

## **Queer Politics in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East**

Course Code: 15PPOH020

Unit value: 0.5

Taught in: Term 1

### **Course provider**

**Dr. Rahul Rao**

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### **Class times and venue:**

**Tuesdays, 9 am – 11 am**

**Room 404, 30 Russell Square**

### **Eligibility:**

This course is open to students enrolled in the MSc International Politics, MSc Middle East Politics, MSc African Politics, MSc Asian Politics, MA Gender Studies and MA Cultural Studies. Any other students wishing to enrol in the course will need to obtain the agreement of BOTH the course provide and the convenor of their 'home' programme. Students wishing to audit the course should email the course provider as soon as possible at the start of the term.

### **Overview:**

Queer theory is 'for' and 'about' everyone. Although frequently assumed to be a branch of social and political theory preoccupied with the study of sexual minorities, the insights of theorists such as Michel Foucault and Judith Butler into questions concerning the constitution of identities, subjectivities, resistance and the operation of power, have travelled widely, informing scholarship in a host of ostensibly unrelated terrains. Yet like many other kinds of social and political theory, queer theory has been Eurocentric and has only recently begun to engage seriously with the world outside the North Atlantic.

This course is intended to provide both an introduction to queer theory, as well as to engage with the question of its relevance in contemporary Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. As non-normative sexual identities have become ever more visible in these parts of the world, the politics of sexuality has become freighted with apparently unrelated baggage. LGBT rights have recently become a centrepiece of Western human rights diplomacy as well as a major priority for UN human rights advocacy. Conversely, conversations about LGBT rights have become a major point of tension between Western and non-Western states. In some discourses, acceptance of LGBT rights has become a new signifier of the old divide between the civilised and the savage. Tensions have emerged within LGBT movements between purveyors of such orientalist tropes and their radical critics invested in a politics of intersectionality implicating sex, race, class, nation and other forms of subjectivity. This course will use struggles for sexual self-determination as a prism through which to consider broader questions about the constitution of modernity, the proliferation of identities, rights and claims for justice, the consolidation and deconstruction of postcolonial national identities, the aspirations and anxieties of postcolonial elites, etc. These questions will be studied contextually, with topics in many weeks focusing on a single area case study, or a comparison of two or more country-contexts.

The course aims to give students:

- Understanding of the political, social, economic, demographic and other factors underlying the expression of sexual minority identities in postcolonial Asia, Africa and the Middle East.
- Ability to analyse the anxieties and phobias that such expression arouses on the part of postcolonial states and elites, and to contextualise these developments in relation to the consolidation of postcolonial identities more generally.
- Knowledge of the strategies of advocacy that queer social movements have developed in struggles for

sexual self-determination.

- Understanding of how and why the issue of LGBT rights has become a recent centrepiece of Western human rights diplomacy, and of UN human rights advocacy.
- Appreciation for how struggles for queer self-determination can shed light on central questions of international relations and political theory: the constitution of modernity, the proliferation of rights and claims for justice, the consolidation and deconstruction of postcolonial identities, the endurance of imperial civilising missions, etc.

The course should be of interest to students of:

- International relations, political theory, postcolonial theory, poststructuralist theory, Marxism
- Gender
- State-society relations in Asia, Africa and/or the Middle East

Course topics:

1. Queer Theory and Feminism
2. Sex and Race
3. Sex, Class and Capitalism
4. Trans\*
5. Homonationalism
6. Homophobia
7. Revolutions and sexual liberation
8. The perils and potentials of legality
9. Queer temporality

Teaching methods and assessment:

This course will be run as a seminar course. This means that it will be driven by student participation, engagement and enthusiasm, with the course provider playing a facilitating role. The seminar method is intended to hone a number of skills—the ability to do close readings of key theoretical texts, to identify core issues, to set an agenda for discussion, to engage in debate, to argue and persuade. Most weeks will feature a combination of theoretical and more empirical, area-based literature, with the relationship between theory and place featuring prominently in many of our discussions.

The assessment for this course will take 3 forms:

- (a) 70% for an essay
- (b) 20% for seminar presentations
- (c) 10% for seminar participation

Each of these assessment components is explained in more detail below.

(a) Essay (70%)

- You may write an essay on ANY topic of your choice, so long as it falls within the course rubric. Your essay question may be drawn from among those already on this reading list and based on readings recommended below. Alternatively, it may be a question of your own choosing based on other materials and/or focusing on geographical areas not covered by the course. The only requirement is that the topic of the essay engages in some way with the aims of the course outlined in the 'Overview' section of this reading list.
- **Please email me your essay titles/questions by Monday 28 October 2013 ([rr18@soas.ac.uk](mailto:rr18@soas.ac.uk)).** I would urge you to think about the topic of your essay from the very outset of the course as it can take some time to make a decision of this kind. If you think you might benefit from talking this through with me, please make an appointment to see me as early as possible.
- **The essay must be no longer than 6,000 words** (this word count includes references, but does not include a bibliography). Your essay must contain both a system of referencing (footnotes, endnotes or parenthetical references) acknowledging all your sources AND a bibliography.
- **The essay is due on Monday 6 January 2014. Please note that I will not be available for consultation after the end of term 1 (13 December 2013).**
- **For this course, essays should be submitted ONLINE.**
- **Please make sure to read Section C ('Assessment Guidelines') of the Politics and International Studies (MSc) Departmental Handbook 2013-14, available here: <http://www.soas.ac.uk/politics/student-handbooks/postgraduate/>. This contains important**

information about assessment guidelines, advice on good essay writing and seminar presentations, rules on referencing, plagiarism, word counts and penalties for over-length coursework. Please also feel free to clarify any of these issues with me in person.

*(b) Seminar Presentation (20%)*

- Every seminar will begin with a 15-20 presentation by one or more students on the topic for that week.
- There will be no presentation at the first seminar. For the second week and after, I will either ask students to volunteer each week to give presentations the following week, or we may establish a rota by consensus at the start of the term.
- Depending on the size of the class, you may be asked to do more than one presentation during the course; alternatively, presentations may be split between two students every week.
- While awarding marks for seminar presentations, I will be particularly interested in:
  - o Whether you are able to identify key theoretical issues raised by the readings for the week – can you set an agenda for the class that week?
  - o Whether you can articulate clearly the sorts of debates and controversies that circulate around these issues.
  - o Whether you are able to demonstrate empirical knowledge of the areas and contexts chosen for analysis that week.
  - o Whether you can describe how particular contexts complicate received theoretical assumptions, and whether you can then critically interrogate those assumptions – i.e. not only 'apply' theory to place, but also understand how place can complicate and transform theory.
  - o Any other relevant comments and observations you are able to make
- The above should be understood merely as guidelines and suggestions for what you might do with your presentation. I will not apply them in a rigid fashion to evaluate presentations. You need not do all of the above in your presentation, and you can certainly do anything else that might help to elucidate the issues we are analysing.

*(c) Seminar Participation (10%)*

- Even if you are not giving a presentation in a given week, your participation is nonetheless essential and indeed assessed throughout the course.
- **As such, it is imperative that everyone be familiar with core readings for each week's seminar, whether or not you are presenting in a given week.**
- In assessing your participation in the course as a whole, I will be particularly interested in:
  - o Whether you are able to listen to your classmates and to engage with issues that they have raised
  - o Whether you are able to bring to the table issues that might not have been raised in the discussion
  - o Whether you are able to steer an unproductive discussion in more interesting directions
  - o Quality of participation is certainly more important than the quantity or frequency of intervention!

Resources:

You will be expected to read the core readings for each week before you come to the seminar. Core readings take the form of

- journal articles that can be accessed online through the SOAS Library A-Z of Electronic Journals portal
- freely accessible Internet sources
- book chapters that have been scanned and posted on the course Moodle page. **Please note that I will place ONLY book chapters and journal articles not available on the SOAS network on Moodle; this means that Moodle does not contain all the readings for the course; for the full list of required readings, you will need to consult this reading list every week and access a number of them on your own.**

You are not expected to have read the 'further readings' in advance of the seminar, although you are of course encouraged to do so in your own time. You may find it useful to draw on these in researching and writing your essays. Please bear in mind that as a student of the University of London, you are eligible to use a number of other libraries in addition to the SOAS library, including those at Birkbeck, UCL, Senate House, LSE, etc. In

addition, you should also avail of the extensive collections of the British Library.

Blogs:

- <http://kafila.org/> - South Asia focused
- [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com) - Middle East focused
- <http://paper-bird.net/>
- <http://thedisorderofthings.com/>
- <http://bullybloggers.wordpress.com/>

Readings:

**1. Queer:** This week, we will start by thinking about the word 'queer'. How did it come to describe a certain kind of sexual politics? Is 'queer theory' just about LGBT politics (or even sex)? What else might it be about? We will also consider the relationship between queer theory and feminism: are these distinct strands of critique at all? In what ways might they be in alliance with, but also in tension with, each other? (We will revisit this last question in week 4.)

- Brenda Cossman, 'Continental Drift: Queer, Feminism, Postcolonial', *Jindal Global Law Review* 4:1 (2012), 17-35. <http://www.jgls.edu.in/JindalGlobalLawReview/CurrentIssue.htm>.
- Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990), ch. 1: 'Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire' (see Sarah Salih in further reading below, for an accessible introduction to Butler).
- Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 'Introduction: Axiomatic'.
- Michael Warner, 'Introduction', in *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory*, ed. Michael Warner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
- Rahul Rao, 'The Queer Art of Whistle Blowing', <http://thedisorderofthings.com/2013/09/16/the-queer-art-of-whistle-blowing/>, September 2013 (see also the discussion in the comments section).

Further reading:

- Annamarie Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York University Press, 1997).
- Cynthia Weber, *Faking It: US Hegemony in a 'Post-Phallic' Era* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
- Elizabeth Weed & Naomi Schor, *Feminism Meets Queer Theory* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).
- Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (London: Routledge, 1994), ch. 1: 'Queer and Now'.
- Heather Pool, 'Citizenship as Performativity: is citizenship democratic or disciplined?', paper presented at Western Political Science Association conference on Agonistic Democracy, March 2006.
- John Charles Hawley, *Postcolonial, Queer: Theoretical Intersections* (Buffalo: SUNY Press, 2001).
- Judith Butler & Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State?: Language, Politics, Belonging* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
- Judith Butler, *Giving an Account of Oneself* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005).
- Karma R. Chavez, *Queer/Migration Politics: Coalitional Possibilities and Belonging within US National Imaginaries* (forthcoming).
- Kath Browne & Catherine J. Nash eds., *Queer Methods and Methodologies: Intersecting Queer Theories and Social Science Research* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).
- Kath Browne, Jason Lim & Gavin Brown eds., *Geographies of Sexualities: theory, practices and politics* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- Leo Bersani, *Homos* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1996).
- Nivedita Menon, 'How Natural is Normal? Feminism and Compulsory Heterosexuality', in *Because I Have a Voice: Queer Politics in India*, eds. Arvind Narrain & Gautam Bhan (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2005).
- Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), ch. 6: 'The Nation and its Women'.
- Sara Salih, *Judith Butler* (London: Routledge, 2002).

**2. Sex and Race:** Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* is now taken as the standard account of how individuals came to 'have' a sexual identity in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe. As is well known, Foucault's gaze is notoriously French-centric, let alone Eurocentric. To what extent were the colonial peripheries implicated in the constitution of sexuality in the imperial core? And thinking more broadly across space and time, how is sexuality co-constituted by other hierarchies of power such as race? If sexuality and race are co-constitutive, what does it mean to occupy the intersection of sexual and racial disadvantage?

- Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality 1: The Will to Knowledge*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin, 1978), Part II: 'The Repressive Hypothesis'.
- Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), ch. 4: 'Bourgeois Bodies and Racial Selves'.
- Kimberlé Crenshaw, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review* 43:6 (1991), 1241-99 [SOAS online journals].
- Dwight A. McBride, *Why I Hate Abercrombie & Fitch: Essays on Race and Sexuality* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), ch. 3: 'It's a White Man's World: Race in the Gay Marketplace of Desire'.

*Further reading:*

- Ange-Marie Hancock, 'when Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm', *Perspectives on Politics* 5:1 (2007), 63-79.
- Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
- Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
- Anne McClintock, Phillip Brian Harper, José Esteban Muñoz & Trish Rosen eds., *Queer Transexions of Race, Nation, and Gender* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).
- bell hooks, *Ain't I A Woman? Black Women and Feminism* (London: Pluto, 1987).
- Chandan Reddy, *Freedom With Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the US State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).
- Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
- 'Forum on Intersectionality', *Politics and Gender* 3:2 (2007), 229-80.
- Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).
- Hae Yeon Choo & Myra Marx Ferree, 'Practising Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities', *Sociological Theory* 28:2 (2010), 129-49.
- Kathy Davis, 'Intersectionality as Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful', *Feminist Theory* 9:1 (2008), 67-85.
- Momin Rahman, 'Queer as Intersectionality: Theorizing Gay Muslim Identities', *Sociology* 44:5 (2010), 944-61.
- Natalie J. Sokoloff ed., *Domestic Violence At the Margins: Readings on Race, Class, Gender and Culture* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005).
- Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Intersectionality and Feminist Politics', *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13:3 (2006), 193-209.
- Patricia Hill Collins, 'The Tie That Binds: Race, Gender and US Violence', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21:5 (1998), 917-38.
- Patrick E. Johnson & Mae Henderson, *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).
- Peter Drucker ed., *Different Rainbows* (London: Gay Men's Press, 2001).
- Robert Reid-Pharr, *Black Gay Man: Essays* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).
- Rudi C. Bleys, *The Geography of Perversion: Male-to-Male Sexual Behavior Outside the West and the Ethnographic Imagination, 1750-1918* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

- Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*
- Sylvia Walby, Jo Armstrong and Sofia Strid, 'Intersectionality: Multiple Inequalities in Social Theory', *Sociology* 46:2 (2012), 224-40.
- Urvashi Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution: Confronting Race, Class and the Assumptions of LGBT Politics* (New York: Magnus Books, 2012)
- Valerie Amos & Pratibha Parmar, 'Challenging Imperial Feminism', *Feminist Review* 17 (1984), 3-19.

**3. Sex, Class and Capitalism:** To what extent is the expression of sexual minority identities related to developments in capitalism? Is Foucault cognisant of these developments? Is D'Emilio's classic account of the relationship between capitalism and gay identity complementary to, or disruptive of, the Foucauldian account that we read last week? To what extent is the dissemination of LGBT identities to the non-Western world a function of the spread of capitalism? What implications does this have for the local politics of non-normative sexualities? Is class just another identity that can be 'added' to an intersectional analysis?

- John D'Emilio, 'Capitalism and Gay Identity', in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, eds. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell & Sharan Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).
- Rosemary Hennessy, *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual identities in Late Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 2000), ch. 3: 'Cultural Study, Commodity Logic, Sexual Subjects'.
- Dennis Altman, 'Rupture or Continuity? The Internationalisation of Gay Identities', *Social Text* 48 (1996), 77-94 [SOAS online journals].
- Joseph A. Massad, 'Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World', *Public Culture* 14:2 (2002), 361-85 [SOAS online journals].
- Lisa Rofel, *Desiring China: Experiments in Neoliberalism, Sexuality, and Public Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), ch. 3: 'Qualities of Desire: Imagining Gay Identities'.

*Further reading:*

- akshay khanna, 'Us "Sexuality Types"', in *The phobic and the erotic: The politics of sexualities in contemporary India*, eds. Brinda Bose & Subhabrata Bhattacharya (London: Seagull Books, 2007).
- Alok Gupta, 'Englishpur ki Kothi', in *Because I Have a Voice: Queer Politics in India*, eds. Arvind Narrain & Gautam Bhan (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2005).
- Dennis Altman, 'On Global Queering', *Australian Humanities Review* 5:2 (1996).
- Dennis Altman, *Global Sex* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
- Hakan Seckinelgin, 'Global activism and sexualities in the time of HIV/AIDS', *Contemporary Politics* 15:1 (2009), 103-18.
- Jarrod Hayes, 'Queer Resistance to (Neo-)colonialism in Algeria' AND Donald E. Morton, 'Global (Sexual) Politics, Class Struggle, and the Queer Left', in *Postcolonial, Queer: Theoretical Intersections*, ed. John C. Hawley (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001).
- Jon Binnie, *The globalization of sexuality* (London: Sage Publications, 2004).
- Kevin Floyd, *Reification of Desire: Toward a Queer Marxism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).
- Peter Drucker, '"In the Tropics There Is No Sin": Sexuality and Gay-Lesbian Movements in the Third World', *New Left Review* 1218 (1996), 75-101.
- Sonia Katyal, 'Exporting Identity', *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 14 (2002), 97-176.
- Suparna Bhaskaran, *Made in India: Decolonizations, Queer Sexualities, Trans/national Projects* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

**4. Trans\*:** What is gender identity? How is it distinct from sexual orientation? From its inception, trans\* politics has had a vexed relationship with certain strands of feminism. Why is this? Does this tension still persist? What impulses might bring a feminist and trans\* politics together? Trans\* subjects also frequently find themselves marginalised in LGBT movements by the politics of sexual orientation. Why does this happen? How might the insights and preoccupations of trans\* politics have an impact beyond considerations of gender and sexuality?

- Sandy Stone, 'The "Empire" Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto' (1987), <http://sandystone.com/empire-strikes-back>.
- Gayatri Reddy, *With Respect to Sex: Negotiating Hijra Identity in South India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), ch. 3: 'Cartographies of Sex/Gender'.
- Padma Govindan & Aniruddhan Vasudevan, 'The Razor's Edge of Oppositionality: Exploring the Politics of Rights-based Activism by Transgender Women in Tamil Nadu', in *Law Like Love: a queer perspective of law in India*, eds. Arvind Narrain & Alok Gupta (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2011).
- Afsaneh Najmabadi, 'Transing and Transpassing across Sex-Gender Walls in Iran', *Women's Studies Quarterly* 36:3&4 (2008), 23-42 [SOAS online journals].
- Laura Sjoberg, 'Toward Trans-gendering International Relations?', *International Political Sociology* 6:4 (2012), 337-54.

Suggested film: *Facing Mirrors* (Dir. Negar Azarbayjani, Iran/Germany, 2011).

#### Further reading:

- Anne Enke, *Transfeminist Perspectives in and beyond Transgender and Gender Studies* (Temple University Press, 2012).
- Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004), ch. 3: 'Doing Justice to Someone: Sex Reassignment and Allegories of Transsexuality'.
- Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).
- Julius Kaggwa, *From Juliet to Julius: In Search of My True Identity* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1998).
- Mark J. McLelland, 'From the stage to the clinic: changing transgender identities in post-war Japan', *Japan Forum* 16:1 (2004), 1-20.
- Surya Munro, 'Transmuting Gender Binaries: the Theoretical Challenge', *Sociological research online* 17:1 (2007).
- Susan Stryker & Stephen Whittle eds., *The Transgender Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006).

#### Gender identity and sport:

- Ann Hall, *Feminism and Sporting Bodies: Essays on Theory and Practice* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1996).
- Ann Hall, *The Grads Are Playing Tonight! The Story of the Edmonton Commercial Graduates Basketball Club* (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2011).
- Jennifer Doyle, From a Left Wing, <http://fromleftwing.blogspot.co.uk/>
- Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- Jos, 'The Olympic Games are obsessed with policing femininity', <http://feministing.com/2012/06/14/the-olympic-games-are-obsessed-with-policing-femininity/>
- L. Wahlert & A. Fiester, 'Gender Transports: Privileging the "Natural" in Gender Testing Debates for Intersex and Transgender Athletes', *The American Journal of Bioethics* 12: 7 (2012).
- Toby Miller, *Sportsex* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).
- Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

#### Transphobia (examples of):

- Janice Raymond, *The transsexual empire: the making of the she-male* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1979).
- Julie Burchill, 'Transsexuals should cut it out' (2013) <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/tobyyoung/100198116/here-is-julie-burchills-censored-observer-article/>.

**5. Homonationalism:** It has been suggested that LGBT rights are becoming (have become?) a new signifier of the old divide between the civilised and the savage. Do you agree? How do we account for the recent prominence of LGBT rights in Western human rights diplomacy? In what ways are gender and sexuality central to the 'War on Terror'?

Has the critique of homonationalism had a chilling effect on LGBT/queer activism? Are all forms of activism around queer sexualities in non-Western societies an imperialist 'incitement to discourse' (Massad)? Can we imagine a non-imperialist solidarity with distant queers? If we accept the reality of 'homonationalism' (Puar), what implications does this have for sexuality rights activism in the societies *from* which it emanates? How might we struggle against multiple forms of oppression simultaneously?

Area focus: Middle East

- Jasbir K. Puar, 'Mapping US Homonormativities', *Gender, Place and Culture* 13:1 (2006), 67-88 [SOAS online journals].
- Jasbir K. Puar & Amit S. Rai, 'Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terror and the Production of Docile Patriots', *Social Text* 72 (2002), 117-48 [SOAS online journals].
- Gil Z. Hochberg, 'Introduction: Israelis, Palestinians, Queers: Points of Departure', in *Queer Politics and the Question of Palestine/Israel* (A special issue of *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 16:4 (2010)) – see also the other articles in this special issue [SOAS online journals].
- Scott Long, 'Unbearable witness: how Western activists (mis)recognize sexuality in Iran', *Contemporary Politics* 15: 1 (2009), 119-36 [SOAS online journals].
- Afsaneh Najmabadi, 'Gendered Transformations: Beauty, Love, and Sexuality in Qajar Iran', *Iranian Studies* 34:1/4 (2001), 89-102 [SOAS online journals].

Suggested novels:

- Alaa Al-Aswany, *The Yacoubian Building*, trans. Humphrey Davies (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007).
- Rabih Alameddine, *The Hakawati* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).

Further reading:

- Carl F. Stychin, *Governing Sexuality: The Changing Politics of Citizenship and Law Reform* (Oxford and Portland, OR: Hart Publishing, 2003), ch. 6: "'We Want to Join Europe, not Sodom': Sexuality and European Union Accession in Romania" [electronic book accessible via the SOAS library record].
- Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003), ch. 1: 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses'.
- Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Routledge, 1978).
- *Feminist Legal Studies* 19:2 (2011),
- <http://nohomonationalism.blogspot.com/2010/06/activist-writings-for-organic.html> - list of useful resources on this topic
- Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).
- Jasbir K. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: homonationalism in queer times* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2007). See also her collected works at <http://www.jasbirpuar.com/>.
- Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (London & Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), ch. 3: 'Sex: The Story of Late Victorian Homosexual Exceptionalism'.
- Maya Mikdashi, 'Gay Rights as Human Rights: Pinkwashing Homonationalism', [http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3560/gay-rights-as-human-rights\\_pinkwashing-homonationalism](http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3560/gay-rights-as-human-rights_pinkwashing-homonationalism).
- Neville Hoad, 'Arrested development or the queerness of savages: Resisting evolutionary narratives of difference', *Postcolonial Studies* 3:2 (2000), 133-58 [SOAS online journals].
- Nupur Chaudhuri & Margaret Strobel eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).



- Rahul Rao, 'On "gay conditionality", imperial power and queer liberation', <http://kafila.org/2012/01/01/on-gay-conditionality-imperial-power-and-queer-liberation-rahul-rao/>.
- Rahul Rao, *Third World Protest: Between Home and the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 6: 'Queer in the Time of Terror'.
- Sara Ahmed, 'Problematic Proximities, Or why Critiques of "Gay Imperialism" Matter', <http://www.alanalentini.net/2009/11/09/problematic-proximities-or-why-critiques-of-gay-imperialism-matter/>.

*Sexual international relations of the Middle East:*

- 'A brief history of queers: Iran and US', <http://kpawomensmag.blogspot.com/2010/06/june-28-brief-history-of-queers-iran.html>
- Adi Kuntsman, *Figurations of Violence and Belonging: Queerness, Migranhood and Nationalism in Cyberspace and Beyond* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009).
- Aeyal Gross, 'Israeli GLBT Politics between Queerness and Homonationalism', <http://bullybloggers.wordpress.com/2010/07/03/israeli-glb-politics-between-queerness-and-homonationalism/>
- Aeyal Gross, 'Where LGBT rights and nationalism meet', <http://972mag.com/where-lgbt-rights-and-nationalism-meet/13515/>
- Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
- Brian Whitaker, *Unspeakable Love: Gay and Lesbian Life in the Middle East* (London: Saqi, 2006).
- Human Rights Watch, *"They Want Us Exterminated": Murder, Torture, Sexual Orientation and Gender in Iraq* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2009), <http://www.hrw.org/node/85050>.
- Janet Afary, *Sexual Politics of Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Janet Afary, 'The Sexual Economy of the Islamic Republic', *Iranian Studies* 42:1 (2009), 5-26 [SOAS online journals].
- Joseph A. Massad, *Desiring Arabs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). See also the debate between Massad and Ghassan Makarem (Helem), <http://www.resetdoc.org/story/1530>
- Kathryn Babayan & Afsaneh Najmabadi eds., *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations across Temporal Geographies of Desire* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2008).
- Minoo Moallem, *Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Politics of Patriarchy in Iran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
- Nima Naghibi, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).
- Richard Kim, 'Witnesses to an Execution', *The Nation* (15 August 2005), <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20050815/kim>.
- Shamira A. Meghani, 'Islamicate cultures, sexual intersections', *Sexualities* 13:6 (2010), 713-22.
- Sima Shakhsari, 'Weblogistan goes to war: representational practices, gendered soldiers and neoliberal entrepreneurship in diaspora', *Feminist Review* 99 (2011), 6-24.
- Sima Shakhsari, Afsaneh Najmabadi & Mana Kia, 'Women, Gender, and Sexuality in Historiography of Modern Iran', in *Iran in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Historiography and Political Culture*, ed. Touraj Atabaki (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 177-97.
- Sima Shakhsari, <http://englishfarangeopolis.blogspot.com/>
- Stephanie M. Selvick, 'Queer (Im)possibilities: Alaa Al-Aswany and Wahid Hamed's *The Yacoubian Building*', in *LGBT Transnational Identity in Media: Post-Colonial—Post Queer* (Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).
- Wilson Chacko Jacob, *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

**6. Homophobia:** It has become fairly common to encounter in the Western press the claim that 'homophobia is rife in Africa'. What accounts for the prominence of 'Africa' in contemporary reportage of homophobia? Conversely, in a number of African countries, conversations about LGBT rights are polarised between conservatives who insist that homosexuality is an import from the West and sexual rights activists who retort that it is homophobia that is the Western import. What is at stake in these attempts to 'locate' homophobia, temporally and spatially? Where should it be located? Should it be located at all? And is 'homophobia' the right term for the forms of violence for which it has become a signifier?

Area focus: Sub-Saharan Africa / US

- Neville Hoad, *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality, and Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), ch. 1: 'African Sodomy in the Missionary Position: Corporeal Intimacies and Signifying Regimes' (whole book recommended).
- Kapya Kaoma, 'Globalizing the Culture Wars: US Conservatives, African Churches, & Homophobia' (Political Research Associates, Somerville, MA 2009), <http://www.publiceye.org/publications/globalizing-the-culture-wars/>.
- Joanna Sadgrove et al., 'Morality Plays and Money Matters: Towards a Situated Understanding of the Politics of Homosexuality in Uganda', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 50:1 (2012), 103-29 [SOAS online journals].
- Patrick Awondo, Peter Geschiere & Graeme Reid, 'Homophobic Africa? Toward a More Nuanced View', *African Studies Review* 55:3 (2012), 145-68 [SOAS online journals].

Suggested films:

- *Call Me Kuchu* (dir. Katherine Fairfax Wright & Malika Zouhali-Worrall, USA, 2012).
- *God Loves Uganda* (dir. Roger Ross Williams, USA, 2013).

Further reading:

- Adriaan S. van Klinken, 'Gay rights, the devil and the end times: public religion and the enchantment of the homosexuality debate in Zambia', *Religion* (2013)
- David Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), ch. 7: 'Spacetime and the World' – this chapter will help you to think more productively about the term 'locate' in the question.
- Human Rights Watch / International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, *More Than a Name: State-Sponsored Homophobia and its Consequences in Southern Africa* (2003).
- Human Rights Watch, *This Alien Legacy: The Origins of "Sodomy" Laws in British Colonialism* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2008), <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2008/12/17/alien-legacy-0>
- Jeff Sharlet, 'Straight Man's Burden: The American roots of Uganda's anti-gay persecutions', *Harper's Magazine*, September 2010.
- John Blevins, 'When Sodomy Leads to Martyrdom: Sex, Religion, and Politics in Historical and Contemporary Contexts in Uganda and East Africa', *Theology & Sexuality* 17:1 (2011), 51-74.
- Kevin Ward, 'Same-Sex Relations in Africa and the Debate on Homosexuality in East African Anglicanism', *Anglican Theological Review* (2002), [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_qa3818/is\\_200201/ai\\_n9042012/](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3818/is_200201/ai_n9042012/).
- Kristen Cheney, 'Locating Neocolonialism, "Tradition", and Human Rights in Uganda's "Gay Death Penalty"', *African Studies Review* 55:2 (2012), 77-95.
- Marc Epprecht, 'Black skin, "cowboy" masculinity: A genealogy of homophobia in the African nationalist movement in Zimbabwe to 1983', *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 7:3 (2005), 253-66.
- Marc Epprecht, *Heterosexual Africa?: The History of an Idea from the Age of Exploration to the Age of AIDS* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, Scotsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2008).
- Marc Epprecht, *Hungochani: the history of a dissident sexuality in southern Africa* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2004).
- Marc Epprecht, *Sexuality and Social Justice in Africa: Rethinking Homophobia and Forging Resistance* (London: Zed Books, 2013).

- Marc Epprecht, 'The "Unsayings" of Indigenous Homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a Blindspot in an African Masculinity', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24:4 (1998), 631-51.
- Marc Epprecht, Sybille Nyeck & Mark Blasius eds., *Genders and Sexualities in Africa* (Buffalo: SUNY Press, forthcoming).
- Miranda K. Hassett, *Anglican Communion in Crisis: How Episcopal Dissidents and Their African Allies are Reshaping Anglicanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
- Oliver Phillips, 'Zimbabwean Law and the Production of a White Man's Disease', *Social & Legal Studies* 6 (1997), 471.
- Rahul Rao, 'The location of homophobia', [http://www.academia.edu/1713168/The\\_Location\\_of\\_Homophobia](http://www.academia.edu/1713168/The_Location_of_Homophobia).
- Ruth Morgan & Saskia Wieringa eds., *Tommy Boys, Lesbian Men and Ancestral Wives: Female Same-sex practices in Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2005).
- Stephen O. Murray & Will Roscoe eds., *Boy-wives and female husbands: studies of African homosexuality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
- Sylvia Tamale ed., *African Sexualities: A Reader* (Oxford/Cape Town: Pambazuka Press, 2011).
- William J. Spurlin, *Imperialism within the Margins: Queer Representation and the Politics of Culture in Southern Africa* (New York: Palgrave, 2006).

#### Homophobia:

- David A. B. Murray ed., *Homophobias: lust and loathing across time and space* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).
- Michael J. Bosia & Meredith L. Weiss eds., *Global Homophobia: States, Movements, and the Politics of Oppression* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

**7. Revolutions and sexual liberation:** Do revolutions offer an opportunity for the institutional affirmation and protection of sexual diversity? How do we explain South Africa's remarkably progressive laws on sexual and gender diversity? How do we explain the disjunction between a high level of legal protection and a high level of societal violence towards gender and sexual minorities?

Area focus: South Africa / Nepal / Cuba; we will supplement our readings this week with a discussion of the potentials and perils of the Arab Spring for sexual and gender liberation. I will expect you to find your own resources for this purpose. A good place to start would be [www.jadaliyya.com](http://www.jadaliyya.com).

- Sheila Croucher, 'South Africa's Democratisation and the Politics of Gay Liberation', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28:2 (2002), 315-30 [SOAS online journals].
- Jacklyn Cock, 'Engendering Gay and Lesbian Rights: The Equality Clause in the South African Constitution', *Women's Studies International Forum* 26:1 (2003), 35-45 [available via Google search].
- Carl F. Styckin, *A Nation by Rights: national cultures, sexual identity politics and the discourse of rights* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), ch. 3: 'Righting Wrongs'.
- Lourdes Arguelles & B. Ruby Rich, 'Homosexuality, Homophobia, and Revolution: Notes Toward an Understanding of the Cuban Lesbian and Gay Male Experience', in *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, eds. Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus & George Chauncey (New York: Penguin, 1989).
- Nicola Pratt, 'Egyptian Women: Between Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Orientalism, and "Authenticity"', [http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/11559/egyptian-women\\_between-revolution-counter-revolution](http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/11559/egyptian-women_between-revolution-counter-revolution).

#### Further reading:

- Brenna M. Munro, *South Africa and the Dream of Love to Come: Queer Sexuality and the Struggle for Freedom* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
- C. P. Dunton & Mai Palmberg eds., *Human Rights and Homosexuality in Southern Africa* (Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute, 1996).

- Edwin Cameron & Mark Gevisser, *Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).
- Hannah Dee, *The Red in the Rainbow: Sexuality, Socialism and LGBT Liberation* (London: Bookmarks, 2011)
- Mark Gevisser, 'Mandela's Stepchildren: Homosexual Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in *Different Rainbows*, ed. Peter Drucker (London: Gay Men's Press, 2001).
- Mark Hunter, *Love in the Time of AIDS: Inequality, Gender, and Rights in South Africa* (Indiana University Press, 2010).
- Mabel Cuesta, 'Other Islanders on Lesbos: A Retrospective Look at the History of Lesbians in Cuba', in *Our Caribbean: A Gathering of Lesbian and Gay Writing from the Antilles*, ed. Thomas Glave (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2008).
- Neville Hoad, *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality, and Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), especially ch. 4: 'White Man's Burden, White Man's Disease: Tracking Lesbian and Gay Human Rights'.
- Pierre de Vos, <http://constitutionallyspeaking.co.za/>
- Pierre de Vos, 'Same-Sex Sexual Desire and the Re-Imagining of the South African Family', *South African Journal on Human Rights* 20 (2004), 179-206.
- Ryan Goodman, 'Beyond the Enforcement Principle: Social Laws, Social Norms, and Social Panoptics', *California Law Review* 89:3 (2001), 643-740.

*Nepal (there is very little academic literature, but this is an important country to follow, given recent developments – search for Blue Diamond Society, Sunil Pant):*

- Stacy Leigh Pigg, 'Languages of Sex and AIDS in Nepal: Notes on the Social Production of Commensurability', *Cultural Anthropology* 16:4 (2001), 481-541.
- <http://www.tnr.com/article/world/92076/nepal-census-third-gender-lgbt-sunil-pant>
- <http://www.ekantipur.com/the-kathmandu-post/2011/08/31/oped/separate-and-unequal/225780.html>
- Kyle Knight, 'HIV-AIDS Funding Gap Costs Lives in Nepal', [http://theweek.myrepublica.com/details.php?news\\_id=37121](http://theweek.myrepublica.com/details.php?news_id=37121)
- Kyle Knight, 'Recognizing the rights of third gender', [http://myrepublica.com/portal/index.php?action=news\\_details&news\\_id=36458](http://myrepublica.com/portal/index.php?action=news_details&news_id=36458)
- <http://thenewcivilrightsmovement.com/nepal-new-prime-minister-must-keep-promise-to-lgbti-community/news/2011/09/25/27547>
- [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/11/09/nepal-asia-pioneer-lgbt-rights\\_n\\_1084188.html?ref=gay-voices](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/11/09/nepal-asia-pioneer-lgbt-rights_n_1084188.html?ref=gay-voices)

**8. The perils and potentials of legality:** What is gained, and lost, by approaching the state for the legal affirmation and protection of sexual and gender diversity? Can queer bodies afford not to approach the state? In what ways might attitudes towards the law be shaped by race, class, language, sex and gender identity?

Area focus: India

- Aeyal M. Gross, 'Sex, Love, and Marriage: Questioning Gender and Sexuality Rights in International Law', *Leiden Journal of International Law* 21:1 (2008), 235-53 [SOAS online journals].
- Arvind Narain & Alok Gupta eds., *Law Like Love: a queer perspective of law in India* (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2011) – chapters by Naisargi N. Dave (ch. 2: 'Ordering Justice, Fixing Dreams: An Ethnography of Queer Legal Activism'), akshay khanna (ch. 6: 'The Social Lives of 377: Constitution of the Law by the Queer Movement'), Aniruddha Dutta (ch. 9: 'IPC 377 and the Retroactive Consolidation of 'Homophobia'), Mayur Suresh (ch. 21: 'I'm only here to do Masti: Sodomy Law and the limits of subjectivation').
- Ashley Tellis, 'Disrupting the Dinner Table: Re-thinking the 'Queer Movement' in Contemporary India', *Jindal Global Law Review* 4:1 (2012), 142-56. <http://www.jgls.edu.in/JindalGlobalLawReview/CurrentIssue.htm>.
- Dean Spade, *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2011), ch. 2: 'What's Wrong With Rights?'

- Pierre de Vos & Jaco Barnard, 'Same-sex marriage, civil unions and domestic partnerships in South Africa: critical reflections on an ongoing saga', *South African Law Journal* 124:4 (2007), 795-826 [SOAS online journals].

See also if you have time:

- Dahlia Lithwick, 'Extreme Makeover: The story behind the story of Lawrence v. Texas', *The New Yorker*, 12 March 2012, [http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2012/03/12/120312crbo\\_books\\_lithwick](http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2012/03/12/120312crbo_books_lithwick).
- Ariel Levy, 'The Perfect Wife: How Edith Windsor fell in love, got married, and won a landmark case for gay marriage', *The New Yorker*, 30 September 2013, [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2013/09/30/130930fa\\_fact\\_levy](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2013/09/30/130930fa_fact_levy)

Further reading:

- Carl F. Stychin, *Law's Desire: Sexuality and the Limits of Justice* (Oxford: Routledge, 1995).
- David L. Eng, *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2010).
- Dale Carpenter, *Flagrant Conduct: The Story of Lawrence v. Texas* (W. W. Norton, 2012).
- Pierre de Vos, 'On the Legal Construction of Gay and Lesbian Identity and South Africa's Transitional Constitution', *South African Journal on Human Rights* 12 (1996), 265-90.
- Proceedings of the American Society of International Law 2007, 'Queering International Law'.
- Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity casebook - <http://www.icj.org/sogi-casebook-introduction/>
- The Yogyakarta Principles, <http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org/>.
- United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, *Born Free and Equal: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in International Human Rights Law* (New York and Geneva: 2012), <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/BornFreeAndEqualLowRes.pdf>

India:

- Akhil Katyal, 'Playing a Double Game: Idioms of Same Sex Desire in India', SOAS PhD Thesis, 2011.
- Arvind Narrain, *Queer: Despised Sexuality, Law and Social Change* (Bangalore: Books for Change, 2004).
- Arvind Narrain & Gautam Bhan eds., *Because I Have a Voice: Queer Politics in India* (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2005).
- Brinda Bose & Subhabrata Bhattacharya eds., *The phobic and the erotic: The politics of sexualities in contemporary India* (London: Seagull Books, 2007).
- *Naz Foundation v. Government of NCT of Delhi and Others* (2009), [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naz\\_Foundation\\_v.\\_Govt.\\_of\\_NCT\\_of\\_Delhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naz_Foundation_v._Govt._of_NCT_of_Delhi) (read text of the judgment, downloadable from the 'external links' section).
- Naisargi N. Dave, *Queer Activism in India: A Story in the Anthropology of Ethics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).
- Nivedita Menon ed., *Sexualities* (London: Zed Books, 2008).
- Sanjay Srivastava ed., *Sexuality Studies* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- *The Right that Dares to Speak its Name – Naz Foundation v. Union of India and Others: Decriminalising Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in India* (Bangalore: Alternative Law Forum, 2009), pp. 93-129 ('Commentaries: Reactions to the Naz Judgment') – downloadable from the 'external links' section of [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naz\\_Foundation\\_v.\\_Govt.\\_of\\_NCT\\_of\\_Delhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naz_Foundation_v._Govt._of_NCT_of_Delhi)



**9. Queer Temporality:** Do queers have pasts? What is at stake in efforts to excavate those pasts? Towards what political uses might sexual pasts be deployed? Is the search for pasts a trap for sexual and gender minorities? Do queers have a future? What is at stake in deployments of futurity? What is chrononormativity? What would it mean to queer temporality?

- Rahul Rao, 'Re-membering Mwanga: same-sex intimacy, memory and belonging in postcolonial Uganda'.
- Anjali R. Arondekar, *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2009), 'Introduction: Without a Trace'.
- Elizabeth Freeman, 'Introduction', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 13:2-3 (2007), 159-76 (Special issue on Queer Temporalities – read the other contributions that interest you) [SOAS online journals].
- Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), ch. 1: 'The Future is Kid Stuff'.
- Judith Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), ch. 3.

*Further reading:*

- Bullybloggers on Failure and the Future of Queer Studies, <http://bullybloggers.wordpress.com/2012/04/02/bullybloggers-on-failure-and-the-future-of-queer-studies/>.
- David Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
- Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).
- Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Cultures*, eds. Cary Nelson & Lawrence Grossberg (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).
- Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus & George Chauncey eds., *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Penguin, 1989).
- Nayan Shah, 'Sexuality, identity, and the uses of history', in *A Lotus of Another Color: An Unfolding of the South Asian Gay and Lesbian Experience* (Boston: Alyson, 1993).
- Richard Phillips, 'Histories of Sexuality and Imperialism: What's the Use?', *History Workshop Journal* 22:1 (2007), 1-17.
- Ruth Vanita & Saleem Kidwai eds., *Same-Sex Love in India: Readings from Literature and History* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

**Other readings:**

*East Asia:*

- Edmond J. Coleman & Wah-shan Chou, *Tongzhi: Politics of Same-Sex Eroticism in Chinese Societies* (Routledge, 2000).
- Fran Martin, Peter A. Jackson, Mark McLelland & Audrey Yue eds., *AsiaPacifiQueer: Rethinking Genders and Sexualities* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).
- *Inter Asia Cultural Studies* 8:4 (2007) – special issue on queer sexualities in East Asia
- Jenpeng Liu & Naifei Ding, 'Reticent Poetics, Queer Politics', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6:1 (2005), 30-55.
- Mark McLelland, 'Is there a Japanese gay identity?', *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 2:4 (2000), 459-72.
- Tom Boellstorff, *The Gay Archipelago: Sexuality and Nation in Indonesia* (Princeton, 2003).
- Travis S. K. Kong, *Chinese Male Homosexualities: Memba, Tongzhi and Golden Boy* (Routledge, 2010).

*London controversies:*

- Jin Haritaworn et al, 'Gay Imperialism: Gender and Sexuality Discourse in the "war on terror"', in *Out of Place: Interrogating Silences in Queerness/Racality*, eds. Adi Kuntsman & Esperanza Miyake (York: Raw Nerve Books, 2008) [CENSORED! Contact me for a copy].
- <http://www.rawnervebooks.co.uk/outofplace.html> - Read the 'Apology & Correction' and 'Publisher's

Comment

- Stacy Douglas, 'On Defending Raw Nerve Books: Or, The Stuff of Good Feeling', *Upping the Anti: A Journal of Theory and Action* 11 (2010) – available via Google search
- One of many statements by Peter Tatchell on the issue - <http://www.petertatchell.net/politics/academics-smear-peter-tatchell.htm>
- Women Against Fundamentalism statement in support of Peter Tatchell - <http://womenagainstofundamentalism.org.uk/record.html#tatchell>
- Latte Labour, The 'decent left' and anti-fascism', <http://lattelabour.blogspot.com/2011/09/decent-left-and-anti-fascism.html>
- 'African LGBTI Human Rights Defenders Warn Public against Participation in Campaigns Concerning LGBTI Issues in Africa Led by Peter Tatchell and OutRage!', *Monthly Review* (31 January 2007), <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2007/increase310107.html>.
- Imaan, <http://imaanlondon.wordpress.com/>
- Safra Project, <http://www.safraproject.org/>