Transnationalism, an idea of the human rights approach to violence against vulnerable groups (case study LGBT communities in Uganda).

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Human rights
Bachelor thesis
15 credits
Spring 2018
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Abstract

This paper investigates the development of transnational human rights activists’ networks and how they operate and influence LGBTI human rights activist networks in Uganda against violence on the Ugandan LGBTI communities. The case study, employs semi structured interviews to investigate, how transnational networks are used as a mobilization too in promoting LGBTI human rights in Uganda. Further investigation is done on how transnational networks influence different social networks within local LGBTI activist groups when dealing with violence against the LGBTI communities. The study is taken from a view point of different local LGBTI activist groups and their close link with other international organizations and human rights bodies specifically from countries such as Sweden. Theories surrounding transnational networks and social networks are used in order to frame both cross border relations and local networks among the LGBTI groups. The study also calls for further research on other actors such as transnational migrants and individual activist including social media activist and their impact on the rights of LGBTI in Uganda.

Keywords: Transnational human rights activism, LGBTI local activist, Human rights, social networks, LGBTI communities.
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Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>Office of the high commissioner for human rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGBTI</td>
<td>Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Intersex</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICCPR</td>
<td>International convention on civil and political rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish international development agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United states agency for international development</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>UNITED NATIONS</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nation International Children Emergency Fund</td>
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<td>AHA</td>
<td>Anti-Homosexual Act</td>
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<td>MP</td>
<td>Members of Parliament</td>
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1. Introduction

I come from a very strong conservative, religious background and from as far as I can remember, speaking about homosexuality was a forbidden topic in my family and in many households in Uganda. In fact, it was very rare that a church ceremony would conclude without the preacher speaking about homosexuality, evil and hell in the same sentence.

When I enrolled in the Human rights program and shared the news of the enrolment with my family, the first response from my parent was, whether I was now a defender of homosexuality. Moreover, every time I have posted a rainbow symbol on my Facebook during the ‘Pride week,’ I have gotten angry comments and inboxes from close friends back in Uganda asking me to put the post down, claiming that the post represented a promotion of homosexuality.

A lot of homophobic Ugandans would like to believe that the LGBTI is a new western idea that is used to break down the idea of a family unit, the kind of propaganda most religious leaders have used to foster Homophobia within their congregation.

Since my early childhood, I have known the existence of LGBTI members in the community, although living in high secrecy for fear of violence upon them, especially from members of their own families and the public. In fact, I often heard my brother and Sisters talking about same-sex relations and transgender within their schools, using slags so our parents wouldn't know what they would be talking about. It has also been common knowledge among the young people and the public at large, that same-sex relations were common in ‘single boys' and ‘single girls' boarding schools. However, most people including my parents took this kind of relationships simply as a phase for young adolescents exploring their sexuality, although it was never to be spoken of since it was considered as ‘ an abomination' something not to be spoken of.
The public discourse on homosexuality and the LGBTI community was sparked off around 2006, when one of the most prominent and respected clergymen in the country was accused of molesting and sexually harassing young men in his congregation. The case and allegations were highly publicized on all media houses, with various media talk shows centering on these allegations and parading the alleged violated boys. Shortly after these series of event, a group of western evangelist specifically from the US enhanced the propaganda on Homosexuality referring it to evil, calling upon the religious leader to fight this plight that had presumably invaded the country, relating it to the ancient biblical Sodom and Gomora.

One of the churches I attended during the peak of the homophobia propaganda, the preacher openly criticized and called upon the congregation to denounce the LGBTI, claiming they were ungodly and demonic. In his words, he stated ‘God did not create Adam and Steve but Adam and Eve, and that the west had shifted away from Godly values and was equally promoting these immoral acts among the youth, promising them wealth, and a better life.

Moreover, on several occasion, I watched renowned Ugandan anti-homosexuality evangelist by the names of pastor Sempa and pastor Male, on televised public debates with renowned LGBTI activist. However, these debates in most cases would be, characterized by homophobic name calling and insult throwing by the evangelists with the intention to steer homophobic violence in the public sphere.

The propaganda initiated by the homophobic evangelists, disguising themselves as moral bearer for the society began to spread, they claimed that highly influential transnational LGBTI movements, specifically from Europe and the US directly provided financial incentives to the Homosexuals and had spearheaded a countrywide recruitment of young people starting with single-sex schools in pursuit of growing the LGBT community. This propaganda sparked off fear and increased homophobia within the Ugandan community.

By the end of 2012, the propaganda and homophobia speeches calling on the government to take action on the LGBTI communities dominated all media platforms, places of worship and in schools across the country. However, equally pressure from human right activists, and LGBTI activists including international bodies intensified specifically after the death of a renowned LGBTI member by the names of Kato. In the end, the public discourse on LGBT, was politicized, resulting to harsher laws and persecution of the LGBT communities and anyone who associated him or herself with the community, but also threats of sanctions on
Uganda for its action against the LGBTI communities, from counties such as Sweden (Cheney 2012:77).

1.2 Problematization

The violence against the LGBTI communities together with the Ugandan anti-homosexual law of 2014, could not go unnoticed, especially since Uganda is party to most of the Human rights conventions and is mandated to uphold the Human rights instruments for all its citizens. According to documentation from the different Ugandan print media, 26 arrests of members from the LGBTI communities were recorded between the periods of 2007-2011, with most arrest carried out between the periods of 2009-2010. Moreover, a Western embassy (anonymous) also complied list documenting several arrests between the periods of 2009, which was forwarded by several LGBTI groups. The list comprised of both activist and ordinary LGBTI member summing up to 23 victims (http://www.ohchr.org 21-08-2018, https://drc.ngo/media/ 21-08-2018).

Several statements from different international bodies, heads of state and civil societies have continuously come out to condemn the acts of violence against the LGBTI communities in Uganda, among which include Amnesty International and The Swedish government. It is evident that there is increasing pressure and actions by some of these civil societies calling for legal reforms regarding LGBT rights in Uganda. These pressures and actions combined together with existing strong networks between local Ugandan LGBTI activist groups and Western human rights bodies could be interpreted as transnationalism at its best work. Therefore this calls for a need to define and understand the impact of these transnational networks and the international pressures. Moreover to explore how they operate in enhancing LGBTI rights across borders.

Therefore the debate surrounding this research is centered on exploring and understanding the concept of transnationalism when it comes to human right activism and it’s development as an approach for human rights activism across borders, in addressing the violence against LGBT communities in Uganda.

The research problem of the study is thus linked with, exploring how both local LGBTI activist groups and western human right organizations are able to use transnational and social networks to address the Homophobia in both public and political spheres in order to end the violence against the Ugandan LGBTI communities.
1.3 Research Purpose and Aim
This is explorative research aiming to investigate, the development of transnational human rights activist networks and how they operate and influence human rights activism against violence on the Ugandan LGBT communities.

1.4 Research Question
This research intends to answer: how transnational networks are used as a mobilization tool in promoting LGBTI human right in Uganda

Secondly, the research intends to answer how transnational networks influence the different social networks within the local LGBTI activist groups when dealing with violence against the LGBTI communities.

1.5 Delimitation
The delimitations below intend to reduce the misleading assumptions about the sample group or any generalization of the collected data. Therefore this is a study with a focus on a few unique selected organizations which contribute in understanding the concepts of transnational and social networks among LGBTI communities in Uganda and also human rights activist groups when it comes to LGBTI rights.

This study was carried out during my two weeks stay in Uganda and constituted four interviews within the capital of Uganda (Kampala). The organizations selected in this research are among the few organizations which are officially registered as NGO and recognized by the Ugandan Government and the international community as Human rights activist organizations and Sex and reproductive health organizations and facilities.

It's important to note that the organizations included in this study are not a representation of all LGBTI activist groups across Uganda but only implies that the project had a limited geographical scope and followed certain criteria in collecting accurate and relevant data. For instance, ten LGBTI activist organization were initially considered for the study all of which were selected from Swedish human rights organization websites as active LGBTI organizations operating in Uganda. However, six of these organizations were excluded from the study based on three reasons. Firstly, the study only put into consideration LGBTI activist groups located in the central part of the capital of Uganda (Kampala). Secondly, the study considered organizations directly link and had working relations with Swedish among other international LGBTI activist groups. Thirdly access to some organizations within Kampala
was difficult, especially because of fear associated with the persecution of LGBTI members and organizations associated with LGBTI and the need to be security caution. Furthermore the fact that I am originally from Uganda, the nature or sensitivity of the subject created a lot of suspicion among some of the organizations I contacted hence creating hesitancy of participation of some organization.

The study was also equally kin on exploring western activist networks, specifically Swedish human rights activist organizations with activities in Uganda, but for the sake of more accurate results and access to concrete data, the study had to be carried out in Uganda through interviews with the various LGBTI activist organizations rather than in Sweden or other western organizations. Thus this research excludes interviews from Swedish and other western LGBTI activist organizations. Furthermore, this study is not interested in the legal status and recognition of the LGBTI organizations in accordance to governing NGO domestic policies, but rather puts a major emphasis on their operational and transnational networks when carrying out their work.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis
The thesis is structured in a way that, it introduces the subject area, using personal experience and recaps of the researcher during his stay in Uganda, specifically from his early teens to 2014 when he left Uganda to move to Sweden. The thesis then states the research problem, aim, and research questions. It further outlines delimitations. The second chapter of the thesis starts off with the contextual background elaborating the development of the discourse surrounding LGBTI communities in Uganda both local and internationally. In the third chapter, the paper reviews previous studies from different scholars focusing on the relevant concepts as used and defined by other scholars in reference to study. The thesis introduces the relevant theoretical framework to be considered in the study. The fifth chapter talks about the methodology and research design elaborating in detail how the research was carried out, and The thesis then explains the methods employed in the collection of data and analysis. In the sixth chapter the thesis uses and puts into consideration the theoretical framework, in analyzing all the data collected, which includes interviews from the LGBTI organizations in Uganda. Finally, the research reaches a conclusion based on the findings and analysis and makes conclusion remarks and suggestions in the seventh and eighth chapters respectively.


2 Background of the study

2.1 Contextual Background

Uganda is party to most international human rights instruments. Among which is the international convention of civil and political rights, and its optional protocol both ratified in 1995. The countries have a responsibility as a duty bearer to uphold all the human rights instruments it is party to and also incorporates them into its national laws (http://www.ohchr.org).

Because of these obligations and expectations which include treating all its citizens with dignity and equality as stated in these Human rights instruments, Uganda's homophobic laws and persecution of LGBTI community, has not gone unnoticed in the international scenes. The pressure from civil societies both within the country and from international organizations seem to increase each day, calling for legal reforms regarding LGBTI rights (Strand 2011:921, Reuter 2010).

However, the homophobic laws and public violence against the LGBTI, which stems from a deep-rooted cultural, religious and political history, prevents and hinders the activation of reforms and tolerance of the LGBTI within both the political and public sphere. Despite the countries obligations to strengthen human right values, both religious and political leaders have come out on national and international Media stating how they won't barge to the pressure from the west especially when it comes to the persecution and alienating the LGBTI communities. According to a televised interview broadcasted on CNN (2014), the president Yoweri Museveni, when asked if the signing the anti-homosexual bill would be a step taking Uganda backward, in his response he stated that: ‘This is not the case and in fact that Ugandans had never supported Homosexuality since time in memorial'. He further advised the west to ‘back off,' by stating that, 'this was one area that Ugandans are not willing to compromise or barge.' (CNN, 2014)

2.2 Homosexuality during the Precolonial and colonial era.

Studies from scholars such as John Faupel (1962), and Evans-Pritchard's (1970), had argued that homosexuality existed in Africa long before colonialism, and was never criminalized during those time, some scholars have gone further to argue that even some kings, for example, Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda was openly homosexual, and some young males in the royal palace provided pleasure and entertainment sexually to palace guests. However, when the colonialisat arrived on the continent, they had a perception that African were heterosexual
in nature, a belief most African leaders have continued to argue for, stating that Homosexuality is a western idea infiltrating their societies (Hyeon-Jae Seo, 2017).

President Yoweri Museveni (2014) has come out to argue that homosexuality was a forbidden practice in African culture since time in memorial. In addition to the false perception regarding Homosexuality among African communities, the Colonial masters enacted religious laws which forbid the practices of homosexuality which continue to be a custom among several African cultures up to date. The first homosexual law in Uganda was enacted in 1902 by the British colonialist (Hyeon-Jae Seo, 2017).

2.3 Circumstances surrounding the 2014 anti-homosexual law in Uganda

Most articles and scholars, who have picked interest in the studies surrounding LGBT rights violations in Uganda, seem to argue that, the 2014 homophobic laws in Uganda are attributed to events that happened in 2009 after a visitation of the homophobic religious evangelist from the United States. According to Waymon Hudson (2010), American evangelist Lou Engle stated that: “NGOs, the U.N., UNICEF were coming to Uganda to promote an agenda, and that America had lost its religious freedom. He further went on to assert that they were in an attempt to restrain the agenda that was sweeping through the education system. And that Uganda was ‘ground Zero’. It is argued that a new wave of Ugandan Evangelic preaching sprang out immediately after the visitation of western evangelists such as Loy Engle and the influence of Scott Lively. This kind of Preaching was meant to create homophobia in the public sphere and influence politicians to take action by enacting harsher laws targeted towards the LGBTI communities; Hence the introduction of the Anti-homosexual Bill, commonly known as the ‘kill the gays' bill' (Sander 2010; Strand 2013; Sharlet 2010; Kaoma 2009, Hudson, 2010).

2.3.1 The 2014 Ugandan Anti-homosexuality law and reactions from the international communities

The anti-homosexual bill was intended to, create a crime of aggravated homosexuality, making any act of homosexuality a crime punishable by death. This bill also equally called for the imprisonment of anyone who failed to report homosexuality activities (Boyd 2013: 697).
The events surrounding this bill and signing it into law put Uganda in a spotlight, with a large number of Ugandans fleeing the Country to seek asylum, basing their fear of what would become of them when the bill was put into law. International leaders such as Former Us president Obama (2012) denounced this bill calling it ‘Odious.’ While the chairman of international trade subcommittee of Senate committee on finance, Senator Ron Wyden (2012) argued that the Uganda anti-homosexual bill would become problematic and could violate the Africa growth and opportunity act. Furthermore, the US Congress highly condemned the bill and urged the Ugandan parliament to reject it, while countries like Sweden threatened to cut off all aid to Uganda if the bill was to be passed into law (Cheney 2012:77).

In August 2014 the anti-homosexual bill was passed and signed by the president of Uganda Yoweri Kaguta Museveni into law, in spite of international pressure and threats of sanctions from the west (Keene, 2014).

It was evident that the international community had picked a keen interest on the violations of LGBT rights as a minority group in Uganda. This was equally observed through threats of sanctions, and UN reports on Human rights violations. For instance, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay, denounced the anti-homosexuality law (2014), arguing that the institutionalized discrimination against lesbians, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) encourages harassment and violence against them (http://www.ohchr.org April 18th, 2018)

In August 2014 the anti-homosexual bill was passed and signed by the president of Uganda Yoweri Kaguta Museveni into law, in spite of international pressure and threats of sanctions from the west (Uganda Daily Monitor 2014).

According to Keene (2014), in her article ‘Mild financial fallout from the Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Act,’ the United States issued retaliatory aid, police, and travel and military sanctions against Uganda. This sanctions included transfer fund from the Ugandan ministry of health to other non-government health organizations, travel bans to the United States of all human rights abusers especially abusers of LGBTI rights, termination of aid worth 2.4 million dollars, which was intended to support Uganda community policy programs, relocation of a 3 million dollar plan to South Africa which was meant for a development of public health institute for Uganda and the termination of the United States Africa command military aviation exercise (Keene, 2014).
In March of 2014, the White House went further in response to the Anti-homosexual act (AHA) by shifting funds from Ugandan partners whose public stand on homosexuality was in violation of human rights. The US administration canceled several funded projects such as a Center for Disease Control survey of HIV at-risk populations in Uganda. It further redirecting approximately US$3 million in funding for Ugandan tourism and biodiversity towards NGO programming, including the freezing of an estimated 4 million dollars in support of Uganda's health care sector (Keene 2014).

In June 2014, following suit of sanctions by the US on Uganda as a result of the anti-homosexual act, other western donors including Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, and the World Bank, also put sanctions on the country, which lead to the diversion of aid amounting to US$118 million in assistance to Uganda as a means of protest against the AHA's provisions (Keene 2014).

Several civil societies through a large consolidated network, with both local and international human rights activists and organizations, jointly created an alliance and took the government to the courts of law, and shortly after the bill had been passed into law, the constitutional court annulled the anti-homosexual law (https://www.sida.se/globalassets/sida, April 2018).

The ruling by the constitutional court was based on the fact that the law was passed without the required quorum. This is because the legal standard in Ugandan parliament to pass a law, according to article 79 of the Ugandan constitution, Sub-rule (2), states that ‘The quorum prescribed in sub-Rule (1) shall only be required at a time when Parliament is voting on any question'. One-third of all MPs entitled to vote are 125 Members and therefore, in the case of passing of any bill a decision relies on this Rule…’ (The Guardian 6 June 2015).

Although the law was reversed based on technical rule rather than moral or human rights concerns, the LGBTI community in Uganda is still under threat of the law resurrecting. Violence and persecutions of the LGBTI still go on countrywide, with the state basing its persecution on an existing homophobic law put in practice during the colonial times. (The Guardian 6 June 2015, https://www.sida.se, April 2018).

3Literature review

The literature review is based on previous studies, with an interest on the conceptual development of Human rights, focusing on the post-colonial views, the decision to first review the post colonialist, was to have a follow up and a theoretical understanding of the
background of the LGBTI violence and the viewpoint of the anti-gay advocates, from the perspective of previous post-colonialist scholars. However, I will further review previous studies of the concept of transnationalism in an attempt to establish its relevancy in understanding international human rights activist networks, particularly focusing on how the concept is used in the translation of human rights ideas, based on its conceptual development by other scholars, connecting its relevancy to the LGBTI situation in Uganda.

3.1 Post-colonialism human rights.
This section of the literature review will focus primarily on understanding human rights from a post-colonialist perspective. It will put into consideration, articles, and literature which elaborate the theory in depth to get a clear view on the ideas of pre-colonialist especially when it comes to the rights of the LGBT communities in Uganda.

The key words in this review are culture, post-colonialism, human rights.

It's impossible to talk about rights without citing Locke, Hugo, Kant, and Rousseau. The four philosophers, argue that human beings were the first subject to natural law, their arguments from different philosophical perspectives saw man evolving from the point of innocence to the point of savages, competing amongst each other, and the only way to serenity was evolving from the natural to civilization and this could only be attained through what they regarded to be universal rights.

Grovogui (2011) discusses human rights from both historical and cultural perspectives, encompassing both public and private lives. He attempts to discuss the notion based on the American declaration of independence and the French declaration of rights of man where the rights of the citizens were voiced in these two turning historical events of these nations. These two historical events in both France and American According to Grovogui (2011) were to define implicitly and explicitly the ‘nature of man.' Implying what was human and what was inhuman and thereby putting forward what could be comprised of that which was considered outside this definition. Grovogui (2011) further asserts that these definitions were crucial to define rights and equally the states limits when it came to its involvement to both public and private lives of its citizens, but also created a level of standard in the behavior of the different segments of people. He also argues that these ideologies changed and determined the essence and nature of the legal setup imposed on the citizens and what comprised of the duties of a citizen about constitutional justice Grovogui 2011:46-48).
However, the facts that, human rights is based on the ideas of these two historical events from the west. Post-colonial scholars have viewed human rights as a Eurocentric and as something from the modern civilized west being imposed on the other non-western nations. For instance, in the case of Uganda, a common argument in favor of the anti-homosexual discriminatory laws is that homosexuality is not only rare in Africa, but that it is a distinctly un-African phenomenon which is an export from the western cultures. They argue that rights mean to be privately and politically subjugated under the law. Post colonist tends to believe that there is likely to be a situation where rights which do not suit best the Euro -American model are disregarded. Therefore they seem to put a spotlight on the limits attributed to the traditional concepts on the right (Grovogui 2011:48).

However, the arguments put forward by post-colonial scholars call for new ideologies and theories in explaining and admitting to the fact that western views ignore the way other cultures have asserted their rights, beliefs, and practices which do not originate from the west (Grovogui 2011:48).

Cowel (2014) about Grovogui (2011), create deeper friction with the post colonialist. He discusses both the French and the American constitution stating that these two declarations wherein alignment in excluding slaves from the protection of the rights. He goes further to state that ‘in reality rights where meant to focus on granting and securing liberty from the state for a minority of individuals' through promising some and excluding other for example slaves and women (Cowel 2014:264).

Arendt in the right to have rights (1973) concerning refugees and stateless people, although a modern theorist tends to agree with the post-colonialist in this perspective when it comes to the exclusion of rights and views these declarations and bills of rights being limited and problematic. Her argument is based on the assumption that when human rights were created, they did not cater for war victims who faced the fears of being stateless and refugees. These rights depended on the duty of a sovereign state as a provider, which usually limited these rights to their citizens leaving out those desperately in need them. She argues that human rights are only enjoyed by the prosperous and civilized nation and yet the people who need them the most are excluded based on their statelessness (Arendt 1973:279). James D. Ingram (2008:403) equally agrees with Arendt and the postcolonial and argues that human rights only became rights only after other rights where taken away from people leaving them with no rights at all. The arguments put forward by Arendt and James, could be related to the
LGBTI communities in Uganda, although when the two scholars made these arguments, their main focus where refugees and stateless people.

The Articles selected from the post-colonialist scholars, shade light, on the friction between the human rights activists both international and local, and the give an insight on the background or root of the pro anti-homosexual Ugandan legislatures, who believe that LGBTI rights is an ideology of the west, and it is non-African, as stated in the remarks of the President of Uganda, Mr. Museveni (2014) cited in the previous chapter.

The post-colonialist scholars, provide a basis for this study for the reader to understand what is at the core of the violence against LGBTI communities and why the public at large seem to act in a homophobic manner toward these communities. Although it does not shade light on the funder metal questions this paper intended to address, it gives the impression that transnational organizations highlighted in this study are a result of post-colonialism, rather than the overall objective to promote and foster human rights values at a global level. And therefore the local activist groups are perceived by the state and public of Uganda as local agents, used by the transnational human rights activist, to assert post-colonial agendas on to the nation and the public.

3.1 Understanding transnationalism from the viewpoint of another scholar.

Transnationalism has become a very interesting and a relevant topic for scholars exploring its nature in understanding cross-border relations. A lot of studies have capitalized on transnational communities, trade citizenship inter-governmental agencies, migration circuits, identities and social network in regard to transnationalism. However, there is still obviously a need for further research and theorization when it comes to addressing the many areas of global activities and theoretical development of the concept. For example when it comes to human rights and grassroots activism and how human rights ideas are translated from one community and move between spaces.

According to Schiller et al. (1992) individuals and institutions, have embarked on using Transnationalism as a mobilization tool in reaching grass root groups, despite the great distances and international borders, laws, regulations and national narratives represented by the international borders and boundaries. They have successfully, reached a certain level of
relations with interactions and activities taking place in a global arena (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc 1992; Castells 1996; Hannerz 1996).

Nyberg (2010) argues that transnationalism moves beyond the distance between the home of origin and host nation but abandons methodological nationalism and the assumption that a state is a natural order in which social life takes place (Nyberg 2010:6, Levitt and Glick 2004:67). This corresponds with the postmodern scholars who view transnationalism going beyond existing binaries (Coke and Johnstone 2005:1-18). Postmodern scholars suggest that space is no longer considered as a fixed area that awaits to be filled by transnational individuals and institution, but rather a changeable network that constitutes relationship and the flow of ideas, linking individuals across boundaries or borders (Huang 2009:308).

Bourdieu (1994) speaks to evolving global sociology of knowledge where he puts forward his approach to a scientific field in a world setting with the hierarchy of nations where dominant ones impose categories of perception and evaluation that distort the knowledge in and about countries. This usually occurs from the center to the periphery. In simple terms, the experience of a global social relation linking distant locations, allowing what may happen within a local community be influenced by an activity or events thousands of miles away (Bourdieu 1994, Kearney 1995:49).

The above scholars, bring to light the theory of transnationalism in a broader perspective, although the theory is mainly used in studies of migration and international relations, from the broader aspect of this theory, it can be used in various way, in other word, understanding global conscious and also as a global agent for change and translation of information and ideas. It should be therefore noted that most scholars tend to limit the scope of transnationalism since they tend to insinuate that only migrants with a keen interest in their home of origin, have the desire or need to have cross-border relationships. However, I do believe that the concept has evolved with time, especially, with a sense of the current global conscious, where individuals and groups get keenly interested in activities and events transpiring in different societies and nations. The case in question is the Anti-homosexual law in Uganda (2014) or events in the Gaza strip where, different individuals, groups and organizations get keen or take actions through protest and other forms of activism to influence the events in those nations.
Therefore with this study, I find a need to narrow the gap on the limited literature on transnationalism and human rights, so as to find a deeper understanding of the theory of transnationalism when it comes to the transnational human rights activist groups.

4 Theoretical framework

In this section, I will further examine the critical concepts of the thesis, and I will explore transnationalism and social network as my main concept of the study.

4.1 Transnationalism

Most studies on transnationalism tend to put greater emphasis on social ties and networks of migrants across borders, predominately using the concept in reference to migration studies, associating it with the continuous construction of social, economic and political relationships of migrant's link with their home countries. However, this paper intends to employ the theory of transnationalism in reference to of other transnational players such as the NGOs and activist group in creating both social and civil changes within the Uganda LGBTI communities (Levitt and Joworsky 200, De Haas 2010.247).

In this case, I will choose to define Transnationalism, based on the generalized assumption of cross-border relations or networks as a mean to understand cross borders relations of one or more nations. Therefore this can also be applicable when it comes to transnational organizations and groups which function worldwide yet centered in one nation (Kearney1995: 548 Faist 2000:189, Porter et al. 1999:220, Vertovec 2009:38-39).

Therefore based on the relevance of the concept of transnationalism in the study of cross-border relations, this paper will embark on using transnationalism as the preferable theoretical framework. This does not exclude other concepts that might be significant in this study such as globalization and cosmopolitanism, but instead, the choice is based on the central and yet narrow focus of the field of study. Transnationalism is crucial in sighting political and social projects of a state as they contest for dominance over their citizens with other states, well as globalization is more abstract, less intentional and usually less institutionalized with no reference to the nation (Kearney1995: 548).

Transnationalism has recently become popularized the study of culture especial in the field of cultural studies. It is usually used in respect to "transnational phenomena" and "transnational research" (Wakeman 1988:85). However, the use of transnationalism is used usually as a concept in reference to a part and not the entirely to the world system, rather used to focus on
the means of understanding a transnational culture, thereby putting culture in a global frame
works (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988). The theory of transnationalism is elaborated in
detail under the previous chapter of literature review which gives us a more detailed
understanding based on articles from previous scholars.

4.2 Social network.
A network according to Knoke and Kulinski (1982) is defined as the ties connecting an
individuals or social actors. Individuals are described in reference to the connection they have
with others in a particular network. According to Knoke et al. (1982). The individual usually
providing the data, or the focal person, in this case, is referred to as the ‘ego,’ and those he or
she is tied to are called ‘alters’ (Knoke & Kuklinski, 1982)

Granovetter (1973), puts forward, the concept of social ties, stating that it is significant in
understanding the links between individuals, he suggests that social ties are either weak or
strong, taking the example of job seekers. Social ties are said to be stronger in cliques, for
example, friends' advisors or coworkers, and are defined by intense emotions, various and
multiple relationships. Any information acquired by one member in the clique or group tends
to move first or is circulated among all the other members in the group or clique. However,
the ties that move out of the clique or group tend to be considered weak, indicating that they
have a less emotional attachment, and are restricted to a small sizable kind of relation and
tend to be infrequent. Weak ties according to Gravovette (1973) are links defining by a less
interconnection between social groups and usually provide a specific resource or information,
for instance, job opening (Bridges & Villemez, 1986; McPherson, Popielarz, & Drobnic,

4.3 Structural hole approach
Structural holes is a social network research concept, first introduced by Burt (1992) in order
to understand the origin of the difference in social capital. His argument was best on the fact
that individuals have certain advantages and disadvantages in relation to their embeddedness
within a social structure. He defines structural hole as the gap between two individuals in
possession of the reciprocal source of information.

The main focus of the structural hole approach is the ration among the ‘alter’ within the
‘ego's social network. According to Burt (1992), a structure hole, exist between two alters
which are not interconnected, and usually, it is an advantage for the ego to connect to various alters who in themselves are not connected to each other.

According to this theory, the network with a deep structural hole, has three advantages for an individual, among which include the timely and unique access to information, high bargain power and ability to control resources and outcomes. Burt (1992) believes that the structural hole theory, gets at the ‘bridging property of the ties more directly than the weak tie concept, thereby proving a stronger basis of his theory as a more clear guide to empirical research (Burt 1992:28).

4.4 The concept of Social resources

The social resource is the third concept used to conceptualize social capital in this thesis. The concept puts emphasis on the element of resources, which are embedded, in the social network. Scholars of this concept argue that it is not the weak ties nor are the means of bridging property of the weak tie that convey the advantages of the network, rather the resources necessary for the ego to accomplish his or her fundamental objective to reach the individual through the ties. Therefore the alter, with attributes capable to utilizes the resources effectively for the fulfillment of the ego's objectives is considered to be a social resource (Lin, Ensel, & Vaughn, 1981, 1981). For example, the alter who may provide capacity development support to advice, are the essential social resources necessary for the ego's endeavors to attain capacity or operational goals. This implies that the alter prestige in a given field is directly connected positively to the prestige of the ego in the similar field (Lin et al., 1981a, 1981b; see also De Graaf & Flap, 1988; Marsden & Hurlbert, 1988).

5 Methodology

This paper is based on a qualitative study since it will provide an insight of a view and experience of a particular group and answers the question ‘how instead of a why' (Byrman 2004, Cohen et al. 2011).

According to (Kvale 1996.6) methodology, approach and interviews are an essential aspect of understanding peoples experience and unfold their world experience from scientific explanations. In other words from a study, we can understand the world from a subject's point of view. I find Kvale (1996)\textapos;s description connected to the aim of my research, which is to investigate, the development of transnational human rights activist networks and how they
operate and influence human rights activism against violence on the Ugandan LGBT communities.

5.1 Arguments for the Methodology.
From Locke et al. (1993) viewpoint, a qualitative approach could best suit my area and aim of the study, mainly because it supports a systematic, empirical strategy for answering questions, which are concerned with individuals bounded within a social context. Secondly, since this study requires in-depth analysis, the qualitative approach would be instrumental and can be viewed as a theoretical proposition on common interpretation and perception through observations. Hence it gives a more profound understanding when examining the observed flaws and strength of individual experience (Locke et al. 1993:99).

Thirdly, the study intends to merely understand and interpret qualitative data, by analyzing experience and activities. Therefore, in this case, qualitative was an excellent choice of a method based on Silverman (2000)'s definition, as an easy way to analyze words/texted and images rather than figure (Silverman 2000:8).

Furthermore, the choice of research design was based on the dynamics as presented by transnational human right activist, in an actual physical, social and political setting. There is a need to focus on the meanings of experience and the identity of the LGBT community in Uganda based on the simplicity of being human with a dynamic social life (Silverman 2000:8).

Lastly, the need to carry out in-depth semi-structured interviews allows, the occurrence of a collection of unfolding original data or interests availing naturally without the manipulation of events and data by the researcher. Thereby avoiding unyielding biased views and attitudes towards the interviewees or informants (Patton 2001:39). Qualitative interviews also allowed the freedom of the interviewee to participate and describe essential and meaningful experiences instead of being restricted by preexisting elements thereby increasing the validity of the study (Patton, 2001:39).

5.2 Qualitative case study approach and interviews
The study required me to conduct face-to-face interviews which according to McCoyd and Kerson (2006) are ‘the golden standard’ for qualitative research. Through the face-to-face interviews, I was able to establish the background, contribution and first-hand insight of how transnational networks are used as a mobilization tool in promoting LGBTI human right in
Uganda and how these networks influence the different social networks within the local LGBTI activist groups when dealing with violence against the LGBTI communities.

According to (Kvale 1996.6) interviews are essential in understanding people's experience and assist in unfold their extended experience from scientific explanations? Therefore, with the aid of interviews in this study, I was able to understand the world from the respondents' point of view. I believe Kvale (1996)'s explanations of the relevance of interviews, are connected to the aim of my research and therefore, the findings from this thesis are drawn from semi-structured interviews. The interviews comprise of five organizations. The interviews were conducted in Uganda (Kampala). The official language to conduct these interviews was English given the fact that English is the official language spoken in Uganda. The meeting place for interviews was be based on what best suited the interviewees

The face-to-face interviews where with executive members of LGBTI rights activist organizations, hence I was able to acquire detailed insights capturing the stories and journey of these organizations (Adriansen, 2012). The interview comprised of open-ended questions, which were equally neutral to avoid bias giving the interviewee the freedom to share in depth and give personal insight on the topic. Information gathered was processed through direct content analysis (Zhang, 2009) and a semi-structured interview approach was selected over structured, since it provides a degree of freedom and flexibility at the same time keeping a focus on the topic during the interview (Turner, 2010).

5.3 Case study
Case studies are "concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question" (Bryman 2008, 52) and seek to be an in-depth study of one or more phenomena (Yin 2003, 1-2). Furthermore, according to Yin, he argues, the choice of a case study design is related to the way in which a project's problem formulation is designed. The case study is relevant when the problem formulation provides for procedures that require an explanation or description of a given concept, which takes place in real life (Yin 2003, 7). In other words, a case study design often requires a problem formulation, which is based on a 'why' or 'how' questions. It is, therefore, necessary to build our project on a case study design since the project's problem is formulated in a question that starts with 'how.'

Concerning the type of case in this thesis, I chose what could be called 'typical' or 'representative' cases, implying that a case in question is an example of a broader category, of which it is a member. In other words, the notion of exemplification does not refer to the fact
that the case chosen is unusual or extreme, but because it is representative of a broader category. Moreover, this case is helpful to answer specific research questions by providing a suitable context. This, therefore, fits the purpose of the study, in the sense that the general purpose of the study is to investigate how transnational networks are used as mobilization tool for human rights activism in Uganda against LGBTI communities, as example cases, is to use the results as an exemplification for cross-border activities and relations.

Some of the common critiques towards case studies are concerns of the external validity or generalizability of the of research design. Therefore, it is important to note that the success of this case study depended on the successful connection of the findings to valid and relevant theories (Bryman 2008, 57). While carrying out the study, I put into considerations the weakness when working with case studies. However, this method made it possible to show the impact of specific practices and come to a conclusion that similar outcomes might be present under similar circumstances (Bryman 2008, 57). Thus, I believe that my selected case study had the potential to generate insights on cross-border relation and the effects it has.

5.3.1 Pilot case study

According to Baker (1994), pilot case studies can be used in trying out a particular research instrument (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001). Pilot case studies or feasibility study, especially when it comes to this thesis, was instrumental in detecting advanced potential design flaws within the methodology. Secondly, the pilot study was equally instrumental in creating an interview guide (Appendix 1). The guide was designed to assist in depicting what appeared to be other human rights networks and LGBTI transnational networks this was primarily achieved by putting emphasis on transnational aspects of the organizations, hence eliminating the chance of going out of context from the intended aim of the study. Carrying out the pilot study was instrumental in, eliminating all possible issues that could arise during the actual research. Therefore as a way for me to foresee and get a glance on the unexpected issues, I carried out an unstructured interview with a Ugandan online LGBTI activist group, primarily carrying operating its work through the social media. I was able to interview the administrator of this group and one of its active member. The member interviewed was selected based on his willingness to participate in the study, and his geographical location, while the administrator was interviewed via a phone call. The results from the interviews were analyzed and hence were instrumental in creating the interview guide which was suitable to in co-operating all areas of the investigation, making sure that it was reflecting the objective and aim of this Thesis. It must be noted that although this pilot study was equally essential in
the fine-tuning of the interview structure, its results were excluded from the final results and conclusions of the study.

5.4 Limitations
According to (Berglund, 2007), interviews as a method, have several limitations. Most importantly, they are sometimes influenced by ‘ex-post facto bias,' indicating that our environment creates certain sentiment to us which gives definitions, perception and the way we respond to a certain thing. Interviewees are equally in most cases inclined to glorify themselves in life as a whole but also in an attempt to make sense of their experiences, thereby making their recollections biased (Adriansen, 2012). The pilot interview, although not included in my final analysis, was conducted via a Facebook video call, which was constantly intercepted by poor network and movement by the interviewee, thereby not having full concertation on the interview. This implies that the standard of a good face-to-face interview was not met in this particular interview (McCoyd & Kerson 2006). The study was limited by small sample size and therefore cannot be generalized or have any statistical significance (Eisenhardt, 1989; Zhang, 2009). However, this is not a limitation on the validity of the study, especially since qualitative analysis, according to Zhang 2009, is able to explore a wide array of interpretation of events, and unveil relevant themes, patterns and insight on the subject matter, instead of being restricted by preexisting elements thereby increasing the validity of the study (Patton, 2001:39).

5.6 Sample selection and argumentation
Uganda is a landlocked country comprising of over 37 million people. The Capital city, Kampala has a population of over 1.3million (World population review 2017). It is considered the most active city in the country, with a high number of NGOs, and international organizations are having their head offices within the city. It is a politically active city, with several political and civil right demonstrations happening frequently. It is also where the parliament, the high court, and constitutional court are located. Based on this argument and uniqueness of Kampala, I found it best suited to carry out the study in this region.

To find the interviewees, the networks and web information from Swedish international organizations were relied upon, especially since these organizations are considered to have strong links in different least developed countries, contributing and supporting several projects and right based organizations in different countries including Uganda. Therefore, it
was the easiest way to track LGBTI organizations operating in Uganda having a close link to Sweden.

5.7 Ethic guidelines and considerations
The study put emphasis on five ethical considerations, and these included consent, confidentiality, withdraw and information to how the data collected would be used, neutrality (Piper and Simons, 2004: 56).

In this study, the consent of the interviewees was safeguarded through voluntary participation. All the interviewees were contacted and requested to participate through email and phone calls, a week prior to the interviews. Through the email, the purpose and intent of the study were clearly stated, and this was still emphasized during the phone conversations prior to the interviews (Cohen et al. 2011).

The second consideration is confidentiality. According to Piper and Simons (2004:57), confidentiality gives the interviewees, the confidence to share, information privately, but also allows them to ask the researcher to exclude certain shared information from the study. Throughout the study, the confidentiality and privacy of the participants were paramount including the LGBTI organizations in this study. In spite of the attitude and willingness by some of the participants not to remain anonymous. The study maintained its stand on confidentiality and anonymity and all organizations and participants were assigned coded pseudonyms names which were randomly set. Furthermore, the study was carried out with utmost sensitivity, preserving the dignity of all participants, and not placing them in any imminent danger during and after the research is conducted (Basit 2010:56).

Since the study was dealing with a minority group, and a group with faces grave danger from the public (homophobia), I needed to be highly ethical in pursuit of truth, by taking significant consideration of the group's values and rights thereby not putting the group or community in any imminent danger (Cohen et al. 2011:75). In addition, despite the fact that I am aware of the issues that affect LGBT communities in Uganda as a minority group, and the need for recognition of their rights, as a researcher It was my obligation to remain neutral based on the ethnic of recognition (HONNETH 1996).
5.8 Reliability and Validity

It is crucial to note that reliable research should be one conducted with open-mind, transparency, and consistency especially when collecting data. Also, data collected need to be authentic (Cohen et al. 2011)

The reliability of the study is reflected in the research approach in the method section. Including the method interviews, but also the informal discussion with the members of the LGBT community in Uganda. According to Bellamy (2012:21), the reliability of good research is reflected in the consistency and also the measurement of things. It is also reflected in work of other researchers through consistency, allowing the ability of scholars to reach similar conclusions by using our tools and methods (Creswell, 2014: 201, 203; 6 and Bellamy 2013: 21). In this research, there is clear documentation and a trace of all steps taken during the study. I have put emphasis on the definitions of each theme and coded them promptly, all interviews where recorded, noted and transcriptions were made for each interview. I ensured that the transcriptions were thoroughly cross-examined for any errors and there is no doubt that there were consistency and transparency throughout the study. Moreover, this was all done to ensure the reliability of the study (Creswell, 2014: 203).

Yin (2011-78) explains that a valid study is one where the collection and interpretation of data are well done. Creswell 2014.201) argues that the strength and accuracy of a qualitative research relay in the validity. He further argues that the time spent in the field having an in-depth conversation and communicating with the participants allows the research to get well versed and acquire in-depth knowledge of the study, hence better the accuracy of the case study Creswell 2014.201). The Validity of this study was ensured firstly, through the methods employed. The pilot case study was able to act as a test for the interview questions, shading light to my expectation and measure for the intended objective of the study, during the interviews all participants were asked the same questions in order to have a certain standard. Furthermore, the theoretical framework of the study was clearly defined and effectively applied. Firsthand information from participants especially those considered as experts with deep knowledge of the LGBTI organizations they work for, provide an opportunity for the readers of this study to make personal conclusions. Also, my background as a Ugandan with knowledge and understanding of the general and current affairs of the nation-state and the environment where the study was conducted equally contributes to the accuracy of this research. However, with no doubt, the small size of the case may lead to a low external validity meaning that the findings of the study might not be subject to generalization.
However, through qualitative analysis, this study was able to explore an array of interpretation of events, disclose relevant themes, patterns and insight on the subject matter, rather than allowing the restriction of the preexisting elements. Moreover, the study was able to successfully connect the findings to valid and relevant theories of Transnationalism and social capital, this, in turn, increased the Validity of the study (Patton, 2001:39, Bryman 2008, 57).

5.9 Access to Research Field and Sample
When carrying out a study in the field, they are certain factors, which must be considered especially in regards to access to the study field. Among these considerations, is location, travel and the time when this study will be carried out. It is equally important to note that access may not merely indicate the physical location but also social access. It is also equally essential that the interviewees, organization or community where the study will be carried out are on board or accept to participate in the study (May and Perry, 2011:173-174, 233). As stated in the previous chapters, this study was conducted in Kampala Uganda, and therefore need me to travel to Uganda from Sweden. The Organizations which participated in this study where. Were selected and contacted first through an email, with an attachment from my supervisor showing my intent and the purpose of the study. Later I made a follow up through a phone call to all the organization. The organizations communicated back through email accepting their participation, including date and time in an addition to a contact person. All organizations selected were situated in Kampala. Although these organizations had other branches in other parts of the country, their head offices were in Kampala, and the personnel with the technical know-how, and with the sufficient information on the operation and activities of these organizations were stationed in Kampala at the head offices.

6 Data analysis
The key themes and categories of this study are cited through examining, comparing, analysis and also by use of adductive reasoning (Zhang, 2009). The data collected during the study was compared carefully using evidence from each individual case. This, in turn, become useful in assessing how the information gathered was suitable for the study. Furthermore, individual data was categorized, creating a pattern for individual results and later summarizing them into tables to aid in making comparisons across the different dimensions and sections, hence eliminating investigation bias by the researcher.
All individual analysis of each participant examined and put together into a descriptive result section, which later was interpreted, and explained in connection to the existing literature. The results from the study were analyzed according to what the findings support or contradicted, thereafter a conclusion was made based on the discussion and final analysis of the study and what the study implied.

6.1 Brief background and profile for the participating organization and the interviewees.

The tables below highlight, in summary, the background and important information regarding the participants and organization, included in the study.

**Table 1: Interviewee profile.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION/INTERVIEWEE</th>
<th>Organization 1</th>
<th>Organization 2</th>
<th>Organization 3</th>
<th>Organization 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mike</td>
<td>JOHN</td>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>Sarah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profession</td>
<td>Public health</td>
<td>Social scientist</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position held in the organization</td>
<td>Program director (activist)</td>
<td>Director (Legal consultant)</td>
<td>Program director (Legal consultant)</td>
<td>Head of research (field director)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years since the position has been held</td>
<td>5 Years</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>9 years</td>
<td>7 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Organization background and profile**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Organization 1</th>
<th>Organization 2</th>
<th>Organization 3</th>
<th>Organization 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years of existence and operation</td>
<td>1957 rebranded 2007 (advocasy)</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>link to Sweden</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of work</td>
<td>Advocacy for equality in service</td>
<td>Advocacy for LGBTI rights, provides HIV</td>
<td>Legal Aid for LGBTI members, and</td>
<td>Advocacy for Human rights for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: International and transnational organizations working with LGBTI activist groups in Uganda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizations</th>
<th>country</th>
<th>field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEO1</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>International development and humanitarianism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEO2</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>LGBTI rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE03</td>
<td>International body</td>
<td>Human rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE04</td>
<td>UK, Sweden, and other EU states</td>
<td>LGBTI and Human rights</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.1 Analysis and discussion of results of interviews

In this section, I discuss the themes developed from the findings of the interviews, I link the interview responses previous research and optimize the theoretical framework to make an analysis, hence making a conclusion.

6.12 Development of transnational networks (Legal reasoning and equal legal justice)

All respondents spoke of the significant role played by an international organization in carrying out activism at the grass root level. Most specifically the interviewees spoke about shared ideas and capacity building as a result of transnational networks. The respondents also spoke of the interlink and dependence on international organization especially pointing out Swedish organizations SEO1 and SEO2, which funded most of the local activist projects in areas of health and legal research. The transnational networks were also highlighted by all respondents as a vital tool that contributed to reversing the Anti-homosexuality law passed in 2014. Moreover, two other vital themes which include adopted human rights ideas resulting from training and research, financial support in form Aid were pointed out as benefits of transnationalism and transnational networks.
Sarah elaborates on how the networks between her organization and Swedish human rights activist organizations have facilitated and promoted different projects carried both at a national level and at a grassroots level through financial support and adopted ideologies.

‘When the bill was tabled in 2009, we engaged both international and within Uganda creating networks, soliciting for support in the form of right ideas and information in order to find the bias and illegality of the bill until it was passed into law. Even after the bill was passed into law, our efforts to reverse it did not stop, in fact, we grew stronger, there was a world outcry to revert this law, countries like Sweden came out with sanctions on the government as a result of our solidarity with Swedish agencies. Although we aired out our view through discussions with our partners how sanctions would eventually affect us more especially in areas of health care and access to health care. Still, through our patterns, we were able to build a strong legal team to reverse this law. I also believe the international pressure and our close links with most human rights bodies had more to do with reversing the law than the legal technicalities.

Furthermore, through our networks with Swedish organizations such as SEO1 among others, we have been able to raise funds and facilitation to carry out research. For example, with the support of these networks we carried out research on the 1950 penal code section 145, which criminalizes same-sex relationship, and how the act is implemented, and whether they have been any conviction et al. We have also carried out research on the ideal and disorderly law, which is the law where most LGBTI persons are arrested under, especial when the section 145 fails to be implemented. Moreover, we have worked together with the same international organizations on the public order management Act 2013, which directly targeting the LGBTI community from assembling' (Sara, Organization 4, 2018)

Mike also stated that His organization has had several local and international training on various projects which have enhanced capacity building, some of these projects included ‘right here right now,’ and sexual health education.

‘We also had enormous support from our Swedish partners during the establishment of our intersex clinic, and in fact, the clinic is still funded by our partners' (Mike, 2018).
The statements by both Sarah and Mike are a build up to the theoretical framework, creating an argument that adopted ideologies are an element of transnationalism, where we see, transnational communities undermining state control of territories by challenging traditional ideas of a state and society allowing free movement of information and ideas irrespective of territorial restrictions. In this case, it is evident that although activities or being a member of the LGBTI community is illegal and punishable under the Ugandan penal code article 145 (Uganda constitution, 1950), this has not stopped the interrelations and transnational networks between Swedish and other international human rights organizations to exist and act as Human rights translators and information agents supporting activities and projects of the LGBTI communities in Uganda (Sacks, 1983:55 Anderson, 2000).

Furthermore, through transnational networks it was made clear by the interviews that Ugandan Activist groups have adopted skills and ways of carrying Across Human rights ideologies, and as a result, they have been able to equip themselves with knowledge of international legal instruments that call for equal justice and choice, creating a change; for instance equal access to medical and health services by the LGBTI community, equality before justice and freedom to have a sex preference (Sarah, Mike,2018).

Moreover, all the interviewees believe that as a result of transnational networks, there has been a shift from solely being in a reactive mode of shaming violators of the LGBTI rights, to having a more proactive strategy of education, attempting to prevent the violence and abuse, and locally empowering the community from the grassroots. Simon, interprets the transnational network, to be an instrument for change in perception and ideologies enabling the local groups to shift their primary focus from merely being verbally reactive towards the human rights abusers but instead carry out sensitization project to deal with homophobia at the grassroots. He says that the interactions with several activists's all over the world on social media platform, has allowed the communities to adopt new ideas of dealing with the challenges the LGBTI communities face in Uganda. He argues that today in the Uganda LGBTI communities, it would be impossible to find an individual who has no clue on the basic human rights his entitled too as a result of exposure to the western world views through the social media and internet (Simon, 2018). Simon further states that,

‘It is easy to access information today, just as it is hard to hide the violations against the LGBTI in Uganda today. Information moves so first. Our patterns get to know what is on the
ground instantly, and we get a lot of literature and publications from our partners in Sweden and other parts of the world' (Simon, 2018)

The question most scholars ask when trying to understand how ideas become adopted in a wide variety of culturally distinct communities is clearly answered in Simon's statement. Through his response, transnationalism is evidently an answer to the equation of how the broader question about how ideas and institutions move from one sociocultural setting to another. It also illustrates how concepts can be translated between social and cultural contexts (Thoreson 2011:41).

6.14 Financial Aid and transnational space and solidarity campaign
I have decided to connect the three themes of financial aid, solidarity campaign, based on the fact that these three themes are interlinked, especially from the viewpoint of the interviewees.

All the four organizations spoke of the financial aid, by Swedish organizations and other western states. Their partnership with these Swedish organizations was also verified on both Swedish organization websites and local websites of the organizations interviewed. All participants spoke about the various activism projects that are funded by the Swedish organization, although they were reluctant to establish the figures for financial donations. They also established facts that donations come in different forms such as office equipment's, literature, scholarships, travel supports especially when it comes to international conferences and medical equipment's.

John explains the kind of relationship his organization has with Swedish organization. He goes on to explain how these organizations have financially aided the operations and different activism projects.

John speaks of ‘solidarity campaign' as a vital tool used in transnational activism to reach the desired objective, he links this concept to financial aid, stating that ‘it is through this solidarity campaigns that aid and funds are raised, but also create an awareness for donors to come in and support our cause'. He defines solidarity campaign as. A situation which arises, this could be a violation or a particular case, leading to different organizations, groups and people demonstrate, campaign against that particular situation or issue, on behalf of another group or sister group, as a sign of solidarity, showing that they stand with that with you (John 2018).
Solidarity campaigns were spoken of by other interviewees, especially the involvement and support got from the LGBTI migrants groups, who carry out campaigns in their host countries to create awareness or call for intervention on violence upon their LGBTI friends and family back home. However, according to John these solidarity campaigns are usually funded and facilitated by their patterns, and in most cases, their patterns are at the center point. All the interviewees attributed solidarity campaigns to the reversing of the 2014 law on the anti-LGBTI law (John, Sarah, Simon, Mike 2018).

To get a clear understanding of these three themes, John elaborates:

‘For a long time we struggled to get funding for our organization it was fully run on volunteer basis. One of the biggest challenges was that no international organization could support a non-registered organization until we were tipped off that if we provided health services for the communities’ maybe it would be easier for us to register and also donors would definitely come on board. So we opened up a clinic, and now we get funding from Sweden among other donors. We receive free lubrication, condoms and testing kits. We have a doctor and a nurse, and we are also in a process of opening up other clinics in other regions in the country through the donation and support of our partners. We still carry out activism both on ground and our social media platform, we also carry out campaigns both on LGBTI rights but also for safe sex among the LGBTI communities', we carried out a campaign last year on World Aids day, which was held at our offices, a few times some of our campaigns have been blocked, some of the blocked campaigns' include the rainbow campaigns, but through our partners we feel represented. Definitely all our donations and grants are monitored, by the donors and our annual evaluation and reports of the different projects are sent to the partners to carry out further assessment. This is a recurring process that we must oblige too (John 2018).

Footit (2007) in his article, international aid, and development, argues that most transnational aid organizations have a need to hear the voice of the beneficiaries of their action. As a result, they always await reports and feedback on the various projects they finance. It is through these after-action reviews or evaluations related to specific aid programs that a donor can aim at incremental improvements. Footit (2017) argument corresponds with what the interviewees had to say about, what happens during monitoring and evaluations of the projects their respective organizations engage in.
Mike speaks in relation to Footit (2007)'s argument by saying that, through one of their biggest donor agents in SE01 and SEO4, their organization has been given the mandate to carry a countrywide statistic evaluation and recording testimonies of different members of the LGBTI communities, on the violation and abuses against them, and further states that, their last report was in 2016. The organization also makes and writes reports on the issues related to equal access to health services and reports on those members still having difficulties in accessing such services (Mike 2018).

Mike's insight, can be linked to the idea of transnationalism in respect to Postel (1998) and Dodds (2001)'s argument on transnationalism and territory and space. The two scholars speak about new geography to illustrated transnationalism and space. In their argument, the new geography represents a spatial reconstruction taking place beyond the idea of territorial boundaries. I know this might be over fetched to the reader, but when we connect this argument with the one of O'Tuathail (1992) who defines geography in terms of order and space, asserting that when it comes to transnationalism territory is constructed by the actors who take part in it. I can argue with the definition of territory to mean an attempt to control actions and interactions in a geographical setting (Sacks, 1983:55). Therefore from the narration from Mike in regards to the idea in which the transnational organizations providing aid, and maintain the monitoring and evaluation, in addition to the periodic reports and survey of the actions of the LGBTI project reports, this could be interpreted as control and influence from the Transnational organization on the local LGBTI communities in Uganda, thereby controlling the space and spatial territory they have constructed. It is important to note all the interviewees agree that the monitoring and evaluation and the periodic reports sent to the donors are beneficial to the local activist group, especially since it creates a sense of responsibility and hard work to prove the effectiveness of the Aid received. As Mike (2018) puts it,

We doubt if we could have been able to carry out the intensive outreach we are engaged in, had it not been the support and aid from our partners'.

Furthermore, financial support and solidarity campaign is explained by John (2018), whose organization has a clinic on site. He stated that the support gotten from their Swedish partners SEO1 and SEO2, was primarily to run the clinic, the clinic provides HIV testing and treatment for STIs solely for members of the LGBTI community. He also stated that he had
to register his organization as a health center primarily because it is illegal to register LGBTI organization in Uganda in his words he states

‘For a long time, we struggled to get funding for our organization it was fully run on a volunteer basis. One of the biggest challenges was that no international organization could support a non-registered organization until we were tipped off that if we provided health services for the communities, maybe it would be easier for us to register and also donors would definitely come on board. So we opened up a clinic, and now we get funding from Sweden among other donors. We receive free lubrication, condoms, and testing kits. We have a doctor and a nurse, and we are also in the process of opening up other clinics in other regions in the country through the donation and support of our partners. We still carry out activism both on ground and our social media platform, we also carry out campaigns both on LGBTI rights but also for safe sex among the LGBTI community, we carried out a campaign last year on World Aids day, which was held at our offices, a few times some of our campaigns have been blocked, some of the blocked campaigns include the rainbow campaigns, but through our partners we feel represented, equally during the 2014 anti-gay law, our partners and other LGBTI communities around the world carried out campaigns speaking out on the injustice and discriminatory laws targeting the LGBTI in Uganda (John 2018).

6.2 Social network and LGBTI rights activism

When it comes to the Social network as a theoretical framework for this study, the following concepts; capacity building and Resources and access to the transnational agent, where highlighted by the interviewees, arguing that social network has highly been influenced by the Transnational link with their international partners.

6.2.1 Capacity Building and training

All the four organizations in this study, have a strong link or connection with each other. They have participated in several workshops and training, both within the country and outside the country. In fact, at the time of this research members of Organization 1 and 4, had traveled to Neighboring Kenya for training and workshops. According to Mike, this isn't something new, his organization together with several local Human rights and legal activist organizations, have engaged in several workshops and capacity building. Mike states that,

We get training opportunities, for example, the following week starting from 14th of May 2018, we have training on Education on rights and human rights defenders, and it's under
Right here Right Now. And the key Facilitators and support will be SE01. And we also through the SEO4 Initiative, we have been positioned to contribute stories, through peer educators who are into LGBT and inter sex, we have contributed articles, and they have been published by our international partners. The outcome of the training and workshops have been very critical in regards to sensitizing us about the rights and legal technicalities, and the knowledge of how best we carry out our work as activists. These training have definitely enhanced our capacity as LGBTI activist organizations and the role we play in fighting the rights of LGBTI communities in Uganda. However, the most important result of these training has been the networks we create within ourselves as organizations alongside the networks with other international LGBTI rights movements (Mike, 2018).

The results from training and capacity building as narrated by Mike (2018), is a reflection of Putnam (1995: 664), definition of social capital, which can be viewed as futures of social networks, norms and trust, enabling the participants to respond and take action together in a more efficient way in order to achieve or pursue a common objective and goal, and in this case, the objective being LGBTI fundamental rights, and activism against the violence on their communities.

It is important to note that, from the interviewee's explanations on the development of their networks, the training and capacity building might not necessarily be the reason or the only source of social capital, and the benefit from these activities, however, it is the possibility from these training that these activists are able to generate organization strategies and specific networks. For example, from my personal observation, it was interesting to find that, organization 4, was referred to by all the other three organizations in this research as one they all backed on for legal assistance, especially for individual LGBTI members who fell victim to the hands of the police. It was equally the same organization that seemed influential in giving pro bono services when it came to the technicalities of registering most LGBTI organization disguised as health clinics NGO status. This coincides with hall (1999) argument that social capital can also be viewed as the ability to instigate and develop voluntary associations or networks. In this case, it is also a hidden capacity mechanism which in some situations can enhance certain activities to take place or happen as observed in this study (hall 1999 Putnam, 1995: 664).

Looking at it from Burt's (1992) perspective, the training and capacity building of these Organizations is instrumental in understanding the origin in social capital. It is evident that
each activist organization has certain advantages and disadvantages when it comes to their embeddedness within a social structure. Moreover, according to Burt's theory of structure hole (1992), referring to the gap between two individual in possession of reciprocal source of information, we can see, the need for network formation between these activist organizations, as a result of the gaps between who has what information, and how that information can be transferred to the next organization and how one organization can benefit from the network formulated in order to acquire such information.

6.2.2 Resources and access to the transnational agent/partner

From the information gathered from the interviewees specifically, organization one and two, the primary outcome of social network among the different organizations, seemed to point towards resources and which or what organization had close ties to the transnational agent (international partner).

Using Knoke and Kulinski (1982) definition of network, it is important to note here that when it came to the LGBTI organizations in Uganda, the connections with a particular organization within the network, defined what kind and type of the organization one operated. This implied that a legal organization would be defined so, based on what it brought on the table, as such as the right to health organizations. Therefore those identified organization which provided appropriate vital information and services, are what Knoke and Kulinski (1982) refer to as the ‘ego' based on the fact that they become the focal point. And the other organizations who would benefit from such information and services are what could be referred to as the ‘alters.' (Knoke & Kuklinski, 1982).

John (2018) elaborate on issues concerning social network and resource and access to the transnational networks and partners by stating that:

We are obliged to work together for our survival. For instance, my organization provides health services primarily for the LGBTI, but most of the referrals we get are from different organizations, some of these organizations and communities I believe would have liked or have thought of the idea of establishing their own clinics, but because of limited resources and funds they have to depend on the few of us with the health facilities. Also, the fact that most of the organizations have the challenge to register an NGO, we the registered organizations are able to act as donor agents, whereby we receive funds and grants, supplies, literature, and materials from the international friends on their behalf, this sometimes creates tension among us, but we all know that we have a common goal, registered or nonregistered,
we all fight for the same basic rights for our communities. We also refer to a lot of cases, and when we need legal assistance, we usually contact the organization SE04.

To affirm this John hands me a small document with information contain services SEO4 provides to its members and the community, insisting that I should visit Se04.

Sarah (2018), narrates about the services they provide to other Organization, she insists that she would rather not call the other organization close links and network, but rather family. She states that.

We almost receive legal cases on a daily basis, from both the different LGBTI organization and their members, and also on an individual basis, usually the charges brought on them are disguised as idle, and disorder or some are landlord issues where they have been evicted on the basis of their sexuality.

In the different national legal forums we have been too, other legal organizations have always labeled us as LGBTIs Lawyers, we used to have insults at first, but now, most of our colleagues (lawyers in other firms and organization) appreciate our work, and in some cases have referred to us, some cases especially LGBTI related cases.

We all have a part to play, we provide legal services, someone provides right to equal health services, and others are all-rounder activist, and others provide refugee. We all know each other, and so we benefit from each other.

From this, we can clearly see, how transnational network influence the formulation of social networks within the local LGBTI organizations and groups. Furthermore we see elements of resources which are embedded in social network, which affirms Ensel and Vaughn (1981) arguments, that it is not the weak ties nor the bridging elements of the weak ties that convey the advantages of the social network but rather the resources the 'ego' can obtain and fulfill his or her intended objectives by effectively utilizing these resources in order to reach the individual. And it's these resources which are attributed to the ties. For instance, the link between organization SE01, SE02, SE03, and SE04 with other non-registered organization and groups, can only be attributed to the direct link these organizations have with its international partners and friends through which aid and resources are transferred the grassroots communities and the non-registered organization. Moreover, the link or social network formation between organization SE01, and SE04 with other organization can be
attributed to the health services and legal aid provided by these two organizations, rather than the weak ties or the bridging element of the weak tie (Lin, Ensel, & Vaughn, 1981).

It is also evident that the element of Multiple relations within these organization, enables information to move firster and circulate among the other members in and out of the groups enhancing formation of a larger network, Granovetter (1973) definition of these ties labeling them weak and strong ties, depending on the relation, could be hard to defend, especially, since the connection linking these organizations, are not based on kin relation, or a onetime need, but seem to be recurring, and to clearly understand the social network as an instrumental used to enhance LGBTI rights, is one that need to have further research, since the findings, might easily run to a premature conclusion of labeling them as strong or weak ties. But the evidence assessment is one we can attribute to the social resources and the gap within the different groups, where different groups have one or lack a particular resource and the only way to fill that gap is by formulating networks at an operational level. It is also important to note that. The transnational networks have a lot to do with this social network, as State by SE03, ‘without external support, most organizations would cease to exist in the environment in which we operate' (Simon 2018).

7 Conclusion

My interest in the study was not based on the obvious, violations against the LGBTI in Uganda, but it was a result of my curiosity to answer how transnational human right activist networks are used as a mobilization tool in promoting LGBTI human rights In Uganda. Moreover, to answer how these transnational networks influence the different social networks within the local LGBTI activist groups when dealing with violence against the LGBTI communities in Uganda.

In my analysis, very interesting observations which centered on the concept of transnationalism (transnational networks) and social capital (social network) in relation to Human rights and activism for rights of the LGBTI communities in Uganda, concepts that the organizations interviewed assisted in bringing light to.

It is evident that when it comes to the LGBTI community, prior research has given more attention on the violence of this group, rather than the different groups that operate on the frontline of this violence to ensure that the rights of LGBTI are recognized as stated in international treaties Uganda is party too. Therefore, the prior research I embark on in this study is to shade light on the theories, which could throw deeper lights on the operation of
these groups and organization in order to foster their goals and objective. I also look at the neo-colonialist scholars, specifically to give an understanding of the tension and theoretical background of surrounding the policy and violence on LGBTI. However, the relevance of this theory in the study can only be used to answer the questions pertaining to the legal arguments of the anti-Homosexual laws rather than understanding the operation of LGBTI rights movements in Uganda. It is also clear that when keenly analyses the situation surrounding the LGBTI community, it is one with the intersectional changing dynamic process. Therefore simply looking at the activities and ideologies of the LGBTI rights activists cannot give a definite picture, but rather their operational and organization structures, network formation. These provide a more vivid picture of how activism is developed and able to reach the intended audience or achieve a stated goal from a grassroots level to a national level in spite of the legal obstacles put forward by the Ugandan constitution.

Below is the outline the main themes put forward by the LGBTI organizations interviewed in the study, focusing on the development of transnational human rights activist networks and how they operate and influence human rights activism against violence on the Ugandan LGBT communities.

The LGBTI activist organization in Uganda, have similar human rights and legal ideologies with their western transnational counterparts, in fact, their operational structures are identical, and this is attributed to the fact that, a lot of information and ideas are shared across borders. Not only as the fact that today, but the world is also a global village and informational travels first. However, by facts information and ideas is directly translated through the international network the organizations are apart too. These organization share reports and information and need a high level of transparency in order to achieve the goals and maintain these transnational networks. There also appears to be an imaginary space or community, between the transnational human rights organizations and the local activist group to allow control and limiting outsiders from accessing this space and community. This allows trust and shared values to thrive within these communities. For instance through the grants, in the form of funds and other support from the transnational groups, these groups gain access to influence what and how this support and funds are translated into action to create or achieve the desired goal which is rights for LGBTI groups, access to services such as health services. Solidarity campaigns are highlighted as an important transnational tool which allows these transnational relations to develop and thrives. The solidarity campaigns where the result of the hostile
environment the local LGBTI organizations operate are, and therefore their friends and other LGBTI activist group engage in protest and campaigns at an international platform to pressure for change and rights for the LGBTI communities in Uganda. Several attempts to carry out national or local LGBTI rights workshops and campaigns have been frustrated by the Ugandan government as narrated by the local LGBTI groups, so the only way their voices have constantly been heard is through solidarity campaigns from other groups and friends in other Country.

The transnational networks not only act as mobilization for LGBTI human rights activist IN Uganda, but it also influences the local organizations to operate in unison through social networks. Throughout this study, no organization portrayed itself as unique or a standalone. Rather they all identified themselves as a wide network; even though the research covered only four organizations, it was evident, similar findings would be found in other organizations, especially findings on their deep-rooted social network with other LGBTI organizations.

It is illegal for LGBTI organizations to operate in Uganda, and therefore most of the organizations do not have legal, operational licenses or NGO status, otherwise, they operate under a particular public service such as legal or health service In order to obtain the legal status of an NGO from the government of Uganda. Because of this obstacle, the majority of LGBTI organizations have to create networks or operate through the support of those with the legal status. Usually the dilemma comes because of operational fund and finances. Moreover, no international organization would like to be in association or linked with any illegally operating organization or group. It is also evident that most transnational human rights group, know or have an idea of the illegally operating LGBTI activist groups, and the only way they are able to render support is through those already established legally recognized NGOs. Therefore, the social network formation within the local group has much to do with the transnational networks these local LGBTI groups are linked too.

Most of the training and capacity building is funded and co-organized by the transnational organizations, with a few local organizations taking center stage, and this is confirmed by the respondents who kept referring to the workshops in reference to the international partners they worked closely with or supported these workshops and training. However, the effective outcome of these workshops is network building and a place where different organization comes together to know each other and there different capacities and objectives. It is evident
that it is not only about sharing ideas and equipping the members with knowledge that is obtained from these training but on the other hand, the lasting connection and networks creating after and before the workshops and training. This is instrumental in pushing forward the center goal which is to advocacy for LGBTI rights especially from the grassroots level to the top. It is equally evident that the strong networks among the local activist group are what can be attributed to the smooth operation of most of the LGBTI organizations in Uganda. As one of the interviewees stated that the public and government are beginning to recognize our existence and that we are not going anywhere (John 2018).

This study could still reveal a lot more especially the structural formation of these networks, both at a transnational level but also at a local social level and how these networks are translated into actions in carrying out the objective of the LGBTI organizations. But it is evident that the study can answer the questions on how transnationalism is used as a mobilization tool for human rights activism against violence on the LGBTI Ugandan communities and goes further to answer how these transnational network influence social network within the local LGBTI organization when dealing with Violence against the LGBTI communities.

Secondly, the research intends to answer how transnational networks influence the different social networks within the local LGBTI activist groups when dealing with violence against the LGBTI communities.

7.1 Research contribution

I do believe with this study, I have been able to contribute to future discussions of how transnationalism, can be used as an essential concept in the study of Human rights activism. Moreover how best advocacy and information can be translated across borders to certain societies as in the case of LGBTI communities in Uganda.

8 Further research

More research is needed especially when it comes with other transnational actors, such as LGBTI migrant's activists' groups, Social media activism, and their impact. Almost every organization interviewed had a social media page, and I also observed several other social media pages both local and from LGBTI migrants group. There seems to a deep interaction and activities of these groups online with some having hundreds of followers. A study on the impact of this category of actors, their contribution on LGBTI rights, and their connections
with other LGBTI activist movements or groups in the fight against LGBTI violence would be instrumental in highlighting most of the essential elements this paper has not been able to cover.
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Appendix 1

Interview Questionnaire Uganda

1. When was your organization or group established?
2. Could you briefly describe the kind of work you do?
3. Do you have some training in the kind of work you do?
4. Who develops your training?
5. How would you describe the general public perception of the LGBT community in Uganda?
6. How do you perceive the LGBT community as part of society in Uganda?
7. What is your personal position on legal stand of the state (Uganda) regarding LGBT Community?
8. What part has your Organization/group played in the public and political discourse surrounding LGBT Rights in Uganda?
9. What kind of activism activities have you conducted that supported or undermined the approval of LGBT rights in Uganda?
10. Are you in contact or does your organization have any work relations with some of the LGBT members who left the country?
11. If yes what kind of relations or connections do you have with the Ugandans abroad
12. Does your organization or group have any affiliations with other groups or organization in Sweden?
13. If so what kind of affiliations or connections do you have with these groups and organizations in Sweden?
14. Do you have any interactions or connections with other local and other international actors?
   b. If so what kind of interactions have you had with other internal and external actors
15. Why do you think the 2014 anti-gay bill was passed as a law by the state and later not adopted into action?
17. how is your relationship with other actors been influential in fighting for LGBTI rights?
19. what is the nature of these collaboration and relation?
20. Besides the actors we have talked about, is there any other actor that has not been mentioned yet and who plays an important activism role or supportive role?
Appendix 2

Pilot interview

1. When was your organization established?
2. What is the primary purpose of your activism group or organization?
3. Does your group carry out human right activism concerning LGBTs in Uganda?
4. Are these activism directly done by your organization and who is the targeted audience?
5. Do you work in collaboration with some LGBT migrant groups here in Europe?
6. What’s your organization perception on Laws against the LGBTs in Uganda?
7. Does your organization or group have any affiliations with other groups or organization in Uganda?
8. If so what kind of affiliations or connections do you have with these groups and organization in Uganda?
8. What has been the role of your institution/organization or group in the fight against homophobia and violence against LGBT communities in Uganda?
9. What obstacles have you met in carrying out this role?
10. How has this affected the usual functioning of your organization or group?
9. Do you cooperate with other internal and external actors in carrying out this role, internal actors I refer to Local LGBT groups of Ugandan migrant?
11. Do you think migrants are interested in the extension of human rights activism in their home countries?
12. Does your institution/organization want to see reform the current legislation concerning LGBT communities in Uganda and on what basis?
13. How have assisted in exchanging LGBT human rights experience from Sweden the local LGBT communities in Uganda?