizes gender to focus on race and class (Borst et al., 2018a). This lack of engagement is slowly changing, as a collection linking gender and sexuality to decolonial theoretical perspectives (Borst et al., 2018b), using decolonial feminist politics to analyze violence (DeShong, 2021) and the decolonial theorizing of Caribbean women's survival (Medwinter & Rozario, 2020) may suggest. The recent geopolitical volume examining decolonial perspectives between the Caribbean and Europe also contributes to this and contains examples of Caribbean-specific decolonial praxis and existence by way of the Rastafarians who carve out alternative epistemic spaces and resist the colonial erasure of memory (Salandy, 2021), and *Dougla*[8] people, who disrupt colonial hierarchies and perform epistemic disobedience (Barratt, 2021).

Decolonization and decoloniality are both intertwined with indigeneity, but what does that mean in the Caribbean context? The International Labour Organization (ILO) Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (1989) states people "are regarded as Indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions." Using this definition, the Indigenous presence in Guyana is undeniable, absent in Barbados and *allegedly* absent in several other Caribbean islands. Melanie Newton (2013) described how Anglophone Caribbean intellectuals have been complicit in the narrative of Caribbean Indigenous extinction and the reinscribing of African heritage persons as now indigenous[9] to the region. In fact, Indigenous bloodlines persist in many islands, in open defiance of this narrative (Williams, 2014), but Barbados is an exception, having had its Indigenous population destroyed. From the ILO definition, Barbadian African and white descendants of enslavement cannot then transform into Indigeneity, despite the scholarly revisionist narrative. Without a local Indigenous population, decolonial/decolonizing

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[8] Dougla refers to persons of mixed African and Indian heritage
[9] I capitalize Indigenous when referring to ethnicity and maintain lower case for other usages of the word

interrogation is complex and best thought of in reference to creole and hybrid epistemologies and ontologies. Puri (2004, p.65) pointed out that Anglo Caribbean use of creole excludes those of Indian and Chinese heritage, leading me to favor the more expansive term "hybrid".

Even in Guyana, with its 10% ethnically Indigenous population, indigeneity has been contentious. Shona Jackson (2012) argued that both Afro- and Indo-Guyanese have repositioned themselves as indigenous through their labor of/on the land, while paying lip service to incorporating the culture of the native "Amerindians". The Guyanese government's refusal to honor Indigenous community wishes and rename the 2006 Amerindian Act as the Indigenous Act, citing concerns that this would disadvantage creole communities and Afro-Guyanese land claims, lends credence to Jackson's assertions (Janki, 2006; Newton, 2013). With notable and increasing exceptions, the Caribbean and Latin America have been mostly absent in settler colonial discourse due to fears of epistemological dominance that would shift attention away from Indigenous intellectual work, and contextual differences in the state and racial/cultural heterogeneity (Taylor & Lublin, 2021). However, Jackson (2012) asserts that Indo- and Afro-Guyanese reproduce a colonizer-colonized relationship, placing the deprivation Guyanese Indigenous persons experience in health, education, and income within a colonizer context. I would argue that at least some of this marginalization is also due to historic racial animosity, whereby Europeans recruited/coerced the Indigenous into recapturing enslaved people and made the former feel racially superior by virtue of indoctrination into Christianity and Eurocentricity (Sanders, 1987). The formerly enslaved and indentured in turn hold the Indigenous in contempt for their "naivety", with a mutual distrust that in the past has led to socio-political turmoil, a secession attempt and delayed action on handing over the titles to Indigenous lands (Sanders, 1987). Since independence only half of the promised circumscribed land rights have been given to Indigenous communities and within these rights the communities still do not own their subsurface minerals and waters (Bulkan, 2013; Tenure Facility, n.d). Duarte and Belarde-Lewis (2015) suggest colonialism can be "a set of relationships in which one social group continually and habitually profits by exploiting the living environments, bodies, social organization, and spiritualities of another social group" (p.681), and by this metric Afro- and Indo-Guyanese could be viewed as engaged in its propagation. Given the context, settler colonialism is inappropriate,

but the concept of arrivant[10] colonialism or the arrivant state, where elites in the arrivant majority "have appropriated the colonial settler state through postcolonial mechanisms, thus producing the arrivant state" (Lara, 2020, p.11) seem applicable.

Within these complexities, I have therefore grappled with what decolonization means for me as an Indo-Caribbean woman. I concur with Priyamvada Gopal (2021) and Folúkẹ́ Adébísí (2023) on the importance of contextualization, and changes over time, and that calls for "land back" (Tuck and Yang, 2012) are not always transferable. Like Gopal (2021), I consider social justice integral to decolonization, and in a way that does not necessitate an uncritical embrace of everything "native".

3.1.4 Decoloniality/decolonization and queerness

Connecting aspects of decoloniality and queerness can be traced back to the work of Lugones (2010), the queer of color critique (Ferguson, 2004), and even the unacknowledged scholarship of Indigenous women from the 1980s (Hunt & Holmes, 2015), but the "deliberate suturing of queerness to decoloniality remains comparatively recent" (Jivraj, Bakshi & Prosocco, 2020, p.453). The nascent field of decolonial queer studies has gradually expanded, with contributions from Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and Europe, but appears to suffer from an under representation of Africa, Abya Yala and the Caribbean.

Scholars conceptualize decolonial queerness expansively, connecting transnational social justice and liberation from all oppressive systems, including those affecting the climate and non-human animals (Jivraj et al., 2020). Paola Bachetta (Bachetta, Jivraj & Bakshi, 2020) stated that decolonial queerness/sexualities "connects disparate fruitful analytics and practices" (p. 575) and counteracts the racial and colonialism amnesia of Global North queer theory. A volume interrogating decolonizing sexualities has briefly considered how the activism of Al Qaws in Palestine contributes to queer decolonization (Bakshi et al., 2016), while others have examined

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[10] Coined by Barbadian Kamau Brathwaite, arrivant was developed by Jodi Byrd (2011) to "signify those people forced into the Americas through the violence of European and Anglo-American colonialism and imperialism around the globe." (p.xix)

how practices like online cruising in Singapore (Salehin & Vitis, 2020) and everyday conversations between queer women serve a decolonizing purpose (Hunt & Holmes, 2015). There have also been studies illustrating complicity and deflection with regards to settler colonialism from queer organizations in Canada (Greensmith, 2018), laying a case for how queer organizations in Namibia working for sexual decolonization are a continuation of independence movements (Currier, 2012) and examining LGBTQ+ rights through a decolonizing lens (Farmer, 2020; Popa & Sandal, 2019; Waites, 2019).

In the Anglophone Caribbean, there has also been some engagement with colonialism and usage of decolonization perspectives to examine queerness (Alexander, 1994; Attai, 2017; King, 2014; Wahab, 2018; Walcott, 2020). For example, the embodied theories for studying Caribbean sexualities, as elaborated by Nixon and King (2021), centers acknowledgement of location, the realities of bodies, and attention to multiple and "other" ways of knowing/learning from subdued knowledges, which are principles strongly advanced by decolonial theory. But as Borst et al. (2018b) identified, there is a research gap on queer inequality within decolonial dialogues.

Morgensen (2010) has argued that in the US, settler colonialism has produced "settler sexuality" which supersedes Native sexuality with white heteropatriarchy, and that even the queer US projects are settler formations that place Indigenous queerness in the past while absenting it from the present. Similarly, Jackson (2016) has stated that Caribbean "creoles" have established "modern labor in the time-space of the plantation as the new, prior time of belonging and rights within the postcolonial nation" (p. 2), vanishing the Indigenous. Indeed, in tracing how colonialism has affected Caribbean sexuality, Sharpe and Pinto (2006) start at the point of enslaved Africans and the formation of a "creole sexual ideology", without considering the Indigenous. Jackson (2016) also goes on to assert that queer struggles in the Caribbean rely upon the subordination of Indigenous peoples and becomes complicit in the arrivant colonialism; it is suggested that this state of affairs can be counteracted by a relational approach where LGBTQ+ activists fight for sexual sovereignty rather than sexual justice. Whether this assertion is justified, along with relational practices employed by activists, is discussed in Chapter Six.

3.2 Transnationalism

A key analytic in this study is the transnational. Here I unpack the term's conceptualization for this research, connect another significant theme – human rights – to its evolution in the transnational activist sphere, and discuss the literature on major transnational actors of interest.

3.2.1 Operationalization of transnational and related terms

Saunier (2009) traced the word transnational back to the 19th century when it was first used to describe the connection of languages beyond national borders. It subsequently became a common term in political sciences, the social sciences (especially cultural and migration studies), and other fields like history and geography, eventually spawning its own niche area of research (Saunier, 2009). Despite being popular terms, Saunier (2009, p.1054) pointed out that transnational and transnationalism have not achieved consensus definitions within the decades of their academic evolution, and Rana (2021, p.2) added that they are often used without any definition at all. More recently, the intertwining and interchangeable use of transnationalism and globalization has occurred, and while transnationalism can be seen as an element of globalization, their separation is necessary (Klingenberg et al., 2020; Tedeschi et al., 2022).

Globalization is another widespread nebulous term, where the challenge is determining what exactly makes the contemporary state of matters different from previous iterations of global connections (Scholte, 2008). A definition of globalization encompassing various perspectives can be proffered as the process(es) accelerating, intensifying and stretching the 'spatial organization of social relations and transactions' to generate 'transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and power' (Held et al., 1999, p.15-16). While being cognizant that transnational processes function under globalization and its activities, 'global' and 'globalization' are minimized analytics within this study as 'global' has been criticized as a homogenizing influence with neo colonial implications (Grewal and Kaplan, 2001). It can also perpetuate the global/local divide that only positions the local in opposition to the global, and the 'tradition-modernity divide' (Grewal and Kaplan, 2001, p.670) that sees sexuality in the Global North as modern, while other countries are characterized as traditional or primitive.

Transnationalism shares similar elements, with a focus on cross border movement of individuals and civil society under increased global connectivity (Tedeschi et al., 2022, p.605). A definition of transnational relations that includes both trans-societal and trans-governmental dimensions is "regular interactions across national boundaries when at least one actor is a non-state agent or does not operate on behalf of a national government or an intergovernmental organization" (Risse-Kappen, 1995, p.3). This definition is the one mainly operationalized in this study where there is interest in how transnational actors and coalitions interact to achieve their goals (Risse-Kappen, 1995).

Transnationalism captures "all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organizations" (Faist, 2010, p.9) where non-state agents are crucial elements, and can occur "from above", stemming from corporate and inter-governmental entities, or "from below" in a "people-led" process (Tedeschi et al., 2022, p.606), which like Rana (2019) asserted, helps to highlight activist agency. Also useful for this study is the observation that a transnational approach references back to the local or national, such that even as local activists cultivate extra-local networks and strategies, their concerns and goals are of a local nature (Faist, 2010; Rana, 2021). Faist (2010) conceived of transnational spaces as "lasting and dense sets of ties" (p.13) formed by networks and organizations cutting across borders, which is interrelated with Levitt and Schiller's (2004) definition of the social field within transnational migration studies as multidimensional networks where "ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (p.1009). This conceptualization also aligns with transnational feminists who engage with the transnational in a manner that both acknowledges and questions the nation's role in identity and possibility while inspecting cross-border asymmetric power relations (Tambe & Thayer, 2021, p.4). Highlighting the unequalness of these spaces is important as though transnationalism can emerge "from below", these exchanges are still subject to pre-existing "power relations, cultural constructions" (Guarnizo and Smith, 1998, p.6) and other hierarchical considerations (Rana, 2019). These conceptualizations are especially foregrounded in the discussions around transnational entanglements in Chapter Seven.

Transnationalism is a particularly apt consideration for the Caribbean context where mobility and external influences have always been, and continue to be, an inherent characteristic of the region (Peck, 2020). Caribbean scholars have highlighted the centrality of women in Caribbean migration (Ho, 1999), and how the region reconfigures transnational connections to contribute to new cultural practices (Peck, 2020). Rosamond King (2014), in formulating the concept of the "Caribglobal" (see page 36 above), cautioned against a transnationalism that focuses on mobility and nation-states while ignoring those without Global North access and non-autonomous Caribbean territories. I note these caveats, and while Caribglobal is an attractive contextual term, King's inattention to the wider transnational literature and an underdeveloped conceptualization of the term precludes its centering in this study.

Both Barbados and Guyana are nation-states in the looser sense where all states are referred to as nation-states, although Connor (2016, p.1) has pointed out that nation-state was initially meant to indicate territorially circumscribed political sovereignties with ethnic homogeneity; a definition that would only encompass Barbados, and not Guyana. There is however another term that addresses King's critique of a focus on the 'national'. Go and Lawson (2017) have called attention to encounters between, across and in the interstices of what is contained as "national", naming these as being transboundary (p.27). Not only does transboundary reorient outside of nation-states and alert to entanglements that occur without the borders of national settings, it also draws attention to the imperial history that drew the borders of said states in the first instance (Go and Lawson, 2017). This is particularly pertinent in Guyana's context where three separate colonies were incorporated into "British Guiana" and the borders demarcating the new state of Guyana has been subject to controversy (as discussed in Chapter Two).

In Guyana there are also aspects of Indigenous national identity that do not necessarily align with state borders. A map of the lands of several Guyanese Indigenous nations, including the Lokono and Warao, shows extensive overlaps across the state lines agreed upon by empires and governments (Native land digital, n.d.). In contemporary times the static concept of nation-states remains challenged by Indigenous populations living in extremely porous Guyanese border towns, and in the past, the extent to which Indigenous persons even considered themselves Guyanese citizens has been confronted. An example of this was the 1969 Rupununi rebellion,

which was an economically motivated short-lived secession attempt made by ranchers and some Indigenous persons in the Rupununi interior region with the aid of Venezuela (Jackson, 2012; Sanders, 1987). In Ecuador Indigenous rights movements have wielded decolonial praxis to challenge transnational concepts within the state, using the term "plurinational" to signal their self-determination as distinct nations in the state (Keating & Lind, 2021, p.223). Indigenous populations in Guyana have partial autonomy in self-governance through the Village Council and its Toshao leadership (Chand & Thomas, 2022), but because these Councils can function as extensions of the State and only a fraction of the identified land titles have been legally transferred to their Indigenous communities (Airey, 2016), land rights and the autonomous control of Indigenous institutions and culture remains a priority (Amerindian Peoples Association, 2024). Therefore while plurinational isn't used by the Guyanese Indigenous movement and the specifics of self-governance vary, these populations, like their Ecuadorian counterparts, are similarly engaged in troubling notions transnationalism within state borders. In this study I deploy both transnational and transboundary terms, using transnational as encompassing transboundary considerations, and sometimes specifically using transboundary to highlight the non-role of the nation-state.

Finally, the extensive overlays between transnational, colonialism/coloniality and decoloniality/decolonization needs acknowledgement. Walter Mignolo (1998, p.2) pointed out the transnational nature of colonialism, even though the idea of European nation-states was nascent and the empires lacked a relational understanding of the colonies as nations. Indeed, Bhambra and Holmwood (2021) argued that these countries were in fact imperial states or "empires organized around the core idea of a national project" (p.9) rather than nation-states. Hansen (2022) extended this argument to say that these imperial states persisted even in the 20th century postwar period and that it was the former colonies which actually formed nation-states. These positions make transboundary a better descriptor for colonialism. Since independence, the enduring colonialities and neo-colonialism have inherent transnational and transboundary natures that can be seen in the prevailing economic and hierarchical systems that permeate the world. Therefore decolonization movements and principles that offer resistance to (neo)colonialism/coloniality are also significantly transnational/transboundary, offering

multidirectional communications where Global North formulations sometimes capture the field, but coexisting with more contextual praxes (Adebisi, 2023).

3.2.2 Rights based activism in relation to transnational processes

The concept of rights has a long history, but for most of this history, it was vested within the framework of nation-states, and the selective construction of citizenship that excluded certain persons as much as it negotiated who can claim rights (Moyn, 2010). The period just after World War II saw the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) being created as a mechanism for standardizing and monitoring human rights as universal principles (Thoreson, 2014, p.28). But Moyn (2010) argues that it was only the disintegration of other utopian narratives, such as communism and the independence movements, that led to the popularity of the current human rights paradigm premised on individual rights backed by international law in the 1970s. The placement of rights language within the nation-state prior to the 1970s makes it easy to understand how it coexisted with and even fed colonialism. When European and American states made declarations on the rights of man in the 18th century, these rights did not extend to colonial subjects and colonization continued apace (Kuitenbrouwer, 2003); in the 19th century the Berlin Conference linked the propagation of colonialism to the "civilizing" mission of Africa (Shetty, 2018). Even now, the ties between human rights and colonialism are not inconsequential. The main architects of the modern formulation of human rights were after all former colonial or neo-colonial powers (Samson, 2020) and even the conceptualization of "human" in human rights has been criticized as the universalization of imperial knowledge (Mignolo, 2009).

This Eurocentric positioning and lineage of human rights has been challenged in the last two decades. Barreto (2018) argued that the hegemonic human rights paradigm ignores traditions akin to human rights outside of Europe, and pointed out that since the 16th century, rights conceptualizations have been used to resist colonialism, enslavement and oppression. Not only were several Global South actors involved in drafting the UDHR, but the movements for political decolonization through independence also variably wielded human rights for their cause (Baretto, 2018; Eckel 2010). Within this context, where human rights has enabled both colonial

and anti-colonial actions, Baretto (2018, p.499) urges neither their disregard nor uncritical embrace, a stance I concur with.

Although there is now notable representation at international and regional human rights organizations and mechanisms, Thoreson (2014) observed how the intersection of human rights and LGBTQ+ activism has been variously deployed, for example HRC "invoked rights, but did not use human rights instruments in any meaningful way", while OutRight International both invoked human rights and used a human rights framework (p.91). In fact, prior to the 1990s, human rights framing was not commonly encountered in queer northern movements, where liberation/equality or 'civil rights' were preferred for the individual focus and to avoid communist connotations (Kollman & Waites, 2009; Tsutsui & Smith, 2019). The heightened prominence of human rights discourse has resulted in backlash, mostly by religious conservatives in both the Global South and North, and has had contextual deployment. For example, because Hongkongers already associated human rights with Chinese political resistance, its relations to LGBTQ+ people needed reframing as humanity (Madson, 2022); in Uganda decriminalization has used an "incremental" approach to rights claiming (Jjuuko, 2013); and in Namibia, human rights framing siphoned resources and energy away from legal challenges and other LGBTQ+ advocacy (Currier, 2009). Human rights framing has also faced criticism for promoting culturally specific, gendered concepts and neo-imperialism, while ignoring sexuality and local practices, such that while it remains valuable, there is the need for contesting and contextualizing its use (Kollman & Waites, 2009).

Similarly, sexual orientation and gender identity/expression (SOGIE), and the global LGBT human rights framework have also been challenged for installing a specific sexual and gender matrix, recapitulating binaries, and privileging sexuality over gender, thus requiring weighing of their utility in movement work (Waites, 2009). Wijaya (2020) gives an example of useful utility in showing that SOGIE has allowed Indonesian activists to become experts who can refute homophobic discourses, form allegiances with non-LGBTQ+ movements and counter unidirectional Northern power flows. It has also been suggested that in the "global queer politics" around transnational entanglements, there is a reductive division of opinion between Western gay liberation politics around coming out and individual sexual rights (termed the

"LGBT progressives") and those problematizing human rights framings and their selective deployment for non-Western cultures (termed the "postcolonial queer"); the former ignore how human rights can be hijacked by nationalistic politics, while the latter fails to sufficiently appreciate the framing's utility as a universal discourse which can be contextually utilized (Waites, 2017). Waites (2017) has proposed that one theoretical alternative to this polarity can be found in the "sociology of human rights" which builds on Corrêa et al's acknowledgement of the indispensability but insufficiency of human rights and zooms in on selective claiming in various contexts. Waites (2019) also illustrated how the boomerang effect in rights contestations could be wielded in a utilitarian fashion, if engaged with decolonizing understandings. Given my broader stance on human rights, I concur with Waites' (2017) assertion around acknowledging the indispensability and insufficiency, and like Brysk (2017) see "rights as a political construction: a contested and evolving basis for mobilization and empowerment" (p.4) within queer activism. In Chapter Six I return to the question of evaluating this balance between indispensability and insufficiency in local contexts.

3.2.3 Transnational actors

Cross border discussions around sexuality and gender started occurring in the mid-1800s with such instances as the French decriminalization of same-sex intimacy inspiring similar ones in Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Scandinavia (Belmonte, 2021, p.15), and German Karl Ulrich's defense of same-sex attraction inspiring Hungarian Karl-Maria Benkert (who would eventually coin the word homosexual) (Belmonte, 2021, p.21). These slowed during the world wars, but eventually increased and evolved into current transnational networks that have their genesis in the latter decades of the 20th century (Belmonte, 2021).

Here it becomes necessary to clarify terminologies used in this study with regards to transnational actors. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have been defined as non-criminal groups not directly acting as government agents in a primarily not for profit capacity (Davies et al., 2016). This means International nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) are NGOs active in multiple countries, but also subject to four criteria – formal legal recognition, non-profit nature, interests and operations from at least three countries, and no official government representation

in staff or board (Bloodgood, 2021). Because of the specificity of the term, I avoid using INGO as a descriptor, preferring the broader term "transnational organization" or transnational NGO. Cognizant that there are organizations based in the Caribbean that could be termed transnational (for example the Caribbean Vulnerable Communities Coalition (CVC) and the Eastern Caribbean Alliance for Diversity (ECADE)) I use Global North-based transnational organizations when referring to organizations based in the Global North and operating or funding in two or more countries in order to make the distinction clear. In the international sphere the other actors of interest are intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) which have been established by agreements between states (Davies et al., 2016).

As far as I could ascertain, there is no readily accessible list of LGBTQ+ transnational organizations, although the Yearbook of International Organizations (2023) lists 105 "international" organizations focusing on LGBTQ+ issues, with the literature examining only a few of the transnational organizations that are active in the Caribbean.

Harkening back to the work of Magnus Hirschfield's World League for Sexual Reform in the 1920s, the International Committee for Sexual Equality (ICSE) was set up by the Dutch Cultuur en Ontspannings Centrum (COC) in the 1950s as one of the first transnational LGBTQ+ networks (Ayoub and Paternotte, 2015). From the early 2000s COC Netherlands has expanded their international work beyond Europe and have been criticized for attempting to extract themselves from complicity in funding dependencies with African NGOs (Asante, 2022). I explore this relationship further within the Caribbean context in Chapter Seven. Another transnational organization in the region has been Outright International (which changed its name from International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission in 2015). Thoreson (2014) explored its internal evolution to a more a professionalized organization that utilized a human rights framing and functioned as a "broker" facilitating transnational advocacy. OutRight's selection of transnational "partners" and navigation of power differentials within these relationships were also discussed, but the Caribbean was not foregrounded in any analytic discussions.

In the early 2000s two major international funding mechanisms were established which have had significant roles in the region. Formed in 2002, the Global Fund to fight HIV, Tuberculosis and Malaria (Global Fund) has invested around 36 billion US dollars in Africa, Pacific and the Caribbean (Global Fund, 2021), with over 6 million US dollars going to the Pan Caribbean Partnership against HIV/AIDS and CVC in the last five years (Caricom, 2022), but there is a dearth of literature examining its role in Global South queer activism. The other funder was the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) administered through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Formed in 2003, PEPFAR has been critiqued for exporting neoliberal and neoconservative values to the Global South (Oliver, 2012) and has given over 180 million US dollars to Guyana by 2021 (US Embassy, 2021). It was therefore the main funder for NGOs focusing on HIV (including those with a concentration on LGBTQ+ sub-populations) (Datar et al., 2014) before transitioning out of funding activities in that country within the last few years.

Newer "UK-Based NGOs" engaged in transnational LGBT activism (Farmer, 2020) with Caribbean relevance include Human Dignity Trust (HDT) and Kaleidoscope Trust (KT), with the former focusing on legal processes and the latter on wider political advocacy. In the past it has been suggested that KT could better engage "critical decolonizing politics and strategies" (Waites, 2017, p.658) and that both organizations were shirking their potential for greater empowerment of Global South voices, addressing transnational power inequalities and providing decolonial critiques of UK interventions (Farmer, 2020). In 2018, HDT and KT, along with the Royal Commonwealth Society and Sisters For Change formed the Equality and Justice Alliance (EJA) to dispense a £5.6 million program focusing on law reform for women, girls and LGBTQ+ persons (Human Dignity Trust, 2018). In the Caribbean EJA implemented and supported work under the aegis of ECADE (Sweetwater Foundation, n.d.).

The embassies of Global North countries and several IGOs feature in Caribbean activism. Formed in 1945 mainly for security purposes, the United Nations (UN) has arguably since operated as both an intergovernmental and transnational organization (Cronin, 2002), and served dual roles by offering both lobbying and advocacy spaces (Kiel and Campbell, 2019) as well as varying levels of financial and technical support through its agencies. Affiliated with the UN, is

the World Bank. In 2021 the World Bank's portfolio in the Caribbean was over 2 billion US dollars (World Bank, 2021), but most of its funding of HIV work occurred in the early 2000s (Moore, 2013). The Organization of American States (OAS) has the membership of all thirty-five independent states in the Americas/Abya Yala (Organization of American States, n.d.) and contains a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Transsexual, Transvestite, Intersex (LGBTTTI) Coalition formed in 2006, which several organizations from Caribbean countries have joined (Enriquez-Enriquez & Gunther, n.d.). The OAS General Assembly has supported annual resolutions with regards to sexual orientation and gender identity and expression (SOGIE) since 2008, and embedded a rapporteur for LGBTI persons within the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) in 2014 (Kiel and Campbell, 2019). In Chapter Five I discuss the utility of the UN and OAS for activists in Barbados and Guyana.

Two other IGOs, the European Union (EU) and Commonwealth, have played less prominent roles as advocacy spaces in the Caribbean. The EU directly finances several LGBTQ+ organizations in Europe (European Commission, n.d.), but that role in the Caribbean has been constrained, and for example in Guyana, most of its financing of LGBTQ+ activism has been through SASOD (Videtič, 2017). Comprised of mostly former British colonies, the Commonwealth has increasingly been used as a political opportunity structure for LGBTQ+ activists (Waites, 2019), although an official acknowledgment of LGBTQ+ rights by the Heads of Government within the organization remains elusive (Peter Tatchell Foundation, 2022; Waites, 2019). Kaleidoscope Trust functions as the Secretariat of the Commonwealth Equality Network (TCEN), which is a transnational network of LGBTQ+ NGOs in the Commonwealth (Waites, 2017). TCEN has been criticized for excluding more decolonizing voices and the London-centricity of its Secretariat, but has been utilized to some degree by Caribbean activists (Farmer, 2020; Waites, 2017).

3.3 Queer Caribbean identities and queerphobia

Sharpe and Pinto (2006) traced how colonialism affected Caribbean sexuality, with the original drive of slave holders to constrain enslaved hypersexuality merging with Victorian mores to emerge as a "creole sexual ideology" that centered respectability (p.247). King (2008) added that

the history of Caribbean people being deliberately "misrecognized and maligned" has resulted in the reproduction of these same 'dehumanizing tricks' against each other (p.194). An initial reading of historic lacunae in queer representations has been the assertion that same-sex couplings were perceived as a behavior, or something that is "done", rather than an identity (Kempadoo, 2009). Others have further teased this phenomenon apart, offering other theories, such as the "epistemology of the garden" which posits that Caribbean gender and sexual identities thrive at the junctions of 'inside/outside' and class/race/culture (Tinsley, 2011, p.249). King (2014) borrowed the Latin American concept of "*el secreto abierto*" or "the open secret" and demonstrated its applicability to the whole region. Public disclosure of identity offers no advantages when gender conforming persons are easily accepted on the condition of non-declaration, resulting in a Caribbean-wide propensity to be respectful and discreet as opposed to public and out (King, 2014, p.63-64). King goes on to observe that while Northern sensibilities may view *el secreto abierto* negatively, it forms a conditional tolerance of same-sex desire that incorporates community's complicity rather that the individual burden of the closet paradigm. She cautioned that the open secret does not translate to "greater nor lesser homophobia or heterosexism in Caribglobal communities than elsewhere" (p.66), but should be viewed as another facet of managing queer lives; one that inverts the narrative of coming out to insist on the right 'not to tell'. Kumar (2018) added to this paradigm by noting how queer rural women in Guyana used the term "dehing"[11] with another woman to signal their relationship or praxis without "concealment of confession" (p.192).

In Barbados, Murray (2012) was puzzled by the apparent absence of gender-normative gay and lesbian persons in society and the interchangeability between the labels 'queen'[12] and 'gay'. Initially concluding that trans persons were more accepted in Barbados, he eventually reworked this assumption to hypothesize that instead, the observation reflected ongoing tensions between subjectivities and positionalities produced by Euro-American understandings and a local context "constructed through a complex, fluid calculus of classed, raced, sexed, and gendered roles and values"(p.80) with respectability and reputation factored in. Reinaldo Walcott (2020), drawing on the work of Edouard Glissant and Sylvia Wynter, more recently conceptualized noticing

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[11] Guyanese creolese word that translates to 'being with' in this usage
[12] In Barbados this is a term that encompasses femme gay men, men in drag and trans women

Caribbean queerness dislocated from the Global North in the notion of "being so" and its position in homopoetics; situating homopoetics as relating to bodies and identity, along with ideas and politics. Walcott offers the ontological position of being so as a stanchion against placing the Caribbean 'outside of modernity and in need of rescue' (p.245), suggesting Murray's anthropological work in Barbados would have had more heft if he had access to the articulation of being so. Unlike the invisibility Murray saw, Walcott (2020) contends that even when persons refuse to name queerness, a recognition of "so" confers subjecthood and marks a uniquely Caribbean 'collective ethical ontological condition' (p.248). Being so is therefore useful for dealing with the thorny issue of labelling among those who accept visibility but reject terms like lesbian or queer, as authors have documented (Campbell, 2014; Gemma D, 2020; Glave, 2008)

In thinking about queer identities in Caribbean women, the most frequently utilized theoretical foundation rests on heteropatriarchy (Kempadoo, 2004) conceptualized as a Caribbean societal principle "that privileges heterosexual, promiscuous masculinity and subordinates feminine sexuality" (p.9) while concurrently oppressing sexualities that oppose this structuring. Women who love women defy this structure and have been characterized in Guyana as "dangerous" and "a threat to domesticity and fertility" (Peake & Trotz, 1999, p.144). Discussions on lesbian lives have revealed two tropes – invisibility and the "free pass". King (2014) noted the side-lining of women's lives but asserted that invisibility is actually *near*-invisibility, "a state that supposes— and sometimes promotes—invisibility, even in the presence of actual people or other evidence to the contrary" (p.102). Complete invisibility is impossible because women desiring women have always recognized each other and themselves, and the contextualization of visibility depends on the observer and their ability to interpret what they witness (King, 2014). Additionally, Kumar (2018) noted that in Guyana butch/masculine women are more visible than femme women, which can imperil femme women who would rather not be scrutinized by association with butch/masculine women. Gemma D (2020) explored the myth that queer women endure less harassment and are more accepted by society. Using Jamaican media reports, they showed how, in spite of scant reporting on violence against queer women that others have also noted (Crawford, 2012; King, 2014), these women do not have a "free pass", but experience different manifestations of homophobia, such as private violence, sexual violence and homophobic rape, being pathologized and characterized as deviant, and subjected to exotification and voyeurism.

There is a significant dearth of theoretical examination of the lives of gender non-conforming people in the English-speaking Caribbean. King (2014) has been one of the few of tackle this topic, coining the term "Caribbean trans continuum" (p.22) to describe the experience of persons who transgress gender norms. Using cultural, literary and legal examples, King illustrated how this continuum can be conceived as a spectrum with "those who live with a gender identity or expression that differs from that attributed to their assigned biological sex" on one end to "those who only occasionally exhibit an unconventional gender and only in contexts that are culturally sanctioned" (p.22) at the other. King also showed how, modulated by class, colorism and race, Caribbean cultures treat trans individuals "in a backhanded manner, simultaneously accepting them and limiting their life possibilities" (p.14).

Turning now to the opposition of queer identities. The "virulence" of Caribbean homophobia, as exemplified by Jamaica, sensationally declared the most homophobic place on earth by *Time* magazine in 2006 and dominating regional discourse on the subject (King, 2014), along with pockets of "queer exceptionalism" (Walcott, 2020, p.239) typified by countries such as Barbados and Bahamas, is now a cliché. King (2014) wrote that notwithstanding that generalizations on oppression ignore the varying inter-country levels, the challenge for scholars is "determining how to acknowledge real—and yes, sometimes violent—homophobia without endorsing the idea that the Caribbean is uniquely and exceptionally homophobic"(p.83).

Reasons for homophobia in the region have ranged from complex relations to colonialism and unhealed enslavement traumas resulting in assertions of masculinity, fear of femininity and trying to 'prove' respectability to former colonizers; patriarchy; need for control; dancehall music; a culture of sexual violence and socioeconomic factors that make queer persons easy targets for violence by the economically dispossessed; and most commonly religion, especially fundamentalist Christianity, and Rastafarians (Campbell, 2014). Missing from the literature is more information on how queerphobia[13] is reproduced in racially heterogeneous societies like Trinidad and Guyana. From anecdotal activist reports in interviews, Campbell (2014) and Istodor-Berceanu (2019) indicate that Indo-Guyanese communities are more accepting of sexual

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[13] Umbrella term for homophobia, biphobia, and transphobia

and gender diversity, tied to greater acceptance among practitioners of Hinduism, while Afro-Guyanese communities are less so due to traditional masculinity values inherited from enslavement and practicing Christianity. The literature review revealed no similar explorations of social attitudes towards queerness in Indigenous and Mixed-race communities.

In Barbados and Jamaica there has been exploration of the turn towards fundamentalist Christianity, separate from traditional Christian denominations which have made patchy efforts to combat anti-queer animus (Arcus Foundation, 2020; Lazarus, 2018). Barbados has seen the rise of evangelical groups since 2015, particularly 'Family, Faith, Freedom', which has been supported by American interests in regular public campaigns touting sexually conservative values and especially opposing the 'gay agenda' and comprehensive sexuality education (BGLAD, 2017; Lazarus, 2018). Lazarus (2018) pointed out that such campaigns find fertile grounds by feeding on post-colonial anxieties around self-determination, family breakdowns, and respectable sexualities while bolstering heteropatriarchy. They also ironically perpetuate neo-coloniality by privileging a view of 'the family' that denies Caribbean realities (Lazarus, 2018) and use Global North support to further disenfranchise queer citizens.

Perspectives on Caribbean queerphobia have also addressed transboundary considerations outside of religion. After the queerphobia introduced by colonial criminalization and curtailing of native hypersexuality (Sharpe & Pinto, 2006), Jacqui Alexander (1994) contends that subsequent Caribbean nation-building used heterosexuality, European respectability and the criminalization laws to legitimize and enforce its power. Further, post-independence, states have continued to insert and prioritize the illegality of same-sex sexual acts as a means of internal control and compensation for having little control over external neoliberal pressures (Alexander, 1994). The indifferent retention or explicit strengthening of illegality has enabled certain transnational consequences. For example Attai (2017) delved into how the "death narrative" and depiction of "a region crippled by exceptionally violent homophobia" (p.101) allows the Global North to exert control of the Caribbean queer while ignoring local resilience and resistance. Amar Wahab (2018) has explored how states negotiate homophobic violence to manage the economic interest of tourism, and like Jacqui Alexander, explored the role of global neoliberal politics in influencing queerphobia. They called for contemplation of the complexities in buzz words like

'state-sponsored' and 'religious' homophobia that flatten the role of religion and erase the imperial legacies and neoliberal pressures that result in queerphobia (Wahab, 2018). The collapsing of varied and specific elements such as Bretton-Woods institutions and capitalism into the singular rubric of neoliberalism is suboptimal and its uniformly adverse effects has been questioned by Jeffrey Weeks (2007), who asserted that neoliberalism's emphasis on individuality and freedoms can work against queerphobia (p.133). Recognizing these tensions, I incline towards Wahab's (2018) argument that instead of accentuating homophobia (which centers justice around gay men) and legal redresses, a more meaningful call would be for justice based on addressing intersectional oppressions.

Because this research focused on activism and activists, it does not substantially contribute to further generalized theorizing on queer identities, although the diversity of self-described identities among the activists interviewed, as well as discussions on broad intersections with gender, ethnicity and class, are informative and analyzed. Queerphobia theorizations envelope both the colonial and transnational and are implicated in activism's rationale. The thread of queerphobia is therefore interwoven throughout this research, surfacing especially in Chapters Six and Seven when considering movement strategies and transnational influences.

3.4 Theorizing social movements

The following section provides an overview of the social movement theories that form the framework in Chapter Six's discussions and explorations of the movements in Barbados and Guyana.

A consensus definition of social movement remains elusive, with some definitions focusing on historicity and class-awareness (Touraine, 1981), some seeking to reconcile schools of perspectives: "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani, 1992, p.13), or having even more expansive definitions (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1218). Charles Tilly (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015) has used a definition of "sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on

organizations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities" (p. 145), seeing social movements as a subset of collective action (coordinated efforts to advance shared interests), and contentious politics (coordinated efforts involving government). Common axes of collective action, change, organization, continuity (Snow et al., 2019a) and networking underpin all definitions, but this shifting nature has been identified as one of the fundamental challenges continuing to face social movement theory (Staggenborg, 2005).

Early classical theories around social movements were largely psychologically reductionist ones positing that tensions resulted in mass relief activity; the increasing social movements of the 1960s despite decreasing deprivation disproved them (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008). Newer theories diverged between North America and Europe, with the former turning attention to perspectives concerning resource mobilization, framing and political process, with an understanding that ultimately social movements want to have their issues included in regular political proceedings (Caren, 2007; Martin, 2015). In Europe, social-constructivistic (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008) new social movement theory argued that the more recent movements of the 1960s and 70s aimed for autonomy rather than incorporation into existing political systems, and eschewed socioeconomic issues for a concentration on post-material values such as relations and identity (Melucci, 1980). This broad binary, with the US approach (influenced by US political science) investigating "how" social movements operate and the European approach (more informed by sociology and cultural studies) attending more to the "why" as well, still has some influence today, but there is more overlap and cross-pollination as the field has evolved (Martin, 2015; Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008).

This research undertakes a detailed examination of the influences on the composition and direction of queer collective action by incorporating both the "how", with a more structural analysis, and the "why" by exploring factors related to identity and emotions. Before discussing current theoretical approaches, it bears noting that apart from notable exceptions from Latin American scholars (Alvarez et al., 1998; Foweraker, 1995), social movement theory has largely focused on the Global North, and been criticized for its Eurocentricity (Accornero & Gravante, 2022). The previous decade has seen increasing efforts to address this deficit however (Fadaee, 2017).

3.4.1 Political process theory

Political process theory has evolved from a political process model proposed in the 1980s to a largely accepted amalgamation of varying theoretical strands that lend emphasis to political opportunities, framing processes, resource mobilization, protest cycles and contentious repertoires (Caren, 2007; McAdam, 2013). It offers a comprehensive approach to understanding what shapes the form and intensity of social movements by examining the external relationship between these movements and institutional political actors (della Porta & Diani, 2006).

First referenced by Eisinger and later developed further (Meyer & Markoff, 2004), political opportunity structure is a conceptual model for characterizing the external environment of social movements, referring to the openness or closure of the prevailing political system (della Porta & Diani, 2006). Kitschelt (1986), in comparing anti-nuclear movements in four countries, recognized political opportunity structures as comprising "specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilization, which facilitate development of protest movements in some instances and constrain them in others" (p. 58). These structures function as "filters" between movement mobilization and achieved impact, with closed regimes suppressing social movements, moderately open regimes allowing expression but not easily accepting demands, and open ones being more responsive (Kitschelt, 1986). Openness is facilitated by a greater number of political parties and groups, a legislative arm with greater independence from the executive one, fluid intermediation between government and interest groups, and mechanisms that can convert demands into policy and consensus. Since then, other variables like electoral instability, presence of influential allies, elite tolerance of protest and how well the political institutions set agendas and make decisions have been added as factors that also influence the relationship between movements and institutions (della Porta & Diani, 2006, p16). Critiques of the model include its circularity and too-expansive nature – any factor that facilitates collective action is termed a political opportunity, sometimes retroactively so, and the 'structure' in the concept ignores the dynamic, unfixed nature of the relationships often in play, with movements also creating opportunities and having to be able to recognize when this opportunity for creation exists (Jasper, 1997, p.35-36; Staggenborg, 2005, p.3).

Framing processes draw heavily on the work of Snow and colleagues (Snow et al., 1986), who in turn drew on Goffman's frame analysis work to address the more cognitive dimensions of collective action (McAdam et al., 1996, p.5). McAdam et al. (1996) define framing processes as "conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action*.*" (p.6) while recognizing that earlier on in a movement these efforts might be less consciously strategic than later (p.16). Unlike the individual empowerment of McAdam's (1996) cognitive liberation, framing process analysis looks at organizational choices, and the framing process is where the cultural aspects of political process theory are lodged (Caren, 2007). While this gives an area of overlap with the new social movement theories discussed below (Martin, 2015, p. 55), it is sometimes taken to be a catch-all for any non-structural aspects of organizing (Caren, 2007). According to Snow et al. (2019b), the analytical appeal of this perspective is owed in part to a "framing conceptual architecture"(p.394) which enables more systematic assessment and theorization through key concepts like master frame, frame crystallization, alignment, and resonance which are further defined and deployed in Chapter Six when applying social movement theory to the organizations in Barbados and Guyana.

Tilly (1986) states that repertoires of contention are the available means of claiming making (p.4), which include such activities as strikes, protests, marches, lobbying. These repertoires vary depending on the time and place and can limit action based on what is available (Martin, 2015, p.46). An expansion of this is the protest cycle or "cycles of contention", which are periods where social movement increases, spreads, sometimes causes rapid innovation, and can advantageously influence the external system (Tarrow, 1994, p.199). Tarrow (1995) saw these cycles as vehicles that lead to the eventual evolution of repertoires of contention.

As previously noted resource mobilization can be subsumed under political process theory, although there are scholars that maintain a separation (Somma, 2023), likely because it also addresses the internal "how" of social movement mobilization for goals (Martin, 2015). The resources in this conceptualization include both material (money, jobs, savings, the right to goods and services) and non-material (authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, skills) entities (Oberschall 1973, p.28).). McCarthy and Zald (1977) stated that the resource mobilization

approach considers not only resources per se, but also inter-group linkages and external support or suppression. A key actor in the approach is the social movement organization (SMO) which works to implement the goals of the social movement it identifies with, and functions as part of a broader social movement industry (SMI), which in turn is placed within the society's social movement sector (SMS) that competes with other sectors and industries for population resources (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p.1218-1219;1224). Other mobilizing structures apart from the typical SMO includes personal/professional connections (social networks), pre-existing/alternative organizations (Staggenborg, 2005, p.2), while the equation of social movement with organization has been problematized, especially since NGO professionalization can challenge movement goals (Waites, 2017, p.645)

Criticisms include an overreliance on economic paradigms with an implied calculatedness of activists who are often more driven by passion and emotion, and an underestimation of the strength of indigenous resources via informal networks (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008, p.25). Another criticism has been the emphasis on tangible resources, which has been countered by examining the role of the more intangible resource of social capital (Greenspan, 2014). Putnam (2000) described social capital as "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity" (p.19), linked to "civic virtue". Other conceptualizations of non-tangible resources can be found in Bourdieu's cultural, social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Greenspan, 2014), with the former conceived as familiarity with a society's legitimate culture, embodied "in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (p.17), objectified in cultural goods and objects, and institutionalized by being officially granted or sanctioned (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital is concerned with connections and networks (Bourdieu, 1986, p.16), while symbolic capital is essentially "cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.135). Bourdieu's conceptualizations of social capital differ from that of Putnam's, being inextricably linked to class and social status, and connected to his wider sociological work on fields of practice and habitus (Claridge, 2018, p.7-8). Given the relational approach that allows resources to be analyzed at both the individual and organizational level (Greenspan, 2014), this research applies a Bourdieusian approach in assisting with the analysis of capital in resource mobilization presented in Chapter Six.

3.4.2 New social movement theory

Emerging in Europe around the "cultural turn", the new social movements (of the 1960s and 70s) were contrasted with the "old" ones of the industrial era that centered on class and socioeconomics (Martin, 2015). Alan Touraine characterized the central conflict as a fight for producing historical experience through cultural patterns ('historicity') (Touraine, 1985), and a turn away from the social justice aims of industrial society towards autonomy in the post-industrial one (Martin, 2015). A central concept in the theory is 'post-materialism', whereby pre-World War II generations prioritized material well-being and security, while later generations valued more aesthetic and intellectual entities (Martin, 2015; Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008). Melucci's (1980) early work on new social movements reasserted the notion of a class struggle not only for production, but also for control over "time, of space, and of relationships in the individual's daily existence" (p. 219), with the movements melding public and private, focusing solidarity over political systems, and the "centrality of the body", as in the 'homosexual' movement. Melucci also developed a constructivist approach where collective actors are both products and subjects of social action, operating through a collective identity and producing action from constant negotiations of tensions within a multipronged action system (Bartholomew & Mayer, 1992).

Critics of new social movement theory contend that these movements are not in fact 'new' - identity politics, such as the women's movement, are centuries old, the working-class movement also addressed multifaceted aspects of identity and culture, and since all radical movements oppose conventional politics at their inception, these features are those of all social movements early on (Martin, 2015). Verta Taylor's concept of abeyance helps to address these criticisms, by showing how movements survive in less receptive environments and continue in another stage of mobilization (Martin, 2015).

New social movement theory also pays attention to both identity and emotions. Social identification can spur engagement with collective action, and collective identity is essential to movement maintenance, so understanding how this operates contributes to understanding temporal movement dynamics, (Fominaya, 2019; Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008).

Fominaya (2019) asserts that collective identity resides in both the individual and the collective, being constantly renegotiated and transformed through the movements' contact with external influences, even in movements which are primarily identity-based, such as LGBTQ+ movements (p.431). Melucci's theory of collective identity is cited as one of the most systematic and influential, seeing collective identity as a "process-based" formulation of networked relationships, with an emphasis on emotional involvement, and conflict, rather than common interest, as the glue holding it together (Melucci, 1995; Fominaya, 2019). Studies on online engagement have shown that collective identities, and even Melucci's theory, continue to operate in this sphere, and can foster offline mobilization, but further work is needed to explore power dynamics, hierarchies, and constructions of meaning in this medium (Fominaya, 2019).

Initially neglected in social movement research, emotions have been increasingly addressed (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008, p.33). Movement commitment can be facilitated by moral shocks which reinvigorate, and the emotional ties between activists, while leaving a movement can be precipitated by lack of time and energy, fractured and complex solidarities, burnout/fatigue, and uninspiring or unsuitable leadership (Van Ness & Summers-Effler, 2019). Emotions thus generally function as accelerators or amplifiers in relation to social movement, and although all emotions are socially constructed to some degree, those that concern political action incorporate more cognition and social construction (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008).

3.4.3 Networks and networking

Networks are integral to the nature of social movements, and their analysis has received increasing attention (Diani, 2003). At the same time, globalizing technological advancements have led to a "network society" of social networks (where networks are patterns of communication and exchange (Keck and Sikkink, 1998)), particularly in the Global North, and a concurrent increase in social and transnational network analysis (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008, p.35).

The growth of international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) post Second World War has led to "transnational advocacy networks" focused on central principles (like human rights,

women's rights, or the environment) that creatively use information, new media, and align with unlikely partners to tackle issues that are transnational in scope (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p.9; Martin, 2015). Predecessors to these networks include the anti-slavery and suffrage movements (Keck & Sikkink, 1998, p.39), but contemporary transnational advocacy groups have used transnational opportunity structures that allowed the emergence of the "global justice movement" which utilizes injustice frames to function as a global social movement (Martin, 2015, p.224). Keck and Sikkink (1998) were among the first to elaborate on how transnational advocacy networks function, noting that these networks were neglected by political scientists because they mainly trafficked in information and not traditional means of power. They asserted that advocacy networks are communication channels, voice amplifiers, "among the most important sources of new ideas, norms, and identities in the international system" (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, p.x), while also increasing the resources available locally. Keck and Sikkink (1998) also conceptualized the "boomerang pattern" to illustrate how many transnational advocacy networks claimed rights: when local actors cannot claim domestic rights protections from their governments, they turn to international connections, that in turn pressure the local government (or third parties) to ensure redress. Tarrow (2005, p.145) contends that this pattern is just one bilateral application of "externalization" of contention, which can also factor in direct action and institutionalized access. Other scholars have noted that in human rights issues there can be a "double boomerang pattern" – the appeal of local to international actors strengthens local leverage and rebounds to strengthen the legitimacy and practice of international human rights law – or a '"sandwich effect", whereby pressure is applied both from the top by global entities, and from below by local actors, (Tsutsui & Smith, 2019). In the Global North, networking is generally embraced, while (neo) colonial contexts hamper similar in the Global South (Keck and Sikkink, 1998, p.16). However, networking as a central feature of social movement is examined in Chapter Six's movement analyses and transnational networks are featured in the following chapter.

3.4.4 Queer movements and the application of social movement theory

Although some form of gay collective identity and liberation efforts were present in the earlier half of the 20th century, many agree the LGBTQ+ movement dates to the 1969 Stonewall Riots in

the United States (Ghaziani et al., 2016; Santos, 2013). Themes in examining the movement have included the new social movement and liberation focus in the 1980s, a shift to globalization, politics, and identity in the 1990s and a concentration on strategies, success and non-mainstream action in the new millennium (Ghaziani et al., 2016; Santos, 2013). There has also been analysis on how the LGBTQ+ movement compares to other social movements, and the interrelation with HIV activism, which persists in the Global South, has been noted (Josephson, 2020).

From Melucci's work (1980), LGBTQ+ movements have been as by some as the prototypical "identity movement", and many have remarked how LGBTQ+ activists have developed a "quasi ethnic" collective identity that perpetuates essentialist concepts about identity and orientation (Anderson-Nathe et al., 2018). Identity deployment explains the strategic minimization of identity difference with concurrent celebration in other instances (Anderson-Nathe et al., 2018), and Bernstein (1997) illustrates how various gay rights groups in the US strategically decided between this choice depending on political access, opposition, and inter-group discourses. Ghaziani et al. (2016) later showed how LGBTQ+ activists in the US had distinct protest cycles, initially activating around difference from the general population ("liberation"), but then pivoting to sameness or "assimilation" after religiously fueled counter movement and shifting legal opportunities. In the UK, the dominance of class, and unfavorable political opportunity structures have affected LGBTQ+ organizing in the past, and there are questions about future identity conceptualizations of the movement there, along with tensions around mainstream organizations closely working within the polity to achieve equality (Kollman & Waites, 2011).

Given that research on social movement theories in the Global South operate within a paradigm where English is hegemonic, the Northern literature/theory dominates and sets the trend in scholarship and often Northern educations are required for Southern scholars to gain traction (Wieringa & Sívori, 2013). While LGBTQ+ activism in the South might be hybridized, the need for decolonial and anti-racist investigations into its formulations remain urgent (Josephson, 2020; Rana, 2021). In the Global South, a common theme has been how democratic shifts have facilitated a political opportunity structure for LGBTQ+ organizing (Josephson, 2020). For example, the Argentine gay movement arose from both cultural opportunities rooted in the

feminist movement as well as political ones from decreasing state repression and subsequent human rights discourse (Encarnación, 2013; Sempol, 2013).

Scholars have also examined how transnational movements have operated for LGBTQ+ activism, noting the role of imperialism and colonialism in problematic narratives of development linked to LGBTQ+ tolerance and homonationalism, where LGBTQ+ tolerance/acceptance is the metric by which good governance is judged (Josephson, 2020). Homonationalism, as formulated by Jasbir Puar (2013) is a power analytic that shows how "the historical convergence of state practices, transnational circuits of queer commodity culture and human rights paradigms, and broader global phenomena such as the increasing entrenchment of Islamophobia" (p.337) have determined that some queer bodies deserve state protection, elevating nation-states that are deemed "gay-friendly", and denigrating those deemed "homophobic". In pointing out movement reframing around the "business case" for LGBTQ+ rights, Rao (2020, p.139) utilized the connected concept of "homocapitalism", which is a market-based materialist argument for queer inclusion (p.25) that I explore in Chapter Seven.

Asian Global South literature applying social movement theory to queer movements and in relation to transnational processes has looked at networking processes in Singaporean online activism (Phillips, 2014) and how LGBTQ+ activism in China operated within a closed political system (Hildebrandt, 2012). In China organization depended on state goodwill and the political opportunities from legalizing homosexuality, economic development, and the growing HIV epidemic. Hildebrandt (2012) showed that despite substantial international funding from a variety of sources (mostly directed towards HIV), Chinese LGBTQ+ organizations have weak links to global civil society and subsequently, do not utilize the boomerang pattern. Rana (2021) examined LGBTI+ activism in Nepal and found that HIV related resources and networks facilitated movement inception, aided by new collective identification around MSM, which subsumed older identities like *meti*. Similar to Indian activists (Ghosh, 2015) Nepalese activists used a hybrid strategy of public health HIV work alongside LGBTQ+ activism, to enable bidirectional resource mobilization from the transnational and regional sphere. Additionally, Bourdieusian social, economic and cultural capital was found to allow one NGO led by a cisgender man to claim legitimacy and precedence in resource-seeking (Rana, 2021). This was

similar to the situation in Chile, where the divide between queer organizations was linked to hegemonic masculinity deployed as capital, and within framings that reinforce this capital (Campbell, 2014). In both China and Nepal there was unequal funding, in the former due to political opportunity structures, and in the latter due to cycling of resources in exclusive networks based on shared collective identities (Hildebrandt, 2012; Rana, 2021). Transnational funding and the strategies of lesbian activism in India within an ethics perspective were addressed by Dave (2012), while in Sri Lanka, where the LGBTQ+ movement has used a human rights framing, substantial transnational funding has been found to simultaneously advance movement claims and obstruct efforts to cater to community needs (Gonzalez, 2019).

Other Global South social movement theorizations with transnational dimensions have explored how the boomerang pattern was used in Turkish activism (Muedini, 2018), and how transnational influences helped strategically reposition a Malawian LGBTQ+ organization from public health to social justice (Currier & McKay, 2017). In Lebanon, Moussawi (2015) examined how despite transnational linkages, organizations retain locally grounded collective identities and strategies.

In Latin America, Rafael de la Dehesa (2006) showed how transnational contexts influenced early queer electoral activisms in Brazil and Mexico. From available Latin American studies, it appears that transnational funding does not play as significant a role as Asia and the Caribbean, since LGBTQ+ organizations were generally funded by the state, as in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Nicaragua (Encarnación, 2013; Encarnación, 2016; Jofre, 2019; McGee & Kampwirth, 2015). This arrangement, sometimes arising from the "AIDSification" of the organizations, along with the incorporation of queer organizations into political parties as occurred in Nicaragua and Mexico, could co-opt and defang the work of the queer organizations by sacrificing rights for visibility and funding (Encarnación, 2016; McGee & Kampwirth, 2015). McGee and Kampwirth (2015) pointed out that some activists in Nicaragua were able to counteract this coaptation by aligning with feminist groups. However, Latin American countries have utilised transnational advocacy networks for non-financial support of their work, sometimes to great effect as was the case in 1992 when the Argentine President legalised a gay rights organization after a trip to the US (Encarnación, 2013). Encarnación (2016) cautions that although these networks are valuable, Latin American gay identity and queer organizing has been

in response to local and national developments, as well as influenced by actions in other Latin American countries as much as in the Global North.

3.4.5 Theorizing queer Caribbean activism

There is a dearth of Caribbean LGBTQ+ social movement analysis, with many scholars concentrating on theorizing sexual citizenship (Alexander, 1994; Walcott, 2009), sexualities and homophobia (King, 2014; Murray, 2012; Wahab, 2018), providing descriptive accounts of activism (Orozco, 2018) or the legal environment (Gaskins, 2013) and experiences within it (DeRoy & Henry, 2018). As well, much of the writing has centered on Jamaica, with limited focus on other countries like Guyana, Belize, Bahamas and Trinidad and Tobago.

In a comparative analysis of decriminalization strategies used in Commonwealth countries, including Bahamas, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago, drawing on work by Gaskins (2013) and Blake and Dayle (2013), Lennox and Waites (2013) applied social movement theories to discuss framing strategies, political opportunity structures, tactical repertoires, and resource mobilization. Examples of these for the Caribbean countries were privacy, HIV/AIDS, equality/human rights/LGBT rights, anti-violence, and economic interest (framing strategies); national constitutions, parliamentarians, and regional human rights mechanisms (political opportunity structures); litigation, legislative review, cultural tools like pride, public outreach and information politics (tactical repertoires); with specific resource mobilization strategies being unclear from the analyzed academic studies (Lennox & Waites, 2013). Another example of framing was highlighted in the example of Coalition Advocating for Inclusion of Sexual Orientation (CAISO) in Trinidad, which has used "nationalistic feminist politics" within a citizenship framing (Attai, 2017).

With regards to transnational advocacy, Caribbean activists have had some strained interactions, reporting the specter of racism, and Global North activists who did not always get the nuances of the Caribbean or manifested a "winning over compromise" mentality (Campbell, 2014). In Jamaica, three overlapping waves of queer activism mobilized around identity (1970s), national political opportunity structures for reform (1990s), and since the 2000s, transnational advocacy

networks, utilizing what I perceive as an application of the boomerang effect in challenging the buggery laws at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (Blake & Dayle, 2013). Blake and Dayle (2013) also record an instance where misalignment of strategies between local and global activists in the Stop Murder Music (SMM) campaign resulted in damaged collaboration. Nikolai Attai (2017) has criticized how Canadian actors, including members of the Caribbean diaspora, have framed the Caribbean as "powerless and at risk" (p.100) to reinforce Canadian exceptionalism. While Attai's criticism deserves attention, his empirical example of the Envisioning project merited more modulation, considering the role of Caribbean activist autonomy in joining the project and explicit recognition around neo-colonial sensitivities in the book that emerged from the project (Nicol et al., 2018, p.3). Grey and Attai (2019) subsequently used the concept of "blacklighting", to name the anti-black practice of Global North actors coercing "formerly colonized nation-states into implementing policies and laws that privilege Euro-American conceptions of human rights" (p. 11), premised on an underdeveloped post-colonial state and civilized Global North. They note it is not solely the tactic of outsiders, as other Caribbean countries use Jamaica as a yardstick to measure their own homophobia. This concept is useful for interrogating aid conditionality and economic boycotts floated in the past, but applies an unnecessarily villainous brush to human rights, which as previously discussed, deserves more nuance.

There were also more positive explorations of transnational relations. Matthew Chin (2019) has shown that transnational connections helped inform 1980s Jamaican activism, and Waites (2019) applied a new critical decolonizing boomerang model to two Caribbean situations: the successful decriminalization of buggery laws by Caleb Orozco in Belize and Jason Jones in Trinidad and Tobago. Using Orozco's biographical account of the case history, the model was successfully applied to show confirmation to a boomerang pattern with decolonizing considerations underlining agency and support resources. It was more challenging to typify the Jones case as a decolonized boomerang effect after applying the model, but this may indicate a need for conceiving other kinds of boomerang effects (Waites, 2019). Both the Orozco and Jones cases were also examples of successful litigation, a tactical tool of the movement that has been contentious in the region, with activists like Colin Robinson questioning their effect and prioritizing national non-discrimination policies (Robinson, 2012).

Two largely unexplored topics are the role of the Caribbean diaspora in these transnational coalitions and the issue of asylum-seeking. Farmer (2020) urged for the complementing of in-country engagement with the support of UK LGBT diasporic groups because they "have first-hand experiences of LGBT discrimination and violence in various contexts, be it in their country of origin or in the UK asylum system" (p.249). This encouragement might be misplaced, as Attai (2017) contends the queer diaspora can become complicit in homonationalist agendas that claim legitimate native voice, using the example of Black Jamaican-Canadian Maurice Tomlinson's and the HIV Legal Network's work in the region around Pride and funding. I discuss this further in Chapter Seven, but the prominence of individuals (Tomlinson, Colin Robinson, Jason Jones) in transnational connections signals how recent networking options, including the internet, have facilitated an evolving movement landscape where organizations are not the only players. Diasporic representation is further entangled with asylum-seeking, but only CAISO has publicly articulated a position on this, opposing it because it encourages 'queer brain drain', wastes local movement resources and reinforces the "quasi-racist, neocolonial imagery of the Caribbean as pathologically backward" (McNeal, 2020, p.64).

There is a paucity of studies on queer activism in Barbados. David Murray's (2012) examination of sexual diversity, homophobia and its discourse in Barbados presented information on the formation of UGLAAB and their activities, but activism was not a central analytic. In Guyana, the literature revealed three studies of Guyanese activism, one of which explicitly utilized social movement theory (Peters, 2019), and one which focused on both Barbados and Guyana (Attai, 2019).

While Guyanese activists found utility in information sharing with Global North counterparts, strategies were not always translatable - online activism excluded many Guyanese without internet access, especially in Indigenous communities, and coming out is deprioritized in a small population with prominent family ties and emphasis on middle ground over the "winning" mentality of Global North activists (Istodor-Berceanu, 2019, p.130-132). It was noted that SASOD's online platforms held space for diversity and fluidity in identification, which was taken as adopting Northern categorization while innovating for local realities, and a good

practice for international collaborators to note (Istodor-Berceanu, 2019). Rowley (2013) elaborated on this coexistence of Northern and local praxes, stating that SASOD uses transnational links for local action, simultaneously working within and against the system.

Attai's (2019) multi-methods ethnographic study of how queer Caribbean people live and resist tropes of death and violence included interviews in four countries, three from Barbados and eight from Guyana. Analysis of Barbados' activism was largely limited to engagement with Canadian activists, but Guyanese activism was more explored, noting SASOD's significant transnational connections, how funders can alter organizational priorities, and the elision of Indigenous populations. Attai's (2019) insight into queer Caribbean sexual praxes, community and trans isolation are illuminative, but the work conflated HIV with human rights, largely confined any transnational considerations to Canada, and made an unconvincing empirical argument for how LGBTQ+ activism is inadequate for queer persons in Barbados and Guyana specifically. It also did not engage an explicit decolonizing perspective. Lastly, although very limited in scope, being based on three interviews and secondary material, Peters (2019) noted that queer Guyanese activism has limited political opportunity structures, having unsuccessfully lobbied for reform for almost twenty years, but has utilized legal institutions, like the Caribbean Court of Justice. In terms of resource mobilization, transnational funding featured prominently, although changing funding models and the recent recategorization of Guyana's development status stemming from oil meant that organizations would have to find new funding sources (Peters, 2019). Peters also noted that the movement's collective action was subjected to internal conflict arising from socioeconomic and ethnic issues - tension between Afro- and Indo-Guyanese and the exclusion of Indigenous populations. He concluded that political process theory was a useful one for examining political opportunity structures in the country's movement, but did not adequately capture issues with resource mobilization and collective identity formation (Peters, 2019). In Chapter Six I expand upon Peters' findings and show how the larger scope of this research can demonstrate the utility of social movement theories in the Guyanese context.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented an analysis of critical theoretical concepts underpinning the research, starting with colonialism and its varied characterizations. This in turn has influenced the perspectives from which scholars theorize attempts to undo colonialism's effects, and I elaborated on how this study incorporates these strands of decolonization. The operationalization of transnationalism, an overview of the literature on relevant transnational actors and the entwining of transnationalism with rights-based activism formed the second section. Here, examinations of both the utility and weakness of the human rights paradigm involved dissecting both its colonial and anti-colonial associations. The third section reviewed the literature theorizing Caribbean queerness and its opposition before moving onto social movement theories in conversation with queer activism, and especially queer Caribbean activism.

An essential function of this chapter was evaluation of the literature with a view to determining its adequacy and deficits in attending to decolonial/decolonizing and transnational interrogations of queer activism. While Matthew Farmer (2020) has examined how UK LGBT NGOs operate transnationally and considered how they could decolonize their relations, this analysis was situated in the Global North, and in general, there was a dearth of queer activist decolonial/decolonizing literature from Africa, Abya Yala (in English) and the Caribbean. Studies examining the role of transnationalism were more common, with several simultaneously applying social movement theories in Asia (Dave, 2012; Gonzalez, 2019; Hildebrandt, 12; Phillips, 2014; Rana, 2019), the Middle East and Africa (Currier & McKay, 17; Moussawi, 17; Muedini, 2018) and Latin America (Campbell, 2014; de la Dehesa, 2006; Encarnación, 2016; McGee & Kempwirth, 2015). Comparative studies on queer activism in the Global South have similarly neglected decolonization engage the transnational and/or social movement aspects (Attai, 2019; Currier, 2012; de la Dehesa, 2006; Kjaran & Naeimi, 2022; Ng, 2018; Offord, 2011).

When narrowed to the Anglophone Caribbean, the region's under-examination within the Global South became evident, along with the under application of sociological analyses to queer

activism in the region, with a tendency to focus instead on singular issues or descriptive accounts. Only one study explicitly related activism to decolonizing (Istodor, 2019), and considerations around Indigeneity only occurred in Guyanese literature, touching on Indigenous erasure in activism and queerness (Attai, 2019; Istodor, 2019; Peters, 2019) and briefly examining the challenges with reaching this population (Peters, 2019). There were a small number of studies involving transnationalism and/or social movement application to Caribbean activism (Chin, 2019; Peters, 2019; Waites, 2019), and a similar number offering comparative examinations of this activism (Attai, 2019; Gaskins, 2013; Lennox & Waites, 2013).

There have been calls for more studies on queer activism centering queer voices (Meyer et al., 2022), as well as for decolonial investigations in Global South queer activism (Josephson, 2020), It's evident from the gaps in the literature review that these calls are warranted. This study therefore addresses these gaps by placing sociology and transnationalism in dialogue with decolonizing approaches while simultaneously heeding the need for comparative systematic sociological research on colonialisms with respect to sexuality (da Costa Santos & Waites, 2019).

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter One, the central research question of this thesis was: what does a comparative analysis of LGBTQ+ activism in Barbados and Guyana reveal about the role of transnational processes, colonial legacies, and anti-colonial resistances in the evolution of said activism? To address this, there were several sub questions:

i.   What were the trajectories of post-independence queer organizing in both countries and how did British colonialism operating in differing local contexts influence this activism?

ii.   What social, organizational and transnational forces have impacted the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts?

iii.   How have activists engaged with decoloniality and decolonization in order to advance their agendas?

iv.   What has been the relationship between activist movements in Guyana and Barbados and those in the Global North, in terms of collaborations, power relations, and dialogue?

This chapter expounds on the methodology involved in this examination, offering both a theorization of research goals as well as an outline and contextualization of the methods process (L'Eplattenier, 2009). It opens by foregrounding my positionality, ontology and epistemology in order to engage with their locus within a broader decolonial frame. This includes an elaboration on how the methodology operationalized decolonization and connects to the subsequent section outlining how the research was designed and influenced by methodological stances and choices. I follow this with a discussion around ethical considerations and research integrity, before moving onto an in-depth account of the sampling strategy and the particularities of each data collection method, noting the tensions that result from methodological choices and alignment. The chapter concludes by examining the rationale and background behind the selected analytic strategies, discussing the analytic process for each data collection method, demonstrating how the research questions were operationalized, and illustrating the coding schema. Overall, this

chapter unpacks how a decolonizing methodology, alive to transnational concerns, was crafted and deployed.

4.2 Positionality, ontology, and epistemology

Acknowledging that research is almost never value-free, I seek to locate myself, my values, and views to better understand place and influence (Holmes, 2020) within the research. To start, my worldview has been shaped by my sociocultural identities as a queer, areligious, middle class, Indian heritage, Guyanese-Barbadian cisgender woman. Having moved from Guyana to Barbados over a decade ago, my subsequent immigrant status was mitigated by my professional one as a physician. I also brought strong political views as a queer activist and intersectional feminist to the research. In 2005 my involvement in activism was sparked during the planning of the SASOD Guyana film festival, and I sporadically participated in their activities over the years, eventually volunteering as their public health consultant, and co-leading on several of their research projects. But after moving to Barbados in 2006, activism took a back seat until researching my 2014 Master's thesis rekindled it. In 2016 this culminated in me joining the local Barbadian LGBTQ+ movement and branching out into the regional sphere as an independent activist researcher - an activist within a social movement who does research, and more so, research outside of academia (Couture, 2017). Later I became formally attached to organizations in Barbados as volunteer, Board Secretary and project physician with Equals Inc., and volunteer and Trustee with SHE Barbados, while still undertaking independent research as well.

I was always interested in history, but queer Caribbean history, or rather the apparent absence of it, became a focus in 2019. This resulted in the We Were Always Here-Queer Caribbean History Project which aims to document the history of Caribbean queerness, but presently functions as a social media page for sharing queer Caribbean history (Rambarran, n.d.). The University of Glasgow College of Social Sciences call for proposals for a PhD scholarship "Latin America's Queer Movements Between Transnationalism and Decoloniality", conceived by Mathew Waites and Mo Hume, was therefore seen as a fortuitous opportunity to dovetail my history and research interests, contribute to the literature, and further my academic and research career. Before further

unpacking how my positionality has shaped this research process, an explication of my ontological and epistemological perspectives becomes necessary.

Both ontologically and epistemologically I subscribe to a broadly constructivist view acknowledging that social phenomena are produced by actors and constantly being revised (Bryman, 2015), while knowledge is actively constructed in a way that gives us frameworks for understanding experience (Olssen, 1995). Cognizant that constructivism has been criticized for its "catch-all" nature, my ontology can be further narrowed towards the realist end of the realist-relativist spectrum for natural sciences, and the middle of the spectrum for the social sciences, aligning with some tenets of critical realism and bounded relativism depending on the enquiry (Moon & Blackman, 2014). The former contends that external realities exist but can be subject to social construction (Denicolo et al., 2016), while the latter goes further to argue that reality is individually constructed, but "shared realities exist within a bounded group" (Moon & Blackman, 2014, p.1170). Epistemologically, my constructivist perspective also lands between the subjectivist and objectivist sides of the scale (Denicolo et al., 2016), holding that knowledge is constructed though world engagement and interpretation (Moon & Blackman, 2014), but not rejecting the premise that acts or things can objectively occur or exist. My outlooks are rooted in intersectionality, which recognizes that individuals have multiple identities and positionings (Crenshaw, 1991, p.1245; Paradies, 2018), with core constructs that center relationality, power and social context (Hill Collins, 2019). This thinking therefore embraces both my oppressions and privileges, and sees queer activists as subjected to the same. This is augmented by acknowledging Thayer-Bacon's (2010) assertion of our own "social embeddedness" (Thayer-Bacon, 2010, p.9) and subscribing to a "relational (e)pistemology" foregrounding connections and transactions that enable our knowing (Thayer-Bacon, 2010). In a more concrete sense, this translates to my interest in surfacing the lived experiences and desires of activists, who are embedded in their social realities, over more idealistic theorizations. This comes to the fore, and is further explored in Chapter Seven when considering transnational entanglements.

Given the research's decolonizing lens, I now consider my ontological position in relation to Indigenous peoples, acknowledging the extensive diversity in such a grouping. Here, language barriers and centuries of active colonial erasure prevent me from confining myself to solely

referencing Caribbean Indigenous peoples ontologies. While there is evidence that pre-colonial Indigenous Caribbean societies held that multiple, possibly simultaneous states of being (human and non-human) exist (Mol, 2014), this worldview does not necessarily extend to all contemporary Indigenous populations. Halbmayer (2021) reported that some Isthmo-Colombian[14] and Venezuelan Indigenous communities have different ontologies, such as seeing animals as sub-human and seeking to avoid animal metamorphosis. Looking to the more accessible writings from the varied First Nations in Canada, broad distinctions have been made between First Nations and Western ontologies (Blackstock, 2009). These include First Nations having wider conceptualizations of time, space, and the existence of multiple dimensions, believing in ancestor accuracy, the situatedness of human experience within the natural world instead of separate or "above" it, and in resource abundance (Blackstock, 2009). However, other Indigenous scholars resist the placement of Indigenous (specifically Anishnaabe and/or Haudenosaunee) cosmologies of Place-Thought within frameworks of Eurocentric ontology-epistemology altogether, arguing that the questions involved in considering ontology-epistemology carry inherent assumptions about human separation and hierarchies that are incompatible with said cosmologies (Watts, 2013).

Even as non-Indigenous thinkers start to recognize the role of non-human entities in spaces such as in ecofeminism and actor-network theory (Watts, 2013), along with some strains of post-humanism (Sundberg, 2014), there remains the problematic maintenance of ontology-epistemology, human exceptionality, or lack of engagement with Indigenous thought (Sundberg, 2014; Watts, 2013). The latter is a challenging proposition, as Watts (2013) asserts that "when an Indigenous cosmology is translated through a Euro-Western process, it necessitates a distinction between place and thought…[resulting in] a colonized interpretation of both place and thought, where land is simply dirt and thought is only possessed by humans" (p.32). I have come to regard land as much more than dirt, know that consciousness is not exclusive to humans, and increasingly appreciate Indigenous perspectives on spirituality and ecology. I conceptualize non-human animals and plants, as actors within social spheres, but do not (yet?) extend the same agency to entities widely seen as inanimate. Additionally, as an arrivant, I am wary of how a claim to incorporating any Indigenous cosmology into my work would risk duplicating this

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[14] Areas encompassing parts of Central America and Colombia

colonized interpretation. As such, I concur with Ludwig (2016) who notes the usefulness of "ontological overlaps" between Indigenous and Western thought and knowledge, while also realizing that there are divergences. These divergences do not constitute incommensurability, but rather the existence of valid marginalized epistemologies that should not be understood only in juxtaposition to Western knowledge (Ludwig, 2016). I believe this also ties together my constructivist epistemology and decolonizing lens, as Sundberg (2014) stated, "decolonizing also involves fostering 'multiepistemic literacy', a term proposed by Sami scholar Rauna Kuokkanen to indicate learning and dialogue between epistemic worlds" (p.34) and the formation of a pluriversal "world of many worlds" (de la Cadena and Blaser, 2018). In short, my ontological positioning for this research overlaps, and is in conversation with, but does not claim to incorporate Indigenous cosmologies.

In returning to how my positionality shaped and influenced the research, I found reflexivity as a useful process guide. Reflexivity is an extension of reflection, or "thinking about", that can be defined as a " dynamic…thoughtful, conscious self-awareness" (Finlay, 2022, p.532-533). From a constructivist perspective, research is a co-creation between researcher and participants, so an examination of the impacts on each other is a warranted but complicated process (Finlay, 2022). During the pre-research stage reflexivity involved examining my interests, motivations and assumptions, much of which I have just previously delineated. During the rest of the research, since I consider myself an insider to the movements in Barbados and Guyana, I felt equipped to undertake an ontologically emic account, or an insider's perspective of the reality and culture within the movements. But epistemologically, this raises issues regarding the accurate presentation of information from an insider perspective (Holmes, 2020). How this was tackled is explained during the discussion on methods below.

Some of the ontological and epistemological perspectives that have drawn me to this particular research have also resulted in a complicated balancing act in order to satisfy both my personal objectives (including from political allegiances) and work within the sphere of academia. Even while stating these explicit positions, I recognize the limits of self-awareness and the likelihood that these positionalities will evolve over time, as pointed out by Holmes (2020). Acceptance of the partiality of my views helps to get "closer not to the answers but to the questions that honor

the complexity of the reality that we attempt to grasp" (Celis in Borst et al., 2018, p.150). Accomplishing a balance is also returned to again in the section below discussing the ethical framework around the study.

4.3 Research design

As outlined in Chapter One, addressing the research question led to an interdisciplinary placement and orientation for the study. This involved relating the transnational and colonial focus to global historical sociology (Go and Lawson, 2017), as well as a situation within political sociology and gender and sexuality studies. The research question and sub-questions were chosen to align with the scope of the PhD call as well as my preexisting work and interests.

Having chosen to situate the study in the Anglophone Caribbean given my language constraints, the selection of study sites was predicated on the comparative elements around coloniality/decoloniality and transnationalism. Varying contexts of Indigenous populations, ethnic compositions, and sociopolitical environments in Barbados, Belize and Guyana were particularly pertinent for colonial and transnational comparisons, resulting in these countries leading in consideration. Secondary determinants centered on representation in queer activism literature, where Barbados and Belize are especially understudied, and personal experience. My personal experience with Barbados and Guyana therefore facilitated the methodological convenience that allowed for a deeper study, and resulting country choices.

A comparison was prebuilt into the scholarship call, but its utility in expanding the robustness of the sociological analysis was evident to me. As Gomes da Costa Santos and Waites (2019) pointed out, systematic comparisons of queer relations and colonialities are underutilized, lending impetus to using this methodological approach. I reasoned that even under similar colonial legacies, there were likely to be other factors that would influence movement trajectories, lending to a more granular and pertinent analysis for the Anglophone Caribbean. Go and Lawson's (2017) replacement of the "comparative" in comparative historical sociology with "global" to foreground interconnectivity and "spatially expansive social relations" over the idea of discrete separation assumed in using "comparative" (p.5), is the type of ideology I subscribe

to in exploring the contextual comparisons. I therefore see this study as addressing the call made by Gomes da Costa Santos and Waites (2019), for comparative systematic sociological research on colonialisms with respect to sexuality, in a fashion that places sociology in dialogue with decolonizing approaches. In this analysis, Barbados and Guyana are not meant to be representative of the wider Anglophone region, but do allow for more broader considerations between smaller Caribbean countries (like Barbados) and larger, more heterogenous countries (like Guyana).

To address the research sub-questions on historical trajectories, movement dynamics, transnational influences and engagement with decolonization there is a central positioning in relation to the sociology of collective action and social movements. However, based on constraints of time, labor and access, the types of activism captured only included those by individual activists, activist representatives of non-governmental organizations and representatives of selected Global North collaborators.

While the frameworks of transnationalism, decoloniality/decolonization and social movement theories are primarily deployed in the research, the study is also in conversation with queer theory and feminism. Queer theory, which dismantles social norms and taxonomies while highlighting the instability and arbitrariness of identities (Fontana, 2023, p.598) is not foregrounded however, as it has been difficult to translate into political practice (Johnson & Sempol, 2023, p.115) and would be unwieldly in directly answering the research sub-questions. Instead, concepts from queer theory, such as the heterosexual matrix and resistance to binary conceptualizations, are integrated into, and inform the primary analytic frameworks. Similarly, a feminist framework is intrinsic, drawing on my positionality as a feminist and informing key areas such as research design, conceptual debates and in areas of movement analysis. I therefore build on all these frameworks and engage with feminist scholarship and queer theorists throughout the thesis.

From these circumscribed choices, the preexisting activist landscapes further influenced the study design and methods. Given the need for both a historical and contemporary analysis of the

movements, it was evident that I had to use several methods for optimal research robustness. These methods – archival (newspapers and SASOD Yahoo group) and online research, interviews and participant observations - were designed as complementary, additive, and sometimes overlapped in deployment. For instance, first conducting and analyzing an online search of the public social media postings and websites of the LGBTQ+ organizations in Barbados and Guyana, helped to determine the landscape of organizations and selection for subsequent interviews, while also contributing to data on organizational activities and the mapping of transnational engagements. The latter in turn helped to inform which Global North organizations were selected for a similar online search and approached for interviews, by virtue of being associated with several organizations within and between countries.

Cognizant that the available historical record was missing details which neither current nor retired activists might be able to recall, I determined that historical contexts, and even a substantial portion of organizational work, would need to be accessed through archives and online research. This turn to the archive was bracketed by the knowledge that so much of queerness is ephemeral, "transmitted covertly…[existing] as innuendo, gossip, fleeting moments, and performances that are meant to be interacted with by those within its epistemological sphere—while evaporating at the touch of those who would eliminate queer possibility" (Muñoz, 1996, p.6). Added to that was the recognition of archival selectivity, and debates on what constitutes an archive, what gets stores, extracted, and how positionality affects interaction (Gaillet, 2012). I assessed potential archival and online sources to include oral histories, virtual and non-virtual recorded audio-visual materials and written materials. The interviews covered some oral history, while online and social media searches covered virtual documentation aspects. But available non-virtual sources had to be weighed against logistical and practical considerations in both countries. The various libraries, bookstores, radio/television stations, personal collections and even other unimagined locations that might contain pieces of queer movement and history could not be easily facilitated within the time, labor and economic frameworks of the study. Newspapers were thus selected for attainability and enabling a balanced comparative country analysis. This was done fully acknowledging that content and response analysis has shown that media, including newspapers, frames its contents on the production end, and readers differ in interpretation on the consumption end (Eldridge, 1995).

Another type of archival resource – SASOD Yahoo Groups - came to my attention as a past member of SASOD who was involved in posting in said Group and assisted in its archiving for the organization. While the previous sources were public domain, the Yahoo Groups was a private online group requiring Administrator permission and was decommissioned (along with every other Yahoo Group) by Yahoo in December 2020. Having searched online and reached out to persons active with the earliest Barbadian organizations, it was determined that no similar source exists for Barbados. However, I still felt it necessary to include the Yahoo Group archive due to its compellingly unique nature in the Anglophone Caribbean, and to exclude a counter-archive seemed counterproductive to a decolonizing methodology. The Yahoo Group archive thus enabled in-depth analysis of the formulative stages of the most prominent LGBTQ+ activist organization in Guyana. In order to maintain a comparative analysis, this inclusion was balanced by using multiple data sources (including newspaper, books and interviews) to examine the similar period and situation in Barbados. As noted previously, my positionality influenced the lens and investigational angles of this research, and especially with regards to SASOD, it greatly aided access to the archives and to relevant gatekeepers.

At the time of writing Barbados has had eleven organizations catering to the LGBTQ+ community exclusively or in part, with sixteen in Guyana. These organizations, along with their year of formation and focus are listed in Appendix One; the organizations shaded in blue were not considered for participation since their knowledge of LGBTQ+ activism would be severely limited. Based on personal experience and online observations, each country also had at least ten independent or quiescent activists who have publicly claimed or been attached to LGBTQ+ activism. Given this milieu, using a qualitative methodology to directly speak with the activists was another sensible step in answering the research question. I opted for individual interviews over focus groups, as the latter would have been challenging during COVID-19 (considering distancing measures in-person and logistical issues of remote attendance), and based on experience, are often suboptimal in participation. The population for interviews included activists from known LGBTQ+ organizations, as well as non-affiliated or former LGBTQ+ activists in both countries, striving for representation from both movement leaders and younger or less-seasoned activists. In trying to understand the relations with the Global North, similar interviews

with representatives from selected Global North collaborators were also needed. These Global North organizations were also purposively sampled based on collaborations with both countries or with several organizations in a country as determined by online research analysis and the local interviews. Using individual interviews led by a semi structured guide, forty-two persons were interviewed between June 10, 2021 and August 9, 2022. Sixteen from Barbados, seventeen from Guyana, and nine from the Global North.

To contextualize information gathered from the other the interviews, online and archives, I also convenience sampled six activist events for participant observation. These were restricted to public or semi-private events circulated via email or online, that along with being attended by several activists, offered the opportunity for my in-person presence. Lastly, some of my reflexive engagement, experience and memories were included, but limited to those directly related to data drawn from other sources and were intended to expand upon, or contextualize information. While both the archival analysis and participant observations helped verify and triangulate information from the interviews, they also provided sources of data for analysis in their own right.

A critical aspect of the methodology has been the use of a decolonial perspective. Given a focus on colonialism/coloniality, investigating the resistance to colonialism was a natural next step, but I had to parse exactly what this meant for research operationalization. This contemplation resulted in designing and conducting the study in a particular fashion, dissecting the data to explore how activists conceptualize and deploy decoloniality/decolonization, and in applying contextually appropriate decolonial considerations to the analysis. I noted that standard guides and practices for decolonizing research methodologies are lacking, and seminal works on decolonizing methodologies, like Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012), have mostly addressed working with Indigenous communities. Nevertheless there were applicable principles for research not primarily focused on Indigenous persons. In the research design these included engaging in self-reflexivity; cultivating sustained relationships with the participants; ensuring respectful and legitimate research practices; and attending to responsibility and appropriation (Fortier, 2017; Keikelame & Swartz, 2019). Self-reflexivity in this instance meant not just "confessing privilege" (Fortier, 2017), but a continuous critical engagement with process, relationships, lived

experience, strengths and shortcomings (Dorpenyo, 2020) facilitated through journaling and a personal audit trail. This audit trail involved consistent chronological documentation of the research process from inception to write-up. Having accountable interchanges with research participants was ongoing, reciprocal and went beyond the arguably narrow scope of university ethics approval systems into balancing identity and trust (Fortier, 2017). This translated to enabling participants to disengage during the process, allowing their feedback and negotiating between potential harm to the social movement and having academic integrity in critical analysis. As an activist researcher, it was necessary to decenter myself to determine when there was too much or too little involvement in the movement being researched (Fortier, 2017). I also took special care on citation practice, not only correctly citing, but deliberately choosing other subaltern voices (Fortier, 2017; Moosavi, 2020). As previously mentioned, limitations here include exclusionary publishing practices and authors not writing in English (Moosavi, 2020), such that although I endeavored to engage with translated works, there are swaths of literature invisible to me, even within the Dutch, French, and Spanish speaking Caribbean. While there was no translation involved, insofar as Bajan or Creolese spoken by participants was transcribed as is, patience and flexibility were still required. Within Barbados, accessing literature, scholarship and conducting data collection was straightforward, as English has been the sole language for centuries. But in Guyana, while primary data collection in English was not challenging owing to the language being understood by all participants, any written decolonial scholarship in Indigenous languages were inaccessible. Finally, I sought to avoid the traps of essentialism and tokenism, which meant not claiming an exclusive or generalizable "Southern" perspective on this topic or being opaque in how decoloniality was undertaken in research design and praxis (Moosavi, 2020).

Along with these research practices I engaged in an evolving set of decolonization praxes. These include sharing a decolonization statement before academic presentations, learning basic Lokono (an Indigenous language), engaging in continuous relearning, and clarifying the tenets of my support with regards to Indigenous peoples in Guyana (and the region), alongside my complicity in the repeating patterns of an arrivant state.

A decolonizing perspective raised some important tensions. One was drawing upon decolonial theory while operating within and being funded by a university with deep connections to colonialism. The University of Glasgow's historic move to offer reparations by collaborating with the University of West Indies (Carrell, 2019) while there remains significant structural inequalities and racism on campus (Brooks, 2021), illustrates the complex reality of an institution with both supporting, ambiguous and sometimes contradictory decolonizing politics. Another tension was the situation of a decolonial approach within a conventional sociological framework, and specifically, for some of it, within historical sociology. Sociology has been notoriously Eurocentric, intertwined with modernity while ignoring its flip side of coloniality (Bhambra, 2015; Bhambra and Holmwood, 2021). Historical sociology sounds innocuous enough but also centers modernity, ideal types, and uncritical acceptance of Eurocentric statehood without considering the imperial state (Bhambra, 2016; Subrt, 2017). Efforts to rectify this by "re-making" have been criticized as non-transformative and an alternative "connected sociologies" has been proposed by Bhambra (2016). This seeks to reconstruct theoretical categories by incorporating and transforming older ones while recognizing the validity of multiple interpretations (Bhambra, 2016). Similarly, I use historical sociology, along with its more transnational remaking as global historical sociology (Go and Lawson, 2017), fully appreciating that its relationship with a decolonial perspective is in negotiation.

In justifying the use of more conventional social science methods and theorizations, including applying social movement theory, I recall Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) noting that decolonization does not mean total rejection of Western research or knowledge, but rather "centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes" (p.41). Not all decolonial scholars share this position, for example Sandeep Bakshi (2016) has posited "walking away" from the "totality of western epistemology" (p.88) as an option for decolonial de-linking. But as Dorpenyo (2020, p.61) stated, a decolonial methodology does not equate outright rejection of Northern knowledge construction, but rather critical application of Northern concepts in a flexible, humble, patient, and honest manner that shares power, cedes an expert stance and pays attention to the data and participant wishes (Dorpenyo, 2020; Keikelame & Swartz, 2019). As a product of the Caribbean, my worldview has been a hybrid result of Western and Southern, and it was in paying attention

to the data that this hybridity of approach was validated by the interviews. Here participants were generally less concerned with more radical de-linkings and espoused more centric decolonizing approaches. So it seems fitting that similar to other Caribbean scholars who have blended approaches in service to strengthening outcomes, that I employ the same (Borst et al., 2018a, 2018b).

4.4 Research integrity and ethical considerations

This study was approved by the University of Glasgow College of Social Science's ethics committee as well as the University of the West Indies/Barbados Ministry of Health Research Institutional Review Board in Barbados and the Guyana Ministry of Health Institutional Review Board. Institutional review boards and similar institutional ethics entities are justifiably criticized for their oft-times unsuitability for social research, legalistic approach versus actual participant considerations, and their gatekeeping role, which is intertwined with the colonial legacy of institutionalized research (Sabati, 2019). Here I acknowledged Global South agency and contributed to a decolonizing methodology by approaching the boards in Barbados and Guyana, even while cognizant that they might reproduce the critiqued faults as well. Additionally, I found the information in the ethics applications to be a useful guide in bracketing this work by making clear what activities and interactions would end up in the research. It has also meant a pause on some formal affiliations and entanglements, as detailed below, helping to focus my perspective while still being an insider.

Given the tensions outlined in the previous sections, a review of how research integrity was handled now becomes necessary to allay concerns about my activist researcher role affecting research outcomes. I also consider the ethical issues involved in navigating positions as a researcher based in a university, an activist, and a professional undertaking occasional paid research. Although there is the recognition that value-free research does not exist, so "no one needs to fear that activism in itself will undermine scientific integrity" (Isopp, 2015, p.4), and that the tensions "between political–ethical commitment and critical analysis" in activist research are beneficial for those exact reasons – focusing and centering the tensions (Speed, 2006, p.74), there are still challenges.

For qualitative research, the concept of trustworthiness is used to determine the credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and validity of a study (Clark et al., 2021, p.363). Because multiple accounts of social reality are possible, establishing credibility involved the use of good practices, viz., having ethics approvals, drafting methodology in dialogue with supervisors, and utilizing peer debriefing. The latter was also a form of analytic triangulation, and involved anonymized discussions with a knowledgeable and confidential peer not involved in LGBTQ+ activism/research within the region, aimed at minimizing implicit bias along the research journey (Lietz et al., 2006). Credibility also entailed confirmation that I had correctly captured the studied social world, by giving participants the option to verify their transcripts and debrief in follow-up interviews to discuss draft analysis. Transferability was aided by providing "thick descriptions" as necessary, noting behaviors and providing contexts. Both credibility and transferability parallel aspects of validity, or the extent of congruence between observations and theories (Clark et al., 2021, p.363-364). Concurrently, three practices helped with consistent findings (dependability) and demonstrated I acted in good faith without undue personal bias (confirmability) (Bryman, 2015). These included a personal audit trail with all parts of the research on record, depositing anonymized transcripts into the University of Glasgow data repository, and practicing reflexivity throughout the process by journaling, note-taking and discussion in the final write up. These practices for maintaining research quality are consistent with various well established approaches in sociology that facilitated conducting this research with integrity and transparency.

As an activist researcher involved in various (and sometimes disparate) types of activism and research simultaneously, instead of attempting to resolve all aspects of work into one united whole, I outlined an integrated approach to engaging in both research and activism under an overarching ethical framework. As a feminist, the positioning of an activist researcher is supported; as Diane Wolf (1996) wrote in paraphrasing Maria Mies, "any truly feminist research must involve some kind of change through activism and consciousness-raising" (p.5), but it also calls for the researcher to ensure that their social, political and ethical responsibilities be considered (Allan, 2017). The first broad consideration was the complexity and tensions in studying the movement I was involved in - being both the researcher and the researched. Unlike

participant observers/ethnographers who typically negotiate access into a community and then leave, as an activist researcher I was already part of the community and did not exit the movement after data collection. The anti-capitalist (Gutierrez & Lipman, 2016), feminist (Roseneil, 1995) and LGBTQ+ movements (DeFilippis, 2015; Deklerck, 2017; Paternotte & Tremblay, 2015) have all had activist researchers, who although they might not have self-identified as such, were involved in both roles simultaneously. These researchers were sometimes transparent in the aims and positionality involved in their research, owing much to the feminist methodology that encourages this openness (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002). Therefore, participation in the movement I'm researching is not unprecedented – the questions I had to grapple with revolved around being seen as approachable and trustworthy, and how my activities possibly alter movement trajectory, while still being seen as capable of conducting research with integrity by wider academia and the activist community. During this process I balanced and drew ethical boundaries around three roles – a PhD researcher associated with a University, an independent researcher who undertook both paid and voluntary work outside of the PhD research, and as an independent activist.

To avoid perceptions of conflict of interest, between the time of my application to the ethics board and the submission of this research to the University of Glasgow, there was no paid work undertaken for any of the LGBTQ+ organizations in Barbados or Guyana, or Global North collaborators of interest. I did receive two small fuel stipends of 25$ USD from Equals Inc. for collaborating on the Constitutional Reform Commission process as an independent activist in the Barbados LGBTQ+ Coalition. Even though I had been contracted by several of these organizations in the past, establishing some temporality between the past work and the start of data collection aimed to mitigate concerns from the academic and activist community on possible bias. Additionally, it helped streamline my relationships with the local organizations, where my role was completely voluntary and not subject to payment.

In building and holding trust within the activist community, being seen as capable of confidentiality and impartiality was central. I had already built up trust within this community based on feedback and my past health-focused research experiences with this community. Many people knew I took these issues seriously from past research practices, and given my medical

training where confidentiality is paramount. I also had informal, friendly or semi-professional relationships with almost all the activists in Barbados and Guyana. This was advantageous for access but could have led activists to over disclose or assume an uncritical analysis. Reasserting my PhD researcher role and being aware of over-disclosure during interviews was necessary to ameliorate this. Although I had working relationships and varying levels of familiarity with some Global North activists, the same level of trust did not necessarily exist with them. I also had to be acknowledged as sufficiently independent and unlikely to convey privileged information to "rival" organizations. With respect to my voluntary activism, I therefore returned to independent activist status, divesting myself of formal affiliations with any organizations. In agreement with my supervisors, it was determined that I could still volunteer for specific health related projects that were separate from the sociopolitical aspects of the PhD research. My formal organizational affiliations in Barbados were at Equals Inc and SHE Barbados, serving as board secretary and health provider at the former, and listed as a trustee who provided gender affirming care in 2020 for the latter. I resigned from Equals' board many months before ethics submission in December 2020, infrequently volunteering to provide PrEP and gender affirming care until December 2021. In Guyana, I was the informal public health consultant for SASOD for several years but also left this volunteer position before ethics submission, at the end of 2020. Having detached from organizational affiliations, my voluntary services as an activist researcher for LGBTQ+ organizations in both countries were then limited to answering questions related to research design and possible researchers without drafting any documents; assisting with organizing and attending activist events, without participating in fundraising for any of these events (ex. Pride activities and protest actions); and presenting on HIV and LGBTQ+ issues as an independent researcher and PhD student. For funded organizational projects I had committed to prior to entering the PhD program, I either redirected them to other researchers or completed them prior to ethics submission for this study.

Turning now to the thornier and less-discussed issues around paid work outside of academia, especially if overlapping with this study. Although this practice is fairly common in the Global South, it can be seen as posing a conflict of interest, or "circumstances that create a risk that professional judgments or actions regarding a primary interest will be unduly influenced by a secondary interest" (Institute of Medicine, 2009). To avoid this conflict, between ethics

application and thesis submission I did not undertake any work related to LGBTQ+ activism, declining work from any of the LGBTQ+ organizations in Barbados, Guyana and the Global North. I established a practice of checking potential work with a possible relationship to this study with the supervisors to enable discussions on overlaps or conflicts. I therefore only undertook work with no conflict of interest, such as conducting HIV PrEP training and revising guidelines (the Barbados Ministry of Health and Wellness and the Pan Caribbean Partnership Against HIV and AIDS (PANCAP)), reviewing organizational policies (Caribbean Family Planning Association), and conducting quantitative database analysis (Caribbean Vulnerable Communities Coalition). Researchers have suggested that methods of confronting conflicts of interest include disclosure, removal or accommodation (Mecca et al., 2015), but the British Sociological Association's Statement of Ethical Practice (2017) aligns with my personal view that in contentious funding, "the emphasis should be on maximum openness" (p.10). Similar to Gutierrez and Lipman (2016), I believe social movement activist research should involve collaborative knowledge production, serve social struggle and be grounded in community wisdom. This belief, as well as ensuring connections that were already built and important for the regional activist movement were not neglected, led me to conclude that the tensions between funded work and this primary research needed to be balanced instead of ignored. The key philosophy was ensuring transparency to both supervisors and readers at every stage, interrogating and reconciling these potential conflicts of interest.

4.5 Data collection

4.5.1 Archival and online sources

Keenly conscious that "archives at once protect and preserve records, legitimize and sanctify certain documents while negating and destroying others" (Jimerson, 2008, p.2), I still felt them necessary given the focus on exploring historical trajectories. As previously outlined, after balancing logistics and ethics, I sought to fill in gaps of early activist and queer history with the newspapers (and to some extent the SASOD Yahoo Groups), and round out organizational activities and linkages from the other sources. Chronologically first, these data sources also informed the selection of interview participants.

The newspapers in Barbados and Guyana were traditional archival sources, and the SASOD Guyana Yahoo Group archives an example of a couterarchive, defined as a community-based archive situated outside of a formal institution (Stone & Cantrell, 2015, p.7). The public online results and social media postings of LGBTQ+ organizations in Barbados, Guyana, and the selected Global North collaborators formed the third set of sources. In all, I encountered selective memorialization and preservation. The newspapers were the most egregious, as detailed below, and contributed to the theme of silencing discussed in Chapter Five. The SASOD Yahoo Group was selectively archived according to an unknown criteria but likely to avoid repetition, and the online sources were sometimes missing links or had entire sites corrupted/missing. While these lacunae did not prevent the realization of the broad goals for these sources, they are the limitations within which I operated.

David Frohnapfel (2020) pointed out how the emotional labor of archival research is often ignored. Indeed, I found this data collection method the most emotionally demanding. In journalling, an unexpected emotion was frequent anger and frustration during the newspaper searches when constantly encountering bigoted articles and reports. While forgetting "dominant narratives and institutional norms" can be useful queer archival praxis (Frohnapfel, 2020, p.25), it was my memory that played a larger role in these archives. Many forgotten memories surfaced during exploring the SASOD archives, allowing valuable contextualization at times. In engaging with the newspapers, it was the ability to hold certain key words in the forefront of my memory that enabled the identification of relevant articles without the aid of computerized search.

Organizations' social media and online search

Between August 31 and October 15, 2021, March 2 to 7, 2022, and April 12 to 18, 2023, the public social media postings of ten Barbadian LGBTQ+ organizations, twelve Guyanese organizations (as listed in Appendix One, with the exclusion of coalitions and those shaded in blue) and selected Global North collaborators were searched. Searched platforms included Facebook, Instagram and Twitter and the search employed a manual data collection strategy

without the use of data scraping or Application Programming Interface (APIs), as was outlined in the University of Glasgow ethics application.

For each organization in Guyana and Barbados, an Excel spreadsheet was prepared with tabs for each type of online site. For those with websites, information pertaining to mission/vision, history and activities/collaborations were copied into the spreadsheet. For each social media platform, copied information included retweeted/reposted organizations, linked articles, posts and screenshots mentioning activities/collaborations, taking care to delete mentions of any tagged individuals. Each organization also had a tab for relevant publicly available information found via Google search, pasted verbatim into the spreadsheet, and a final tab summarizing the online information.

For the selected Global North collaborators, organizations had similar spreadsheet with tabs for website, social media and Google search. While the website tab contained a direct copy and paste of mission/vision/funding, all other information was restricted to mentions of Guyana and Barbados, along with coloniality/colonialism and decoloniality/decolonization. In accordance with the ethics application, even though posts and tweets were publicly accessible, they were not directly quoted given their potentially sensitive nature, and organization names nor the online platform were cited.

In Barbados Facebook and Instagram were equally popular social media platforms, followed by Twitter. Five organizations had their own website, while two had no social media or website, and all their information was gleaned from Google searches. In Guyana all but two organizations had a Facebook presence, with several having non-page Facebook profiles with all public posts. Like Barbados, the next most common platform was Instagram, followed by Twitter. Three organizations had websites, while two had no social media or website. This online landscape highlights the digital inequality between organizations who solely utilize social media, or just one social media platform and those with websites or multiple platforms. However, even having a website was no guarantee of a solid digital footprint, as several websites had not been updated in months or years, and lack of maintenance resulted in missing links and compromised site security.

Newspapers in Barbados and Guyana

Barbados has two privately owned physical newspapers which are both part of media conglomerates – the longstanding *Barbados Advocate*, first published in 1895, and the *Nation* newspaper started in 1973. In 2010 *Barbados Today* launched as an online only newspaper, followed in 2014 by *Loop News*, another online only entity. In Guyana four newspapers are in physical circulation. Three are privately owned - *Stabroek News* (started in 1986), tabloid-style *Kaieteur News* (1994) and the *Guyana Times* (2008) – and one is the state-owned *Guyana Chronicle* (1939). The *Guyana Chronicle* is unsurprisingly pro-government, as is the *Guyana Times*, while *Kaieteur News* is perceived as anti-government, and the *Stabroek News* is viewed as more independent and reserved (Stephenson, 2015). Three privately owned online-only newspapers also operate – *Demerara Waves* (2009), *News Room Guyana* (2016) and the tabloid-style *Guyana Daily News* (2016).

As previously stated, media reporting has methodological critiques, and coverage of collective action events is subject to both selection bias (choosing what to report) and description bias (accuracy of what is reported) (Earl et al., 2004).The latter can involve omission, misrepresentation and/or reframing and may be related to corporate ownership concerns (Earl et al., 2004). The influence of ownership is illustrated by the case of the *Weekend Investigator* in Barbados. A profitable and popular tabloid type newspaper published by the *Barbados Advocate*, it carried many stories on queer lives (albeit salaciously), and was closed in 2000 by Anthony Bryan, partially because it did not align with his values (Moe, 2020). The *Advocate*'s notable deficit in queer coverage in later years is further dissected in Chapter Five. Another commentary has concerned the digitization of newspapers, which leads to bias towards certain researchers (typically from well-funded Global North institutions) and historical periods, as well as selective digitization that privileges majoritarian views (Smits, 2014). Despite these challenges, scholars suggest, and I agree, that newspapers are an imperfect but useful source that can be critically engaged with (Earl et al., 2004; Smits, 2014).

With this in mind, on four separate occasions (August 26 to October 11, 2021; March 25 to 28, 2022, May 23 to 27, 2022 and January 4, 2023) I conducted searches of the newspapers in

Barbados. A manual search of the daily *Advocate* available online at the University of Florida Digital Collections (n.d.) was performed for October 2013 to December 2022. The daily *Advocate* from January 2001 to March 2005 was also searched using the University of the West Indies Cave Hill Campus library microfilm. Simultaneously, online searches of the *Nation News*, *Barbados Today* and *Loop News Barbados* were undertaken. The *Nation*'s website gave results dating back to 2010, and *Loop News* to 2017, but *Barbados Today* only gave results up to 2019. The search of Guyanese newspapers online took place from October 27 to November 11, 2021, on March 28 and 29, 2022, and on January 3, 2023. All four physical newspapers had online searchability, retrieving results from 2007 or 2016 in the case of the *Guyana Times*. Physical daily copies of the 2003, 2005 and 2008 *Guyana Chronicle* and *Stabroek News* were searched at the Guyana National Library from May 30 to June 3, 2022. Given time constraints and the labor intensive process of hardcopy searching, these years were selected as they corresponded to the formation of SASOD, the "revitalization" of SASOD with the film festival, and the last available year of the SASOD Yahoo Group archives, respectively.

Online search terms were the names of the organizations ("uglaab", "SASOD" etc.), prominent Barbadian activists ("Alexa Hoffman", "Darcy Dear" etc.), more general terms ("pride parade", "lgbt", "gay", "hiv", "lesbian", "bisexual", "transgender", "homosexual"), and spelling variations on local slurs for gay and lesbian people (bulla, wicka, coxin and antiman), which served a decolonizing engagement with the methodology. Finally, the terms "Amerindian", "Indigenous sex", "Indigenous gay" and "Indigenous queer" were also searched. This aimed at illuminating this neglected aspect within queer history and activism, while adding to the decolonization of the archival research. For the online *Advocate*, the terms "hiv" and "gay" were searched for all the years in order to maximize the effort of manually searching each day, such that "hiv" captured the mention of organizations involved in HIV advocacy (like Equals Inc. and UGLAAB), while "gay" captured "gay rights activists" and the other organizations covering the LGBTQ+ acronym. The acronym was often spelled out until 2018 when it started being used without explanation, and therefore from 2017 onwards the search term "lgbt" was also added to "hiv" and "gay". The years 2014 and 2018 were chosen as representative samples to determine whether local terms/slurs were used in the *Advocate*, as well as ensure no lesbian or trans specific stories were missed, so these search terms were added for those two years.

There were certain parameters that the newspaper analysis operated within. First, 2001 was the earliest analyzed year in both countries – this was the year UGLAAB started in Barbados and the year the Constitutional Amendment Bill was vetoed in Guyana. The period under consideration is therefore approximately twenty years and is the time during which a *formal* LGBTQ+ social movement became more visible in both contexts. Saved articles were restricted to those mentioning LGBTQ+ organization/relevant HIV advocacy organization or exploring LGBTQ+ topics. Regular columns and letters mentioning LGBTQ+ issues without also mentioning an organization were omitted, as these were often merely vehicles for bigoted rants which did not contribute to the objectives of the search. Exceptions were made if the column/letter was written by an LGBTQ+ activist discussing queer issues. Given the volume of results from Guyana, only stories which were not covered in the main newspapers were saved from the search of the online news sources. All relevant articles were copied into word documents or saved as images and then inserted into a spreadsheet with tabs denoting each year, and each tab containing twelve columns under which the articles were placed. Figure 4.5.1 shows a screen capture of the Guyana spread spreadsheet, where colors are used to indicate different newspapers.

Figure 4.5.1: Screen capture of Guyana newspaper findings spreadsheet

Access to the physical archives was easily accomplished by informing the librarian at Guyana National Library or applying for a paid pass at the UWI library. However, some full versions of *Nation* articles were only available through their physical archives, which closed to the public due to COVID-19. After liaising with a *Nation* reporter who intervened with the librarian, I was

able to request full copies that were available upon payment, but still unable to physically access their archive. It bears noting that not all relevant articles by the online news sources were returned by their search function – this was evident from news stories mentioned in organizations' social media pages or the Yahoo Groups, which when followed, returned broken links. Extra articles were sourced from the *Nation* archives through links provided by the 2003 Barbados Gays & Lesbians Against Discrimination site as well as the Shilstone Memorial Library at the Barbados Museum and Historical Society.

SASOD Yahoo Group

Yahoo Groups was one of the largest online mailing lists and discussion board collective, and in June 2003 SASOD started one of these Groups. Their Yahoo Group had restricted access, meaning that persons signed up and needed Administrator approval, with postings only visible to others in the group. On December 15, 2020, the Yahoo Groups platform and all its information was permanently closed, but in October 2019 SASOD had archived some of the posts from the Group into a series of MS Word documents.

I obtained formal written permission from SASOD to analyze these saved documents using a manual investigative strategy. As outlined above, my positionality within SASOD and involvement within this Yahoo Group itself facilitated this permission. This analysis was conducted during the period October 18 to 27 2021. Except for birthday announcements and new member introductions, the content of each post was summarized, categorized by topic, and placed within monthly columns in an Excel spreadsheet with each year in separate tabs. For example, a post summarized as "anonymous review of the film festival", was categorized in the adjacent column as "film festival". As per the University of Glasgow ethics application, because the posters in the Group had a reasonable expectation of privacy due to its closed nature, only summarized posts were analyzed, and no quotes, direct posts or poster identities were saved.

In the Yahoo Group the first post was made in June 2003 and the last in August 2019. However, only posts from June 2003 to December 2008 were archived by SASOD, and archiving was incomplete as evidenced from gaps in the sequential numbers attached to a post. In January 2006

there were fifty-four members and by Group closure this number had risen to 236. In the first year there were only seventeen posts, mostly consisting of LGBTQ+ relevant article shares from local and foreign newspapers. Over the next two years posting increased, reaching double digits every month for the first time in 2006, with an average of seventy posts/month. In 2007 posts peaked at a monthly average of 141 and trended downward annually from then, reaching single digits again by 2017.

4.5.2 Interviews

From the population of entities (all the persons working in and outside organizations) involved in LGBTQ+ activism in Barbados and Guyana, I undertook a purposive sampling. This sample aimed to select organizations that were primarily or significantly focused on LGBTQ+ persons, and individual activists who would be familiar with the contours of local organizing and transboundary linkages. Global North organizations were also purposively sampled based on online analysis and local interviews, focusing on those that had either collaborated with both countries or with several organizations in a country. The sample size for each country and the Global North was capped at approximately twenty to accommodate study time constraints. At the participant level, purposive sampling aimed for persons at the highest organizational level to enable the gathering of information on policies, strategies, and collaborations. Simultaneously, several younger ex-employees of some of these organizations, who would be able to comment on organizational ethos or provide information on how younger activists organize, were deliberately selected as individual activists. Selection of interviewees aimed to encompass a range of ages, gender identities and ethnicities, but snowball sampling was also utilized to identify other possible relevant participants in outlying areas, persons who might be newer to activism, and especially to find any Indigenous representation.

The process of sampling involved compiling a list of potential interviewees from a review of prominent LGBTQ+ organizations and publicly known individual activists (both current and "retired"). Potential participants resided throughout Barbados, but in Guyana mostly centered around the capital and surrounding areas, given that only four of the organizations in Appendix One are based outside of Region four. Participant self-labelled demographics ranged in ages,

from twenty-four to over fifty-five (median age thirty-five), sexual orientations (lesbian, gay, bisexual, pansexual, queer, trans and straight), years in activism (from two to more than fifteen), and gender identities (cis man, cis woman, trans, non-binary and gender fluid). However, tertiary education and middle-class representation dominated. Grouping the Barbados, Guyana and Global North interviewees together, over half the participants identified as Black or African-heritage, but there was also a diversity of other ethnicities, including Mixed, Indian-heritage, Indigenous and white. To preserve anonymity, a more in-depth disaggregation of the demographics or participant characteristics will not be presented.

The recruitment process was initiated by emails containing an invitation to participate, the participant information sheet, consent form, privacy notice (as required by UK General Data Protection Regulation), and a (re)introduction of myself in current role as a PhD researcher. After no reply to two emails, participants were contacted via text message (given that some persons infrequently check emails or might have discontinued using the email address), before being excluded from consideration. For Barbados twenty requests for interviews were sent, and sixteen were conducted, with the remaining four either not responding to the request or not following up on appointments. For Guyana twenty-two interview requests went out, with seventeen interviews. Two additional persons were under consideration but could not be contacted in time, while the five non-participants gave excuses or did not respond to the request. Twenty-one Global North requests were sent but four of those were to one organization when the first contact did not respond after two attempts. Nine requests resulted in interviews, while the rest either did not respond or gave reasons for not participating. Overall forty-two interviews were conducted.

Being an insider to the movement, negotiating interview access in Barbados and Guyana was uncomplicated since I had most of the emails and telephone numbers/social media contacts from previous interactions. This was also true for some Global North interviewees, but for others I obtained emails from organizational websites or snowball referrals. This insider placement, while beneficial for access, raised specific challenges touched upon in the previous sections. I anticipated such issues as participant reluctance to share information given my past affiliations with other organizations, or conversely, oversharing given their personal acquaintance with me, missing "basic" information due to the assumption I already know it, and being unable to

distance myself enough to ask controversial questions. I addressed these by ensuring the invitation email emphasized my lack of organizational ties during the research process, and by reminding closely acquainted participants during the consent process that they should only share as much as they felt comfortable with. Avoiding the assumption of "basic" information and timidity around asking hard questions involved maintaining constant awareness during the interview process.

I recognized that I only possessed a particular perspective within the movement – being older, having relative economic and educational privilege, and not as connected to the Guyanese movement by virtue of no longer living in Guyana. Dhamoon (2019) uses the term "relational othering" to investigate the process of dominance between and within subjugated groups, which applied in my relation to other queer persons (trans persons, younger persons etc.) as well as other racial identities, especially in considering my position as an arrivant in relation to Indigenous persons. During the interview process, along with the more formal, institutional methods intended to ease power imbalance such as the ability to stop the interview at any time, refuse questions and withdraw information even after participating, I also employed some other approaches, like humor when appropriate and matching the language of the participant, especially if they used more dialect or Creolese. This was also accompanied by the background self-reflection involved in considering the dynamics of each interview. Journalling during the data collection and analysis phase also helped identify areas of discomfort or even possible analytic avenues.

In the context of COVID-19, interviews were offered in-person, online, via telephone or written-in. One interview occurred physically-distanced in-person, one participant wrote answers to emailed questions, and the rest were online or via telephone. Interviews used a semi-structured guide (see Appendix Two), were audio recorded, and did not involve any incentives or reimbursements. Most of the remote interviews were conducted using the University of Glasgow Zoom platform which securely recorded data onto the University's cloud. Both in-person and telephone interviews were recorded using an encrypted mobile phone or digital audio recorder. While there were sometimes technical difficulties such as low bandwidth preventing video or screensharing, and occasional audio glitches, the interactions went smoothly. This is likely due to

participants being used to online meetings, especially as the pandemic increased virtual engagements. The COVID-19 context also favored remote interviews, as distancing guidelines issued by the University of Glasgow and authorities in Barbados and Guyana, possibly led to more participants opting for remote interviews, than they might have otherwise.

Interviews were conducted from June 10, 2021 to August 9, 2022, and all in English, although some participants used Creolese or Bajan in their responses. All participants were sent a copy of their transcript for verification and any edits as necessary. All were also approached to have short audio recorded meetings or write feedback on the preliminary findings and any follow-up questions. Only ten looked at their transcripts (with three giving edits), but almost half had follow-up meetings or feedback. During these follow-ups participants were presented with a brief summary of the major themes and information that emerged from their location, and more widely concerning decolonial activities and transnational links, with the caveat that these would likely be expanded or contracted in the final writeup. During this sharing participants commented on the findings, any resonances (or lack thereof) with prior perceptions, and clarified or commented as necessary. These reflections were not transcribed verbatim but some of the notes from them were either then incorporated into findings, or specifically noted as context from this follow-up process.

Overall, during the interviews I tried to mitigate the dynamic, non-fixed nature and challenges of being an insider-outsider with careful planning, as outlined above, but the reality is that similar to DeFilippis (2015), I operated as both an insider (active in the movement) and outsider (migrated/migrant, in academia), which required constant reflexivity to address my positionality and power.

4.5.3 Participant observations

Participant observation of four public events and two semi-private events was undertaken. The former included the Intimate Conviction book launch (March 2022 in Barbados), SASOD poetry reading (June 2022 in Guyana), and two Barbados constitutional reform townhalls (November 2022). The semi-private events were the Guyana Country Coordinating Mechanism National

Workshop in June 2022 and the Caribbean regional dialogue on LGBTQI+ D.A.T.A Roundtable held in Barbados in September 2022. All events were attended by a varying number of LGBTQ+ activists over the age of 18 and participants in the semi-private events gave explicit consent; those who did not were excluded from the observational data. For logistical reasons, in both semi-private events I only observed a segment of the total proceedings. Completely anonymized notes were taken for both types of events using a proforma template.

Participant observation has its genesis in problematic anthropological methodologies, but has since evolved into a more standardized and widely used data collection method (Clark et al., 2021). In this study participant observation served to gather information as well as to observe the more implicit activities of movement action, such as how activists related and formed ties, and positioned themselves in citizenship praxis (Lichterman, 1998). The latter was especially relevant in the townhall events. Attending to these implicit strands necessitated close observation of verbal and non-verbal "performance" (Goffman, 1956). Additionally, in recognition of the need to apply reflexivity to shifting roles during participant observation (McCurdy and Uldam, 2013), I acknowledge that the degree of my participation in the type of event translated to varying abilities to document and observe these relations. For example at the book launch, during which I did not speak, there were extensive fieldnotes, whereas at the townhalls, fieldnotes were disrupted by my speaking at the event. It bears noting that this data source did not yield as much useful information as the other sources, and therefore is not as extensively referenced subsequently.

4.4 Data Analysis

Analysis primarily aimed at answering the sub-questions, which translated to a greater focus on analyzing organization and movement specifics, than in investigating conversational dynamics or proving hypotheses. This section justifies my choice to use thematic analysis that incorporates some elements of discourse analysis, before detailing the analytical processes for each type of data collected.

Common qualitative data analysis strategies include grounded theory, analytic induction, thematic analysis, and narrative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013, Clark et al., 2021). Far from being discretely compartmentalized approaches however, these strategies can overlap and be seen as extensions or specific applications of thematic analysis, whereby grounded theory uses thematic analysis in a purely inductive fashion, analytic induction deploys thematic analysis to prove or reformulate a hypothetical association, and narrative analysis applies thematic analysis to specific life and event stories (Herzog et al., 2019). In all these methods there is the development of a "matrix of cases and recurrent concepts or themes, which is the essence of thematic analysis" (Herzog et al., 2019, p.387). This enfolding of thematic analysis within other methods meant only recently recognizing its stand-alone ability, but it has been "possibly the most widely used qualitative method of data analysis" (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p. 175).

Grounded theory was rejected on the basis that this project's analysis utilized a hybrid process of applying concepts from the literature, as well as those that inductively arose from the data, leaning heavily on the former. Analytic induction, with its focus on hypothesis testing and objectivist-like determination of causal laws (Clarke et al., 2021), was clearly unsuited to research aims, while narrative analysis' focus on life and event accounts did not fit either. I therefore felt the best candidate was thematic analysis by virtue of its extreme flexibility, being solely a method of data analysis, and non-prescriptive on data collection, theoretical position, or epistemological/ontological framework (Braun and Clarke, 2013); its fit for the analysis of experiences, perceptions, and understandings (Herzog et al., 2019); and its applicability to data sets of any size (Herzog et al., 2019).

Unfortunately, thematic analysis was insufficient on its own for answering questions about language practice (Braun and Clarke, 2013), and attention to this particularity was needed given that language was the medium for data gathering (Clark et al., 2021) and its centrality in constructing and perceiving the past, present and future, especially with regards to sexualities (Picq & Cottet, 2019, p.6). In a project like this, where an overarching decolonizing methodology is sought whenever possible, considering the use of language in a milieu where English has been a "civilizing" colonial agent and the everyday dialects and creole languages are deemed inferior, is especially important (Lewis-Fukom, 2019, p.101). Strategies for this type of

analysis included conversation analysis and discourse analysis. The first was inappropriate since conversation analysis' use of natural conversations and an intricate transcription and notation process, was not a good fit for semi-structured interviews (Clark et al., 2021) or this research design that aimed to extract more substantive organization specific information in data collection.

That left discourse analysis and its variant, critical discourse analysis (Clark et al., 2021), as the most likely analytic strategies for exploring language. Discourse analysis has a multidisciplinary origin tracing back to the "social turn in linguistics" and has been linked to the work of Michel Foucault (Clark et al., 2019; Lewis-Fukom, 2019). Foucauldian discourse analysis, however, is a separate strain of discourse analysis concerned with the sociocultural implications of language and power production and can be applied to both textual as well as symbolic systems (Willig, 2008, p.112-114). Relatedly, critical discourse analysis focuses on power structures, dominance and inequality (Herzog et al., 2019). It has become a kind of "catch-all" methodology, often cited, but without rigor or transparency of deployment (Ali, 2019), when it actually operates within a strict epistemological and methodological framework that has an explicitly political agenda that aims for social change (Ali, 2019; McEntee-Atalianis, 2021). Although I consider myself an activist researcher and this research takes an open decolonial stance, the rigid epistemological framing, opaque procedural mechanisms, as well as a hesitancy to commit to a hard political line and lose the open-endedness of exploration, made critical discourse analysis an unsuitable choice. The broader use of discourse analysis, which can be applied to any type of conversation, including speeches, articles, online content and interviews, made it a more flexible approach suited for this research (Clark et al., 2019; Lewis-Fukom, 2019). Epistemologically and ontologically, discourse analysis is anti-realist and constructionist (Clarke et al., 2021), and was wielded in this way during analysis, acknowledging that especially in the interviews, both the participants and I made choices about presenting reality as influenced by our stances and context (Clark et al., 2021). Therefore, the primary use of thematic analysis was combined in some instances with basic elements of discourse analysis in order to attend to language in this research, with examinations confined to word choices or particular grammatical styles and shifts around the core themes of colonialism/coloniality, decoloniality/decolonization and transnationalism.

Conducting the thematic analysis adhered to the broadly accepted process of code and theme development and the interrelationships within these (Herzog et al., 2019, p.385). While there is consensus on this general process, there is disagreement on what constitutes a code or a theme. For some researchers, a theme is an outcome of coding and not coded in itself (Saldana, 2015), whereas many others use the terms interchangeably (Clark et al., 2021). Here I used three core themes - colonialism/coloniality (combined as a singular theme to capture both theoretical and conceptual underpinnings), decoloniality/decolonization (also combined) and transnationalism – which also doubled as major codes. The categorization of codes and theme development was done both inductively (coming from the data), and deductively (using pre-existing theory and applying a priori codes that reflect the research focus) (Harding, 2018), with the latter dominating. There are several versions of, and approaches to, performing thematic analysis and I utilized what Braun and Clarke have described as codebook thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021b). This approach is a "structured and systematic, but flexible" (Braun & Clarke, 2021b, p. 248) one that lies between the more iterative and open reflexive thematic analysis (which many researchers cite but do not necessarily practice), and the more rigid, postpositivist coding reliability thematic analysis. The codebook approach developed some themes (and codes) prior to engaging with the data, then used a more deductive approach to expand or discard these as coding progressed, to result in a "codebook" that mapped the emerging analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021b). Unlike coding reliability thematic analysis, coder subjectivity is not seen as disadvantageous (Braun & Clarke, 2021b).

Analysis of the online sources

There were two objectives for this data source: determine organizational activities, projects, events, and campaigns for triangulation with the newspapers and interviews and to help map funders and collaborators; and to assess how Global North based transnational funders of interest engaged with coloniality/colonialism and decoloniality/decolonization. These were achieved through a simple descriptive process from the manual data collection outlined above, whereby the information from social media and online searches were arranged into a spreadsheet for each organization, with data sources separated by tabs. The information on each tab was assessed and information relevant to the objectives were summarized in a table in a final tab.

Analysis of newspapers

Here the objectives were threefold: contribute to establishing a timeline on local queer culture and activism; triangulation of organization related strategies, evolution and exposure; and explore discussions relating to the main themes of colonialism/coloniality, decoloniality/decolonization and transnationalism. The spreadsheets illustrated in Figure 4.5.1 formed the basis for addressing the timeline in the first objective. Each article inserted into the spreadsheet was examined to extract mentions of organizations and used to contribute to the population of a table detailing the organizational strategies, activities, collaborations and reporting frequency in the media. This simple descriptive table also drew on the online sources and interviews for triangulation. The last analytical objective utilized qualitative content analysis, which has been used synonymously with thematic analysis, except that qualitative content analysis is used specifically for documentary sources, especially large ones like newspapers (Braun and Clarke, 2021a; Clark et al., 2021). It involved coding each article with the core themes of interest and saving quotations that illustrated these themes in a second spreadsheet. The extensive overlays between transnationalism and coloniality/colonialism referred to in the previous chapter were keenly demonstrated during this coding process (as well as in the coding for the interviews) when I often had to code an excerpt with both themes.

Analysis of the SASOD Yahoo Groups

This analysis also had three objectives - help establish a timeline on local queer culture and activism; triangulate SASOD specific strategies, evolution and exposure; and explore how SASOD's early years related to the main themes of colonialism/coloniality, decoloniality/decolonization and transnationalism as well as other themes of interest. Although no quotes, direct posts or poster identities were saved, the data source underwent qualitative content analysis similar to the newspapers. But because of this limitation, the content analyzed was broader by necessity and I was unable to attend to language. To achieve the analytic objectives, a descriptive, quantitative breakdown of the types of posts and organizational milestones was done. Subsequently, the core themes of colonialism/coloniality, decoloniality/decolonization and transnationalism were operationalized, for example, the number

of articles shared in the Group from within Guyana, within the Caribbean region and from the wider world were counted to consider the theme of transnationalism and give insight into international engagement. Coding of posts was not confined to the core themes as for the newspapers, but deployed other theoretical framings from the literature, such as human rights, non-violence, equality, discrimination, privacy, and dignity, as well as inductive codes arising from the posts, such as critiques, activities, regional networking, HIV etc. Figure 4.4 shows a screencap of what this coding looked like in situ.

Figure 4.4: Screen capture of SASOD Yahoo Groups spreadsheet coding

Analysis of interviews

Analysis of the interviews aimed to answer all the research sub-questions and was done using thematic analysis with elements of basic discourse analysis. Interview transcripts were entered into the software NViVO (version 12) and as outlined above, used a codebook approach to apply both deductive and inductive themes and coding. A priori themes included the aforementioned core themes as well as others arising from the research sub-questions, such as activist agenda, strategies, power dynamics, and organizational missions. Appendix Three shows an extract of the codebook that illustrates the themes and three examples of related coding.

Analysis of participant observations

The written, paraphrased field notes from the participant observations were analyzed with an eye for additional, contextual information that would address any of the four research sub-questions. They were entered into NViVO and underwent the same coding process and thematic analysis as the interviews.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter related how I reconciled the various aspects of my standpoints to arrive at commensurate methodology and methods. From my dynamic positionality as a movement insider/outsider, I outlined how my interests and experience shaped the research aims even within some pre-defined parameters. A central consideration was the melding of my broadly constructivist epistemology and ontology to a more hybrid, pragmatic approach to decoloniality that privileged contextual understandings rather than abstract pedantism. This necessitated outlining the framework of my decolonizing perspective and how it was explicitly deployed in study design at all stages, from planning through analysis. It also meant acknowledging the use of, and tensions posed by, using more conventional sociological methods and theorizations that were used to answer the research question and explore transnationalism. Overall this has led to a distinctive, multifaceted comparative methodology that was designed to attend to both decolonizing and transnational relations and concerns. This methodology is potentially useful for future similar studies and allowed for substantial analytic scope.

The chapter also explained how primarily qualitative methods were selected but drew on minor quantitative strands by having simple descriptive frequencies and other numbers-based presentations. Overall, the research design relied on the collection on semi-structured interviews, archival and online sources, as well as participant observations. Depending on the analytic objective for the data source, thematic analysis, with occasional elements of basic discourse analysis, was judged the most appropriate strategy.

Chapter 5: A historical sociological analysis of queer movements in Barbados and Guyana

5.1: Introduction

This chapter addresses the research sub-question of "what were the trajectories of queer organizing in both countries after independence, and how did British colonialism and its legacies operate in differing local contexts to influence this activism?" The content draws heavily on the archival sources (newspapers and the SASOD Yahoo Group from Guyana) and interviews, but is supplemented by online research and some personal reflections limited to contextualizing data from the aforementioned sources. Using these sources to trace the historical trajectories and dissect early organizational activities, it shows the similarities and differences between the arcs in these two countries. It makes the argument that geographical size, political environments, and their linkages to colonialism and transnationalism were some of the underlying reasons for both divergences and similarities within the broad arc of formal activism branching out from HIV to human rights framed LGBTQ+ specific work in both countries.

The chapter begins with an empirical summary of the queer history in both countries that utilizes the newspaper findings to give a deeper account of events, especially between 2001 and 2022. Where relevant, findings from the interviews and online have been added to finish incomplete threads and add context. More than half of the interviewees in Barbados acknowledged limitations or gaps in their knowledge of queer activism in the country, supporting the decision to present this chronological description. Fewer interviewees in Guyana expressed similar sentiments, likely because the first organizations are still operational and serve as a reference point and source of continuity. The chosen summary is not comprehensive, but involves selections of flashpoints in queer history and activism, as well as background information for subsequent analytical discussions in this and later chapters. While this chronology only directly relates to the key themes of coloniality/decoloniality and transnationalism at some points, I felt that presenting this information (even in its circumscribed state), was important to situate these issues in wider contexts, and for a decolonial approach in information sharing with the activist and wider queer community. The many newspaper references are presented in Appendix Four for

ease of accessibility, and more recent organizational activities are largely excluded (unless they were groundbreaking), since they are discussed in Chapter Six. While the limitations of the newspaper archives preclude definitive analysis of this history, the newspaper articles that were found underwent analysis for the core themes.

This chronology is followed by the section "Examining the early organizational days: 2001 to 2010". Here a more detailed exploration of the first six years of SASOD in Guyana and roughly the same period for UGLAAB in Barbados is presented. The analysis foregrounds the central themes of colonialism/coloniality, decolonization/decoloniality and transnationalism, but also aims to give a more detailed look at formational movement dynamics. The SASOD Yahoo Group archives provided the bulk of the information for Guyana, with other data sources incorporated. The absence of a similar archive for Barbados translated to a reliance on the literature, interviews, and online research and resulted in a less extensive, but still useful, analysis for that country's context.

The chapter then moves onto an analytical comparison of the activism trajectories between the countries, that can be encapsulated as a general arc of "from HIV to human rights". This is followed by sections positing and expounding on two underlying reasons for these arcs, along with the interwoven themes of colonialism and transnationalism. The first explores "the political climates and their colonial origins", and the next looks at "the silences in small places". The latter examines who is silenced and how geographical size plays a role.

Before moving onto the chronology, it's noteworthy that almost half of the activists in both Barbados and Guyana traced queer activism to origins and loci outside formal organizations. In these cases, simply existing, being or doing visibly queer things, as well as supporting queer community in smaller and larger acts were seen as activism. As with definitions of social movement that vary but center collectivity and organizing, definitions of activism also differ, but are generally characterized by actions for a cause (Boehnke and Shani, 2017). Patricia Hill-Collins (2013) has written on intellectual activism, or using ideas and words to challenge power, which would encompass the work done by those who have written certain social media posts or in the newspapers. Alongside this, conceptualizing just living one's life and/or individual acts of

service as activism can be described as "quotidian activism" that is potentially changemaking and complementary to more traditional activism (Fish et al, 2018). In Barbados, Didi Winston, and less frequently Dadrina Emmanuel, are two well-known trans women who were named by seven activists as the exemplification of quotidian activism. In Guyana, activists did not mention names, but referred to the fact that there were persons, often labelled as crossdressers, who defied norms to ensure queer visibility in various ways.

5.2 Queer activism in Barbados – a fuller picture from 2001 to 2022

Before concentrating on 2001 onwards, the interviews revealed that during the 1980s/90s, older queens would congregate on Baxter's road, which is located on the outskirts of Bridgetown and attracts primarily working class crowds to its multiple food and drinking establishments. Intriguingly, a system of informal security for these queens was provided by approximately six men, called the "Milo gang", who would handle any instances of harassment or trouble.

It turns out that the first recorded instance of a group formed to address queer concerns in Barbados was the Barbados Gays & Lesbians Against Discrimination (BGLAD) in 2000. Not to be confused with the B-GLAD of 2013, this group described itself on its website as "an unofficial group of concerned citizens" with a mission of promoting "human rights for all persons within the Barbadian society and in particular lesbians, gays and bi-sexuals" (BGLAD, 2003). Interviewees were unaware of the group's existence, but in a transnational link, it appeared to be diasporic based on the UK contact email "bglad_bgi@yahoo.co.uk". This BGLAD apparently functioned mostly online, with activities centering on writing to the Barbadian newspapers (letters dated to 2000 were verified in archives) and collating online articles until they ceased posting in 2003.

The first ten years of the new millennium were marked by groundbreaking events in organization, visibility and progressive political suggestions, which were all met with pushback. These events started in 2001 with the launch of the first official LGBTQ+ organization in the country and a same-sex wedding at Ma Dear Bar in Bridgetown which drew many onlookers and predictable condemnation by Christian priests (Slinger, 2001). Darcy Dear, owner of Ma Dear

Bar, would reveal in an interview years later that members of the clergy have sanctioned similar unions in Barbados as far back as the 1970s, including Dear's union with her partner of then 39 years (Henry, 2015). On World AIDS Day December 1 2001, United Gays and Lesbians Against AIDS Barbados (UGLAAB) was launched with a historic candlelight vigil in Heroes square, song, dance and speeches, followed by a march along Broad street to Suttle street (Deyal, 2001).

The following April three men were injured by a home-made bomb outside Ma Dear Bar, which served as UGLAAB's headquarters (Bennett, 2002). No follow-up articles on the incident were found, but this was the first in a history of violence affecting UGLAAB founder Darcy Dear, troubling the common narrative of Barbados being largely non-violent towards queer persons. In 2002 Dear's house was burned in what she[15] characterized as a hate crime, in 2007 her apartment building was stoned and burglarized, she was subjected to broken car windows at least three times, endured homophobic abuse, and received physical hate mail up to 2015 (Bend, 2007; Henry, 2015).

In June 2003 UGLAAB advertised the first Pride parade in Barbados (and the Anglophone Caribbean), but pushback in the media (Holford, 2003), along with a report that sections of the queer community opposed the parade ("Gay group knocks", 2003), meant it never materialized ("No gay parade", 2003). Activists reported that the parade was replaced by the first Pride street party in the country (and likely the Anglophone Caribbean), which occurred hours later than the scheduled parade in the same Watkins Alley location. One activist disclosed that the following year UGLAAB organized a smaller Pride focused walk and gathering to the Bay Street esplanade that was not billed as a parade.

Also in 2003, Deputy Prime Minister and Attorney General, Mia Mottley, stated that decriminalization of homosexuality and prostitution will be "placed on the front burner" to combat discrimination hampering HIV efforts (Dear, 2003). This decriminalization call was opposed by many, especially in religion. Within a month Mottley reported that no policy decision had been taken on decriminalization (Broome, 2003) and the Prime Minister stated that Mottley

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[15] Dear was widely known as a gay man and was exclusively referred to with male pronouns in newspaper articles, but at her funeral in January 2023, we were told that female pronouns more aligned with her truth.

had been "mortified"' and "wounded" by the "disapprobation" of her intentions (Broome, 2003b). A year later, Professor Mickey Walrond lent further support to repealing the buggery laws in his "Report On The Legal, Ethical and Socio-economic Issues Relevant To HIV/AIDS In Barbados" (Murray, 2012) and met similar opposition.

The next significant event had transnational implications and occurred in 2006. This is when activists reported that the USAID funded Caribbean HIV/AIDS Alliance (CHAA), which had also been a funding partner for UGLAAB, organized an advocacy workshop which birthed Movement Against Discrimination Action Coalition (MOVADAC). CHAA would again become important in the formation of Equals Inc., which had its genesis in CHAA focus groups in 2013.

The decade following 2010 saw a significant increase and expansion in LGBTQ+ visibility, activism and transnational engagement, with a concurrent rise in a dedicated anti-LGBTQ+ lobby. The transnational aspect, as well as an addressing of colonialism, was demonstrated in a 2011 article where Darcy Dear blamed the British government for Barbados' laws at the time and also urged increased gay tourism (Henry, 2011).

The interviews revealed that a 2012 panel discussion at UWI on LGBTQ+ rights resulted in a post-panel gathering that led to the informal queer students' association called "Queers at UWI" or "Quiche". This group moved to online social media, executed in-person social events, and upon realizing non-university persons were interested in joining, morphed into Barbados-Gays, Lesbians and All-sexuals Against Discrimination (B-GLAD). B-GLAD then entered the newspaper archive in 2013 with articles profiling its formation (Dottin, 2013) and its other activities.

Emblematic of an anti-queer stance, Minister Dennis Lowe in 2014 stated an opposition to any gender neutral legislation ("Lowe maintains stance", 2014). Although B-GLAD called for his recanting or resignation ("B-GLAD calls", 2014), Lowe stood behind his statement, suffering no consequences ("CariFLAGS asks", 2014). At the regional level, in the same year, the Pan Caribbean Partnership Against HIV and AIDS (PANCAP) recommendation to decriminalize same-sex intimacy laws were deferred ("Caricom defers approval", 2014) due to rejection by

country leaders and a petition from 140 organizations (mostly from Jamaica and Barbados) opposing it (Stoute, 2014). In another transnational connection, 2014 was also the year the short-lived Caribbean Alliance for Equality penned several letters in the newspapers. Sean Mcleish was the Director of this mostly North American diasporic organization and would go on to legally challenge the buggery laws in St Vincent in 2019.

In 2015, there were colonial connotations to the co-founder of B-GLAD - Donnya Piggott's – receipt of the Queen's Young Leader award which Piggott hoped would help progress LGBTQ+ rights in the eyes of older, less progressive Barbadians who held the queen in esteem (Smith, 2015). While the press reported several LGBTQ+ organizational activities, they did not report that a flash stand "for equality and inclusion" was staged outside of Parliament on August 19th 2015 (Stewart, 2015). Organized by Barbadian activist Alexa Hoffman and Jamaican-Canadian Maurice Tomlinson, the groundbreaking event was repeated two days later, but was poorly attended. This event was also significant transnationally, as Tomlinson was a Jamaican activist living in Canada at the time. By the end of the year both organizers, as well as I and others, were involved in launching the Barbados Pride Committee. Beset by "community challenges" (Hoffman, 2017), financial issues and lack of transparency, this Committee conducted three sparsely attended events – another flash stand, a beach funday and a brunch. After a gap year, Pride was again attempted by some of the previous organizers (myself not among them) under the banner of Barbados Pride which launched at the Canadian High Commission in November ("High Commissioner", 2017). Barbados Pride successfully executed several small-scale activities including the first official, Pride walk for rights (Barbados Pride, 2017). But by 2018 there was a new formulation of Pride organizers, now united as Pride Barbados, with a different logo, and without some of the key organizers of the previous event. This iteration also faced pushback on a proposed parade from both religious and queer quarters (Abbott, 2018) (reminiscent of 2003), but led by B-GLAD co-founder Ro-Ann Mohammed, executed the first official, well attended, Pride parade in 2018 and the following year.

Returning to the chronological timeline of activism, in 2016 the local anti-queer lobby solidified with the second annual Family, Faith, Freedom anti-LGBTQ+ religious rally (Evanson, 2016), attended by hundreds, including a government minister and senator. The next year, a group of

churches marched to reclaim the rainbow from LGBTQ+ people, which was met by a counter march of around fifteen persons (Greaves, 2017). Ro-Ann Mohammed would later reveal in an interview that the predominance of queer women in that counter-protest underscored the leadership role played by women and trans people in the community, leading to the formation of Sexuality Health and Empowerment (SHE) Barbados to represent that segment of the community (Ellis, 2020). Also in 2017, ahead of general elections, both the incumbent Democratic Labor Party (DLP) and the opposition Barbados Labor Party (BLP) went on record to state they had no plans to introduce same-sex marriage ("Blackett states", 2017; "Mottley: same-sex", 2017).

In 2018, apart from the Pride parade and legal challenges launched (as detailed on page 52), trans activist Alexa Hoffman was physically assaulted and encountered poor police response; reminiscent of the violence endured by Darcy Dear, Hoffman had also been the target of previous assaults, threats and vehicle vandalization ("Alexa's near-death", 2018). The following year, positive newspaper features on activists Raven Gill (Greaves, 2019) and Nadia Holmes (Babb, 2019), Didi Winston receiving a community icon award (Smith, 2019), and Dadrina Emmanuel being the first openly trans person to graduate UWI Cavehill ("A first for", 2019), were counterbalanced by negative ones, such as two Bajan lesbians who sought asylum in Canada after violent acts at home ("I'm free", 2019), another Family Faith Freedom rally (Smith, 2019b) (this time a handful of activists, including myself, staged a peaceful stand at it) and a transphobic online petition against the "warped LGBT agenda"("Petition launched", 2019).

During 2020, apart from the Prevention of Employment Discrimination Act, rewording the Welcome stamp and announcing the recognition of same-sex civil unions (detailed in Chapter Two), marriage equality dominated the news. After the front page announcement of political analyst Peter Wickham's marriage to his male partner ("Wickham, partner", 2020), there were several reports of church leaders reaffirming their refusal to perform such unions, while Equals and SHE stated this was not a pressing issue on their agenda ("More pressing priorities", 2020). Family Faith Freedom then led four marches to protest any legal recognition of same-sex unions, with the second march seeing a counter protest from queer activists (Henry, 2020). In the two years after 2020, the 2022 removal of the buggery laws was the most significant advancement, but the economic opportunity cost of discrimination as highlighted by the transnational

organization Open for Business ("Significant losses", 2021), as well as debates around crafting the new country charter and constitution have also received attention ("Bajans reject", 2022).

In looking at how colonialism/coloniality, decolonization/decoloniality and transnationalism were represented in the newspapers, examination of colonialism has been exclusively confined to mentioning the colonial origins of the buggery laws. This dated back to a 2001 article (Deyal, 2001) but was increasingly mentioned from 2016 onwards. Apart from the fact that calling for the repeal of these laws is an act of decolonization, there were two other instances of implicit pro-queer decolonization. One was the 2010 panel on sexualities (Goodman, 2010), where the organizers expressed an interest in counteracting the dominance of extra-regional voices in the conversation, and centering Caribbean ones. The other was Rinaldo Walcott reaffirming a Minister's stance that the overhauling of Barbados' anti-queer laws should be a locally grounded process and not the result of Global North pressures, as Walcott was against "any form of imperialism" (Best, 2016).

Interestingly, church leaders, and especially Family Faith Freedom, have couched their anti-queer resistance as a twisted reversal of resisting neo-colonialism and imperialism. This was first seen in the letter to PANCAP in 2014, where passing the recommendations would "subjugate the region to a new kind of imperialism" (Stoute, 2014) and became more frequently used since 2018. In 2018's opposition to the Pride parade church leaders said the LGBT agenda is a "new attempt to colonize us with certain values" ("Church decries", 2018) and saw their actions as an opposition to this agenda. In leading the march against same-sex unions in 2020 Family Faith Freedom representative Veronica Evelyn stated that "we cannot simply acquiesce to our former colonial masters because we are afraid of being blacklisted and ostracized by the world" ("Family-Faith-Freedom", 2020). Here, as in all the other instances, this resistance was intertwined with themes of transnationalism and resisting the effects and impositions of the Global North.

Transnational themes were the most common, almost doubling the mentions of colonialism and decolonization. Within this, anti-LGBTQ+ sentiments that focused on transnational aspects were the most commonly found. Narratives about the imposed hegemony, imperialism and cultural

importation from other countries led in frequency, followed by appeals to the sovereignty of the nation and allusions to "selling out". The latter was particularly interesting rhetoric deployed by Family Faith Freedom in 2020 around their resistance to marriage equality. Here they sought to strike an emotionally resonant chord by likening the government's subscription to the "global agenda" to selling "the country into neo slavery" (Henry, 2020). Another striking point, first mentioned in 2001 and 2003, and then reentering the record in 2020, was anti-queer discourse around human rights. Earlier on, the complaint was human rights being used to create a "cultural hegemony" (Quintyne, 2001), while by 2020, Veronica Evelyn argued that "sexual rights" were not human rights (Evelyn, 2020).

On other occasions appeals to transnational interests were made to support pro-LGBTQ+ stances. These included Walrond's statement that legal changes had already been made in the UK and Europe (Broome, 2004), and later calls for inclusive and legal changes in order to improve international relations ("Change, inclusion needed", 2020; Benet, 2022). Conversely, a couple of pro-LGBTQ+ pieces highlighted the negative effect of transnationalism, such as the sexualities talk aiming to combat the dominance of voices outside the region (Goodman, 2010), and the Canadian savior narrative involved in asylum cases ("Activist responds", 2019). There were also several articles that referenced the transnational impact and influence on LGBTQ+ issues in the country more generally, including concerns about aid withholding ("Not bullies", 2012), marriage equality (Jordan, 2013), and international reputation (Best, 2011; King, 2020).

5.3 Queer activism in Guyana – a fuller picture from 2001 to 2022

I now turn to Guyana's expanded history for the same period. Syncing with older records of "crossdressing", the interviews divulged that during the 1970s/80s a group of around thirty crossdressing persons of varying ethnicities would visit and sometimes stay overnight at several bars in Region Three (which is an administrative region close to the capital city). Referred to back then as transvestites or "antimen"[16], they were able to dress freely and take public transportation to these bars. This changed during the late 90s with the increased popularity of dancehall music, and increased transphobia on public transport, changing the dynamics of the

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[16] The local slur for gay men

previously Indo/Bollywood focused bars. The interviews also revealed an early transnational link whereby Artistes in Direct Support (A.I.D.S) co-founder Andre Sobryan attended one of the earlier regional meetings (possibly of CFLAG), after which the Rainbow crew arm of A.I.D.S was founded as an informal support LGBTQ+ support group, but became quiescent after a few years.

The first decade of the 2000s would be marked by a proliferation of HIV-focused organizations across the country's coast and the landmark proposed constitutional reform which would give rise to the central LGBTQ+ organization SASOD. In 2000 Colleen McEwan founded Guyana Rainbow Foundation (GuyBow,) out of revitalized Rainbow crew meetings (Rahim, 2020). For the first few years of their existence GuyBow did not widely publicize their work but did hold queer parties open to all queer community, in contrast to previous queer house parties which only invited certain social circles. This time period also saw the formation of three other HIV-focused organizations – Comforting Hearts, Family Awareness Consciousness Together (FACT) and Linden Care Foundation - that indirectly catered to the queer community in Regions Six and Ten, many miles from the capital city.

In 2001 the Constitution (Amendment) (No.5) Bill which prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation was introduced to Parliament on the recommendation of the Constitution Reform Commission (CRC) (Denny, 2001).While none of the CRC representatives of the three major religions recorded objections to the Bill (Lynch, 2001), President Jagdeo's "almost unprecedented" refusal to assent to it was a result of intense Christian lobbying of the President and other politicians, by the Guyana Council of Churches (Kissoon, 2006). By 2003 the reintroduction of the Bill dominated news. In April 2003, University of Guyana lecturer Sanjay Bavikatte, and human rights activist Vidyaratha Kissoon organized a public discussion on sexual orientation, after which several interested persons discussed the way forward. From the interviews it was revealed that these discussions showed a lack of youth voices around the issue, resulting in the formation of Students Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination (SASOD). SASOD at the time consisted of about fifteen students, almost all of whom were Guyanese, and mainly from the University of Guyana. It has been noted by both Vidyaratha Kissoon (founding member) and Joel Simpson (founder) of SASOD, that the organization "could most likely be said

to have been inspired by events in South Africa and in India" (Kissoon, 2013a) (referencing the modelling of the amendment Bill after South Africa's constitution and Bavikatte's sexual rights activism in India). From this transnational inspiration SASOD would go on to have many transboundary encounters, but for the first three years of its existence it conducted activities through volunteers and small private in-country donations only.

SASOD launched with a forum for Parliamentarians in June 2003 (Earle, 2003), inviting over fifty parliamentarians, but only three opposition members attended. They were Vincent Alexander, Lurlene Nestor and Myrna Peterkin (Simpson, 2003) – with the former two having links to the organizers through the University. The forum was poorly attended and only covered by two media houses, but SASOD continued to conduct TV appearances and lobby key politicians on the issue. However, religious lobbying was greater. Christian church coalitions released an extensive document opposing the sexual orientation clause and hinted at "evangelical obedience" (Thomas, 2003). While the Catholic church expressed support for the clause (but not same-sex marriage) ("Catholic Church", 2003), it was opposed by the Interreligious Organization (IRO) ("Religious groups", 2003), and almost all the people in a public opinion piece, where many cited a slippery slope to same-sex marriage and adoption (Earle, 2003). In July, after President Jagdeo declared most of his parliamentarians would vote against the inclusion ("Gay rights", 2003), the Bill was farcically returned to parliament with one version containing sexual orientation and the other omitting it; the omitted version was passed (Earle, 2003b; Naipaul, 2003).

At the end of 2003 the annual "Flame and Ribbon" play hosted by A.I.D.S was disrupted (as in the previous year), by four "men in drag" who heckled performers to the amusement of the audience (Alleyne, 2003). The organizers prematurely stopped the show and a *Stabroek News* editorial condemned the disruptors ("Vulgarity at NCC", 2003), but Vidyaratha Kissoon responded to the controversy in a letter by noting the long history of theatre disruption, the respectability politics at play and proposed A.I.D.S incorporate crossdressers in their next production (Kissoon, 2003). Without any further information on motivations for this incident, it points to a possible early rift in the community (discussed in the next chapter) – between the

organizations and those more visibly transgressing gender and more likely to be from lower socio-economic brackets.

Over the next four years SASOD-related events, including the inaugural film festival, led in queer-related news. By 2008 Guyana was experiencing the bloody culmination of an unparalleled crime wave dating to a 2002 prison break. Closely intertwined with the illegal narcotics trade and the formation of a state sanctioned vigilante team known as the "phantom death squad", the wave lasted until 2009 ("Prison-break", 2019). SASOD condemned two especially violent episodes (SASOD, 2008), and within this climate, homophobic dancehall music was linked to violence perpetuation, furthering activist calls to avoid bringing these artistes to Guyana. In May 2008, dancehall artistes Bounty Killer and Movado were banned from entering Guyana ("Banned", 2008), although Vidyaratha Kissoon noted that homophobic lyrics were not explicitly mentioned as the reason for banning them (Kissoon, 2008).

The 2009 arrest of seven trans women signaled increased trans representation by SASOD in the media (Simpson et al., 2009) and would eventually lead to repeal of the crossdressing law. The interviews showed that discussions during the crossdressing challenge highlighted the need for trans representation, leading to the formation of Guyana Trans United (GTU) in 2012. With the legal challenge and a new organization, the 2010s were identified by several activists in the interviews as an amplification of queer Guyanese activism. It was a period marked by legal success, enhanced visibility and new organizations, but also anti-queer violence and political stalemates.

In 2010 a key moment in the intensification of transnational relations with international human rights processes was Guyana's first appearance at the United Nations Universal Periodic Review (UPR) ("Guyana to defend", 2010). Government promised to hold consultations on the recommendations made by the UPR body related to the death penalty, corporal punishment and decriminalizing same-sex intimacy ("Public dialogue", 2012), but two years later SASOD bemoaned the absence of these consultations (Thomas, 2012). Government representative Gail Texeira responded by blaming national elections for slowing the process and berated SASOD for not doing their part in addressing the religious community and establishing communication with

her office (Thomas, 2012). Eventually a select committee was convened on the issue but reported at the 2015 UPR (where SASOD submitted a shadow report), that it was unable to complete its work before the suspension of the Assembly ("Movement on", 2015). To date, no further consultations have been tabled, but there was mention of establishing a national consultative constitutional reform process (Human Rights Council, 2020), which is yet to occur.

Returning to the timeline of events, in 2012 Occupy Georgetown/People's Parliament was launched, replicating a local version of the worldwide occupy movement by inhabiting the park opposite Parliament for several weeks (Ekine, 2012). The group aimed for citizen empowerment, dialogue and government accountability (Alleyne, 2012) but from online research, appeared not to use decolonizing language. They lasted for around a year and was reported in the interviews as having changed minds on LGBTQ+ issues. Separate from the People's Parliament, the Guyana Equality Forum (GEF), emerged out of a collaborative project between SASOD and the Equal Rights Trust in 2012 and consisted of various civil society groups addressing human rights abuses towards LGBTQ+ and other vulnerable populations.

2013 started a troubling spate of deadly violence against queer, and especially trans people in the capital city. Trans sex worker Tiffany was murdered ("Male commercial", 2013), and in spite of walks and vigils by GTU and SASOD over the next two years, justice remained elusive ("Two years after", 2015). Also in 2013 two other gay men were murdered without any arrests ("Mocha murder", 2103; "Male commercial sex", 2013), and GuyBow wrote to the newspapers calling out their irresponsible reporting of an acid attack on lesbian Sandy Jackman (Clarke, 2013). A group named Friends Across Differences (FADs), which according to its Facebook (2012) page had been in existence for ten years, solidified their organization around this same time, but appeared to go defunct a couple of years after.

In 2014 there were two groundbreaking events, GTU had a Mashramani[17] band ("Mash day", 2014) and held an exhibition on standing up to transphobia ("Stand against", 2014), but the violence continued. Four trans sex workers were the target of drive by shooting (all survived)

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[17] Mashramani (or Mash) is the celebration marking Guyana's transition to a Republic and takes the form of a street parade with floats and revellers.

("Shooters trying", 2014), and two other trans women were murdered (Smith, 2014). The former incident led to a picketing of the court by GTU and SASOD ("LGBT community pickets", 2014). SASOD also unsuccessfully called for Juan Edgehill's dismissal from the Ministry of Finance after Edgehill supported a pastor's statement that gays should live on an island by themselves ("Gay rights", 2014), paralleling B-GLAD's unsuccessful efforts with Dennis Lowe in Barbados.

In 2015 another trans sex worker was murdered, but this time the perpetrators were persecuted ("High court trial", 2016). That year was the first time the governing party changed in twenty-three years, and despite an election manifesto mentioning sexual orientation non-discrimination, new President David Granger remained non-committal on LGBT rights ("Granger non-committal", 2015). SASOD addressed this lack of political will the next year ("SASOD calls", 2016), and along with the GEF, embarked on several meetings with various minsters ("SASOD meets", 2016) and started work on amending the Employment Prevention of Discrimination Act to include SOGIESC, although the 2018 no-confidence motion in the government and its subsequent loss at the 2020 elections stalled the process ("SASOD seeks", 2016).

In 2017 there were two incidents at transnational forums. Guyana was the only Caricom country to vote against the UN SOGIE Independent Expert, citing non-specific language, but SASOD alleged the government sold its vote to curry favor with the Islamic Development Bank ("SASOD accuses", 2017). Then the Government's submission to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) acknowledged more needed to be done to prevent LGBTQ+ discrimination, with the subsequent news that decriminalization would be put to a referendum ("Government admits", 2017). After widespread denouncement of this move, the government backtracked, admitting the submission was badly assembled, and that a referendum was only an option ("Government never", 2017); SASOD stated that the government had "woefully fallen short of its obligations" and needed its ministers on the same page ("Anatomy of", 2017). Two new organizations were also launched in 2017 – the Students Society Against Human Rights Violations, inspired by the Life in Leggings movement against sexual harassment in Barbados (Marshall, 2017), and the SASOD women's arm SWAG. The former wrote letters to the newspaper and held two marches with other organizations but then lost visibility. The same

year saw local Christian evangelist Nigel London lead two marches against SASOD and same-sex intimacy decriminalization (Percival, 2017).

In the four years since then queer Guyanese activism has seen the big strides of the first official Pride parade (organized by the Guyana LGBT Coalition comprising SASOD, GuyBow and GTU), the repeal of the crossdressing law, and the formation of two new organizations – Equal Guyana and Proud to be Trans. There have also been other steps, like at least eleven newspaper profiles of trans, gay, lesbian, and sexually fluid Guyanese people; the first ever human rights townhall held by SASOD and the Guyana Press Association where seven political parties discussed their views on LGBTQ+ rights ("Politicians discuss", 2020); the launch of a LGBTQ+ short film festival helmed by local filmmakers and featuring a local queer film ("Local short film", 2022); and the signing of a memorandum of understanding between the LGBTQ+ coalition and Visit Rupununi pledging that tourism into the country's interior would be a safe space for LGBTQ+ persons ("Rupununi being", 2022). These can be juxtaposed with more negative news, such as the burning of GTU's Executive Director's house ("Activist sees house", 2020) and the physical assault of activist Joel Simpson ("Wanted man", 2019).

Turning to how colonialism/coloniality, decolonization/decoloniality and transnationalism has been represented in the Guyanese newspapers, colonialism was mentioned back in 2003 (Elijah, 2003) and at consistent intervals since. Not only were the buggery laws connected to a colonial legacy, but also the cross-dressing law (Simpson et al., 2009), laws supporting flogging and corporal punishment (SASOD, 2008), and the vagrancy laws ("SASOD bashes", 2019). Transphobic and homophobic violence, as well as the broader "colonial shackles of violence and abuse" were acknowledged in two separate SASOD releases (SASOD, 2009; Simpson, 2013).

A SASOD 2013 release for International Human Rights Day was also the sole explicit mention of decolonization and coloniality apart from the decolonizing calls of legal repeals. In it, they stated that independence may have been achieved, but the "process of decolonization is far from complete" (Simpson, 2013b). In 2011 and 2022 British High Commissioners Simon Bond and Jane Miller acknowledged their country's role in importing these laws, but stopped short of apologizing for it ("British diplomat", 2011; "Guyana Pride festival", 2022). Unlike Barbados,

there was only one instance where the religious lobby coopted decolonization. This was in a 2010 IRO denouncement of the SASOD film festival, where Juan Edgehill, referencing Guyana's sovereignty, stated that the "foisting" of Western lifestyles and thinking is "allowing a new form of colonialism" ("Religious groups", 2010).

The theme of transnationalism was slightly more prevalent. Given SASOD's and the government's prominent engagement with international rights mechanisms, these contributed to several references but there were also others. Unlike Barbadian newspapers, the most common use of transnationalism was references by SASOD and other pro-LGBTQ+ individuals to legal changes, issues, and research from other countries. SASOD in particular referred to South Africa several times over the years. On several occasions the argument about how Guyana would be perceived by other "more progressive" countries and how this would hamper relations was advanced. Fewer articles exploiting a transnational angle for anti-queer opposition were found compared to Barbados. Amongst the few however, there were familiar strains of cultural imposition, being under "siege" from Western powers and the pushing of an agenda.

The preceding sections gave a deeper curated look at queer history in both countries, offering opportunities for comparison and contrast in relation to colonialism/coloniality, decolonization/decoloniality and transnationalism, especially through the archival lens. They also contextualized analytical points for later dissection. The surface of queer history prior to the 21st century was scratched, pointing to rich stories beyond the scope of this research. Further, anti-queer violence was threaded throughout the histories of both countries but there was a marked difference in its character – Guyana saw several murders, especially of trans people, while none were recorded for Barbados. This finding is bracketed by the recognition that the archive is selective and potentially erasing (further discussed in Section 5.6), but within this caveat, it can be asserted that more extreme forms of violence occurred in Guyana.

During the early 2000s there were similar trajectories of groundbreaking organizational formations and events, queer visibility and progressive political moves. These early political advances occurred around the same time (Mottley's decriminalization suggestion and the Walrond report in Barbados in 2003 and the 2001/2003 constitutional amendment in Guyana)

and were both discarded due to religious backlash. However, Barbados went on to institute other progressive legislation and policies within the next twenty years, while Guyana experienced political inertia on LGBTQ+ issues. This difference is further interrogated below in Section 5.7 on political climates. There was also a common narrative of the 2010s ushering in more visibility, newer organizations, and increasing transnational engagements. While newspaper transnational themes were more common in Barbados, Guyana engaged more with international human rights mechanisms, which is further dissected in Section 5.5 below. During this period anti-LGBTQ+ lobbying coalesced in Barbados with Family, Faith, Freedom and other religious groups, while it remained less publicly cohesive in Guyana, typified by more occasional individual demonstrations from people such as Nigel London.

In Guyana newspaper mentions of colonialism were consistently common throughout the years compared to Barbados, and the linkage was made between colonialism and other oppressions (cross-dressing law, corporal punishment, trans/homophobic violence and the vagrancy laws) compared to only the buggery laws in Barbados. Decolonization, while being scantily raised in both countries, was slightly more common in Barbados, and interestingly, more widely coopted by the anti-queer religious lobby in that country.

The next section now zooms in on a microcosm within the larger histories, probing some of the internal dynamics during the early years (2001 to 2010) of movement formalization by using two of the older organizations for illustrative purposes.

5.4 Examining the early organizational years: 2001 to 2010

5.4.1 Early framings and transnational engagements

Barbados

On the MSM No Political Agenda page (2003), under the heading "what does UGLAAB do?" were the statements[18]:

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[18] All capitalized and bolded words are as in the original statement

"UGLAAB is an organization of men and women coming together to tackle the HIV/AIDS epidemic not only for the **GAY COMMUNITY** but also for all sexually active persons. The organization deals with issues pertaining to the GAY COMMUNITY and others, giving help to those in need - be it physical, mental or financial. We educate, care and support those in the **GAY COMMUNITY** as well as become actively involved in projects as well as implement new ones, thus proving to society and the nation as a whole that we, the members of **UGLAAB (UNITED GAYS AND LESBIANS AGAINST AIDS BARBADOS)** are an organization ready to work towards a better community, and a healthy nation for one and all."

Here there are a few points to unpack: UGLAAB's explicit wording around gay and lesbian, its framing around HIV and the "gay community", and the absence of any mention of human rights.

UGLAAB's decision to focus on gays and lesbians in its acronym as well as stated purpose is an interesting one. While it was not until the late 1990s and early 2000s that organizations began widely incorporating bisexual and transgender into their names (The Skimm, 2022), it was not an unknown before this. C-FLAG (the Caribbean Forum for Lesbians, All-sexuals and Gays) and J-FLAG (Jamaica Jamaican Forum of Lesbians, All-sexuals and Gays) were formed in 1997 and 1998 respectively and sought to include other sexualities in their names. The term All-sexual was defined as "everyone included in the non-heterosexual continuum who defy labels" (LaFont, 2001) and further refined to mean "all other human consensual sexualities" by a C-FLAG representative in the SASOD Yahoo Group in 2008. The origin of the term is obscure, but might be connected to the French word 'allo-sexuel'[19], translating to an approximation of "queer" (Usito, n.d.). Additionally, the BGLAD of the early 2000s also included an explicit inclusion of bisexuals (BGLAD, 2003).

The omission of other sexualities in naming the organization and the emphasis on "gay community" in the statement above leads to a suspicion that UGLAAB subscribed to more binary conceptualizations of sexuality. This was admittedly common at the time, and evidenced in SASOD's Yahoo Group, even as SASOD aspired to more inclusivity in naming. The exclusion of gender identity was also common at the time but possibly had another dimension. David

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[19] As indicated to me by Anthony Lewis in the Cariflags Facebook Group

Murray (2012) noted that gender and sexuality were deeply entangled (p.76) in Barbados during this time period, and illustrated this using Darcy Dear and Didi Winston who were variably identified both as queens and as gay in news and discourses. Then, gender-nonnormative queens were the more visible representations of the gay community (Murray, 2012, p.66). Dear likely identified as a woman and Winston has become one of the most well-known trans women in the country (QUEAR, 2021b). This leads to the extrapolation that UGLAAB likely thought gender diversity was included in their conceptualization of the "gay community", as queens were implicitly included, and indeed led, the organization.

UGLAAB's framing predominantly concentrated on HIV. Along with the support, education and awareness they lent to the condition, they were also involved in political advocacy around it. One incident, related by several activists in the interviews, concerns how UGLAAB President Didi Winston waited outside Prime Minister Owen Arthur's office for over a day to let him know that HIV medications were being held up at the port for "mysterious reasons" and to spur him into releasing them.

Human rights were not mentioned on the organization's profile on MSM No Political Agenda (2003), its objectives outlined in the newspaper ("Gays outline", 2001) or in any articles on the organization for its first ten years. In fact, it appears that along with an HIV framing, they used an assimilatory framing of "sameness". This is based on statements like "proving to society and the nation as a whole that we… are an organization ready to work towards a better community, and a healthy nation for one and all" (MSM NPA, 2003) and Didi Winston's comment on educating people about the gay lifestyle: "let people know that we live in the same way as they do" ("Gays outline", 2001). But this does not necessarily mean that the organization or its members did not use human rights, whether in public reports I was unable to access or in private. Murray (2012) related an incident that lends credence to this speculation: in a 2004 UGLAAB meeting a member declared that after multiple episodes of mistreatment he walked around with a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to show that he was "equal and deserved to be treated with dignity and respect" (p.39). Below I also note how the organization eventually got involved with the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) and OAS systems in a limited way. As Chapter Six will show, the activists in Barbados have a more

equivocal relation to human rights and its framing use compared to Guyana. It appears that this position has a legacy which reaches back to the early days of movement formalization.

It was difficult to generate a comprehensive assessment of the transnational relations UGLAAB pursued in its early days. Nevertheless, Global North-based transnational funders played a significant role, and one of the earliest of these was the World Bank. UGLAAB was established in February 2001 (it was launched in December of that year), and by June 2001 Barbados was the first Caribbean country to benefit from a regional World Bank prevention and control of HIV project worth US 155 million (Murray, 2022, p.354). Within the next decade, along with funding from the Barbados Government through the Ministry of Health, UGLAAB would have received funding from transnational organizations like this World Bank project, the USAID funded Caribbean HIV/AIDS Alliance (CHAA), and the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO) (Caribbean HIV/AIDS Alliance, n.d.; Murray, 2022).

Later on UGLAAB attended the 2009 CHOGM in Trinidad and Tobago, signing the statement issued by the Commonwealth People's Forum, and the next year they helped develop the report "The unnatural connexion" (2010) submitted by activists within Caricom to the Inter-American Human Rights System regional meeting. MOVADAC (formed by Patsy Grannum who also worked with UGLAAB), also contributed to said report and attended the regional meeting. It is noteworthy that within the period 2001 to 2010, neither of these two organizations appeared to reach the breadth of SASOD's transnational engagement during the same period, both with rights mechanisms as well as funders. Contributory factors could have included having a narrower HIV focus, being more internally oriented and focused on the queer community within Barbados, having less access to the transnational networking afforded to the more academic, middle-class members of SASOD, and less visibility within the online space.

Overall, UGLAAB was an organization with a keen focus on addressing the HIV crisis in the gay community (especially in men and gender diverse persons) in Barbados, and framed its work predominantly within this ambit, along with some assimilatory aspirations. This inner focus saw little transnational engagement and mainly self-funding with government support and selected larger HIV-specific transnational funding sources.

Guyana

The online SASOD Yahoo Group introduction stated that the

> "group was created by the Students Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination in
> Guyana (SASOD Guyana) for the sole purpose of informative exchanges, to promote
> better understanding of sexual orientation, in the developing, South American country of
> Guyana."

This was followed by "Help better Guyana's laws to protect Human Rights and Dignity for all Guyanese" in quotation marks. Noteworthy points here include the Group's formation before the name change to "Society"; the focus on sexual orientation without the inclusion of gender identity or expression; and how legal protection for "all" Guyanese was subsequently narrowed to LGBT people as described in the organization's current Facebook page introduction (SASOD, n.d.).

Waites (2009) pointed out that the terms sexual orientation and gender identity installed a Western distinction between sexuality and gender, reconfiguring the heterosexual matrix, rather than eliminating it, but could also promise flexibility, as with the 2006 UK Equality Act that included a definition of sexual orientation as attraction to "both sexes". Saiz (2005, p.5) also noted that sexual orientation is one component of human sexuality, and reframing rights claiming within broader terms could counteract certain challenges. It's likely however that SASOD's naming and emphasis on sexual orientation lies in its reason for being – advocacy around including the sexual orientation clause in the constitutional amendment. With only approximately three months between SASOD's launch and the presentation of the Bill before parliament, they likely went with a name speaking directly to their immediate purpose – students being against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. As the contentious term in the bill, using similar terminology in their naming was logical. In renaming from "students" to "society", the acronym with which they had achieved some level of awareness remained intact, explaining the non-incorporation of gender identity within it, but still leaves questions around SASOD's early non-advocacy around gender identity. At that time, even within the transnational human rights arena, use of gender identity was fledgling (Waites, 2009). It may have been expeditious, given time constraints, to simply lobby for the Bill to be passed with sexual orientation rather than introduce

a new term. Additionally, given nascent understandings of Global North theories around gender and sexuality among the members (as discussed below), and flagging Waites' (2009) point about separating sexuality and gender in non-Global North settings, the students could likely have thought that persons who "cross-dressed" were covered under the sexual orientation rubric. The change from "all Guyanese" to a later narrower focus on LGBT persons can be explained by the fact that during the parliamentary forum Joel Simpson emphasized that the clause would also protect heterosexuals on the basis of *their* sexual orientation.

That SASOD wielded a human rights framing from the inception is apparent from the Yahoo Group introduction and its entrenchment in their "3H" agenda in 2007. From press releases/statements, letters to the newspapers during 2003 to 2008, and analysis of the Yahoo Group, the most common framings in the early years were of human rights and anti-discrimination, followed by anti-violence and freedom claiming. The latter frame was almost always twinned with international and legal articles like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), while anti-violence was often implicit in the noting of the violent toll of discrimination. Dignity, privacy, and equality were infrequently mentioned, but decolonization was never used as a framing during this period.

Prioritizing a human rights framing is unsurprising, as founder Joel Simpson revealed it was his academic interest in human rights during Guyanese law school that prompted his attendance at the first 2003 public discussion (Campbell, 2014). From the recordings of the speeches at the 2003 parliamentary forum, this focus was also evident. Two law students spoke at the forum, referencing Global North scholars such as James Willet, Michel Foucault, and Patrick Devlin, along with some from the Global South such as Arvind Narrain and Nelson Mandela. But apart from citing the South African constitution, rights were presented in relation to the United Nations Human Rights Commission or within the "internationalization of rights". The international precedence set by Toonen v. Australia (1994) was cited without mentioning that Bahamas, by only referencing national constitutional law, had also repealed its sodomy laws prior to 1994 (Lennox and Waites, 2013). Vidyaratha Kissoon's forum presentation was grounded in a local survey and referenced several Global South figures, especially from India, but also did not reference local/regional scholars or examples of rights claiming. Colonialism or decolonization

was never mentioned in the presentations. Two years later, two of SASOD's earliest events also centered around International Human Rights Day and included the public distribution of posters and pamphlets on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (even though the declaration does not explicitly mention sexuality).

SASOD was not alone in being enmeshed within a Global North matrix. Puar (2009) (equating human rights with the neoliberal project, as is sometimes dismissively done (Waites, 2019, p.8-9)), had already commented a few years prior that queer Trinidadian activists were "fully embedded in normative neoliberal gay and lesbian human rights discourses" (p.3) and the country was not the example she had hoped to employ against hegemonic global discourse.

Merry and Levitt (2017), in speaking about women's rights, described the process of human rights vernacularization as the translation of international practices and ideas into locally resonant contexts. Organizations like SASOD play a crucial role in this translation, resulting in vernacularization that lies on a continuum between replication, where the importation remains mostly unchanged, and hybridization, where the importation is merged with local symbols and institutions (Merry, 2006). Analyzing the early language and framing used by SASOD during 2003, vernacularization laid on the replication end of the spectrum, with a strong appeal to follow emerging norms from transnational human rights bodies. After attending various regional and international conferences, by 2008 the vernacularization needle had shifted more towards hybridization. Although there were still frequent references to international and regional rights, these were often linked to local contexts, such as the widespread societal violence, and with a more intersectional appeal to a common humanity and to other vulnerable groups. The 2008 statement for International Human Rights Day gives a good example:

> "These progressive developments at the regional level have taken place against a backdrop of human rights violations escalating in our own country…while wanton violence, triggered by socio-economic conditions, threatens every citizen's security; among other abuses. Even in a local context of such widespread violence, we, as a nation, still have not learnt that until all of us are protected, none of us are. …When will we liberate our country from that destructive ethos of our colonial past?"

Notably, this statement implies detachment between human rights and the colonial past, which is not necessarily accurate (and explored further in Section 5.5). However, Merry and Levitt (2017) pointed to funding as an important factor in determining the extent to which human rights is taken up and vernacularized by an organization. Since SASOD was unfunded for the first three years and still employed human rights language and framing from the start, this shows the likely influence of education/academia and transnational networking (from attending events like the OAS General Assembly) in this choice.

Another important early transnational connection was the SASOD film festival. The conceptualization of the festival has been falsely attributed to me (Campbell, 2014, p.176) but the Group archives showed the suggestion occurred in June 2005 and in August I then suggested a list of movies that could be borrowed from a local video store. Launched three short months from its first mention, it served as a flashpoint in the group's visibility and continued work (Campbell, 2014).

In 2006 it was held in June, which is internationally celebrated as Pride month, and signaled a desire for transnational synchronicity. Group postings confirmed this marked the first time Pride was officially recognized in Guyana. At the first festival the films were mostly from the Global North, although there were a few Caribbean and an Indian inclusion. Kissoon noted that Caribbean films were of particular interest (Taylor, 2008), and as the festival continued it was able to showcase more of these, along with locally created Guyanese films and films from elsewhere in the Global South. Rowley (2013) pointed out that the festival captured the field by carving out queer space within Guyanese culture while maintaining a transnational bond to the transnational film circuit. Started as a "whimsical" challenge to provide educational entertainment (Taylor, 2008), the festival turned out to be a non-threatening gateway with extensive reach. This was evidenced by its long run (only 2022), and how IRO condemnation in 2010 was challenged by several newspaper columnists and editors who noticed its value.

From 2006 to 2008 SASOD was represented at several prominent international conferences, including the OAS General Assembly, UN Commission on Human Rights, and UN General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS). There was contact with and/or support from transnational

organizations like the Latin American branch of the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA), Amnesty International, UNAIDS, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice and even His Way Out ministries (an ex-gay organization from the US). These engagements were not always tension-free. For example, in 2007 when it was suggested that local groups should call for an apology from homophobic singers, a Yahoo Group member replied that apologies were not a local priority, but an imposition of the international activist agenda. Then in 2008 there were concerns about local activists being linked to the UK NGO OUTrage's call for riots at the concerts of homophobic artistes[20], which was something not necessarily supported by those in the Group. Similar disagreements were seen in 2008 discussions about boycotting Jamaica following increasing reports of mob homophobic violence.

Patchy reporting of SASOD's activities within the Yahoo Group made a definitive tracing of transnational engagements challenging. But Group analysis showed that while news from outside the Caribbean increased exponentially in the latter three years, this was always equal to, or outmatched by local/regional news shares. Notably, Jamaica relevant shares also shot up in the last two years. This indicated that even as transnational engagements increased, it did not come at the expense of local and regional attention.

Overall, SASOD can be traced as a hastily formed organization with a single-minded objective. This, along with the backgrounds of its members, influenced the predominant framings of human rights and non-discrimination. The organization had international rights as a touchstone from the beginning, and increased its exposure to these mechanisms, transnational organizations and networks over the early years. This resulted in a continuation of the main framings but also allowed for some hybridity in vernacularization as the organization evolved away from its original objective. During this period the conversation around colonialism also evolved from being nearly indiscernible to occasional mentions and references to enduring coloniality, although that specific term was not used.

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[20] This call was not found on OUTRage's archival websites nor anywhere online, but a post from OUTRage in the Group indicated that there was indeed a press release with the headline "Gays want riots to stop concert"

5.4.2 Intersections and networking

Barbados

Networking is a feature of collective action that is further explored in the next chapter, but here I focus on some of the details of early organizational networking. There was not much information on UGLAAB (or MOVADAC) networks during the decade after 2001. However, apart from the transnational engagements previously detailed, there was some regional networking. An early partner was MSM No Political Agenda in Trinidad and Tobago, with UGLAAB being profiled for the 2003 Pride celebrations there. They also collaborated with the Trinidad and Tobago Pride Committee that same year to give a talk on HIV treatment and community mobilization in Barbados (MSM No Political Agenda, 2003). In February 2008 there were two instances of regional connections that emerged from the Yahoo Group. The first was a wreath-laying outside the Jamaican consulate in Barbados to commemorate the violence against LGBTQ+ Jamaicans. This was done by representatives from Egale Canada, SASOD (myself) and UGLAAB. A few days later there was the inaugural "Caribbean Sexualities in Conversation: Rights and Regulation in the Anglo-Caribbean" workshop held at UWI. Here researchers and activists from seven countries (including myself), discussed various sexual rights issues in the region, but strangely, while UGLAAB representatives were "lunch guests" of the workshop, they were not listed as workshop participants. I was unable to recall, or ascertain from the interviews, why this was the case, and can only posit it might have been related to UGLAAB's focus on HIV (although HIV was a topic in the workshop and the wreath laying showed UGLAAB's interest in other types of advocacy), unavailability of representatives, or the academic nature of the discussions.

In Barbados, UGLAAB collaborated with other HIV support organizations, especially Comfort, Assist, Reach-out, Educate (C.A.R.E) Barbados, which was an organization catering to persons living with HIV started in 1993. The paucity of networking outside of HIV issues, and even within it, can be explained by the finding that other organizations were not always keen to associate with UGLAAB due to its positioning as a "gay organization" (Caribbean HIV/AIDS Alliance, n.d.).

In 2010 UGLAAB formed a youth arm, which pastors opposed (Dottin, 2010). Unfortunately, I was unable to determine how long this arm lasted. One area UGLAAB had a long-standing interest in was pageantry and talent shows. In December 2001 one of the earliest fundraising activities the organization undertook was the "Ms Ma Dear Show" at Queens Park, showcasing talented divas ("Gays outline", 2001). By 2010 they were hosting a Miss Galaxy diva pageant, but when a participant died during the competition the next year (Tudor, 2011), that pageant was apparently cancelled. Like SASOD, whose activities were determined to some extent by the interests and class biases of its leadership (film festivals, poetry readings etc.), UGLAAB's activities were also influenced by the interests of its leaders. In this case, pageantry and performing being a particular interest of leaders such as Didi Winston, who was a well-established performer.

UGLAAB's networking was therefore limited in scope. The stigma of being a gay organization likely hampered more extensive in-country collaborations, but it is also possible that the organization prioritized more non-academic linkages out of country. There did not appear to be much efforts to intersect with other human rights, civic issues or religion.

Guyana

Early SASOD in-person meetings were held at the Help and Shelter (a local NGO) office. Over time meetings and events were held at other NGO offices, cafes, clubs, restaurants and private residences around Georgetown and in Region Three. The availability of several, sometimes publicly high-profile, venues during this period was indicative of some level of support and networking within the private and civil society sectors. The print media was also supportive in carrying SASOD press releases and stories from early on, while more frequent television coverage caught up later.

Other early notable partnerships were with two other NGOs – GuyBow and the Guyana Human Rights Association (GHRA), with the Yahoo Group demonstrating close collaborations, especially in relation to the former. This close partnership continued for years, but based on social media postings, started waning over time. The early partnership reflected utilization of

GuyBow's pre-existing networks in Georgetown and beyond, while SASOD was still very much Georgetown centered. Partnerships with the GHRA reflected SASOD's human rights framing but were less prolific and limited mostly to sharing or co-signing statements, and attending GHRA events. A search of SASOD's social media platforms revealed no mention of the GHRA however, indicating that collaborations fell off after 2008 due to issues with the leadership of GHRA and their focus on issues other than LGBTQ+ rights. From 2005 onwards evidence of local networking with other organizations such as Guyana Responsible Parenthood Association (GRPA), Red Thread and the National AIDS Commission steadily increased, along with membership in the Guyana Sex Workers Coalition. Regional networking also increased over this time and was especially focused on Jamaica, although links were also made with Suriname, Barbados and Trinidad.

From 2006 onwards SASOD also started being more intersectional in their activities, tackling issues apart from LGBTQ+ human rights. In the reverse of the Caribbean activism trend from HIV to human rights, HIV became more prominent in discussions over the latter years. The organization received its first major funding in January 2007 from the government of Guyana to develop Spectrum Heath Net for HIV education. Ironically, this meant the first funder was also the one the organization had essentially been formed to lobby – the government of Guyana, a point that did not escape Vidyaratha Kissoon's notice (2013a).

A significant intersection was related to religion, with a 2007 visit to Jamaica's Sunshine Cathedral in collaboration with JFLAG, and a series of spirituality initiatives during 2008 in collaboration with GuyBow and Surinamese activists. Religion/spirituality based activities probably have the longest running thread of continuity within SASOD, as the very first in-person discussion held when the organization regrouped in 2005 was titled "Reconciling spirituality and sexuality". Early discussions centered religions imposed and imported by colonialism, such as Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Atheism was also included in some discussions but Indigenous religions, those practiced by some enslaved and indentured ancestors, and those formulated within the region, such as Obeah, Voudon and Rastafarianism, did not appear to have space. After the collaboration with Jamaica's Sunshine Cathedral the focus in spirituality affirmed and centered Christianity, but at some point returned to a slightly more diverse perspective, as in

recent years every Pride month has also included Inter-faith sessions for the predominant religions in Guyana. From 2006 SASOD also addressed other intersecting issues like corporal punishment of children, violence against women, sex work, promoting peace, taxation, and government elections.

During this early period even as SASOD strengthened its transnational ties, it simultaneously intensified local and regional networking. It also started expanding its scope, some aspects of which were criticized by members (for example taxation), while others (for example sex work) were generally supported. In attending to these budding explorations the group both reinforced colonial inflictions, such as in their attention to Christianity and started pushing back against them, as in the case of highlighting the colonial legacy of corporal punishment.

5.4.3 Comparing the early organizational years

The previous two sub-sections more closely interrogated how early organizations in both countries attended to the themes of colonialism/coloniality, decolonization/decoloniality and transnationalism while performing collective action. This examination revealed several key differences which have to be placed within the organizational milieu of that period. From 2001 to 2010 there were already seven organizations catering to LGBTQ+ persons in Guyana. Three in the capital city, and two concentrated solely on LGBTQ+ issues, while the others enfolded the queer population within an HIV focus. SASOD splashed onto the scene in a very public way with the 2003 constitutional reform and after the inaugural 2005 film festival maintained a very high profile in the local media and with its advocacy. In contrast, during this period Barbados only had two organizations – both of which were HIV focused while also trying to address LGBTQ+ issues.

In comparing the two most prominent LGBTQ+ serving organizations of the time, transnational engagements were a central departure point. UGLAAB with its community/HIV focus and framing, had less transnational and regional connections compared to SASOD. Conversely, SASOD's human rights framing, with its appeal to international mechanisms, likely facilitated its transnational associations, which markedly increased from 2006. These transnational linkages

and networking did not occur at the expense of local and regional networking, which also outpaced UGLAAB's. The latter's networking efforts were limited, likely hampered in country by the stigma of being a gay organization, and more broadly by its HIV focus.

SASOD's scope of work also expanded more widely compared to UGLAAB. Their advocacy consistently framed in relation to human rights, to HIV, homophobic music, trans issues (with the cross dressing challenge), intersectional issues, and sex work, while UGLAAB did not appear to attempt much intersection with other human rights, civic issues or religion. This can be attributed to early backlash from bold steps (like 2003 Pride activities) leading to a contraction in efforts and scopes, the centrality of HIV, and the demographic makeup of the organization. UGLAAB attracted and primarily served lower income persons and therefore prioritized its main mission of community support. In Guyana, the middle-class, higher levels of formal education within SASOD's leadership and predominant membership enabled more wide-ranging scope of activities.

During this period SASOD's conversation around colonialism expanded to its wide-ranging effects although they still appeared to be limited in conceptualizing decolonizing in relation to decriminalizing, and human rights as a solely positive framework delinked from colonial connections. UGLAAB's discourse on colonialism/coloniality appeared to be even more constrained, limited to rare mentions of the colonial origins of the buggery law and the attendant decolonization of its removal.

Against the preceding historical backgrounds and thematic considerations, I now proceed to draw out the comparative historical sociology of the movement paths, placing them in conversation with colonialism/coloniality and transnationalism. The next section also envelopes the early activist decade of 2001 to 2010, but extends the temporality with interview findings in order to comparatively analyze the movement arcs in each country. This is done without delving into the granularity of movement specifics, which is presented in Chapter Six.

5.5 From HIV to human rights – a comparison of trajectories

In both Barbados and Guyana queer activism occurred outside of organizations for decades, before the arrival of the first organizations in 2000/1 and 1992 respectively. Technically Barbados had the first LGBTQ+ rights-focused organization with BGLAD in 2000, and SASOD arriving shortly after in 2003. But given BGLAD's short duration and seemingly diasporic nature, the trend in both countries can still be characterized as early HIV-focused organizations that incorporated varying levels of attention to the queer community – UGLAAB and MOVADAC in Barbados; A.I.D.S, FACT, GuyBow, Comforting hearts and Linden Care Foundation in Guyana. The larger number of organizations in Guyana is explained by three organizations that were needed to serve geographic areas outside the capital's environs.

In a significant framing change, roughly a decade would pass in each country from the first organization to explicitly rights-based ones executing on-the-ground activities (like B-GLAD and SASOD). These organizations were both formed by university students after a rights-based panel and initially catered to students before expanding their memberships. They differed in that SASOD was originally mono-issue, while B-GLAD focused on general advocacy and was led by two queer cis women. From the 2010s the arc in both countries has been one of diversification, amplification and increasing visibility. Organizations catering specifically to LBQ women and trans populations emerged outside of the HIV paradigm centering men who have sex with men, and organizations mainly led by and focused on queer cis men. In another congruence, the two main trans-focused organizations in both countries emerged from cis men-led LGBTQ+ ones – Butterfly from Equals Inc. and to a lesser degree and more indirectly, GTU from SASOD. These newer organizations have either entirely eschewed HIV work (example Butterfly, SHE, TAAB and Equal Guyana) or incorporated it alongside other rights-based and intersectional work.

Western medicine during colonialism helped to marginalize Indigenous medicine, cement European superiority, and organize racial hierarchies justifying subjugations (Martin-Tuite, 2011). During colonial occupations health care primarily promoted colonizer self-interest, by maintaining a labor force and quelling resistance (Amster, 2022). The history of HIV is similarly intertwined with colonialism. The infection's initial spread was likely enabled by socioeconomic

and political changes from European colonialism in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that allowed a localized infection to become global (Giles-Vernick et al., 2013). The handling of the disease has played into colonial stereotypes about African (and Haitian) hypersexuality and promiscuity, enforced the dominance of Western medical paradigms, and suffered from the colonial reinforcement of homophobic attitudes which continues to stymy some public health responses (Altman, 1998; Nyatsanza & Wood, 2017). Because a pandemic is inherently transnational, this aspect also comes into play. The disease links Global South and North, and is facilitated through transboundary sex, drug trade and neoliberalist policies that foster poverty, poor health care and dislocation (Altman, 1998). Seckinelgin (2009) has also argued that the contemporary HIV/AIDS transnational policy "culture" reinscribes patterns of colonial administration by only considering lives from a productivity and reproductivity lens while furthering power imbalances.

Activists in both countries acknowledged the early necessity for HIV work since it was the overriding issue of the time, but later on, involvement in HIV was debated by those who wanted to avoid duplication or the continued association of LGBTQ+ people with a disease. In one case, the decision to address HIV resulted from acknowledging that soaring infection rates could soon mean the absence of a community to even advocate for. Funding for HIV work, often from large transnational donors, has been a form of resource mobilization for many organizations. More recently, as organizations exclude HIV altogether, at least one activist has stated this is due to negative donor experiences in the past. Another bemoaned this severance, seeing the linking of LGBTQ+ rights to the more well-established issue of, and resources available for, HIV as advantageous.

Although no interviewees mentioned escaping the colonial narrative attached to HIV, they have found ways to subvert this narrative. Both SASOD and B-GLAD subverted the arc of HIV-focused organizations that did some LGBTQ+ work. Even though both also paid some attention to HIV (SASOD more so than B-GLAD), they prioritized non-HIV work. Ghosh (2015), drawing on a term coined by Jane Ward, conceptualized "respectably queer" organizations in India as professionalized ones conforming to "diversity politics of non-profit business and donors and at the same time challenging heteronormative and/or other dominant cultural and

institutional forces" (p.65). SASOD's and Equals Inc.'s work with HIV while simultaneously launching legal challenges and conducting/supporting trainings and lobbies that challenge the dominant heteronormativity places them as similarly respectably queer organizations. Ghosh (2015) links the impetus for becoming respectably queer to the pushback from strong histories and socio-cultural practices of non-homonormative queerness towards heteronormativity and imposed Western practices, but I proffer that in the case of Barbados and Guyana, it has been more an exercising of the hybridity that the region represents and negotiating the tightrope of available funding opportunities.

The problematization of human rights was explored in Chapter Three but activists in both countries, for the most part, did not share similar problematizing. Half of all the participants utilized a human rights framing in their work, led by those in Guyana. Almost half of Guyanese interviewees labelled themselves as human rights activists, while almost none in Barbados did. Similar to how Brazilian LGBT activists shifted from a public health framing to right-claiming on the basis of homophobia (Pereira, 2017), Guyanese activists have especially trod the arc from HIV to embracing human rights framing. The difference is also evidenced in the utilization of transnational rights bodies like the UN and the OAS. Both Barbados and Guyana have undergone three cycles at the UPR, with Guyana's interaction detailed above. In Barbados there were no shadow reports from LGBTQ+ organizations or activists in any cycle and these UPR engagements did not enter the media in relation to LGBTQ+ rights. Equals Inc. did submit a shadow report in 2017 to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), while SASOD and GuyBow submitted a report to the 52nd CEDAW session in 2012.

The OAS system is where the difference becomes more stark. Both countries have signed onto the Inter-American Human Rights system but only Barbados recognizes the jurisdiction of that Court. Neither have been subject to a country report, although both Barbados and Guyana were visited by the IACHR for the first time in 2019 and 2016 respectively, and both have seen petitions to the Court (only the 2018 challenge to the sexual offences act by a Barbadian activist was LGBTQ+ relevant). Barbados has only had LGBTQ+ representation within the system twice - in 2010 with MOVADAC and in 2014 with the Barbados HIV/AIDS Alliance - but SASOD has

been attending OAS general assemblies since 2008 and has done so multiple times since. SASOD has consistently been part of the OAS LGBTTTI coalition, participated in two IACHR thematic hearings, in the 2013 period of sessions (along with A.I.D.S, and FACT), and submitted a 2016 report on LBT women to the of Inter-American convention on violence against women (Convention of Belém do Pará). Guyana's more significant usage of these transnational rights bodies is likely related to SASOD's early and consistent human rights framing explored above, but also a mechanism to combat the apathy of the government (further explored below). One Guyanese activist gave an implicit example of the sandwich effect with regards to the UN system:

> "because we do not have that political will, we will be failing at the 2030 agenda…as a CSO, we must have like a chart, say where are we now, on the SDGs [Sustainable Development Goals]? We can pinpoint we have achieved 10%, 15%, 50%. So these are the things that we need to hold government accountable for because 2030 will be here and gone" (Rodney).

In Barbados there was some ambivalence around human rights framing. One interviewee commented that the relevance of fighting for rights was sometimes obscured by the community's daily fight for survival, and another said that more attention was needed on community empowerment than rights-claiming. Others did not fully understand the transnational processes and felt tokenized when attending their forums, or felt progress would depend more on an economic argument than a rights-based one.

The queer movements in Barbados and Guyana, crystallizing at a time when human rights framings had become more prevalent in LGBTQ+ Global North movements and in international law, have used their education and various regional and transnational networks to duplicate this framing as their dominant one. However, apart from SASOD's significant use of the transnational rights systems, most of the activists in either country leveraged human rights language to their purposes without engaging with the transnational systems themselves. The Secretary-General of Amnesty International (Shetty, 2018) said human rights predated the current international system as the fight of people against those in power, placing him in conversation with Baretto (2018) who argued for Western human rights theory to "be

transformed by a dialogical encounter with the voices that it has silenced, or kept at the margins" (p.494). Without endorsing the activists' human rights deployment (I critique framing choices in Chapter Six), they, as formerly colonized persons, can be seen to be combining Shetty's basic conceptualization of human rights, with the current one that references international rights systems in a way that adds to a "dialogical encounter" (Baretto, 2018).

Overall, the formalized queer movement in both countries started in response to their internal HIV crises, either predating monetary resource mobilization through large HIV-related donors (example with A.I.D.S) or on the cusp of these donors' arrival. Later, in both contexts, rights-based advocacy would emerge from university settings. This happened earlier in Guyana because of earlier political opportunity in the form of the constitutional amendment. While almost all the earlier organizations varyingly addressed and accessed HIV funding, they also sought to unsettle the colonial (and pathologizing) attachments of this narrative, to eventually result in more recent organizations with diverse agendas and other funding streams, given the evaporation of significant HIV funding. Both countries also significantly utilized human rights framings, although political and historical factors resulted in greater engagement with, and a more unequivocal acceptance of this paradigm in Guyana.

The next two sections investigate some of the underlying factors in the moderately divergent trajectories of activism in both countries, while linking these factors to colonialism and transnationalism.

5.6 Silences in small places[21] – the role of size and queer silencing in Barbados and Guyana

The archive is a formidable tool of power (Stone & Cantrell, 2015), as Derrida stated (1995), "there is no political power without control of the archive, if not memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and the access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation" (p.11). Exclusion of queer history

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[21] I acknowledge that the reference to small places has been indirectly influenced by Jamaica Kincaid's brilliant essay on the subject. (Kincaid, 1988)

from the archive serves cisheteronormativity, but is also sometimes a deliberate act of survival (Loftin, 2015; Stone & Cantrell, 2015). The newspaper archives were therefore taken as an indicator of how much queer silencing was performed in either country, as well as how successfully activists were able to enter this archive with the strategic and political opportunity structures it offered (Rohlinger & Corrigall-Brown, 2019). Tables 5.6.1 and 5.6.2 summarize the newspaper findings from Barbados and Guyana respectively, with the column labelled "unique" representing the number of articles that were not repeated by one or more news source reporting on the same event/incident.

Table 5.6.1: Summary of saved newspaper articles from Barbados

YEAR	Nation News	Advocate News	Barbados Today	Loop News Barbados	TOTAL	Unique
2001	9	5	0	0	14	13
2002	0	2	0	0	2	2
2003	7	9	0	0	16	16
2004	0	2	0	0	2	2
2005	2	5	0	0	7	7
2007	1	0	0	0	1	1
2010	3	1	0	0	4	3
2011	4	0	0	0	4	4
2012	1	0	0	0	1	1
2013	8	1	0	0	9	9
2014	12	10	0	0	22	21
2015	12	6	2	0	20	17
2016	13	2	0	0	15	15
2017	10	5	0	4	19	17
2018	15	11	0	12	38	33
2019	7	3	16	6	32	29
2020	12	8	14	5	39	36
2021	3	5	4	0	12	10
2022	2	1	12	2	17	13
TOTAL	121	76	48	29	274	249

Table 5.6.2: Summary of saved newspaper articles from Guyana

YEAR	Stabroek News	Chronicle	Kaieteur News	Guyana Times	News Room	Demerara Waves	TOTAL	Unique
2001	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
2003	29	12	0	0	0	0	41	38
2004	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
2005	3	7	0	0	0	0	10	9
2006	5	3	1	0	0	0	9	9
2007	12	2	3	0	0	0	17	17
2008	14	2	4	0	0	0	20	18
2009	9	3	8	0	0	0	20	16
2010	12	2	11	0	0	0	25	22
2011	10	4	4	0	0	0	18	18
2012	37	7	7	1	0	0	52	51
2013	24	12	6	0	0	0	42	39
2014	42	8	16	0	0	3	69	64
2015	24	15	19	0	0	0	58	55
2016	21	23	9	13	0	0	66	57
2017	31	22	6	19	0	0	78	70
2018	31	24	7	21	2	3	88	79
2019	21	15	4	10	1	0	51	43
2020	18	18	4	13	0	0	53	45
2021	14	17	7	6	2	0	46	36
2022	23	8	4	7	11	0	53	39
Total	381	205	120	90	16	6	818	733

Within search limitations, these tables show that both countries increased LGBTQ+ coverage over time, with peaks around 2018. In Barbados the *Nation News* generally outpaced the *Advocate* in coverage, with the last four years seeing significant additional reporting from the online newspapers. In Guyana, *Stabroek News* largely led coverage, although *Guyana Times* and the *Chronicle* increasingly contributed from around 2016. In contrast to Barbados, there was noticeable overlap in Guyanese coverage from 2012, often with two or more newspapers reporting the same story. This overlap would have been even greater if repeated stories from the online news sources (News Room and Demerara Waves) were saved. This increasing coverage of LGBTQ+ issues parallels the increase seen in the mainstream media of other countries since the late 1990s (Jacobs and Meeusen, 2021).

An effort to operationalize a decolonial methodology by searching for articles on Indigenous/Amerindian sexuality as well as local slurs for lesbian and gay, did not return any pertinent results in either country. I did not expect any articles to use only local slurs to report on an LGBTQ+ issue given journalistic standards, but in Guyana these slurs were sometimes included in reported quotes around crime stories without using other LGBTQ+ terminologies. This is an interesting phenomenon that can indicate greater embracing of creole language in

reporting compared to Barbados, while possibly signaling the association of local slurs with criminality. The absence of relevant Indigenous articles buttresses the argument that Indigenous persons have experienced significant erasure in queer activism as discussed in Chapter Six.

In both contexts, the papers chose to delve deeper into the lives of their queer citizens in differing ways – Guyana had many more articles on queer Guyanese persons, compared to a few in Barbados, while Barbados had several articles highlighting Barbadians in same-sex weddings, especially Barbadian women, compared to none in Guyana.

During the search I incidentally found that the *Barbados Advocate* carried very frequent articles from 2013 to 2016 on global LGBTQ+ news while scantily covering the same locally. I interpreted this as that newspaper's deliberate othering of LGBTQ+ issues and conveyance of its transnational linkages, while erasing local queer visibility. Not in My Back Yard (NIMBY) is a term that can be applied to the rejection of events and persons in a local space while not necessarily rejecting these events and persons being elsewhere (Barton & Burrier, 2020). As NIMBY is a collective action, it does not entirely fit this circumstance, but the *Advocate*'s activities over that period certainly contained elements of NIMBY-ism. This strategy of highlighting transnational LGBTQ+ events while neglecting the local did not achieve erasure, but instead might have served to normalize queer presence, as local activism would go on to increase in subsequent years.

The tables clearly show consistently higher coverage in Guyana, which from the 2010s onwards, doubled or tripled Barbados numbers. Reasons for this broadly fall under activist agency and newspaper milieu. To start, engagement with media emerged as a notable theme with Guyana interviewees while almost no activist mentioned the media in Barbados unless specifically probed. Several activists in Guyana noted they saw the value of publicity in the media and acknowledged there was much media coverage, especially of SASOD. They also revealed media challenges, like unbalanced coverage, prioritizing more sensational stories, and neglecting narratives from women. From early on some media personnel had been reluctant to voluntarily cover LGBTQ+ news, being either uncomfortable in the presence of queer persons or fearing a queer label. Similarly, queer media personnel have to navigate the sensational presentation of

their community and feeling disempowered to adequately depict said community for fear of being outed, targeted and stigmatized. Despite these challenges, *Stabroek News*, which is seen as a more independent paper, covered an annual average of eighteen LGBTQ+ stories. This is double the average of next highest average in the *Chronicle*. A content analysis (DaSilva, 2014) between 2007 and 2014 showed that *Stabroek News* also most frequently had positive frames, followed by *Chronicle*; *Kaieteur News* and *Guyana Times* had the highest negative framing. More recently a smaller scoping of articles between 2017 and 2019 found two thirds of newspaper articles were mostly good or fair or mixed (Arcus, 2019).

Along with Guyanese activists actively seeking media representation and the newspapers complying to some extent, before 2010 letters to the newspaper was another factor that contributed to queer visibility. SASOD applied this strategy from early on, as mentioned above and the newspaper archives confirmed this. That letter writing was a medium chosen in Guyana is unsurprising, as Westmaas (2010) pointed out that "letters to the editor section is an important institution of the public sphere in Guyana" and has a long history. Indeed, these letters define the topical and urgent and is so influential, that "Guyanese who fail to pen their feelings in this medium can be deemed ostriches or worse" (Westmaas, 2010). I could find no corresponding literature on the importance of this printed section in Barbadian society.

In Barbados, UGLAAB, the most active organization before 2013, did not employ a similar letter writing strategy, although occasionally members would write in a personal capacity. Similar media challenges as Guyana are likely present in Barbados, but the relationship between the media and Barbadian activists appeared more tenuous. Interviewees reported instances of organizational leaders misrepresenting the community or being unnecessarily defensive in articles, and generally activists were more selective in their media utilization. Marc noted that while the media has some utility, especially in advertising events like Pride, this is offset by the frequent negative blowback in online comment sections and the offline awakening of bigoted faith-based organizations. They stated the ensuing debate around publications is often mentally draining and has a dubious effect on influencing progress. Another interviewee spoke about the strategic non-use of the media, and Equals (QUEAR, 2021a) has mostly avoided publicity so that their constituents feel comfortable associating with the organization. The actions of these

activists have therefore contributed to the silences in the archive but in a way that serves their purpose and preserves energy. Nyanzi (2015), in contrasting the dominant Global North prioritization of speech with African cultures has cautioned against always interpreting silence as powerlessness. As in the case of the Barbadian movement, silence can be resistance and self-protection, also "speaking" with its presence (Nyanzi, 2015).

On the other hand, not all of the archival silence has resulted from activist agency. My extensive and infrequently rewarding search of the *Advocate*'s archive demonstrated how sexuality researchers often confront silences created by censorship and erasure (Wrathall, 1992). From 2013 onwards, daily editions of the *Advocate* were available online, yet compared to the sketchy online search function of the *Nation*, the latter returned consistently greater results. This reduced coverage, along with not covering the historic 2018 Pride parade, points to a deliberate pattern of queer erasure by the *Advocate*, with implications for the queer archive of the future given that it is the only Barbadian newspaper being properly and freely archived online, in the National library and at UWI. Susie Scott (2018) in considering the sociology of nothing noted how nothingness involves "not doing, not being, but also not *having* symbolic objects, whose absence leaves a void" (p.11). The frustrating absence or minimal coverage of queerness within the *Advocate* certainly felt like a hollowness during my *Advocate* search, but this "absent presence" (Scott, 2018) remains telling of what has been attempted.

Another factor which might have influenced the *Advocate*'s (and even other newspapers') decision to cover queerness is the environment within which journalism exists in Barbados. The CATO human freedom index (2021) places Guyana below Barbados for media freedom and media self-censorship, which might be due to Guyana's political history and particular political sensitivities, but I would argue these metrics are flipped in relation to coverage of other issues like sexuality or religion. Storr (2016) pointed out that press freedom in Barbados is fragile - there is no constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press (only of expression), no freedom of information legislation, stringent defamation laws and the real threat of political retaliation. They link this to the development of a culture of secrecy and self-censorship, which coupled with conservative values and homophobia, has led to difficulty covering sensitive topics like homosexuality, racism and religion (Storr, 2016). Barbados' "exceptionalism", sometimes

interpreted as arrogance, is well-known in the region (Gonsalves, 2014). But colonial influences, such as Barbados' strategic location between Europe and Abya Yala; uninterrupted British settlement with early local governing institutions; ethnic homogeneity; early education of the enslaved and political access by the formerly enslaved; and the country's smallness forcing the formerly enslaved back to plantations for assimilation of colonizer values, have played a significant part in determining the political stability and strong socioeconomic position of the country (ECLAC, 2001). I posit this strong sense of internal cohesion coupled with a small space has also contributed to elusive anonymity and the culture of self-censorship Storr (2016) references.

While size and space has received sociological attention, because as Urry (1996) stated, "space makes a clear difference to the degree to which…the causal powers of social entities (such as class, the state, capitalist relations, patriarchy) are realized" (p.379), their role in social movements is underexplored in the literature. In this research, size/space were significant themes in interviews from both countries. Size and numbers were mentioned by fifteen interviewees, mostly from Barbados, but also by five from Guyana. The smallness of the activist community was stated by several persons in both countries and even though the internet has made connection easier, size was still consequential. In both contexts interviewees noted that "strength in numbers" was limited, in turn affecting the level of support garnered and the application of political pressure; in Barbados the movement was described by one activist as "small and fragile". Transgender activism, especially in Barbados, has suffered in comparison to the Global North where there are comparatively many more trans persons. The size of the activist community and geographical space has constrained activist strategies (which is further explored in the next chapter), most significantly resulting in ones that utilize more diplomatic, less radical methods, and focus on safety within a space where persons are easily identified and known. One activist noted that smallness was advantageous to internal networking in Barbados, but others said that in both contexts, smallness translated to a resource-scarce mentality affecting inter-organizational collaborations, also affecting funding prospects, as the numerical outcomes of a project are unattractive to donors.

Guyana is exponentially larger geographically compared to Barbados, but queer activism is still mostly concentrated around the capital city. For practical reasons the very size of the country, with its underdeveloped transportation infrastructure, presents a logistical bias that favors the capital and the coast. As one interviewee noted, Guyana is as well, a "small state". The roots of this relative smallness lies in colonialism. As explained in Chapter Two, Dutch colonizers initiated coastal living, which by the 1940s had deplorable standards with high mortality and low births rates (Jagan, 1966). Post-independence, transnational economic retaliations and poor governance by the US/UK installed President Burnham resulted in unemployment rates of 30% and pronounced increases in infant and maternal mortality in the 1980s (Hintzen, 2019). Coupled with significant emigration, these entangled colonial and transnational elements resulted in Guyana being a small state with one of the lowest population densities in the world, despite a geographic area roughly the size of the UK.

This section explored how colonialism, and to an extent transnationalism, helped determine some of the underlying factors that influence queer activism in either country. Barbados' small size is an inevitable result of geography, but colonial influences that shaped a self-censoring media culture have contributed to silencing queerness in some quarters. Guyana's position as a small state was also molded by colonial and transnational considerations that have placed it in a similar position to Barbados, where activists are mostly disadvantaged by their small size and unable to leverage the economies of scale available to larger populations. On the other hand, colonial conditions that led to differing political environments in the two countries have resulted in a Guyanese media that generally felt more comfortable covering queerness and that has been more utilized by activists in that country. The following section delves further into these different political contexts.

5.7 The political climates and their colonial origins

"The modern Caribbean economy was invented, structured and managed by European states for one purpose: to achieve maximum wealth extraction to fuel and sustain their national, commercial and industrial transformation" (Beckles, 2021, p.9). While true, the exact contours of this management varied by colonial power and by state. Guyana was three separate colonies

treated as Dutch trading outposts and unsuitable for substantive colonizer settlement, before being passed to the British who continued its infrastructural underdevelopment (Dacosta, 2007). Barbados, in contrast, due to its early local representative government, uninterrupted British colonization and comparatively substantial colonizer settlement, was better able to implement infrastructural and institutional support systems (Dacosta, 2007). Recall from the discussion in Chapter Two how population demographics and fears about communism resulted in differing political and economic realities in the contexts.

It is within these political climes, shaped by colonialism and transnational activities, that queer activists seek political opportunities. Here it becomes pertinent to unpack political opportunity. Tarrow (2011) defined political opportunity as "consistent – but not necessarily formal or permanent – dimensions of the political environment or of change in that environment that provide incentives for collective action by affecting expectations for success or failure" (p. 163). This captures both the structural and dynamic features of the opportunity, whereby the former represent the stable elements of political culture and organization, and the latter the more volatile changes that can occur with events and actors (Gamson and Meyer, 1996; Jenkins and Form, 2005; Swalboski, 2012). Like Swalboski (2012), I conceptualize both features as creating a political landscape where structures determine access trends, but sudden changes give opportunistic incentives for tactical shifts and access. Kitschelt (1986, p.63) outlined that political opportunity structures open with more political parties, more independent legislatures, links for mediation between interest groups and the executive branch, and viable processes that lead to policy consensus and change.

Barbados and Guyana have different electoral and parliamentary systems – the former being first-past-the-post and bicameral, and the latter being proportional representation and unicameral. Barbados's systems might change following the ongoing constitutional reform, but for now, both have essentially two-party states, making them less open. They have independent legislatures, although tempered in Guyana by not being individually voted for and by the presence of Presidential veto (as happened with the 2001 constitutional amendment). They both have clear patterns of intermediation between interest groups and the executive, as evidenced by queer organizations being increasingly able to meet with government ministers since 2015 in Guyana

and 2018 in Barbados. They both also have procedures for policy consensus and implementation, although this is variably utilized. In Barbados a clear example of this was the Prevention of Employment Discrimination Act which saw input from various stakeholders, but the lack of an opposition meant that consensus is non-essential and other legal reforms have been opaque. Similarly in Guyana, an example was the select committee for UPR consultations in 2013 which never completed its work. Kitschelt (1986) noted that the degree of openness in political structures is a continuum, which places both Barbados and Guyana more towards the open end of this spectrum, with Guyana somewhat behind in openness.

The broader theoretical analysis of the queer movements in each country, including further examination of the political opportunities, is interrogated in the next chapter, but here I briefly examine the facets of the political landscape that have been directly affected by the colonial, and to some extent, transnational factors outlined above. Colonial legacies of governance have resulted in similar degrees of openness, but this legacy has also extended an influence on the extent of dynamic political opportunities possible. For example, Guyana's parliament has always been divided given that voting has been entrenched along ethnic lines (Khemraj, 2019). This ethnic divide is rooted in colonial manipulations of people and politics, but has also been perpetuated and sustained by local actors post-independence. Unless drastic demographic or party composition shifts occur, this will continue. Barbados however, has no significant ethnic bias in party or voting, and has therefore been able to see full sweeps by a winning party twice (in 2018 and 2022). Shifts in rule present dynamic opportunities, and also expose potentials for elite political allies (Swalboski, 2012). In Guyana, organizations, especially SASOD, sought to capitalize on the first ruling political party change since the inception of formal activism by meeting new ministers and prioritizing the amendment of the Prevention of Discrimination Act with respect to employment. After some progress the December 2018 no-confidence motion threw the political leadership of the country into chaos, pausing any motion, and even after reengaging the new government in 2020, the amendment has not been passed to date.

In stark contrast, within three years of coming into power, the Mia Mottley-led Barbados Labor Party (BLP) held consultations and passed an amended analogous Employment (Prevention of Discrimination) Act in 2020. That Barbadian activists have been able to take advantage of a

change in government while Guyana has not, can be partially traced to Barbados' political climate making space for an unopposed government, when Guyana's climate would not. An interviewee in Guyana related how this climate makes activism Sisyphean:

> "anything that one group has started, if there's a change of government it's viewed completely with suspicion and you want to scrap everything the previous one has done…it's almost sometimes like starting all over again. But everybody feels like here everything needs to start over… just because you are new in office you want to do everything differently" (Dianne)

The advantageous position of Barbadian activists is not wholly attributable to the government's unopposed parliamentary status, however, but is also due to the presence of elite ally Mia Mottley, when Guyanese activists have no comparable ally. This is further discussed in the comparison of political opportunity structures in Chapter Six.

5.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter explored the trajectories of queer organizing in Barbados and Guyana, specifically minding the role of colonialism in shaping said trajectories while incorporating some transnational considerations. The first section mostly used the newspaper archive to expand the historiographies of queer activism, simultaneously showing that within this media in Barbados, transnationalism was a more significant and predominant theme than colonialism, the latter only increasingly being mentioned in more recent years. In Guyana, both themes have been roughly equally prevalent, although colonialism was also increasingly mentioned with time. Decolonization was infrequently explicitly mentioned by activists in either context but an interesting pattern has been how Christian fundamentalists, especially in Barbados, have positioned their anti-queer stance as anti-imperialism. Of course such a stance, while having the "facade of decoloniality, in aiming to address the hegemony of the Global North in thinking, doing and legislating sexuality" merely reinforces "colonial laws and gendered relations of unfreedom" (Meer and Muller, 2021, p.5).

Some finer details of organizing during the early years of the formal movement were explored in the following section. SASOD Guyana demonstrated its foundational and continued deployment of human rights framings that mainly referenced the transnational rights sphere, as well as confirming the low, but increasingly heightened visibility of colonialism as time progressed. Meanwhile, in Barbados, UGLAAB attempted early conspicuous advocacy that was subsequently scaled back and predominantly focused on HIV issues within the community and rarely mentioned colonialism. UGLAAB's comparatively reduced networking and transnational engagements were likely reflective of its HIV focus, and in-country stereotyping and stigmatization.

Springboarding off of these organizational dynamics, the second half of the chapter proceeded to show that the broad arc of formal activism in both countries started from a response to the HIV crisis and branched out to human rights framed LGBTQ+ specific work that more recently has splintered off to address the needs of sub-populations within that umbrella. These arcs have been only moderately variant between the two contexts, and in the final two sections, geographical size, political environments, and their linkages to colonialism and transnationalism were posited as some of the underlying reasons for both divergences and similarities.

Barbados' small geographical size coupled with the consequences of colonialism resulted in a cohesive but self-censoring society that both dissuaded activists from using the media and led to greater print media silencing compared to Guyana. Although geographically large, colonial and transnational interferences have shaped Guyana into a similar "small state" as Barbados. Notably, in Guyana, where Indigenous populations constitute a sizeable minority, there was complete erasure of queer Indigenous people in the newspaper archive, and I return to this thread of erasure in the next chapter. Due to the broader silencing, activists in both countries are confronted with limited strategic options that need tailoring to their restricted space. Similarly, while British colonialism resulted in broadly similar political structures, colonialism post-emancipation and US and UK peri-independence schemes left Guyana with a chaotic political legacy that continues to this day and that affects the milieu within which queer Guyanese activism operates. Kamugisha (2019) pointed out how Anglophone Caribbean independence was engineered as a handover to middle class postcolonial elites without the possibility of authentic

decolonization (p.42-43). That those and subsequent elites have continued to sustain these political conditions can be considered an example of the living legacies of colonialism (Waites, 2023) – an installation of colonialism that continues to self-perpetuate even when faced with the agency to do otherwise. How this influences queer movements and their interaction with political agents is further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Characterizing and critiquing the queer movements in Barbados and Guyana

6.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer the research sub questions of "what social and organizational forces have influenced the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts?" as well as "how have activists engaged with decoloniality and decolonization in order to advance their agendas?" This was done by comparatively analyzing the features and flows of the movements in Barbados and Guyana to ultimately serve as a useful adjustment tool for the movement and scholars. The chapter applies several strands of social movement theorizations and key analytical frameworks from political process, and network theories to data from the interviews, online research and to a lesser extent the newspaper archives and the SASOD Yahoo Groups. This was done to conceptually develop how the movements have formed, networked and conducted collective action in a systematically comparative fashion.

There are three sections in the chapter. The first examines the organizations and organizational networking in both countries. Cognizant that there are many actors that comprise a social movement, the decision to primarily focus on organizations for this section was not made lightly. This compromise acknowledged that, similar to Saunders' (2007) experience with the environmental movement, organizations were the easiest units to locate and interrogate and there was an assumption that many of the most committed and involved activists would be involved with organizations in some way. Indeed, the majority of movement work within the last two decades has been carried out under the aegis of organizations. Even highly visible independent activists, such as Alexa Hoffman in Barbados and Vidyaratha Kissoon in Guyana, have either gone on to form their own organizations (Hoffman and TAAB) or worked extensively with one or more organizations (Kissoon and SASOD/GuyBow). Their movement contributions are therefore still captured within this organizational focus. Notably, independent activists have increased within the last five years, especially in Barbados. These independent activists (which includes myself during the course of this research), have largely been embraced in coalitions and activity planning in Barbados, but are less so in Guyana. The decision to focus on organizations

also recognizes the conditions that favor a proliferation of organizations to deal with the internal and external pressures of organizing and that further contribute to the "NGO-ization" of movements (Alvarez, 2009).

The second section investigates recruitment, identity and internal movement dynamics by applying collective action and collective identity frameworks that trouble conceptualizations around social movements. A crucial part of the analysis engaged by this section is with regards to ethnicity, class and gender. This then dovetails into a further inspection of activists' notions on decoloniality/decolonization, and the role of Indigeneity within these formulations. This section concludes with an examination around the inductive emergent theme of fragmentation within the movement and networks.

The third section employs political process theories, including framing, and resource mobilization, to unpack the outward-facing aspects of movement strategies, mobilization and framing, while offering a comparison of these activities between the two contexts. Considerations for resource mobilization makes use of both a Bourdieusian conceptualization of certain capitals, as well as more straight forward estimations of financial resources. Within the discussion on strategies, particular attention is paid to how decolonization has been engaged in practice.

6.2 Examining the organizations and organizational networks in Barbados and Guyana

The following examination conveys the milieu within which the organizations operate. To fully appreciate "what social and organizational forces influenced the trajectories of activism?" the current state of organizing needs elucidation. As previously stated, the compromise in focusing only on organizations leaves some lacunae, particularly around younger and online spheres of activism and is an acknowledged limitation of this balance. This section outlines the main organizations, highlighting features and activities relevant for organizing, before moving onto an examination of their linkages by applying some basic elements of networking theory.

With regards to organizations that focus solely or significantly on LGBTQ+ persons, there were ten such organizations in Barbados between January 2001 to December 2022:

1. United Gays and Lesbians Against AIDS (UGLAAB)
2. Movement Against Discrimination Action Coalition (MOVADAC)
3. Barbados Gays, Lesbians and All-Sexuals against Discrimination (B-GLAD)
4. Equals Inc.
5. Community Education Empowerment and Development (CEED)
6. Trans Advocacy and Agitation Barbados (TAAB)
7. Sexuality Health Empowerment (SHE)
8. Butterfly Barbados
9. LGBTQ+ Events
10. Lyfe

Similarly, there were twelve organizations in Guyana from 1992 to 2022:

1. Artistes in Direct Support (A.I.D.S)
2. Comforting Hearts
3. Family Awareness Consciousness Togetherness (FACT)
4. Guyana Rainbow Foundation (GuyBow)
5. Linden Care Foundation
6. Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination (SASOD)
7. United Bricklayers (UBL)
8. Guyana Trans United (GTU)
9. SASOD Women's Arm Guyana (SWAG)
10. Tamukke Feminists
11. Empowering Queers Using Artistic Learning (EQUAL Guyana)
12. Proud to be Trans

This excludes entities only concentrating on a specific aspect of queer community (for example hosting parties, arranging travel, functioning as a support group); coalitions of organizations (for example Pride committees and the Guyana Equality Forum (GEF)); smaller informal groups that did not maintain a public presence for more than five years (for example BGLAD in Barbados and FADS in Guyana); and larger organizations that have "queer-friendly" services (for example

the Parenthood Associations). Figure 6.2.1 shows how the number of these organizations have fluctuated at three points in the timeline: early on (2001), around the midpoint (2013) and recently (2022). It demonstrates Guyana has had twice as many the organizations as Barbados until recently, when the gap has narrowed. Two organizations have disbanded in Barbados, and one in Guyana.
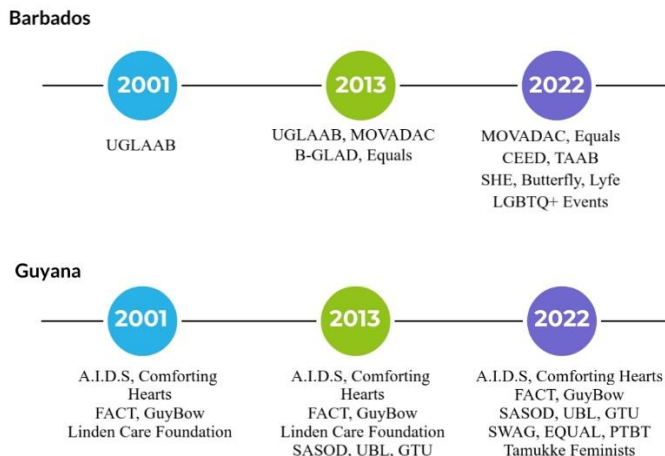
Figure 6.2.1: Organizations at different points in the timeline

Figures 6.2.2 and 6.2.3 chronologically lists the organizations while also showing their structural make-up. The white arrows indicate when someone affiliated with one organization went on to form a separate, new organization, which happened twice in Barbados and three times in Guyana. In Barbados only half of the organizations are legally registered, whereas all but one or two organizations have legal recognition in Guyana.
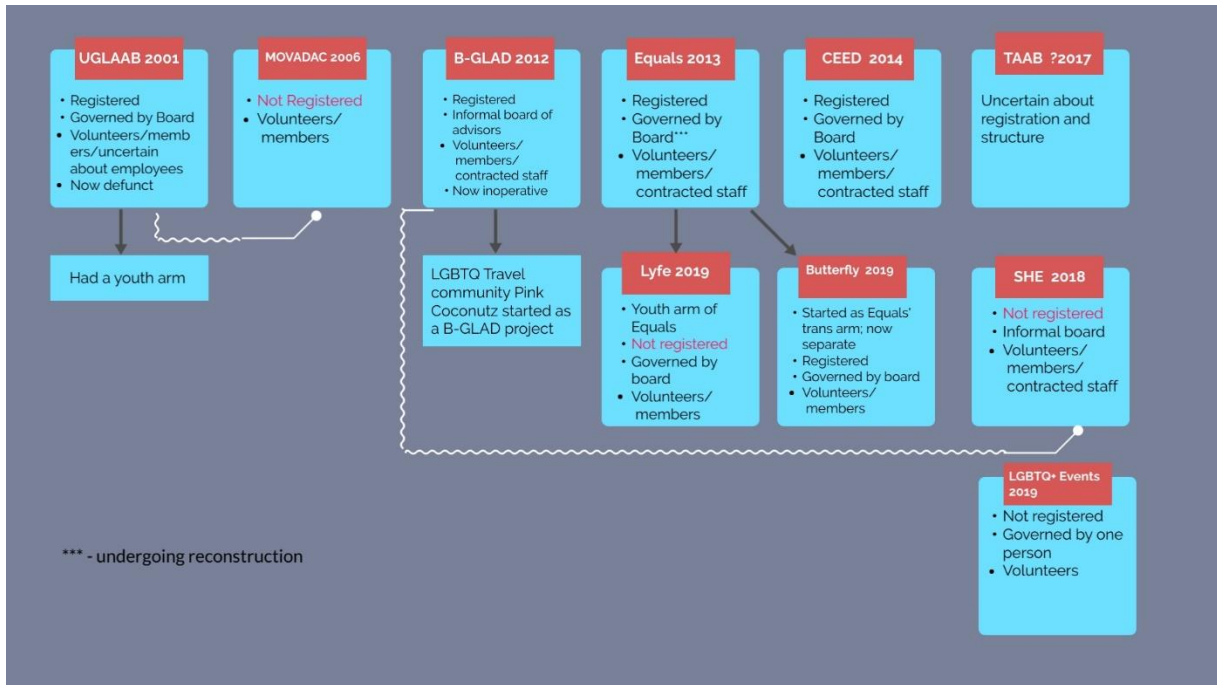
Figure 6.2.2: List of Barbadian organizations and their internal structure.
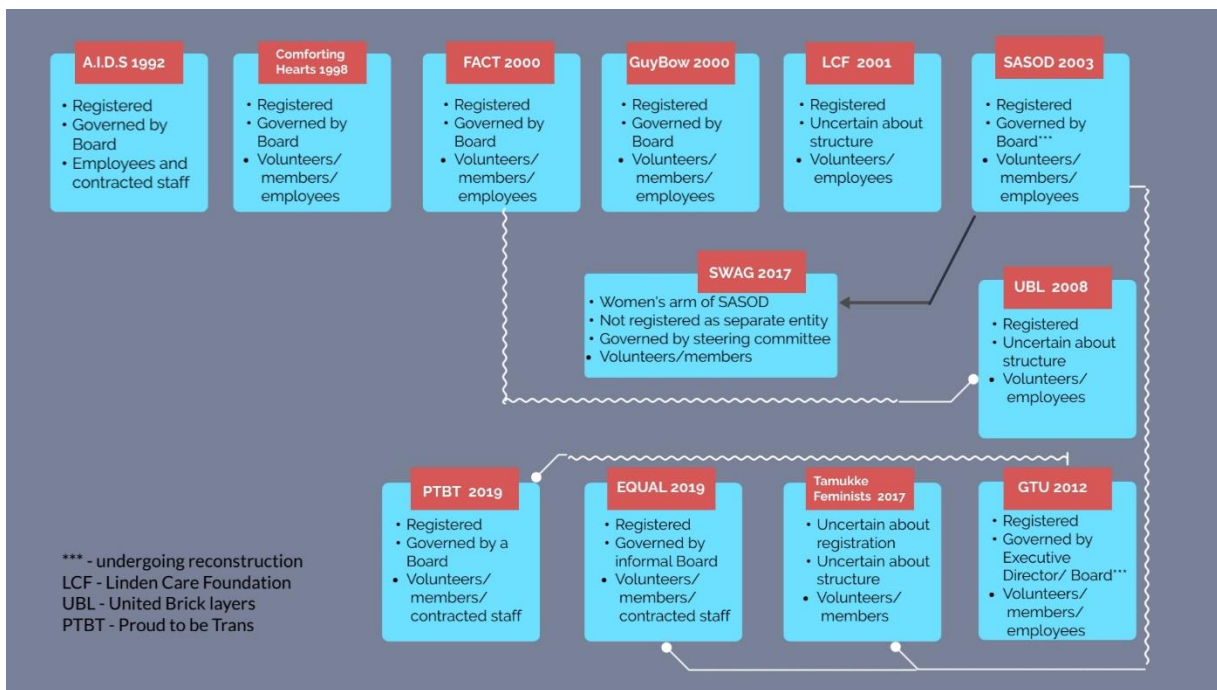
Figure 6.2.3: List of Guyanese organizations and their internal structure.

Neither country has legislation governing non-governmental organizations (NGOs), although calls for such have been ongoing (Caribbean Policy Development Centre, 2019). In Barbados NGO regulation exists in a grey area between the Charities Act and Companies Act, allowing for registration as a charity or non-profit company, and incorporation of either (Corporate affairs and intellectual property office, n.d.; ECADE, 2020). Both Equals Inc. and UGLAAB have been incorporated. In Guyana registration can occur under the Companies Act, the Friendly Societies Act, incorporation by Act of Parliament, or as a Trust Deed (Cenac et al., 2017). The organizations of interest have registered either under Trust Deeds (the simplest form of registration) or as Friendly Societies, although both mechanisms are ill-suited for their needs (Cenac et al., 2017). As a result of the lack of standardization in the two countries, governing structures vary, although the majority are overseen by a Board of Directors or Trustees.

There is significant variation in how organizations organize, including in aspects of formalization (membership and fixed leadership), professionalization (paid staff), internal differentiation (internal division of labor) and integration (coordination horizontally or vertically) (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Based on figures 6.2.2 and 6.2.3, almost all the organizations in both contexts are formalized. Professionalization can be seen as a spectrum, with contracted staff being common in both countries, but paid permanent staff apparently only occurring in Guyana. Organizations can also be categorized as professional, mass protest and grass roots (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Professional ones have full time leadership, small to non-existent membership, and aim to influence policy, while mass protest organizations have participatory democracy and some formalization (della Porta and Diani, 2006). Grassroots organizations are less formal, relying on voluntary ideological participation. In Barbados and Guyana professional and grassroots types predominate, with some fitting solely under grassroots, for example SHE, LGBTQ+ Events, Lyfe, B-GLAD, SWAG, and EQUAL Guyana. But all the others are varying combinations of professional and grassroots. For example, SASOD began as grassroots, has evolved into more professional, while retaining the membership characteristics of a grassroots organization. A.I.D.S has features of professionalization, such as full time leadership and small membership, but any effort to influence policy was not apparent. It is noteworthy that more grassroots type organizations dominate in Barbados and are more frequent compared to Guyana.

Asante (2022) noted how social movements around the world have been increasingly "NGO-ized" and encouraged to emulate neoliberal capitalist structures (p.349), putting them at odds with social justice goals. This is further unpacked in Chapter Seven, but at this point it bears mentioning that the hybridized structure of these Barbadian and Guyanese organizations lends flexibility that does not inevitably lead to the bureaucratization Asante (2022) mentions. For instance, state registration is either avoided (as with some Barbadian organizations), done under Trust Deed (in Guyana) or as a charity (in Barbados), minimizing state interference, and taxation issues, with no requirements for publishing or submitting financial records. Staffing is therefore also flexible and varied. This is a double edged sword however, as by resisting the formalized aspects of "NGO-ization", the organizations lose any potential tax exemptions and are less incentivized to demonstrate accountable and transparent processes.

Diani (2003) concluded that the nature of social movements can be pinned as "complex and highly heterogenous network structures" (p.1), with any definition of social movements being compatible with network mechanisms (p.5). This is underscored by social network analysis' increasing visibility, moving from its more "realist" perspective on empirical measurements of concrete relations to more foregrounding of the "inextricable links" between culture and these networks (Diani, 2003, p.5).These networks not only enable sharing and marshalling of information, resources and goals, but also reinforce identities and meanings (Diani, 2003).

Networks can be made up of individuals, collectivities/events, and organizations, with the ties between the latter being either direct (exchanging information and resources) or indirect through a variety of means ranging from shared personnel to exposure to the same media (Diani, 2003). Saunders (2007) has criticized the overly lax nature of these indirect ties, and therefore in the following figures 6.2.4 and 6.2.5 which illustrate the relationships between the organizations in Barbados and Guyana, I confine organizational linkages to working/collaborating together, belonging to a coalition, reposting organizational content online or speaking at an event hosted by an organization. Each diagram is presented within the background of transnational linkages (which are further discussed in the next chapter), to highlight that local networking did not occur in a vacuum.
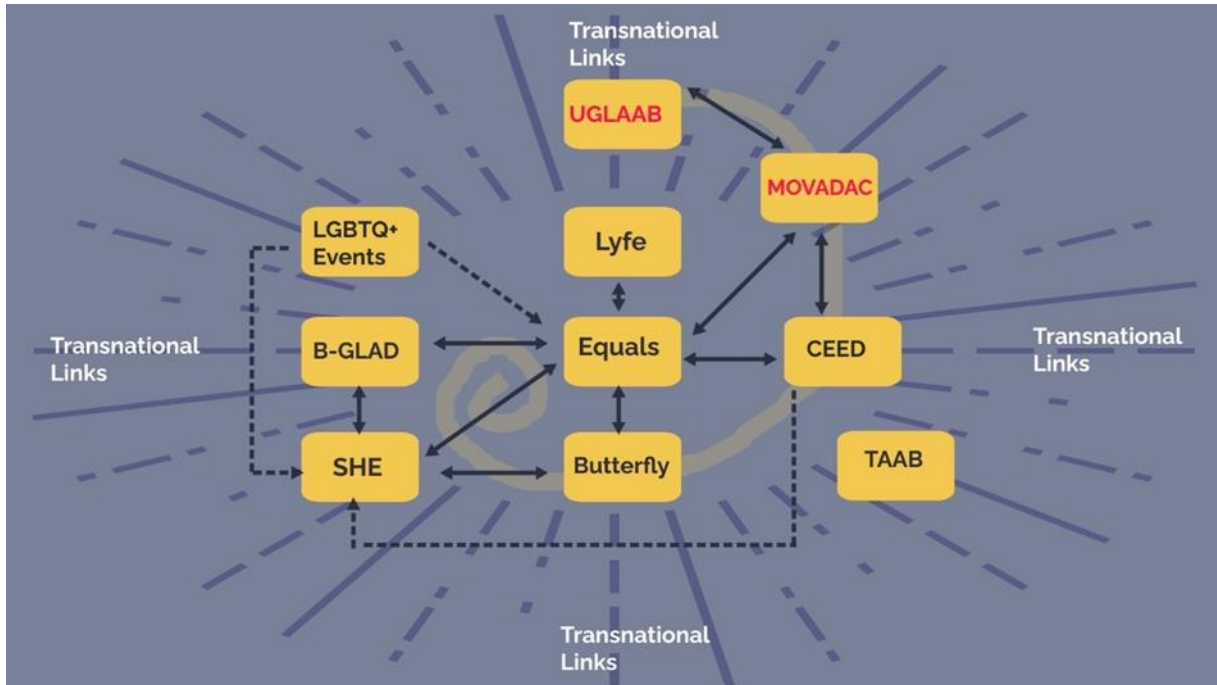
Figure 6.2.4: Schematic showing networking between the Barbadian organizations. Broken arrow indicates a social media repost as only relationship found.
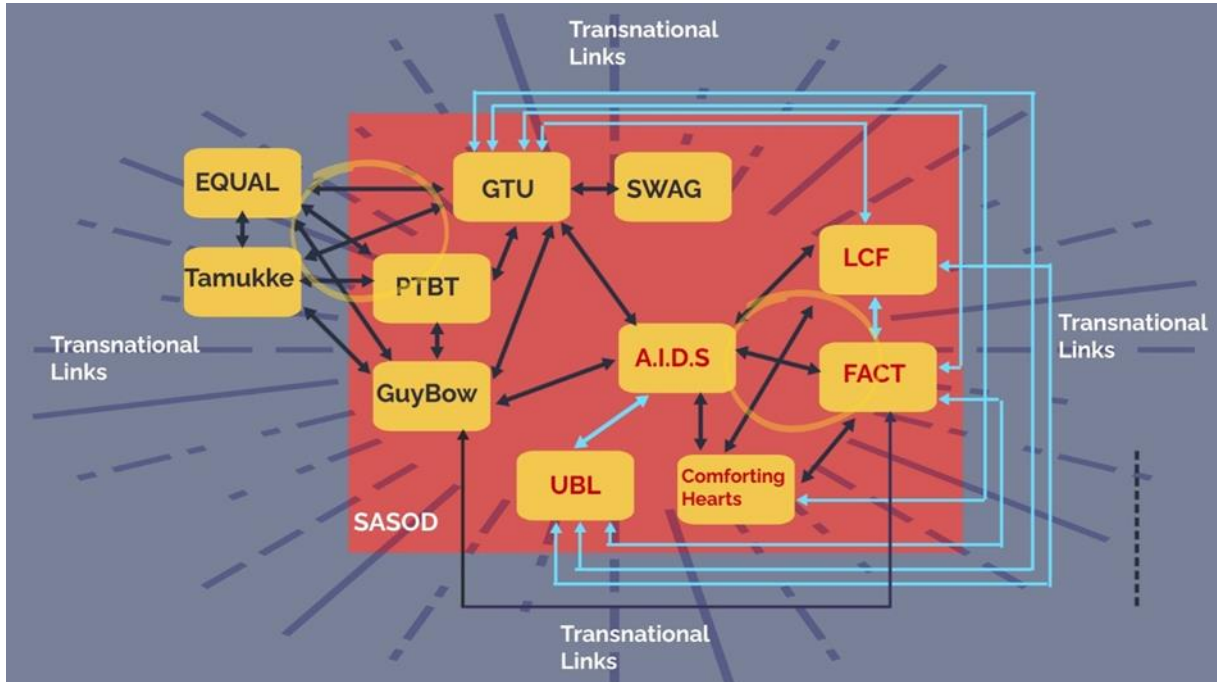
Figure 6.2.5: Schematic showing networking between the Guyanese organizations. Blue arrow indicates membership in GEF as only relationship found. Organizations with links to SASOD lie within the red area.

The links in both diagrams favor a more "relational" approach to networking, which is based on the pattern of how organizations relate to each other, rather than the more deterministic "positional" approach where structurally similar organizations are grouped together without necessarily having linkages (Saunders, 2007, p.227-228).

For Barbados, the schematic shows Equals having relationships with most of the other organizations, and that SHE, Equals, Butterfly and to some extent B-GLAD, are closely linked. This is predictably so, since Butterfly was started as the trans arm of Equals Inc. and both the founders of SHE (also the co-founder of B-GLAD) and Butterfly have served on the board of Equals. The networking pattern therefore forms a rough loop (as superimposed on the figure). In it Equals and the other three newer organizations are at the core, and radiating out are CEED, MOVADAC and UGLAAB, which have relationships among themselves. Significantly, the figure shows how TAAB has been excluded from networking, having had no relationships with any of the other organizations.

In Guyana, figure 6.2.5 reveals more interconnections between the organizations compared to Barbados, but also the emergence of two patterns. The first is that GTU and SASOD have the widest networks. GTU connected with every organization, either directly or through GEF membership; SASOD had direct interactions with all the other organizations except for Equal and Tamukke Feminists. The second pattern is the porous separation of networking between the more HIV centered organizations (in red), and more LGBTQ+ focused ones (in black). These two spheres of networking are indicated by the orange circles superimposed on the diagram. Of the HIV-focused organizations, A.I.D.S, likely by virtue of being the oldest organization, has the most connections overall and with LGBTQ+ focused organizations.

Organizations can formally and informally link with other social movements in order to exchange tactical repertoires, advance political advocacy, exchange/mobilize resources and capacity, and have cross fertilization (Smitton, 2017). This can be related to resource mobilization theory whereby organizations function within the larger social movement industry (SMI) and all the social movements present in a society constitute the broader social movement

sector (SMS)(McCarthy and Zald, 1977). In Barbados and Guyana these other social movements include women's rights, the anti-LGBTQ+ movement, disability rights, climate justice, burgeoning reparations movement, and Indigenous rights in Guyana. Figures 6.2.6 and 6.2.7 show the inter-organizational networking with other organizations within the wider SMS and other sectors in Barbados and Guyana. Please see Appendix Five for the abbreviations used in the figures.
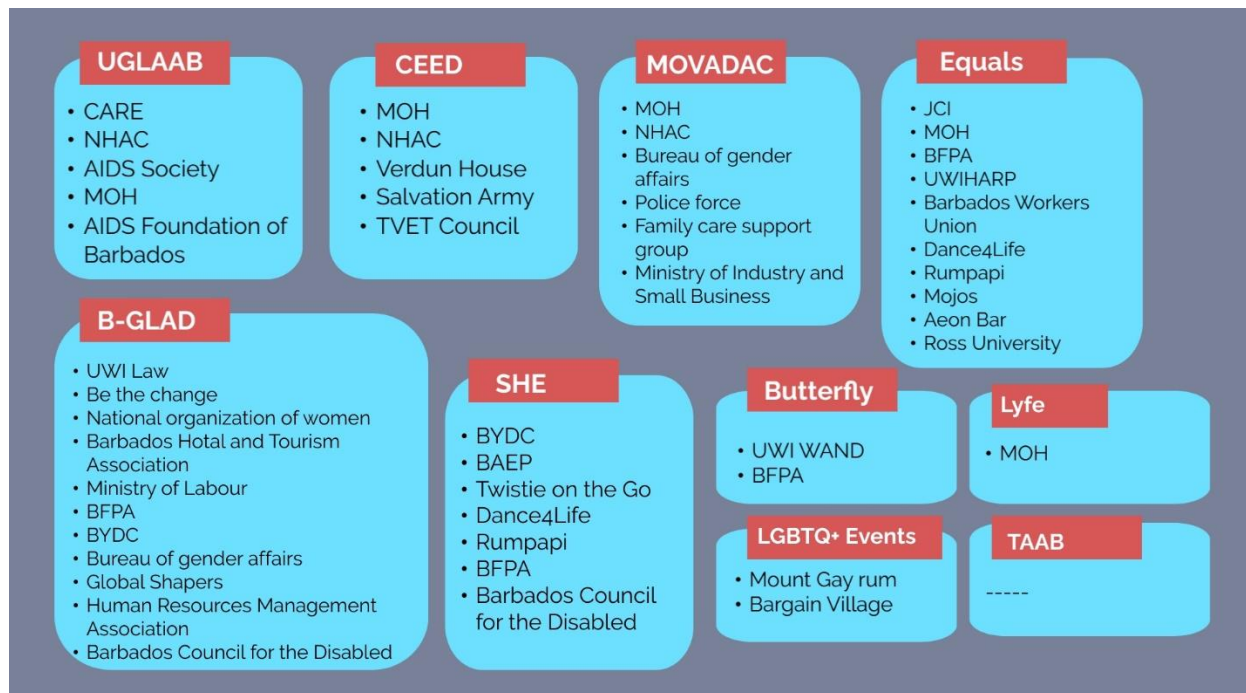
Figure 6.2.6: Collaborations between queer organizations and other agencies/ organizations in Barbados

Figure 6.2.7: Collaborations between queer organizations and other agencies/ organizations in Guyana (* - Organizations belonging to the GEF)

Carving out formalized networking spaces within the SMS has been more prominent in Guyana, dating back to the Guyana Human Rights Association (GHRA) attempt to have a "Forum for effectiveness and solidarity" in 2006, and to which SASOD belonged. The next iteration of this kind of space was the formation of the GEF six years later. The GEF is chaired by Red Thread, with SASOD as administrative secretariat, and includes twenty-three civil society organizations from a range of sectors (see Appendix Six for list of member organizations). Other networking opportunities include the National Coordinating Coalition (NCC) and the Country Coordinating Mechanism (CCM). Both of these were however constituted under the aegis of Global North transnational funders (USAID/PEPFAR and the Global Fund respectively), and the latter explicitly serves donor purposes. There are no analogous entities to any of these spaces in Barbados. Smitton (2017) has shown how in the US, the LGBTQ+ movement has used networks

such as LGBT Equality Caucus and other LGBTQ+ networking links to effectively enter the political space. While not as embedded or wide-ranging as this US network, Barbados does have a coalition initiated by government. In 2019 the Social Justice Committee was formed to engage NGOs on government policy (Gill, 2020), but was criticized by activists in the interviews for sketchy communication and selective engagement. In Guyana, the comparable National Stakeholders Forum was reformed in 2021 (Ministry of Parliamentary affairs and governance, n.d.), but does not appear to have engaged in any meaningful fashion with Guyanese queer activists.

Having a sense of the scope of activities and events these organizations engaged in is useful for contextualizing their strategies and actions (further discussed below). Tables detailing these are therefore presented in Appendix Seven, with activities divided into those focused on community and those geared towards public advocacy, recognizing this classification as sometimes arbitrary and overlapping.

An analysis showed that between them, B-GLAD, Equals and SHE had the largest number of reported activities (and events), with these focused on both community and advocacy. Lyfe and LGBTQ+ Events had no advocacy activities, and conversely, TAAB and MOVADAC no community oriented one. The most common types of activities included iterations of talks/panels/lectures, trainings/workshops, various campaigns, Pride activities, press utilization, social activities (limes, parties etc.) and the provision of care packages. While almost all of the activities were inwardly focused on Barbadian communities, the events attended/representations gave an indication of regional and international engagements. In both countries I'm unable to make firm conclusions about which organizations attended more engagements since it was sometimes difficult to ascertain whether activists represented in a personal capacity, and tallying appearances depended on whether the organization shared the information online. Given these caveats, it can still be asserted that B-GLAD, Equals and SHE attended the largest number of regional and international engagements.

In Guyana, SASOD had the largest variety and number of reported activities and events, both focused on community and advocacy. With the exception of LCF and UBL, for which only

community focused activities were found, every other organization deployed a combination of both types. The most common activities were HIV related, counselling around HIV or psychosocial issues, iterations of trainings/workshops, social activities, online and offline campaigns , press utilization, Pride activities, and skills development. The main difference from Barbados' movement came from the widespread provision of HIV related services, where only three organizations did not report this provision. Counselling services and skills development were also more widely utilized compared to Barbados. SASOD also by far had the most reported transnational engagements, distantly followed by Equal.

Having set the stage for analytical examinations later in this chapter and demonstrated how the organizations networked within their local environments, I now segue into examining what factors have shaped, and continue to shape these environments.

6.3 Recruitment, identity, and movement dynamics in Barbados and Guyana

An interviewee from Guyana stated "I do not believe we have ever had a 'movement' here, there were different organizations doing different things" (Leela).   Leela likely came to this conclusion based on the fragmentation and siloing present in the Guyanese movement, which is a significant feature discussed below. But this statement usefully troubles the definition and perceptions of a social movement. Diani (2003) also recognized this evasive nature, noting that social movements are not one event, group, organization, person, or pattern of interaction and can even be separated in time and space. As the varying definitions of social movement in Chapter Three make clear, there are both common axes and different emphases that can help conceptualize contextual nuances. Melucci (1996) for example, used social movement as an analytical concept, noting that as a "particular level of collective action", it should not be universalized and should be understood by how its action is oriented and what systems are affected by these actions (p.21). The conceptualization of social movement in this study allows for shades of understanding, variably centering social networks, broader collective action and more popular understandings around "challenging power holders" (Tilly, 1994 as quoted in Diani, 2003). It recognizes that while the international LGBTQ+ social movement, especially focused on human rights, and based in the Global North, may look more like what is popularly

perceived to be a social movement, that the contours of how collective action around queerness is engaged in the Caribbean region, and in Barbados and Guyana specifically, looks differently. A working definition in this context therefore combines perspectives, conceptualizing social movements as being non-cursory networking linkages to engage in a form of collective action that invokes solidarity and conflicts with the prevailing system (Melucci, 1996, p.28; Saunders, 2007).

While this section draws from what is considered "new social movement" theorizations around identity and emotions, I remain cognizant that given the origins of the new social movement, the early iterations of it have been criticized for Eurocentricity that does not necessarily translate wholesale to the Global South (Munck, 2020). For example, Munck (2020) pointed out that in Latin America (and I would posit the Caribbean as well), an "old" movement like labor was already imbricated with aspects of culture and identity. Munck (2020) urged resistance to binary conceptualizations like the structures of political process theory vs. actor characteristics of identity and emotion, and called for more fluid understandings of movements in Latin America that combine both actors and politics. The analysis within this and the next section attempts to follow this directive.

6.3.1 Joining and leaving the movement

Joining a movement is facilitated by having a sense of solidarity and collective identity, a purpose, and a mechanism for claiming the effects of the action, which could be in the form of a performance/reward structure (Melucci, 1996). Speaking to the first factor, in the interviews activists in both countries revealed various paths and motivations for getting involved in queer activism, with some commonalities across contexts.

For four activists in Barbados activism was something that "just happened" or that they were introduced to by a friend, with one person stating it was a subsidiary activity to the main focuses in their life. For the others, activism started as a child or in school (high school/university); by work in the related areas of gender-based violence (GBV), women's rights, HIV, and regional conferences; and by volunteering with a queer organization or advocating in online spaces. Just

as related sectors were the pipeline into queer activism for some, the converse has also been true, with queer activism being the impetus for branching out into other qualifications or areas of work. Almost half of the Barbadian activists related a need to help or being passionate about the cause as influencing their activist status. Most commonly, there were no identifiable reference points for their activism, although some, like Eva and Paloma pointed to local/regional activists and Black intersectional feminists like bell hooks and Audre Lorde, while two persons cited the Global North influences of Ru Paul and Stonewall.

In Guyana activists had some similar reasons for their initiation into activism – as a child, at school/university, related work in gender based violence (GBV), women's rights and HIV, and being introduced by a friend – but a significant difference was that none saw it as "just happening", and almost half had engaged because of personal experiences dealing with personal/political identity, isolation, and finding safe space. Three activists also started in response to, or as part of, their jobs. Fewer persons in Guyana expressed a passion or need to help as influences, although this was expressed by several. Similar to Barbadian activists, no reference points or referencing local/regional activists and politicians was most common. Four persons mentioned various frameworks, including functionalism, intersectional feminism, civil rights/human rights, and decolonization, and two also gestured towards the Global North, citing Elton John and Barack Obama as reference points.

While Global North based figures did not greatly, at least consciously, provide aspirational reference points one relevant transnational linkage in joining queer activism is the finding that similar to Peck (2020), some queer activists in both Barbados and Guyana (and more so the former) found returning from overseas as a "catalyst" (p.136) for their activism involvement. Diasporic connections in contributing to queer activism are documented in such cases as Colin Robinson between the US and Trinidad and Tobago (Boston, 2021), the first BGLAD in Barbados (likely UK based), and Colleen McEwan of GuyBow in Guyana (unstated diasporic location) (Rahim, 2020).

Along with funding, recruiting persons into the social movement was the most commonly identified thematic challenge from the interviews. In Barbados "lack of interest", particularly by

skilled and like-minded persons, and "not enough hands" was mentioned by several persons. This was interrelated with several reports that many organizations were essentially run by one person or a limited number of core people. Concurrently, an interviewee pointed out the difficulty in recruiting younger persons, even though five persons mentioned the need for making space for, and mentoring, new activists. Along with the small numbers in the movement, single person leadership was facilitated by some persons being "louder", more assertive, gatekeeping, or desiring the spotlight while leaving no space for others. Camila related how this dearth of involvement baffled them: "Is access the problem? Is getting people to the table the problem? … I can't diagnose that apparently, but… I know that the issue is not having enough hands, I swear by it."

The answer to this question is likely multifactorial, but based on interviewee reports, lack of financial remuneration, accessibility of locations, not seeing the need for involvement, and fear of being associated with the movement play a part. The latter is intertwined with the individual-led model of leadership that has come to predominate, such that new recruits might expect a heavy workload, and heightened visibility in a small stigmatizing society, or conversely, expect no recognition for their work. These affect the performance/reward structure of mobilization noted by Melucci (1996).

Also entangled with resource mobilization, lack of sufficient and consistent financial compensation for activism has meant that almost all of the Barbadian activists had secondary or primary non-activism jobs. This is illustrated in Figure 6.2.2 where no organizations had permanent employees, compared to several in Guyana. This unstable employment pattern is not unique to either country, as Saleh and Sood (2020) have shown that across the world, LBQ organizations in particular, are tremendously understaffed and mainly rely on volunteers. It also leads to another important aspect, mentioned by several interviewees, which is activist burnout (Saleh and Sood, 2020). In this state, persons present in the movement are less likely to devote care and attention to finding recruits or addressing recruitment barriers.

In Guyana only a couple of interviewees also reported a lack of "sincere, committed" persons in the movement, but several more mentioned issues that made human resources a significant

challenge that resulted in "seeing the same faces all the time" (Pedro). As in Barbados, lack of financial renumeration featured, but there were also no career development in organizations, with resulting rapid staff turnover (especially in SASOD), competing commitments, and migration or career changes. Fear of stigmatization was mentioned by more persons than in Barbados and concerned fear of losing familial support, precarious employment positions and being exposed and targeted if visibly attached to the movement. Conversely, other persons did not engage with the movement due to apathy borne of class privileges that shielded them from significant discrimination. As Preity Kumar's (2018) study with queer women in Guyana found, LGBTQ+ activism did not serve their middle class interests. Here, the increased visibility of activism threatened the social, economic and political status women had in the community by exposing them to hostilities from those who stigmatize (Kumar, 2018). This increased visibility does not only come from being "out and proud" as Kumar (2018) noted, especially since the sexuality of many activists in queer Guyanese activism remain unknown, but by the mere fact of being publicly associated with known queer persons: "because they either didn't feel comfortable being in a room, with so many out homosexuals…people will say that they are queer or gay or whatever" (Dianne). Layering onto visibility and stigmatization concerns, is space, such that being in a small place where much is connected and known (as discussed in the previous chapter), exponentially increases visibility. In the context of these recruitment difficulties, Guyanese interviewees, as in Barbados, recognized the importance of handing over leadership and making space for new activists.

Some of the same factors influencing movement engagement can also be responsible for persons staying, and ultimately leaving. Reasons for disengagement in the Global South include the political economy of activism (Silver, 2018), such as McAdam's (1986) theorization on risk/cost. McAdam differentiates between low risk/cost activism (such as signing a petition) and high risk/cost activism involving more time, resources and visibility, such that when the risk/cost is too high, participation in activism is discouraged. This helps explain how the aforementioned fear of stigmatization could dissuade and disengage activism in both Barbados and Guyana. "Economic and political costs can push an individual away from activism" (Silver, 2018, p. 6), or reconfigure participation, especially when coupled with the shrinking spaces for civic participation in the Global South. All three interviewees mentioning fear of stigmatization

highlighted its economic consequence, possibly indicating the insecurity arising from the absence of employment discrimination provisions in Guyana compared to Barbados and its protective act. Interestingly, having an NGO job was noted as offering more economic security if one was "out" – "not all of us who are activist belong to an NGO, you have people who have job in government agency, so you can be discriminated there, you can lose your job" (Paloma).

Fominaya (2019) noted that the collective identity of social movements, which resides both in individuals and collective action, are crucial to continued engagement with a movement, and are facilitated by identification with markers and symbols, the determination of boundaries and by attending to emotions. Emotions therefore play a part throughout the cycle of movement engagement, from joining and staying, to leaving (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2008).

The activists in both countries expressed mostly positive emotions, such as pride (most commonly), happiness, satisfaction, fulfillment and enjoyment, with regards to activism, although only those in Barbados mentioned it being fun: "it was fun and I had enjoyed it, I always enjoy helping" (Judith). Mixed emotions and negative ones, like feeling emotionally drained, frustrated, depressed, stressed, jaded and simply "bad", were also expressed by a minority in both settings. Roughly double the number of activists in Barbados mentioned negative feelings compared to Guyana. Relatedly, several Barbadian interviewees then also mentioned activism's negative mental health effects ("It has been draining…it has been happy in some moments and depressing in others. Is a whole cycle of emotions" (Sheldon)) and burnout: "a part of me was very, very depressed…a big undertaking I think again, on my psyche and my emotional health…to be a queer advocate in a place that is seemingly unfriendly…it was burnout, yes" (Cynthia). Interestingly only one person mentioned this in Guyana and in the follow-up interviews I asked about this finding. Several possibilities were offered, including Guyanese activists having second jobs and therefore better networking and support systems, (second jobs were more prevalent in Barbados, however); having access to therapy; and more camaraderie within the community. But activists in Barbados have more consistent access to more therapists, and arguably better camaraderie within the activist community, as discussed below. The greater size of the queer community in general in Guyana, which offers more

opportunities for support, is one possible reason. Another plausible reason is Amir's observation that activists in Guyana might lack the resources to recognize burnout:

> "if they grew up in a certain type of environment where stress and stressful events was normalized, they may not be able to recognize that life is supposed to be different, right? It bothers them, but it doesn't really bother them, you know… 'that's been my life for the last thirty years…and that's just kind of my place in life. I'm gonna have a stressful life'"

While empirical evidence of comparatively greater stress in Guyana's wider or queer population is missing, Guyana's suicide rate is much higher than Barbados (and among the highest in the world) (Shaw et al., 2022). Over 70% of Guyanese LBQ women have ever thought of suicide in their life and 47% had attempted the act (GuyBow et al., 2020), and in a 2020 COVID-19 specific survey, Guyanese LGBTQ+ persons had higher levels of anxiety and depression than their peers in Barbados, Grenada and St Lucia (George et al., 2020). This is far from a solid evidence base, but does lend credence to Amir's hypothesis.

Overall, engagement and disengagement with the movements in both countries had several similarities, such as significant recruitment challenges, school or other social causes facilitating queer activism, and generally positive feelings around being involved in the movement. One main difference was Barbadian activists reporting a greater mental health toll from activism, which can be related to stretched organizational capacities and having grassroots, predominantly non-salaried positions (as seen in Figure 6.2.2) in local organizations. It could also possibly be due to greater awareness of burnout compared to Guyana. Another difference, also connected to organizational professionalization, was a greater focus on how staff and job mobility affected recruitment to queer organizations in Guyana. In Guyana fear of visibility and attendant economic insecurity also featured more prominently than in Barbados.

Having explored how persons join, stay and leave the movements, I turn now to particular considerations of class, ethnicity, Indigeneity and gender. An understanding of how these factors affect collective identity is germane to understanding key mechanisms and machinations determining the path of the movements. It also gives background to subsequent analysis, such as the discussion on class which influences the concept of capital in the next section.

6.3.2 Class, ethnicity, Indigeneity and gender in queer activism

In Barbados

A 2009 study (Caribbean HIV/AIDS Alliance, n.d.) identified two subgroups in the Barbadian gay community, loosely classified as the "bougie gays" and the "ghetto gays" (or "town gays"). The latter term was used for persons with lower socio-economic status or less formal education who were characterized as more visible, flamboyant, and being prone to violence and bickering; they would also now be more likely to identify as transgender or gender diverse (Caribbean HIV/AIDS Alliance, n.d.). There was therefore some overlap between queens and this group. Murray (2012) similarly described "A,B, and C" gays, where the "lowest" C class, analogous only in some ways to the "ghetto gays" were described as 'bread and two' in reference to their low worth (p.78). Tensions between these groups have manifested since UGLAAB's early days, with the organization's connection to gayness, HIV and "ghetto gays" preventing higher income, "bougie gays", and those who did not wish to be known as queer, from joining the organization (Caribbean HIV/AIDS Alliance, n.d.). Another instance was gay persons taking offense at Darcy Dear's promise of "outlandish drag queens and costumes" at the 2003 Pride parade, pointing out that "not every gay person is a drag queen" and that "gays need to be promoted in a positive light, and not made a spectacle of" ("Gay group", 2003, p.4), indicating rifts between the respectable "bougie gays" and the queens and other "ghetto gays" who would've been more comfortable displaying "flamboyancy" and transgressing gender.

It's therefore unsurprising that almost half the activists mentioned class as a factor in Barbados activism. Several noted the marked predominance of middle class activists in the movement, suggesting this was due to having better access to resources that enabled their activism (for example education and networks), and economic security that translated to being able to volunteer or work for little financial compensation. Relating back to the issue of fear and stigmatization and visibility discussed in the previous section, this economic security also facilitated personal safety and security around involvement in the movement, as Marc stated,

> "people who are able to be activists visibly are generally people who have a certain level of protection. So for example, the people who have the comfort of being able to be public

activists, don't have to go back to any ghetto, walk through town at night. Some of them do, but for the most part that's not the case, because they're afforded a particular level of protection due to class or class association"

This complex interplay between class and its "protection" comes into focus when considering the fact that UGLAAB was headquartered in Darcy Dear's bar in Suttle Street, which is considered a socioeconomically depressed area associated with criminality (Smith, 2001). Along with that bar, Dear owned several other properties, indicating her higher economic status, but as stated in Chapter Five, class privilege did not totally shield Dear from violent incidents and hate crimes over the years. Similarly, CEED's office in Reed Street is a stone's throw away from Suttle Street. The organization's president and founder is a trans woman who navigates that low-income location, and her university degree (Clarke, 2022), which places her more into the middle class category in the Barbadian context. Indeed, several interviewees noted how middle class status was tied to having higher education, lending credibility to these activists, and feelings of greater trustworthiness and being able to "get things done". Another privilege was language. This meant that persons who spoke standard English were more likely to be approached by the media, and those more acquainted with social justice terms could be seen as "superior" in the movement, as Eva explained: "not using the right words…there's this dismissal about that…because there is a superiority kink that those who, I think, are vulnerable sometimes, get when we can tell ourselves that we're a little bit better than the others".

The highlighting of these types of cultural capital aligns with the theorizing by scholars who used a Bourdieusian framework to show that the educated middle classes are more prominent in activism due to greater "cultural competence" acquired from more economic and cultural capital (Martin, 2015). Scholars have also posited that a particular habitus, or ways of thinking and acting that originates from a middle class status contributes to this greater involvement (Martin, 2015).

Interviewees identified the drawbacks of this skewered class distribution in the movement, viz. that there were queer persons whose realities were not being adequately represented, who were

disconnected from the movement, and sometimes the more academic language of activism did not resonate with other classes in the queer community. As Eva stated:

> "I think there's a lot of middle class activists…And that can sometimes create a distance or sometimes create a disconnect. So that means that those of the working class, those needs might not necessarily be represented or heard. So that is a fair thing to interrogate. I think there are a few that are represented and do offer that insight, but we've got to make sure that we are forever inclusive in inviting them to the table and whenever these discussions are being had"

These all factored in to sometimes create confusion about which organization best represented whose interests, and the specific example of Equals being seen as "bougie" or catering to middle and upper class persons. In this case, despite Equals' inclusive mandate, persons based this perception on the leadership and more visible membership of the organization. Although not mentioned by the interviewees, B-GLAD and SHE also had similar university-educated leadership and as previously shown, had close networking with Equals. Some other unstated dimensions in the presentation of these organizations therefore likely contributed to them not being seen as "bougie" as Equals in the interviews. The class segregation was noted by one activist as being reflective of that in the wider LGBTQ+ community. Derrick, using terminology that recalls the "bougie gays" and "ghetto gays", explained how the "regular hores" and "high society hores[22]" generally do not mix in social circles:

> "because those so called high society hores … they don't want to be associated when the sun is up, with certain people, so therefore there's always this disconnect. And that's not something that has changed a whole lot over the years…And some people will have parties where only certain people can be invited or certain people know about those parties…they will connect in this forum, or online but they're not going to connect with those individuals on a one on one in person…in terms of class"

Six of sixteen interviewees explicitly stated that ethnicity did not factor in queer activism dynamics within the local community. This was largely because almost all of the queer activists are Afro-Caribbean, although as Eva pointed out, there was representation from several other

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[22] Spelling of 'whores' has been stylized to resemble that which I've seen in on-line usage by queer persons in Barbados; in Guyana this has been spelt as 'ores'

ethnicities as well. Another interviewee pointed out that colorism would play a part. Reflective of larger society, persons with lighter complexions or less tightly curled hair are more apt to command attention and credibility. Christiana noted that while being Black is tough regardless of other positionalities, a queer Black person of a higher class can have a "little easier life" as their status can shield them from hateful interactions.

For most of UGLAAB's existence there was only representation from a single cis woman, with a dearth of focus on queer cis women. Gender continues to factor into Barbadian activism, with five interviewees mentioning misogynistic experiences and erasure of women's work, voice and needs within the movement. This occurrence, and the gap in addressing cis women's and trans issues were obvious from the formations of Butterfly and SHE, which explicitly aimed to remedy this. These imbalances had occurred despite the presence of women-led organizations like B-GLAD, MOVADAC, and CEED. Several interviewees questioned whether the movement was serving trans persons, and whether trans organizations had enough resources, especially compared to organizations like Equals. There was also one report of trans leaders feeling tokenized in some activist spaces. As seen in Figure 6.2.4, TAAB has been isolated from the rest of the organizations, while Butterfly has shown more integration. Nevertheless, instances of disagreement on movement priorities between trans and non-trans activists were reported in the interviews, pointing at some continuing disjunctures in the space.

The preceding shows that choices for networking, recruitment into the movement and the formation of new organizations have been influenced to varying degrees by considerations around class and gender in Barbados. While ethnicity appeared to not play as much of a role in these arenas, it connected to wider questions on activist credibility, and ease of conducting activism.

In Guyana

Early on, while the SASOD film festival has been described as a useful and needed queer space (Singh, 2016), it was also characterized as "upper-crust, pseudo-intellectual experimentations, [with] the half-hearted posturing" (Johnson, 2005), raising valid questions around accessibility

and classism. While the festival was always free and had variably appealing subject matter, the venues were mostly frequented by upper/middle class people and would attract a similar crowd along with certain expectations of dress and bar patronization. This is perhaps unsurprising given SASOD's student genesis. Kissoon (2013a) favorably presented this facet, referring to the founders as scholar/activists following in the footsteps of Walter Rodney "who made university knowledge relevant to everyday life". In a country where only approximately 10% of the adult population had a post-secondary or university degree in 2012 (Bureau of Statistics, 2017), the founders, and many of the members of SASOD however, represented a small portion of Guyanese. In Guyana, where class is associated with occupation and education, among other factors (Danns, 2014), higher levels of education can translate to higher class. These class biases were also reflected in many of the early activity choices after the film festival – poetry readings, literature readings, book launch, a book club and letter writings. It was not until December 2006 that SASOD held their first party, which would have appealed to a wider cross section of the LGBTQ+ community.

Based on the interviews, these class issues have continued to influence activism and were noted to be a reflection of prevailing societal divisions. As in Barbados, the cultural capital accorded to higher class persons was mentioned, this time in relation to securing funding and taking advantage of political opportunities. For example, GTU and PTBT were seen as having less capacity for sophisticated grant-writing compared to other organizations like GuyBow, SASOD and EQUAL. This assessment however, ignores the lengthy activist experience GTU and leaders in PTBT have, and can in itself be taken as a classist assumption. On political opportunities, Julian said the educated elites "can sit and they can talk with diplomats, they can have conversation…I think that they can have a good, a better influence than the ordinary man". Like Equals in Barbados, EQUAL and SASOD were singled out as "bougie", in SASOD's case especially catering to upper class gay men. EQUAL was noted as focused on cultivating allyships, which somewhat explains the class bias in their structure and membership.

Unlike in Barbados, there was a greater emphasis on how class operated in inter-organizational relationships. Almost half the interviewees said that class differences were apparent in the organizations, with GuyBow, or other "grassroots" organizations being equated with low class

and not given respect by middle class organizations. Trans persons were at the lowest end of the class hierarchy and so "certain people doesn't see they self, they don't want to align they self with trans work…So the trans movement has always been pushed aside…there's always class within the work" (Lorna). One interviewee noted that this recognition during the time of organizing around the cross dressing case actually contributed to the formation of GTU. Several persons noted that class privilege can lead to blind spots in representation and the need to bridge these class divides.

Speaking to broader class divisions, Nicole lamented "class, on the other hand, I don't think, is something that we've been able to overcome very actively. There are elements…to try to differentiate between what it means to be gay versus what it means to be an antiman, for example". This parallels the use of regular and high society hores in Barbados, where gay is associated with higher classes and antiman with a lower class, more effeminate queer man. It is interesting to note that while the Barbadian terminology has a clear connection to class, the Guyanese one doesn't. Instead, the local slur signals lower class, while the imported word "gay" stands in for a higher one. The use of hores/ores in both contexts also warrants further scholarly unpacking that is not supported by the scope of this study or currently available in the literature.

Issues around gender representation occurred early in the movement. The SASOD Yahoo groups showed disconnects with the trans community and minimized involvement of cis women. The former was especially regrettable given the prominence of gender non-conforming and trans-identifying people in queer visibility in Guyana. Although SASOD would not have been privy to much of this queer history (Vidyaratha Kissoon started unearthing reports after the early years of Group formation), they would have been very aware of drag queens and other gender transgressors. Given that "cross-dressers" were more likely to be from lower socio-economic backgrounds, class conflicts likely played a possible role (intersections between class and gender have continued based on the interviews), along with confusion around terminology and conceptualizations. Members would have been indoctrinated in the prevalent mono-sexuality and gender binaries, brought by colonialism, and entrenched into Guyanese society, regardless of religion and ethnicity. Judging from the use of "transsexuals", rather than "transgender" by presenters in the 2003 SASOD Parliamentary forum, they possibly conceived of transgender and

transsexual as separate, attaching surgical connotations to transgender. This highlights how, until members started attending transnational conferences, they focused more on legal and academic transnational language and development, rather than organic community-based movements happening regionally and globally around identities beyond the gender binary, which might now be framed as "trans".

Representation of women, as in Barbados, remained suboptimal within the movement. This resulted in the reorienting of GuyBow's mission, SWAG's formation, and trans organizations (which are dominated by trans women). Similarly there were also reports of trans persons feeling tokenized in the broader activist spaces. Although two persons brought up the possibility of misogyny in the movement, they were not as vocal about it as persons in Barbados. This could either mean it occurs less frequently in Guyana, or has possibly been subsumed by other concerns. Kumar (2018) had also noted a geographical element to gendered considerations, with queer women in more rural areas, such as Berbice, being unaware of, and disconnected from, the organizing taking place in Georgetown.

Despite the well-known inter-ethnic friction that exists in Guyana, five of seventeen Guyanese activists denied that ethnicity significantly factored into queer activism. The others acknowledged that it was an issue, with two interviewees suggesting some activists and organizations preferred to ignore this. A few interviewees noted that the influence of ethnicity in the movement reflects wider Guyanese society, harkening back to the colonial divisions that were encouraged and the subsequent intertwined effect of politics. As previously noted, the predominant ethnic affiliation of the major parties manifests as the PPP being Indo aligned and APNU (formerly PNC) as Afro aligned (Hintzen, 2019). This explains Joan's comment that "what I see is like these people turning like PPP and APNU", which was an observation backed up by Leela who "felt up to 2012 that race was not such a big deal, but then I noticed since 2015 and certainly last year, that the Black /coolie[23] , PPP/PNC thing seems to have infected those who align themselves accordingly".

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[23] Coolie is local slang, variably seen as a slur, for Indo-Guyanese people

Apart from these emerging splits, another characteristic was the perception of the movement as being Afro-Guyanese dominated. To illustrate this point, one interviewee pointed out how the main organizations (SASOD, GTU and GuyBow), as well as the litigants in the crossdressing dressing case were mainly Afro-Guyanese. While the organizations vary in terms of the ethnicity of the leadership - an activist characterized SASOD and GTU as Afro-centric, PTBT and EQUAL as Indo-centric and GuyBow and FACT as more mixed – there are contextual and interrelated factors that influence the perceptions of each organization and the wider movement. As one activist pointed out, these categorizations depend on which metric is chosen. They explained that while SASOD has an ethnically diverse staff, frequent staff turnover meant people equated organizational leadership with the long standing managing director and founder, who is an Afro-Guyanese with a predominantly Afro-Guyanese social network. Concurrently, the attendees of SASOD events also skew towards Afro-Guyanese persons. GuyBow has ethnically diverse leadership and membership, while EQUAL has an entirely Indo-Guyanese leadership with ethnically diverse membership. This brought up a debate on membership versus leadership for Nicole who stated, "As [for] having equal representation and ensuring that everybody is represented at the top layer, I don't see it as being a necessity for each organization to have at the top, just for the sake of tokenizing somebody". They felt diversity in membership, including ethnicity, geographic location, nationalities and classes was more important. Other activists however, have emphasized ethnic diversity in leadership, especially given their past personal experiences with racism. Interviewees pointed out that membership demographics were often unplanned, and the combination of locality, practicality, comfort and safety concerns. To begin with, most of the organizations were located in Region Four, and especially the capital (Georgetown), therefore reaching the largest population concentration, and easiest resource logistics.

As a result of this urban, capital location, where Afro-Guyanese outnumbered Indo-Guyanese by approximately three to one (Matthews and Wilson, 1999), organizational membership can be expected to follow a similar pattern. Given this reality, one activist noted that prioritization of collaboration between organizations that centered different demographics made more sense than attempting to expand the reach of Georgetown-based organizations. Additionally, even the

location of organizational headquarters within the city could determine its support profile, as Amir explained,

> "because GuyBow is in Charlestown right, so you might pull people who might feel safer in Charlestown… Robb street SASOD had a different staff makeup. Maybe because it's Robb street and people are like well I'm not comfortable going down and working in Robb street… so location does play into access…into people's safety and sense of safety as well."

With regards to ethnicity, two major themes that arose were the exclusion of Indigenous persons and the comparatively infrequent involvement of Indo-Guyanese in the movement. I will deal with the latter first.

"Because Indo-Guyanese population makes up the majority, but I can't recall seeing a lot. It was mostly to me Afro-Guyanese who were out and who were coming to these socials and who are a part of the Pride parade". Norma here reflects the views of several other activists who commented on the relative dearth of Indo-Guyanese within the movement. Again, many reasons were given for this. More internal to Indo-Guyanese communities were sociocultural elements that made them, especially Hindu ones, somewhat more accepting of non-normative genders and sexualities. This had previously been found by Istodor-Berceanu (2019) and Peters (2019). Although this generalization does not apply to all Hindu factions, as pointed out by Dianne, interviewees explained it requires a tacit understanding whereby sexuality and gender identity are not prominently flaunted in exchange for "acceptance". This can involve being in heterosexual relationships, and precludes the visibility associated with queer activism, or prescribes a more low-key, background version of activism. As Dianne said, "we've always faced that constraint about getting more Indo-Guyanese involvement, especially in leadership. I think people would come to parties and activities and so on, but you know, generally don't want to be on boards".

 Another factor at play is anti-blackness within Indo-Guyanese communities. While the colonizers capitalized on cultural stereotypes and bigotry within every Guyanese ethnicity to defeat class solidarity, the Indian indentured immigrants also arrived with a caste system that

fostered anti-blackness (Bisnauth, 2007; p.222-223). This was not a frequently mentioned factor, but has certainly, even if only implicitly, played into considerations around joining and leaving organizations, and is hinted at in sentiments like "okay as a Indian person you can't really go around these Black people who talking about these all things, cos look thas not fuh we, thas fuh them" (Carmen). One interviewee revealed that there is stigmatization around activism and its urban location, especially for trans persons. "Going to [George]town" was associated with sex work, inevitable HIV infection and loss of any employment and acceptance within rural communities. This therefore prevented in-depth networking with the activism hubs in the capital.

Finally, factors more external to the Indo-Guyanese community included lack of cultural accommodations and feeling intimated by the composition of the movement. The former was illustrated by SASOD social events playing soca and dancehall music, which is embraced by more Afro-Guyanese and was construed as signaling less acceptance of Indo-Guyanese patrons. Given the ready visibility of Afro-Guyanese, middle class, urban, educated activists in the movement, it was remarked that this could be a potentially intimidating space for Indo-Guyanese who did not share similar geographic, class and educational statuses.

Picq and Tikuna (2019) in explaining how Indigenous language around queerness has been lost in translation, also pointed out that "Indigenous experiences are rarely perceived as a locus of sexual diversity" (p.57) partially because of the association between sexual diversity and modernity and the relegation of Indigenous persons to the past. In a country such as Guyana, where Indigenous (Amerindian) heritage month is celebrated every September, and Indigenous motifs and crafts are readily visible, it would be incorrect to state the Indigenous are relegated to the past. Rather, by virtue of their residence in the interior regions, they are spatially distanced from contemporary life and experience "politicized appropriation and writing over" (Jackson, 2012, p. 49). This amounts to the same dissonances between Indigenous sexual diversity and "modernity" (of the coastland in this case) discussed by Picq and Tikuna (2019), and as shown in this statement by Julian, "soon as you see a Amerindian Indigenous, people would say 'oh God, I never see a buck[24] antiman yet'. But they're there, they're gay people! There are Amerindians who are gay". Within the activist community such illogical reasoning would be unexpected, but

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[24] Local slur for Indigenous person

the subsequent discussion shows a complicated relationship between queerness, queer activism and Indigenous people.

Indigenous people have not been absent within the movement, as GuyBow, EQUAL, Comforting Hearts and Proud to be Trans had both Indigenous members and/or leaders, but the relative exclusion of Indigenous persons from the movement was a significant theme. One reason for this was Indigenous communities having different priorities and a complex relationship to claiming rights through the state:

> "These factors going to then tie into these other relations that exist in Guyana when it comes to Indigenous people, the land, their relationship to land, their culture, their identity and their relationship to the wider society, the larger society and the state. That on itself has its barriers, whether it be LGBT, whether it be health, whether it be any type of activism, like activism for land rights…it isn't that they wouldn't be interested in these things, it's just that I feel like the issues that are pertinent to Indigenous peoples, Indigenous activism, they don't see, there isn't that connection or the connection isn't revealed to them" (Carmen)

Several activists mentioned the homophobia and taboo around queerness prevalent in Indigenous communities, which as Carmen also pointed out, only exacerbates the disconnect, as queer Indigenous people leave their communities to "come to town and live their life". This eventually skews towards more bigotry as the bigoted remain in the Indigenous community. Istodor-Berceanu (2019) also interviewed an Indigenous Guyanese activist who commented on this prejudice, but Istodor-Berceanu rightfully cautioned that generalizing this statement to all Indigenous communities would be incorrect. I could find no other literature on the attitudes of Indigenous Guyanese towards queerness, and while the extensive colonizer Christian missionary projects did likely partially erase queer Amazonian frameworks (Picq and Tikuna, 2019), this is a severely underexplored area.

A more practical reason mentioned for the exclusion is the sheer size of the country: minimal interior infrastructure makes it cost-prohibitive to build connections with Indigenous communities. EQUAL was one of the only organizations that had done activities with communities in the interior, and when asked how inclusion could be improved, activists were

divided. A couple noted the need to balance any outreach to those communities with possible harm, as Nicole said:

> "Because we gon go for the one day…we might be able to pull in ten people and do something, but then, when we leave we might actually escalate the situation of discrimination, because people are gonna say oh, you went to the antiman group…Because you don't want to escalate the situation, you don't want to make a situation worse…we might get to tick it off on our statistical analysis…and then when we pack we bag and come back to the coast they getting beat in deh"

Interestingly, activists with linkages to the Indigenous communities saw things in a more direct manner, arguing for the need, urgency and necessity of reaching out to these communities and including more Indigenous persons in the movement. Peters' (2019) findings echoed the difficulties connecting with Indigenous communities, and suggested that couching outreach in more general, sexual and reproductive health terms might gain more purchase. While this would likely increase awareness around the issues and organizations, it's unlikely to entirely overcome the logistical issues of mobilizing across the distances or of stigmatization by association.

The preceding shows that like in Barbados, networking, movement recruitment and starting new organizations have been influenced to varying degrees by considerations around class, gender, ethnicity and Indigeneity.

Overall, this analysis showed that ethnicity, Indigeneity, gender and class played prominent roles in the movement dynamics in both countries, helping to answer "what social and organizational forces have influenced the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts?" Applying a comparative analysis, the living legacy of colonialism was more forcefully demonstrated in Guyana and its relation to ethnicity and Indigeneity. The perceptions of some who saw the movement in Guyana as being Afro-centric, were intertwined with the two significant themes of a relative dearth of Indo-Guyanese representation and relative exclusion of Indigenous persons from activism. In interrogating these absences, the link to colonialism can be seen in the seeds of interethnic strife sown during indentureship, but also reaches further back to the British racialization of caste in India (Weaver, 2022) that contributed to prevalent anti-black attitudes. Embedded within current global anti-blackness and fomented by post-independence Guyanese

elites, these attitudes persist. Similarly, Indigenous erasure can also be linked to colonialism's development of the Guyanese coast while simultaneously isolating Indigenous communities, and a post-independence continuation of this trend.

The tensions around gender representation present in both countries are also likely reflections of embedded colonial binaries (Lugones, 2010). In the case of SASOD, the Yahoo Groups were useful in showing the evolution of how these binaries eroded as the organization made more local, regional and transboundary linkages.

In Barbados class was foregrounded over ethnicity, and the prominence of middle class activists was mentioned more often, whereas in Guyana class issues were discussed with almost no reference to this same prominence. The fact that these divisions largely mirror those in society is a troubling one that raises questions about the nature of the movement, as Carmen said, "we gotta be careful that within the LGBT community and the activism we don't replicate that same structure, you gah build something different". The replication of these tensions is one reason identity categories are important, but another is how it also serves to exclude. Scholars have noted that mainstream queer activism in the Global North selectively embrace diversity in ethnicity, class and other demographics when they present as more respectable, and reject those that are more "messy or defiant" (Anderson-Nathe et al., 2018; Ward, 2008). A focus on respectability has a significant presence in the queer Caribbean, Barbadian and Guyanese literature (Kumar, 2018; Murray, 2012; Wahab, 2017), and was backed up by several mentions in the interviews. Murray (2012) has linked this to a "strategic engagement with hegemonic respectability by those rendered marginal" (p.112), and one that has its genesis in attempting to beat the colonial masters at their own respectability game.

6.3.3 Network and movement fragmentation

Another key movement dynamic that emerged from the thematic analysis of the interviews is the presence and degree of fragmentation. In Barbados positive descriptors of the movement, such as "brave", "collaborative", "formidable", "dynamic" and "resourceful" were mentioned almost twice as often as negative ones like "too academic", "scattered/separate/fragmented" and

"ambulance chasers"[25]. One activist explained fragmentation was not a complete fracture in the movement but an indication of the need for more collaboration, and another said while different organizations worked on different goals, it was sometimes difficult to discern the overall aim of the movement.

Competitiveness among organizations was mentioned by three activists, such that even for those that shared networking links, there was sometimes a reticence to share information. This state was attributed to resource scarcity in funding and movement support, linked by some interviewees to the small size of the population and the desire for greater social clout/capital. It was also stated that even in this climate, collaboration, at least between certain organizations, had increased over the recent years, aided by more independent activists who moved between organizations, and by leadership retreats that fostered camaraderie and networking. This gives the impression of a movement that has moved from a singular, integrated HIV-focused one with UGLAAB and MOVADAC in the early 2000s, to a more pluralized and partially fragmented network. Kenrick summarized it as: " but is not that bad now, in the past it was a bit harder to even collaborate with others on issues such as the buggery law…So, as you will see, now we are making some steps. Small tiny bit of steps, but is good."

In Guyana, positive descriptors of the movement, such as "vocal", "picking up speed", and especially "resilient/diverse", were mentioned on ten occasions. But seven activists also noted the movement was "fragmented/separated/segregated". This was alongside other negative characterizations such as "a non-existent movement community", "sad", "selfish" and "fearful". Fragmentation in the movement was therefore mentioned by twice as many persons as in Barbados, pointing to its greater role in the Guyanese context. Competitiveness also featured in Guyana, with several mentions of conflict between various organizations, but most notably between SASOD and GuyBow, and between GTU and A.I.D.S. Two interviewees noted these conflicts affected constituent recruitment and other sources of support, sometimes confusing potential local supporters about which, if any, organizations to support, and resulting in the movement not being taken seriously. Like in Barbados, a siloing of efforts was noted by several persons, although this was not necessarily seen as detrimental. Concentrating on each

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[25] A derogatory term for someone who always goes after money in a professional capacity

organization's "calling" or niche could help streamline the work, but the challenge remained a lack of overall engagement between organizations.

Cohesion in a social movement has been defined as "the cooperation among individuals that enables unified action" (Pearlman, 2011, p. 9) and has been posited by scholars as a fundamental prerequisite for movement function (Peters, 2016). Pearlman (2011) conceptualized fragmentation and cohesion as opposite ends of a spectrum, where leadership, institutions and collective purpose help to determine a movement's position on said spectrum. This fragmentation can be seen as part of a movement's life cycle, where it "naturally" results after the movement achieves its goal(s) or because the movement succumbs to internal and/or external pressures (Peters, 2016). Another term applied to this phenomenon has been factionalism (Kretschmer, 2013, p.257). However, given the many subpopulations under the LGBTQ+ umbrella, the need for diversification and "sub-specialization" among organizations is an understandable imperative, and can be seen as a useful alternative to factionalism. In any case, this effect at an intra-organizational level has resulted in persons leaving preexisting organizations to start their own (shown by the broken lines in figures 6.2.2 and 6.2.3) and inter-organizational tensions have emerged as themes in both contexts, but especially in Guyana.

Fragmentation and diversification can occur due to factors internal and external to the movement (Kretschmer, 2013; Peters, 2016). Even though both countries have attempted to form coalitions that would provide cohesive, centralized leadership, the absence of this internal factor promotes fragmentation. Initially centered around Pride planning, this coalition formation is nascent in Barbados and split into factions in Guyana - the Guyana LGBTQ+ coalition consisting of SASOD, GTU and SWAG; and other Pride activities as partnerships between EQUAL, GuyBow, GTU, PTBT and Tamukke Feminists. After a few years of discussion, the Barbados LGBTQ+ coalition coalesced around lobbying for constitutional reform and is an informal alliance of independent activists and Equals Inc. and Butterfly. Ideological differences have also played a part in fragmentation, taking the form of disagreements on accountability/transparency measures. More notably, the Guyanese movement was moved further towards the fragmentation end of the spectrum by cleavages along "preexisting social fault lines" by way of race, class and gender differences (Kretschmer, 2013, p.257). While interviewees allowed room for personality-based

challenges, histories of distrust, disrespect, lack of boundaries, and "power plays" that come with increased visibility and funding, they also noted that divisions could be traced to these fault lines. As Leela explained, there were "deep conflicts within the organization which could not be transformed because they were not based on differences of views, but on class, power, etc." Issues of gender and class both entered the equation in conflicts with GuyBow and GTU, as these organizations catered to women and mostly trans women respectively, and attracted a predominantly lower socioeconomic status category of constituents.

External factors influencing fragmentation include changes in the political landscape, shifting resources and changing alliances that present both threats and opportunities for cohesion (Kretschmer, 2013; Shriver and Messer, 2009). In both contexts the most commonly identified factor was resource constraints that led to intense competition. Alliances between organizations have been a dynamic process of reconfiguration and increasing collaborations between various permutations of coalitions. The political opportunity offered by the constitutional reform process has also provided for increased cohesion among Barbadian organizations. It bears noting that the particular set of externalities operating on the movements are not divorced from larger considerations around colonialism. Apart from impacting the political landscapes as explained in chapter five, Alvin Thompson (1997) remarked how "Caribbean societies have inherited a legacy not only of disunity but also of dependency" (p.27) which stretches all the way to traditions of political fragmentation and insularity.

While some scholars assert fragmentation implies the death of a movement, others point out its benefits, such as the introduction of new approaches, redress of inequities and new avenues for participation (Kretschmer, 2013), which align with the needs of a population as diverse as the LGBTQ+ umbrella . This movement dynamic therefore does not necessarily portend its demise, but is a concerning feature that deserves attention. As Guyanese activist Rishi said,

> "I find it is very unfortunate and disturbing that we are unable…as activists and leaders of these organizations that have been established to serve all these different purposes, is very disturbing and unfortunate that we are finding it so hard to work together. Very unfortunate."

This theme of similar movement fragmentation, more pronounced in Guyana, therefore adds nuance to figures 6.2.4 and 6.2.5, where the more static relational aspects of networking are clear, but obscures the underlying fissures. These fissures, mediated by class, ethnicity, Indigeneity, gender and histories of interaction are not necessarily negative as they allow for diverse opportunities, but need attention, especially given their fairly disparate nature in the two contexts.

6.4 Strategies, framings and resources – applying political process theory within Barbados and Guyana

The previous section examined the more internal features of the movement, exploring recruitment, or lack thereof. I now turn to an examination of "how" – how the movements relate to their external environment within the state (relations to transboundary environments are covered in the next chapter), and how they devise the execution of their goals. For this purpose I apply political process theory, framing and resource mobilization frameworks while being cognizant of Engel's (2001) caution that this is not meant to be a "totalizing" (p.14) account of all variables but one that is deployed to answer some fundamental questions about the interrelated, multitiered nature of how these movements operate. The section first covers resource mobilization, which includes an analysis of the social movement terrain and conceptualizations of capitals in play, before moving on to cover the political landscape and particular strategies and framings.

6.4.1 Resource mobilization

As stated in Chapter Three, the resources in resource mobilization cover both material (money, jobs, savings, the right to goods and services) and non-material (authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, skills) elements (Oberschall 1973, p.28). For the material aspect I focused on the obvious one of money for pragmatic reasons allowed by methodological design and constraints, but since money can facilitate other material resources, it can also be taken as a proxy for wider material resources without equating the two. The other non-material resources and network ties that formulate and aid them were more challenging to delineate. For these I

found Bourdieu's (1984) conceptions around non-economic facets of capital to be a useful framework. Recalling from Chapter Three that cultural capital was familiarity with a society's legitimate culture, objectified in cultural goods and objects, and institutionalized by being officially granted or sanctioned (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital being concerned with connections and networks (Bourdieu, 1986), while symbolic capital was essentially "economic or cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.135).

Figures 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 show estimates of funding amounts received by organizations in Barbados and Guyana. These estimates are from their inception to December 2022, and is based on data from interviews and online/social media research. It illustrates the discrepancy in funding between the two countries (as further discussed in the next chapter), but also the organizations with the most monetary resources. In Barbados these are CEED and Equals, although SHE's funding is noteworthy given the short time it has existed. In Guyana all the older organizations have led in monetary resources.
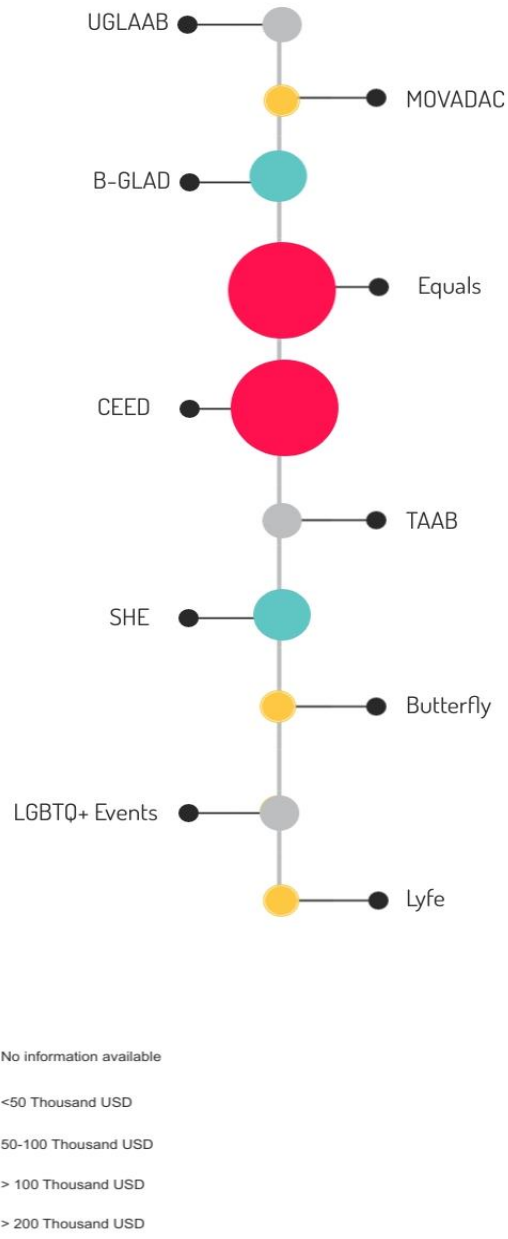
Figure 6.4.1: Estimates of funding amounts for each organization in Barbados from 2001 to December 2022
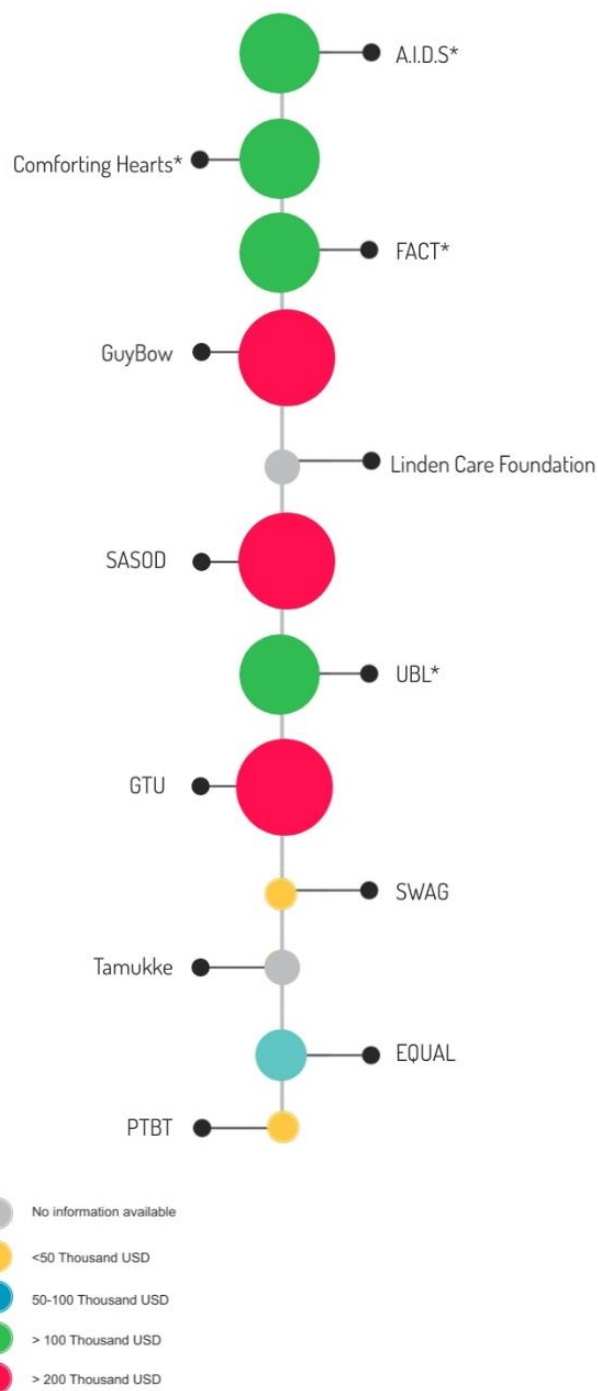
Figure 6.4.2: Estimates of funding amounts for each organization in Guyana from 1992 to December 2022 [* while no sources revealed numbers, these organizations were all funded by USAID/PEPFAR and/or Global Fund, and based on the amounts typically disbursed by those funders from the data sources, a conservative lower amount was estimated]

For the non-material resources the gathering of all the elements for a fully informed picture of each organization was not possible. Instead, based on social capital (as determined by connections within the social movement sector and industry above and connections implied by a larger online presence), symbolic capital (more prestige as proxied by frequency in newspapers) and institutionalized cultural capital (proxied by the education level of leadership), a picture emerged of the tiered nature of capitals present in the organizations of each country. In Barbados Equals, B-GLAD and UGLAAB led in non-economic capital, followed by organizations in the mid-range, such as CEED, SHE, MOVADAC and Butterfly. At the lower end of this type of capital were LGBTQ+ events, Lyfe and TAAB [see Appendix Eight for a breakdown of organization scoring by these metrics]. In Guyana, SASOD, EQUAL, GTU and Tamukke wielded the most non-economic capital, followed by organizations like A.I.D.S, SWAG, FACT and GuyBow, with PTBT and Comforting Hearts at the lower end. Taking both types of resources together, it can be safely concluded that Equals in Barbados, along with SASOD and GTU in Guyana led in resource mobilization. Of course any of the metrics can shift over time and reflects circumstances up to December 2022.

This resource landscape shows how relatively newer organizations in either country, all "hybrid" in utilizing HIV and human rights funding to varying extents, have dominated as organizational forces influencing the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts. Interestingly, the oldest organization in Guyana – A.I.D.S – did not possess the most resources, and while both Equals and SASOD have university-educated cis male leadership and its attendant privileges, GTU has been able to garner much resources without similar leadership. This situation is reminiscent of analysis from Nepal and Chile where cis gender men have led NGOs in resource accumulation (Campbell, 2014; Rana, 2021), but is also different given GTU's co-dominance and how close some of the other organizations are in resources.

6.4.2 Political opportunities and landscape

The colonial and transnational influence on the political landscapes in both countries has already been outlined in the previous chapter. The analysis led to the conclusion that both possess largely open political opportunity structures, although Guyana's is less so. Here I further unpack the

cultural components and more 'dynamic' opportunities (Swalboski, 2012) influencing political opportunities, and which political opportunities activists have engaged with.

By combining all data sources, it can be seen that activists engaged with a variety of political opportunities. Both countries have utilized international and regional human rights mechanisms as detailed earlier. An interrelated symbolic political opportunity has been the celebration of various international days that allowed them to surface their agenda; in particular, World AIDS Day, IDAHOBIT and International Human Rights Day have received consistent attention. They also used their national constitutions, parliamentarians, ministries and diplomatic missions, with the latter three being evident in figures 6.2.6 and 6.2.7 as well as in Appendix Seven. At least half the organizations in both countries have engaged with ministries, most notably the Ministry of Health, and the diplomatic missions of the US, Canada and the UK have been especially prominent in lending support as well. The 2003 constitutional amendment was a primary factor in SASOD's formation, while Barbados is currently undergoing a constitutional reform that queer activists have significantly mobilized around. They have both minimally utilized the Commonwealth, mainly restricting engagements to activities around the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting and the Commonwealth Equality Network (TCEN).

Areas with some differences include the National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs) and national elections. In 2020 SASOD capitalized on the elections, and the inclusive language in the main parties' manifestos to launch an LGBTQ manifesto, but there has been no comparable action in Barbados. Relatedly, studies from the Global South have suggested that democratizations of government have presented opportunities for queer organizing as well as for the mobilization of queer opposition movements (Kjaran and Naeimi, 2022; Moreau, 2017). Both countries have been democracies since independence, but Guyana endured a period of steady electoral rigging until 1992, coinciding with the start of the A.I.D.S. While A.I.D.S' formation was likely multifactorial, it's a reasonable assumption that the increasingly permissive environment after the ending of the authoritarian rule of former President Burnham also played a role. NHRIs as political opportunities was noted by Lennox and Waites (2013), but have played a nominal role in either country. In Barbados, MOVADAC has tried to engage with the office of

the Ombudsman to no effect, but there is no record of similar attempts in Guyana. A quasi-NHRI, the Ethnic Relations Commission, was appealed to by SASOD early on, also to no avail.

In both Barbados and Guyana the main themes around government and political culture were "lack of political will/paralysis" and "lip service". Interestingly, I recorded almost twice as many codes around government in the Guyana interviews compared to Barbados, indicating how much more Guyanese activists critiqued and analyzed these interactions. As previously stated, government encounters have been increasing in both jurisdictions. In Guyana the journey has been from almost no parliamentarians attending SASOD's 2003 forum, to frequent meetings with ministers, parliamentarians, and congratulations and speeches from same. In Barbados an interviewee acknowledged that government engagement was minimal until the Mia Mottley-led administration took office in 2018. But here the situation diverges. While Guyana's movement has significant visibility in their political sphere, no administration has initiated any policy or legislative changes. Barbados' activists have experienced less social commendations and attention by politicians, but the government has included sexual orientation as grounds for non-discrimination in the Employment Act and in the new charter, spoken about instituting civil unions, started funding the operation of Equals through the Ministry of Health, and removed the ban on blood donations from men who have sex with men. Still, Barbadian interviewees commented on the lack of political will for implementing change and how the country has not honored its international human rights treaties. These observations are not unfounded, as the Barbados government dragged on the sodomy challenge at the IACHR, allowing it to become moot after four years, with the successful overturning of the same law in the domestic court. As Christiana noted,

> "we sign onto this treaty and agree to this, all these kind of things…but this ain happening in practice, so it's just lip service. And they're not doing anything to really strengthen the community…it would be great if all these [organizations] didn't have to do all this legwork…if the Prime Minister's office took up all the legwork"

After five years in office the pace of change has been slow, but prodigious compared to Guyana. In Guyana, a political culture that is typified by political paralysis on the part of both main parties was noted by twice as many interviewees as in Barbados. Norma summarized this apathy

by saying, "the government simply does not care about the [sodomy] law…They don't care enough to enforce it, and they don't care enough to take it up…the government's argument was there are so many laws held by the savings law clause, where do we begin to start". A couple of activists however were of the view that merely acknowledging the issues, as the government has been doing, was progress. Past governments have not only been apathetic however, as it emerged that they actively stalled or prevented Global North transnational funders from participating in dialogue and research related to queer issues. The tokenization of queer activism by politicians was similarly remarked upon:

"Most of the times, if not all the times they're calling for a consultation meeting for something that was already consulted about with another set of people…you come to us when nothing can be changed, but you still holding a consultation meeting so as to make it sound nice for the funders or whoever that you know, we did consultations with all the CSOs and so forth" (Navin)

"When the Government commends your work against its refusal to transform things, what does that mean? That they are happy you have to struggle for the rights and so on which all they have to do is put signatures on papers? It does not cost money to do that!" (Leela)

Even though several organizations indicated they had allies in various ministries, Rishi complained that they never actually did anything substantial, "we need somebody at that level of leadership advocating very strongly for that change, and they have the capacity to do it…But what are they doing? They're saying one thing in-house and as far as I'm concerned is just a lot of talk, it's more campaigning more than anything else." In the interim, increased government interactions has led to at least one activist noting that it increased fears of black listing and losing any government mediated funding should the organization be seen as overly critical of the administration. This is reminiscent of how state-funded Latin American organizations have had their activism diluted (Encarnación, 2016), but in this case, without comparative levels of state funding.

In both countries several activists stated that the political culture was partially a result of a fear of backlash from the religious opposition, the electorate and the political opposition, which could

use any progress to score bigoted political points. Interviewees recalled that this has especially been the case in Barbados, where past election campaigns have exhibited blatant homophobia. Having attended two Constitutional Reform Commission (CRC) townhall meetings in November 2022, I observed firsthand the revulsion, hostility and political threats consistently on display during those meetings. Although not reflective of the majority of Barbadian's views (one study found 17% of Barbadians are homophobic (CADRES, 2019)), this extremely vocal minority made me understand why politicians might be fearful. Activists noted that there are queer persons in many political offices or spheres of influence, but they are also fearful of repercussions. In Barbados these queer potential-influencers appear to be less outspoken on trans issues compared to sexuality ones.

Relatedly, the difference in elite political allies factors into the how activists have been able to seize political opportunities. Comparing what ministerial and parliamentary allies in Barbados have been able to achieve versus Guyana is striking, and likely due to the effect of Prime Minister Mottley. Mottley has never placed her sexuality on record, but several interviewees stated her queerness as a matter of fact. Every Barbadian I have ever talked to about this topic reaffirmed this identity and a political opponent is on record calling Mottley "a self-proclaimed wicker"[26]. Regardless of whether Mottley actually identifies as lesbian or not, the country certainly sees her as one. I don't suggest that Mottley's sexuality has been directly responsible for the changes seen in Barbados, but that it is implicated in her functioning as an elite ally, who by extension promotes an LGBTQ+ responsive atmosphere within her government. This effect is magnified given the lack of an opposition in Parliament and is similar to what Kollman and Waites (2011) posit as the favorable political opportunity structure that the New Labor government brought to UK queer organizing in the 1990s. This positionality also has its drawbacks, as Christian noted when speaking of the slow pace of change, "it's something that is fearful of the government of Barbados to do, to push heavily on, it's because of maybe her [Mottley] own personal backlash".

Overall, in comparing the political culture and opportunity structures in each country, there are similar trends in openness combined with political lassitude, but a key difference in elite allyship

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[26] Personal video of Parliamentarian Dennis Lowe speaking at a political rally in 2018

and the overarching colonial legacy that shaped the enabling structure of this allyship. In Guyana, the activists have had significant political attention and promises with almost no tangible dividends, while the opposite has occurred in Barbados. As the PPP comes to the end of their term in Guyana, and as Barbados unveils its new constitution, it remains to be seen whether any disruptions of these patterns will occur.

6.4.3 Framing and strategies

Framing is a dynamic, contentious process through which social movement actors can understand reality (Benford and Snow, 2000; Mills, 2014). For this section, I use Snow et al.'s (2019) conceptual framing architecture to outline how the various elements of this scaffold relate to the contexts. Snow et al. (2019) define collective action frames as the end products of framing directed primarily towards mobilization and action of movement adherents and bystanders, as well as neutralization of opponents; early on in a movement some frames become "master frames" influencing subsequent frames and even spreading to other movements, but not all master frames necessarily resonate through time. Collective action frames that have been used by queer movements include HIV/AIDS, rights (human/LGBT/civil), privacy, tolerance, equality, liberation/freedom, gay power, violence/anti-violence, victimization/discrimination, citizenship, and economic interest (Adam and Cooper, 2017; Denby, 2015; Lennox and Waites, 2013; Mongie, 2015).

As previously discussed, human rights was by far the most commonly utilized frame in both countries, although those in Barbados used it less frequently. This corresponds to the popularity of the framing around the world and in the Global South (Josephson, 2020; Moreau, 2017). Interviewees also mentioned equality, discrimination and HIV as framings, although they lagged significantly behind human rights. Economic interest was also an emerging framing that is further discussed in Chapter Seven. Both HIV/AIDS and human rights can be categorized as master frames, although HIV/AIDS can be said to have less current resonance.

Snow et al. (2019) outlined frame resonance as whether a frame finds favor with the target audience in a subjective and dynamic process, and frame crystallization as the term for why

competing framings become less newsworthy while others gather more evidence or "convergence of sentiment"' to their cause. The framing architecture also offers the concepts of framing hazard and frame alignment. The former affects a frame's utility and credibility and includes disputes on frame application and frame shifts as the grounds for placement change, while the latter refers to efforts to link interests and goals with potential contributors. The human rights framing has certainly crystallized in both contexts over the last two decades, but it is interesting to consider why some other framings have not found resonance. For instance, the liberatory and "gay power" framings in the US would have fallen into relative disuse by the time the movements emerged in either country, and were therefore not readily available for reference. The disregarding of a privacy framing is likely linked to constitutional factors. Noting that both country's constitutions reflect varying colonial influence and post-independent amendments, Barbados, similar to the Bahamas, offers constitutional "protection for the privacy of his home and other property" (Barbados Constitution, 1966, Chapter 3 Article 11). This is different to the explicit section detailing individual privacy in Belize's constitution, but was nevertheless useful for Bahamas' removal of their buggery laws and was used as part of the case justification in the successful litigation against the buggery law in Barbados in 2022. Guyana's constitution however, is missing similar language but does state that "in the interpretation of the fundamental rights provisions…a court shall pay due regard to international law, international conventions, covenants and charters bearing on human rights" (Guyana Constitution, 1980, Chapter 2 Article 39). This illustrates the non-utility of a privacy framing in that country, while reinforcing the utility of human rights framing.

Hazards of human rights framing include links to the colonial project, problematic deployment in non-Western countries and hijacking by nationalistic politics (Waites, 2017), while hazards of the HIV/AIDS framing include the pathologizing of queerness and the exclusion of cis women especially from community efforts and funding (Logie, 2015). Given the constitutional emphasis on human rights, especially in reference to the international, this framing aligned with a national/local rights framing in Guyana. There were no comparable overlaps or national rights opportunities in Barbados. In both countries human rights and HIV/AIDS framing aligned with prevailing concerns and potential contributors, with the emerging economic interest framing seeking to align with opportunities that are increasingly resonant.

Frames operate in a discursive field that facilitates/constrains interactions between the movement and its larger cultural and structural context, with success depending on identifying a problem and assigning blame or responsibility for it (diagnostic framing), proposing a solution (prognostic framing), and appealing to emotion or compelling action (motivational framing) (Snow et al., 2019). Highlighted by the lip-service theme above, the human rights framing operated in a context where both countries have signed onto several rights treaties and mechanisms, but are not unduly bothered when the disconnect between these obligations and local realities are pointed out in international forums or by queer activists. The IACHR 2018 ruling on civil unions, which is binding on Barbados, has still not been implemented in-country although there has been talk of initiating this process in 2021. The national consultations on decriminalization of same-sex intimacy promised by Guyana to the UPR never materialized with no repercussions. Coupled with an opposition that tries to position this framing as "neo-colonial" and establishing a "cultural hegemony", especially in Barbados ("Church decries", 2018), the discursive field both facilitates and constrains the dominant framing. The diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing tasks have had variable success, being limited in Guyana, but more successful in Barbados, due to advantageous state opportunity structures. The plateauing of human rights framing helps explain the partial pivoting to an economic interest frame, but should also encourage the exploration of other ones like decolonization, liberation and citizenship, especially in Guyana. As Carmen said,

> "I think the primary goal should be about building a community and understanding what exactly are we contributing to especially in Guyana and what is the impact we're looking to make, because if you just limit it to just the LGBT Community dem Guyanese nah guh really buy into it…but to kind of tie it into something that's related to the historic struggle that we had, the movement that we had…we could articulate what the actual goal the activism is aiming for, and how that goal ties into whatever the national aspirations, or the country aspiration, the aspirations of the Republic"

Closely related to framing are the strategies and tactical repertoires used by the movements, which in turn, are related to their agendas.

Overwhelmingly, in both countries, almost all activists identified legal and policy changes as a priority on the agenda. These agendas were largely perceived as locally led, with their exact contours differing between countries. In Barbados almost half the interviewees acknowledged disagreements on the order of priorities. While legal and policy change to address discrimination, family life, employment and access to services were important, and many saw the constitutional reform process as an opportunity to achieve some of this legislative change, work on trans issues (like hormone access), changing societal attitudes, decriminalizing sex work, empowering the queer community and increasing community employment were also placed on the agenda. Interestingly, in both countries, an equal number of persons said same-sex marriage was on the priority list, as those who said it was lower down in priorities, indicating a truly mixed view on this issue. Others did not feel that there were disagreements on the agenda and three persons were actually unsure about the nature of any agenda. Some saw the siloing of work by various organizations as "challenging but it's also really inspirational" (Marc) and as "other organizations are focusing on their own scope of things in terms of how they want to tackle stuff. So even though I think they're all in agreement that we need to tackle the laws of the land, they're doing it in their own way" (Dennis).

In Guyana there was a similar consensus on the additional items on the agenda, with a particular focus on economic security mentioned by several persons. The need for social change in tandem with policy change was also noted. While five persons saw no agenda disagreements, many others did. As in Barbados, it was stated that organizations "worked on their own" and could be seen as "secretive" about their projects, leading a couple of interviewees to remark that they did not know what GuyBow or GTU's agenda was. Conversely, some also saw the siloing of efforts as an efficient means of work division and avoiding duplication.

As can be seen in Appendix Seven, where the activities and events of each organization are listed, the movements have utilized a variety of tactical repertoires, such as litigation, legislative reviews, cultural tools like Pride, public outreach, protests and information politics as identified by Lennox and Waites (2013), but also included stands/marches, and political lobbying. Public outreaches through various talks, panels, media appearances, and information destination through social media and offline campaigns, as well as trainings were popular choices in both

countries. Both have also sought legislative review of the constitutions and employment acts, litigated against the state and lobbied to varying levels, using local research to aid these efforts. There were some notable difference in tactics however. Guyana has had several protests and marches targeting the state or state apparatuses, for example the SASOD/GTU protest of "slothful" investigation into trans murders ("SASOD/GTU", 2014) in 2014. But apart from UGLAAB's launch walk (which was done in coordination with a government ministry), stands and marches in Barbados have been very poorly attended (and not explicitly directed at the state), with larger marches being counter-protests or stands directed at the religious opposition; similar religious-directed street action was not found in Guyana. Other cultural and outreach tactics, like the early extensive use of street and formal theatre; film festival; exhibits; vigils; and letter writing were significantly more common, or solely confined to Guyana.

Tactical choices are influenced by combinations of familiarity, assessment of effectiveness, internal organizing, external repression and the cultural and structural environments (Larson, 2013). The similarity in tactics between countries thus illustrate their comparable milieus, while highlighting how some cultural and social differences, for example the importance of letters to Guyanese newspapers discussed in the previous chapter, can favor some tactics. Encarnación (2020) pointed out how the tactic of litigation grounded in civil rights contributed to the virulent backlash to the US queer movement, while the Latin American movements, framed as human rights and citizenship, have been subjected to less backlash due to religious, cultural and framing reasons. Successful litigation in both Barbados and Guyana has not received significant backlash, likely partially due to a human rights framing, but it also remains to be seen whether this changes with further challenges, such as with the buggery laws in Guyana. Another potential threat is posed by the use of "outside lobbying", which occurs when activists mobilize citizens to persuade policymakers on an issue (Kollman, 1998), as occurred with the constitutional reform commission in Barbados. SASOD's efforts to use their research on the increasingly tolerant attitudes of Guyanese people to convince policy makers that reform would have widespread support could also be seen as outside lobbying. But this tactic risks "expanding the conflict" too much and provoking backlash from the opposition and general public (Kollman, 1998; Holzhacker, 2012).

Given that both movements prioritized legal and policy change, and have used tactics geared towards this objective, they can be said to have used the "legitimation" model of US organizing, which sought mainstreaming of queerness over queer liberation (Vaid, 1995). Vaid (1995) made the valid point that legitimation risks erasing queer persons not interested in, or acceptable to middle class, mainstream norms, but I agree with the further statement that "rather than seeing this opposition as a war between strategies, we should consider the relationship as a dialectic between two poles that propels our progress" (p.257). Calvo and Trujillo (2011) from their work on queer organizing in Spain, have similarly identified confrontational and cooperative models, whereby the confrontational model prioritizes radical social emancipatory change and the cooperative "orientates specific demands towards specific gatekeepers, implicitly acknowledging both the rules of the game and the role of those keepers as constitute elements in the broader game" (p.576).

Sociocultural, political and historical influences influenced the tactics and therefore the models used by both countries, and I argue that these factors, along with geographical and population size have played a role. Guyanese activists deployed protests and marches in an environment where there is both a legacy of protesting and of violent protest repressions; as recently as 2012 Guyanese police killed three protestors (BBC, 2012). Typically, early on in a protest cycle is when movements use particularly disruptive tactics, before moving onto more conventional ones like lobbying (Larson, 2013), but in Guyana, this has not been the case. The movement started with more conventional tactics, like awareness campaigns and lobbying, only having its first, very small, march in 2012, after it would have gauged any potential repercussions, and has since reverted to more conventional tactics, with no protests being held within the last five years. In Barbados, the lack of fully-fledged protests, especially directly against the state, has certainly been influenced to some degree by the fact that a permit from the police is required for any such activities (Ramsaran, 2004). In a "tiny ass little country where everybody knows everybody else, where institutions are run by people you see in the supermarket" (Colin Robinson as quoted in Gosine, 2021, p.89), tactical repertoires and strategies are necessarily constrained and the prioritization of security was mentioned by several Barbadian activists. Within this context, publicly "blasting" the government can be seen as "counterproductive to future collaborations" (Anthony). This fitted with interviewees speaking about the need to be less "aggressive" in using

"in your face" (Kenrick) tactics like protests compared to the Global North and Latin America. Addressing the non-middle class interest in both movements has predominantly taken the form of socioeconomic improvement, as opposed to arguing for more long term radical reforming of societal mores to embrace fluidity outside the heterosexual matrix. Julian emphasized the survival nature of concerns by saying, "when organization push these [rights], they [community members] might say that's not the important thing right now, the important things for me right now is to find a place, a room to rent, or find myself a little job or something I can better myself, you know as an individual". This did not mean non-recognition of the need for social change, as several spoke about having parallel strategies addressing policy as well as societal attitudes, but many activists in both countries also noted that such widespread cultural change takes longer. In the interim, cooperatively "maneuvering" within the sociopolitical structures and institutions was prioritized. Nicole demonstrated this in speaking of the younger activists:

> "we know how to maneuver certain systems, and we know how to manipulate certain situations to benefit ourselves and that's something that we have to learn. That we have learned and we continue to learn…so oftentimes it's not very black and white and it's not as radical as we'd like it to be and you know just go out on the street and protest and thing, yes, there are benefits to that, but it's also about being able to recognize what the situations are and recognize how you can manipulate those situations and involve yourself to become part of the solution, as opposed to become part of the problem".

This maneuvering in the liminal spaces, "simultaneously within and against the systems that it challenges" has been a feature of Guyanese activism previously identified (Rowley, 2013, p.4772). How much of this societal change will push against the heterosexual matrix remains to be seen, as like many queer movements elsewhere (Calvo and Trujillo, 2011), a reformative, mainstreaming agenda is being pursued in both contexts.

This preceding analysis showed that in order to pursue their priorities of legal and policy reform, activists used a variety of tactical repertoires that are circumscribed by political, social and geographical realities. They interchanged strategies in service to goals rather than focusing on any specific ideologies or more radical views (Santos, 2013), and used the dominant framings of human rights and HIV in both countries. As HIV funding has decreased, so has its framing

resonance, but the problematic transnational colonial connections (discussed in the previous chapter), pathologizing of queerness and male-centricity is challenging to reconcile with a decolonial approach to activism. The ubiquity and general global acceptability of human rights makes it an easy and almost unavoidable framing (Bennett, 2017), and even though this framing often undergoes vernacularization for local context (Levitt and Merry, 2017), it also has transnational and decolonizing implications. As the newspaper analysis in the previous chapter revealed, often times human rights (more so in Guyana compared to Barbados) mentions were linked to the transnational either as reference or the ideal. This can facilitate backlash as human rights are connected to the "foreign" and a Global North agenda. Even as the utility of the framing appears to have stalled, Attai (2019) has also argued that it is insufficient in capturing the diversity of queer Caribbean resistances and has served as a vehicle for furthering Canadian interference in activism in the region. Certainly, there are questions about how much decolonial scope is offered by the framing, given its inextricable links to the international and the state. This presents an apt opportunity to delve further into the subset of strategic practices around decoloniality/decolonization.

6.4.4 Decolonial and decolonizing strategies

Understanding how these activists conceptualized and practiced decoloniality/decolonization is important because as Foluke Adebisi said "decolonization is not one thing, but a set of context-dependent strategies, adopted by activists resisting colonization – strategies specifically relevant to the particular ways in which colonial ideologies manifest themselves in those particular places." (quoted in Sirvent, 2022). To begin with however, it is necessary to first understand how colonialism and coloniality were interpreted.

Unsurprisingly, just over half of all the interviewees (including those from the Global North), said that colonialism had either impacted their activism or themselves. The legal legacy of colonialism was also mentioned by half of all the interviewees, with one person noting how this has made the movement start from a negative momentum, having to expend time and energy in combatting legal relics instead of pressing on with other legislative or empowering changes. A few activists expressed or acknowledged that feelings of sadness, anger, and hate remained

around the topic, as with Sheldon stating "I really have a huge disgust feeling for anything colonial. I still feel some level of hatred for colonization especially in Barbados". This fed into the significant themes in both contexts of how colonialism has been intertwined with other oppressive systems, such as patriarchy, sexism, classism, capitalism, anti-blackness and religion, as well as how much colonialism/coloniality has been internalized. In the latter case it has become "a part of us", with no option to escape its pervasive effects. As Katie in Guyana said, "I am a product of this colonial plantation system of coloniality you know…my livelihood is tied as a Black person…to the same apparatus, oppressive apparatus", and Christiana in Barbados added, "like we're forced to participate in this hamster wheel, we don't have a choice". Only two persons used the term "coloniality", but several others pointed out the colonialities of power, gender, and knowledge that have shaped attitudes to language and race without using the term.

Another notable theme from both contexts was how religion, and Christianity in particular, has been interwoven with colonialism. Decolonial scholars have noted that the hierarchies imposed by colonialism were based on Eurocentric Christian values as the ideal (Barreto, 2021), and in fact Columbus was influenced as much by economic interest as by expanding Christianity (Maldonado-Torres, 2014). While colonialism oriented the world to see Europe as the pinnacle in every sphere, Christianity was the scaffolding upon which this was done, but this connection has been undertheorized and obscured (Yountae, 2020). Based on the work of Ana-Maurine Lara (2020), I argue that Christian coloniality deserves as much attention as the more well known conceptualizations around the colonialities of power, being and knowledge which center race (Quijano, 2000). In fact, Lara (2020) states that Christian coloniality is the "discursive and material intersections of Christian theologies with the construction of colonial being/knowledge and power" (p.5). Lara (2020) also posits that not only did the management of labor and race emerge from Christian concepts, but also those around gender and sex, such that the binaries attached to them are "embodied through monogamous heterosexual complementarity" (p.49) that elevates heteropatriarchy over the deviance of sexual and gender diversity, with a moral duty for its expunction. Eva captured this connection with the statement that "like there's the emotional impact of it all; shame, there's religion, religion comes with that shame, there is fear, there's hate, there is disgust, all of these things, these emotions were given by something, by someone else to the community". Lara (2020) pointed out the intersection of Christian coloniality and white

supremacy in the "logics" of blood purity and the regulation of sex that would maintain Christian expansion while exploiting racialized bodies for labor. The coloniality of Christianity manifests in its enduring impact on former colonies and the "ways in which Christian preoccupations with sin and salvation continue to inform contemporary preoccupations with moral personhood" (Lara, 2020, p. 64). Its evolving nature is evident in this quote from Anthony: "now in terms of colonialism and religion - so there's colonialism in terms of the original Anglican stuff that was brought here but also in terms of the new colonialism with American evangelists so I think there's a huge impact". Anthony here was referencing the significant transnational support US evangelists provide for local religious organizations to conduct anti-queer lobbying and actions.

Christian coloniality's influence is more straightforward to unpack in Barbados where other religions form a small minority, than in Guyana where there are significant Hindu and Muslim populations. These latter religions were not imposed by the colonizers but brought with the enslaved and indentured and their influence has been complex. On the one hand there are the narratives that Hindu communities are somewhat more accepting of sexual and gender diversity and one interviewee's comment that the Muslim community has 'a *little* bit more acceptance', but on the other, lead organizations for both religions have issued statements opposing decriminalization back in 2012 (Bagirat, 2020; "Guyanese Muslims", 2012). Vidyaratha Kissoon (2013b) asserted that Caribbean Hinduism has been prejudiced by colonialism, and can take conservative slants so as to not appear too morally different from Christianity and Islam. Nevertheless, on occasions of widespread religious opposition to the queer movement, as in the 2003 constitutional amendment and the 2018 Pride parade, this was strikingly dominated by Christian leaders, lending credence to Christian coloniality's substantial presence in Guyana as well.

Within this background, five persons had either never heard the terms decoloniality or decolonization, or really considered their meaning before. I deliberately asked about decoloniality/decolonization at the end of the interviews to enable its organic surfacing, even if the specific terms were not used. In early interviews two persons asked if by decoloniality I meant decolonization, so I then used both terms in subsequent interviews. Interestingly only four interviewees (all from Guyana) used decoloniality in their answers, with everyone else choosing

to use decolonization. This to me, indicated their greater familiarity with that term. An almost even split from eight interviewees in both countries and Global North did in fact talk about decoloniality/decolonization before being prompted and without using the term, such as when speaking about "dismantling colonialism", how their work resisted the legacies of colonialism or in specific activism practices. This quote from Eva talking about reshaping linguistics around queerness gives an example:

> "We are still developing and our language about our experiences and our language about like what our identities are and all those things that's still being formed. And relying on what is created in international spaces to help to express ourselves always feels like it's a little bit off the mark".

Most frequently decoloniality/decolonization was voiced as a breaking away from/getting rid of the norms, attitudes and institutions of colonialism, and in particular, the laws and policies that have persisted; a freeing "from not only the actual strictures of colonialism, but from the mindset which has so messed us up that we have accepted patriarchy, that we have accepted capitalism, that we have accepted inequality as somehow the way the world is" (Tanisha). Other common conceptualizations included variations of acknowledging the past, understanding the present and one's role, and then moving forward by forming one's own identity while foregrounding local knowledges, and community over the individual. One interviewee, Cynthia, disillusioned with what they saw as the static nature of decolonization, saw this forward motion as "beyond decolonization" and not as a continuation of the process:

> "there comes a point beyond decolonization where you start to feel proud of yourself and then you want to build something. And I think…that's why, with the decolonization like I'm so over it, because I feel…don't get me wrong, it's incredibly important, but I feel like at some point you then have to instead of deconstruct yourself, determine that I want to wear my hair this way…after that you start to build. Who do I want to be? Who am I?"

Several persons had been influenced by their readings from scholars and one cited the works of Ndlovu-Gatsheni in seeing decolonization as union and connection between the Global South, while a couple of others envisioned it as a healing on both individual and community levels. A few activists also mentioned more simplistic views of decolonization being the addressing of inequalities or having political sovereignty. Importantly, a quarter of all interviewees stated

decoloniality/decolonization is a process, one which can be difficult and uncomfortable, with a subset expressing that this process might never even happen.

One of the Barbadian activists argued that decolonization was unwanted and unnecessary as it risked losing cultural characteristics built on/during colonialism:

> "So our current culture is a mixture of both where we came from and where we are now, so to take one aspect out of that we would have to rewrite a lot of who we are as people and then might not seem real …So I'm not sure how it would be cos I see it as part of who we are, and I don't know how we would be without it, because cultures grow with people and I just feel like it's grown onto us. It's not what it was before, it's us now" (Dennis).

This argument though, understands decolonization only as a rejection of colonialism/coloniality, ignoring that decolonization also recognizes the agency, resistance and hybridity (as Dennis said, "our current culture is a mixture") that evolved from colonialism. But the argument "against decolonization" has also been advanced by the recent work of scholars like Olúfẹ́mi Táíwò (2022) who have been dissatisfied with the catch all nature and deployment of decolonization.

Several interviewees could not identify any practices in their activism that they would consider decolonial/decolonizing, and also did not discuss any practices during the interview that I could classify as such, but there were a range of decolonial actions taken by all the other activists. The diversity of answers was incongruent with the findings from the online and archival sources, which rarely mentioned decoloniality/decolonization, illustrating the usefulness of multiple data collection methodologies. The most common response was that there was an implicit, overarching awareness of resisting the legacies of colonialism within activism and that queer activism was intrinsically decolonial: "I think inherently there's an aspect of decolonization in the work that we do. I think trying to queer, like queering spaces in Barbados that's decolonization and just showing up as we are being unapologetic" (Marc). Indeed, for the half of the interviewees who stated colonialism influenced their activism, this link can be directly made. Related to this more cognitive aspect, and illustrated by this quote from Leah – "besides the theoretical inspiration, with decoloniality, decolonial thought, also is related to how I approach things in my personal, professional life more generally" - were those whose actions were

influenced by theory, were seeking to understand their role and how to incorporate more decolonizing practices into their work, or saw their decolonizing everyday practices (for example in not patronizing restaurants that recapitulated colonial hierarchies) as inextricable from their activism.

Other broad practices included raising awareness and educating others on the effects of colonialism; fostering intersectional collaborations; only working with those who held similar ethos on resisting systems of oppression; pushing back and disrupting gender binaries and formalized hierarchies; and incorporating climate justice and anti-racism into their work. Some specific examples included activists with privileges making space and centering other voices, activists from the Global North being guided by, and supporting those in the Global South, and using art and less structured and hierarchical methods of interaction in workshops and meetings. One of the more frequent mentions was around language, and privileging local ways of speaking, doing and being. Eva again typified this response from both countries:

> "I think the fact that our language was taken and so many people's language was taken in so many ways…and then the experience of being whatever that other was, that wonderful other, I'm going to call it the wonderful other…So it's funny that the only words we describe ourselves or describe an experience similar to us are offensive. So we got the words like wicca, we got the words like bulla, we got them words, but we ain't got no words that are positive, because it wasn't something positive. So, I hope over time, and as we begin the decolonization process, we begin to like trust our own abilities to make language."

That arts and languages were fairly frequently mentioned is unsurprising, since as Marc pointed out, in Caribbean culture a "lot of our things have been based on like art and creation and storytelling because that's how our culture is". This often surfaced in movement activities like talent shows, drag balls, poetry events, readings and others highlighted in Appendix Seven.

Overall, as Meer and Müller (2021) pointed out, "colonialism, its diverse subjectivities and discursive effects, are not discrete, homogenous or pure, and neither is decoloniality" (p.14). Adebisi also stated that decolonization in practice "involved Indigenous peoples, colonized peoples and racialized peoples, taking up the tools that *they* have, to resist the specific forms of

oppression that *they* experience" (Sirvent, 2022). This finding therefore shows that decolonization narratives centering "land back" and Indigeneity, that predominates in some Global North settings, seems largely irrelevant to the Barbadian and Guyanese (and possibly Anglophone Caribbean) contexts, as only one activist mentioned either of these issues in their decolonizing discourse. Much of the decolonization practices and strategies used were more implicit, and while stating queer activism is inherently decolonial is true (in the sense that it works against laws and cultural norms installed during colonialism), it is only a basic starting block for building a decolonial practice. Therefore these conceptualizations and praxes warrant further interrogation with relation to other potentialities, including Indigeneity, and especially in a Guyanese context where Indigenous populations remain.

Showden et al. (2022) in considering the work of settler activists/allies in Aotearoa New Zealand, developed an engagement continuum that could similarly inform the work of arrivant activists in Guyana. The continuum has evasion and paralyzed awareness at one end, moves through representation, sharing of space, reimaging actions and structures, to arrive at reflexivity and relationality at the other end. Based on the preceding, various organizations appear to be at differing points of paralyzed awareness, representation, and sharing space, but have not yet made the moves to incorporate structural re-imaginings and relationality. Relationality between queer Guyanese activism and Indigenous struggles has also been advocated for by Shona Jackson (2016). Some recent efforts to initiate this process can be seen in the "Living Good" conversations held in 2019 and 2022, where there were Indigenous and migrant group representatives, and a climate justice organization, alongside LGBTQ+ organizations, and in the 2023 launch of the SASOD/HDT Hate Crimes report by the GEF that specifically addressed Indigenous populations. The Guyana Organization of Indigenous Peoples (GOIP), which was represented at the launch and made statements, had been a member of the GEF for years, but this was the first time I could find that it had taken such a prominent role in the coalition.

Townsend-Bell (2021) has noted how in Uruguay, effective coalition for large social changes utilized intersectional methods prioritizing horizontal decision making and pluralistic approaches (p.2). The intersectional collaborations in that case were with feminist, university, labor, marijuana and abortion activists, which do not necessarily easily translate to Barbadian and

Guyanese contexts. For example, abortion is legal in both states, and marijuana decriminalization and legalization is a fledgling movement, very intertwined with the Rastafarian community which is generally seen as homophobic. While some independent activists have noticeable intersectional foci, many organizations have been less so. The GEF represents significant potential as an intersectional space, but for reasons probably related to the fragmentation of the queer movement and the COVID-19 pandemic, it has not fulfilled this potential. Cultivating intersectional collaborations that also factor in Indigenous considerations acquires an urgency when one realizes that as the climate crisis deepens, there will be a necessary renegotiation of land use between the coastlanders of Guyana, who already live below sea level, and the Indigenous populations of the higher interior areas.

6.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter sought to examine the "what" and "how" of the local and internal forces affecting movement formation, action and trajectories. It started by investigating organizational structures and networking to reveal that in Barbados, Equals Inc. was the most interconnected, with the others "looping" out from a central core of interconnectivity. In Guyana, SASOD and GTU were the most networked with a general pattern that showed separate linkages between LGBTQ+ and HIV focused organizations. The networks also showed how some organizations were excluded from all (TAAB) or many others (EQUAL), and elucidated coalitions and other linkages with other non-queer agencies.

The chapter then progressed to examine the social and organizational factors which influenced these networking patterns and other movement actions. It found that persons joined the movements for a variety of reasons (although personal experiences were more common in Guyana), but recruitment was still a significant challenge in both countries. The reasons for this were varied, but linked to fear of stigmatization, especially in Guyana. Another notable difference was the prevalence of discussion around mental health and activist burnout in Barbados which was largely missing from Guyana. An examination of collective identities demonstrated the living legacy of colonialism in both country's organizing through the impact of class, gender, ethnicity and Indigeneity, with the latter two being especially foregrounded in

Guyana. It highlighted the colonial origins, and post-independence continuation of respectability politics that privilege middle class movement representation and gender binaries/hierarchies that hinders trans peoples' and women's participation. Similar colonial extensions have resulted in complex sociopolitical interplays that see the elision of Indigenous populations and proportionally decreased participation of Indo-Guyanese persons in Guyana. The emergence of the significant theme around movement diversification/fragmentation, which was especially pronounced in Guyana, further emphasized the role of collective identity as these fissures were related to class, ethnicity, Indigeneity, gender and histories of interaction.

I then drew on resource mobilization theory by using estimates of monetary resources coupled with Bourdieu's conceptualization of non-economic capitals to demonstrate that Equals in Barbados and SASOD and GTU in Guyana led in resources. This illustrated how utilizing both HIV and human rights funding, along with having cis gender male leadership could lead to resource advantages. However the equal dominance of GTU and the small difference in resources between leading organizations and those that followed, indicated that this advantage is not necessarily invariable. A similar engagement of political process theory showed how activists in both countries used a variety of political opportunities (such as international and regional human rights mechanism, parliamentarians, ministries and diplomatic agencies), and tactical repertoires (for example litigation, protests, political lobbying and cultural tools) limited by sociopolitical and geographical factors. Their political culture and opportunity structures were similar, centering on themes of political paralysis and lip service in each country, but a critical difference in elite political allies and hence political opportunities, has enabled more legislative and policy successes in Barbados. This difference can be traced to the colonial influences which shaped the political and demographic structures in both countries. In either country the most common framing was human rights, followed by HIV/AIDS. Both framings possess prominent transnational and colonial dimensions, the latter with its inherent border-crossing nature, origin, stereotypes, and transnational policies (as discussed in the previous chapter), and the former by being often paired to international rights mechanisms, perceptions as a Global North paradigm penned by former and neo-colonizers (Baretto, 2013), and being used to justify old and continuing colonial "civilizing missions" (An-Naim, 2021). These critiques of human rights, especially given its popularity, place it in tension with decolonization/decoloniality.

Speaking of decolonization, many activists remarked on the influence of colonialism on their work, and on the enduring effects of the colonial project, often times without using the term coloniality. The concept of Christian coloniality was particularly significant for its impact on sexuality and gender and has continued to manifest in the culture and opposition faced by the movements, including in a multi-religious society like Guyana. One of the differences between countries was the term decoloniality only being used by Guyanese activists, compared to the more common use of decolonization in Barbados and overall. In both countries the "land-back" version of decolonization lacked relevance, and amidst varying conceptualizations of decolonization, a breaking away from colonial attitudes and norms, particularly around laws, was the most common one. Activists mostly engaged with decoloniality/decolonization in an implicit fashion, although there were more concrete examples of decolonizing practice, especially with regards to language use. Within this engagement and promising moves to expand intersectional collaborations, there remains more room for considerations around relationality and intersectionality in the movements. This is especially with regards to Indigeneity in Guyana, while simultaneous heeding Meer and Muller's (2021) exhortation that "unpacking the ever-unfinished, messy work of decolonial thinking" (p.21) requires creativity and openness rather that rote-formula.

Returning now to the aforementioned tension between human rights framing and decolonization. Chapter Three explored the debates around the coloniality and decoloniality of human rights, proffering that their colonial attachments can be countered by critical examination and dialogue reexamining their anti-colonial usages, including independence efforts, and even the crafting of current instruments (Baretto, 2018). In keeping with my measured stance on the utility of human rights, I therefore do not suggest their disregard but their primacy is problematic. Asante (2022) asserts that in the Ghanaian context "human rights advocacy as a form of LGBT empowerment…emphasizes self-governing subjects rather than collective organizing against intersecting structures of power that ultimately harbors anti-LGBT violence" (p.356). As the preceding analysis showed, activists paid much less attention to decoloniality compared to human rights, contouring the movement in a fashion that as in Ghana, does not challenge the "intersecting structures of power" (including coloniality and living legacies) as much as it

should. Similarly, it is possible that as in Ghana, the necessity of intersectional movement building with other social justice sectors is obscured by this human rights framing (Asante, 2022). With this insight a reasonable suggestion involves shifting to more expansive and decolonial frames.

As the next chapter further elaborates on the connections between decolonization and transnationalism, it will also show how framing is indeed transitioning, but to an economic inclusion model that remains in tension with decoloniality.

Chapter 7: Transnational entanglements, funding and power relations

7.1 Introduction

What transnational forces have influenced the trajectories of queer activism in Barbados and Guyana? What has been the relationship between activist movements in Barbados and Guyana and those in the Global North, in terms of collaborations, power relations, and dialogue? These are the research sub-questions this chapter aims to answer. Aspects of the power relations in the second question also speak to some degree to the other research sub-question, and to the overall research question, on how activists engaged with decoloniality and decolonization, which was previously explored in the chapter above.

This chapter is arranged into four sections and uses data primarily from online research, interviews and participant observation events. The first section opens with an analysis of the transnational collaborations that have occurred in the two countries, enfolding funders into this terminology but differentiating between the relations when possible and necessary. This analysis, based on all available data sources, uses diagrams to map which transnational organizations have been relevant to the Barbadian and Guyanese contexts, and through comparison draws out differences in engagement according to Global North country and groupings, such as with the Commonwealth and UK-based LGBTQ+ NGOs. Brief consideration is also given to how Caribbean based transnational organizations and networking were conceptualized. Based on frequency and networking within and between the two countries, the major funders were identified and categorized according to their organizational income.

The sources and size of these transnational organizations' budgets become significant in the following section that unpacks funding relations from a decolonial lens. Here I am cognizant that my positioning of this lens may not align with more decolonial "purists" who advocate for complete delinking in transboundary affiliations, especially with regards to funding and the capitalist paradigm within which it occurs (Bakshi, 2016; The New Humanitarian, 2022). My lens however, does not rule out such funding arrangements, and is guided once again by Adebisi's (2023) statements on how decolonization is contextual. As stated in the previous

chapter, several activists remarked on the fact that decolonization is a process. This is a view I subscribe to and wield here to better understand how relations and activists' agency can better be used to advance the needle on this process while still simultaneously operating within capitalism.

With this in mind, this section, entitled "The good, bad and future of Global North-based transnational funding: a decolonial perspective" gives an overview of accessing funding before exploring the granularity of funding relationships, challenges and practices as extracted from the interviews. After that analysis the discussion moves onto whether and how these relationships and practices are being decolonized and how to facilitate the furthering of this process.

The following section then explores other thematic aspects of transnational entanglements from a decolonial angle. First, there is an examination of the transnational floating signifiers of Pride and the rainbow flag, along with how activists in Barbados and Guyana see their role and representation. The final section looks at emerging directions in activism with consequential implications for decolonial practices, namely the increasing focus on economic advancement at the queer community level, the larger structural case for twinning economics and LGBTQ+ rights, and new directions in the instrumentalization of health discourse for rights.

7.2 Analyzing the landscape of transnational collaborations

This mapping and analysis was based on the data from online research, archival sources and interviews with activists in Barbados and Guyana. From it, the Global North based (GNB) organizations that funded the most in a country, or had ties in both countries, along with other selected Global North LGBTQ+ organizations, were the ones prioritized for further interviews with their representatives. Figures 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 present the results of a mapping of the collaborations and funders of the Barbadian organizations (please see Appendix Five for abbreviations). The colors used for each organization are for easy visual differentiation and any size differences in circles are to accommodate the enclosed text. The intersecting areas between circles indicate collaborators/funders in common and was left empty if there were none in common. There is some overlap between collaborator and funder, as sometimes the exact relationship was not made explicit – unless words like "donor", or "funder" were used, the

connection was classified as a "collaboration". Funders disbursed money for a variety of issues ranging from operational costs, research, and service provision to specific short term projects. Collaborations did not include operational costs support, and focused on more one-off activities such as webinars, gatherings, trainings and research.
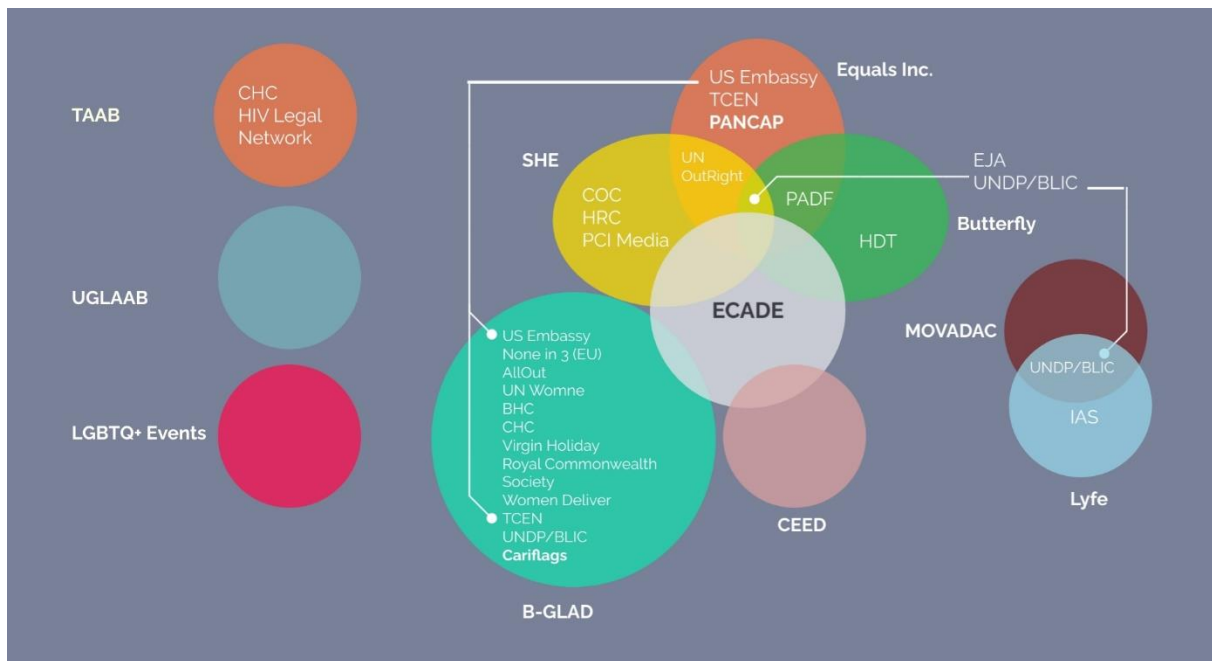
Figure 7.2.1: Mapping of transnational collaborations with Barbados organizations; bolded names are organizations based in the Caribbean
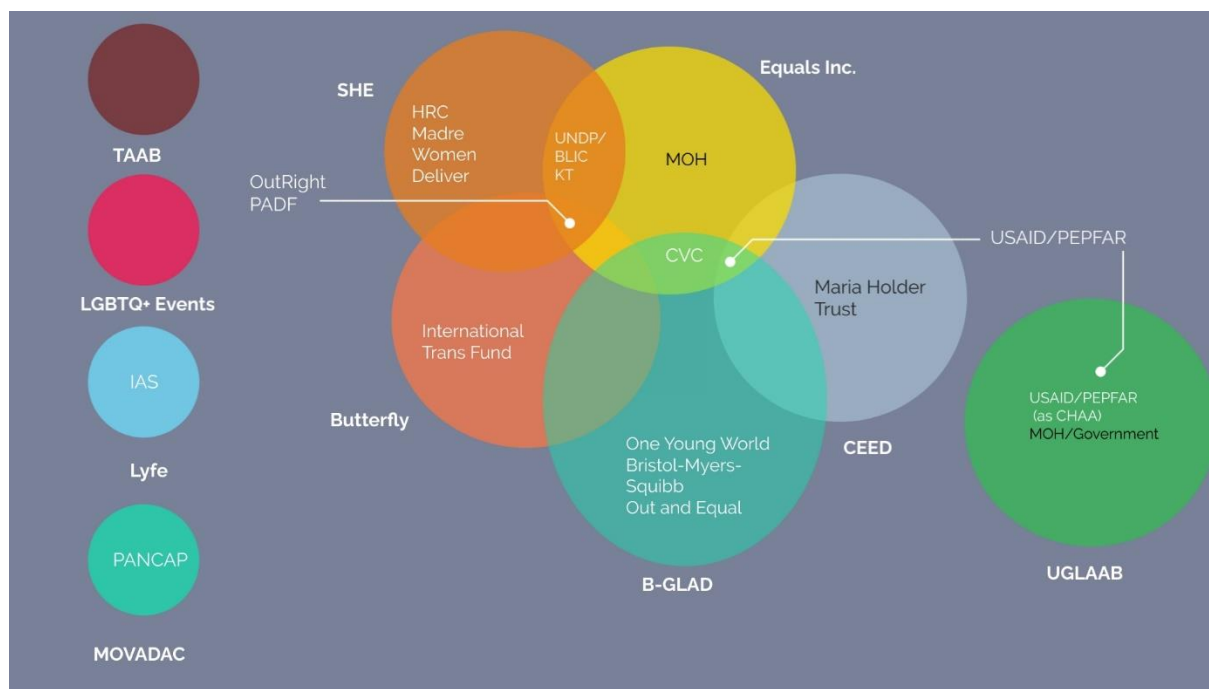
Figure 7.2.2: Mapping of funders for Barbados organizations; local Barbadian funders highlighted by black text

The Barbados mapping shows that the regional body Eastern Caribbean Alliance for Diversity and Equality (ECADE) and the GNB United Nations Development Program (UNDP)/ Being LGBTI in the Caribbean (BLIC) had collaborations with the most organizations. SHE and Equals had the most funders, closely followed by B-GLAD, with the most common GNB transnational funders being OutRight, Pan-American Development Foundation (PADF) and United States Agency for International Development/President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (USAID/PEPFAR).

Figures 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 show a similar mapping for Guyanese organizations. SASOD by far had the most transnational collaborators, followed by FACT and GTU, the latter sharing the most collaborators in common with SASOD. The embassies, Open for Business and Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) had collaborations with the most organizations. GTU had the most funders, followed by SASOD and FACT. At varying points, USAID/PEPFAR and its associated programs (for example Linkages and APC) had funded eight of the eleven organizations. The Caribbean-based Caribbean Vulnerable Communities Coalition (CVC) had

funded six of these organizations, and GNB Astraea and UNAIDS were also common funders. With the exception of SWAG, the organizations had all shared one or more funders.
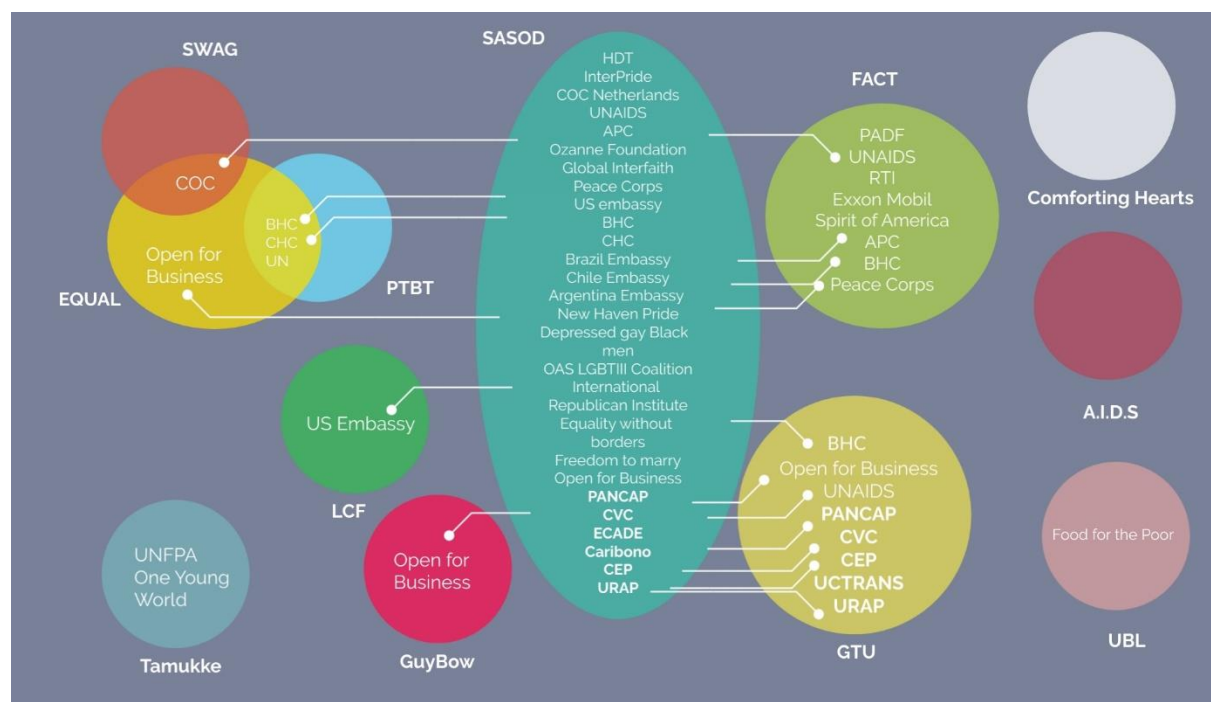
Figure 7.2.3: Mapping of transnational collaborations with Guyana organizations; bolded names are organizations based in the Caribbean
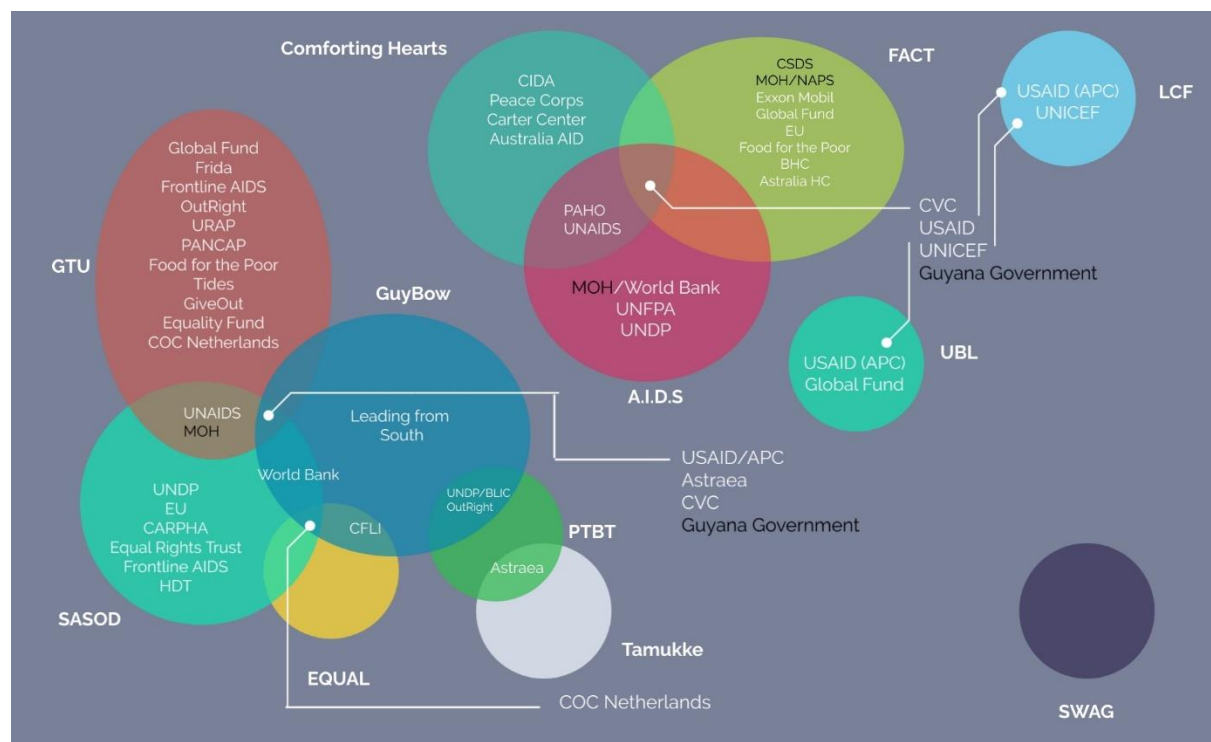
Figure 7.2.4: Mapping of funders for Guyana organizations; local Guyanese funders highlighted by black text

In comparing the two countries, the variety of collaborations and funders is markedly more in Guyana, which also saw more Guyana Government/Ministry of Health funding, UN agency (for example UNAIDS, UNDP) collaborations/funding, USAID/PEPFAR, and Global Fund (GF) donations. The exception for the UN agencies was UNDP, whose BLIC project had linkages with five Barbadian organizations. Government funding to organizations in Guyana were all related to HIV work, and on a limited project-oriented or social contracting basis, where the government pays the organization a predetermined amount for services rendered. This meant that Equals in Barbados was the sole organization in either context to receive a government subvention of financial support not tied to activity or project completion. Based on my prior volunteer physician role, however, the Barbados Ministry of Heath has supplied materials and support (for example testing equipment, free tests and stationery) for Equals and CEED's work for several years. Also unique to Barbados is the substantive funding received by CEED from the Maria Holder Memorial Trust, which is a Barbadian charity funded by private wealth from a singular Global North based donor (Carter, 2016). Both countries had a few organizations with

no transnational collaborations or funding, and in both there was a general pattern that the Global North LGBTQ+ organizations have only funded (for example COC Netherlands, Astraea, OutRight, GiveOut) or collaborated (for example Open for Business, Human Dignity Trust (HDT), InterPride, Ozanne Foundation, Global Interfaith) with local similar LGBTQ+ focused organizations, such as SASOD or Butterfly, as opposed to more HIV focused organizations like FACT or MOVADAC.

This mapping also illustrated that Caribbean-based transnational organizations Pan Caribbean Partnership for HIV/AIDS (PANCAP) and CVC had frequent links in both countries, while UWI Rights Advocacy Project (URAP) had several in Guyana and ECADE collaborated with many in Barbados. USAID/PEPFAR was the GNB transnational with the most linkages in both contexts, although UNDP/BLIC and PADF also factored in. With regards to Global North LGBTQ+ organizations, COC Netherlands, HDT and OutRight have worked with organizations in both countries, while Astraea, Open for Business, InterPride, Ozanne Foundation, Global Interfaith and GiveOut have only worked in Guyana. Conversely, International Trans Fund, AllOut, Equality and Justice Alliance (EJA), Kaleidoscope Trust (KT) and Human Rights Campaign (HRC) have only worked in Barbados.

The GNB transnational organizations that funded three or more organizations in Guyana, and two or more in Barbados, were identified and selected for further interrogation as presented in figure 7.2.5. This diagram, arranging the funders according to year of formation, shows their headquarters, organization type, 2020-2021 income and funding sources. The figure excludes BLIC, (which was started in 2016 with support from USAID), because it comes under the umbrella of UNDP. It also excludes the EJA which funded more than two organizations in Barbados, because it was specifically designed to only operate as a two year collaboration between four UK organizations to disburse 5.6 million pounds. The figure suggests a typology of funders based on income, where small funders have below 10 million US Dollars (USD) (UNICEF, Kaleidoscope Trust, Open for Business), medium funders between 10 to 100 million (COC Netherlands, PADF, Astraea, OutRight), large funders between 100 million to 1 billion (UNAIDS), and mega funders have over 1 billion (USAID, UNDP). It bears noting that for both

mega funders only a fraction of budget goes towards HIV or LGBTQ+ funding. In the case of USAID/PEPFAR, however, that fraction, approximately 500 million based on FHI

COC Netherlands
(Est. 1946)
HQ: The Netherlands
Non-governmental organization
12 Million [1]
Funding: Public (Government of the
Netherlands; Ministry of Foreign
Affairs primarily)[2]

UNICEF (Est. 1946)
HQ: US/Switzerland
UN System agency
8 Billion [3]
Funding: Public (majority)
(Governments including EU)/Private
(NGOs, Country offices, National
Committees) [3]

PADF (Est. 1962)
HQ: US
Independent non-profit established
by, and affiliated with OAS
102 Million [4]
Funding: Public (Governments,
including EU)/Private (corporations,
foundations, multilaterals ex. IADB,
WB)[4]

UNDP (Est. 1965)
HQ: US
UN system agency
5 BILLION [5]
Public (majority)
(Governments)/Private
(foundations, NGOs, corporations)[5]

Astraea (Est. 1977)
HQ: US
Public charitable foundation
21 Million [6]
Government of the
Netherlands/Private
(individuals, foundations,
corporations)[6]

OutRight (Est. 1990)
HQ: US
Private charitable organization
19 Million [7]
Public (Governments)/Private
(foundations, corporations) [7]

UNAIDS (Est. 1996)
HQ: Switzerland
Joint UN Program
247 Million [8]
Funding: Public (majority)
(Governments, other UN
agencies)/Private (foundations,
corporations)[8].

**USAID/PEPFAR
(Est. 2003)**
HQ: US
Governmental
>50 BILLION (HIV dedicated ? 500
Million)[9,10]
Funding: Public (US Governments;
US Department of State) [9]

**Kaleidoscope Trust
(Est. 2011))**
HQ: UK
Charity
1.3 Million [11]
Funding: Public (Governments);
majority Foreign and Commonwealth
Office /Private (foundations, other
organizations)[11]

**Open for Business
(Est. 2015)**
HQ: UK
Business coalition registered as
charity
<1 Million [12]
Funding: Uncertain; non-public, likely
from corporations only [12]

<10 Million USD

10 to 100 Million USD

100 Million to 1 Billion USD

> 1 Billion USD

SOURCES
[1] Global Philanthropy Project. (2022). Global resources report: Government and Philanthropic Support for LGBTI
Communities [2] https://international.coc.nl/our-international-network/ [3] UNICEF. (2022). 2021 Funding
Compendium [4] PADF. (2022). 2021 Annual report [5] UNDP. (2022). 2021 Funding Compendium [6] Astraea
Lesbian Foundation for Justice. (2021). FY2021 Annual Report [7] OutRight International. (2022). Annual report 2021
[8] UNAIDS. (2022). 2021 Donor contributions. [9] US department of State. (2022). State Department and U.S.
Agency for International Development (USAID) FY 2022 Budget Request [10] FHI 360. (2021). 2021 Financial
summary. [11] Kaleidoscope Diversity Trust. (2021). Audited Financial Statements 2021 [12] Charity Commission for
England and Wales. (2021). Open for Business Limited. https://register-of-charities.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-
search/-/charity-details/5137520/charity-overvie7

Figure 7.2.5: Most common Global North based transnational funders in Barbados and Guyana

360's[27] 2021 reports, is still immense. For all of these funders the amounts disbursed to the Caribbean and then to Barbados and Guyana are also a further subset of global budgets.

The 2019-2020 Global resources report on LGBTI funding (Global Philanthropy Project, 2022) showed steadily increased funding to Latin America and the Caribbean, with the region receiving the fourth largest amount after the US/Canada, multiregional and Southern Africa. However, the Caribbean only received 14.8% of that funding and Guyana received about nine times the amount as Barbados (Global Philanthropy Project, 2022, p.89-90). While the disparities in funding illustrated by figures 7.2.2 and 7.2.4 and figures 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 in the previous chapter align with this gap between Barbados and Guyana's funding, the overall funding amounts to the region in the Global resources report are likely only partially correct as it excluded HIV-focused funders.

Along with the overall differences in funders and funding, another pertinent point in the landscape is the differential involvement with the Commonwealth and UK-based transnational organizations even though both Barbados and Guyana are members of the Commonwealth (Commonwealth, 2023). As can be seen in figures 7.2.1 and 7.2.2, Barbadian organizations have worked with the Royal Commonwealth Society, the Commonwealth Equality Network (TCEN), EJA, KT and HDT, while Guyanese organizations have only worked with HDT. Activists in Guyana spoke about how the Commonwealth has not been a useful space for their activism, as "Guyanese politicians, Guyanese leaders don't care about what the Commonwealth says about what laws and protection and LGBTQ rights" (Dianne), and the colonial nature of the institution is "problematic". Guyanese interviewees noted more activity aligned with US organizations and the Inter-American system, the former having consistently reached out and engaged with Guyana. This was confirmed by the early encounters with OutRight and Astraea from the SASOD Yahoo archives. In contrast, UK organizations remained largely unconcerned with international outreach until the formation of the "London-based UK LGBT NGOs" in 2011 (Waites, 2017).

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[27] FHI 360 is the organization awarded USAID/PEPFAR funding for implementing its HIV programs LINKAGES and EpiC

Interestingly, of the three UK NGOs started in 2011 – HDT, KT and the Peter Tatchell Foundation – the latter has been absent in both countries. It is possible that the criticism Tatchell faced during the Stop Murder Music Campaign against homophobic singers in the region (especially Jamaica) has contributed to this absence. One interviewee explained that HDT's coopting of Belize's decriminalization case (Farmer, 2020, p.119) led to the other UK-based NGOs being viewed with the suspicion they might operate similarly. Eventually a more favorable view emerged as activists noted that the change in KT's and HDT's leadership changed both approach and engagement. Even so, a couple of activists still confused KT with TCEN, and HDT with KT. Several mentioned prior experience of TCEN's onerous membership process which amounted to a form of gatekeeping. This aligned with Waites' (2017) observation that the original TCEN email list which decided membership also acted as gatekeeping, and even though one interviewee said this process has since been reformed, another noted that the large size of TCEN, and its positioning within a Commonwealth space held little utility for Guyanese activists. On the other hand, B-GLAD was a TCEN member, and ECADE's TCEN membership indirectly gives its member organizations in the Eastern Caribbean access to the network.

Activists in both countries have engaged with the US, Canada, UK, Europe and Australia. A brief overview of how activists characterized the Global North countries with greater engagement, namely the US, UK and Canada, is also necessary. European interest was confined to the EU and the Netherlands via COC Netherlands (which is discussed further on an organizational basis below), while Australia was the least engaged Global North country, although they did provide some funding in Guyana.

Some interviewees, especially in Guyana, could see no differences between US and UK donors, but others did. It was mentioned that both of these countries seemed to suffer from a savior complex, but US funders could be more dictatorial, aggressive, and have blind spots about local context, with Kenrick mentioning that US funders tended to conflate the African context with the Caribbean. Blind spots extended to greater unawareness around the effects of colonialism compared to UK, or even Canadian, entities. On the other hand, several activists mentioned that

UK support had largely been reduced to a symbolic, non-monetary nature, while the UK government insisted it still prioritized commitment to LGBTQ+ issues:

> "they [British Government] slashed funds to the Caribbean. They slashed funds across the board to LGBTQ plus issues while keeping up the narrative that you know, combating homophobia and transphobia is very important…the British High Commission…are like this matters to us, we have no money to give you, this matters to us. And it's like, okay we'll take a symbolic gesture and will even take like your presence on a webinar, but like what do they actually bring in a way that could support grassroots or feminist, like methods of support?" (Zoe)

An example of this broad scale slashing by the UK government was seen in the postponement of the 12 million pounds "Strong in Diversity, Bold on Inclusion" Consortium for LGBTQ+ issues in various African locations following the onset of COVID-19 (The Baring Foundation, 2020). In the Caribbean and in the two countries specifically, any "slashing" has been much less as there was not tremendous funding support from the British Embassy to begin with. In the past the Embassy has supported launches, film showings and events like SASOD's 10th anniversary concert and celebrations, while in Barbados they have sponsored conference attendances and helped launch "Generation Change", a youth LGBT platform. Within the last five years this support has scaled back to mostly hosting receptions and serving as an event space. An irony is that even as the support has decreased, there remains a perception amongst some members of the public, including prominent newspaper columnists and social media personalities[28], that the embassies have not only contributed to the "birthing" of organizations like SASOD (Kissoon, 2020) but also remain significant funding sources. Despite this shift, three persons in Guyana noted that the British Embassy, and particularly Jane Miller's (High Commissioner since 2021) high profile LGBTQ+ support, has been appreciated and still helpful to the movement.

The role of Canada was predominantly mentioned in Barbados, where the HIV Legal Network and its policy analyst/consultant Maurice Tomlinson largely featured, having been active in-country since around 2015. This organization and/or Tomlinson were involved in MOVADAC trainings, the IACHR case brought by Alexa Hoffman of TAAB, and other conferences, book launches, public stands and Pride activities prior to 2018. Tomlinson, who is a Black Jamaican

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[28] As observed by myself on social media discourses

living in Canada, worked with the Legal Network, and represents an intriguing transboundary figure. Like Jason Jones, the diasporic Trinidadian who successfully challenged the sodomy laws in Trinidad and Tobago, Tomlinson filed two legal challenges in the Caribbean, although his cases were unsuccessful (Pultizer Center, n.d.). Both men can be called what Attai (2019) has termed "native experts" - a person from the Anglophone Caribbean living in the Global North who has been designated as "holders of exclusive knowledge of the realities in their countries of origin" (p.78). Within their hybrid locational identities, it is evident that both see their activism as fights for the underdog and queer persons from lower socioeconomic strata (Attai, 2019; Wahab, 2022). However, as they do this, Attai (2019) argued that they also perpetuate homoimperialism and "death narratives" around the particularly virulent homophobia of the Caribbean. Certainly, Tomlinson's methods of engagement have been less than ideal: "sidestepping the autonomy and agency of local activists and movement and just like coordinating events on behalf of the community without any sort of consultation. So being very dictative as opposed to consultative" (Marc). In 2015 Colin Robinson wrote the director of the Legal Network, angered by similar incursions being made by the organization and Maurice Tomlinson in Trinidad, sometimes without even informing local activists (Gosine, 2021). I recall a 2018 letter to Tomlinson from Barbadian activists (to which I added my signature), pushing back against his methods of engaging with the local movement and asking for a more collaborative and consultative approach. In my emailed response to the activists that penned the letter, I noted that diverse avenues for activism by individual actors, apart from "sanctioned" organizational activities were also important, but should be driven by locally grounded needs and not by external entities.

After the Barbadian letter, subsequent engagement by Tomlinson and the Legal Network decreased in the country, but similar engagement interestingly never took off in Guyana. Guyanese interviewees did not discuss the reasons for this, but Joel Simpson of SASOD's recognition that "Canadian groups maximize on opportunities to collaborate with smaller, less established groups and activists as a way to enter the region" (Attai, 2019, p. 97) demonstrate an awareness of these tactics. Therefore SASOD, with its substantial regional capital and extensive media relations and local networking might have posed a formidable challenge to this type of

Canadian engagement, even with a fragmented movement that would have been ideal for capitalizing on.

Finally, aspects of regional Caribbean networking also deserve consideration. No interviewee said the regional agenda was completely in sync with the local one, although several in Guyana saw some areas of synchronicity. Generally, despite collaborations and funding from several transnational organizations based in the region, networking and movement building was suboptimal. While some activists saw much potential for alliance and inspiration, as Eva remarked in commenting on the progress made thus far,

> "by and large I'm seeing a movement towards, like this time period that's taught fifty, one hundred years from now, this time period is going to be the one where people look back at queer Caribbean, Queeribean culture, and be like oh, so this is when all the pride marches were happening, and this is when all the people were like getting rid of the laws…maybe they'll call it the Rainbow years, I don't know…the 'rainbow 20s' yes!"

But others saw fragmentation and siloing, with one activist likening the state of affairs to the larger Caricom context where leaders tout their national, non-generalizable successes. Indeed, persons stated the reasons for this siloing reflected the wider Caribbean context, where geographics, language, sovereignty, and legal systems led to different priorities and alignments. Part of this siloing has seen ECADE, in serving as an umbrella organization for the Eastern Caribbean and Barbados, being effective in advocating for projects in their countries of interest (for example in deploying EJA activities) and in coordinating major campaigns like the decriminalization cases in Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia and Grenada. Guyana lacks a similar umbrella organization, although Cariflags could have provided this coverage. One interviewee revealed however, that Cariflags has recently restructured and concentrates on organizational capacity building instead of coordinating regional advocacy.

A significant theme in this area was invisibility around activism in other Caribbean countries coupled with the perception that some of these same countries are doing better. For example, Christiana saying, "I like to give energy to what I have energy for and I know there's a lot of stuff happening to our brothers and sisters in other Caribbean islands, but I know that I do not have the capacity to even think about them", coupled with Rodney's observation on the work in

Trinidad, Barbados and Belize, "from my perspective what I'm saying is there is a lot of unification with their work whereas I'm here in Guyana, we're not having like you know, a togetherness. I don't know if that happens in other countries I've never seen it because I'm here". Given that Barbadian activists in this research have spoken about a level of disunification, these comments point to the need for greater exchange of realities and strategies within the region.

Since the regional meetings of the 1990s that launched C-FLAG and other national organizations, there have been regional meetings focused on decriminalization, HIV and geared towards LBQ women, but none specifically examining advocacy and movement building strategies. Even within larger development work, Peck (2020) has noted the decline in essential regional Caribbean connections from funding deficits which has "profoundly changed the nature of Caribbean regionalism" (p.136). A couple of Global North interviewees remarked on how the small size of the region lent to easy networking and many activists knowing each other, which was confirmed by the more experienced activists. However, this did not necessarily translate to other younger and more independent activists, some of whom did not know what was happening in other countries, or were only able to name few, if any, transnational funders. This further confirmed the need for a more comprehensive regional network.

Having explored the landscape of transnational interactions, with a particular focus on those within the US, Canada, UK and the Commonwealth, I now delve deeper into the funding from Global North based transnational organizations.

7.3 The good, bad and future of Global North-based transnational funding: a decolonial perspective

As stated in the introduction, this section could be contentious to some decolonial scholars, but a spectrum of perspectives on any issue is not unusual. Here I foreground the processes and structures that shape funding, largely letting the activists speak for themselves while analyzing, troubling and exploring some of the tensions raised by certain positions. This flags decolonization as not a straight, easy endpoint, but a messy, convoluted reality where persons undertaking activism with material disadvantages might not be afforded principled stances, but

must make choices. Within this and the following sections, my particular, context-driven conceptualization of a decolonial lens is applied, and is intertwined with a particular approach to transnational relations. This approach acknowledges the inherent colonial baggage and the profound inscription of power relations (Guarnizo and Smith, 1998; Held, 1999) within the framework, but leaves room for the potential and possibility of shifts along the continuum of this power.

Activists in both Barbados and Guyana generally found it moderately easy to get funding, depending on the donor (for example two persons mentioned the UN system as having a complex application process and possibly being politically motivated in its selection), as well as other factors such as curating the applications for ease and likelihood of success, having good proposal writing skills, good references/reputation, and well-structured and rigorous proposal and organization. Persons applied for funding through open and closed calls, searching online, directly enquiring or using networks to learn of opportunities. Activists in Barbados especially mentioned using the latter method.

Despite this relative ease, many interviewees acknowledged that the funding landscape has changed. In both countries they noted the shift from HIV to LGBTQ+-specific focus, and more recently, closer attention to gender, LBQ women and trans persons. In Guyana this attention has also included gender-based violence, migrants and COVID-19. Guyanese activists further expanded on this shift, some stating that from 2015, and during Barack Obama's presidency, LGBTQ+ specific funding increased. For others the relative decimation of HIV focused funds from mega-donors like USAID, has also been accompanied by a change in direct monetary support from governments, including through embassies, leaving them to turn to less familiar, philanthropically driven, private donors. Additionally, it was noted that current funding tended to be for shorter durations, lesser sums, and had stricter terms of use. These changes were due to several reasons. Using the World Bank's classification of countries by income, Guyana was classified as a lower-middle income economy from 1997 to 2015. At the same time Barbados was classified as upper-middle income and high income (from 2006), largely explaining why it received almost half the number of funders seen in Figures 7.2.2 and 7.2.4, as several international donors do not fund high income countries.

Guyana's classification changed to upper-middle income in 2015, coinciding with the discovery of oil in the country. Five interviewees noted that this shift in classification has affected the transnational funding presence, without a concurrent increase in local funding. As Nicole stated,

> "so a lot of donors have had no option but to pull out, because they can't fund countries that have a GDP above a certain level. And so, a lot of the funding opportunities that have existed, no longer exists, simply because we are now perceived to be having this rapid economic development happening, which many of us have not seen yet".

And Joan added

> "because we're now an oil producing nation, a lot of people now don't see LGBT issues as being burning issues, and so, for example, like you get Exxon Mobil they support like corporate social development, but more like youth, employment and so…how do we fit in the needs of LGBT people into the agenda of the government. That has been one of the challenges right. And how can they see LGBT issues connecting to broader issues of economic and social development".

Indeed, Exxon Mobil has so far only funded FACT, the organization with the widest mandate, offering "comprehensive family support services" (NGO National Coordinating Coalition, n.d.) in its aim to combat HIV. Several interviewees also linked the change in funding terms and amounts to the "fracturing" between large donors and organizations in the aftermath of significant issues with local transparency and financial accountability. Nicole again noted, "donors have now pulled back, they don't fund, or they're very skeptical about funding and whenever they do fund they use a triple microscope to make sure that there are no issues and it's a little bit of money now; they're not investing sums they used in invest before because they're afraid that they're going to be misappropriated etc." The changing funding sources and foci, along with Guyana's upgraded economic classification foreshadows a possible future where funding available to Guyana decreases to that for Barbados and questions about how the movement will adapt or compensate.

7.3.1 Funding relationships, challenges and practices

A little less than half the Guyanese activists reported a mostly good relationship with Global North based funders, which was double the amount reporting the same in Barbados. The others generally had variable relationships depending on the donor, with room left for improvement with some donors. Based on these donor interactions, a list of negatively viewed practices are presented in Table 7.3.1. Practices termed less common were mentioned by three or less interviewees.

Table 7.3.1: Problematic donor practices

Common negative practices
Inflexibility
Not understanding local context
Short time frames of calls/projects
Not listening
Being data/target driven
Dictating/no local input/forcing agenda
Unrealistic expectations
Wanting too fast/extensive changes

Less common negative practices
Not sharing data/research/not sharing credit with local partners
Not considering sustainability
Boxchecking
Unequal communication dynamics/expectations
Tokenizing
No support for PHLIV
Inaccessible applications/engagement mechanisms/reporting burdens
Infantilizing/micromanaging
Erasing local activism

It bears noting that one interviewee mentioned how even regional organizations can misunderstand local context and erase local activism. For the Global North-based funders however, inflexibility in funding use/redirection, reporting, and outcomes led the list, being mentioned by nine persons in both Barbados and Guyana. Mentions of data/target drivenness were mostly from Guyana where many organizations had been funded by USAID/PEPFAR and

this was a donor frequently noted for their numbers-driven focus. The observation by Kenny that donors "had their own agenda that you needed to fit in" dovetailed with the broader finding from fourteen interviewees who alluded to funders dictating the projects and hence indirectly, work priorities. This results in a balancing act of being "forced to take the funding that is available as opposed to the funding that we would like to have, or the client really need, cos is either you settle for something you not necessarily excited about while you wait for something that hopefully is going to come that you're excited about" (Navin). Examples of unequal communication dynamics included donors not responding in a timely manner but expecting this from grantees, or calling frequent, disruptive meetings with little notice. It was noted that interestingly, micromanaging tended to occur with some of the smallest funding amounts in a strange inverse relationship between amount and oversight. Absent from the table are bad practices by grantees. Global North interviewees did not report many of these, but challenges included reporting delays, and some timing and communication issues which one person acknowledged were likely influenced by COVID-19 disruptions and challenges.

These undesirable practices coexisted with gaps in type of available funding. Roughly equal number of activists in both countries noted a lack of funding for core operations like utilities, office space, salaries and equipment (more pronounced in recent years); for purchasing land and housing; advancing activist education; or for activities that revolved around socializing and looser community bonding. Joan spoke about how these deficits reflected a focus on short and intermediate term gains without supporting movement sustainability, and creating a dependency culture. The paradoxes of expecting activists to execute work without offering to support education that could build that capability, and of providing rent to owners who might be queerphobic while refusing to support office purchases was mentioned by several persons. Exceptions to these generalities were also noted, for example, International Trans Fund and Astraea funded general support not tied to specific projects, and COC Netherlands funded looser socializing activities. These findings align with the wider Caribbean situation, where "the quality of funding to women's rights and LGBTQI+ organizations in the Caribbean is marked with limited core funding, externally directed agendas, and short grant terms" (Equality Fund, 2022, p. 17).

Inverting these practices and funding allowances would be beneficial, but interviewees specifically mentioned several organizations that already did some of this. These included Madre, Maria Holder Trust, Astraea, Frida, COC Netherlands, and UNDP/BLIC. The first four were all noted for their flexibility in fund use and allowing pivoting as needs changed, while they variably had fewer reporting burdens, offered organizational autonomy and were seen as non-dictatorial. The latter two funders were noted for accessible application processes that offered feedback and non-rigid budget lines. Some Global North interviewees similarly emphasized that their best practices included flexibility, offering general support, being non-imposing, supporting autonomy and listening to local community. One person found that frequent check-ins with grantees was advantageous, but this was a practice that could be seen as excessive supervision, that ties in with the practice of frequent disruptive meetings.

A consideration of the environment that fosters these types of practices by GNB transnational funders is also important. Interviewees spoke of wider political factors influencing funder resourcing. Some countries have seen a shift in official development assistance (ODA) priorities, such that LGBTQ+ issues were deprioritized (as during the US Trump presidency) or moved from a development to migration prevention focus, which rearranged the preference of countries that would receive ODA. Funding restrictions based on GDP, centering a subset of priorities, such as anti-corruption or gender, and donor stipulations also divert funding in particular directions. Kerry-Jo Ford Lynn of Astraea has stated that "government funding has historically been extremely problematic, because it necessarily comes with the conditions and standard provisos that are imperial, colonized, and designed to monitor and control social justice movements" (Astraea, 2021). Almost all the frequent funders in Barbados and Guyana have varying degrees of this problematic government funding, as can be seen in Figure 7.2.5. Interviewees also mentioned organizational level factors that influence practices. For instance, COVID-19 and staff turnover has affected funding opportunities, timelines, and relationships. Staff consistency helps build relationships, and at the same time having supportive queer-allied staff helps ensure that LGBTQ+ issues are not sidelined.

Despite these shortcomings, only three interviewees opined that GNB transnational funders had not helped local activism. Everyone else either saw it as mostly helpful (nineteen persons) or as

presenting the "duality" (Eva) of both helping and hindering activism depends depending on circumstances and donor (sixteen persons). These hindrances occurred as a result of forcing the donor agenda, attempting "quick fixes", getting too involved with local activist politics and indirectly contributing to accusations of value colonization. Even as I agree, with one interviewee's statement that there is no perfect organization under capitalism and that "philanthropy is premised on and emerges from a capitalist system" (Astraea, 2021), the question and task then becomes to what extent can the system, and these mechanisms be decolonized.

7.3.2 Decolonizing funding

One theme around power imbalance that arose was "interference" from the Global North. Early examples of this were seen in the SASOD Yahoo Groups when Stop Murder Music and Egale Canada were accused of attempting to instruct regional activities. As discussed above, the HIV Legal Network and their representative repeated this pattern more recently. Those organizations served more as collaborators, however, while a significant strand of interjection in Guyana involved the direct funder COC Netherlands. After facilitating the 2017 convening of the Guyana LGBTQ Coalition, within the next two years COC Netherlands was asked to address issues that arose during the course of their funding. They held a meeting for the various organizations to address concerns and heal grievances. While some of the objectives might have been met, inter-organizational strife remained, and in fact, it was reported in the interviews that COC Netherlands encouraged the formation of a new organization. Although COC was likely well-intentioned, and did initiate the meeting after being approached by a local organization, these types of external impositions and coercions into the local movement could be problematic, especially as not all local activists looked favorably upon it. COC Netherlands' philosophy, embodied by their theory of social change and their egalitarian language around "partnerships" and "community", has been criticized for obscuring unequal power relations and their "complicity in the geopolitical entanglements of financial dependency" (Asante, 2022, p.353). This perceived partnership, along with funding accountability likely drove some of COC Netherlands' actions in Guyana. And while they have not been the only entity to facilitate mediation attempts in the country (interviewees said the British Embassy and USAID have provided space for inter-organizational discussions), both the appeal to GNB transnational

organizations by local organizations, and their response to these appeals raises issues around reproducing colonial-type transboundary relations. Indeed, the majority of COC's funding comes from the Kingdom of the Netherlands, further complicating these interactions. COC Netherlands has since been unable to fund in Guyana (or Barbados) due to country economy classifications, but should they return to these countries, reconsideration of boundaries and power hierarchies resulting from colonial legacies would be ideal.

A more empirical investigation into awareness around coloniality/colonialism and decoloniality/decolonization involved an online search of all the content on the websites and social media of those GNB LGBTQ+ organizations that frequently funded in either country, and that had collaborated with both countries. These organizations were COC Netherlands, HDT, OutRight, Astraea, Kaleidoscope Trust and Open for Business. Open for Business and COC Netherlands only mentioned colonialism/colonization a handful of times in relation to colonial legacy of the intimacy laws. HDT extensively mentioned colonialism, but only with regards to the same laws around the world. Similarly, most of KT's many mentions of colonialism related to its legal legacy, but was noteworthy for the frequency with which Executive Director Phyll Opoku-Gyimah spoke about it, noting how colonialism has erased identities, and participating in a conference focusing on decolonization. Opoku-Gyimah's outspokenness on the issue is unsurprising given that she turned down a Member of the British Empire (MBE) award in 2016 to protest the colonial legacy of LGBT oppression (Broomfield, 2016). OutRight referenced the laws several times as well as the need for anticolonial and decolonial action on three occasions. Astraea by far had the widest references to colonialism, noting neo-colonialism in general and with regards to the US, Israel and Russia, the colonial roots of cisheteronormativity and some types of funding, as well as its legal legacy; in 2019 their CommsLab in the Dominican Republic focused on digital security and decolonization.

This more empirical overview points to a general contouring of how these organizations engaged with colonialism and decoloniality/decolonization, where most GNB transnational LGBTQ+ organizations generally focused on one aspect of colonialism, but Astraea has been expanding its attention and considerations on the topic. It does not present a definitive understanding of these engagements however. For example while HDT's mentions were restricted to the legal aspects of

colonialism, activists noted a recent improvement in engagement with this organization: "I think their approach and everything, and their philosophy and their understanding…of the Caribbean and all of that has changed significantly and their engagement, and way of engaging has also changed" (Dianne). In fact, HDT supported the ECADE five-country legal challenge to the sodomy laws, but this was not evident until recently (Human Dignity Trust, 2022), in marked contrast to their role in the Belize case.

Several activists expressed the view that GNB transnational funding seemed patronizing and savior-oriented, while ignoring colonial power dynamics and reproducing power hierarchies. A couple thought that funders were aware of the issues and shortcomings but questioned whether they cared enough about changing the paradigm. As Zoe stated:

> "this disparity that allows British and American organizations that "go global"…have created a narrative where they're saving the world from their like very fancy chairs and their second houses… in the gender equality space, like a lot of Global South organizations articulate ways to work with funders and Global North organizations that is strictly post-colonial or anti-colonial and feminist right. The standards are being articulated and hoping it's happening, but in the LGBTQ+ space no one's talking about those except for maybe Astraea"

A few of the Global North interviewees were indeed aware of these imbalances, expressing how their values sometimes conflicted with their work in organizations that recapitulated these hierarchies (recognizing that there were differences in the extent to which various GNB transnational organizations did this), and offering examples of how they attempted to counteract it. One interviewee however, exemplified the blind spot, when they were asked about power imbalance in the work and instead spoke about imbalance in country geopolitical alliances.

There were also other tensions, such as Global North interviewee Tanisha's statement that while a Global North template was not always appropriate or needed, Global North organizations had a responsibility and obligation to provide funds and support. While GNB transnational organizations seeking local expertise, as expressed by some persons, is preferable, it can eclipse the troubling fact that these organizations often receive funding when they have little knowledge or experience of the Caribbean context. To offset this, two strategies were revealed from the

interviews. One involved the less common option of a GNB transnational organization co-producing grant applications with Caribbean organizations, and the other involved the more common practice of hiring persons from the region as program officers or similar designations. The latter is suboptimal as the diversity of the Caribbean precludes one person from being familiar with every country's circumstances. It can also exacerbate issues with activism in the Caribbean countries. Very few, if any, activists in Barbados were solely employed by their activism work, making the prospect of employment by an international NGO an attractive one. This has resulted in at least four activists from Barbados moving into the international NGO space within the last three years. Given that activist recruitment is a significant challenge in the country, this movement of local human resources compounds it. The differential salaries offered by GNB transnational organizations within their organizations compared to when they fund similar positions in the Caribbean is also concerning. For example, a program officer at OutRight earns over 5,000 US dollars per month (Indeed, 2022) while a comparable position in Guyana, as funded by a GNB transnational organization, earns approximately 1,000 US dollars per month[29]. Even with differences in living costs, the disparity is startling. Analogous issues with INGOSs in the health sector have been recognized for some time, leading to the formulation of NGO codes of conduct which commit INGOs to hiring practices that foster local sustainability (Health Alliance International, 2009), which in this case, would translate to increasing the salaries of local activists.

More concrete explications on decolonizing funding requires the awareness that this proposal involves different paradigms of decolonization, which in turn can envelope various funding arrangements. One paradigm would argue complete delinking from transnational funding given its loci in former and neo colonial sources and the recreated colonial hierarchies detailed above. This paradigm has precedence in SASOD's first four years of its existence, and other organizations and activists who function even without tangible, monetary financing during their start-up. Any funding in this instance would come from national governments, local philanthropic or corporate donors, or the movement base. For queer movements in small places, where discrimination perpetuates a cycle of economic deprivation or a cycle where there is fear that association can precipitate economic deprivation, it is unclear how solely movement-base

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[29] Anecdotal report from someone who has held this position

funding could practically function; along with the previously detailed difficulties with government funding and activist recruitment in both countries, this paradigm is extremely challenging. Another paradigm can be labelled "token decolonization", the kind where decolonization functions as a buzzword without implementing any systemic organizational changes. Daniel Krugman (2023) showed how the elite have captured and appropriated decolonization to focus on individual level changes and some Global North interviewees also mentioned similar individual-focus activities within their organizations. This paradigm leaves current funding models intact by not addressing overarching structures and with limited ability to enact any meaningful change. A third paradigm involves organizational level changes melded with individual action. This was the remodeling most frequently mentioned by interviewees, even as several activists acknowledged the neo-colonist capitalist roots of current funding; as Christiana said,

> "many of the LGBTQ activists out here are anti colonialist and anti-capitalist right, so I think they're just like, they're really trying their best to make, create something tangible actionable out of it [funding money]".

In this paradigm funding could be through transnational intermediaries or directly from transnational sources. Thoreson (2014), adapting an actor-oriented approach, referred to OutRight (then International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission) staff as "brokers" who "play pivotal roles by developing relationships, transmitting information, and negotiating priorities among diverse actors"(p. 11). Similar to the staff, the GNB transnational organizations serve as intermediaries in the funding process.

Funding paths without intermediaries include direct transnational public funding (by governments and public donors), or private funding from private entities. One mechanism for facilitating this funding is the establishment of a regional fund. Noting that the Caribbean is one of the few regions in the world without a women's fund, the Equality Fund (2022) conducted a feasibility study for this intervention for women and LGBTQI+ rights and it was almost unanimously favored by activists, who preferred an intergenerational, intersectional fund that incorporated all the linguistic areas in the region. While the fund would still technically be an intermediary, it would be one located and grounded in the Caribbean and is envisioned to offer

core, multi-year funding with autonomous organizational agendas, thereby overcoming some of the key issues in the funding landscape.

For funding that continued to retain the intermediary role of GNB transnational organizations, there were overarching suggestions and themes that could further help decolonize relationships. These included grounding and leading change through local activists, foregrounding sustainability, increasing accountability from the funders, addressing power imbalances, and having discourse around the source of funding. At the same time, given past issues with transparency and accountability from local organizations, trust would be a reciprocal issue. At the 2022 D.A.T.A roundtable conference in Barbados, recommendations for decolonizing aid involved building alliances with other movements, and having funding be on community terms. The interviews and online research showed that while feminist funders, like Madre, Astraea and Frida make greater efforts to incorporate these decolonizing practices, this was not true of every feminist funder, one in particular being criticized by one interviewee as particularly hostile.

In criticizing the over-dependence on NGOs and funding from foundations in general US organizing, INCITE! (2017) recognized the necessary evil of organizing within capitalism, while urging consideration of what other possibilities exist in funding and organizing paradigms. I agree that this consideration is necessary and the preceding gave a glimpse into this but is by no means prescriptive or exhaustive.

While a dominant feature, funding and collaborations with transnational organizations were not the only transnational forces acting within the movements. The next section examines two of the most ubiquitous transnational influences – pride and the rainbow flag.

7.4 Other transnational linkages - Pride and the rainbow

Pride was birthed in the commemorative parades for the Stonewall Riots in New York, but has since become global (Conway, 2022a). In the Caribbean, the first country to officially celebrate Pride was Puerto Rico in 1991 (Lanni, 2014), followed shortly after by Trinidad and Tobago in the mid-90s (MSM: No Political Agenda, 2003). For decades, Pride in the Anglophone

Caribbean would have a varying roster of events and celebrations, including parties and small marches, but it was not until 2018 that a parade, characterized by its "carnivalesque" nature and the presence of music, as opposed to the more political overtones of a march (Bennett, 2017, p.355) was held.

In both Barbados and Guyana the parades were grounded in a desire for greater visibility and space-claiming. In Guyana, where the COC Netherlands Pride Project overlapped with the inaugural parade, there were questions surrounding funder influence, but other activists reported that the decision was entirely community-grounded. In Barbados the timing was determined based on persons enquiring about a parade and the sense of 'if not now, when?' (Marc). Miscommunication around the Guyanese parade meant that its planned protestation aspects were lost, but as one interviewee noted, the mere presence of the attendees was a protest against erasure. Indeed, in many countries Pride parades are simultaneously protest and celebration, although there may be disputes on this balance (Bennett, 2017). Interviewees mostly agreed that the parades and events successfully increased visibility and support for the movement, although twice as many voiced this view in Barbados compared to Guyana. But this was not without challenges. Both contexts had Pride planning committees which were reported as insular and gatekeeping, but in Guyana, Pride planning also fragmented into two fractions, reflective of the fragmentation that occurred within the wider movement. Persons mentioned tensions in planning and organizations foregrounding themselves over the collective effort. Activists in Barbados ideally wanted a larger, longer, more accessible and inclusive Pride that had queer community input. Larger scope was also most commonly desired in Guyana, with the involvement of wider society ("I want Pride to take center stage, Pride should be like Mashramani, Pride should be like a celebration of people who proud of who they are, take the road by thousands" (Julian)), and greater "togetherness" also being commonly mentioned: "I want to see like one Guyana. Where everybody comes together and it's a string of activities, maybe an organization a day, and that kinda camaraderie also encourages other people to support and have the same unity that we want in the community" (Pedro).

Prides in the Global South have been noted to imitate the symbols and framing of those in the Global North, contributing to "global homonormativity" (Bennett, 2017). However, these

transnational diffusions have not been mere duplication, but recontextualization for local contexts imbricated with politics, class and race, thereby representing both a "continuity and rupture" of Northern narratives (Bennett, 2017, p.361). The variety of Pride events in the Caribbean and in both countries, even before the parades, affirm this recontextualization. For example, Jamaica's Pride was held during Jamaica's independence month and featured activities that resonated locally, such as sports day (Attai, 2019). Activists in Guyana and Barbados have also held locally grounded events such as creek and beach limes, clean up days, religious forums and sports days. Interviewees reported that the parades themselves were deliberately patterned off of the Caribbean traditions of Carnival, Cropover and Mashramani (Mash), more than the parade versions popularized in the Global North, although overlaps are apparent. These three Caribbean traditions share the superficial appearance of being street parades but each possess different histories and performances. Carnival is a pre-Lenten celebration from Trinidad and Tobago that evolved into a resistance practice by the enslaved and formerly enslaved (Lord, 2020). Cropover, as the name implies, has its origins in the end of sugar cane harvest celebrations by the enslaved in Barbados, and was revived in its contemporary form during the 1970s (Kinas, 1993). Mash does not share similar deeply rooted historical origins, but was initiated in the 1970s in Guyana to honor Republican status and as a "celebration of a job well done" ("The origin of", 2011). The parades for Carnival and Cropover (termed Grand Kadooment) are privately organized for-profit affairs open for general public participation, while Mash is dominated by governmental agencies and trade unions who have elaborate floats at the head of their sections. Recently there have been shifts in Mash practices that emulate Carnival, but Guyana has also started its own privately run version of Carnival as well (Smith, 2019). Given the local influences, Barbados' and Guyana's Pride parades were very similar, with variably costumed attendees dancing in the streets with slogans, following a large vehicle playing mostly soca music. Guyana's Mash influence was apparent however, in the retention of elaborate float-like symbolism as seen in Figure 7.4.1. These were absent in Barbados, which instead had unofficial symbolic representations of flag persons, a Grand Kadooment tradition, as seen in Figure 7.4.2. The Pride parades were also recontextualized by what was omitted. For instance, representations of queer subcultures, like leather or nudism, were not represented. None of the interviewees remarked on Pride being a transnational "import", but several were instead

wary of adopting Global North templates and anxious that Pride should remain grounded in local traditions.

Figure 7.4.1: Pictures from Guyana Pride parades 2018 and 2019 showing float-like costumes[30]

Figure 7.4.2: Picture from Barbados Pride parade in 2019 showing flag person[31]

One of the common criticisms of Global North Prides activists wanted to avoid was its capture and appropriation by corporations, leading to the perpetuation of globalized capitalism (Conway, 2022a) and reduction of queer persons to consumers (Conway, 2022b). Conway (2022a) asserted

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[30] Pictures by author

[31] Picture by author

this corporate insertion is an example of Rao's (2015) "global homocapitalism", but that capture by capitalist governmentality (p.6) is neither inevitable nor complete, as Pride can also be a site for debate, platforming, visibility and radical intersectionalities. Thus far Pride events in Barbados and Guyana have been supported and partially funded by transnational entities such as the Canadian embassies, HRC, UNDP, InterPride, COC Netherlands, and CVC. Apart from Guyana's inaugural parade, any branding by these entities in the parade have been absent or non-ostentatious. The support of corporations has been limited to partnerships in hosting events and sponsoring prizes, also with no visible involvement in the parades. Eva from Barbados encapsulated the opinions of several other activists with regards to corporations:

> "I can understand, we live in a capitalist society, money haffi mek…Very resistant to it [Pride] being seen as a space for businesses and it being seen as a space for corporate sponsorship and those kinds of things publicly. Very much invited privately, but publicly, I think that can lead it to again, another part of our identity being just a commodity. And I am hesitant about it, but maybe we'll get to that place where people are selling their own crafts at Pride and are able to make it become more of a festival that last more than a day…I am here for as long as it serves the needs of the people that it represents, first and foremost".

Another development unique to Barbados has been the involvement of a significant number of white persons in the parade. Marc explained that this has been beneficial: "I think it has been successful in reaching, and targeting part of Barbados, that we just had no contact with before. So a lot of allies in particular, like white allies, who were just like not even aware of our organizations before or the work that we did. A lot of them came out for pride and we still have a lot of those relationships with them and even make like one off donations". Given that many of these attendees were allies, the queer white male space of the Global North (Lord, 2020) is unlikely to be reproduced, but there are implications for how this could affect Pride's perception as an "import". Attai (2019) had similar questions around the interpretations of the parades, noting they held both transformative and alienating potential.

A seven band rainbow flag is used to signify Inca territory, but overwhelmingly, the six band rainbow flag developed by Gilbert Baker in the late 1970s is a "signal, icon, index and symbol"

of the LGBTQ+ community (Hauksson-Tresch, 2021, p.557). Alm and Martisson (2016) describe this rainbow flag as a "transnationally recognized cultural product" (p. 219) which helps foster transboundary solidarities outside of formal organizing. The rainbow flag has also been named as a boundary object, demarcating identity in and out of norms, and what is united and excluded (Hauksson-Tresch, 2021). The duality of this boundary object translates to a performativity that challenges heteronormativity, but on the flip side homogenizes and can commodify the community it represents (Alm and Martinsson, 2016; Hauksson-Tresch, 2021). Scholars expect boundary objects to be mutable enablers of engagement which can precipitate controversy around meaning in different contexts, and for the rainbow flag, a central boundary construction has been between the "progressiveness" of the Global North juxtaposed to the rest of the world in racist and colonial undertones (Laskar et al., 2017). This has extended to associating the flag with homo(trans)nationalism, homoimperialism, neocolonialism, commercialization, and commodification, and resultant negative or conflicted views by activists and scholars (Klapeer and Laskar, 2018).

Another conflict around the flag has been its role in gay diplomacy, where it is used to signal expectations around rights and as a "softer" prelude in diplomatic relations around the issue, before attempting "harder" ones like sanctions or shaming (Encarnación, 2016; Hauksson-Tresch, 2021). The Canadian and American embassies in Guyana, along with the American and British embassies in Barbados have flown the rainbow flag or displayed rainbow colors during Pride month for the last few years. It's noteworthy that during the Trump administration US embassies were directed to desist from displaying the rainbow flag (Hauksson-Tresch, 2021), and it was not until the Biden administration that the embassies in Barbados and Guyana did this for the very first time.

In 2018 the Progress Pride flag released by Daniel Quasar added trans, people of color, and persons living with HIV representation, attempting to address the homogenization of the original flag; a 2021 modification also includes intersex persons (BBC, 2021). I asked interviewees how they felt when seeing the original rainbow flag as an icebreaker intended to evoke memories and facilitate ensuing discussion, but noticed an interesting trend. A small minority of Global North interviewees felt unreservedly positive emotions around the flag, while the inverse operated in

Barbados and Guyana. Some Barbadian and Guyanese activists were neutral or indifferent towards the flag, and some preferred the Pride Progress flag, but the majority in both countries felt variations of pride, safety, representation, happiness or belonging towards the flag. This can be explained by the flag's position as a floating signifier that is absent of fixed meaning and involved in the co-production of said meaning depending on context (Wasshede, 2021). It has therefore been argued that attaching only the dominant Global North narratives that have evolved around the rainbow flag to its use in the Global South is highly problematic (Klapeer and Laskar, 2018) and runs a risk of erasing decades of Latin American collaborative activism transmitted through the rainbow flag (Laskar et al., 2017). Certainly, this finding of the discrepancy in views between local and Global North activists reaffirm the floating signifier nature of the flag where there are alternative meanings and emotions affixed to it.

Because both of the aforementioned symbols are entangled with queer commodification, the next section further unpacks other emerging directions in transnational engagements that either further allegations of commodification, or that can be seen as an encroaching expansion of the capitalistic imperatives driving some Global North based transnational organizations.

7.5 Changing priorities in transnational relations – examining the economic case for LGBTQ+ inclusion and the weaponization of health discourse

Capitalism and colonialism have a deeply ensnarled symbiotic relationship that reaches back centuries, each enabling the proliferation of the other (Quijano, 2000). From this current global co-constitutive relationship, capitalism has affected queer identities and movements on a broad level by creating intersecting class-based inequalities that influence activist priorities and movement framing, and states which regulate and marginalize based on threats to capitalist production (Alexander, 1994; Valocchi, 2017). More specifically, queer bodies have also been enfolded into projects that rely on capitalism to celebrate consumerism, imperialism and economic productivity through the politics of homonormativity, homonationalism and homocapitalism (Puar, 2007; Rao, 2020; Stoffel, 2021).

Within this backdrop, interviewee feelings on capitalism ranged from several expressing anti-capitalism sentiments, most not commenting on it, and one person expressing that their view has changed and capitalism need not be exploitative. Using the field of technology as a counter example to the "sweat capitalism" that oppressed Black and brown bodies, they pointed to good salaries, greater ownership and dignity in that industry as an example of equitable capitalism. This view is however refuted by the widespread presence of inequities in ethnicity and gender in technology, as well as the deep digital divide that is reproduced along colonial patterns (Clayton, 2020; Goel, 2021). Marc stated that moving away from capitalism was necessary for decolonization: "decolonization should be like respecting the Earth's sovereignty and like trying to move away from capitalism as well and like capitalist models of success". Several others however, were cognizant that the movement operated within capitalism and strove for sustainability within the system. This was evident in the ways that economics was a significant theme in the interviews, aligning with, as Joan said above, "how can they [the government] see LGBT issues connecting to broader issues of economic and social development?" Activists generally approached the issue at the individual/community level and/or at the wider structural level. In Barbados and especially in Guyana, economic empowerment of the queer community was a notable focus in the interviews and online sources. This empowerment broadly took the form of facilitating entry into the preexisting work force or generating new queer-led businesses. To achieve these objectives, activists focused on employment discrimination legislation; LGBTQ+ sensitization sessions with private and public sector employers; highlighting and connecting queer friendly and queer led businesses; conducting skills trainings and education classes; enabling access to financing and small loans; and pursuing land acquisition. As can be gleaned from Appendix Seven, in Barbados four organizations liaised with employers and two worked on preparing the queer community for the workforce. In Guyana three worked on the employer end, while eight addressed community preparedness. The centering of economic livelihoods is unsurprising, especially for trans organizers, where there are established links between discrimination and disadvantageous educational backgrounds leading to lack of job opportunities and then a variety of adverse outcomes in health, life and liberty (Rambarran and Hereman, 2020). Not all types of economic activities met with approval however, as one interviewee in Barbados mentioned that social entrepreneurship projects in that country were perceived as siphoning funding that could more directly help the queer community.

Making the case for the individual/community level engagement between business and the queer community, was Badgett et al.'s (2013) review of the studies on workplace policies for LGBTQ+ persons, which showed that supportive policies improved workplace relations, job satisfaction, health outcomes and employee productivity (p.1). The 2021 Open for Business study on the cost of LGBT+ exclusion in twelve Caribbean countries concluded that between 1.5 billion and 4.2 billion US dollars was lost per year as a result of discrimination, violence, health disparities, reduced employment and missed tourism (Crehan et al., 2021). The argument around the cost of discriminating against LGBTQ+ persons can be a persuasive one, as Aksoy et al. (2022) found in a well-designed online experiment involving over 6,000 persons in Serbia, Turkey and Ukraine - persons who received information on the economic cost of discrimination to society were more likely to support non-discrimination policies in the workplace. The 2022 D.A.T.A roundtable conference in Barbados was also convened with a view to further exploring the economic angle and possible synchronicities. I was involved in planning the agenda for this conference, presented on the state of Caribbean health and COVID-19 research, and conducted participant observation of the session on decolonizing funding.

In seeking to understand the state of LGBTQ+ rights in Abya Yala/the Americas, it was noted that, with several exceptions, higher income countries have more sociopolitical rights for LGBTQ+ persons, highlighting the power of the "gay market" (Corrales, 2014, p.12). The purchasing power of the queer community's "pink dollar" in travel, media, merchandise, communications and other sectors has been a topic of interest for several decades (Rivera et al., 2021). This spending power has been particularly attached to tourism, and in the SASOD Yahoo groups from 2007 there were discussion threads about the presence of gay cruises in the Caribbean. In Barbados in 2011 Darcy Dear of UGLAAB urged the government to "cash in" on gay tourism (Henry, 2011), and in 2020 B-GLAD representatives urged the government to consider the impact of the one year work visa on LGBT persons both in Barbados and travelling to the country (Ellis, 2020). In Guyana, where tourism is less economically significant than Barbados, it was not until 2022 that tourism publicly entered queer discourse with SASOD, GTU and SWAG (LGBTQ+ coalition) signing an agreement with Visit Rupununi committing to having the interior region be an inclusive and safe one for tourism ("Visit Rupununi", 2022).

Even the aforementioned 2021 Open for Business study specifically highlighted the costs of missed tourism opportunities. While the argument around increasing employment of queer persons centers survival, and the ideal of "equitable access to resources…in the long run it benefits everybody, not just the community, it benefits the country at large" (Nicole), both it, and the broader linkage of rights to profits through the pink dollar has been criticized for several reasons.

Capitalism has been described as a key component in the colonial matrix of power (McKittrick, 2015) or the coloniality of power, where "anti-capitalist decolonization and liberation cannot be reduced to only one dimension of social life. It requires a broader transformation of the sexual, gender, spiritual, epistemic, economic, political, linguistic and racial hierarchies of the modern/colonial world-system" (Grosfoguel, 2007, p.219). It can therefore be argued that all of these approaches which seek solutions in the preexisting dominant paradigms of labor and employment only further push queer persons into the jaws of the capitalistic dragon Audre Lorde (1979) used to describe the embodiment of intertwined systems of oppression in the US. Even if one accepts, like I do, that measures of decolonization are possible while still within capitalism, promoting rights through an economic argument is still contentious as it "is seen by some as selling the soul of the movement, a commodification of gay culture, and an exaggeration of the purchasing power of LGBT people, and thus, a non-appreciation of the socioeconomic plight of many LGBT individuals" (Corrales, 2014, p.12).

Further, the suturing of these positions to tourism is especially problematic. Tourism's neo-coloniality in the Caribbean has been theorized and traced by a multitude of Caribbean creatives and intellectuals, as summarized by Angelique Nixon (2017). It follows plantation hierarchies and patterns of economic power (Strachan, 2003), while foregrounding servitude, dependence on the Global North and regional reconfiguration as a "paradise" that is predicated on gendered, racialized and sexualized terms related to enslavement and colonialism (Nixon, 2017, p.14). Many scholars have also unpacked how Caribbean bodies are fetishized, exoticized and hypersexualized in the tourist's search for sun, sea and sex (Attai, 2019; Kempadoo, 1999). Studies into how these play out in queer relations in the Anglophone Caribbean are scarce, especially when considering Caribbean persons as the tourists in question (Attai, 2019). It has

been suggested they follow the same broad fetishizing and colonial tropes of heterosexual interactions, even as the reciprocal nature of engagements is acknowledged (Alexander, 2005; Attai, 209). There is also the added complexity of LGBTQ+ tourists boycotting countries seen as more hostile towards queer persons and the knock on effects this has on local queer persons.

As important as this context is, it also ignores Guyana which until recently, has had an extremely small tourism industry dominated by returning nationals and a focus on ecotourism (Wenner and Johnny, 2015). Post independent Guyana was plagued by political and economic woes coupled with lack of affordable internal transportations and stereotypical beaches. This made it unattractive to traditional tourists, but marked by the cliché of the undiscovered/unexplored/lost location as a counterpoint to the "paradise" perception of the Caribbean islands. Tourism has gradually been increasing in the country since the 1990s (Wenner and Johnny, 2015) and is expected to play an increasingly significant role as more persons travel for leisure and the expanding oil and gas sector ("Over 150,000", 2022). Guyana has the opportunity to learn from the neocolonial contours that permeate tourism in its neighbors but already some actions give pause. One example is the much publicized agreement between the LGBTQ+ coalition and Visit Rupununi. The discussion in Chapter Six indicated that the Rupununi region is generally one where queer Indigenous persons might feel less accepted by their communities. It is therefore problematic that this agreement concentrates on safety and inclusion for tourists, both from other countries and from other parts of Guyana, while safety and inclusion for queer Indigenous persons living in those areas remain suboptimal.

It is also necessary to specifically address the role of transnational organizations in this widely cited "business case for LGBTQ+ inclusion". Two main types of organizations operate in this sphere. The first are international financial institutions (IFIs) like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Caribbean Development Bank, and the others are Global North based transnational organizations with a major or sole interest in furthering this case. Examples of this include Open for Business, Out Leadership, Out and Equal, Stonewall and the Human Right Campaign (HRC). Both types have been criticized.

The IFIs have been increasingly paying attention to queer issues, but within the neoliberal economic paradigm, and by ignoring their liability in the very discrimination they seek to reduce (Gosine, 2010; Rao, 2015). The World Bank for example, has a queer staff association, which when subjected to a "queering development" analysis that examines how "sexuality and gender can be rethought and reorganized in development practices, theories and politics analysis of development" (Lind & Share, 2003, p.57), revealed that the association did not challenge the institutionalization of heterosexuality in development (Gosine, 2010, p.82). Rahul Rao (2015, 2020) has made a convincing case for how these institutions perpetuate global homocapitalism by using Uganda and India as case studies. In these two contexts the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and World Bank) have supported the main faith-based purveyors of homophobia and directly contributed to socioeconomic situations (through their structural adjustment programs and similar) that encourage and precipitate moral panics which situate queer persons as scapegoats. After having significantly contributed to the problem, the IFIs collaborate with local activists who subscribe to homonormative values to make capitalism "friendly for queers and queers safe for capitalism", introducing strife between "productive" and "non-productive queers" and separating the queer movement from anti-capitalist ones (Rao, 2015, p.47-48). Rao (2020) also argues that homocapitalism, while connected to homonationalism, offers a more attractive alternative, especially in countries where same-sex intimacy is still criminalized, that is premised on promises of a better material future.

These scenarios also apply to the Caribbean, Barbadian and Guyanese contexts. Jacqui Alexander (1994) explained how "major international political economic incursions" (p. 6) caused crises in state authority that contributed to the control and demonization of queerness by societal and legal means. The IFIs have been some of the instruments of these incursions. Both Barbados and Guyana have been entangled with the Bretton Woods institutions since the 1980s and Barbados has taken on another multi-year IMF loan since 2018 (US Department of Treasury, 2022). In fact, SASOD's first grant from the Guyana government in 2007 was in turn funded by the World Bank (Marks, 2007). Another striking and very illustrative case has been unfolding in Barbados. In June and October of 2022 the IDB administered a survey to early high school children without ethics approval, parental consent, and with inclusion of questions the Ministry of Education had objected to ("Controversial IDB", 2022; Carrington, 2022). This survey asked

children about gender identity, sexuality, and suicidality, outraging parents, and becoming a flash point for anti-government protest and the coalescence of a parental rights group. This group has threatened legal action against the government, led marches/rallies against the transgender agenda around children, LGBTQ+ rights, comprehensive sexuality education, and related these issues to other proposed progressive government policies on children as well (Joseph, 2022; "Group to stage", 2023). In this instance the IDB bypassed the socioeconomic facilitation of moral panic (Rao, 2015), and instead directly caused it with a set of baffling, dictatorial and neo-colonial actions.

Homocapitalism is also being peddled by the Global North based transnational organizations specifically aimed at addressing the LGBTQ+ "case" (Rao, 2020), and arguably being supported by local organizations and events (like the D.A.T.A conference which I attended). Here, there is the additional troubling aspect around how these GNB transnational organizations engage with local activists that emerged from the interviews. Actors within those types of organizations and from the private sector were noted to reproduce colonial power dynamics by inequitably sharing funding with local organizations, coopting credit and being oblivious to their role in historical and contemporary social and economic relations.

While economic growth and improved rights are appealing, and can be syncretic, Rao (2020) cautions against the subservience of rights to profits, noting how capitalism has negatively affected climate and social justice, and how this places intersectional movement collaborations at risk. A pertinent case to this point is the increasing significance of Exxon Mobil in Guyana (Westervelt, 2023). While, as stated before, the oil company has only funded one organization, there is interest and tension in pursuing future funding. Joan spoke about how "sometimes we see it as a betrayal like to try and get in, to access Exxon money to support our activities. Is like we are accessing funding from neocolonialist, neoimperialist agencies". Navigating this tension between accessing funding from directly extractivist sources and having feminist intersectional principles will be a major contention for organizations moving forward, though as Joan goes on to suggest, one view might be looking at the "oil money" as reparations for environmental trauma now pressed into service for achieving activist goals.

Apart from the conundrums of the economic issues, another emerging direction spearheaded by a Global North based transnational organization has been the way health discourse is being used to advance human rights. HIV has inextricably linked LGBTQ+ rights and health for decades now, and as previously discussed, organizations in these two countries have variably used this linkage to argue for advances in both the HIV and rights arenas. The link between criminalization of same sex activity and HIV infections has been expounded on for decades as well, but efforts to remove the law on this basis have either not been taken seriously or backfired, as it did with Mia Mottley's suggestion in 2003 (recapped in chapter five). Similarly 2014 PANCAP's Justice for All project recommendation to this effect was met with strident opposition and had to be deferred. The Justice for All project was funded by the Global Fund and UNAIDS (PANCAP, n.d.). Since then, the Global Fund has exponentially ramped up its efforts to "address human-rights related barriers to services" that include legal reforms in 20 countries (not including Barbados or Guyana) through its Breaking down Barriers Project (Global Fund, 2020). Barbados has not received direct Global Fund grants for years as a result of its income classification (PANCAP, 2016), but Guyana has continued to receive this funding, with the latest being in 2022. At the Technical Review Panel (TRP) for the 2022 grant, the TRP stipulated that Guyana needs to incorporate advocacy for removing the buggery laws which were identified as hampering HIV service access in the country's grant proposal (Guyana Country Coordinating Mechanism, 2022). This stipulation built on previous efforts like the Justice for All project and the 2016 PANCAP grant that aimed to conduct legal environment assessments in efforts to achieve legal reforms.

While laudable, these types of tactics, which place and increase the burden of advocacy action on queer activists, are tricky. There is an inherent hypocrisy and irony in the Global Fund paying for the Guyanese Government (through the Ministry of Health) to convene a workshop to devise strategies to essentially lobby itself for legal reform it recognizes as necessary but is unwilling to implement. This circuitous logic lends some support to activists for related programs they may wish to undertake, but is unlikely to lead to any actual reform. Health is being weaponized in service to rights, but in a manner with dubious potential for success, that runs the risks of merely check-boxing or further stretching limited activist capacities, and that ultimately does not hold the government responsible.

This section explored the potential pitfalls of emerging framings within the activist movements. The advantage of an economic argument where transnational relations are central, were weighed against the problematic twinning with tourism, the Janus-faced nature of engaging with IFIs, considerations of extractivism, and the tendency of LGBTQ+ economic inclusion GNB transnational organizations to replicate colonial patterns. All of which occurs within the enclosure of further embracing capitalism. It also questions how effective the weaponization of health for rights by transnational organizations could be. Given these hazards, the case made in the previous chapter for framings that embrace intersectionality and expansiveness, is echoed, and the economic framing deserves caution in its advancement.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored and comparatively assessed the transnational, transboundary and Global North relations of the queer movements in both contexts. It did so by applying a pragmatic decolonial lens where activist agency was prioritized and abandonment of transboundary linkages was not the goal.

The first section analyzed transnational linkages to show that SHE, Equals and B-GLAD in Barbados, and GTU, SASOD and FACT in Guyana had the most collaborative and funders in this respect. The organizations in Guyana, due to funding priorities and economic classification, received attention from almost twice as many funders as in Barbados. An analysis of the funders who had the largest role within and between countries revealed ten GNB transnational organizations which in turn were classified as small, medium, large and mega funders. The section examined collaborations with actors from the US, UK and Canada to understand varying angles of interactions, and also demonstrated that while both countries were Commonwealth members, this was not a useful space for Guyanese activism. Transnational collaborations within the Caribbean region were sub-optimal but held promise.

A major theme that emerged in unpacking the relationship with the Global North was around funding, and the dialogue and power relations attached to these transactions. This was the subject

of the second section, where the historically moderate ease with which activists accessed transnational funding is likely to be affected by a swiftly changing funding landscape and intra-country factors like Guyana's growing economy. The section examined problematic and desirable practices on both ends of funding arrangements, and then turned attention to whether and how these relationships can be decolonized. From an analysis of selected GNB transnational organizations' websites it was shown that these organizations formally address decoloniality/decolonization to varying degrees, with Astraea leading in considering the multidimensional legacies of coloniality, although, as in the case of HDT, attempting to decolonize relationships was more evident in actions and less in writing. The case of COC Netherlands in Guyana was also highlighted to flag how potentially problematic power imbalances have manifested. Exploring whether transnational funding could be decolonized operated with the knowledge that funding is not a prerequisite for activism or organizing, and that there are various paradigms of decolonization that could be applied. Given that several activists suggested reorientation of power and Global North-centric practices were possible, I proffer that a pragmatic model of decolonizing relationships at the GNB transnational organizational level is possible if said organizations are interested in dialoguing for transformation, and some appear to have initiated this process. Additionally, by enhancing their own accountability measures, local organizations could push for a regional funding mechanism or more direct transnational funding that would incentivize current intermediary GNB transnational organizations to decolonize their ethos and practices, or risk obsoletion in the region.

The third section of the chapter explored other transnational linkages in the form of Pride and the rainbow flag. It found that Pride operated both as 'continuity and rupture' (Bennett, 2017) with its practice in the Global North, identifying the unique features that have been recontextualized in both countries. The planning of Pride has also revealed some cracks and there is anxiety about the future of the event and how to avoid problematic replications from elsewhere. The rainbow flag was shown to be both a boundary object and floating identifier, such that despite its association with homo(trans)nationalism, neocolonialism and commercialization, it has reconfigured meanings in Barbados and Guyana.

The chapter ended with a section on emerging directions in activism and what implications these held for decoloniality. The arising economic framing within activism was explored and while the general stance acknowledged the necessity of economic opportunities and survival within capitalism, potential issues were spotlighted. Within the current state where the state and all the actors in the development sector contribute to the regulation and legitimization of our intimate lives (Lind, 2009, p.35), it highlighted that the framing encourages increased capitalist penetrations, troubling issues with extractivism, tourism, sticky relations with IFIs, and potential neo-colonial transnational encounters. These indicated that support and advancement of this framing deserved an extremely cautious approach, and possibly abandonment. The other emerging action around Global North based transnational organizations like the Global Fund utilizing a health framework to advance a human rights agenda in a more direct fashion than in the past, was also problematized.

Overall, this chapter grappled with the implications of decolonizing transnational relations while enmeshed within the global structure of capitalism and the other oppressive legacies of colonialism. It recognizes that while the "master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lorde, 1979), it could chip away at it. By proposing actionable change and zoning in on problematic paths that could be decolonized in some measure in the present moment, it does not foreclose a horizon that could offer the space and possibility for tools that *will* dismantle the master's house.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The main thrust of this thesis has been the exploration of the role of colonialism/coloniality, decolonization/decoloniality and transnationalism in queer activism through a comparative analysis of Barbados and Guyana. While important comparative work on gender and sexuality in relation to colonialism has been done (Gomes da Costa Santos and Waites, 2019; Stewart, 2017), this did not specifically address activism. There is also a dearth of comparative studies on queer activism in the Global South, with preexisting studies having addressed transnationalism in queer activism (Kjaran and Naeimi, 2022; Lai, 2018; Ng, 2018; Slootmaeckers and Bosia, 2023), organizing in the movements (Currier, 2012; de la Dehesa, 2006), and within the Caribbean, a focus on theorizing queer resistance and space making using Barbados, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica (Attai, 2019), comparisons of LGBTQ+ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica while tangentially mentioning activism (Dover, 2016), and comparative analysis of decriminalization efforts in the Bahamas, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago (Gaskins, 2013). This study therefore speaks to the gap in Global South comparative studies that investigate queer activism from a decolonial/decolonizing angle, while simultaneously adding to the discourse on the transnational aspect. It similarly addresses the fact that until recently social movement theory largely focused on the Global North (Fadaee, 2017), with the notable exception of work from Latin American scholars (Alvarez et al., 1998; Foweraker, 1995) and from Guyana (Peters, 2019) and therefore contributes to social movement theorizations from the Global South.

To this end, it wielded a distinctive decolonizing methodology and varying strands of social movement theory to show that divergent evolutions and practices of activism could be traced to differential country interactions with the colonial milieu. The movement in each country was broadly similar with regards to trajectories (going from HIV to human rights framing), how and what strategies were deployed, challenges to recruitment and resource mobilization. However, the particularities of colonial systems and legacies simultaneously led to divergences among strategies, political opportunities, funding landscapes, collective identity, movement cohesion, transnational engagements and interactions with Indigeneity. These were specifically seen in the

presence of elite political allies in Barbados allowing for greater policy and legislative success. Relatively unburdened by the Guyanese legacy of inter-ethnic tensions fomented during colonialism, the internal movement dynamics in Barbados allowed for the moderately greater cohesiveness seen in that movement. Meanwhile, the World Bank's economic classification of Guyana and wide ranging transnational linkages of organizations like SASOD Guyana have facilitated more transnational connections and funding in that country. Engagements with transnational actors, and specifically funders, exhibited comparable cross-country experiences that revealed both deficient and satisfactory facets. Similarly, activists had common experiences conceptualizing and situating decolonizing thought and praxes. Here the main point of departure centered on erasure and suboptimal inclusion of Indigenous populations within Guyanese activism, alongside the contextual challenges that hamper improved relations.

These findings are used to make the argument that current activist engagement with decolonization and promising moves to expand intersectional collaborations still leave room for deeper work around decolonization, relationality and intersectionality in the movements. This study also calls for the further decolonizing of transnational navigations, which are subject to both local agency and power hierarchies, as well as for activist attention to potentially problematic areas in emerging transnational engagements around economic inclusion.

Set in colonialism's crucible, the Caribbean was a fertile site for this exploration on colonialism and its resistance in a contemporary movement context. The selection of case studies for systematic comparison was also based on criteria related to coloniality/decoloniality and transnationalism to consider how varying contexts of Indigenous populations, ethnic compositions, and sociopolitical environments in Barbados and Guyana would be especially pertinent aspects for robust comparisons. This study therefore emerges as the most comprehensive examination of queer social movements in either Barbados or Guyana. It used a combination of interviews with forty-two activists and representatives of Global North organizations, newspaper and online research and participant observations to present a distinctive analysis that engages a decolonizing perspective to help advance the understanding of how colonialism and transnationalism interplay and impact Global South organizing.

This was achieved by addressing the central research question of "what does a comparative analysis of LGBTQ+ activism in Barbados and Guyana reveal about the role of transnational processes, colonial legacies, and anti-colonial resistances in the evolution of said activism?" This question was in turn unpacked through consideration of four sub-questions:

i. What were the trajectories of post-independence queer organizing in both countries and how did British colonialism operating in differing local contexts influence this activism?

ii. What social, organizational and transnational forces have impacted the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts?

iii. How have activists engaged with decoloniality and decolonization in order to advance their agendas?

iv. What has been the relationship between activist movements in Guyana and Barbados and those in the Global North, in terms of collaborations, power relations, and dialogue?

The data from the multiple sources outlined above were melded over the course of three analytical chapters to present both empirical findings grounded in activist reports, as well as generative sociological analysis and arguments.

The next two sections in this chapter focus on a synopsis of the key findings and arguments of the three analytical chapters, followed by a discussion of how this thesis contributes to the global, Caribbean and local literatures on queer activism, and a discussion of its wider implications for practice and theory.

8.2 Synopsis of key findings

This study plumbed both the internal workings and external transnational and transboundary connections of the queer social movements in Barbados and Guyana. It did this by applying a comparative analytical approach to movement history, while simultaneously using social theories and frameworks for examining broader themes of transnationalism and decolonizing.

In Chapter Five the sub-question "what were the trajectories of post-independence queer organizing in both countries and how did British colonialism operating in differing local contexts influence this activism?" was answered. Using a holistic historical sociology approach to data gleaned from newspapers, online research, secondary sources and interviews, movement histories were simultaneously expanded and dissected to compare and contrast trajectories. The newspaper archives showed that in the first decade of the millennium there were similar directions of groundbreaking organizational formations and events, queer visibility and progressive political moves (and pushback), while the second decade ushered in more visibility, newer organizations, and increasing transnational engagements. When the early years (2001 to 2010) of two of the most prominent organizations in either country – SASOD in Guyana and UGLAAB in Barbados - were further interrogated, key differences in transnational engagements, scope of work and engagement with colonialism emerged. Here UGLAAB with its community/HIV focus and framing, had less transnational connections compared to SASOD and its human rights framing, which likely facilitated its transnational associations. SASOD also had a wider scope of work and broader engagement with colonial legacies compared to UGLAAB.

These findings informed the tracing of the trajectory of formalized activism in either country from a framing around HIV (evident in Barbados' UGLAAB in 2001 and Guyana's A.I.D.S in 1992) in response to their internal HIV crises, to framing around human rights (arising with B-GLAD in 2012 in Barbados and SASOD in 2003 in Guyana) emerging from university settings. The HIV framing has decreased but continues to be variably used in both countries, co-existing with the more utilized human rights framing which has greater engagement and more unequivocal acceptance in Guyana. This variance in engagement and other divergences in trajectories around when organizations formed, transnational associations and political success were linked to geographical size and political environments, both in turn being connected to colonialism and transnationalism to some degree.

Politically, the peri-independence machinations of the UK and US left Guyana with continuing ethnically divisive party politics and electoral dishonesty that affects Guyanese activism in a way that is absent in politically stable Barbados. The Guyanese political landscape therefore lends itself to greater utilization of international rights mechanisms by activists combatting local

political apathy and has contributed to the stalemate on progressive policies and legislation. Barbados' small geographical size coupled with the consequences of colonialism – significant British settler colonialism, resultant infrastructural development and ethnic homogeneity (ECLAC, 2001) - resulted in a cohesive but self-censoring society that both dissuaded activists from using the media and led to greater print media silencing compared to Guyana. Although geographically large, colonial and transnational interferences have shaped Guyana into a similar 'small state' as Barbados. These date back to the Dutch concentration on coastal development, poor infrastructural development, and UK and US political interference that resulted in significant emigration and mortality (Dacosta, 2007; Hintzen, 2019). As a consequence, both countries were subjected to forms of queer silencing by heteronormativity and limited strategic options due to size. Also notable was the erasure of Indigenous queerness within the newspapers in the Guyanese archives.

Overall this chapter showed how the same imperialistic force (the British in this case) acting on different countries can result in similarities, but also differences. British colonial governance was often adapted and 'innovated' for local context, leading to heterogeneity in governance (Phillips, 2006, p. 220-21). In this instance, governmental differences primarily manifested in the comparatively greater infrastructural and institutional development of Barbados, which was in turn linked to the more significant colonial settlement of that country (Dacosta, 2007; ECLAC, 2001). Therefore, any modulation of geographical, administrative, legislative, political, cultural factors or combination thereof during colonialism can also have a knock-on effect, and change the circumstances for activism. In this instance the knock-on effects manifested as varying political landscapes with attendant political opportunities, and varying cultural milieus acting on journalism and the archives. This differing effect might seem obvious, but sometimes narratives, especially from the Global North, (for example an article on Caribbean LGBT activism by Rachel Nolan (2016) stating "attitudes toward LGBT communities are also deeply shaped by the entrenched authority of Catholicism" (p.1) and discussing opposition to 'gender mainstreaming' as a significant focus of regional activism) flatten the region. This draws attention to the fact that while there is space for generalizations, these should be tempered by a consideration of contextualities.

Chapter Six partially answered "what social, organizational and transnational forces have impacted the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts?" by focusing on the social and organizational, while also answering "how have activists engaged with decoloniality and decolonization in order to advance their agendas?" This study was the first to draw on social network analysis (Diani, 2003) in relation to queer activism in Barbados, Guyana or the Anglophone Caribbean, and illustrated the greater interconnectivity between Guyanese queer organizations and other sectors compared to those in Barbados. Class and gender played a significant role in collective action in both countries, with this action suffering from recruitment challenges, burnout and movement diversification/fragmentation (more so in Guyana). Ethnicity and Indigeneity however, were larger issues in Guyana and also manifested as complex sociopolitical interplays that resulted in the elision of Indigenous populations and proportionally decreased participation of Indo-Guyanese persons. The former has been noted before (Attai, 2019; Istodor-Berceanu, 2019; Peters, 2019) but the latter has not been discussed in the literature, except for Kumar's (2018) tangential mention of how middle-upper class Indo-Guyanese women resist the type of visibility they perceive as necessary for activism.

The engagement of resource mobilization (McCarthy and Zald, 1977) and political process theories demonstrated similarities in activist framings (Snow et al., 2019b), the variety of tactical repertoires (Tilly, 1986) and some political opportunities (Della and Diani, 2006; Kitschelt, 1986). Using estimates of monetary resources from the data sources, coupled with Bourdieu's conceptualization of non-economic capitals, I showed that Equals in Barbados and SASOD and GTU in Guyana led in resources, recalling similar situations in Nepal and Chile where cis gender men have led NGOs in resource accumulation (Campbell, 2014; Rana, 2021). Simultaneously, GTU's co-dominance and the overall small lead over other organizations, demonstrated that this leadership model was not a prerequisite for resource mobilization. Engaging political process theory illustrated how political culture and opportunity structures were similar, centering on themes of political paralysis and lip service, but critically differing in elite political allies and hence political opportunities, which has enabled more legislative and policy successes in Barbados.

Many activists noted the enduring influence of colonialities of knowledge, power (Quijano, 2000) and gender (Lugones, 2010) without explicitly using the term. The concept of Christian coloniality (Lara, 2020) was particularly significant for its impact on culture and movement opposition, including in a multi-religious society like Guyana. Conforming to Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) statement that decolonization centers "our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes"(p.41) activists discussed their understanding and use of decolonization. Here, in both countries the 'land-back' version of decolonization (Tuck and Yang, 2012) lacked relevance, and amidst varying conceptualizations, activists more implicitly engaged with decolonization, although a few gave more explicit examples and praxes. Istador-Berceanu (2019) has noted how in Guyana LGBTQ+ activism is a continuation of anti-colonial resistance, but this study is one of the few in the Caribbean to explicitly adopt a decolonial analysis of queerness and queer activism, or to unpack how decolonizing is operationalized by activists themselves. Extending from these findings is the argument that within activist engagement with decolonization and promising moves to expand intersectional collaborations, there still remains more room for considerations around relationality to Indigeneity (more so in Guyana) and intersectionality with other movements centering feminism, Indigenous peoples, climate change etc. This horizon of greater interconnectedness is likely also challenged by the movements' focus on human rights framing to the detriment of a decolonial or other more expansive framing lending itself to more collaborative resistances.

The transnational portion of "what social, organizational and transnational forces have impacted the evolution of queer movements in the two contexts?" was answered in Chapter Seven along with "what has been the relationship between activist movements in Guyana and Barbados and those in the Global North, in terms of collaborations, power relations, and dialogue?" Compared to decolonizing/decolonial considerations, the transnational aspects have been more frequently interrogated in the Global South and (especially) the Caribbean literature. Still, by integrating a decolonizing perspective, this study was able to provide a new contribution by presenting problematic and desirable practices on both ends of funding arrangements, along with how Global North based transnational organizations approached colonialism, decoloniality/decolonization. This was further expanded by the analysis of activist-centered

suggestions on improving and attempting to decolonize funding relationships while operating within a certain paradigm of decolonization.

Following the first comprehensive analytic mapping of transboundary connections involved in queer activism in either of the two countries, collaborations with actors from the US, UK and Canada were examined to show that while both countries were Commonwealth members, this was not a useful space for Guyanese activism, but had been engaged to a limited extent by those in Barbados. For both contexts transnational collaborations within the Caribbean region were sub-optimal but held promise. An investigation of other themes around transboundary linkages focused on Pride, the rainbow flag, and emerging activism directions and the attendant implications for decolonizing. It was found that Pride operated both as 'continuity and rupture' (Bennett, 2017) with its practice in the Global North, and had unique features that have been recontextualized in both countries. This occurred alongside anxieties about the future of the event and how to avoid problematic replications from elsewhere. The rainbow flag was shown to be both a boundary object and floating identifier, such that despite its association with homo(trans)nationalism (Puar, 2007), neocolonialism and commercialization (Klapeer and Laskar, 2018; Rao, 2015), it has reconfigured meanings in Barbados and Guyana. Interrogation of emerging directions centered on the transnational trend weaponizing health for human rights and the local nascent framings around economic inclusion. While logical and appealing, the framing was problematized. This included showing how its focus on tourism can further neocolonial relations and reproduce troubling Indigenous relations in Guyana, how relations with international financial institutions like the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund can indirectly and directly backfire, and the environmental and ethical cost involved in partnering with burgeoning extractivist companies in Guyana. These considerations were overlaid by the broader implications of how such a framing enfolded and advanced capitalism and the potential for neo-colonial transnational encounters, suggesting de-prioritization (but not necessarily abandonment) and caution is needed in its engagement.

In unpacking what social, organizational and transnational forces have influenced queer activism, this chapter showed how there is both local agency and power hierarchies replicating (neo)colonial patterns to varying degrees in transnational engagements. The previous chapter

interrogated the role of class, ethnicity, Indigeneity and gender in organizing while analyzing political opportunities, resource mobilization, strategies and framing. In integrating these findings the existing and emerging framings are critiqued to suggest that alternative, more intersectional framings are necessary, given their respective plateaued and problematic natures. Acknowledging the necessity of organizing under capitalism, Chapter Seven takes an understanding approach to continuing transnational relations, but makes an urgent call for their decolonizing, and for activist attention to potentially problematic areas in emerging transnational engagements.

8.3 Contributions to studies on queer activism

This study adopted an interdisciplinary position to focus on an underrepresented region in the global literature on queer activism and sexuality politics. In doing so, it addressed the urgent call for decolonial investigations into the formulations of queer activism in the Global South made by other scholars (Josephson, 2020; Rana, 2021). By virtue of its comparative nature, it answered the call made by Gomes da Costa Santos and Waites (2019), for comparative systematic sociological research on colonialisms with respect to sexuality and gender diversity. It also went a step further by doing so in a fashion that places sociology and transnationalism in dialogue with decolonizing approaches. Others have identified how different regulatory environments during colonial administrations have resulted in varying legislative approaches, policing and norms (Gomes da Costa Santos and Waites, 2019), and even pointed out that different colonial histories impact on state regulation of sexuality and therefore activist response (Offord, 2011). However, this is one of the first studies to directly examine how colonial milieu and legacies shape queer activism specifically in the Global South, and the differential effects that could result.

This thesis contributes to social movement theorizations from the Global South by exploring the totality of the movements instead of restricting attention to selected aspects. For example, collective action has been interrogated with respect to various aspects such as rights discourse, visibility, strategies and coming out (Lai, 2018; Moussawi, 2015; Muedini, 2018), but only a few studies, such as Currier (2012) and Rana (2019), exploring activism in Kenya, Namibia and

Nepal respectively, have also investigated the ethnicity and class dimensions involved in movement dynamics. The findings from this research concur with the value and contextuality of political opportunities found in other countries like Turkey (Muedini, 2018) and Brazil (Marsiaj, 2006). In Brazil the ideology of political parties tend towards either end of the political spectrum, and the gay movement finds greater favor with left-wing parties and their more progressive individual members (Marsiaj, 2006). However, since both major parties in Barbados and Guyana have similar social democratic values (Dacosta, 2007), the movements have had to rely more on elite political allies than on broad party support by virtue of ideology. Partially concurring with findings from Nepal and Chile where cis gender men have led NGOs in resource accumulation (Campbell, 2014; Rana, 2019), this study also demonstrated how other trans and cis gender women could also lead NGOs to significant resource mobilization.

Frame and strategic analysis also lined up with the findings from other countries where human rights and HIV coexist as master frames (Ghosh, 2015; Rana, 2019). This study gives an indication that the primacy of these might be on the downturn as their utility have either stalled or the funding landscape has shifted. Similarly, navigating the tensions of transnational funding in specific contexts has been well documented before (albeit with limited attention to monetary details) (Currier and Thomann, 2016; Gonzalez, 2019; Ng, 2018; Nyrell, 2015; Rana, 2019), but this study extends the analysis to activist responses on how these could possibly be decolonized to some degree.

The underrepresentation of the Caribbean in queer decolonial studies is addressed by this thesis, simultaneously adding to a gradually increasing body of broader considerations around decoloniality and decolonization in the Caribbean. While acknowledging that queer erotic autonomy and embodied knowledges can be inherently decolonial (Ghisyawan, 2022), this is one of the few studies, and the first in the Anglophone Caribbean, to explicitly enquire about activist conceptualizations and praxes around decolonizing. This supplements the corpus of explicit Caribbean decolonial practices and knowledges initiated in Rodriguez and Reddock's (2021) collection, but from a queer perspective. Importantly, this research contributes to empirical examinations of Christian coloniality (Lara, 2020), an underexamined aspect of coloniality with much pertinence and overlap for sexuality and gender. Finally, it explores Indigenous

representation in queer activism, contributing to the scant literature on Indigenous sexuality in the Anglophone Caribbean. It further addresses Jackson's (2016) call for greater collaborations between queer Guyanese activists and Indigenous populations by revealing that even though activists have started these interactions there remains much scope for greater engagement.

While the main question of this study was engaged and answered, the analysis also raised areas for prospective exploration. One of these was around intra-community language use with regards to words such as "antiman" versus "gay" and the transnational and decolonial implications of such. These words illustrate how sexuality doesn't only require translation across languages, but how they are contextually renegotiated and reworked (Picq and Cottet, 2019). This research started pulling at this thread, but further unravelment was beyond its scope. An examination of community perception and utility from the movement frames and strategies, as well as alternatives besides the emerging economic inclusion, would also be useful for future activist planning. A similar study applying comparative analysis to Caribbean sites affected by different colonial empires would likely also be advantageous, and provide some insights into how to tackle the current sub-optimal state of transnational collaborations within the region.

Overall, in making a valuable contribution to the literature on queer organizing, politics and sexualities within the Global South, and in relation to transnational processes between the Global South and North, this study calls for a deeper engagement with decolonizing at both local and transboundary levels of queer activism in an effort to confront and address the legacies of colonialism and its impact on the movement.

8.4 Implications of the research

Along with contributions to the more empirical literature, this thesis also speaks to wider theoretical literatures and offers insights for movement praxis. Here I first address the implications for activist practice before turning attention to the insights for theoretical debates. While queer activists in Barbados and Guyana are foregrounded as interlocutors, the findings also hold utility for the rest of the Anglophone Caribbean, the wider Caribbean and the Global South. Firstly, echoing the discussions from research examining power inequities around funding

relationships (for example Asante, 2022; Farmer, 2020; Waites, 2017), this study offers grounded explications on power relations, problematic donor actions and suggested decolonizing paths which funders and activists in the Global North can use to inform their programs and interactions; local activists can also use these suggestions for shaping the decolonization of funding paradigms. At the regional level a significant implication is the need for greater networking between queer Caribbean movements in the region. More broadly, the importance and necessity of archiving and greater awareness of queer history was illustrated by the findings and discussions in Chapter Five where the archives were essential in interrogating the movement trajectories.

Another broadly applicable lesson concerns attending to framing choices in a more intentional manner, considering what lacunae result from these choices and how they resonate with the overall goals of the movement. As discussed in Chapter Six, a primarily human rights framing, especially without addressing its colonial imbrications, leaves less space for thinking in more expansive decolonial ways and can obscure the need for intersectional movement building and the challenging of oppressive intersecting structures (Asante, 2022). When, as Chapter Seven explored, shifts in framing do occur, their short-term advantages should be weighed against long term damage to broader decolonizing movement aspirations and goals. In adopting a more intersectional approach to activism, this study also points to the need for queer activists to consider their relationality to Indigeneity, especially in countries like Guyana where there are Indigenous populations. Considerations around framing, relationality and intersectional approaches can also be useful for activists in other social movements as well.

This leads into a crucial and distinctive implication concerning considerations of Indigeneity. Despite the dominant scholarly narratives around decolonizing and decoloniality emanating from places with significant settler colonialism, the sites of this research concretely show that engagements with Indigeneity need to be contextual and accommodate for spaces where there are no Indigenous persons (like Barbados) or the context for Indigenous persons are modulated by the legacies of enslavement and indentureship (like in Guyana). It therefore speaks to the essential need for activists, and indeed the wider theoretical literatures, to reckon more with the

specific nuanced conditions and transboundary histories around Indigeneity and enslavement when thinking about their relation with decoloniality and decolonization.

There are also other ways this thesis informs and usefully troubles the existing scholarship around its main theoretical frameworks. In generating movement analysis rooted in activist agency, examination of decoloniality/decolonization was critical given the integral role colonialism played in situating present laws and attitudes towards queerness. From there, the understanding of colonialism's transnational nature made transnationalism an essential framework for the study. This close intertwining, especially in the context of unpacking the queer movement's relationship with the Global North, made the dual frameworks necessary and provided a more comprehensive lens for capturing the dynamics under consideration. However, as evidenced from the literature review and its gaps, suturing the decolonial and transnational when examining queer social movements is unusual. One scholarly approach that has acknowledged the interconnected nature of transnationalism and decoloniality has been transnational feminism, which has been posited as both a precursor to decolonial feminism and connected to postcolonial and decolonial feminism through "shared attention to the epistemological violence and sedimented practices of colonialism" (Tambe & Thayer, 2021, p.19). While some transnational feminists see decolonial feminism as "distinct but adjacent" (Tambe & Thayer, 2021, p.20) others have used them in conjunction, for example by offering transnational feminist research practices based on decoloniality (Falcón, 2016).

By placing the transnational and decolonial/decolonizing theoretical traditions in conversation, this work brings out the complexities in both conceptualizations while challenging the notion that they are irreconcilable. It further does this in two distinctive ways. One, by conducting a well-constructed empirically-informed piece of primary research that utilizes a systematic methodology for applying the theoretical strands in a sustained fashion throughout analysis. And two, by using a pragmatic understanding of decolonization, informed by activist realities, that demonstrates its practical co-existence alongside transnationalism in a fashion that troubles the more abstract, purist theorizations prevalent in academia.

Another impact on the scholarly landscape involves the use of social movement theory. Fadaee (2017) highlighted that social movement theories have been criticized for being North-centric and inadequate to explain the particularities of movements in the Global South where colonialism and independence affect mobilization and there are a variety of political structures and regimes. Both Fadaee (2017) and Accornero and Gravante (2022) argue that despite contextual differences, the inclusion of Southern movements within the field of social movement theory is mutually beneficial. This study therefore contributes to the collective action and social movement literature by both adding to the expansion of empirically-based case study research in the Global South context, and by demonstrating the utility of social movement theory in these contexts. It did this by recognizing that the contours of how queer collective action is engaged in the Caribbean (and in Barbados and Guyana specifically), can look different to engagement in the Global North. It also calls attention to the need for flexibility in the application of these theories, resisting hardline demarcations between categories such as political process theory and "new social movements", and instead heeding calls (Fadaee, 2017; Munck, 2020) to combine aspects of theories to account for multiple intersections and cross connections that are entangled in the Global South context.

Overall, this thesis delivers several implications for queer activist movements and the scholarship on transnationalism and decoloniality/decolonization, but two are particularly novel and distinctive. The first centers on using empirical primary research to demonstrate the value of combining these two theoretical frameworks in a way that very few studies have previously done. The second is the critical necessity of ensuring that decolonizing analyses, especially queer decolonizing analyses, can address contexts in which Indigenous people are both present and absent; and can also speak to contexts shaped by transnational histories of slavery and indenture.

APPENDIX ONE

Organizations addressing the LGBTQ+ community in Barbados

Organization	Year Established	Focus
United Gays and Lesbians Against AIDS (UGLAAB)	2001*	Focus on MSM and trans persons within context of HIV
Movement Against Discrimination Action Coalition (MOVADAC)	2006	Focus on LGBT persons mostly within context of HIV
Barbados Gays, Lesbians and All-Sexuals against Discrimination (B-GLAD)	2012*	Advocacy for LGBT persons
Equals Inc.	2013	Main mandate to work for MSM and trans persons to help access quality services; work has mostly centred around HIV and healthcare
Community Education Empowerment and Development (CEED)	2014	Focus on marginalized groups, including based on sexual orientation; concentrates on MSM and trans persons within HIV context
Trans Advocacy and Agitation Barbados (TAAB)	?2017	Trans-specific focus
Sexuality Health Empowerment (SHE)	2018	Focus on advocacy around LBQ women and trans people
Butterfly Barbados	2019	Trans and non-binary focused advocacy organization
LGBTQ+ Events	2019	LGBTQ+ focused social organization
Lyfe	2019	Youth sub-organization of Equals Inc.
Barbados Family Planning Association (BFPA)	1954	Leading provider of sexual and reproductive health care and family planning services in the country. Conducts targeted outreach to MSM and trans persons only around healthcare

Organizations that address the LGBTQ+ community in Guyana

Organization	Year Established	Focus
Artistes in Direct Support (A.I.D.S)	1992	Work with LGBTQ+ community centres around MSM and within context of HIV
Comforting Hearts	1998	HIV focused but caters to MSM and trans persons in that context. Based outside of region 4
Family Awareness Consciousness Togetherness (FACT)	2000	HIV focused but caters to MSM and trans persons in that context. Based outside of region 4
Guyana Rainbow Foundation (GuyBow)	2000	Focuses on LGBTQ women more recently, had a wider focus on entire LGBTQ+ community previously
Linden Care Foundation	2001*	HIV focused but caters to MSM and trans persons in that context. Based outside of region 4.
Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination (SASOD)	2003	Human rights organization focused on LGBTQ+ community
United Bricklayers (UBL)	2008	HIV focused but caters to MSM and trans persons in that context. Based outside of region 4
Guyana Sex Workers Coalition (GSWC)	2008*[t]	Human-rights advocacy for sex workers including trans sex workers. Heavy on HIV focus.
Guyana Equality Forum (GEF)	2011[t]	Network of local CSOs working to tackle discrimination and human rights abuses against LGBTI persons and other vulnerable groups
Guyana Trans United (GTU)	2012	Trans focused organization with heavy emphasis on HIV work
SASOD Women's Arm Guyana (SWAG)	2017	Women's arm of SASOD
Tamukke Feminists	2017	Intersectional feminist collective centring community care, women's rights and gender justice. Recently been conducting more LGBTQ+ focused activities
Empowering Queers Using Artistic Learning (EQUAL Guyana)	2019	Human rights organization with focus on LGBTQ+ persons
Proud to be Trans	2020	Trans-focused advocacy; based outside of region 4 and currently unregistered and unfunded
Guyana Responsible Parenthood Association (GRPA)	1973	Leading provider of sexual and reproductive health care and family planning services in the country. Conducts targeted outreach to MSM and trans persons only around healthcare.
Guyana Human Rights Association (GHRA)	1979	National organization protecting human rights. No recent advocacy around LGBTQ+ specific ones

* - Organizations that are defunct or no longer operating

[t]_ Coalitions of organizations

APPENDIX TWO

Interview Guide for local activists

Date:
Time:
How old are you?
Highest level of education?
How would you describe your gender identity?
How would you describe your sexual orientation?
How would you describe your ethnicity?
How would you describe your socio-economic class?

This document will act as a guide but is not exhaustive with regards to the questions that will be asked. In keeping with the iterative and inductive nature of qualitative interviewing, this guide might be adapted/modified as analysis proceeds. ***Should the participant wish to stop the interview at any time, they will be thanked for their time and the interview discontinued.***

Focus	Sample question	Prompts/probes
Warm-up	When see the rainbow flag, how do you feel?	Show printed picture of following if possible:
Activist history	What word/acronym do you refer to your activism by? How long have you been an LGBTQ+ activist? How did you get involved in activism? What do you know about the history of LGBTQ+ activism in this country? Have you had and political influences or reference points in your activism? Has colonialism influenced your activism? If so, how?	Prompt: LGBT, LGBTQ, queer etc. Probe on why preference Probe on feelings about this history; has it been adequately serving the needs of the community?
Organization Details [omit this section for activists who have never had organizational affiliations]	Tell me a bit about the organizations you have worked for in an activist capacity. Structure of the organization(s) What are some of the strategies used?	Probe: position/capacity/contributions, duration at organization(s) Prompt: protests/campaigns/lobbying

	How successful have these strategies been?	
	What are some of the challenges to success?	
	How was/has working there been like?	If has left an organization, ask reason for leaving
	How did/do you feel about the work you did at the organization (s)	Prompt: happy? satisfied? Unsatisfied? Reasons why
Agenda	What would you say is on the LGBTQ+ agenda/priority list in this country?	
	How does that relate to regional priorities/agenda? And the international one?	
	Has there been disagreements about priorities/agenda at an organizational level? National level? Regional level?	
	What influence, if any, would you say colonialism has had on LGBTQ+ activist priorities/agenda in this country?	
Collaborations	How would you characterise the activist community in this country?	Prompts: competitive/cooperative/distant How does race and class factor in?
	Do in-country partnerships/collaborations happen?	Probe: with which individuals/organizations? Feelings about these collaborations; on what types of activities; what drives/initiates the collaborations
	Do partnerships/collaborations occur with others outside the country?	Probe as above
	Are there ways in which local activism is different than that practiced in the Global North?	Probe on whether any aspects of activism specific to in-country Probe on whether any difference between collaborators from the UK and those from US
	Have you been involved in Pride activities?	If yes, probe details, funders, future, success
Transnational funding influences	What donors have funded the organization(s)?	Probe on earliest donor; how easy it was to get funding/has funding landscape evolved?

	What has the donor-grantee relationship been like in general?	Probe on each donor mentioned
	Do you find donors prefer to fund certain types of activities? If so, what?	
	How have these donors helped local activism? How have they obstructed local activism?	
	How have donors in general (not necessarily ones funding your organization) helped and obstructed local activism?	
	[Specifically for non-affiliated activists] Is any of your activism funded?	Probe for details on any funders/types of projects
	What funders do you know of that have supported activism in-country?	
	How do you feel about the roles these funders play? Do they help/obstruct local activism? How so?	
Decoloniality/Decolonization	What does decoloniality/decolonization mean to you? Do you use an decolonial/decolonization practices in your activism?	
Wrap-up	Thank you so much for your time – your help was invaluable. How did you find the interview? Is there anything else you would like to add? Any questions?	

Interview Guide for Global North collaborators

Date:
Time:
How old are you?
Highest level of education?
How would you describe your gender identity?
How would you describe your sexual orientation?
How would you describe your ethnicity?
How would you describe your socio-economic class?

This document will act as a guide but is not exhaustive with regards to the questions that will be asked. In keeping with the iterative and inductive nature of qualitative interviewing, this guide might be adapted/modified as analysis proceeds. ***Should the participant wish to stop the interview at any time, they will be thanked for their time and the interview discontinued.***

Focus	Sample question	Prompts/probes
Warm-up	When see the rainbow flag, how do you feel?	Show printed picture of following if possible:
Activist history	What word/acronym do you refer to your activism by? How long have you been an LGBTQ+ activist? How did you get involved in activism? What do you know about the history of LGBTQ+ activism in Guyana and/or Barbados? Has colonialism influenced your activism? If so how?	Prompt: LGBT, LGBTQ, queer etc. Probe on why preference Probe on feelings about this history; has it been adequately serving the needs of the community?
Organization Details	Tell me a bit about the organization you work for What are the priorities for the organization?	Probe: position/capacity/contributions, duration at organization

	How does your organization consider colonization in its strategies and priorities? How has working there been like? How do you feel about the work you do at the organization?	
Collaborations and funding	Which Caribbean countries have your organization collaborated with? Can you tell me how collaborations have been in general? And specifically in Guyana and/or Barbados? Are there specific activities you particularly fund? What has the feedback been like from collabs/grantees in Guyana and/or Barbados? Have there been any disagreements in process or priorities during these interactions? Are there ways in which local activism is different than that practiced in the Global North? Do you think collaborations have helped local activism? Have they obstructed local activism?	Probe on whether funded or not Probe on ease of communication, any difficulties encountered
Decoloniality/ Decolonization	What does decoloniality/decolonization mean to you? Do you use an decolonial/decolonization practices in your activism?	
Wrap-up	Thank you so much for your time – your help was invaluable. How did you find the interview? Is there anything else you would like to add? Any questions?	

APPENDIX THREE

Codebook extracts

THEMES/CODES	CODING EXAMPLES
Barbados activist agenda	Based on funders Community empowerment and cohesion Disagreements on what the priorities are
Barbados activist community characteristics and activities	Activists get little in country help Collaborations broadly successful Descriptive words and phrases - negative
Barbados government	Just paying lip service Homophobic campaigns, politicians Reticence to act
Barbados society	Barbadians as non disruptive Religion Talking about LGBTQ as taboo, keep low key
Barbados activist reference points	None Stonewall bell hooks
Barbados ease of funding	Having good references reputation helps Not strenuous Responding to calls
Emotions around activism, work	Positive Negative mixed
Barbados intra-community dynamics	Respectability politics Segmented by class Smallness of community
Activist self-identification	LGBTQ+ Human rights Feminist
Challenges for organizations and activism in Barbados	Interpersonal conflict Bureaucracy Activist burnout, health
How activism been serving community in Barbados	Activists using work for self-gain Doing some good work Missing some people
Activism differences from Global North	Different cultures More low key, passive Size and numbers
LGBTQ+ history in Barbados	Activism outside of formal organizations Gaps in knowledge More diverse in recent times
Race and Class in Barbados activism	Predominance of middle class persons in activism and who can represent Race not so much an issue Security, financial privilege

Reason for leaving organization	New job, idea
	Burnout
	Bad reputation
Strategies in Barbados	Need to be less aggressive
	More diplomacy
	Considering safety
Trans community in Barbados	Disagreements with other LGBTQ activists
	Apathy
	Have the least resources
Youth in Barbados	Not having a voice
	School best way to engage youth
	mentoring, being supportive of
All above codes/themes repeated for Guyana plus:	
Guyana media	Fear of stigmatization
	Stakeholder mapping
	Value of publicity
HIV activities	Backsliding of HIV response
	PrEP
Immigration/migration	Immigrants changing the dynamics
	Activists migrating
	Link between migration and capitalism
Interorganizational conflict	Lack boundaries
	Trust issues, unresolved issues
	Calling out instead of in
Other Main Themes	
Barbados organizations	Structure of SHE Barbados
	Funding of Equals Inc
	Success of BGLAD
Barbados Pride	Success
	Commercialization
	Lack of violence at
Capitalism and socioeconomic directions	Focusing on businesses, partnering with
	Helping community access job market
	Using capitalism to benefit
COLONIALISM/COLONIALITY	Emotions around
	Christian colonialism
	Legal legacy of
Commonwealth	Not useful space for Guyana activism
	TCEN too big
	Using as resource
Covid	Decreased organizational activity
	Change timelines, slowed things
	Sapped energy

DECOLONIZATION/DECOLONIALITY	Conceptualizations of decolonization Decolonial activism practices Is a process, hard
Global North organizations and interviewees	Barbados becoming republic as opportunity Drawing similarities between Latin America and Caribbean Using cultural influencers like Rihanna to make change
Guyana organizations	Structure of SASOD Formation of Guybow Success of Equal
Guyana Pride	Now fragmented Timing of Reason for first parade
Human rights and rights framework	As framework for activism Trained, educated on human rights Organization does training, work on, with
Indigenous	Used to mean local, grounded Mentions in Barbados Neglected in Guyana activism
Queer usage	Use on own without qualification As self-identity In a political sense
Rainbow flag reactions	Positive Negative Ambivalent
Resources	Lack of human resources Lack of financial resources Networking
Size	Size as advantage in networking Activist community too small Small size translates to resource scarcity mentality
THE TRANSNATIONAL SPHERE	Value colonization Tokenism Actions not necessarily translatable in different contexts
TRANSNATIONAL DONORS	Effect on activism Examples of bad practices Funders dictate the projects and hence the work, local priorities
Inductive themes with fewer codes, for example	
Power of visibility	
Mentoring new leaders	
Concepts of activism	

APPENDIX FOUR

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APPENDIX FIVE

List of abbreviations

A.I.D.S	Artistes in Direct Support
APC	Advancing Partners and Communities
BAEP	Barbados Association of endometriosis and PCOS
BCC	Berbice Bridge Company
BFPA	Barbados Family Planning Association
B-GLAD	Barbados Gays, Lesbians and All-sexuals
BHC	British High Commission
BLIC	Being LGBT in the Caribbean
BYDC	Barbados Youth development Council
CAISO	Coalition Advocating for Inclusion of Sexual Orientation
CARIFESTA	Caribbean Festival of Arts
CARIFLAGS	Caribbean Forum for Liberation & Acceptance of Genders & Sexualities
CARPHA	Caribbean Public Health Agency
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEED	Community Education empowerment and development
CEP	Caribbean Equality Project
CHC	Canadian High Commission
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COC	COC Netherlands
CPDC	Caribbean Policy Development Centre
CRN+	Caribbean Regional Network of People Living with HIV and AIDS
CSDS	Community support and development services
CVC	Caribbean Vulnerable Communities Coalition
CWSDC	Caribbean Women's Sexual Diversity Conference
ECADE	Eastern Caribbean Alliance for Diversity and Equality
EJA	Equality and Justice Alliance
EU	European Union
FACT	Family, Awareness, Consciousness, Togetherness
GBTI	Guyana Bank for Trade and Industry
GEF	Guyana Equality Forum
GF	Global Fund
GRPA	Guyana Responsible Parenthood Association
GSWC	Guyana Sex Work Coalition
GTT	Guyana Telephone and Telegraph Company
GTU	Guyana Trans United
HDT	Human Dignity Trust
HRC	Human Rights Campaign
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IAS	International AIDS Society
ILGA	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPED	Institute for Private Enterprise Development
JASL	Jamaica AIDS Support for Life
JCI	Junior Chambers International Barbados
JFLAG	Jamaica Forum for Lesbians, All-Sexuals and Gays
KT	Kaleidoscope Trust

LAC	Latin America and Caribbean
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOU	Memorandum of understanding
MOVADAC	Movement against Discrimination Action Coalition
NAPS	National AIDS Program Secretariat
NCC	National Coordinating Coalition
NOW	National Organization of Women
OAS	Organization of American States
PADF	Pan-American Development Foundation
PAHO	Pan-American Health Organization
PANCAP	Pan Caribbean Partnership Against HIV and AIDS
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PSC	Private Sector Commission
PTBT	Proud to be Trans
SASOD	Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination
SBB	Small Business Bureau
SHE	Sexuality Health Empowerment
SWAG	SASOD Women's Arm Guyana
TAAB	Trans Advocacy & Agitation Barbados
TDOR	Transgender day of remembrance
UGLAAB	United Gays and Lesbians Against AIDS Barbados
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
URAP	University of the West Indies Advocacy Project
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UWI	University of the West Indies
UWIHARP	University of the West Indies HIV/AIDS Response Programme
VYC	Volunteer Youth Corps
YAM	Youth Advocacy Movement
YCG	Youth Challenge Guyana

APPENDIX SIX

List of organizations in the Guyana Equality Forum (GEF)[*]

List of organizations in the GEF
1. SASOD
2. Hope For All Foundation
3. United Bricklayers
4. Guyana Sex Work Coalition (GSWC)
5. Guyana Youth Coalition
6. Guyana Responsible Parenthood Association (GRPA)
7. Help & Shelter
8. Guyana Trans United
9. Artistes In Direct Support
10. Deaf Association of Guyana
11. Family Awareness Consciousness Togetherness (FACT)
12. CPIC Monique's Caring Hands
13. Guyana Organization of Indigenous People (GOIP)
14. Clerical and Commercial Workers Union (CCWU)
15. Red Thread
16. Global Shapers Community – Georgetown Hub
17. Come Alive Network Incorporated
18. Youth Media Guyana
19. Habitat for Humanity
20. Comforting Hearts
21. Lifeline
22. Linden Care Foundation
23. Phoenix Recovery Project

* - Guyana Equality Forum. (n.d.). Available from: https://equality.gy/

APPENDIX SEVEN

Organizational activities and events in Barbados

Organization	Activities	Events attended/ representations
UGLAAB Aims: To tackle the HIV/AIDS epidemic for all sexually active persons while educating, caring and supporting those in the gay community [1]	**Community focused:** socialization space, hospital care, HIV testing, buddy program, fundraisers, clean-up campaign, counselling, lectures, care packages, pageants, Pride street party **Advocacy focused:** political lobbying, marches/walks, candlelight vigil	---
MOVADAC Aims: providing support to LGBT persons by mobilizing against stigma and discrimination and strengthening civil society advocacy movements within Barbados [2]	**Advocacy focused:** Awareness training of trainers for police and community service providers; sensitization training of private sector, research	Panellist at IACHR thematic hearing
B-GLAD Aims: to be a voice for all non-heteronormative gender and sexual minorities within Barbados who face persecution, discrimination and violations to their human rights on the basis of their sexual orientation and gender identity...aims to address some of these specific needs through education, the creation of a safe space and expressive platform for empowerment [3]	**Community focused:** advice column, movie night, limes, fundraiser, workshop, women only meetings, male only youth group, games night, community talk, Pride sermon/beach clean-up/hike, HIV services **Advocacy focused:** counter-protests, lectures/panels, newspaper advertisement, talent showcase, press releases/interviews (TV and print), awareness campaigns, social media campaigns, film festival collaboration, political lobbying, research/reports	ECADE Training, CWSDC, Malta CHOGM, Wilton Park conference, Global Decriminalization Convening, regional security training, UNAIDS/Caricom MOU, Queens Young Leader, Barbados Social Justice Committee

[1]UGLAAB. (n.d.). What does UGLAAB do? Available from: https://www.geocities.ws/msm_nopoliticalagenda/Pride03/7.1.UGLAAB.htm
[2] UN Resident office. (2018). Follow up to CEDAW workshop with civil society organizations report. Available from: https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/migration/bb/undp_bb_CEDAW--IWD-Workshop-Report.pdf
[3] B-GLAD. (n.d.). Mission. Available from: https://www.barbadosglad.org/

Organization	Activities	Events attended/ representations
Equals Inc. Aims: to educate and empower the LGBTQI+ community, to foster unity by providing a safe, discrimination free environment. In this environment, Equals encourages safe sexual practices and access to services in areas such as sexual health, general health and mental health. We strive to achieve our goals through community empowerment, education, networking and rights-based advocacy [4]	**Community focused:** medical clinic/counselling, townhall meetings, limes, parties, discussion series, Cupboard affair/care packages, Pride events (competitions, limes, quiz, movie, fair, open mic), Queer karaoke, balls, directory of services, advisory clinics **Advocacy focused:** workshops/trainings, webinars, panels, awareness campaigns, social media campaigns, mental health series, support group, fundraisers, public booths, press interviews (radio and print), shared incident database reporting, constitution reform campaign, manual/research/pamphlet/referral documents, directory, legal challenge to Barbados law, political lobbying	Trainings/Workshops (Linkages, ECADE, UN, CPDC, BLIC) Radio and online shows, CWSDC, panels, report launches, health fairs, meetings/conferences (PANCAP, ECADE/EJA/KT, ILGA, BLIC, BYDC, RTI, IACHR, Global Decriminalisation Convenings, D.A.T.A, Barbados ministries health and labour, Barbados HIV commission, UWI), Youtube shows.
CEED Aims: to move marginalized groups from beyond societal, social and political boundaries to assist with the overall development of marginalized communities [5]	**Community focused:** health fairs/clinics, discussion, karaoke lime, show and tell, skills training classes, directory of sensitized services, HIV services **Advocacy focused:** newspaper interview; statement supporting same-sex unions, fundraisers	Ministry Health and Wellness, Bridgetown constituency council
TAAB Aims: Unknown	**Advocacy focused:** Legal challenge against Barbados sodomy law at the Court of the IACHR, Rainbow Pride Facebook page	United Caribbean Trans Network (UCTRANS), Latin American and Caribbean Network of Trans Persons (RedLacTrans), Pride launch, book launch

[4] Equals. (n.d.). Our goal. Available from: https://equalsbarbados.com/#section-our-goal
[5] Being LGBTI in the Caribbean. (2019). Caribbean trans women leaders: Dadrina Emmanuel. Available from: https://medium.com/being-lgbti-in-the-caribbean/caribbean-trans-women-leaders-dadrina-emmanuel-4cb4a7acfce

Organization	Activities	Events attended/ representations
SHE Aims: feminist community-based group dedicated to advocacy for Lesbian, Bisexual, Queer women and Trans (LBQT) people in Barbados. SHE aims to address these specific issues through visibility, the facilitation of safe spaces, education, research and fostering LBQT representation in advocacy [6]	**Community focused:** women's group, games/pizza/movie night, limes, workshops, clinic, talks, media awareness campaigns, care packages, fundraising, leadership retreat, pride activities **Advocacy focused:** counter-protest, press releases/interviews (print and TV), researches/essay, social media campaigns, video series, awareness booth, constitutional reform campaigns	Panels, webinars, fellowships, CWSDCs, Trainings (BLIC, CVC, UN), meetings (EJA, COC, ECADE, BLIC, UK Minister), conferences (ILGA, Global LBQ, Beyond Homophobia), video appearance.
Lyfe Aims: sub-organization of Equals that is focused on empowering LGBT youth in Barbados [7]	**Community focused:** Art exhibition, youth adherence support group, mental wellness workshops, fundraiser	UNDP training, Global decriminalization conference
Butterfly Aims: To be the change in Barbados needed for comprehensive access in all regards and complete integration of Transgender & Non-Binary individuals throughout all areas of society [8]	**Community focused:** Relief packages and emergency housing, mental health workshop and episodes, podcast **Advocacy focused:** Billboard advertisement, social media campaigns, stakeholder conversation	Trans conference, panels (BLIC, Pride), CWSDC, report launches, Renacer interview
LGBTQ+ Events Aims: Creating Events for the LGBTQ+ community in Barbados[9]	**Community focused:** Friday features, parties, open mic, bar night	Youtube show

[6] SHE. (n.d.) Available from: https://shebarbados.org/about/
[7] Lyfe.(n.d.). About. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/people/Lyfe-Barbados/100066484457142/
Butterfly Barbados. (n.d.). Mission. Available from: https://www.butterflybarbados.com/
[8] Butterfly Barbados. (n.d.). Mission. Available from: https://www.butterflybarbados.com/
[9] LGBTQ+ Events. (n.d.). About. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/lgbtqeventsbarbados/

Organizational activities and events in Guyana

Organization	Activities	Events attended/ representations
A.I.D.S Aims: focused on creating behaviour change through the use of their theatrical talents and peer education community empowerment, education [1]	**Community focused:** Support groups, mobilization, HIV services, counselling, trainings, workshops **Advocacy focused:** Awareness sessions for in and out of school youths Plays/street theatre, TV spot, report	Guyana national awards, Commonwealth points of light award
Comforting Hearts Aims: focused on supporting families affected by HIV/AIDS through physical, social, spiritual, and psychological care and support services and education [2]	**Community focused:** know your rights campaign, HIV services, skills and literacy classes, trainings, home visits, counselling, workshops, information sessions, human rights abuse reporting **Advocacy focused:** tv spots, street theatre, awareness campaigns, fun days, fundraisers, quizzes/debates, candlelight vigil	---
FACT Aims: to facilitate comprehensive family support services in Berbice and bridges gaps in HIV service delivery by collaborating with other service providers, government agencies, faith-based organizations (FBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community leaders and other vested stakeholders [3]	**Community focused:** facilities – canteen/kitchen/conference hall/beauty salon; day care, trainings/workshops, skills training, legal aid clinic, HIV services, counselling, after-school programs, parties, community mobilization, fundraisers, clean-ups, hampers, vaccine awareness campaign **Advocacy focused:** parade, film festival, sensitization sessions	Keep the faith symposium, US International visitors program

[1] NGO National Coordinating Coalition. (n.d.). A.I.D.S Overview. Available from: https://nccgy.org/membership/artistes-in-direct-support-aids
[2] Advancing Partners and Communities. (n.d.). Comforting Hearts. Available from: https://www.advancingpartners.org/grants/grantees/comforting-hearts
[3] NGO National Coordinating Coalition. (n.d.). FACT Overview. Available from: https://nccgy.org/membership/family-awareness-consciousness-togetherness-fact

Organization	Activities	Events attended/ representations
GuyBow Aims: to support and strengthen the capacity of Lesbian, Bisexual, and Queer women, along with increasing the overall respect, acceptance of, and support for non-gender conforming persons and non-heteronormative sexual orientations in Guyanese society [4]	**Community focused**: HIV education, safe space, peer support, counselling, emergency housing, trainings/workshops, Pride activities, micro loans, employment placement, family gathering, movie night, parties **Advocacy focused:** symposiums/forums/panels, press releases/interviews, CEDAW submission letter writing, equal rights ad campaign, research	CWSDC
LCF Aims: to reduce the spread of HIV in Region 10 of Guyana. The organization also provides care and support services for people living with HIV (PLHIV), including children living with or affected by HIV [5]	**Community focused**: HIV services, counselling, skills training, nutritional and reproductive education, psychosocial support.	---
SASOD Aims: ending all forms of homophobia in Guyana, including transphobia, biphobia and lesbophobia. To achieve this our Homophobia(s) Programme, focuses on engaging key sectors of society where anti-LGBT prejudices are prevalent. Through a discrimination reporting and documentation system, awareness, sensitization and education activities and direct engagement with key stakeholders [6]	**Community focused:** parties/limes/mixers, rally, book club, competition, empowerment sessions, fun/sports days, open mic/talent show Pride activities, counselling, legal aid, workshops/meetings, church service/inter-faith service, tours/trips, HIV services **Advocacy focused:** press releases/interviews (TV, print, radio), letter writing, movie nights/film festival, readings, awareness activities public discussions/town halls/lectures/forums/exhibits/talks online and in-person demonstration/protest/march/walk/vigil, workshops/meetings, trainings, concert, cocktail receptions/launches, Spectrum health project, radio show, video PSAs cybercrimes campaign, coming out campaign, social media campaigns research/reports, litigation, political lobbying	Conferences (ILGA, AIDS, CPDC, CWSDCs, CANI Youth, IPAD Summit, Global Decrim Convening, Petty Offences symposium, Beyond Homophobia, D.A.T.A), CARIFESTA X, Meetings (IACHR, OAS, UN, LGBTI political leadership in LAC, Government ministers, ambassadors, university chancellor, UNAIDS, GF, Caribbean export development, Caribono, PANCAP, CVC, CARPHA, Global Interfaith), Submission to global commission on HIV and Law, UN Human rights council CPDC Participatory governance, National dialogue HIV and law, Guyana Business Coalition Award, CPDC workshop, Peace corps workshop, Intl youth day expo, Trainings, Launches, Iftars, Embassy and Association Receptions/Dinners, Street fairs, UWI Guest lecture

[4] Astraea. (n.d.). Guyana Rainbow Foundation. Available from: https://www.astraeafoundation.org/stories/guyana-rainbow-foundation/
[5] Advancing Partners and Communities. (n.d.). Linden Care Foundation. Available from: https://www.advancingpartners.org/grants/grantees/linden-care-foundation
[6] SASOD Guyana. (n.d.). What we do. Available from: https://sasod.org.gy/

Organization	Activities	Events attended/ representations
UBL Aims: facilitates and advocates for the social- economic development of the most vulnerable and the creation of social structures that address issues of care, support and prevention [7]	**Community focused:** HIV services, support groups, income generating sessions, workshops, psychosocial counselling.	---
GTU Aims: to improve the quality of life of trans Guyanese and to ensure that their rights are recognized and upheld in all domains. We also work with other LGBTIQ communities, human rights and social justice groups on advocacy and awareness raising initiatives. [8]	**Community focused:** Talks/panels, pageants, support group meetings, health services, parties, skills class, care packages, outreach, HIV services, counselling, legal and medical navigation, soup kitchen, skills training, safe space/drop-in centre, Pride activities, pageants, Mashramani band, award ceremony **Advocacy focused:** Photo exhibit, Walks/Marches/protests, Vigils/memorials, social media campaign, workshops, gender marker campaign, webinars/virtual townhall, litigation, research, political lobbying, letter writing, newspaper releases/interviews	NAPS training, TEACH regional lab (MPACT), TV news reports, CWSDC
SWAG Aims: committed to promoting gender equality and women's rights, advancing sexual and reproductive health and rights, women's leadership and political participation, community mobilisation, economic empowerment and socio-cultural initiatives that create space and propel the voices of LBT women and women allies [9]	**Community** focused: talks, empowerment session, meeting/party logo competition, care packages/dignity hampers, Pride activities, Easter picnic **Advocacy** focused: awareness posts and activities, hashtag campaign webinars, launch	CWSDCs, Panel at police training, IOM training

[7] Childlink Guyana. (n.d.). United Brick Layers. Available from: https://www.childlinkgy.org/projects/partner/0c0806a5-aac9-4a91-bdc3-76f7bb44ae02/
[8] Advancing Partners and Communities. (n.d.). Guyana Trans United. Available from: https://www.advancingpartners.org/grants/grantees/guyana-trans-united
[9] SWAG Guyana. (n.d.). About. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/swaguyana/

Organization	Activities	Events attended/ representations
Tamukke Feminists <u>Aims</u>: Intersectional feminist collective that centers community care, women's rights and gender justice in Guyana. Aims to inspire and strengthen feminist communities for positive action through education and leadership development [10]	**Community focused:** social media campaigns/awareness, Women Wednesdays lives, under the benab discussions, feminist retreats, work readiness program, Pride events, workshops, fundraiser, the Mind Fund **Advocacy focused:** social media campaigns/awareness, TV and radio appearances, marches, Report Abuse Guyana Project	Faith in the Commonwealth Youth training, One Young World Summit, UNFPA Dialogue, Caribbean Comms Lab, Institute of Gender Studies webinar, Caribbean Forum on Population Youth Development, International Women's Day Expo, CWSDC
Equal <u>Aims</u>: to engage, educate and empower LGBTQ communities and allies in Guyana to create an atmosphere of acceptance and respect that can foster individual and community development [11]	**Community focused:** art related – tutorials, therapy, ArtSplash – counselling, games night, care packages, Pride activities, business expo **Advocacy focused:** press release/interviews, letter writing, Pride activities, launch, anniversary spotlight, trainings, workshops, art exhibition, Facebook lives, social media campaign	<u>Guyana Mental Health and Well-Being Conference 2021</u>, Global Pride, COC Regional Pride meeting, US/Canadian embassy <u>Pride roundtable, TV panel</u>
PTBT Aims: Our main goal is to support members of civil society and assist them in their struggles for betterment [12]	**Community focused:** skills training, support groups, financial support care packages, workshops **Advocacy focused:** social media campaign, TDOR activity, Pride activities	IAS AIDS conference 2022, <u>national HIV workshop</u>

[10] Tamukke Feminist Rising. (n.d.). Available from: https://tamukke.com/who-we-are/
[11] Equal Guyana. (n.d.). Our Mission. Available from: https://equalguyana.wixsite.com/equal592
[12] Proud to be Trans. (n.d.). About. Available from; https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100066369864576

APPENDIX EIGHT

Barbados' organizations non-economic capital scoring

Organization	Social capital	Symbolic capital	Institutionalized capital	TOTAL
UGLAAB	2	5	3	10
MOVADAC	3	2	4	9
B-GLAD	4	5	4	13
Equals Inc.	5	3	5	13
CEED	3	2	4	9
TAAB	0	1	4	5
SHE	4	1	4	9
Butterfly	4	2	3	9
Lyfe	2	0	3	5
LGBTQ+ Events	2	0	4	6

Guyana's organizations non-economic capital scoring

Organization	Social capital	Symbolic capital	Institutionalized capital	TOTAL
A.I.D.S	3	5	3	11
Comforting Hearts	2	2	3	7
FACT	3	4	3	10
GuyBow	3	5	4	10
LCF	1	1	3	5
SASOD	5	5	5	15
UBL	3	4	3	10
GTU	4	5	3	12
SWAG	3	5	3	11
EQUAL	4	4	5	13
Tamukke Feminists	4	3	5	12
PTBT	3	2	3	8

Social capital scored according to more networking connections + number of online platforms + frequency of posting

Symbolic capital scored by frequency of newspaper mentions (0 mentions = 0; 1-2 mentions = 1; 3-5=2; 5-7 mentions = 3; 8-10 = 4; >10 = 5)

Institutionalized capital scored by education of leadership (secondary = 3; undergraduate = 4; postgraduate = 5)

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