

**The Influence of Caribbean Historical Institutions on the Struggle for
LGBTQ Equality**

by

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Abstract

This thesis analyzes LGBTQ equality in the two Caribbean islands of Guadeloupe and Jamaica. The research answers the question: *what key institutional factors can explain the variance in LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica?* I argue that variances in local LGBTQ equality between Guadeloupe and Jamaica can be explained by analyzing the different political, legal and socio-cultural historical institutions in these two islands. The central conclusion contends that historical institutions with a political or legal dimension have created significantly different levels of LGBTQ legal equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica while socio-cultural historical institutions have helped to establish a similar level of LGBTQ equality in social and cultural realms. This thesis thus makes the case for using a historical institutionalist perspective to examine LGBTQ activism in the Caribbean.

Résumé

Cette thèse analyse la question de l'égalité des personnes LGBTQ dans deux îles des Caraïbes. Plus précisément, cette recherche vise à répondre à la question suivante: *quels facteurs institutionnels expliquent les différences quant à l'égalité des personnes LGBTQ entre la Guadeloupe et la Jamaïque?* Nous démontrons que les différences quant à l'égalité des personnes LGBTQ en Guadeloupe et en Jamaïque peuvent être expliquées par une analyse des institutions historiques, dans leur dimension politique, légale et socioculturelle, présentes dans les deux îles. Notre examen de ces institutions suggère que celles qui ont une dimension politique ou légale ont abouti à des niveaux différents d'égalité juridique, tandis que les institutions historiques socioculturelles ont contribué à établir un niveau d'égalité pour les personnes LGBTQ similaire dans les sphères sociales et culturelles des deux îles. Cette thèse

montre ainsi l'utilité de l'approche théorique de l'institutionnalisme historique pour analyser le militantisme LGBTQ dans les Caraïbes.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

I would like to dedicate this master's thesis to my three wonderful grandmothers, Joan Macdonald Dover, Marjorie Macfarlane Toy and Linda Shoebottom Hobbs, all of whom passed away while I was working on my master's degree. I have been lucky to have these strong, determined and independent women as positive role models in my life. I am who I am today because of them and will be forever grateful for the legacies they have left me.

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Introduction

“[A]s well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute ‘what we really are’; or rather— since history has intervened— ‘what we have become’ ” (Hall, 1998: 225).

This thesis aims to highlight the diversity and *difference* of islands in the Caribbean region, specifically in terms of historical institutions and LGBTQ equality. While much recent academic work has been done on LGBTQ equality in countries outside North America and Europe, this thesis adds to a growing, but neglected body of literature on LGBTQ activism in the Caribbean region. This thesis makes the case for using a historical institutionalist perspective to analyze LGBTQ activism in the Caribbean. Focusing on the islands of Guadeloupe and Jamaica, it looks at how LGBTQ activism and equality have been influenced differently by historical institutions. It provides an analysis of the key historical institutions present on each island to explain a notable portion of these differences and to answer the following research question: *what key institutional factors can explain the variance in LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica?*

Starting with a brief introduction providing basic contextual knowledge, the geography, history, politics and culture of the two islands are first discussed. Subsequently, the research problem, question and hypothesis along with the theoretical framework are outlined in Chapter 1. Following the presentation of the research, in Chapter 2 the guiding methodologies, research methods and ethical considerations are explained. Finally, Chapter 3 provides a detailed look at how key historical institutions with a political, legal and socio-cultural dimension have significantly influenced LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Independence status, laws

and legislation, prominent court cases, religion and cultural expressions are just some of the historical institutions analyzed.

To become more familiar with the two Caribbean islands studied— Guadeloupe and Jamaica— the geography, history, politics, and culture of these islands will be briefly elaborated on. The location of both islands within the wider Caribbean region can be seen on the Caribbean map in Appendix 1.

To begin, Guadeloupe is located in the Lesser Antilles and is, geographically speaking, a cluster of islands. Two larger islands, called *Basse-Terre* and *Grande-Terre*— separated by a river, the *Rivière Salée*, and an expansive mangrove — make up the two “wings of the butterfly” that is the mainland of Guadeloupe. To the south and east of this “butterfly” lie some smaller islands, dependencies of the Guadeloupean mainland. These islands are *Les Saintes*, *Marie-Galante*, *Petite Terre* and *La Désirade*, all of which are inhabited except for *Petite Terre*. The capital of Guadeloupe, the City of *Basse Terre*, and the economic centre, *Jarry/Baie-Mahault*, are on the *Basse-Terre* side of Guadeloupe, while the most populous city, *Pointe-à-Pitre*, is on the *Grande-Terre* side. As of 2013 Guadeloupe has a total population of 402 119 inhabitants (INSEE, 2015). When talking about “the island of Guadeloupe,” I necessarily imply the whole of the archipelago, the mainland along with the surrounding islands. To better visualize Guadeloupe, a map has been included in Appendix 1.

The original inhabitants of Guadeloupe were indigenous Arawak and Kalinago¹ peoples and it is with these inhabitants of Karukera² that a history of resistance started. They fought against and resisted Spanish settlement and French attacks until about the 1620s (Gibson, 2014: 362). In

¹ It must be noted that *Kalinago* is the name that this indigenous group uses to describe itself and is therefore a more respectful name than previous colonially derived terms. The colonially ascribed names of “Carib” or “Carib indian” are viewed by this particular indigenous group as somewhat offensive and misrepresentative of their culture (Beckles, 2008: 77; Office of the Carib Council, 2010).

² *Karukera* is the indigenous name for Guadeloupe.

1635, French colonial forces gained possession of the island and established sugar plantations with imported enslaved labour (Beckles, 2008: 81). Throughout the era of slavery, resistance continued. Slave revolts were not uncommon and the emancipatory ideas evoked by the French Revolution were appropriated for slave liberation struggles.

In more recent history, resistance remains an important part of the Guadeloupean national psyche. In 2009, there was a general strike across all of Guadeloupe that shut down everything from gas stations to schools to grocery stores for 44 days (Bonilla, 2011: 126; Tancons, 2012: 164). This strike, led by the group LKP (*Liyannaj Kont Pwofitasyon*), demonstrated the determination of the Guadeloupean people to fight for greater autonomy and a better quality of life (Verdol, 2012: 272).

Guadeloupe is not an independent, sovereign nation state as per international relations definitions of sovereignty (Grygiel, 2010: 270; Krasner, 2001: 231). Guadeloupe is a *département d'outre-mer* (DOM for short) or an overseas territory of the French Republic and has been one since 1946 (Gibson, 2014: 362). Guadeloupe is also a *département français d'Amérique* (DFA)³ due to its geographical positioning in the Americas (INSEE, 2014). French national laws are applicable and valid in Guadeloupe just as French international agreements and accords are also binding. Being a *département*, Guadeloupe has an elected *Conseil Général* (General Council) that is the departmental governing body (France. Ministère des Outre-mer, n.d.). There is also a *Conseil Régional*, that governs and manages the “region” of Guadeloupe, which happens to have the same delimitations or boundaries as the *département* limits⁴

³ This is a term to refer specifically to the *départements d'outre-mer* (DOMs) located in the Americas and so does not include those *départements* in the Pacific Ocean region. The *départements français d'Amérique* (DFAs) are Guadeloupe, Martinique and Guyane française (French Guyana).

⁴ Regions in France consist usually of a grouping of two or more *départements* and it is the Regional Council that is the governing body for the region. Because it is not in close proximity to and does not border other French

(Guadeloupe. Conseil Général de la Guadeloupe, 2010). As for national representation, Guadeloupe has four *députés* (representatives) in the *Assemblée nationale* (French National Assembly) and three senators sitting in the French *Sénat*, both assemblies being located in Paris (France. Ministère des Outre-mer, n.d.). These inherited political systems shape the economic and political landscape of Guadeloupe, including mobilization and resistance that takes place.

Culturally, aspects of Indigenous, African, Asian and European cultures have all come together to shape the resistant and resilient *kilti Kréyòl* (créole culture) of Guadeloupeans. For example, Hindu immigrants who came from India to work on Guadeloupean sugar plantations after the abolition of slavery brought with them traditions of religion, marriage and sexual expression. The Guadeloupean *Kréyòl* language, first used by slaves to defy plantation owners, continues to be frequently used and is a way to resist against the further encroachment of French culture. This notion of resistance is present not only in the history and politics of Guadeloupe, but also in its culture, making it an important component of Guadeloupean life.

It is within this particular geographical, historical, political and cultural context that LGBTQ resistance has developed in Guadeloupe. Local groups, like *Entraide Gwadeloup*, *Rainbow Gwada*, *Private Party* and *Ó Pli Natirél*, have emerged alongside satellite French organizations, like *Aides Guadeloupe*, to fight for equality and to provide much needed services to LGBTQ people. Little activism has been aimed at changing legal and political institutions because a high level of equality before the law already exists for LGBTQ people in Guadeloupe. This is due in part to the island's status as non-independent and its political attachment to France. Meanwhile, the advancement of socio-cultural LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe has been impeded by longstanding historical institutions, like religion and sexuality norms. This

départements, Guadeloupe forms its own region and is therefore made up of only one *département* (Guadeloupe. Conseil Général de la Guadeloupe, 2010).

progression of LGBTQ equality and activism in Guadeloupe has developed within a particular context, one that is quite different from the Jamaican context subsequently discussed.

Unlike Guadeloupe, Jamaica is part of the Greater Antilles, situated farther north in the Caribbean sea (Norrman and Lindell, 2010: 279). The interesting landscapes, like the iconic Blue Mountains in the east, the pocked earth of Cockpit Country, the swamps of the Great Morasses and the cliffs of the Portland coast, together make Jamaica a geologically diverse and fascinating island (Meditz and Hanratty, 1989: 56; Norrman and Lindell, 2010: 279, 281). Although Jamaica has no offshore “dependency islands,” it does have numerous islets or cays, like the Morant Cays and the Pedro Cays (Meditz and Hanratty, 1989: 55; Norrman and Lindell, 2010: 282). In 2011 there were about 2 697 983 inhabitants in all of Jamaica, yet more than two million Jamaicans live outside the country (Statesman’s Yearbook Online, 2009). For a visual reference, a map of Jamaica has been included in Appendix 1.

Being located in the Greater Antilles, Jamaica has a Taino or Arawak indigenous heritage. The Taino people in *Xaymaca*⁵ were exterminated or enslaved early on in the colonization period as they were not as effective at resisting colonial rule as the Kalinago people (Beckles, 2008: 78). The exploitation of Jamaican resources started with the Spanish, who first settled the island in 1509, and continued when the British gained possession in 1655, establishing large sugar plantations propped up by extreme slave labour (Gibson, 2014: 363). However, Jamaica too has a history of resistance. Maroon communities of runaway slaves lived in the concealing central western Cockpit Country and engaged in war with colonial planters, proving to be a force to be reckoned with (Gregg, 2010: 24; Meditz and Hanratty, 1989: 47). Resistance could also be seen in the 1930s with the increased dissatisfaction of colony rule (Meditz and

⁵ *Xaymaca* is the indigenous name for the island of Jamaica (Meditz and Hanratty, 1989: 47).

Hanratty, 1989: 51). Surging nationalism and the presence of strong labour groups, coupled with new political parties and the rise of local leaders, such as William Alexander Bustamante and Norman W. Manley, made the air ripe for independence (Meditz and Hanratty, 1989: 52).

Since independence in 1962, Jamaica has been recognized as a sovereign nation state (Gibson, 2014: 363). The island country is a member of international organizations such as the United Nations General Assembly, the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). Like the United Kingdom, Jamaica is a parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy. The electorate in Jamaica is separated into three counties (Cornwall, Middlesex and Surrey) which further subdivide to make 14 parishes across the island (Jamaica Information Service, 2015). Its bicameral parliament has an elected house of representatives and an appointed senate (Jamaica Information Service, 2015). Parliamentary representatives are members of two main political parties, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP) (Meditz and Hanratty, 1989: 45, 52). Political party affiliations run deep; "when people are PNP they are staunch PNP" (interview 100). Political party "garrisons" have galvanized regions against each other (interview 100), which has made it hard for activists to "change hearts and minds" (interview 106).

As in other Caribbean islands, various cultural influences have moulded Jamaican culture and have fostered a sense of resistance. Besides large communities of African and European ethnic identities, there is a sizeable Chinese-Jamaican population. With this diversity of heritage, there is also a diversity of religion. Jamaica has a diverse religious landscape with more than twenty different religions being practiced on the island (United Nations Statistics Division, 2014). The official language in Jamaica is English although Jamaican Patois is regularly spoken by locals. The importance of resistance can also be seen in Jamaican culture. Resistance to the

imposed ideas of powerful countries has continued to play an important role in Jamaican life, notably to reaffirm Jamaican self-determination and to strengthen Jamaican identity. Jamaica has embraced and generated strength from its mixed roots to create a vibrant and diverse culture that continues to thrive.

With the aforementioned Jamaican context in mind, activism from the LGBTQ community has been robust in recent years. The local LGBTQ movement in Jamaica has gained momentum from the multiple actions of LGBTQ organizations. Groups such as *Quality of Citizenship Jamaica*, *J-FLAG*, *AIDS-Free World*, *Jamaica Aids Support for Life* and *Jamaicans for Justice* have carried out LGBTQ awareness campaigns, provided housing services to LGBTQ people and have conducted LGBTQ sensitivity training for medical professionals, among other initiatives. Activists have also brought several legal cases before the courts in an effort to improve legal equality for LGBTQ people in Jamaica. In the socio-cultural realm historical institutions, like national identity, have challenged LGBTQ activists and slowed social change. Various geographical, historical, political and cultural aspects of Jamaica have come to shape local LGBTQ activism in a different way than in other Caribbean islands, particularly Guadeloupe.

In brief, this thesis analyzes various historical institutions in Guadeloupe and Jamaica in order to explain the different outcomes of LGBTQ equality and activism on the two islands. This thesis answers the research question: *what key institutional factors can explain the variance in LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica?* I argue that historical institutions with a political or legal dimension have created significantly different levels of LGBTQ legal equality, while socio-cultural historical institutions have helped to establish a similar level of LGBTQ equality in social and cultural spaces in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. My hypothesis contends that historical

institutions have influenced the struggle for LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica by generating dissimilar levels of LGBTQ equality before the law, by contributing to the contrast in strength of the local movements and also by preserving similar levels of inadequate LGBTQ equality in social and cultural realms of society on the two islands. The following chapter presents the research *problématique* in detail, outlining the specific research question and hypothesis. After the *problématique*, an overview of the important literature and theories that guided this research initiative is provided.

Chapter 1: Presentation of the Research

To better understand the orientation of this research, the specific research angle taken along with the theoretical framework will be thoroughly explained. The research problem, question and hypothesis will be elaborated on. The research will also be situated in the broader literature and relevant theories will be expanded on, followed by a short clarification of key concepts, including the notions of *LGBTQ* and *queer*.

1.1 Research Problématique

This research looks at a particular angle of LGBTQ equality in the Caribbean and focuses on analyzing historical institutions. To better explain the specific topic that was studied, the research problem and question will be discussed followed by the hypothesis which will clarify the central argument and main aim of the research.

General Problem

Past political decisions and policies of Caribbean states and territories continue to affect the extent and type of LGBTQ activism that can be carried out in the Caribbean region. Lingering colonial institutions, such as the imported buggery laws in the Anglophone Caribbean or the strong, entrenched presence of religious communities, continue to provide opportunities or pose obstacles to LGBTQ activism in the region. As Smith points out “[p]olitical institutions, established in one period, may have important effects on the subsequent period, in ways that were not intended or anticipated at the time” (2008: 31).

The diverse imperial powers that colonized islands in the Caribbean, namely Spain, France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the U.S., imparted to their respective

Caribbean territories different political systems, legal structures, cultural traditions and languages. As a result, this created very different political and cultural environments in which LGBTQ rights activism has emerged. Rights afforded to LGBTQ individuals therefore differ from island to island, in part as a result of these different political and cultural institutions.

Little previous research has been conducted on how historical institutions influence Caribbean LGBTQ equality and activism, as this project has attempted to undertake. There are many gaps in knowledge on Caribbean LGBTQ activism, and further research could potentially aid local activist groups to work around historical institutions that inhibit and limit social change. This research on LGBTQ activism in the Caribbean aims to contribute to a more informed, more respectful activism, one that resists imperialist tendencies, helping LGBTQ movements to not recreate universalizing, overarching “Gay International” discourses (Massad, 2002: 363).

General Research Question

From out of the general problem, the following broad research question was elaborated:

How do the diverse institutions present within the Caribbean influence the struggle for LGBTQ equality in Caribbean island states and territories?

More specifically, this question asks how historical institutions have limited or encouraged the establishment of LGBTQ equality and activism. The term *institution* refers to all “formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure” of the state or territory and includes symbols as well as moral value systems (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 6).

Specific Problem

Historical institutions in the Caribbean island nations of Guadeloupe and Jamaica have influenced the advancement of LGBTQ equality and activism in different ways in their respective territories. Many historical institutions present in Guadeloupe and Jamaica are the legacies of political attachments and relationship connections with powerful overseas states. Guadeloupe, because of its political status as an overseas territory, having a tight attachment to metropolitan France, is directly influenced by political decisions that take place in the European country. As such, the decriminalization of sodomy, the legalization of same-sex civil unions or *PACS* (*pacte civil de solidarité*) and the approval of same-sex marriage which happened in mainland France also immediately applied to Guadeloupe. These political decisions have made LGBTQ individuals in Guadeloupe equal before the law and have allowed LGBTQ activists to focus on other pressing matters of LGBTQ social equality.

Historical institutions, primarily colonial legacies, continue to exert influence on LGBTQ equality and activism in the island state of Jamaica despite being an independent state since 1962 (Gibson, 2014: 363). Historical institutions in Jamaica, like the “buggery law” and the social conception of men as breeders, have limited LGBTQ activism and have created obstacles for LGBTQ equality. Article 76 of the *Offences Against the Person Act* enshrines in Jamaican law the criminalization of same-sex sex, and although the law is rarely used to arrest individuals, it legitimizes and perpetuates the idea that people who have same-sex sex are criminals (Jamaica. Ministry of Justice, 1864). This colonial law has restricted Jamaican activists from fighting for the legalization of same-sex civil unions or for LGBTQ non-discrimination legislation in Jamaica. In brief, LGBTQ equality and activism in Guadeloupe and Jamaica has been affected in diverse ways by different historical institutions.

Specific Research Question

With the above discussion in mind, the specific research question posed is the following:

What key institutional factors can explain the variance in LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica?

Hypothesis

To address and answer the aforementioned specific research question the formulated hypothesis ensues:

Variances in local LGBTQ equality between Guadeloupe and Jamaica can be explained by analyzing the different political, legal and socio-cultural historical institutions in these two islands. Historical institutions have influenced the struggle for LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica by generating dissimilar levels of LGBTQ equality before the law, by contributing to the contrast in strength of the local movements and also by preserving similar levels of inadequate LGBTQ equality in social and cultural spaces of society on the two islands. Historical institutions with a political or legal dimension have created significantly different levels of LGBTQ legal equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica while socio-cultural historical institutions have helped to establish a similar level of LGBTQ equality in social and cultural realms.

1.2 Theoretical Framework and Review of the Literature

To guide and shape this research, a mix of different concepts and ideas taken from historical institutionalism, LGBTQ activism studies and Caribbean gender and sexuality theories, have

been used as a theoretical framework. The theories and core ideas of the political science branch of historical institutionalism have been mobilized to look at the historical influence certain institutions have had on LGBTQ rights and lived equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Along with these central notions borrowed from historical institutionalism, several key tenets present within LGBTQ studies and queer theory(ies) have also been used so as to fully understand and explain various sexualities, gender identities, experiences and expressions, while also looking back on LGBTQ movement history more broadly. Along with these two theoretical traditions, Caribbean gender, sex and sexuality theorizing has also been deployed so as to provide a more accurate and contextual nuance to the research by being culturally and locally rooted.

Historical Institutionalism

As one of the key theoretical traditions that have influenced this research, historical institutionalism provided useful tools to help answer the research question. The political science-oriented (and international relations related) historical institutionalism specifically looks at how established institutions, both formal and informal, continue to influence present day political and social behaviour (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 7). It tries to reveal “when and how historical processes shape political outcomes” (Fioretos, 2011: 369).

To be clear, when talking about the term *historical institution*, this refers to any established procedures, rules, routines, or norms that aid in collectively understanding and interpreting the world (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 14). This would include legal decisions and laws that continue to regulate and dictate the behaviour of individuals in particular states. An example of one such historical institution is the buggery or sodomy law which criminalizes sexual acts between individuals of the same-sex and which is still in existence in many countries, having

been first established up to almost 500 years ago (Asal, Sommer and Harwood, 2012: 323; Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 415). It is hard to believe that institutions so old continue to influence and shape the present and future of international and national politics, among other realms of society. Historical institutionalism is a useful way to examine this history of the criminalization and decriminalization of same-sex intimacy within the Caribbean. It will allow for a deeper look into the evolution of laws and policy about LGBTQ issues and the factors that have influenced these changes.

The political science branch of historical institutionalism also focuses more in depth on the creation of institutions and the era and context in which institutions emerge (Thelen, 1999: 371). It is by looking at history that these “founding moments” of institutions can be uncovered and it can be seen how “institutional legacies affect the degree to which power resources can be harnessed, and the ways in which varied patterns of incremental adaptation shape institutions over time” (Fioretos, 2011: 370). To history we look!

In particular for this research endeavour, historical institutionalism theories have helped to unearth how existing laws and policies regarding the LGBTQ community were first established and how these structures continue to be maintained or eliminated so as to affect current and future political situations for the LGBTQ community in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Historical institutionalism theories have been important to understand how social norms and perceptions of the LGBTQ community have developed over time, and how they have also influenced political decisions in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. This research often discusses the aforementioned “buggery law” as it is an important historical institution present in the Caribbean and significant for the LGBTQ community.

The work of several key historical institutionalism theorists have been of particular use in guiding the research. Mainstream historical institutionalist theorists including Peter A. Hall, Rosemary Taylor, Kathleen Thelen and Orfeo Fioretos provide in their texts an excellent overview and basic understanding of the theoretical tradition and the tools that come with it. Other theorists, such as Miriam Smith, Victor Asal, Udi Sommer and Paul G. Harwood use a historical institutionalist lens to look at more nuanced information focusing specifically on LGBTQ related institutions and their trajectories throughout time.

In terms of broad understanding of historical institutionalism and its central concepts, the article “Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms” by Hall and Taylor provides a basic and comprehensive overview of the distinctive branches of new institutionalism (1996: 5). Highlighting the differences between the new institutionalisms, the text is helpful in understanding the core ideas found within historical institutionalism. Similarly, Fioretos in his text “Historical Institutionalism in International Relations” explains in depth the key features of the theories within this realm (2011: 369). Fioretos also emphasizes the important role that historical institutionalism could play in the field of international relations, if more theorists could integrate the approach in their work (2011: 370).

Other historical institutionalism texts focusing on specific institutions or a particular set of institutions have also been useful in guiding the research. The 2013 text by Udi Sommer, Victor Asal, Katie Zuber and Jonathan Parent elaborates in detail about the repeal of sodomy or buggery laws in common law versus civil law countries (2013: 410). They specifically look at how the two judicial institutions create different environments for change to come about, making it easier or harder for buggery or sodomy laws to be repealed (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 413). This text shows that in common law countries it takes much longer for these laws to

be repealed, as can be seen in Caribbean nations that have inherited common law systems (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 428). This relates directly to the research as one of the islands being studied inherited a British common law system (Jamaica), while the other island inherited a French civil law system (Guadeloupe). This text along with another text by Asal, Sommer and Harwood that discusses similar points, like path dependency, have been very useful as they provide information about a historical institution (sodomy or buggery law) that directly affects the LGBTQ community and LGBTQ lived experiences (2012: 321).

The works of Miriam Smith are particularly useful to understand how previous policies and political institutions influence the advancements and stagnations of lesbian and gay mobilization in North America. In her book *Political Institutions and Lesbian and Gay Rights in the United States and Canada*, she looks at how important legal decisions and other political legacies have created opportunities for LGBTQ advancement in Canada while creating obstacles for the LGBTQ movement in the U.S. (2008: 3). Smith compares how historical institutions and political decisions in Canada and the U.S. have created these different outcomes for LGBTQ equality (2008: 3). Policy legacies and institutional structures, such as laws criminalizing sodomy, the degree of centralization of federal power and the functioning of the court system, can be obstacles for policy change or, on the contrary, can encourage policy changes (Smith, 2008: 3). For example, Smith highlights that the decentralization of federal power in the U.S. made it difficult to get rid of sodomy laws as the laws had to be overturned in each state until the 2003 Lawrence Supreme Court decision (Smith, 2008: 5). On the other hand in Canada the partial decriminalization of same-sex intimacy happened in 1969 when the criminal law was amended (Smith, 2008: 6). Smith argues that institutionalized policy “legacies,” along with the structure of political systems, create a space where political actors (movement leaders, elected

officials, etc.) act or behave in certain ways within the institutional boundaries (2008: 3). In sum, Smith's work provides excellent insight into how political and legal institutions have affected LGBTQ mobilization in the North American context. Smith's work uniquely highlights the significant role historical institutions play in shaping the diverse realities of LGBTQ equality.

Although focusing on North America, Smith's research provides a strong analytical framework that is well suited to compare Guadeloupe and Jamaica. The two islands are similar to the Canada/U.S. comparison because they are both in the same geographic region, they share similar historical influences, yet they are quite different as they have diverse political systems, languages and cultural traditions among other factors.

While Smith analyzes only political and legal historical institutions affecting LGBTQ equality, I thought it necessary to analyze a third category of historical institution, that being social and cultural (or socio-cultural) institutions. I wanted to capture and highlight the influence that longstanding cultural traditions and social beliefs can have on a society and ultimately on LGBTQ equality. This approach hasn't been taken with regards to Caribbean nation states and territories, which leaves a space for my research to uniquely compare historical institutions of Caribbean islands and to examine not only political and legal institutions, but also social and cultural institutions.

LGBTQ Activism and Mobilization

Another set of theories and theorists that have informed the research, LGBTQ studies and specifically queer activism have allowed for a better understanding and explanation of LGBTQ experiences, expressions, and activism history.

With the ever growing number of publications about LGBTQ history, information about past lesbian and gay activism is much more readily accessible than it once was. Detailed accounts of Stonewall and early pride/drag marches are being retold and remembered (Duberman, 1993; Shepard, 2010). The obstacles and difficulties encountered by LGBTQ activist groups along with the tactics and techniques (performance protests and satire, etc.) used by these groups are also explored in the literature (Shepard, 2010). The distinct evolution of ideas predating contemporary LGBTQ mobilization are analyzed, starting with homophile activism that provided a first glimpse of liberation for lesbian and gay individuals (D’Emilio, 1998; Gallo, 2006; Stein, 2012). Homophile activism in the U.S. provided a solid base for the lesbian and gay liberation movement to move forward in that country. The AIDS crisis of the 1980s was another key factor that influenced the development of the lesbian and gay movement, as has been noted by several theorists (Brown, 1997: 29; Shepard, 2010: 161; Stein, 2012: 143). With the severe effects of AIDS and HIV touching a significant portion of the gay and lesbian community¹¹, the gay and lesbian movement in several countries focused activism efforts on this issue and became more radicalized (Stein, 2012: 144). These written accounts of lesbian and gay mobilizations provide important insight into understanding how LGBTQ and queer equality movements focus their efforts today and through what channels change can be effectively achieved (Stone, 2012). From these histories it can be seen how movements in one country influenced mobilization in others and vice versa.

However, it must be noted that the majority of this historical activism literature on the lesbian and gay movement is American or U.S. centric, delving namely into activism efforts and

¹¹ The 1980s and 1990s AIDS epidemic significantly affected the LGBTQ community and in particular MSM individuals and gay men (Pecheny, 2003: 268). MSM refers to **m**en who have **s**ex with **m**en and who do not identify as gay or bisexual. WSW refers to **w**omen who have **s**ex with **w**omen and who do not identify as lesbian or bisexual. In French, the terms are HSH (hommes ayant des rapports sexuels avec des hommes) and FSF (femmes ayant des rapports sexuels avec des femmes), respectively.

events occurring in the U.S. (sometimes Canada and Europe), and usually taking place in large city centres (New York and San Francisco). There may not have been as much queer activism in other countries in the past, but there were still queer people living out their daily lives, expressing queerness in their own unique way and practicing strategies of resistance to dominant norms.

In the last few years, some publications on LGBTQ activism in Latin American countries have emerged, allowing for “non-western” historical and activist perspectives to be expressed (Adam, Duyvendak and Krouwel, 1999; De la Dehesa, 2010; Green, 1994; Marsiaj, 2006; Moreno, 2008; Pecheny, 2003). The book *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America* looks at how in several parts of Latin America the struggle for lesbian and gay rights was delayed (in comparison to North America) due to autocratic political regimes that were not tolerant of LGBTQ individuals (Corrales and Pecheny, 2010: 10). The effects of non-democratic political regimes on LGBTQ movement activism is highlighted by several theorists, emphasizing that with the emergence of democratic movements came a space for lesbian and gay struggles to be voiced in some Latin American countries (De la Dehesa, 2010: xi; Moreno, 2008: 139).

As well, the majority of the literature surrounding LGBTQ activism tends to be gay-centric or male focused in that it devotes less time and prominence to the experiences lived by LGBTQ women, notably lesbians and their activism. LGBTQ theory and literature has also focused predominantly in terms of sexual orientation activism (and on lesbian and gay sexual orientations)¹² and less on gender identity mobilization (trans activism), which could be in part

¹² It must be noted that the literature has devoted less time to bisexual orientation, not to mention asexual orientation. Some factions of the bisexual community have often felt left out during lesbian and gay social marches and other activism events as they are seen to be either exclusively heterosexual or exclusively lesbian/gay (McLean, 2007; Richardson and Munro, 2012: 8; Welzer-Lang, 2008).

due to the more recent development of separate trans movements independent from lesbian and gay mobilizations (Monro and Warren, 2004; Richardson and Monro, 2012: 8).

With this in mind, within the literature on lesbian and gay historical mobilization, including the U.S. homophile movement, the notion that activist movements emerge and change over time is key to understanding today's contemporary LGBTQ activism. Movements and their labels are historically and culturally specific, rooted in a particular time and context (Stein, 2012: 7). The ideas and struggles of movements evolve. For example, the homophile movement era saw same-sex sex as a behaviour and not an identity, whereas today queerness is often associated with a particular identity within North American contexts (Stein, 2012: 13). The diversity within LGBTQ movements has been increasingly recognized and activists have been using a variety of different channels to go about achieving change, collaborating with different actors to reach their goals. LGBTQ movements around the world may not use the same words or ideas used in the North American context to refer to LGBTQ expressions and identities, opting for more nuanced and locally rooted ideas and terms (Stein, 2012: 14).

Within the growing realm of LGBTQ and queer mobilization studies, there are still very few theories and academic texts specifically concentrating on Caribbean LGBTQ mobilization in the Greater and Lesser Antilles¹³. Although LGBTQ activist groups and organizations have disseminated publications detailing their activist work and collaborative research initiatives, there is little literature that analyzes, compares and contrasts these Caribbean LGBTQ groups and subsequently the larger LGBTQ movements of the Caribbean. While there is little Caribbean LGBTQ mobilization literature, there is a sizeable amount of work done on Caribbean activism and mobilization more broadly. Being a geographical region plagued by a violent and oppressive

¹³ There has been work done on the 'Stop Murder Music' activist campaign. See Larcher and Robinson (2009) for a detailed account.

history, there is also a parallel history of resistance and survival and of fighting for emancipation and freedom.

Having a history marred with colonialism, fights for independence and campaigns for social justice, the Caribbean region and its people are not unfamiliar with social, cultural, political and survival struggles. The ideas outlined by Caribbean revolutionary and mobilization theorists are useful, even though they do not focus on the LGBTQ movement, because they detail the specificities of Caribbean mobilization which can be used to understand in part Caribbean LGBTQ activism. The book *The Legacies of Caribbean Radical Politics* gives an excellent overview of several of these Caribbean resistance struggles both old and new (Puri, 2011). Yarimar Bonilla, in her chapter, provides a detailed and well informed account of the rebellious spirit in Guadeloupe during the 2009 *manifestations* that shook up the island (2011: 126). Overall, the ideas encountered within the realm of LGBTQ activism and mobilization studies accompanied with the specific accounts of Caribbean activism have helped to shape the research and imbibe it with culturally relevant ideas and socially specific terms.

Queer Theories and Caribbean Gender and Sexuality Theorizing

Academic theories within the realm of gender and sexuality theorizing, namely queer theory concepts along with local Caribbean specific notions of sexuality and gender, have also influenced the research by allowing a more complete and nuanced account of LGBTQ identities and behaviours to permeate through. First detailing broader notions within the field of gender and sexuality theorizing, Caribbean and local views of sexuality and gender will then be analyzed for their significance to the research.

Ideas and theories from the field of queer theory have been useful for this research to accurately express sexuality and gender dynamics and to better understand the complex nuances of power embedded in the experiences of LGBTQ individuals. The concepts of gender, sex, sexuality, femininity, masculinity, hypermasculinity, heteronormativity, hyper-heterosexuality, heteropatriarchy, normative/non-normative sexualities, multiplicity and binary categorization are just some of the useful terms explored and questioned by queer and gender theorists. They are used to discuss and dissect the culturally controlled realm of sexuality and gender. To fully understand LGBTQ communities and subsequently LGBTQ activism, it is crucial to have a comprehensive understanding of the diverse identities and behaviours present within the community, and to know how structures of sexuality and gender norms work within society. The hierarchal and uneven power structures that exist within different communities operating along the lines of not only sexuality and gender, but also race, class, ethnicity, religion, language, age and ability among others— also known as intersectionality— must be recognized (Brah and Phoenix, 2004; Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 2008; Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006; Taylor, Hines and Casey, 2011). The ideas laid out by queer theorists aim to critique “binary and hierarchical reasoning in general, and in connection with gender, sex and sexuality in particular,” while acknowledging and highlighting the existence of multiple forms of oppressions (Marinucci, 2010: 33, 106).

The notion of multiplicities and the rejection of fixed oppositional binary categories are key underlining ideas that thread queer theorists together. Works by foundational queer theorists Judith Butler and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick provide insight into these fundamental queer theory ideas, highlighting the existing multiplicities of imaginable possibilities (Butler, 1990, 1993; Sedgwick, 2005; see also Ludwig, 2011). Oppositional binary categorization of identity is too

restricting and limiting for individuals, as it does not allow for a full, encompassing view of one's identity. These theories provide a more detailed and nuanced way of understanding complex and intricate gender identities and sexualities, permitting seemingly contradictory facets to be united.

Within queer theories, it is readily recognized that ideas about sexuality and gender are culturally constructed and so vary from country to country to take on different meanings in various cultural contexts. It is argued by several theorists, including Marc Stein and Mimi Marinucci, that labels, categories and ideas regarding sexuality and gender identity are historically and culturally specific, rooted in a particular time and context (Marinucci, 2010: 10; Stein, 2012: 7). Stein emphasizes that diverse cultural interpretations of LGBTQ identities and behaviours are held by different regional groups, and as such the same words used by North American and European societies to refer to LGBTQ identities may not be utilized by communities in the Caribbean (Stein, 2012: 4). Specific local words may be used to denote particular sexualities or behaviours that exist only in that country and that carry with them distinct nuances. For example, within Samoan culture the term *Fa'afafine* specifically refers to individuals that take on both feminine and masculine roles within Samoan society, and the nuances of this identity cannot be fully expressed using the more North American term *transgender*. To highlight a Caribbean example, the *Kréyòl* expression *an ba fey*¹⁴ is used by the Guadeloupean gay community to refer to MSM or gay men who do not openly express their sexual orientation in public or who keep their sexuality camouflaged “under the leaves” (“*sous les feuilles*”). This locally used term is specific and details a particular identity that cannot be described by the French word *gai*. It can be seen how “terms such as *gay* and *lesbian* are

¹⁴ I was first introduced to this expression by one of the Guadeloupean interview participants. For a more detailed analysis of the term, Romain Vallet's article explains clearly how the expression is used by the LGBTQ community in Martinique (2012).

assumed to translate unequivocally to local contexts around the world” (Murray, 2012: 54). It must be recognized that the specific terms *LGBTQ* and *queer* are themselves western influenced concepts and ones that are relatively new (Stein, 2012: 10; Paternotte, Tremblay and Johnson, 2011: 7).

In some countries like Canada and the Netherlands, mainstream LGBTQ identities have become more accepted and pro-LGBTQ legislation has been fully incorporated into the state political system. As Jasbir Puar argues, presenting a pro-LGBTQ stance allows states to further “the emergence of national homosexuality” or “homonationalism” so as to use LGBTQ identities to advance nationalist and imperialist goals (2007: 2). Homonational states, viewing themselves in opposition to (and better than) “homophobic others,” hold the underlying (and wrongful) assumptions that gayness is white and secular (Puar, 2007: 44). Although queer theorists do not always discuss the important and intricate power relations within LGBTQ communities and countries, queer theories are still a valuable theoretical tool to recognize the importance of multiplicity, to identify hierarchical gender or sexuality power structures and to realize the influence of culture on sexuality and gender identities.

In a similar vein to queer theories, ideas and concepts from Caribbean gender and sexuality studies have also been influential for this research. Theorists, including Jacqui Alexander, Eudine Barriteau, Linden Lewis and Amar Wahab among others, discuss crucial ideas about gender, sexuality and LGBTQ identities specifically as it relates to the Caribbean or Caribbean Diasporas (Canada, France, UK, U.S.)¹⁵.

¹⁵ It should be noted that for this research the focus is on Guadeloupe and Jamaica and so research is limited to those countries that were involved in the colonization process of these two islands or that have significant diaspora communities. As such, the Netherlands and Spain, for example, have not been included, because Dutch and Spanish colonized islands are not the focus of this research.

Several theories within Caribbean gender and sexuality studies highlight the influence that Caribbean history has had on shaping and moulding ideas about femininity, masculinity and sexuality. Key Caribbean gender theorist Eudine Barriteau notes that conceptions of gender are distinct in the Caribbean and that the history of slavery in the region greatly impacted the way women and men are viewed by society (2003: 16). For example, during slavery “the defeminization of enslaved women [was used] as a strategy to extract maximum labour” (Barriteau, 2003: 17). Linden Lewis, discussing more in terms of sexuality, points out that the colonization of the Caribbean entailed also the imposition of European gender and sexuality norms onto colonized populations as a sort of cultural and sexual imperialism (2003: 2). Caribbean history has shaped gender and sexuality in particular ways, creating acceptance of non-nuclear or non-normative family structures, urging people to publicly demonstrate their heterosexuality and valuing gender roles where men are breeders and women “take care of the rest”. In sum, Caribbean history continues to influence the dominant ideas of gender and sexuality.

Another central idea within Caribbean gender and sexuality theorizing is that of citizenship or sexual citizenship. A key theorist that has done work on this particular topic in the Caribbean is Jacqui Alexander. Her text, “Not Just (Any) *Body* Can Be a Citizen: The Politics of Law, Sexuality and Postcoloniality in Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas,” highlights how the state controls sexuality and citizenship by encouraging heterosexuality and procreative sex as the ultimate way to achieve complete citizenship (1994: 6). Her book, *Pedagogies of Crossing*, looks at similar notions of “processes of heterosexualization within the state” (2005: 23). Both works add to discussions on gender and sexuality by highlighting the ways neocolonialism and heteropatriarchy work through the nation state to shape gender and sexuality. Pertinent examples

from the Caribbean, like Bahamian criminal law, are used to illustrate the force of these influences.

Building on ideas and work done by Alexander, Amar Wahab similarly argues that homophobia and homophobic violence are used by the state, as a “regulative and generative force in postcolonial nation-states” to control national identity and to assert sovereignty (2012: 482). By analyzing a specific event of homophobic violence in Trinidad and Tobago, he demonstrates how the nation state is involved in regulating sexualities, and to what degree this process has become institutionalized or normalized (2012: 482). These ideas about how state structures within the Caribbean reinforce heterosexuality, in part through state sanctioned homophobic violence, offer an in-depth understanding of the oppressive nature of the state.

Also of noteworthiness are Wahab and Plaza’s ideas about how LGBTQ individuals living in Caribbean diaspora communities (specifically in Canada) are caught “on the margins of two cultures” (2009: 14) between a “black heteronormative Caribbean” way of life and a white lesbian/gay urban community (2009: 7). Island notions of gender, sexuality and heterosexuality are often brought over and held onto by Caribbean immigrants who move to the diaspora.

Analyzing Anglophone Caribbean islands, Lisa Crooms looks at the construction of masculine and heterosexual identity in Jamaica and the importance placed on displaying one’s heterosexuality to others in Jamaican culture and society (2009: 246). The concept of hyper-heterosexuality, mentioned by Crooms, is one of particular interest and usefulness for this research (2009: 248). Crooms argues that only looking at homophobia as a reason or motivation for violence against LGBTQ individuals is limited and simple in its scope (2009: 243). Introducing the notion of hyper-heterosexuality allows for a more complete picture of why broader gender based violence occurs on some islands (Crooms, 2009: 243). Reinforcing and

asserting publicly one's heterosexual image, whether that includes violent acts or not, becomes important in a society where transgressions of traditional gender and sexuality norms are not seen as appropriate or acceptable. Along with the concept of hyper-heterosexuality, Crooms' work is important in understanding how sexuality and gender identity is expressed and felt in Jamaica.

Still focusing on the Anglophone Caribbean, the book *Flaming Souls: Homosexuality, Homophobia, and Social Change in Barbados* by David Murray is useful in comprehending the everyday felt experiences of LGBTQ individuals in the Caribbean (2012: 105). Murray highlights the variety of experiences LGBTQ individuals have had in the different islands, comparing Barbados to Jamaica (2012: 87). He notes that there is a more lively gay social scene in Jamaica and that "respectability" and religion continue to encourage some gay individuals in Barbados to be discrete (2012: 87, 110). He also emphasizes the growing importance of technology in aiding the expression of LGBTQ identities and in connecting LGBTQ people across political borders (2012: 84). An important point Murray brings up is that more recently a specific type of LGBTQ expression has been popularized and considered to be universal, one that is a North American or European-rooted LGBTQ expression, where individuals are proud and out, partaking in pride parades in big cities and publicly asserting their identity (2012: 90). This "westernized" type of LGBTQ expression is wrongfully seen by some as being the only way to freely express LGBTQ identity, implying that LGBTQ people who do not express themselves in this way must be oppressed. This dominant Euro-American expression of LGBTQ identity is very different than some local Caribbean LGBTQ expressions where privacy, ambiguity and quietness are valued and where specific local gender identities play a role (Murray, 2012: 35, 116).

Not glossing over local conceptions and narrowing in on the sexual politics of the French Caribbean, Vanessa Agard-Jones provides a great synopsis of how sexuality is viewed and expressed differently in Guadeloupe and Martinique than in mainland France (2009: 7). Agard-Jones looks at how Caribbean homosexuality is framed as being in opposition to Caribbean-ness (2009: 7). She also briefly looks at the initiatives of LGBTQ activist groups in the French Caribbean, highlighting that most groups have been imported from metropolitan France and have not organically started in Guadeloupe or Martinique (2009: 9). Although her work is centred around the island of Martinique, Agard-Jones' work is indispensable in grasping the island-specific ways of conceptualizing and expressing LGBTQ identities (2012: 327).

Similarly, but focusing on mainland France, the book *Queer French* by Denis M. Provencher delves into the politics of gender identity and sexual orientation in France, looking at how language and national norms can significantly shape LGBTQ identity (2007: 24). This book is useful in understanding LGBTQ identity differences between individuals living in France and Guadeloupe, as well as between France and the United Kingdom (2007: 10). Also looking at mainland France and its colonizing powerhouse history, Robert Aldrich discusses in particular male homosexuality in the French colonies during the colonization period (2002: 201). Although focusing primarily on French colonies in northern Africa, Aldrich underscores key ideas about the encounters of European and indigenous sexual norms and how “many homosexuals with sexual interests overseas became firm critics of colonialism,” (2002: 213) highlighting that the “fight for sexual emancipation and colonial liberation went hand in hand” (2002: 217). This is of particular interest as it touches on activism history and the connectedness of social struggles. These theories about specific local Caribbean conceptions and postcolonial notions of gender and

sexuality are crucial to fully comprehend not only the LGBTQ community, but also Caribbean culture at large.

In brief, historical institutionalism, LGBTQ activism theories, queer theories and Caribbean theories about sexuality and gender identity have all been mobilized to frame the research in a specific way to highlight the interconnectedness of gender, sexuality, the nation state, *Caribbeanness*, citizenship and resistance. These ideas by the aforementioned theorists have informed the research question and subsequently shaped the main argument of this thesis so as to help bring into being a distinct and nuanced view of LGBTQ equality in the Caribbean.

1.3 Clarification of Central Concepts

Before proceeding, some key terms must be clarified so as to understand the specific context and ways in which they have been used throughout this research. The concepts of *LGBTQ* and *queer* will be elaborated on so as to provide insight on the identities and behaviours represented within these terms. Another key concept in need of clarification is *institutions* or *historical institutions* which will be dissected to uncover its many facets. The terms *activism* and *mobilization* will also be analyzed to understand what types of activities and ideas are encompassed under these terms. Defining the *Caribbean region*, in both political and geographical terms, is also important so as to have a clear picture of the physical placement of the islands being researched and an understanding of the surrounding region.

LGBTQ and Queer

Like many other concepts in academia, the term *LGBTQ*, although being widely used, has several important nuances and particularities that are not always visibly articulated. The term

LGBTQ (also written LGBT, LGBTQQ, LGBTTTQI or LGBTQ2QI or several other ways) is used to refer to individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans¹⁶, two-spirited, queer, questioning and intersex, usually having a letter for each group it represents. With this in mind, it can be seen how several particular sexual orientations, gender identities and behaviours are not represented within the already encompassing term *LGBTQ*. For this research, a broader definition of the concept *LGBTQ* has been used that necessarily includes all gender identities and sexual behaviours in opposition to heteronormativity, even those that are not specifically recognized by the letters L-G-B-T-Q. This expansive conceptualization of the term *LGBTQ* incorporates and recognizes the multiple possibilities of gender, sex, sexual identity and behaviour of which there may be different conceptions or names in various languages and cultural contexts (De la Dehesa, 2010: xv). The term *LGBTQ* is somewhat used in Guadeloupe and Jamaica by LGBTQ individuals and activist communities, although local language specific words describing gender and sexuality, are utilized more often. As already noted, *LGBTQ* is a concept of “western” origin having been first pioneered in “western” countries (Richardson and Munro, 2012: 7; Paternotte, Tremblay and Johnson, 2011: 7). For the purpose of this research and to discuss both islands together, the term *LGBTQ* will be primarily used; however, whenever possible, local conceptions of sexuality and gender will be employed.

Similarly to the concept *LGBTQ*, there are many debates and disagreements within the academic community around the meanings and connotations of the term *queer* (Morland and Willox, 2005: 1). The word *queer*, as Stein points out, “[is] a multivalent term that meant different things to different people” and still today has a myriad of meanings for different individuals (2012: 184). *Queer*, being in the past an offensive and derogatory word, has been

¹⁶ *Trans* or *trans** is a short form for transgender, transsexual or transvestite.

successfully reclaimed by the LGBTQ movement and today its use represents a political position (Stein, 2012: 184). The term *queer*, as used throughout this research process, comprises identities or behaviours that oppose dominant heterosexual social norms. As Shepard points out, *queer* can often be seen as “positioned against the stigmatizing forces of normality, rather than heterosexuality itself” and as such is a broad and inclusive term, that does not necessarily assign a specific fixed identity (2010: 8). This necessarily includes anyone who identifies as being genderqueer, gender non-identifying, gender non-conforming, gender fluid, third gender, pansexual, androgynous, and asexual¹⁷ along with the already mentioned identities under the term *LGBTQ*, as well as a plethora of other identities and behaviours. Throughout this research, the terms *LGBTQ* and *queer* are used interchangeably to refer to all identities and behaviours in opposition to dominant heteronormative social ideas.

Institutions and Historical Institutions

Another important concept that must be elaborated on is that of *institutions*. Throughout this research, when talking about *institutions* or *historical institutions*, this includes all embedded formal or informal structures and frameworks in which social relations are organized and given meaning (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 8). Within the realm of historical institutionalism, institutions are seen as “the legacy of concrete historical processes” (Thelen, 1999: 382). Institutions are also not static, yet they do not arbitrarily change. They play a significant role in shaping power dynamics, often attributing power unevenly creating a winner and a loser (Hall and Taylor, 1996:

¹⁷ For more information about these terms, the organizations PFLAG Canada, Rainbow Health Ontario and SOS Homophobie have educational glossary pages explaining various LGBTQ-related words.

- PFLAG Canada. (2009). “Glossary”. Retrieved December 5, 2015 from <https://www.pflagcanada.ca>.
- Rainbow Health Ontario. (2014). “Glossary”. Retrieved December 5, 2015 from <http://www.rainbowhealthontario.ca/glossary/>.
- SOS Homophobie. (n.d.). “Définitions”. Retrieved December 5, 2015 from <http://www.sos-homophobie.org/definitions-homophobie-lesbophobie-gayphobie-biphobie-transphobie>.

9). With this in mind, it can be seen that “[n]ot only do institutions provide strategically-useful information, they also affect the very identities, self-images and preferences of the actors” (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 8).

Within the concept of *historical institutions* there are political, legal and socio-cultural dimensions. Pertinent examples of historical institutions with a political dimension would be independence status, a parliamentary government structure, a federalist state structure, LGBTQ movement mobilization and anti-discrimination legislation. Examples of historical institutions with a legal dimension include the civil law system and the 2013 lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the Jamaican buggery law. Examples of socio-cultural historical institutions include the Evangelical church, spoken Guadeloupean Kréyòl, dancehall music and national identity. These are just some of the many various historical institutions that influence and shape the islands of Guadeloupe and Jamaica and that have been analyzed for this research.

It must be noted that even though historical institutionalism is primarily used within this research, the various other institutionalisms¹⁸ each have important contributing elements. This research will look primarily at historical institutions that have significant relevance for the Caribbean LGBTQ community. Appendix 2 shows the concept of *historical institutions* broken down into dimensions and indicators to identify key institutions in Guadeloupe and Jamaica.

Activism and Mobilization

The words *activism* and *mobilization* appear many times throughout this research thesis and are used interchangeably to refer to a wide variety of political activities that aim to defend a cause or

¹⁸ The other two institutionalisms that exist are *rational choice institutionalism* and *sociological institutionalism* (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 5). The secondary influencing institutionalism for this research is *sociological institutionalism* which emphasizes the role of culture in creating institutions and defines institutions in a broad sense to include norms, roles and moral ideas among other informal institutional structures (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 14).

an idea in order to create social change. *Activism* and *mobilization* can be viewed as tools used by social movements to promote a new reimagined world, to bring about alternative possibilities (Hess, 2007; Khasnabish, 2007) and to engage in “social, cultural, and political transformation” (Stein, 2012: 1). *Activism* and *mobilization* techniques can also help to attain more moderate reforms to existing institutions and structures by using traditional channels to achieve change (Hess, 2007: 6). For the purpose of this research, the words *activism* and *mobilization* are defined in broad terms to include not only formal large-scale initiatives like rallies, but also small acts of resistance like consciousness raising discussions, political poetry and infrapolitics as outlined by Scott (2005). Often happening outside traditional political structures, some clear examples of *activism* and *mobilization* would be petitioning, letter writing campaigns, sit-ins, zines¹⁹, education awareness initiatives and performance protests.

The Caribbean Region

The term *Caribbean* or *Caribbean region* is used throughout this research to depict a certain geographic area of the world located in the Caribbean Sea basin. For this research, islands part of the volcanic Caribbean Sea arc (the West Indies or the Greater and Lesser Antilles) and not the continental mainland (of Central America and the north eastern tip of South America) will be considered as *the Caribbean*. Often, when talking about the Caribbean, mainland countries bordering the Caribbean Sea that have a greater land surface area and a significant population receive additional attention, while smaller, less populous island states and territories are only briefly addressed. It is for this reason that the term *Caribbean*, throughout this research, puts the focus on smaller islands states and territories.

¹⁹ Zines are small handmade or self-published booklets often filled with activist literature such as political images or drawings, song lyrics, poetry, essays and other artistic texts.

In the world of international politics and economics, it is often independent nation states that are seen to make up the Caribbean. However, for this research the definition of *Caribbean region* is specifically inclusive of non-independent islands and territories, as well as of independent states located in the area. Non-independent islands located in the Caribbean that are overseas departments or that are associated with a European or North American state power are brought to the forefront and acknowledged in this definition of *Caribbean*. Disregarding whether they are recognized as sovereign or are considered a dependency territory, non-independent islands located in the Caribbean Sea are considered *the Caribbean*. Having defined the key concepts crucial to the comprehension of the research and having fleshed out the research problem, question and hypothesis along with the relevant theories, a clear portrait of the research framework has been presented. The research methodology will be discussed in the subsequent section.

Chapter 2: Methodologies and Methods

This chapter explains how the research was carried out, elaborating on the underpinning methodological ideas that guided the research along with the research techniques employed to collect data.

2.1 Guiding Methodologies

Several guiding methodologies shaped the research process. Key ideas on how to conduct research were taken from the feminist methodological traditions, queer methodological theories and the sociology and psychology based grounded theory tradition.

Feminist Methodologies

Central feminist methodological ideas influenced how the research was conducted and presented. Feminist methodological theory recognizes the important historical, cultural, economic and political context of researchers and emphasizes the value of research from the perspective of marginalized communities. It inherently sees scientific knowledge production as the production of politicized knowledges (Bracke and De la Bellacasa, 2013: 46; Kerr and Faulkner, 2003, para. 19).

One of those central ideas is the notion of “strong objectivity” as explained by feminist scholar Sandra Harding (2004: 55). In feminist research, it is of key importance for researchers to be critical of their personal influences and biases that shape their research. Being aware and analytical of these values and interests informing the research allows for the creation of a more complete, “strong” objectivity (Harding, 2004: 55). Being reflexive by situating one’s knowledge and positioning in the world generates a more transparent and truthful research product. Opinions

and observations are not neutral, but rather they are anchored in the particular material conditions and beliefs of the observer (Ollivier and Tremblay, 2000: 73). As Ludovic Gaussoit highlights, it is important to be aware of one's social positioning as it constructs and shapes the knowledge of the researcher (2008:195). The social positioning of the researcher is what essentially allows for the creation of knowledge and is therefore an essential part of knowledge production (Gaussoit, 2008: 195). Noticeable among some Caribbean gender and sexuality theorists is that they position themselves in their written work (Murray, 2012: 6-7). Situating oneself implies the awareness of the heterogeneity of the Caribbean region and the variety of lived experiences.

I strongly recognize the importance of situating myself and striving for strong objectivity. Being a white, North American, Canadian-raised, feminist, cisgender, bilingual woman, with an activist spirit and a love for learning about the Caribbean, I acknowledge that it is within this context that I have conducted my research. I am aware that without my previous life experiences (ie: learning French, living in the Caribbean, growing up surrounded by strong, intelligent, women (and men) who were queering the boundaries of gender and sexuality), I probably would not have carried out this research. I realize that my fluid positioning in different situations as a person and as a researcher creates hierarchical relations of power. This research aims to be reflexive of my positioning, recognizing my inherent biases, so that the reader can clearly understand the lens through which this research was conducted.

Another important feminist methodological idea that guided the research is the notion of participant agency. It is the idea that the research project is a space for participants to speak for themselves and to make their voices heard. Incorporating interviews into the research was a key element to ensure that activist communities in the Caribbean would have a solid voice in the

research. Seeing as there is little comparative research done on Guadeloupe and Jamaican LGBTQ activism, it was necessary to have the voices of activists themselves imbued in the final research. It must be recognized that activists in these communities already have various platforms and spaces where they can voice their ideas, opinions and experiences. However, I wanted to provide another small space for LGBTQ activist voices to be heard in the academic realm. In other words, this research is not the only outlet for Guadeloupean and Jamaican LGBTQ activists, but it is one more than what already exists in scholarly spaces.

A final feminist methodological approach instrumental to the research was the acknowledgement that all research is political in nature. Going hand in hand with this is the belief that research should aim to create social change. Christine Corbeil and Isabelle Marchand highlight this idea, indicating that research should have the goal of raising awareness of power structures and advocating for social change (2010: 57-60). Research should create social change by transforming participants' lives for the better (Corbeil and Marchand, 2010: 57-60). As a researcher, I have a commitment to social change and I hope that this research can contribute, even if a small amount, to the increased social and political equality of LGBTQ communities on the islands studied. This research will, optimistically, raise consciousness about LGBTQ activism in the Caribbean and complicate existing ideas about the Caribbean and LGBTQ identities/behaviours.

Queer Methodologies

Besides feminist methodologies, queer theory methodological tools also proved useful for the research. Like feminist methodologies, queer methodologies, and more particularly queer ethnographies, highlight the importance of reflexivity and of locating oneself as a researcher

(Rooke, 2010: 35). Also like feminist methodologies, queer methodologies acknowledge that “furthering the cause of social justice is accomplished by giving ‘voice’ to members of marginalized communities” (Meezan and Martin, 2009: 424). Beyond that, queer methodologies see the self as dynamic and having “epistemological openness” towards the research which is key to keeping it inclusive and to limiting boundary creation (Rooke, 2010: 35, 38). Queer methodologies avoid acutely defining and delimiting research parameters as this can create narrow results which overlook the most important observations. Throughout this research project I attempted to loosely define the concepts of *historical institutions*, *LGBTQ* and *activism* so that they could be inclusive and fluid, changing as needed during the different stages of the research process. These ideas of a fluid and dynamic research process overlap with ideas from the grounded theory tradition which will be subsequently discussed.

Grounded Theory Methods and Methodologies

Some central ideas from grounded theory also informed the way the research was conducted and presented. Grounded theory being first developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967) and later elaborated on by Juliet Corbin (Corbin and Strauss, 2008), Kathy Charmaz (1995) and Adele Clarke (2003), among others, advances the idea that as information is discovered during data collection, it helps to further shape, define and guide the analysis (Charmaz, 1995: 31). Grounded theory highlights that analysis takes place as soon as data collection begins and continues while the researcher collects more information (Charmaz, 1995: 28). For this research I started to analyze collected data while still conducting interviews, which allowed me to direct future interviews towards the more pertinent topics of the research and ask questions that only transpired during the interview process. It also enabled me to be more efficient in analyzing the

data and helped to better facilitate transcription as I was able to greatly improve my interviewing abilities. Following the basics of grounded theory methodology, ideas from the field shaped the research results as opposed to logico-deductive methods where preconceived notions are verified and proven by field research (Charmaz, 1995: 29). The creation of memos and situational maps helped to define ideas and find vital relationships between them (Charmaz, 1995: 43; Clarke, 2003: 569). In short, grounded theories enriched the research by ensuring that data from the field influenced the analysis process and shaped the final results.

2.2 Research Techniques and Methods

The methods that were used to gather data were twofold: both the content analysis technique along with the interview technique were used to collect data. Content analysis allowed for a broad understanding of how historical institutions have affected LGBTQ activism, while interviews filled the gaps of missing data and brought a nuanced, more real, human feel to the research initiative.

Content Analysis

Content analysis was useful in uncovering the broad picture of which historical institutions have significantly influenced LGBTQ mobilization in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Content analysis helped to uncover the type, form and organization of political structures and institutions influencing LGBTQ mobilization within the islands. This qualitative content analysis technique was nicely suited to the research question, because it facilitated the uncovering of substantive historical data on changes in policies and behaviours towards the LGBTQ community.

During the content analysis process, several different types of documents and resources were analyzed. Both academic and non-academic as well as official governmental and non-governmental documents were studied. Documents and texts as well as other related resources were analyzed for their primary social meanings, symbols, conclusions and truthful information regarding the research subject.

The academic and scholarly works analyzed included articles, reports and books written by local experts and university affiliated researchers. Non-academic resources that were consulted during the content analysis process included governmental and non-governmental resources. Government publications, laws and legislation, both recent and historical, were analyzed to ascertain information about lingering historical institutions present within formal state structures. For example, of particular importance was the *Offences Against the Person Act* that criminalizes same-sex sexual relations in Jamaica (Jamaica. Ministry of Justice, 1864).

In regards to non-governmental works, reports and studies from local LGBTQ groups in Guadeloupe and Jamaica were also examined. Publications and initiatives produced by these local LGBTQ organizations, like *Rainbow Gwada*, were analyzed to uncover information on the kinds of challenges the LGBTQ movement is facing, specifically in the Caribbean, as well as to understand the various targets of action LGBTQ groups are focusing on. These locally produced documents and resources are central to the content analysis seeing as they provide a more specific and local account of LGBTQ activism. The *J-FLAG* annual reports are a perfect example of locally created documents detailing the specificities of the LGBTQ community in Jamaica (J-FLAG, 2013, 2014).

Other resources produced by international human rights NGOs or activist groups, like *Amnesty International* and *Human Rights Watch*, were also used during the data collection

process, so as to provide a complementary perspective on how LGBTQ groups, or human rights groups more broadly, view LGBTQ equality in the islands. Some of these documents gave insight into how LGBTQ equality is different or similar between countries in the region. For example, the *UNAIDS* study “CARIMIS: The Caribbean Men’s Internet Survey” provided useful information about the diverse experiences of MSM in the Caribbean, including in Guadeloupe and Jamaica (UNAIDS, 2014). The study being “the largest ever survey of MSM in the Caribbean” and having “recruited men from all Caribbean countries and territories except Puerto Rico” made it important to include (UNAIDS, 2014: 13). As well, reports by the *International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association* (ILGA) on state-sponsored homophobia give an excellent comparative account of laws pertaining to LGBTQ communities in numerous countries around the world (Carroll and Itaborahy, 2015; Itaborahy and Zhu, 2013). Whether it is laws that criminalize same-sex sex, legal measures prohibiting LGBTQ discrimination or even legislation sanctioning same-sex marriage, these laws are compared region by region in the reports (Carroll and Itaborahy, 2015; Itaborahy and Zhu, 2013).

Research Interviews

To acquire a more complete and full understanding of the struggle for LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica, interviews were conducted with activist leaders to fill in the gaps of knowledge and to allow for local activist voices to permeate the research.

A total of nine interviews were conducted with eleven activist leaders fighting for LGBTQ equality or providing services to the LGBTQ community. During the two weeks of field research spent in Guadeloupe four interviews were conducted with Guadeloupean activists and all were conducted in French. Of the six Guadeloupean participants, one was a woman while the

rest were men. Most Guadeloupean participants, including the woman interviewed, did not focus their activism efforts on addressing issues affecting LGBTQ women. The limited visibility of lesbian and bisexual women in Guadeloupe was noticeable as there existed no organization that was specifically for LGBTQ women in Guadeloupe. Five interviews were conducted with Jamaican activists and all were conducted in English. Of the five Jamaican participants, three were women and two were men. When talking with Jamaican women interview participants, it was clear that they played a strong role within their associations as some had even created their own organizations and activism initiatives to specifically address queer women's needs in the community. Participants that partook in interviews were activist leaders of the LGBTQ cause in some form or another. A broad notion of the term "activist" or "activist leader" is employed here which necessarily includes not only formalized activists part of an NGO or formal organization, but also individuals who participate in non-formal or non-institutional types of activism, such as acts of everyday resistance and creative cultural resistance (writing, poetry, visual arts, song, etc.). Activist leaders interviewed were currently part of one or many LGBTQ-oriented organizations operating in Guadeloupe or Jamaica.

Local LGBTQ activist leaders were interviewed because they have a solid understanding of the LGBTQ rights struggle in their respective communities. Engaged activist leaders would likely possess knowledge of the up-to-date local LGBTQ rights situation being in proximity to LGBTQ activist efforts in the Caribbean. Activist leaders would be most likely to have an encompassing view of the activist initiatives taking place on their island, whether those initiatives are being led by their group or by other LGBTQ groups.

To find these activist leaders, recruitment was done through email and telephone. Several email addresses and phone numbers of key organizations and of specific activist leaders of

interest were obtained from either the organization's or the activist's personal website. Names and contact information of interested participants were also acquired through personal contacts and connections I had in the region. The snowball technique was also used for recruitment, whereby after the interview participants gave me contact information of other potentially interested activists or they discussed the research with other like-minded individuals. This word of mouth recruitment technique was well suited to the research initiative because only a small number of interviews were to be conducted and it provided a safe way to contact interested individuals without publicizing the research project.

Once recruited, to best accommodate and be attentive to their needs, the participants themselves chose the type of communication method with which to do the interview, doing it either directly in person (where possible), over the phone or using Skype. This ensured that participants felt safe, comfortable and relaxed during the interview process, allowing them to speak truthfully and without hesitation. Interviews that were conducted in person took place in the location of the participant's choosing, where they felt the most comfortable and safe to proceed. As such, most in-person interviews took place at the headquarters of the activist organization the participant was associated with. One interview took place at the personal residence of the participant.

The interviews themselves were about an hour long and were of a semi-structured nature, allowing for flexibility during the interview process for important impromptu ideas to be further explored. I let conversations continue past one hour if participants had more to say. The semi-structured interviews allowed for participants to freely converse with me and as such, the questions that I asked were not entirely predicted and planned in advance. Interviews were

usually done with one participant at a time. However, two interviews had two participants present creating a three way dialogue with the researcher.

During the interviews, I asked participants questions about their activist efforts and about the broader island-wide activism initiatives taking place. I also asked about the ways in which they personally thought change, in regards to LGBTQ equality, could best occur in the politico-legal and the social-cultural realms of society. The institutions challenging activism were discussed along with some of participants' key achievements. At the end of the interview, participants addressed future targets of action for activism and predicted where activism was headed in the region. No questions about the personal lives of participants were asked to ensure that they felt relaxed and comfortable throughout the interview process as opposed to worried or stressed about being asked something they may not have wanted to discuss. If participants wanted to talk about their personal lives, they were also welcome to do so. The complete interview guide in French and in English has been included in Appendix 3.

The interviews provided important additional information, verified existing collected data and added a real, personal feel to the research. This technique gathered new data that was not discerned during the content analysis phase of the research. It allowed for a more in-depth and up-to-date account as to how LGBTQ groups are influenced (limited or encouraged) by local institutional structures.

Other Observations from the Field

While doing field research, I was presented with some other learning opportunities which were important to include in the final analysis. In one instance, I had the opportunity to attend an LGBTQ social soirée in Guadeloupe and do volunteer work for one of the LGBTQ organizations

for the night. At this event, three other association volunteers and I set up information tables with various data pamphlets, cartoon booklets, free condoms and interactive AIDS/HIV prevention games. Over the course of the night, we talked with individuals walking past about safe sex and how HIV/AIDS is transmitted. We also distributed the free female and male condoms. I also had the opportunity to informally discuss LGBTQ activism with the other dedicated volunteers.

The soirée was organized by a LGBTQ party planning association and was one of the last events of the year, being in December. It was a Christmas/end of year bash for the LGBTQ community where dancing and socializing without worry were the main activities of the night. Attending this event helped me make new connections with individuals interested in participating in the research project. Not only did I get to directly participate in the LGBTQ activism I was studying, but I also gained important insight into the local LGBTQ community. This event presented me, an outsider, with an opportunity to better understand the LGBTQ community and the dynamics of sexuality and gender of the island.

2.3 Ethical Considerations

Before beginning field research and throughout the project's conception, there was much contemplation about the ethical considerations and impacts of the research. Since this research project used the interview technique, which necessarily involves interacting with human subjects, an application for ethics approval from the Research Ethics Board at the University of Ottawa was submitted. As outlined in the Canadian Tri-Council Policy Statement on ethics in research, all research that involves the interaction with human subjects needs to first be approved by the ethics committee before research can begin (CIHR, NSERC & SSHRC, 2010: 15). The research proposal underwent rigorous scrutiny from the Research Ethics Board. The suggestions

made by the board were carefully followed and integrated into the research. The Research Ethics Board gave complete approval of the research project and presented me with a certificate of approval.

Some of the key ethical considerations outlined in the ethics application were ensuring the safety, anonymity and confidentiality of interview participants, ensuring the protection of collected data and ensuring the safety of myself as the principal investigator. Other ethical considerations looked at how the research would impact the participants and those individuals that would come into contact with the final research product.

Ensuring the safety, anonymity and confidentiality of participants was a major ethical consideration. Safeguarding the anonymity of the interview participants along with the confidentiality of interview proceedings helped to guarantee the safety and protection of those involved. Since violence and discrimination against LGBTQ individuals is still a reality in the Caribbean, it was important to not publicly release any personal identifying information about participants or to “out” individuals as queer or allies of the LGBTQ cause. For participants, there was the risk of violence or the possibility of marginalization and stigmatization from the general public if their participation was made known. Personal identifiers (i.e., name, age, community location, contact information, etc.) of participants are not used or mentioned in the final research. As the principal investigator, I remain the sole person to have access to the pseudonym codes linking the participants to the specific data. It must be reiterated that no questions about the personal lives of participants, including questions about their sexual orientation or gender identity, were asked before, during or after the interviews. As such, participants that were chosen to partake in the research initiative were not discriminated against based on age, race, ethnicity,

religion, gender, sex, sexuality, ability and so on as is also outlined in the Tri-Council Policy statement (CIHR, NSERC & SSHRC, 2010: 48).

The assurance that anonymity and confidentiality would be maintained created a more welcoming and inviting environment for participants to divulge information. Participants needed to understand that they could speak truthfully during the interview and that they could trust the researcher. To make participants the most comfortable possible, they were able to choose the communication method (in person, by phone or by Skype) and the time (hour, day) for the interview. Participants were asked for their written or verbal consent²⁰ to participate in the interviews and they were also asked for their consent to be audio recorded. Participants were made aware that they could end the interview at any time. These measures helped in limiting the potential psychological or emotional discomfort participants may have had when discussing their activist efforts.

Another ethical consideration that was taken into account was the protection of collected data. Digital interview audio recordings and documents were uploaded to a private Dropbox while in the field and subsequently transferred onto a password-accessible external hard drive. After seven years the collected data will be given to the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives in Toronto (Canada) so that it can be made available to other researchers (<http://www.clga.ca>). These measures were put in place to make certain that both the data and participants were protected for an extended period.

Ensuring my safety during field research was also an ethical concern. To ensure I would be safe, I did not overtly publicize the research initiative, so as to not draw any negative attention. For this reason, interview participants were contacted by word of mouth and not

²⁰ Verbal consent was sought for all interviews and especially for interviews that were done by phone or by Skype and where the participant had not sent me their signed and scanned consent form prior to the interview.

through flyers or advertisements on local announcement boards which would have put potential participants, as well as myself, at risk due to stigmas or cultural taboos surrounding the LGBTQ community in the region. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in secure locations as suggested by the interview participants, but also in a place where I felt comfortable. I always had the option of not conducting the interview if I felt uncomfortable or felt that the risk was too high.

Throughout the research process, the ethical impact of the research initiative was also carefully contemplated. I questioned how the research would affect participants and other individuals that would come into contact with the final research. Personally, I wanted the research to further LGBTQ equality, even if only a tiny bit. I envisioned that this research would be a useful tool for LGBTQ activists in Guadeloupe and Jamaica and not solely stay within the academic realm. The publication of a summary of the final research results in local media and on social media will help to make the research more accessible to the local LGBTQ community on these two islands. Participants hopefully gained some new insight from vocalizing and reflecting on their activist efforts. The final research product aims to be consciousness raising for those individuals of the general public that come into contact with it, allowing them to learn about the complexities and diversities of the two islands, which they may not be familiar with.

Overall, ethical considerations were of utmost importance during the research process, most particularly, but not exclusively, when conducting interviews. Since violence against LGBTQ individuals is still an occurrence, it was necessary to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of participants, so as to guarantee their safety and protection.

2.4 Limitations of the Research

Throughout the research process, namely during fieldwork, some obstacles and limitations were encountered. Limitations included financial and time restrictions, my positioning as an outsider and language barriers when conducting interviews in my second language.

The two most significant limitations of the research were the cost of field research and time impediments. Travelling to Guadeloupe and Jamaica is a significant financial investment that is difficult for a second year masters student to afford. Travelling between Commonwealth Caribbean and French Caribbean islands can be expensive and field research would have had to be done on two separate trips²¹. I am grateful, however, to the *Lambda Foundation* for presenting me with the *Nicole LaViolette Friends of Lambda Prize* which greatly helped to finance my fieldwork.

Due to limited financial funds and time constraints, I was not able to do in person interviews with Jamaican activists. Interviews with Jamaican activists were conducted over the telephone or through Skype. In comparison, all interviews with Guadeloupean activists were done in person. The principal reason why face-to-face interviews with Guadeloupean activists were prioritized was the fact that almost no information about LGBTQ activism on the island could be ascertained from outside Guadeloupe. Online resources for Guadeloupean LGBTQ activist groups often contain minimal or outdated information. With my previous experience in Guadeloupe, I was aware that many people do not urgently reply to emails or readily answer their telephone, making it difficult to communicate from a faraway country. It was imperative to go to Guadeloupe to get any information.

²¹ Flight connections between Guadeloupe and Jamaica are quite expensive, time consuming and often require passengers to transfer through Canada or the U.S. There are no commercial boat connections between these two islands as they are geographical very far apart. Unfortunately, flight connections *between* Caribbean islands are limited while connections from northern countries (i.e., U.S., France, Canada, UK) to the Caribbean are more frequent.

On the other hand, in Jamaica many LGBTQ activist groups and individual activists have a significant online presence and actively keep their information up-to-date. These LGBTQ individuals and groups in Jamaica were fairly accessible by email and telephone. I was able to get the interviews and information I needed by using the internet, the telephone or Skype. With the notable Jamaican diaspora in Canada and the friendly relationship between Canadian and Jamaican activists, there was a greater possibility of meeting up with a Jamaican LGBTQ activist visiting Canada than a visiting Guadeloupean activist. Indeed, I did meet up informally with one Jamaican LGBTQ activist in Canada, not to conduct interviews though, but to participate in pro-LGBTQ mobilizations and consciousness raising events. Ultimately, in-person interviews with Jamaican activists would have permitted greater similarity between the Guadeloupean and Jamaican fieldwork. Despite this, the research contributes important new information about Caribbean LGBTQ equality and has a solid methodological footing.

Another limitation of the research is that I am an outsider to the LGBTQ communities being studied in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. My outsider status can be seen as both a limitation or a benefit. Being a Canadian, white, woman, I am not representative of the communities I observed. After having completed fieldwork, I did feel more connected to the communities being researched as I was familiar with the activists and their struggles. This fluid positioning has shaped the research and created advantages and disadvantages to being an outsider (Acker, 2000: 205).

A final obstacle encountered during the research process was the language barrier. Being an anglophone Canadian who has practiced French my entire life and has previously lived in Guadeloupe, I still had some difficulty understanding French-speaking participants. The primary reason for this was because specific local words and expressions were used by participants who

also spoke at a fast pace. Transcribing French interviews was difficult as some words and phrases on the audio recordings were unclear, partly due to the intonation and volume of participants' voices. Although this was a challenge, it was not particularly hard to overcome.

The aforementioned limitations were the obstacles encountered during the research process and are some any researcher might encounter while conducting fieldwork. Despite these limitations, the research is still of great benefit contributing important information to the realm of LGBTQ Caribbean studies as is outlined in the next section.

2.5 Benefits of the Research

First and foremost, a main benefit of this research is that it contributes an original perspective to the field of Caribbean LGBTQ studies. Coming from a historical institutionalist angle and looking at two islands that are not usually compared, this research offers a fresh take on LGBTQ activism in the Caribbean. Influenced by Caribbean gender and sexuality ideas, LGBTQ studies and queer theories, this research aims to fill a gap in knowledge about LGBTQ activism in the Caribbean while also bringing to the forefront the unending diversity of the Caribbean region. This innovative approach will hopefully stimulate consciousness-raising experiences for interview participants and individuals of the general public who encounter the final research product.

Another benefit of the research is that it contributes to the increased visibility of Caribbean LGBTQ activism. It provides an additional space to publicize to the broader international community the activist work being accomplished in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. The opinions and ideas of LGBTQ activists leaders have another space to reach the wider public. This research will also hopefully contribute to cross-island information sharing between LGBTQ

groups and be another resource for activists to become informed of LGBTQ movement initiatives in neighbouring islands. This could potentially lead to stronger solidarity networks between LGBTQ groups on different islands and increased awareness of the diverse struggles in the region.

In short, the several benefits of the research play a part in the advancement of LGBTQ equality in the communities studied. The feminist, queer and grounded theory methodologies guiding the research, along with the data collection techniques of content analysis and interviews, provide a unique approach to analyzing LGBTQ equality in the Caribbean. The methodological tools used and the multiple data collection methods give this research a solid methodological base. Well-built theoretical and methodological frameworks have fostered a strong analysis of the research results, as is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Analysis of Research Results

Keeping the research question in mind— which asks what key institutional factors can explain the variance in LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica— it can be seen that variances in the level of LGBTQ equality between Guadeloupe and Jamaica can be explained by analyzing the different political, legal and socio-cultural historical institutions of these two islands.

Historical institutions have influenced the struggle for LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica by generating dissimilar levels of LGBTQ equality before the law, by contributing to the contrast in strength of the local movements and also by preserving similar levels of inadequate LGBTQ equality in social and cultural spaces of society on the two islands. Historical institutions with a political or legal dimension have created significantly different levels of LGBTQ legal equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica while socio-cultural historical institutions have helped to establish a similar level of LGBTQ equality in social and cultural realms.

The central conclusion that can be drawn from this research initiative is that historical institutions have created very different political and legal environments in which the LGBTQ community has struggled for rights and equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Yet, at the same time, they have created a similar socio-cultural realm in which the LGBTQ community finds itself positioned. The different LGBTQ political and legal situation that historical institutions have created for Guadeloupe and Jamaica has resulted in a very different lived legal equality for LGBTQ citizens and a different way to conduct activism depending on which island one inhabits. On the contrary, the LGBTQ socio-cultural environments in Guadeloupe and Jamaica have been influenced by comparable longstanding cultural and social institutions, which has resulted in similar lived experiences by the LGBTQ communities and approaches to LGBTQ activism on the two islands.

Throughout this chapter, key historical institutions in Guadeloupe and Jamaica that have influenced LGBTQ equality and activism will be discussed and dissected so as to better understand their influence. Starting with the examination of political institutions, I look at three key institutions: independence status, elected officials and laws and legislation. The subsequent section delves into legal historical institutions, looking primarily at the organization of the court systems and important court cases related to LGBTQ discrimination and equality. The final section of the chapter looks at four main cultural or social institutions that have influenced the struggle for LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica those being 1) dominant gender and sexuality norms, 2) national and Caribbean identity, 3) religion and 4) cultural expressions.

3.1 Political Historical Institutions and their Different Influence on LGBTQ Equality

As previously mentioned, the diverse political historical institutions present in Guadeloupe and Jamaica have created different political environments in which LGBTQ people live and in which LGBTQ activists fight for equality. In Guadeloupe LGBTQ people have full legal equality, which means that they are able to marry someone of the same sex and are legally protected against discrimination on the basis of their sexuality or gender. It is quite different in Jamaica where LGBTQ people (and more specifically gay men and MSMs) are criminalized under the *Offences Against the Person Act* (also called *the buggery law*) and do not have legal protections against discrimination (Jamaica. Ministry of Justice, 1864). Three types of historical institutions with a political dimension that have greatly influenced the LGBTQ community in Guadeloupe and Jamaica are independence status, elected officials and laws and legislation. Not only have these political historical institutions shaped the lives of LGBTQ people, but they have also

differently shaped the way activism is carried out and the targets of activist efforts in these two islands.

Independence Status

The independence status or level of sovereignty can greatly affect and shape all aspects of a country, territory or individual. It can dictate what languages are readily spoken, what form the government takes and what health or education services are available to citizens. The level of independence and sovereignty of a place or person therefore also influences LGBTQ equality and LGBTQ activism. For both Guadeloupe and Jamaica, their independence status has had an effect on LGBTQ equality and activism within their borders.

To discuss briefly the notion of independence, for a state to be considered independent it must have some level of autonomy or sovereignty. The traditional dominant conception of sovereignty is most readily defined as the “exclusive political authority exercised by a state over a given territory” (Agnew, 2005: 456). A more thorough way to describe independence and sovereignty would be Stephen Krasner’s explanation of the four types of state sovereignty, those being interdependence, domestic, Westphalian and international legal sovereignty (or international recognition) (2001: 231). Under this four tiered definition of sovereignty, a state or territory can be seen as sovereign under one of these categories, but perhaps not under another (Krasner, 2001: 233). With this in mind, Jamaica has been an independent state since 1962, having had full control over its borders and being recognized as independent by the international community. In the Caribbean region with its various sized islands, states and territories may exercise some types of sovereignty and still not be considered independent while some may not exercise other types of sovereignty and still be considered independent. Godfrey Baldacchino

underlines this complexity noting that the “line between sovereignty and non-sovereignty can prove difficult” especially for small states and territories (2010: 31). Multiple types and variants of sovereignty exist including “perforated sovereignty,” “overlapping sovereignty” or “graduated sovereignty,” all of which are often seen in relation to small and micro states (Baldacchino, 2010: 27). Sovereignty is a contested concept and can also be interpreted at the individual level focusing on the power and autonomy of an individual or a non-state collective.

There are several islands and pieces of land in the Caribbean that are not recognized as independent or sovereign by the international community as they are politically attached to a larger independent state who oversees their governmental operations, and is in charge of their foreign affairs or interactions with other states. These non-independent places are often classified as “overseas territories,” “unincorporated territories,” “associated states,” “*départements d’outre-mer*,” “*collectivités d’outre-mer*” or “protectorates” (Bonilla, 2013: 156). As mentioned before, this is the case of Guadeloupe being a *département d’outre-mer* and a fully incorporated region of the French Republic. These non-independent territories often blur the lines between traditional ideas of independence and non-independence and dispel the notion that independence is the ultimate goal to be achieved. In the words of Bonilla, “[t]he global processes that converge in the Caribbean show that the sovereign nation is a myth” (2013: 156).

Being an independent state has affected LGBTQ people and activists living in Jamaica. It can be seen that the country’s independence status has contributed to the continued criminalization of same-sex sexual relations and has pushed LGBTQ activist groups to search for foreign funding. Yet, on the other hand, it has also helped to create a strong locally rooted LGBTQ movement.

For Jamaica, independence was an opportunity to peacefully break away from British traditions and colonially imposed laws (Meditz and Hanratty, 1989: 47). It could have also been an opportunity to abolish the longstanding buggery law and to establish new laws that better reflected Jamaican values. Instead, British laws and government structures were perpetuated or protected by constitutional provision and appropriated as Jamaican political institutions (Jackson, in press). The British buggery law was therefore further enshrined into Jamaican law during the transition to independence rather than being abolished (Jackson, in press). This reproduction of British structures was due to “the lasting imprint of the British parliamentary legacy on Jamaican society” and “it’s people’s respect for the rule of law and the British Westminster system of government” (Meditz and Hanratty, 1989: 47). This appropriation and respect for British political systems has made it harder for activists to abolish the buggery law. The inherited buggery law has been so engrained that it is viewed by some as being a part of Jamaican heritage and cultural values.

Also, Jamaica as an independent state is no longer under the strict supervision of a European power and has significantly less pressure to conform to European political norms. Once independent, the Jamaican national government and the Jamaican Supreme Court became the highest authorities responsible for the functioning of the Jamaican state. Except for the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (a final court of appeal) in the United Kingdom, there is no overarching authority to pressure or to force the Jamaican state to adopt more progressive laws towards LGBTQ equality (Meditz and Hanratty, 1989: 116). However, Jamaica is a signatory to international human rights treaties like the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights, the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the country is also a member of

various international organizations (United Nations, Organization of American States), all of which put pressure on the Jamaican government to respect human rights (Organization of American States, 2014; United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2014). These treaties and agreements are often non-binding and as one participant noted, “they’re seen as foreign and, you know, we are being forced to do it [sign the treaties] for aid” (interview 106). At the very least, these international treaties provide useful tools for activists to mount legal challenges against the contradictory actions of the government so as to improve LGBTQ legal equality through the courts (interview 106). As the same Jamaican activist pointed out, “independence made it more difficult to get rid of some of these laws, clearly, because now we have to depend on very parochial politicians rather than politicians who, you know, because of international treaties, like England has signed, they’re forced to do these changes” (interview 106). This activist in a similar vein also highlighted that “independence has made it challenging for us to get rid of these laws because we are no longer plugged into the European human rights [system], which...has dealt with this issue long ago. It [independence] has made it more complicated” (interview 106).

Looking at the broader regional picture, all independent anglophone countries in the Caribbean, except the Bahamas, still have laws criminalizing same-sex sexual relations (Carroll and Itaborahy, 2015: 122). These independent anglophone countries are the only islands in the Caribbean that continue to have laws criminalizing same-sex intimacy, as all non-independent territories and all non-anglophone independent islands no longer have such laws (Carroll and Itaborahy, 2015: 28). It is clear to see that engrained British colonial influences in conjunction with state independence has made abolishing laws criminalizing same-sex intimacy more difficult in the anglophone Caribbean.

Jamaican independence has also dictated that LGBTQ activists access resources and funds from foreign sources abroad because little or none is provided by the Jamaican government. The now previous Jamaican government led by the left-leaning People's National Party (PNP) and headed by ex-Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller (along with the previous centre-right Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) government led by ex-Prime Minister Bruce Golding) did not view LGBTQ issues as a priority and so did not fund or give money to LGBTQ organizations in Jamaica. This has forced LGBTQ organizations such as *J-FLAG*, *AIDS-Free World* and *Quality of Citizenship Jamaica* to search for funding from private donors or from abroad, from sources outside Jamaica (interview 100).

In addition to several organizations being funded from outside Jamaica, independence has facilitated an environment which has given rise to a strong, visible and mostly local movement for LGBTQ equality in Jamaica. Most LGBTQ related activist organization present in the country have been conceptualized in Jamaica, by Jamaicans and with the specific purpose of serving the Jamaican LGBTQ community. This is most definitely the case for *J-FLAG* and *Quality of Citizenship Jamaica* as well as for other organizations that have less of a focus on LGBTQ issues, like *Jamaica Aids Support for Life* and *Jamaicans for Justice*.

In Guadeloupe the case is quite different. Being politically connected to Europe, where the decriminalization of same-sex sex, LGBTQ non-discrimination measures and marriage equality have readily been adopted, Guadeloupe is in a different position than other Caribbean states that are striving to create strong, independent and economically viable countries for their citizens. The non-independent *département d'outre-mer* status has an all-encompassing effect which has imposed progressive legal equality on Guadeloupe and has allowed for necessary public funds to support LGBTQ-related initiatives. But at the same time, non-independence and

the subsequent imposition of “western” legal norms has hindered the development and dissemination of locally created and Guadeloupean built LGBTQ organizations and ideas.

Guadeloupe being politically attached to France is in actuality connected to a country where LGBTQ rights are recognized in the law. The French national government has final say over what is the law in Guadeloupe and sets a precedent that is to be followed by all *départements* of the Republic. Owing to the fact that all national laws passed in France apply to Guadeloupe, with only a few exceptions²², the *mariage pour tous* law passed in France in May 2013 automatically brought to Guadeloupe the legalization of same-sex marriage and extended adoption rights to married same-sex couples (Amnesty International, 2015 :154; France. Journal Officiel de la République Française, 2013). At that time Guadeloupe, along with its fellow *départements français d’Amérique*, became some of the first islands in the Caribbean where same-sex marriages could be legally performed and recognized by the state, alongside only the special municipalities of the Caribbean Netherlands (non-independent Dutch Caribbean islands) that had attained legalization in a similar way. In fact, in late 2015, all Caribbean islands that have legalized same-sex marriage are non-independent (or not fully independent) islands, including Puerto Rico, U.S. Virgin Islands, Martinique, Bonaire and Saba (Associated Press, 2015; Geerman and Coto, 2012). Being under France’s influence as equally part of the French Republic has given the Guadeloupean LGBTQ community access to significant legal equality.

Another positive that has come out of Guadeloupe’s status as a non-independent territory of France is that the national government supports the LGBTQ cause and subsequently funds LGBTQ groups and initiatives in Guadeloupe. Guadeloupean LGBTQ activist groups have had access to funding from the national French government to run their organizations, provide their

²² As noted by Destouches, article 73 of the French Constitution outlines that the legislative regime and administration of DOMs (*départements d’outre-mer*) are the same as for “metropolitan” or mainland *départements* with only some legal exceptions to accommodate the unique situations of DOMs (2012: 11).

services and conduct research initiatives. Guadeloupe being by political default part of Europe is a member of the European Union as a *région ultrapériphérique* and, as a result, activist groups have been able to access European Union funding and grants (Guadeloupe. Conseil Régional de la Guadeloupe, n.d.). As one participant mentioned, the European Union funded 75% of a large-scale research initiative a local organization was conducting on the MSM community in Guadeloupe (interview 102). Finding funding for LGBTQ initiatives in Guadeloupe did not seem to pose an obstacle for activists on the island as they had many avenues to seek funds.

A negative outcome for LGBTQ activism in Guadeloupe that is in part a result of the island's political attachment with France is that its local grassroots Guadeloupean organizations are weak. A significant portion of the most effective LGBTQ associations in Guadeloupe are satellite groups of well established LGBTQ organizations in mainland France. For example *Aides Guadeloupe* (or *Ed Gwadeloup* in the local *Kréyòl* language) is an offshoot of the mainland France organization *Aides*. Some of the more local and Guadeloupean LGBTQ groups on the island, like *Rainbow Gwada* and *Ó Pli Natirél*, are struggling to have a notable membership or do not provide consistent services. Other locally created LGBTQ groups, *An Nou Allé* and *Tjenbé Rèd*, no longer exist or have a presence in Guadeloupe. That is not to say that there are not strong local Guadeloupean-created LGBTQ groups. One of the strongest social LGBTQ associations is *Private Party*, which organizes huge LGBTQ dancing soirées on beaches and in dance halls around the island. But unlike Jamaica, where LGBTQ organizations have their genesis in Jamaica and specifically address Jamaican LGBTQ issues, in Guadeloupe key LGBTQ organizations have been imported from mainland France and have not organically emerged on the island. The same reasoning can be extended to activists themselves: of the Guadeloupean activist participants interviewed, two were from or had lived a significant portion

of their life in another *département français d'Amérique*, Martinique. Another participant was originally from mainland France but had lived in Guadeloupe for over 20 years.

Elected Officials

Another political institution that has had significant influence on the LGBTQ community is the “elected official”. One of the ways to establish more LGBTQ friendly legal rights is through elected officials, getting them to openly speak in support of the LGBTQ cause and to lead the way for change by proposing more inclusive laws and legislation (Haider-Markel, 2010; Herrick, 2009). Creating alliances with politicians was a useful strategy for LGBTQ activists in Brazil for example, as noted by De la Dehesa (2010: 116). The influence of elected officials can also be harnessed to promote social inclusion of LGBTQ people and change gender and sexuality norms.

In Jamaica there have been some alliances created between elected officials and the LGBTQ community. In speaking with interview participants, it became quite clear that creating alliances with parliamentarians and other municipal politicians is becoming more and more important, but it is not seen as an effective way to achieve change in Jamaica. One example of such partnership with an elected official, as noted by an activist, was with the mayor of Kingston and St Andrew, Angela Brown Burke, who attended *J-FLAG*’s 16th anniversary and publicly expressed her support for the LGBTQ community (interview 105; J-FLAG, 2014: 11). Another participant said that,

we had some politicians, I think, make very cautious statements, you know, like the Minister of Justice has said that he doesn’t support the law [the buggery law], but, you know, he has this ‘follow the will of the people’. So at least there’s an opening there.
(interview 106)

At the national level, the now ex-Prime Minister of Jamaica, Portia Simpson-Miller, was more LGBTQ-friendly than her predecessor, Bruce Golding. She declared that she would allow LGBTQ individuals to serve in her cabinet and in government, unlike Bruce Golding who was outspoken against the LGBTQ community saying that he would not allow out LGBTQ persons serve in his cabinet (Helber, 2012: 121). However, Portia Simpson-Miller and her government announced that there would be “[a] ‘conscience vote’ by MPs on [the current] legislation criminalizing consensual same-sex relations” before April 2014, but this never happened (Amnesty International, 2015: 205). Portia Simpson-Miller did not review the buggery law as promised during her campaign for Prime Minister.

In Jamaica, there are few parliamentarians or nationally elected representatives that have come out publicly in full support of the LGBTQ community. There are some parliamentarians supportive of the LGBTQ cause who are known to activists, yet they do not express their support publicly and as a result do not openly engage with and challenge other politicians on LGBTQ rights.

In Jamaica, as in most countries, elected politicians are quite preoccupied with being reelected and keeping power. Seeing as Jamaica is a very religious nation and a place where there is much opposition to the LGBTQ community, elected representatives may play themselves up as anti-LGBTQ in order to garner more support from the Jamaican electorate. Elected representatives may not publicly express their backing of the LGBTQ community so as to get the support of a large number of voters and to not alienate those Jamaicans who oppose progressive ideas about gender and sexuality. As mentioned by one activist, there is a significant number of Jamaicans who are homophobic or against the progression of LGBTQ rights in the country and

elected officials take this into account when campaigning and thinking of reelection (interview 100).

According to one activist, national politics in Jamaica is “a lot about the MP [member of parliament] and what they can give the people,” namely what services they can provide to their constituents on an individual level, such as giving money directly to parents to pay for their children’s schooling or helping an elderly person to the hospital (interview 100). In some areas elected officials have a citizenry that is under or uneducated; according to one interviewee, some MPs could use this to their advantage purposely under-developing their constituents keeping them undereducated and politically uninformed so as to continue to get their vote (interview 100). Elected officials may assume that people in these areas reject LGBTQ identities and cannot understand the complexities of gender and sexuality. Although more positive links have been made with elected officials, mostly at the local level, using the support of elected representatives to create political and legal change is not yet an effective way to improve the quality of life for the LGBTQ community in Jamaica.

In Guadeloupe the situation is slightly different, again in part owing to the fact that Guadeloupe is simply one part of France and not a sovereign entity. Local politicians do not have an abundance of influence at the national level as they represent one *département* among many that get their say in the French Republic. National, regional, departmental and municipal elected officials in Guadeloupe have been both supportive and opposed to the *mariage pour tous* law, being a hot topic of debate in 2013. As one participant noted, several locally elected officials in Guadeloupe have openly expressed their opposition to the *mariage pour tous* law, saying that it goes against traditional religious ideas (interview 104). Records from the vote on the 2013 *mariage pour tous* law shows that only one Guadeloupean representative in the National

Assembly, out of the four elected, voted in favour of the nationwide equal marriage law (Le Pelletier, 2013; Ponchelet, 2013). Guadeloupean elected official, socialist Eric Jalon voted in favour of the law while two elected representatives, Ary Chalus from the *Groupe radical, républicain, démocrate et progressiste*, and socialist Gabrielle Louis-Carabin, voted against the law (Le Pelletier, 2013; Ponchelet, 2013). The fourth elected representative for Guadeloupe, socialist Hélène Vainqueur-Christophe, did not even participate in the vote (Le Pelletier, 2013; Ponchelet, 2013). Despite only one Guadeloupean representative voting in favour of the law, it still passed and became law on the Caribbean island.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the *mariage pour tous* law was the project of the former National Assembly representative for *Guyane Française*, Christiane Taubira. Hailing from *Guyane Française*, another Caribbean DOM (*département d'outre-mer*) and DFA (*département français d'Amérique*), she was the French Minister of Justice when the law was debated and passed in the legislature. The *mariage pour tous* law has been henceforth called the *Loi Taubira* by activists in Guadeloupe and in France, and has a noteworthy Caribbean connection.

Laws and Legislation

The last historical institution with a political dimension that will be discussed and that has a significant impact on LGBTQ equality and activism is laws and legislation. Laws and legislation pertaining to the LGBTQ community in Guadeloupe couldn't be more different from those in Jamaica. Guadeloupe has laws and legislation that protect and equalize LGBTQ citizens while Jamaica's laws and legislation further stigmatize and criminalize LGBTQ persons.

To understand the laws and legislation most impactful for the LGBTQ community, author Kees Waaldijk's breakdown of the progression of LGBTQ legal equality into three main steps is quite useful. According to Waaldijk, the "three most prominent steps are: decriminalisation, anti-discrimination, and partnership legislation" whereby each step happens in the sequence mentioned and each country progresses at its own distinct pace (2000: 66). For example, a country will not introduce same-sex marriage legislation before it has decriminalized consensual same-sex sexual relations or before it has introduced non-discrimination measures. This recognition of distinct levels of legal equality is very useful in the comparison of LGBTQ equality between countries.

In Guadeloupe, LGBTQ individuals have complete legal equality with other Guadeloupe and French citizens, having the right to engage in consensual sex with whichever gender/sex they choose, having the right to live free of discrimination based on their sexuality or gender identity, having the right to marry someone of the same (or opposite) sex and having the right to have children with someone of the same (or opposite) sex whether through adoption or by another means. In Guadeloupe, all three steps of legal equality (decriminalization, anti-discrimination and partnership legislation) have been achieved. One Guadeloupean activist noted that the inclusive laws towards the LGBTQ community, most notably the *mariage pour tous* law, has encouraged and contributed to the visibility of the LGBTQ population on the island (interview 102).

The inclusivity of the laws and legislation in Guadeloupe is a result of being a part of France. Due to this political attachment with France, Guadeloupe has had progressive laws towards the LGBTQ community long before other countries in the Caribbean. As Waaldijk points out the Nordic and Napoleonic countries, of which France is one, have led the way being

some of the first nations to achieve all three steps of legal equality, but they are also the countries where same-sex sex has been decriminalized the longest (2000: 66). During the French revolution period, “France was the first European country to decriminalise homosexuality on a permanent basis” in 1791 (Waldijk, 2000: 68). When “homosexuality” was decriminalized in France, so too was it then decriminalized in Guadeloupe. The decriminalization that happened in France automatically applied to Guadeloupe as one of its colonies. This is very different than the Jamaican context, where the first step of decriminalization has yet to occur.

In Jamaica, LGBTQ people have little equality before the law and there are no specific legal protections for the community. This is in part due to Jamaica’s past relationship with the United Kingdom. Jamaica having been a former British colony for many years inherited laws from the United Kingdom or copied legislation from the British Empire. The 1533 *English Buggery Act* introduced by Henry VIII of England had influence in Jamaica during the colonization process (Asal, Sommer and Harwood, 2012: 325; Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 415). Later, in 1861, the *Offences Against the Persons Act* which came into effect in the United Kingdom entrenched the criminalization of same-sex sex, but no longer punished such acts with the death penalty (Asal, Sommer and Harwood, 2012: 325, 345). This *Offences Against the Persons Act* became law in Jamaica only a few years later in 1864 (Jamaica. Ministry of Justice, 1864). As noted once again by Waldijk, Nordic and Napoleonic countries led the way in the development of legal equality for LGBTQ people in Europe, while other countries like the British Empire “seriously reinforced the rules” and took much longer to decriminalize same-sex sexual relations (Waldijk, 2000: 80, 63). This reinforcing of the criminalization of same-sex intimacy was surely exported to Jamaica and strongly cemented there during its time as a colony.

It wasn't until 1967 that England and Wales and later Scotland in 1980 decriminalized²³ same-sex sexual relations, five years after Jamaican independence, so British legal decisions no longer automatically applied to Jamaica (Waldijk, 2000: 71).

In Jamaica today all three steps towards legal LGBTQ equality have yet to be achieved. Consensual same-sex intimacy between men is still criminalized and those found guilty can serve up to 10 years of imprisonment (Jamaica. Ministry of Justice, 1864). It must be said that in practice this law is rarely used to convict and imprison people. It primarily serves as a way to engrain and legitimize in the public mind the notion that LGBTQ people are criminals. Seeing as Jamaica has not decriminalized same-sex sexual relations, it is not surprising then that there are no legal anti-discrimination measures put in place to protect the LGBTQ community and that there is absolutely no mention of legal partnership between same-sex couples (Itaborahy and Zhu, 2013: 88). As academic Kyle Jackson points out, "it is difficult or impossible to argue for sexual orientation protections when the intimate acts that significantly constitute that orientation are still criminalized" (in press).

In sum, it is clear that the political environments in which LGBTQ people live and in which LGBTQ activism is conducted are quite different in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. With decriminalization, anti-discrimination measures and legal same-sex partnerships as law in Guadeloupe, and also with its non-independent *département* status and outspoken local politicians, there is a significant level of legal equality for LGBTQ citizens. On the other hand, in

²³ It must be noted that the British *Sexual Offences Act* of 1967 only brought partial or semi-decriminalization as it stipulated different ages of consent for heterosexual and homosexual sex (Asal, Sommer and Harwood, 2012: 325; Waldijk, 2000: 71). In 2001 the age of consent was made equal for "same and different sex sexual acts" in the United Kingdom. However, this did not apply to British associated territories and still today Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat and Turks and Caicos Islands have unequal ages of consent for homosexual and heterosexual consensual sex (Carroll and Itaborahy, 2015: 31, 32). It should also be noted that Canada too still has unequal ages of consent for engaging in same-sex sex and heterosexual sex (Carroll and Itaborahy, 2015: 32). France, in 1942 carried out the semi-re-criminalization of homosexuality with the introduction of higher ages of consent for same-sex partners which lasted until 1982 and applied to all DOMs (Carroll and Itaborahy, 2015: 30; Waldijk, 2000: 69-70).

Jamaica same-sex sex is criminalized, LGBTQ non-discrimination measures are non-existent, politicians are not openly supportive of the LGBTQ community and independence has contributed to the difficulty of passing LGBTQ friendly legislation. It is clear there is not a significant level of legal equality for LGBTQ citizens in Jamaica. However, there is a strong, local and vibrant movement for LGBTQ equality in the country. The different political historical institutions (that is, primarily independence status, elected officials and laws and legislation) have shaped in unique ways the political realm in Guadeloupe and Jamaica, through which LGBTQ persons navigate their daily lives and LGBTQ activists find different opportunities to fight for change. Having examined the important political historical institutions, it is necessary now to analyze the influence of key legal historical institutions on LGBTQ activism in Guadeloupe and Jamaica.

3.2 Legal Historical Institutions and their Effects on LGBTQ Activism

Legal institutions can also play a role in influencing LGBTQ equality and activism as they can provide an accelerated route or create an impasse on the path towards greater equality. Some legal institutions can even force activists to go through certain channels to achieve change rather than others, making activism a more laborious and time consuming task. Two main legal historical institutions that have affected LGBTQ activism in Guadeloupe and Jamaica are the type of court system and the legal challenges brought before the courts.

Court System Organization

The type and organization of the legal system can influence LGBTQ activism and the level of equality felt by LGBTQ people. As Smith rightly notes, “courts have played an important role in

the evolution of lesbian and gay rights policies” namely if they prove to be an efficient avenue for change (Smith, 2008: ix). In some cases, judicial bodies or courts have been used to undertake changes in policy instead of going through the legislature (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 410). This has been true for policy changes to laws criminalizing same-sex intimacy in many countries that have a common law judicial system (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 427).

Jamaica has a common law legal system which is again an inherited legal historical institution from when Jamaica was a colony of the United Kingdom (Jamaica. Supreme Court of Jamaica, 2013). As Asal, Sommer and Harwood note, “nations with legal systems based on English common law inherited a prohibition on homosexual acts, which influenced the provision of gay rights - in some cases for centuries to come” (Asal, Sommer and Harwood, 2012: 321). In countries with common law systems, it can prove difficult to change longstanding sodomy laws through the legislative branch where there is high dependence on elected officials to introduce policy changes (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 428). This can be seen to be true in the case of Jamaica. In common law countries, the decriminalization of same-sex sexual relations has often been achieved through the courts with judges setting a new precedent (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 430). Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent highlight that “policy change is more likely to be initiated by judges in countries where elected officials would prefer to avoid being held accountable for their stance on the issue” (2013: 413). This avenue for change could prove useful for Jamaica where many elected officials do not want to speak out in favour of LGBTQ friendly policies and where there are “strong religious constituencies” (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 430).

Guadeloupe's courts abide by the civil law legal system, which was a transferred organizational structure from its historic colonial authority, France (Del Cerro, 2010: 169). This civil law system follows the civil and penal codes written during Napoleonic times (Del Cerro, 2010: 170). In Guadeloupe there are several courts. There are police courts that deal with traffic violations, etc., civil courts that handle matters of civil justice, divorce, etc., an administrative court to address actions involving the *département* or state, and lastly a criminal court called the *Cour d'Assises* dealing with criminal cases (Del Cerro, 2010: 174). Often in countries with a civil law system, changes to policies emerge and are more easily adopted through the legislative bodies (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 428). This can be seen in regards to the policy change of decriminalization of same-sex intimacy, where most civil law countries decriminalized and revoked the law through legislative means (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 428). To be more specific, "in 97% of the cases, when a sodomy provision was repealed in a Civil Law country, the decision was non-judicial" (Sommer, Asal, Zuber and Parent, 2013: 427). Most civil law countries have long decriminalized same-sex intimacy or have never criminalized it in the first place because the law did not exist when the legal system was inherited from France. In the case of Guadeloupe, it can be seen that the civil law system has played a role in attaining more inclusive laws for the LGBTQ community by pushing policy change through the legislature rather than through the courts, as can be seen with the *mariage pour tous* law of 2013. The different legal systems in Guadeloupe and Jamaica have created contrasting avenues in which to go about policy change for LGBTQ issues.

Prominent Court Cases

Looking specifically at LGBTQ related court cases, it can be seen that challenging legislation through the courts is a strategy used much more in Jamaica than in Guadeloupe. In Jamaica, several legal challenges have been brought forward that aim to force the state to protect LGBTQ rights, while in Guadeloupe legal challenges to LGBTQ-related laws are few as other more effective methods are used to achieve change.

There have been several important legal challenges put forward in Jamaica to chip away at and break down the anti-LGBTQ legislation in the country. This method of legally challenging discriminatory and criminalizing legislation through the courts has been a readily used technique by Jamaican LGBTQ activists and one that has been used in other anglophone Caribbean islands. One of the legal cases brought forward in Jamaica by *AIDS-Free World* on behalf of activist Javed Jaghai was a constitutional challenge to the Jamaican buggery law (Amnesty International, 2015: 205). Started in February 2013, the challenge unfortunately was halted after the activist and his family started receiving threats (Amnesty International, 2015: 205).

Another challenge that went before the Jamaican Supreme Court was a lawsuit against television media companies that had refused to air LGBTQ awareness and tolerance ads produced by *AIDS-Free World* (J-FLAG, 2013: 7). The Supreme Court sided with the media companies, but the pronouncement from the President of the Constitutional Court that “homosexuals should receive the same rights as every other Jamaican” despite not being explicitly stated in the Jamaican *Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms*, was a victory in itself (interview 106). As noted by one activist, part of the idea of presenting multiple legal challenges is to make people aware of LGBTQ issues by getting the media to print news articles about the court cases and creating discussion among the Jamaican public (interview 106). Legal

cases, whether they are successful or not, can create community for LGBTQ people by bringing them together and can increase the visibility of the LGBTQ community or can be important training and learning experiences to improve activist strategies. Multiple challenges are a way to wear down oppositional officials and reinforce key notions of inclusivity. Targeting vulnerable discriminatory laws and other legal “low hanging fruit” is a way to keep momentum going for the LGBTQ movement in Jamaica (interview 106).

The route to LGBTQ equality by way of legal challenges to strike down LGBTQ discriminatory laws has been a strategy used by activists around the world (for Canada see Smith, 1999; for the United States see Mezey, 2007). Other related legal cases in the wider Caribbean include the case, also brought forth by *AIDS-Free World*, challenging the immigration laws of Belize and Trinidad and Tobago that ban the entry of “homosexuals” into their territory (interview 106). From 2011 to 2015, legal challenges have been one of the most commonly used methods to affect change on LGBTQ issues in the legal-politico realm in Jamaica.

Unlike Jamaica, Guadeloupe has not seen significant court cases mounted against anti-LGBTQ laws due in part because of the type of legal system and the relatively LGBTQ-inclusive laws of the island. When speaking with Guadeloupean participants, they did not highlight significant LGBTQ-related court cases or emphasize the importance of the courts in their struggle to achieve change. Legal challenges are not a central focus for activists’ efforts in Guadeloupe. This is a key difference between how activism is carried out in Guadeloupe versus in Jamaica and highlights the influence of the legal system on LGBTQ activism in the two islands. Laws, legislation and other legal historical institutions are not the only focus of attention of LGBTQ activist efforts as social and cultural institutions also influence activism and significantly shape the everyday lives of local LGBTQ individuals.

3.3 Socio-Cultural Historical Institutions and their Similar Influence on LGBTQ Equality

Political and legal historical institutions are not alone in their influence on lived LGBTQ equality. Social and cultural historical institutions also play a significant role in influencing LGBTQ equality and the level of comfortability LGBTQ people feel in certain places. Unlike the very diverse political and legal environments created by historical institutions, it can be seen that similar social and cultural institutions at work in both Guadeloupe and Jamaica have created similar socio-cultural environments for LGBTQ individuals on these islands. The most significant social and cultural institutions that influence the struggle for LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica are gender and sexuality norms, national and regional identity, religious beliefs and cultural expressions.

Dominant Norms of Gender and Sexuality

Within both Guadeloupe and Jamaica, there is a social importance placed on behaving in accordance with normative ideas about women, men, femininity, masculinity and heterosexuality. The significant influence of longstanding gender and sexuality norms was nicely highlighted by a participant from Guadeloupe who also commented on how these norms perpetuate homophobia:

Et dans la tradition ici, l'homme, ça doit être fort, doit être multi-partenaire. Ça gêne personne. La femme doit être respectable. Tu vois, il y a vraiment une différence dans la... dans l'image de l'homme et de la femme, l'image donnée par la société. Et c'est pour ça aussi je crois que ça doit entretenir l'homophobie parce qu'un homme qui n'est plus tout à fait dans le... dans ce rôle homme-femme, il

dérange. Tu vois? Il n'est plus, il n'a plus son rôle d'homme. C'est, et comme la norme ici est très extrêmement importante, ça dérange tout le monde. (interview 104)

These culturally normative ideas have roots in the colonial past and continue to linger. For example, in Guadeloupe and Jamaica, during the long period of slavery, women and men were expected to perform different roles as dictated by plantation owners or overseers (Turner, 2011: 39). These gendered duties became engrained over time. One Jamaican participant noted the following about gender roles during the era of slavery:

the Jamaican experience of family was that the father, well the man, was expected to just breed. He was a breeder. That was his role, right? He was never expected to look after the children. That was the master's job. He was just to breed, right? And so that's why today we still have a situation where many Jamaican men, they have multiple baby mothers. (interview 106)

Another participant from Guadeloupe echoed this sentiment by explaining that during the era of slavery men, or male slaves, were viewed as “le géniteur” (or reproducers) making it difficult to visualize men today as something other than a reproducer or a heterosexual man (interview 102).

There is, however, resistance to these dominant norms of gender, sex and sexuality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. *Carnaval* in Guadeloupe is an important space of resistance where public subversion of gender roles and gender fluidity are socially accepted. The Kingston gully²⁴ in Jamaica, where homeless transgender, lesbian and gay youth live openly their sexuality and gender identity, is another example of this resistance. Simply living as an out lesbian woman or

²⁴ The Kingston gully is home to the “Gully Queens” who are homeless LGBTQ individuals, living in the City of Kingston’s drainage system. For more information about the Gully Queens, see the informative *Vice News* (2014) documentary about the subject.

supporting a gay friend is also a type of resistance, more along the lines of infrapolitics where resistance is found in everyday actions and outside traditional political channels (Scott, 2005).

Socially entrenched ideas about gender and sexuality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica have been an obstacle for LGBTQ activist groups fighting for change. In part, this has been because issues of sex and sexual diversity are not readily discussed in public. As noted by one participant, “by and large Jamaicans don’t talk about sex” (interview 100). Without important discussions about sex, sexuality and gender, it can be hard to think critically about existing social norms. As a result, education awareness campaigns, information seminars for parents and sensitivity training for police and medical professionals have been some of the initiatives put on by activists to foster positive social attitudes towards the LGBTQ community and to change rigid social norms.

Another way that gender and sexuality conventions, along with negative perceptions of LGBTQ people, have influenced activism in both Guadeloupe and Jamaica is that they have encouraged LGBTQ activists to partner with militants fighting for a related cause or to create an LGBTQ branch of operations within an existing organization. Instead of focusing solely on LGBTQ issues and being an “LGBTQ organization,” some groups have focused on another associated cause affecting the wider population (i.e. homelessness or HIV/AIDS) and have delegated a subsection of their organization to handle the LGBTQ-specific inquiries. For instance, groups in Guadeloupe such as *Eco Initiative* and *COREVIH* provide services to LGBTQ individuals, but their main focus is on helping abused women or eliminating HIV/AIDS more broadly. In Jamaica, organizations such as *Jamaica Aids Support for Life*, *Jamaicans for Justice* and the *Caribbean Vulnerable Communities Coalition* are quite active in promoting LGBTQ equality, though they do not focus solely on LGBTQ issues. This “twining of causes”

strategy has allowed these organizations to be more accessible to marginalized LGBTQ people, namely MSM, WSW, and individuals who do not identify under the LGBTQ spectrum. There is less of a fear of community stigmatization and discrimination when seeking services from non-LGBTQ focused associations than when soliciting help from LGBTQ explicit organizations. This twinning strategy has been useful for HIV/AIDS related groups that have an urgency to reach marginalized seropositive LGBTQ individuals so as to provide necessary tests and treatments. In brief, social norms regarding gender and sexuality which are rooted in historical experiences significantly shape LGBTQ activism and subsequently equality.

National Identity and Caribbean-ness

In addition to gender and sexuality norms, national and regional identity can play a large part in how a culture views LGBTQ equality and how its citizens treat LGBTQ people. Longstanding notions of cultural identity create a sense of inclusion among a people and can be very persuasive. In the words of Stuart Hall, “cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes” among a people (1998: 223). In Guadeloupe and Jamaica national identities, Caribbean identity and African-ness are key aspects of cultural identification that inform people’s views of the LGBTQ community. As noted by activists in both islands, the dominant portrayal of queerness is that of a white foreigner which makes it difficult to imagine local, black LGBTQ identities and which reinforces stereotypical cultural ideas. Activists highlight the importance of complicating this singular portrayal of LGBTQ identity and of making known the multiplicity of ways Caribbean queerness is expressed.

Within Jamaican culture, Caribbean-ness and African-ness are important aspects of national identity which remind citizens of their shared history. As noted by one participant:

“Caribbean identity carries within it African identity, which refuses homosexuality and Jamaicans want to return to the roots, to their African identity” (interview 100). Accepting “homosexuality” then would be an inherent contradiction to one’s African identity as would be believed by some.

African-ness is also a fundamental facet of Guadeloupean identity permeating many local cultural traditions, like Gwoka music for example. African-ness is, however, recognized as being simply one fragment alongside indigenous (Kalinago, Arawak) and European identities that have converged to create Guadeloupean identity. African and Caribbean identities readily reject colonially imposed ideas and prescriptions from “the west”. As one Guadeloupean activist pointed out : “elle [la Guadeloupe] rejette un peu tout ce qui vient de [la] métropole. Elle veut être autonome, à la limite même tu as des indépendantistes” (interview 104). For some, this rejection of imposed colonial ideas entails the rejection of “homosexuality” itself, because of the perpetuated false belief that colonial powers brought “homosexuality” to the colonies. As another activist noted: “there is nothing challenging the idea that Europeans brought [over] homosexuality” to the Caribbean (interview 100).

In Guadeloupe, Caribbean identity is not felt as strongly as Guadeloupean identity and subsequently French identity. This is partly because of the restricted economic and social interactions Guadeloupe has with the islands around it and its strong relationship with France. In recent years, there has been more of a push for Guadeloupe to become better connected with its geographic neighbours as Guadeloupeans are increasingly curious to discover the surrounding region and become familiar with the people that inhabit these nearby places. Caribbean identity, although less of a major identity signifier for Guadeloupeans, still does influence cultural acceptance of LGBTQ people.

In both, Guadeloupe and Jamaica, the dominant portrayal of LGBTQ individuals as being white, foreign or *the other* is in part a result of the cultural exportation of European and U.S. notions of LGBTQ identity. One participant highlighted that “the way that the media has brought queerness into Jamaica along certain lines and on certain bodies, usually a white male body, has basically concretized that this is a white man thing” (interview 100). LGBTQ identity is therefore not seen to be compatible with or be a feature of Caribbean identity. The same participant noted: “They’re [Jamaicans] like ‘That’s [homosexuality] a white man thing. We don’t do that. That is something that they brought to us, that is something that they taught us.’ So it is yet another relic of colonialism” (interview 100).

Activists from both Guadeloupe and Jamaica acknowledged that there are multiple Caribbean-specific ways to express LGBTQ identities and behaviours. LGBTQ people in Guadeloupe and Jamaica may not identify as being LGBTQ in the dominant North American sense, where being out, loud and proud are important to living a good queer life (interview 100). LGBTQ people in Guadeloupe and Jamaica don’t necessarily see queerness as an ascribed identity, but rather view how they love as an action or a behaviour. This is pointed out by one activist who said that “Queerness is not new to Jamaica. Queer visibility is what is new to Jamaica or queerness as identity versus queerness as practice” (interview 100). Caribbean specific ways of expressing LGBTQ behaviour or identity can be easily overlooked if these expressions do not match dominant portrayals of North American queerness. The same activist nicely illustrated how Caribbean expressions of queerness are often disregarded:

Not recognizing the ways that they [Jamaican LGBTQ people] are doing it
[expressing their sexuality/gender] already because it doesn’t look like the ways
you think it should look. Because what you need is for someone to come out, for the

family to grapple with their coming out and then for the family to now accept them as a queer person living an out lifestyle in the family. Because that does not happen, you ignore the way that Jamaicans have been accepting queerness for years.

(interview 100)

Historical institutionalized ideas about national and Caribbean identity along with African-ness pose a challenge to LGBTQ activists in the Caribbean. Activists must dispel the socio-cultural notion that being LGBTQ is a “western” import contradictory to Caribbean identity while also highlighting the multiple, Caribbean specific ways of expressing LGBTQ behaviours and identities.

Religious Beliefs

In a similar vein to national and Caribbean identity institutions, religious historical institutions also have a significant effect on the LGBTQ community in Guadeloupe and Jamaica as both islands have large religious populations. Certain religious groups propagate anti-LGBTQ rhetoric to their followers who then internalize these beliefs and perpetuate the social exclusion of LGBTQ people. This non-acceptance of LGBTQ persons hinders the level of equality felt by the LGBTQ community and makes it harder for activist groups to have a voice within and outside religious spaces.

This has sometimes been the case with Catholicism in Guadeloupe for example. In Guadeloupe, there is a significant population of Catholic churchgoers in part due to the past proliferation of the religion across slave plantations and the increased association of Catholicism with abolitionism during the 1800s (Didon, 2012: 5, 6). Still today, religion informs many societal values in Guadeloupe. As one activist mentioned, religious gay and lesbian individuals

may present themselves as bisexual in an attempt to conform, even if only slightly, to religious norms of sexuality and gender (interview 102). The same participant noted that: “quand le poids de la société, le poids de la religion va diminuer, du coup il y aura une plus grande ouverture d’esprit et les gens seront dans une plus grande tolérance aussi” (interview 102).

In Jamaica, the religious community is remarkably diverse, yet there is scant acceptance of LGBTQ identities and practices within religious spaces. The island is home to significant populations of Baptists, Pentecostals and Seventh Day Adventists as well as to smaller communities of Hindus, Rastafarians and Moravians among others (United Nations Statistics Division, 2014). More recently, Jamaica has seen right-wing and anti-LGBTQ religious groups from Canada and the U.S. re-locate to the island country to preach against LGBTQ acceptance. As these more extreme religious groups – populated by primarily Evangelical or Protestant followers – and their anti-LGBTQ views have become less tolerated in Canada and the U.S., they have moved to countries where they are more tolerated or even embraced and where little legislation against LGBTQ discrimination exists. This is not only the case for Jamaica but also for other places like Uganda²⁵ where more extreme religious groups and leaders, like Scott Lively²⁶, are pushing for drastic anti-LGBTQ legislation. These devout groups and leaders appeal to the religious and moral convictions of not only the Jamaican public, but also of lawmakers and media outlets in the country, persuading them to adopt anti-LGBTQ beliefs. These more extreme religious groups are well funded, primarily by “the global north,” and they

²⁵ For more information on the situation in Uganda where right-wing religious followers are preaching against LGBTQ inclusion, the documentary *God Loves Uganda* is a great source (Williams, 2014).

²⁶ Scott Lively is a well-known American pastor and attorney who travels across the globe preaching against LGBTQ equality and acceptance. He has had a significant influence in Uganda encouraging the further criminalization of LGBTQ people in the country. He is discussed in the documentary *God Loves Uganda* mentioned in the previous note (Williams, 2014).

actively organize or protest against the LGBTQ community (interview 106). In the words of one Jamaican activist:

There's also [a] very strong anti-gay movement made up of largely Christian right-wing persons who have lots of money and have, seemingly have the ear of parliamentarians or of key stakeholders in the parliament and they are seemingly well integrated into a number of other critical areas of national importance and law making, and advocacy and policy making. (interview 105)

Other religious groups, Rastafarians for example, also do not accept queerness ideologically. However, these groups do not actively mobilize or organize against the LGBTQ community (interview 105). It can be seen then the difficult position that LGBTQ groups find themselves in and the religious institutional obstacles they are up against. As one activist pointed out, “we [activists] are not as well-resourced as the churches and we don't have the captive audience like the churches because the churches in Jamaica are extremely powerful” (interview 106).

Nevertheless, it must be noted that some religious groups advocate *for* LGBTQ equality and acceptance in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Certain religious leaders have publicly supported the LGBTQ movement. For example, in Jamaica Father Sean Major-Campbell, an Anglican Priest, has shown his open support for the LGBTQ community (interviews 106, 108). During a mass held to observe International Humans Rights Day, Father Sean Major-Campbell gave a sermon encouraging the acceptance and inclusion of all Jamaicans and subsequently “washed the feet of two lesbians as a demonstration” of his values (J-FLAG, 2014: 6). Father Sean Major-Campbell has also contributed to the *J-FLAG* email newsletter having written about “Homosexuality and Anglicanism” in November 2014 (Major-Campbell, 2014). Other religious leaders have also been a part of LGBTQ activist campaigns like Father Garth Minott, an Anglican Priest, who

participated in *J-FLAG*'s "We are Jamaicans" LGBTQ awareness campaign and *#iChooseLove* social media campaign (J-FLAG, 2013: 10, 15). As well, Reverend Margaret Fowler partook as a discussant at *J-FLAG*'s Annual Larry Chang Human Rights Symposium, speaking about the church's responsibility to "express love (without judgment) to all" (J-FLAG, 2014: 25).

Religious groups, leaders and institutions preaching against LGBTQ acceptance pose challenges for LGBTQ activists in Guadeloupe and Jamaica who are fighting to change oppressive social beliefs. On the other hand, pro-LGBTQ religious leaders and groups have been a source of support and have helped to promote positive notions about the LGBTQ community.

Cultural Expressions

Finally, the last group of socio-cultural institutions that affect LGBTQ equality and activism are institutions associated with cultural expression. Historical institutions related to cultural expressions include traditional events or holidays, written and spoken histories, language, music, dance, local media publications and other sub-cultural spaces. Cultural expression institutions that most significantly influence LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica are music and song artists, *Carnaval* celebrations and new communication technologies.

Music and song artists in Guadeloupe and Jamaica have influenced LGBTQ equality in quite a contradictory manner by both promoting the non-inclusion (even hatred) of the LGBTQ community and by publicly advocating for the acceptance and inclusion of LGBTQ people. Music and song artists in Guadeloupe and Jamaica, as in any culture, help keep precious cultural practices and histories alive in the public mind. In Guadeloupe, for example, Gwoka is a traditional style of tambour drumming and dance that was first practiced by slaves and that viscerally reminds those listening of Guadeloupe's tumultuous colonial past. In some instances,

however, hateful beliefs and opinions about people, like LGBTQ people, have been put into music. Some Guadeloupean and Jamaican dancehall musical artists have preached hate against LGBTQ people in their music. One of the most well-known cases is of the song “Boom Bye Bye” by Jamaican dancehall artist Buju Banton, whose lyrics encouraged violence against gay men (Larcher and Robinson, 2009: 4). Other Jamaican artists such as Beenie Man, Elephant Man and Sizzla have also sung hateful and discriminatory songs against LGBTQ people (Larcher and Robinson, 2009: 1). The famous Guadeloupean dancehall singer Admiral T also had hateful or violent lyrics in some of his early songs until realizing that it was bad for business to do so (Roux, 2007). Several of his shows were cancelled in mainland France in 2007 after LGBTQ groups lobbied for their cancellation (Roux, 2007). Music, mainly dancehall music, has been an obstacle for LGBTQ activism. With certain dancehall artists perpetuating anti-LGBTQ sentiments and reinforcing a space of strong heterosexuality and masculinity, this counters the work done by LGBTQ activists.

Yet musical artists can also be a useful resource for LGBTQ groups in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. If artists support LGBTQ equality, they can be powerful and positive role models for the larger community. One such example is Reggae artiste Diana King who came out as a lesbian in 2012 and has participated in and supported *J-FLAG* initiatives (J-FLAG, 2013: 13, 7). Another famous Reggae artiste, Tanya Stephens, has been a long supporter of the LGBTQ community and even recorded “Jamaica’s first pro-gay song: ‘Do You Still Care’” (J-FLAG, 2013: 6). Still another example is Jacob Desvarieux, a member of the famous Guadeloupean musical group *Kassav*, who openly stated his support for same-sex marriage and LGBTQ people (Tjenbé Rèd!, 2013). The support of influential cultural figures can be a useful strategy to raise awareness and acceptance of LGBTQ people in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Although dancehall may not be a

welcoming space for LGBTQ people, some other emerging musical genres are more accepting of non-normative behaviours and identities.

Similarly to music and song artists, *Carnaval* is another institutionalized cultural expression that has influenced LGBTQ equality and activism, particularly in Guadeloupe. Historically, *Kannaval* or *Carnaval*²⁷ in Guadeloupe was an outlet for slaves to resist and subvert power dynamics while having a bit of fun celebrating Mardi Gras. *Carnaval* still today is a non-normative space where traditional structures of power are subverted and norms of gender and sexuality discarded. At Martinique's *Carnaval*, cross-dressing is the norm and other forms of unique gender expression flourish (interview 101). Although not quite as subversive as in Martinique, *Carnaval* in Guadeloupe does provide a more open and accepting space for LGBTQ behaviours and for the transgression of engrained norms. Over the last couple of years, the *Carnaval* in Guadeloupe has seen the participation of an LGBTQ-friendly *Carnaval* group called *Kiss-Kiss* (interviews 101, 102). *Kiss-Kiss*, started by an LGBTQ choreographer, has put LGBTQ visibility at the forefront of its priorities (interview 102). The group welcomes LGBTQ and LGBTQ-friendly people to participate in their parades. This is an example of how *Carnaval* has created a space for resistance against normative ideas about gender and sexuality and has contributed to greater social equality in Guadeloupe.

Besides the institution of *Carnaval*, new communication technologies have also contributed to increased socio-cultural equality of LGBTQ people in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. The increased availability of cellphones and other technological devices has allowed people to more readily access virtual spaces, including safe spaces for the LGBTQ community. Newer technologies like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube have created novel ways for LGBTQ people

²⁷ *Kannaval* or *Carnaval* is the Guadeloupean *Kréyòl* term and the French word for Carnival celebrations that take the form of marching parades held all over Guadeloupe during the period of Christmas to Mardi Gras and the start of lent or *Carême*.

to connect with each other and more openly express themselves. In talking with activists they expressed how new technologies have drastically changed and aided LGBTQ activism. With social media campaigns and YouTube videos, pro-LGBTQ activist messages can reach wider audiences. *J-FLAG*'s 2013 "We are Jamaicans" video campaign on YouTube was viewed over 75 000 times in Jamaica and over 50 000 times in diaspora communities (J-FLAG, 2013: 8, 12). Virtual financial applications, like PayPal or bank email transfers, have allowed charitable donations for organizations from people not located in Guadeloupe or Jamaica and who would otherwise not contribute financially. Websites and group Facebook pages inform interested internet surfers of the accomplishments and current tasks of activist groups, like *AIDS-Free World*, *Aides Guadeloupe* and *Rainbow Gwada*. Helpful informative resources about AIDS prevention or partner abuse can be more easily accessed by LGBTQ individuals in need. Most if not all activist groups in Guadeloupe and Jamaica have some sort of internet presence, whether it is an organizational website, a Facebook page or even a YouTube channel. Several social LGBTQ groups in Guadeloupe, like *Private Party* and *Ó Pli Natirél*, use Facebook to organize social gatherings and events for the LGBTQ community. One LGBTQ activist highlighted that his organization had advertised on Facebook and "specifically targeted some people based on even the homophobic artists that they might listen to or love" (interview 105). As Murray appropriately points out, new technologies have changed how relationships are carried out (2012: 83). These new forms of communication and community building have transformed cultural practices. New technologies have in effect created new institutions of cultural expression that have contributed to the increased social equality of LGBTQ people in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. To sum up, socio-cultural institutions like cultural expressions, religious beliefs, national identity and gender and sexuality norms have similarly influenced LGBTQ equality outcomes in

Guadeloupe and Jamaica. These historical institutions have forged similar socio-cultural environments in which the LGBTQ community exists on these two islands.

Conclusion

Shedding more light onto LGBTQ activism and equality in the Caribbean, this research sought to investigate and answer the following question: *What key institutional factors can explain the variance in LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica?* I argue that variances in the level of LGBTQ equality between Guadeloupe and Jamaica can be explained by analyzing the different political, legal and socio-cultural historical institutions of these two islands. The hypothesis proposed argued that historical institutions with a political, legal and socio-cultural dimension, present in Guadeloupe and Jamaica have both provided opportunities for the advancement of LGBTQ equality and have created obstacles for LGBTQ activism in different ways. More specifically my hypothesis contends that historical institutions have influenced the struggle for LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica by generating dissimilar levels of LGBTQ equality before the law, by contributing to the contrast in strength of the local movements and also by preserving similar levels of inadequate LGBTQ equality in social and cultural realms of society on the two islands. The central conclusion that can be taken from the research is that political and legal historical institutions have helped to produce different levels of LGBTQ legal equality in Guadeloupe and Jamaica, while socio-cultural historical institutions have given rise to similar levels of LGBTQ equality in social and cultural realms on the two islands. In Guadeloupe, historical institutions have played a part in increasing the level of LGBTQ legal equality, but have also perpetuated restricted levels of LGBTQ equality in social and cultural realms of society. In Jamaica, historical institutions have severely limited LGBTQ equality before the law and have maintained inadequate social equality. I also highlight that historical institutions have contributed to the difference in strength of the local movements in Guadeloupe and Jamaica.

Historical institutions have sparked the establishment of a lively and strong network of local activist organizations in Jamaica, meanwhile they have limited the development of a robust locally-rooted grassroots movement in Guadeloupe.

Key historical institutions with a political dimension, like independence status, elected officials, laws and legislation, have had divergent influences on LGBTQ equality and activism in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Guadeloupe's status as a non-independent territory has meant that LGBTQ related national laws passed in France apply automatically to the island *département*, and that the island is plugged into a continent with pro-LGBTQ laws and legislation. In Jamaica, a central political institution, the longstanding inherited buggery law, has legitimized the discrimination of LGBTQ people and has focused LGBTQ activist efforts on its elimination.

Historical institutions with a legal dimension, like the type of court system or prominent LGBTQ-related court cases, have also influenced LGBTQ equality on the two islands. In Jamaica, due to the common law court system and the low level of LGBTQ legal equality, there is an increased number of LGBTQ-related court cases before the courts than in Guadeloupe.

In terms of historical institutions with a cultural or social dimension, these institutions have had a similar influence on LGBTQ equality in social and cultural arenas in both Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Gender and sexuality norms along with notions of national and Caribbean identity have been obstacles for LGBTQ activist groups in Guadeloupe and Jamaica. Heterosexuality is often seen by members of the general public to be tightly linked to national and Caribbean identity. Many, but not all, religious groups and leaders active on the islands continue to emphasize the importance of heterosexuality and even actively preach against the inclusion of the LGBTQ community, which poses yet another obstacle for LGBTQ activism.

While carrying out this research I myself encountered some obstacles and challenges. Conducting field work was a demanding task into which I invested both my time and limited resources. Language barriers were also limiting as I was not familiar with some local French expressions and words used by interview participants in Guadeloupe. Being an outsider of the LGBTQ communities on the islands was another limitation. However, after completing the field research I developed a stronger connection with the communities I was researching and became more aware of the particular issues affecting these groups.

That said, this research adds to the small body of literature on Caribbean LGBTQ activism and equality. With very little academic work having been done on LGBTQ equality in Guadeloupe and with a growing amount of research being conducted on LGBTQ activism in Jamaica, this research contributes original information to the realm of Caribbean LGBTQ equality and activism studies. This research proposes a unique historical institutionalist lens through which to study LGBTQ equality and activism in the Caribbean. It demonstrates how historical institutionalism can be a useful tool to interpret activism and to account for the differences and specificities in LGBTQ equality in the two Caribbean islands. In addition, this research analyzes two islands that are not usually compared together, highlighting the importance of comparison between independent and non-independent islands, as well as between anglophone and francophone islands in the Caribbean. This historical institutionalist approach could also be useful to compare the level of LGBTQ equality of other islands in the Caribbean.

While this research provides a unique approach to study LGBTQ equality, other areas of Caribbean LGBTQ equality were not explored as they were beyond the scope of this research. This research took a historical institutionalist approach, which allowed for key variances in LGBTQ equality to be uncovered and which was fitting for a Master's thesis. I recognize that the

research topic could have been approached using a different theoretical lens which would have allowed for different facets of LGBTQ equality to be uncovered. Complementary theoretical approaches, like social movement theories and emotion studies, could have strengthened and enriched the thesis by analyzing key components, like civil society or emotional responses, which were not addressed under the historical institutionalism perspective. Social movement theories would have allowed for an analysis of the types of activism along with the opportunity structures available to activists, while emotions studies would have investigated how people's emotions have been mobilized in the struggle to achieve LGBTQ equality. In short, other theoretical approaches could have enriched and strengthened the thesis and should be considered for future research.

This research provides many new avenues to conduct further research. For instance, the influence transnational LGBTQ movements (from Africa, Europe and North America) have had on shaping Caribbean LGBTQ activism would be an area for future study. Further research could also be conducted on other types of historical institutions not mentioned, like ideological institutions that may influence LGBTQ equality. While this research focuses on the islands of Guadeloupe and Jamaica, new research could compare other Caribbean islands, or other countries and territories, in a similar way looking at key historical institutions that have affected LGBTQ equality. Still another area would be to investigate how the operations and activities of Caribbean LGBTQ activist groups have evolved and how they continue to develop in a globalizing and technologically focused world. As there has been little work done on Caribbean LGBTQ activism, there are many avenues for future research.

In the broader regional and global context, this research has been conducted at a time when LGBTQ social acceptance, non-discrimination measures and same-sex marriage laws have

been increasingly adopted, not only in the Caribbean, but around the world. In 2016 same-sex marriage is legal in several islands in the Caribbean including Bonaire, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Puerto Rico, Saba, Sint Eustatius and the U.S. Virgin Islands, all of which are non-independent islands and the majority of which legalized same-sex marriage within the past three years (Carroll and Itaborahy, 2015: 41). As islands in the Caribbean continue to move towards greater legal equality, this will help to foster stronger social equality for all LGBTQ citizens in the region.

When talking to activists about the future of LGBTQ equality and activism in the Caribbean, they were optimistic that change is coming and that “it’s already happening” (interview 100). As one activist pointed out:

I believe the British colonies like Cayman, etc, will have to start grappling with marriage equality or recognizing civil unions of some sort because you’re going to have a challenge where people who are being transferred from Britain to assignments in the...in these British territories, they will not have the same rights as they did in Britain and that can’t happen. (interview 106)

Seeing that citizens of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) member countries are allowed to move anywhere in the CARICOM region, this too may be a challenge for CARICOM member states if one of its members legalizes same-sex partnerships (interview 106). While same-sex marriages or civil unions are not an immediate priority for Jamaican activists, participants were optimistic that the right to non-discrimination would be extended to LGBTQ people in the next few years. Most of the recent pro-LGBTQ legal change that has happened in the Caribbean has been in non-independent or non-anglophone islands, yet in Jamaica there has been the development of a strong and vibrant LGBTQ movement made up of hardworking individuals

working towards the goal of LGBTQ social and legal equality. While institutional structures remain extremely difficult to change, small acts of resistance by local citizens, community leaders, religious figures and celebrity personalities continue to chip away at these now unsteady institutions.

With the sea as their neighbour, a wave of change has arrived on the shores of these Caribbean islands. Geographically isolated, with a history of resistance and informed by diverse cultural elements, the islands of Guadeloupe and Jamaica are no strangers to change. Hopefully, this current will bring with it the greater understanding of regional nuances and feature local LGBTQ expressions and activists.

Appendix 1: Maps

Caribbean Region



Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection. (2013). [Reference Map]. “Central America and the Caribbean”. Retrieved May 20, 2015 from http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/central_america_ref_2013.pdf

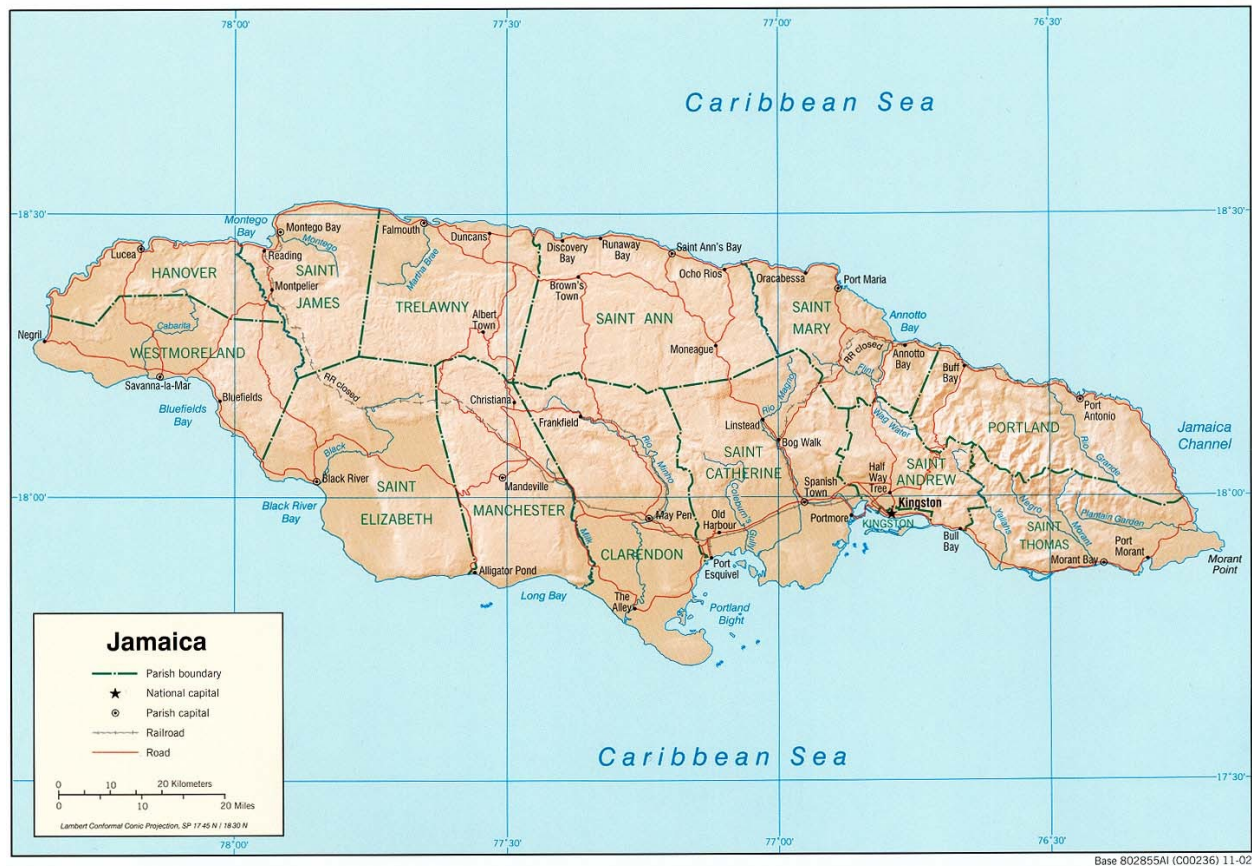
Guadeloupe (Karukera)



France. Ministère des Outre-Mer. (n.d.). [Reference Map]. "Guadeloupe: Présentation".

Retrieved June 27, 2015 from <http://www.outre-mer.gouv.fr/?presentation-guadeloupe.html>.

Jamaica (Xaymaca)



Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection. (2002). [Reference Map]. "Jamaica". Retrieved May 20, 2015 from http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/jamaica_rel_2002.jpg.

Appendix 2: Concept of Historical Institutions

Concept	Dimension	Sub Dimension	Indicators
Historical Institutions - institutions include all embedded formal and informal structures in which social relations are organized and given a meaning - institutions are not static, however they do not “arbitrarily” change - there is no focus on one type of particular institutionalism over another as each have important elements	Political - all structures of the state and political actors	Independence status	- independent state or dependent territory - presence of various elements of sovereignty (Grygiel, 2010)
		Government structure	- parliamentary system - presidential system - semi-presidential system
		Sate structure	- federalist - unitary
		Advocacy groups and New social movements	<u><i>National/Regional Level</i></u> (according to their ideological beliefs either liberationist, assimilationist or equality seeking) - advocating for LGBT rights or LGBT equality (J-FLAG) (SOS Homophobie) - services provided for LGBT community (J-FLAG) (Dwayne’s House) (Jamaican Aids Support) (Tjenbé Red) - advocating for LGBT rights within a broader human rights scope (Jamaicans for Justice) (Aids Free World) - providing space for LGBT individuals (An nou allé) - LGBT focused committees - LGBT awareness day or other supportive activities <u><i>International level</i></u> (according to their ideological beliefs either liberationist, assimilationist or equality seeking) - advocating for LGBT equality through education dissemination (ILGA) - address LGBT human rights violations and accredited by the UN (IGLHRC) - advocating for LGBT rights in the broader

			context of human rights (Human Rights Watch) (Aids Free World) - signatory to any international agreements regarding LGBT rights - conferences or congresses about LGBT issues (UN ministerial meetings) - LGBT awareness day or other supportive activities - network of allies
		LGBT related laws and legislation	1) Decriminalization of same-sex sex (ie: abolition of “buggery” or “sodomy” laws) 2) Anti-discriminatory measures and provisions implemented (ie: mention of sexual orientation, gender identity or sexuality) 3) Recognition of same-sex partnerships (i.e., same-sex marriage law or civil union law, adoption rights) (Waldijk, 2000) - existence of a human rights charter (Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms)
		Elected officials	- political party affiliation - political culture of elected officials (norms of behaviour and procedures)
	Legal - all outcomes of national laws and regulations	Prominent court cases	- case to the Inter American Human Rights Commission challenging Jamaican buggery law (Aids Free World)
		Court system organization	- existence of a supreme court - existence of a Bill of Rights - existence of criminal law system - common law or civil law system - network of lawyers working for LGBT rights
	Socio-cultural	Past and present dominant social norms	- gender roles (ie: femininity, masculinity, definitions of family, hyper-heterosexuality, hyper-masculinity, heteronormativity,

	- all activities that promote certain values and ideas as well as cultural norms and practice.		hyperfemininity, gender resistant roles) - ideas of acceptable vs. deviant sexual behavior - “Respectability” (Murray, 2012) - national identity and “Caribbeanness” - egalitarianism vs. traditionalism (in ideology)
		Religious beliefs	- Rastafarian, catholic, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu, Seventh Day Adventist, Baptist...
		Cultural manifestations	- Cultural events (ie: Carnaval, Toussaint, national and local holidays) - heritage or ethnic historical background (ie: family history) - music (ie: dancehall, soca, reggae, biguine, zouk) - Dance (ie: Gwoka) - spoken and written language (ie: créole, patois, specific cultural expressions) - media (ie: television and radio programs, newspapers) - sub-cultural spaces (ie: bars, social or community groups)

Appendix 3: Interview Guides

Interview Guide in English

Date: ____ / ____ / ____ Location: _____ Identifier: _____

Time: _____

Interview Guide

During the interview, I would like to discuss topics such as LGBT legal equality, public perceptions and reactions to LGBT activism and obstacles and achievements for the LGBT community. Questions related to your experience working in the area of LGBT activism along with questions regarding what initiatives your organization is currently focused will be asked. The consent form will be briefly discussed and if you give consent, the interview will be audio recorded. Questions about the personal lives of participants will not be asked.

In regards to your personal beliefs on LGBT activism and the political sphere...

1. As an activist, how do you think you can influence political decisions in Guadeloupe/Jamaica in regards to LGBT rights?

- How can you bring about change within the current political system?
- What political institutions or aspects make LGBT activism more difficult?
- What political institutions or aspects make LGBT activism easier?
- How do you interact with politics in Guadeloupe/Jamaica to achieve LGBT equality?
- How do you think you can influence the political process in Guadeloupe/Jamaica to be more accepting of LGBT individuals and to better protect the rights of the LGBT community?

Continuing with your beliefs on LGBT activism and social structures...

2. As an activist how can you influence societal norms and social structures to bring about equality for the LGBT community on your island?

- What social institutions should be targeted to achieve change?
- What social institutions and structures accommodate and make LGBT activism easier?
- What social institutions and structures stand in the way of LGBT activism and make achieving LGBT equality more difficult?

If we talk now about the initiatives your organization has been involved in...

3. What key political, legal, social and cultural achievements in regards to LGBT equality has your group accomplished up until now?

- What initiatives are you proud of that your group has accomplished?
 - Please provide details.
 - How did your group go about achieving these accomplishments?
 - Why are you proud of these actions?

- What did these initiatives change for the LGBT community?
- What actions performed by your group have created political and legal change in terms of LGBT equality?
 - Have these changes been short term or long term?
- What initiatives done by your group have created a significant social and cultural change for the LGBT community?
 - Have these changes been short term or long term?
- What group actions have been recognized or praised?
 - Who has recognized these actions and why?
- How do these compare to the achievements of the larger LGBT movement in Guadeloupe/Jamaica and more broadly the Caribbean?

4. What are the central political, legal, social and cultural obstacles or challenges to activism that your group faces?

- What political and legal obstacles has your group encountered while fighting for LGBT rights and equality?
- What social and cultural challenges has your organization encountered?
 - How have cultural beliefs held by the general public been an obstacle to activism?
- What are the biggest challenges to the broader LGBT movement in Guadeloupe/Jamaica or the Caribbean right now?
 - How do they compare to your organization's challenges?
- What institution is the single largest obstacle in achieving LGBT equality on your island?

Discussing now your organization's work and the broader Caribbean...

5. How has your organization and the larger Caribbean LGBT movement been affected by longstanding laws and specific politico-historical institutions of the island?

- How have laws in Guadeloupe/Jamaica encouraged or helped the political LGBT activism your group does?
- How have laws and policies in Guadeloupe/Jamaica limited the activism of your organization?
- How has the presence or non-presence of a colonial era sodomy or buggery law influenced LGBT equality on your island and the activism your group does?
- How has your island's independence status (being an independent state or a dependent territory part of a larger power) affected your group's activism and LGBT equality in general on your island?
- How has the presence or non-presence of a framework for human rights (ie: Charter of Human Rights or UN declaration/resolution) influenced your organization's activism?
- How has the court system present on the island influenced LGBT activism?

6. How has your organization and the larger Caribbean LGBT movement been affected by the dominant values and norms about LGBT social acceptance present on the island?

- How have dominant social norms regarding gender roles and sexuality limited the activism of your organization?

- What strategies of resistance to destabilize dominant gender and colonial narratives has your organization used as a part of its activism?
- How has your organization resisted perpetuating the presiding narrow ideas of femininity, masculinity and heterosexuality?
- How have the societal values of *Caribbeanness* and *national identity* shaped your group's activism and activism in the Caribbean at large?
- How have dominant religious beliefs and the pressures of certain religious leaders and groups affected the way your organization conducts its activism?

Moving forward to discuss the near future...

7. Do you see a wave of change coming to the Caribbean with either a transformation in values and norms regarding the LGBT community, or with the establishment of a new LGBT legal rights framework or even with a period of increased LGBT activism?

- Do you feel a wave of change coming worldwide in regards to the equal treatment of LGBT individuals both legally and socially?
- Do you feel motivated or exasperated about the LGBT rights situation on your island?
- Realistically what would you like to see happen for LGBT rights in the next year on your island? And in the Caribbean?
- For the Caribbean region, what do you think will be the central focus for LGBT activism in the next couple years?

Thank you for your time and patience. It is much appreciated...

8. Would you like to be kept informed about the progress of the research initiative?

* It must be noted that the interviews are of a semi-structured nature that encourage a free dialogue between participants and the principal investigator. As such questions that will be asked to participants can not be entirely predicted and planned in advance.

*
* *

Interview Guide in French

date: ____ / ____ / ____ lieu: _____ n° identifiant: _____

l'heure: _____

Guide d'entrevue

Avec cette entrevue, j'aimerais que nous discussions de thèmes comme les droits à l'égalité des LGBT, les perceptions et réactions de la population envers leurs mobilisations ainsi que des obstacles et succès de la communauté LGBT. Nous discuterons donc de questions liées à vos expériences dans le domaine des mobilisations LGBT ainsi que de questions que privilégie actuellement votre organisation. Le formulaire de consentement sera brièvement élaboré et si

vous acceptez, l'entrevue sera enregistrée. Aucune question ne vous sera posée concernant votre vie personnelle.

Concernant vos opinions personnelles sur le militantisme LGBT et le domaine politique...

1. En tant que militant/e, comment croyez-vous pouvoir influencer les décisions politiques en Guadeloupe/Jamaïque par rapport aux droits des LGBT?

- Comment pourriez-vous changer le système politique actuel?
- Quelles institutions ou aspects politiques facilitent les mobilisations LGBT?
- Quelles institutions ou aspects politiques limitent et découragent les mobilisations LGBT?
- Comment interagissez-vous avec la politique en Guadeloupe/Jamaïque pour atteindre l'égalité pour les LGBT?
- Comment pourriez-vous influencer les processus politiques en Guadeloupe/Jamaïque pour rendre votre île plus accueillante des personnes LGBT et plus protectrice des droits de la communauté LGBT?

En continuant avec vos opinions personnelles et les structures sociales...

2. En tant que militant/e, comment pourriez-vous influencer les normes de la société et les structures sociales pour créer plus d'égalité pour la communauté LGBT sur votre île?

- Quelles institutions sociales devraient être ciblées pour atteindre ce changement?
- Quelles institutions et structures sociales facilitent le militantisme LGBT?
- Quelles institutions et structures sociales limitent ou posent un obstacle au militantisme LGBT?

Parlons maintenant des initiatives auxquelles votre organisation a participées...

3. Quelles sont les réalisations de nature politique, légale et sociale en matière de droits des LGBT atteintes par votre groupe jusqu'à maintenant ?

- Quelles sont les réalisations dont votre groupe est fier?
 - Pouvez-vous élaborer, en dire davantage là-dessus.
 - Comment votre groupe a-t-il accompli ces réalisations?
 - Pourquoi êtes-vous fier de ces actions?
 - Qu'est-ce que ces initiatives ont changé pour la communauté LGBT?
- Quelles actions et initiatives de votre groupe ont créé des changements sociaux ou culturels pour la communauté LGBT?
 - Est-ce que ces changements sont à court ou à long terme?
- Quelles actions et initiatives de votre groupe ont créé des changements politiques ou légaux pour l'égalité des personnes LGBT?
 - Est-ce que ces changements sont à court ou à long terme?
- Quelles actions et initiatives ont été reconnues et mises en valeur?
 - Qui a reconnu ces réalisations?
- Comment ces réalisations ou ces faits accomplis se comparent-ils avec ceux du mouvement LGBT en Guadeloupe/Jamaïque et, plus largement, dans les Caraïbes?

4. Quels sont les principaux obstacles et défis, de nature politique, légale, sociale et culturelle, rencontrés par votre groupe au chapitre des mobilisations ?

- Quels sont les obstacles politiques et légaux que votre groupe a rencontrés en luttant pour les droits et l'égalité LGBT?
- Quels obstacles sociaux et culturels avez-vous rencontrés?
 - Comment les croyances de la population ont posé obstacle aux mobilisations LGBT?
- Quels sont les plus grands obstacles auxquels fait face le mouvement LGBT en Guadeloupe/Jamaïque ou plus largement dans les Caraïbes en ce moment?
 - Comment ces défis se comparent-ils avec ceux que rencontre votre organisation?
- Quelle institution pose le plus grand défi dans la lutte pour l'égalité LGBT sur votre île?

Passons maintenant au travail de votre organisation dans la région plus large des Caraïbes...

5. Comment votre organisation et, de manière plus large, le mouvement LGBT sont-ils affectés par les lois d'hier et de maintenant, les valeurs, les normes et d'autres institutions politico-historiques en Guadeloupe/Jamaïque aujourd'hui?

- Comment les lois en Guadeloupe/Jamaïque ont-elles encouragé et facilité le militantisme LGBT de votre groupe?
- Comment les lois en Guadeloupe/Jamaïque ont-elles limité le militantisme de votre organisation?
- Comment la présence (ou l'absence) de lois de l'ère coloniale, notamment des lois de sodomie, a-t-elle influencé l'égalité LGBT sur votre île et les mobilisations de votre groupe?
- Comment le statut d'indépendance de votre île (île indépendante ou territoire dépendant faisant partie d'un plus grand pouvoir) a-t-il contribué au militantisme de votre groupe et à l'égalité LGBT sur l'île?
- Comment la présence (ou l'absence) d'une structure de droits humains (ie: Charte de droits humains, ou déclaration/résolution ONU) a-t-elle influencé le militantisme de votre organisation?
- Comment les tribunaux ont-ils influencé le militantisme LGBT?

6. Comment votre organisation et le mouvement LGBT dans les Caraïbes ont-ils été influencés par des valeurs et des normes en regard de l'acceptation sociale des LGBT sur l'île?

- Comment les normes sociales dominantes qui prescrivent les rôles de genre et les sexualités ont-elles limité le militantisme de votre organisation?
- Quelles stratégies de résistance votre organisation a-t-elle utilisées afin de déstabiliser les normes dominantes reliées au genre et aux discours à saveur colonialiste?
- Comment votre organisation a-t-elle évité de perpétuer des idées restrictives relativement à la féminité, la masculinité et l'hétérosexualité?
- Comment les valeurs sociales de la *Caribinité (identité Caribéenne)* et de l'*identité nationale* ont-elles alimenté le militantisme de votre groupe et le militantisme dans les Caraïbes?
- Comment les croyances religieuses dominantes et l'influence de certains chefs ou groupes religieux ont-elles influencé le militantisme de votre organisation?

Posons maintenant notre regard vers le futur...

7. Voyez-vous une vague de changement venir sur la région des Caraïbes impliquant ou bien une transformation des valeurs et des normes en regard de la communauté LGBT, ou bien l'avènement de nouveaux droits pour les LGBT, ou même une accentuation des mobilisations LGBT?

- Ressentez-vous une vague de changement au niveau mondial qui emporte l'égalité sur papier et dans les faits pour les individus LGBT?
- Êtes-vous motivé/e ou exaspéré/e par la situation actuelle des droits LGBT sur votre île?
- Quels changements aimeriez-vous voir pour la communauté LGBT sur votre île dans la prochaine année? Et dans la région des Caraïbes?
- Selon vous, que devait être la principale lutte pour le militantisme LGBT dans les Caraïbes au cours des prochaines années?

Merci pour votre temps et votre patience. C'est très apprécié...

8. Aimeriez-vous être informé/e des résultats de cette recherche ?

*Il importe de noter que les entrevues, de nature semi-dirigée, visent à encourager une discussion libre entre les participant/e/s et la principale chercheuse. En conséquence, les questions qui seront posées aux participant/e/s ne peuvent être entièrement précisées et planifiées par avance.

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