



Consortium on Gender, Security & Human Rights

LGBTQ+ People in Militaries, Wars and Post-War Settings

Bibliography with Abstracts

2020

The **Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights** created this bibliography to provide a guide to the landscape of research-based knowledge of LGBTQ+ people in militaries, wars and post-war settings. Our goal is to provide the policy, activist and scholarly communities with improved access to the findings of academic research, as well as to a curated selection of non-academic resources.

The Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights Bibliographic Resources Series

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Art and Artists' Responses to Gender, Armed Conflict and Human Rights

Climate and Ecological Crises:

The Climate Crisis: Gendered Impacts, Women's Agency, and Feminist Analyses

Feminist Engagements with Green New Deals

Food Security, Gender and the Climate Crisis

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Migration, Gender and the Climate Crisis

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) and Gender in Colombia /

Desarme, desmovilización y reintegración (DDR) y Género en Colombia

Selected English and Spanish Language Sources

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Roads, Transportation, Mobility and Gender

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Land:

Land Grabbing, Large-Scale Land Acquisition and Gender

Land Rights and Gender

Land Tenure and Gender

Los derechos a la tierra, el despojo y el género

Land Rights, Land Grabbing & Gender: Spanish Language Sources

Os direitos à terra e o gênero

Land Rights and Gender: Portuguese Language Sources

LGBTQ+ People in Militaries, Wars and Post-War Settings

Masculinities and Armed Conflict

Masculinities and Peacekeeping

Masculinity and Gendered Concepts of Honor, Shame, Humiliation and Vulnerability (focusing on the Middle East)

Private Military and Security Companies: Gendered Perspectives

Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict

Taxation, Tax Justice and Gender Equality

Please check the website for new bibliographic resources posted since this one was published.

The **Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights** created this bibliography to provide a guide to the landscape of research-based knowledge of LGBTQ+ people in militaries, wars and post-war settings.

The existing literature on LGBTQ+ people and armed conflict divides roughly into two categories. The first, and the focus of much of the academic research, concerns LGBTQ+ individuals' experiences serving in state militaries. Much of this research addresses the United States military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy, but the policies of and experiences in other countries are examined as well. While some of the literature focuses on the experiences of LGBTQ+ service members themselves, including the complex ways they are impacted by militaries' longtime dependence on and production of specific ideas about gender, other literature focuses on military institutions, addressing the imagined and actual impacts of LGBTQ+ inclusive policies on operational effectiveness and unit cohesion.

The second focus concerns the experiences of civilian LGBTQ+ people in war and postwar settings. Here, the existing literature examines issues such as: the persecution of LGBTQ+ individuals (for example, in Colombia, Iraq, and Russia); homophobic sexual violence and torture committed against men; and the experiences of LGBTQ+ refugees and asylum-seekers. Academic research on this topic is still relatively scarce. Therefore, although Consortium bibliographies are primarily focused on academic research, in this case we have decided to include sections for non-academic resources including reports from human rights organizations, newspaper articles, and blog posts.

Entries in this bibliography include citations, and, insofar as possible, abstracts or summaries. Books usually are only briefly summarized, but often include the table of contents.

Consortium interns Natalie Chew, Iris Doubleday, Lilah Greenberg, Allyson Hawkins, Allie Laffey, Anis Mebarki, Hallie Nothmann, Isabelle Scarborough, Marina Schwadron, and Taylor Jazmine Smith undertook the primary research for this bibliography, with additional contributions from Consortium staff members. If you are familiar with resources that you think should be included in the next draft of this bibliography and/or in the Consortium's Research Hub, please send us the citation, and, if possible, the PDF. Resources can be submitted through our website at: <http://genderandsecurity.org/projects-resources/bibliographic-resources>.

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I. LGBTQ+ People in Militaries

A. Academic Sources

Ahlin, Eileen M., and Anne S. Douds. 2018. "Many Shades of Green: Assessing Awareness of Differences in Mental Health Care Needs Among Subpopulations of Military Veterans." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 62 (10): 3168-84.

Abstract:

The current study sought to examine access to services by various veteran subgroups: racial/ethnic minorities, females, rural populations, and LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer). Generally, the Veteran Service Officers (VSOs) interviewed for this study did not feel that these subgroups were well served by the program and treatment options presently available, and that other groups such as males and urban veterans received better access to necessary psychosocial and medical care. This research extends studies that explore overall connection to services by further demonstrating barriers to receipt of services by specific subgroups of veterans, particularly those at risk for involvement in the criminal justice system. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: veterans; mental health care; minority populations; LGBTQ; rural veterans

Ahuja, Amir, Shane Ortega, Aaron Belkin, and Paula M. Neira. 2019. "Trans in the United States Military: Fighting for Change." *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health* 23 (1): 3-26.

Abstract:

This article is the proceedings of a symposium on the experience of trans people in the United States military and the advocacy to end the trans military ban. This symposium was co-sponsored by AGLP: The Association of LGBTQ Psychiatrists, and took place at the American Psychiatric Association's 2017 Annual Meeting in San Diego, California. It featured speakers Amir Ahuja, a psychiatrist and Director of Psychiatry at the Los Angeles LGBT Center; Shane Ortega, a retired sergeant in United States Army and a prominent advocate for change within the military; Aaron Belkin, a professor at the Palm Center, a research institute on LGBT military policy; and Paula Neira, a lawyer, nurse, and former naval officer who also shares her experience in the military and as an advocate. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keyword: Transgender; LGBT; military; public policy; law

Alburo, Kaira Zoe K. 2011. "Brothers, Lovers, and Revolution: Negotiating Military Masculinity and Homosexual Identity in a Revolutionary Movement in the Philippines." *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review* 11 (2): 27-42.

No abstract available.

Summary:

In an attempt to contribute to theorizing military masculinity and heteronormativity, I look at a ‘queer’ event that made headlines in the Philippines in 2005: the first ‘gay marriage’ in the country officiated by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its armed wing, the New People’s Army (NPA). As a Maoist inspired guerrilla movement, the NPA has waged war against the Philippine government since 1969 under the leadership of the CPP. The paper examines how the relations between masculinity, military and homosexual identities play out at different levels: ideology, institutions, subjective identities, and symbols. These elements come together and embody competing articulations about the masculine/sexual Filipino ‘revolutionary’, thus challenging heteronormative imaginaries of Philippine society. The paper concludes by demonstrating how gay cadres in the NPA negotiate their sexual identity in the context of military masculinity in the 21st century revolutionary movement. (*Summary from original source*)
Keywords: homosexuality; military masculinity; heteronormativity; Communist Party of the Philippines; New People’s Army; Philippines

Allsep, L. Michael. 2013. “The Myth of the Warrior: Martial Masculinity and the End of ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.’” *Journal of Homosexuality* 60 (2-3): 381–400.

Abstract:

The image of the male warrior still dominates military culture, to the exclusion of women and homosexuals. Complicating the picture is a technological revolution that promises to widen the current gap between the myth and reality of the modern warrior even further. Nonetheless, despite long arguing that homosexuals were a direct threat to military culture and effectiveness, the Pentagon has largely treated the end of Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell as a policy matter. The difficulties still experienced by women in the armed services 40 years after they were first incorporated in significant numbers indicates that this response will be insufficient to address the deeper cultural issues. Gender issues implicate deeply held beliefs and values that persist even in the face of years of official admonishment and denial. Unless the military begins to transparently bridge the gap between the myth and reality of the modern warrior, military service without discrimination based on sexual orientation will remain an unachieved goal. (*Abstract from original source*)
Keywords: masculinity; DADT; gays in the military; Don’t Ask Don’t Tell; technology; military culture; gender; warrior; homosexual

Belkin, Aaron. 2001. “The Pentagon’s Gay Ban Is Not Based on Military Necessity.” *Journal of Homosexuality* 41 (1): 103–19.

Abstract:

When President Bill Clinton attempted to lift the U.S. military’s ban on gay and lesbian soldiers, Congress reacted by enacting a law that prohibits known homosexuals from serving in the U.S. armed forces. The official justification for the new policy is the unit cohesion rationale, the notion that if known gays and lesbians were allowed to serve, unit

cohesion, performance, readiness and morale would decline. The thesis of this paper is that the evidence that advocates of discrimination invoke to support the plausibility of the unit cohesion rationale does not constitute scientifically valid data. This paper was delivered originally as a lecture at the Commonwealth Club of California and broadcast subsequently on *National Public Radio*. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: Don't Ask, Don't Tell; gays and lesbians in the military; unit cohesion rationale; gay ban

Belkin, Aaron. 2008a. “Don't Ask, Don't Tell': Does the Gay Ban Undermine the Military's Reputation?” *Armed Forces & Society* 34 (2): 276-91.

Abstract:

This article asks what impact, if any, the “don't ask, don't tell” policy might have on the U.S. military's reputation. Original empirical research is presented to suggest that the policy harms the military's reputation in four ways: the policy is inconsistent with public opinion, it prompts many journalists to criticize the armed forces while attracting almost no favorable media coverage, it provides a vehicle for antimilitary protesters to portray military culture as conflicting with widely accepted civilian values, and it is inconsistent with the views of junior enlisted service members. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: don't ask, don't tell; gays in the military; public opinion

Belkin, Aaron. 2008b. “Spam Filter: Gay Rights and the Normalization of Male-Male Rape in the U.S. Military.” *Radical History Review* 2008 (100): 180–5.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“At a recent conference on the ‘don't ask, don't tell’ policy (hereafter DADT) held at the University of Hawai'i Law School, I was stunned to find that half the speakers spent their time at the podium taking potshots at the U.S. military. I have participated in many conferences on the gay ban, and such a critique of the military is atypical. At most events, it is assumed that the military is a noble institution whose readiness must be preserved at all costs. Because the integration of openly gay and lesbian service members would enhance the military's ability to fulfill its mission, the argument usually goes, the ban should be repealed. At the Hawai'i conference, by contrast, critiques of the armed forces were so vehement that, during one question-and-answer session, an audience member asked the leader of a mainland organization dedicated to DADT's repeal whether he suffered any internal turmoil in the course of doing his job. ‘No,’ he responded, ‘the military is an outstanding institution.’

“Perhaps it is no accident that LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) advocates in Hawai'i seem more attuned to critical understandings of the armed forces than do their mainland counterparts. Several prominent scholars have argued that the U.S. military's presence in Hawai'i has been particularly heavy-handed and that its imprint can be seen

on museums, highways, schools, cemeteries, parks, houses, and other social and cultural institutions. “The military order,” some have concluded, “is heavily written onto Hawai’i, marking literal and figurative spaces in manners both subtle and gross.” At the University of Hawai’i conference on DADT, participants expressed concern with the pervasiveness of the military’s physical presence in the islands but seemed even more concerned by a related phenomenon: the militarization of civilian society” (Belkin 2008, 180-1).

Belkin, Aaron. 2011a. “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell: Is the Gay Ban Based on Military Necessity?” *Parameters* 40 (4): 173–83.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“The lack of in-depth analysis of foreign experiences in lifting bans on homosexual personnel prompted the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military (CSSMM) to examine four cases in detail: Australia, Canada, Israel, and Britain.6 CSSMM researchers focused on these countries because all four lifted their gay bans despite opposition from the military services; because the United States, Australia, Canada, and Britain share important cultural traditions; because the Israel Defense Forces are among the most combat-tested militaries in the world; and because prior to lifting its ban, Britain’s policy was often cited as support for those opposed to allowing homosexual personnel to serve openly in the United States. To prepare the case studies, every identifiable pro-gay and anti-gay expert on the policy change in each country was interviewed, including officers and enlisted personnel, ministry representatives, academics, veterans, politicians, and nongovernmental observers. During each interview, experts were asked to recommend additional contacts, all of whom were contacted. By the end of our research, 104 experts were interviewed and 622 documents and articles were examined. Although it is possible that additional data exist, CSSMM believes that the findings reflect a comprehensive appraisal of all relevant evidence” (Belkin 2010, 174).

Belkin, Aaron. 2011b. *How We Won: Progressive Lessons from the Repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.”* New York: The Huffington Post Media Group.

No abstract available.

Summary:

Tuesday, September 20, will mark a civil rights milestone for the United States. By order of Congress, the 17-year ban on gay men and lesbians serving in the military — commonly known as “don’t ask, don’t tell” (DADT) — will be overturned. But how did this historic change come about? And why did it take so long?

In *How We Won* (Huffington Post Media Group), Aaron Belkin argues that the public needed to be persuaded that gay troops would not harm the military before Congress

could be convinced to repeal the ban. Belkin, a scholar with more than a decade of hands-on experience in the repeal campaign, shares an insider's perspective on the strategies that he and others used to encourage this change of mind – and change of heart — in the American people and its Congress.

His top strategy, a tactic which, surprisingly, progressives often fail to pursue, was targeting conservative lies. The implications of Belkin's tactics extend far beyond the grass-roots movement to repeal "don't ask, don't tell". They challenge some of the left's most conventional wisdom about how to successfully set social policy. And the lessons that emerge could help progressives persuade the public about the merits of other big, liberal ideas, including the benefits of higher taxes and the dangers of an excessively strong military. But for now, as Belkin says, it's time to celebrate this one great victory. (*Summary from howwewon.com*)

Belkin, Aaron. 2013. "The Politics of Paranoia." *Journal of Homosexuality* 60 (2–3): 214–8.

Abstract:

For almost 20 years, gay rights advocates and defenders of military anti-gay discrimination engaged in a phony debate about whether allowing open service would undermine unit cohesion. To be sure, a preponderance of evidence showed that open service would not undermine cohesion, and the repeal of don't ask, don't tell (DADT) required advocates to prevail on that point in the court of public opinion. But concerns about cohesion were never the basis of opposition to open service. Rather, opposition was a modern incarnation of the politics of paranoia, a dangerous tradition in American history. Acknowledging that DADT had nothing to do with cohesion and that military leaders allowed the armed forces to be implicated in the politics of paranoia could facilitate disabling paranoia as the basis for other political projects such as anti-immigrant xenophobia. For a video on DADT and paranoia, search for "Donnelly Belkin DADT" on YouTube. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: don't ask, don't tell; DADT; gays in the military; paranoia

Belkin, Aaron. 2015. "Caring for Our Transgender Troops – The Negligible Cost of Transition-Related Care." *The New England Journal of Medicine* 373 (12): 1089-92.

No abstract available.

Summary:

"On July 13, 2015, U.S. Defense Secretary Ashton Carter announced that the military anticipates lifting its ban on service by transgender persons, those whose gender identity does not match the sex that they were assigned at birth. Although an estimated 12,800 transgender personnel currently serve in the U.S. armed forces (see [table](#) for explanations of estimates), they must conceal their gender identity because military policy bans them from serving and prohibits military doctors from providing transition-related care. Although some transgender people do not change their bodies to match their gender

identities, government agencies, courts, and scientists agree that for many, transition-related care (gender-affirming surgery, cross-sex hormone therapy, or both) is medically necessary, and state regulators have found medical exclusions to be indefensible and in some cases unlawfully discriminatory. Yet in response to Carter's announcement, opponents in the Pentagon and beyond expressed concerns about the costs of providing such care.

“Having analyzed the cost that the military will incur by providing transition-related care, I am convinced that it is too low to warrant consideration in the current policy debate. Specifically, I estimate that the provision of transition-related care will cost the military \$5.6 million annually, or 22 cents per member per month. Of course, the cost will depend on how many transgender personnel serve and utilize care, and estimates are sensitive to certain assumptions, such as the expectation that the military will not become a ‘magnet’ employer for transgender people seeking health care benefits. Though my utilization and cost estimates are quite close to actual data provided by an allied military force, it seems clear that under any plausible estimation method, the cost amounts to little more than a rounding error in the military's \$47.8 billion annual health care budget” (Belkin 2015, 1089).

Belkin, Aaron. 2017. “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’: The Politics of Military Change.” In *Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History*, edited by Leila J. Rupp and Susan K. Freeman, 289-94. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

No abstract available.

Belkin, Aaron, and Geoffrey Bateman, eds. 2003. *Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell: Debating the Gay Ban in the Military*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

No abstract available.

Summary:

Conservatives and liberals agree that President Bill Clinton's effort to lift the military's gay ban was perhaps one of the greatest blunders of his tenure in office. In this text, experts of both persuasions come together to debate the critical aspects of the gays-in-the-military issue. (*Summary from WorldCat*)

Table of Contents:

History Repeating Itself: A Historical Overview of Gay Men and Lesbians in the Military Before “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” – Timothy Haggerty
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Openly Gay Service Members Tell Their Stories: Steve May and Rob Nunn
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Belkin, Aaron, and Margot Canaday. 2010. “Assessing the Integration of Gays and Lesbians into the South African National Defence Force.” *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 38 (2): 1–21.

Abstract:

During the apartheid era, the South African military maintained a dual policy on homosexuality – prohibited among members of the permanent force, homosexuality was officially tolerated among conscripts. When the regime fell, the new government committed itself to human rights considerations, and after the South African Constitution adopted a provision of non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in 1996, the South African military followed suit. In 1998, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) implemented the Policy on Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action that declared that there would no longer be discrimination against gays and lesbians. This article draws together military and government documents, secondary research, press coverage and interviews with individuals with knowledge on this topic to assess the effects of this policy change. The evidence suggests that the integration of gay and lesbian personnel has not had a negative impact on recruitment and retention, morale, unit cohesion or operational effectiveness in the SANDF. (*Abstract from original source*)

Belkin, Aaron, and Melissa Sheridan Embser-Herbert. 2002. “A Modest Proposal: Privacy as a Flawed Rationale for the Exclusion of Gays and Lesbians from the U.S. Military.” *International Security* 27 (2): 178–97.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“This article is among the first studies to question the plausibility of this increasingly popular justification for the ban on gays and lesbians from the armed forces. We argue that the ban on gays and lesbians does not protect the privacy rights of heterosexual service members and that lifting the ban would not undermine heterosexual privacy. Because the ban itself compromises heterosexual privacy, we contend that its elimination would actually enhance the privacy of heterosexual service members. We begin by defining the privacy rationale and explaining its importance as a justification for the ban on gays and lesbians in the U.S. military. We then examine the relationship between privacy, morale, and military effectiveness. Next we identify five logical flaws in the privacy rationale and conclude with recommendations for policy-makers” (Belkin and Embser-Herbert 2002, 181).

Belkin, Aaron, Morten G. Ender, Nathaniel Frank, Stacie R. Furia, George Lucas, Gary Packard, Steven M. Samuels, Tammy Schultz, and David R. Segal. 2013. “Readiness

and DADT Repeal: Has the New Policy of Open Service Undermined the Military?"
Armed Forces & Society 39 (4): 587–601.

Abstract:

Prior to the repeal of “don’t ask, don’t tell” (DADT) on September 20, 2011, many observers predicted that allowing lesbian, gay and bisexual troops to serve openly would harm the military, and a group of more than 1,000 retired general and flag officers predicted that repeal could “break the All-Volunteer Force.” This study is the first scholarly effort to assess the accuracy of such predictions about the impact of DADT repeal on military readiness. We conducted our research during the half-year period starting six months after repeal and concluding at the one year mark, and we pursued ten separate research strategies including in-depth interviews, survey analysis, on-site field observations, pretest/posttest quasi experimentation, secondary source analysis, and a comprehensive review of media articles. Our goal was to maximize the likelihood of identifying evidence of damage caused by repeal, and we made vigorous efforts to collect data from repeal opponents including anti-repeal generals and admirals, activists, academic experts, service members and watchdog organizations. Our conclusion, based on all of the evidence available to us, is that DADT repeal has had no overall negative impact on military readiness or its component dimensions, including cohesion, recruitment, retention, assaults, harassment, or morale. If anything, DADT repeal appears to have enhanced the military's ability to pursue its mission. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: gays in the military; “don’t ask, don’t tell”; DADT

Belkin, Aaron, and Melissa Levitt. 2001. “Homosexuality and the Israel Defense Forces: Did Lifting the Gay Ban Undermine Military Performance?” *Armed Forces & Society* 27 (4): 541–65.

No abstract available.

Summary:

In this article we argue that Israel’s 1993 decision to lift its gay ban did not influence military performance. Then we assess three arguments raised by experts who claim that Israeli experiences are not relevant for determining what would happen if the U.S. Congress and Pentagon lifted the American gay ban. In particular, we assess the arguments that most gay Israeli combat soldiers do not disclose their sexuality to peers, that some receive special treatment, and that cultural differences distinguish the U.S. and Israeli cases. We agree with each argument, but our interpretation of them differs from experts who believe that Israeli military experiences are irrelevant. While no single case study can show decisively what would happen if the U.S. changed its policy, we suggest that the Israeli experience lends some weight to the claim that American military effectiveness would not decline if known homosexuals were allowed to serve. (*Summary from SAGE*)

Belkin, Aaron, and Jason McNichol. 2001. "Homosexual Personnel Policy in the Canadian Forces: Did Lifting the Gay Ban Undermine Military Performance?" *International Journal* 56 (1): 73–88.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“As the number of countries that permit gay and lesbian soldiers to serve in the armed forces grows, it is increasingly important to determine whether official decisions to include homosexual service members in the military lead to changes in organizational performance. Although most member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), along with a handful of other nations, allow gay and lesbian soldiers to serve, there has been little empirical analysis of whether the decision to lift a gay ban influences the ability of armed forces to pursue their missions. Theoretical studies have addressed this topic but there has been no in-depth empirical work on the consequences of a decision to lift a gay ban” (Belkin and McNichol 2001, 73).

Blosnich, John R., George R. Brown, Jillian C. Shipherd, Michael Kauth, Rebecca I. Piegari, and Robert M. Bossarte. 2013. "Prevalence of Gender Identity Disorder and Suicide Risk Among Transgender Veterans Utilizing Veterans Health Administration Care." *American Journal of Public Health* 103 (10): e27–32.

No abstract available.

Summary:

Objectives: We estimated the prevalence and incidence of gender identity disorder (GID) diagnoses among veterans in the Veterans Health Administration (VHA) health care system and examined suicide risk among veterans with a GID diagnosis.

Methods: We examined VHA electronic medical records from 2000 through 2011 for 2 official ICD-9 diagnosis codes that indicate transgender status. We generated annual period prevalence estimates and calculated incidence using the prevalence of GID at 2000 as the baseline year. We cross-referenced GID cases with available data (2009–2011) of suicide-related events among all VHA users to examine suicide risk.

Results: GID prevalence in the VHA is higher (22.9/100 000 persons) than are previous estimates of GID in the general US population (4.3/100 000 persons). The rate of suicide-related events among GID-diagnosed VHA veterans was more than 20 times higher than were rates for the general VHA population.

Conclusions: The prevalence of GID diagnosis nearly doubled over 10 years among VHA veterans. Research is needed to examine suicide risk among transgender veterans and how their VHA utilization may be enhanced by new VA initiatives on transgender care. *(Summary from original source)*

Blosnich, John R., Mary C. Marsiglio, Melissa E. Dichter, Shasha Gao, Adam J. Gordon, Jillian C. Shipherd, Michael R. Kauth, George R. Brown, and Michael J. Fine. 2017. “Impact of Social Determinants of Health on Medical Conditions Among Transgender Veterans.” *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 52 (4): 491–8.

No abstract available.

Summary:

Introduction: Transgender individuals experience pronounced disparities in health (e.g., mood disorders, suicide risk) and in the prevalence of social determinants of housing instability, financial strain, and violence. The objectives of this study were to understand the prevalence of social determinants among transgender veterans and assess their associations with medical conditions.

Methods: This project was a records review using administrative data from the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs databases for 1997–2014. Transgender veterans (N=46,308) were defined as patients with any of four ICD-9 diagnosis codes associated with transgender status. Social determinants were operationalized using ICD-9 codes and Department of Veterans Affairs clinical screens indicating violence, housing instability, or financial strain. Multiple logistic regression was used to assess the associations of social determinants with medical conditions: mood disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, alcohol abuse disorder, illicit drug abuse disorder, tobacco use disorder, suicidal risk, HIV, and hepatitis C.

Results: After adjusting for sociodemographic variables, housing instability and financial strain were significantly associated with all medical conditions except for HIV, and violence was significantly associated with all medical conditions except for tobacco use disorder and HIV. There was a dose response–like relationship between the increasing number of forms of social determinants being associated with increasing odds for medical conditions.

Conclusions: Social determinants are prevalent factors in transgender patients’ lives, exhibiting strong associations with medical conditions. Documenting social determinants in electronic health records can help providers to identify and address these factors in treatment goals. (*Summary from original source*)

Brown, George R., and Kenneth T. Jones. 2016. “Mental Health and Medical Health Disparities in 5135 Transgender Veterans Receiving Healthcare in the Veterans Health Administration: A Case-Control Study.” *LGBT Health* 3 (2): 122-31.

Abstract:

Purpose: There are no large controlled studies of health disparities in transgender (TG) or gender dysphoric patients. The Veterans Health Administration (VHA) is the largest healthcare system in the United States and was an early adopter of electronic health

records. We sought to determine whether medical and/or mental health disparities exist in VHA for clinically diagnosed TG veterans compared to matched veterans without a clinical diagnosis consistent with TG status.

Methods: Using four ICD-9-CM codes consistent with TG identification, a cohort of 5135 TG veterans treated in VHA between 1996 and 2013 was identified. Veterans without one of these diagnoses were matched 1:3 in a case–control design to determine if medical and/or mental health disparities exist in the TG veteran population.

Results: In 2013, the prevalence of TG veterans with a qualifying clinical diagnosis was 58/100,000 patients. Statistically significant disparities were present in the TG cohort for all 10 mental health conditions examined, including depression, suicidality, serious mental illnesses, and post-traumatic stress disorder. TG Veterans were more likely to have been homeless, to have reported sexual trauma while on active duty, and to have been incarcerated. Significant disparities in the prevalence of medical diagnoses for TG veterans were also detected for 16/17 diagnoses examined, with HIV disease representing the largest disparity between groups.

Conclusion: This is the first study to examine a large cohort of clinically diagnosed TG patients for psychiatric and medical health outcome disparities using longitudinal, retrospective medical chart data with a matched control group. TG veterans were found to have global disparities in psychiatric and medical diagnoses compared to matched non-TG veterans. These findings have significant implications for policy, healthcare screening, and service delivery in VHA and potentially other healthcare systems.
(Abstract from original source)

Bulmer, Sarah. 2013. “Patriarchal Confusion?: Making Sense of Gay and Lesbian Military Identity.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 15 (2): 137–56.

Abstract:

In this article I investigate the possible uses of Cynthia Enloe’s idea of ‘patriarchal confusion’ in understanding gay and lesbian military identity. Through an analysis of military discourses surrounding the inclusion of gays and lesbians in the British military since 2000, and using original interview data with serving personnel, I examine the contradictory ways in which queer identity has been incorporated within a military dominated by heteronormative masculinity. By examining conflicting attitudes towards gay and lesbian soldiers’ participation in Pride marches, I show how patriarchal understandings of military identity become ‘confused’ by both heterosexual and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender personnel. I argue for a move away from viewing the integration of non-traditional recruits through the dichotomous lens of subversion or co-option, and instead call for an engagement with the ambiguities and confusions that arise from that integration. Reading this confusion through Butler’s concept of performativity, I demonstrate how even confused ideas about gender can reproduce patriarchy, and why patriarchy often simultaneously fails to reproduce itself. A performative reading of ‘patriarchal confusion’ therefore indicates the radically contingent character of the

reproduction of patriarchal norms in the military and suggests that sites of confusion might be fertile grounds for feminist interventions. (*Abstract from original source*)
Keywords: gender; sexuality; military; identity; masculinity; Pride; LGBT; patriarchy; confusion; performativity; homonormativity

Caska-Wallace, Catherine M., Jodie G. Katon, Keren Lehavot, Meghan M. McGinn, and Tracy L. Simpson. 2016. "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptom Severity and Relationship Functioning Among Partnered Heterosexual and Lesbian Women Veterans." *LGBT Health* 3 (3): 186–92.

Abstract:

Purpose: Few studies have examined associations of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and relationship satisfaction among women Veterans, and no research has explored these factors in lesbian women Veterans, a large subgroup that may have unique concerns. This study examined the link between PTSD and relationship satisfaction in partnered heterosexual and lesbian women Veterans and evaluated potential moderation by sexual orientation, partner support, and conflict.

Methods: Women Veterans (heterosexual n = 260; lesbian n = 128) were recruited nationally to complete a cross-sectional online survey. Multiple linear regression models were used to evaluate moderation, using two- and three-way interactions.

Results: Partner support moderated the association between PTSD symptoms and relationship satisfaction to a different degree for heterosexual and lesbian women Veterans, playing a more prominent role in this association for lesbian women. Specifically, for lesbians with low partner support, as PTSD symptoms worsened, relationship satisfaction decreased at a steeper rate than for heterosexual women with low partner support. On the other hand, for lesbians with high partner support, as PTSD symptoms worsened, relationship satisfaction decreased less sharply than for heterosexual women with high partner support. Degree of conflict was highly correlated with relationship satisfaction and also appeared to moderate these relations differently by sexual orientation.

Conclusion: These findings suggest that women Veterans with PTSD experience impairments in their romantic relationships, which vary by sexual orientation, partner support, and conflict. Partner support and conflict may be important targets in assessment and therapy for women Veterans with PTSD, and especially so for sexual minorities. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: military; partner support; PTSD; relationship satisfaction; sexual orientation; women veterans

Cohn, Carol. 1997. "Gays in the Military: Texts and Subtexts." In *The "Man Question" in International Relations*, edited by Marysia Zalewski and Jane Parpart, 129–49. Boulder: Westview Press.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Although military leaders may articulate the question of gays in the military as one of morale, good order, and unit cohesion, such rationales do not even approach explanations for the intensity of emotion in the debate. To understand it, we need to look at the subtext, where issues about not only sexuality but gender emerge. The overarching concern is with maintaining the institution’s heterosexual masculinity.

“Gender is not a given but a situated accomplishment, a daily set of ways of being with different meanings in different contexts. An important attraction of the military to many of its members is a guarantee of heterosexual masculinity. That guarantee is especially important because the military provides a situation of intense bonds between men, a much more homosocial and homoerotically charged environment than most men otherwise have the opportunity to be in. In that the military guarantees their manhood, men are allowed to participate in the intimacy of male bonding without being taken as sissies. In that context, the military’s official heterosexual masculinity enables men to experience erotic, sexual, and emotional impulses that they would otherwise have to censor in themselves for fear of being seen (by others or themselves) as homosexual and therefore not real men. They are not only escaping a negative - imputations of homosexuality- but gaining a positive, the ability to be with other men in ways that transcend the limitations on male relationships that most men live under in civilian life.

“So we have a paradoxical situation of an institution that constructs and upholds the most rigid stereotypes of hegemonic masculinity but at the same time provides a context that allows men to transcend some of these limits: the rigid constraints that typically prevent men from bonding with other men. These constraints break down a controlled but nonetheless real way.

“The foregoing is not the whole story behind the reaction to Clinton’s plan to include gays in the military. It is important to recognize that the massive campaigns of opposition were orchestrated by the military and right-wing political groups. However, the key to understanding the strident response is the fear that with gays officially in the military, the military can no longer be synonymous with manhood” (Cohn 1997, 145).

Connell, Catherine. 2015. “Right to Serve or Responsibility to Protect? Civil Rights Framing and the DADT Repeal.” *Boston University Law Review* 95: 1015–28.

No abstract available.

Summary:

The article focuses on the military compromise, known as Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue (DADT), which allows the lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people for outwardly profess an LGB identity. Topics discussed include the policy of the U.S. Department of Defense towards the individuals engaging in homosexual sex for military service, several U.S. court cases including Log Cabin Republicans v. United States and Cook v.

Rumsfeld on DADT, and historical significance of civil right for LGBT. (*Summary from EBSCO*)

Connell, Catherine. 2018. "Different Than an Infantry Unit down in Georgia': Narratives of Queer Liberation in the Post-DADT Military." *Sexualities* 21 (5-6): 776-92.

Abstract:

More than five years out from its implementation, we still know relatively little about how members of the US military and its ancillary institutions are responding to the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell. Contrary to what one might expect given the long history of LGBTQ antipathy in the military, I found in interviews with Boston area Reserve Officer Training Core (ROTC) cadets unanimous approval for the repeal of DADT. When pressed to explain why there was so much homogeneity of favorable opinion regarding the repeal, interviewees repeatedly offered the same explanation: that Boston, in particular, is such a progressive place that even more conservative institutions like the ROTC are spared anti-gay sentiment. They imagined the Southern and/or rural soldier they will soon encounter when they enter the US military, one who represents the traditionally homophobic attitudes of the old military in contrast to their more enlightened selves. This "metronormative" narrative has been critiqued elsewhere as inadequate for understanding the relationship between sexuality and place; this article contributes to that critique by taking a new approach. Rather than deconstruct narratives of queer rurality, as the majority of metronormativity scholarship has done, I deconstruct these narratives of urban queer liberation. I find that such narratives mask the murkier realities of LGBTQ attitudes in urban contexts and allow residents like the ROTC cadets in this study to displace blame about anti-gay prejudice to a distant Other, outside of their own ranks. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: LGBTQ; metronormativity; military; rural; urban

Conway, Daniel. 2004. "Every Coward's Choice'? Political Objection to Military Service in Apartheid South Africa as Sexual Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 8 (1): 25-45.

Abstract:

Sexuality was articulated by the apartheid state as a means of disciplining the white population and marginalizing white opponents of apartheid. As such, homophobia was a recurrent feature of political and legal discourse. The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) opposed compulsory conscription for all white men in the apartheid era South African Defence Force (SADF). Its challenge was a potentially radical and profoundly destabilizing one and it articulated a competing definition of citizenship to that offered by the state. The pro- and anti-conscription discourse was inherently gendered and overtly sexualized. The South African government regularly associated men who objected to military service with effeminacy, cowardice and sexual 'deviance'. The case of Dr. Ivan Toms' objection, a gay objector who wished to cite his sexuality as a primary motivation for his objection, reveals the unwillingness of the ECC to engage in sexual politics. Using Shane Phelan's and Zygmunt Bauman's concept of friends, enemies and strangers, this

paper investigates the construction of both white gay men and white people who opposed apartheid as 'strangers' and suggests that the deployment of homophobia by the state was a stigmatizing discourse aimed at purging the ECC's political message from the public realm. In this context the ECC adopted an assimilatory discursive strategy, whereby they attempted to be 'respectable whites', negotiating over shared republican territory. This populist strategy, arguably safer in the short term, avoided issues of sexuality and the fundamental conflation of sexuality and citizenship in apartheid South Africa. The ECC thus circumscribed its radical and deconstructive political potential and did not offer a 'radical democratic' message in opposition to apartheid. (*Abstract from original source*)

Dendrinis, Panayis. 2008. "Contemporary Greek Male Homosexualities: Greek Gay Men's Experiences of the Family, the Military and the LGBT Movement." PhD diss., University of Glasgow.

Abstract:

This thesis provides an ethnographic analysis of how Greek gay men experience the ways in which their sexuality is subject to 'negotiation' in the family and the military, how these 'negotiations' influence and sometimes even inhibit the creation of an LGBT movement. The experiences of my ethnographic informants produced little material for generalisations but the diversity of their voices suggests that they are constantly fighting between the desire to belong and the wish to remain different. I argue that the theoretical framework of *timi* and *dropi* (honour and shame) can still be a valuable explanatory tool for an understanding of Modern Greek homosexualities. Yet, this thesis offers a critique of this paradigm for its neglect to account for the possible ways in which the sexual contact of the men in a family may occasionally be seen as a threat to the family's honour. As a result, silence becomes a defence mechanism that many of my gay interlocutors and their families employ to deal with homosexuality. This varied silence often inhibits the sense of pride in the man's homosexuality and in turn prevents him from joining the movement that would require him to be vocal about his sexual self. The military experiences of my interlocutors, on the other hand, challenge the assumption that the military is a strictly heterosexual space. What they often describe as the 'homo-social' environment of the military acted as a catalyst for several of them to come to terms with their homosexuality. The thesis also explores the history of Greek LGBT activism from its inception in 1976 to today and examines the reasons behind its limited success in capturing the hearts and minds of my interlocutors. (*Abstract from original source*)

Dietert, Michelle, Dianne Dentice, and Zander Keig. 2017. "Addressing the Needs of Transgender Military Veterans: Better Access and More Comprehensive Care." *Transgender Health* 2 (1): 35-44.

Abstract:

Purpose: There is a gap in social science literature addressing issues of access and quality of care for transgender military veterans. Psychologists, medical doctors, and other health professionals are beginning to address some of the barriers present in the Department of

Veterans Affairs (VA) system that affect veterans who are also transgender and intersex. Over a 7-year period, between 2006 and 2013, 2600 transgender veterans were served by the VA. Data from several surveys revealed that most transgender veterans perceive the Veterans Health Administration (VHA) to be less than accommodating for their special needs. The goal of this study was to investigate the experiences of a sample of transgender veterans with regard to their experiences with healthcare services provided by the VHA.

Methods: Using snowball sampling techniques, we were able to recruit 22 transgender military veterans to participate in our study. A combination of telephone interviews and questionnaires provided data from veterans in various branches of the military throughout the United States.

Results: Findings indicate that even though the VHA is working to address issues of inequality for transgender veterans, our participants indicated that there are still some problems with administration of care, proper training of staff and physicians, and availability of comprehensive services for the unique healthcare needs of transgender individuals.

Conclusion: Since our data were collected, the VA has worked to bridge the gap by focusing on increased training for VHA providers and staff and establishing LGBT programs at VA facilities. However, we suggest that one key area of importance should continue to focus on how mental health and medical providers and ancillary staff are trained to interact with and provide care for their transgender patients (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: gender identity discrimination; transgender; U.S. military; Veterans Health Administration

Elders, M. Joycelyn, George R. Brown, Eli Coleman, Thomas A. Kolditz, and Alan M. Steinman. 2015. "Medical Aspects of Transgender Military Service." *Armed Forces & Society* 41 (2): 199–220.

Abstract:

At least eighteen countries allow transgender personnel to serve openly, but the United States is not among them. In this article, we assess whether US military policies that ban transgender service members are based on medically sound rationales. To do so, we analyze Defense Department regulations and consider a wide range of medical data. Our conclusion is that there is no compelling medical reason for the ban on service by transgender personnel, that the ban is an unnecessary barrier to health care access for transgender personnel, and that medical care for transgender individuals should be managed using the same standards that apply to all others. Removal of the military's ban on transgender service would improve health outcomes, enable commanders to better care for their troops, and reflect the military's commitment to providing outstanding medical care for all military personnel. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: transgender service members; medical care; mental health; “don’t ask, don’t tell”

Estes, Steve. 2005. “Ask and Tell: Gay Veterans, Identity, and Oral History on a Civil Rights Frontier.” *The Oral History Review* 32 (2): 21–47.

Abstract:

In 1993 the “don't ask, don't tell” policy legislated the silence of gay and lesbian soldiers on active duty and in the reserves. This silence about gays in the military has led to a collective amnesia about the patriotic service and courageous sacrifices of homosexual troops. If we forget that gay and lesbian Americans have served their country, then we as a nation are much less likely to view them as full citizens, deserving of civil rights and equal protection of the law. Oral history provides one way to break this silence, to “ask and tell” about the military careers of gay and lesbian soldiers and to allow these veterans to speak for themselves about the current military policy. Based on more than fifty interviews with gay and lesbian veterans, this article chronicles the evolution of military policy regarding homosexuality since World War II, and it explores the intersection of veterans' identities based on race, sexuality, and military service. As these interviews illustrate, gays and lesbians have served honorably in the military during times of war and peace. Far from undermining unit cohesion or morale, these troops have strengthened America's armed forces. Interviews with gay and lesbian veterans provide an Opportunity to explore several themes underlying the debate about homosexuality and military service: 1) the relationship between racism and homophobia in the military; 2) varying attitudes about military service within gay communities; 3) contrasting experiences of gay men and lesbians in the military; and 4) the evolving nature of gay veterans' identities. (*Abstract from original source*)

Ford, Shannon, and Carla Schnitzlein. 2017. "Gender Dysphoria in the Military." *Current Psychiatry Reports* 19 (12): 1-8.

Abstract:

Purpose of Review: With the announcement that members of the military who identify as transgender are allowed to serve openly, the need for Department of Defense behavioral health providers to be comfortable in the assessment, diagnosis, and treatment of this population becomes quickly evident. This population has been seeking care in the community and standards have been developed to help guide decision-making, but a comparable document does not exist for the military population.

Recent Findings: Previously published papers were written in anticipation of the policy allowing for open service. The civilian sector has treatment guidelines and evidence supporting the same for reference. There is no similar document for the military population, likely due to the recent change and ongoing development. This paper attempts to provide an overview of the recent Department of Defense policy and walks the reader through key considerations when providing care to a transgender member of

the military as it relates to those who are currently serving in the military through the use of a case example.

Summary: The military transgender population faces some unique challenges due to the need to balance readiness and deployability with medically necessary health care. Also complicating patient care is that policy development is ongoing— as of this publication, the decision has not yet been made regarding how people who identify as transgender will access into the military nor is there final approval regarding coverage for surgical procedures. Unique circumstances of this population are brought up to generate more discussion and encourage further evaluation and refinement of the process. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: Transgender; gender dysphoria; military; veteran; LGBT; mental health; open service

Goodwin, Michele, and Erwin Chemerinsky. 2019. "The Transgender Military Ban: Preservation of Discrimination Through Transformation." *Northwestern University Law Review* 114 (3): 751-807.

Abstract:

This Essay contends that the Trump Administration's ban on transgender individuals serving in the military is based on prejudice and bias, lacking any legitimate justification. As such, the transgender military ban cannot be justified on legal grounds. Nor can it be justified based on health and safety. Engaging a robust empirical record, the authors show that the ban cannot be justified based on matters of efficiency, preparedness, or combat readiness — arguments used by the Trump Administration to justify the ban. Despite transgender individuals serving openly in the military in recent years, the Trump Administration has not been able to offer in reports or court documents proof of its claims that transgender service members undermine combat readiness and thus pose a risk to the military.

Given this, the authors argue, the Supreme Court's intervention to lift the preliminary injunctions bodes poorly for how the Court will address this issue and other LGBTQ rights issues to come. The Essay identifies several problems with the Trump Administration's policy to ban transgender individuals from serving in the U.S. military. First, the policy is unjustifiably discriminatory on the basis of gender identity. Second, it perpetuates harmful stereotypes and stigmas that have serious consequences in society generally, and specifically, for transgender service members and their families. Third, the policy singles out transgender members of the military through what ultimately can be understood as coercion and shaming, forcing trans military service members to obtain a psychological diagnosis of gender dysphoria and to do so rather abruptly in order to continue in their military employment. The Essay shows how the transgender military ban perpetuates historical patterns of discrimination in the military, which reach back to race- and sexbased discrimination. The authors conclude that promoting equality in the military will only occur when those who wish to, and are qualified to, serve are permitted to do so with dignity and respect. (*Abstract from original source*)

Gouliquer, Lynne, Carmen Poulin, and Jennifer Moore. 2018. "A Threat to Canadian National Security: A Lesbian Soldier's Story." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 15 (2-3): 323-35.

Abstract:

Before 1992, lesbians and gay soldiers were purged and discharged from the Canadian military for “reasons of homosexuality.” Those caught or suspected of homosexuality were subject to lengthy, humiliating, and degrading interrogations. This short story sheds light on this painful past. It is based on findings of a nationally funded pan-Canadian longitudinal study examining how Canadian military policies and practices influenced the lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender soldiers and their partners. In total, 126 people were interviewed. While in the military, countless soldiers were investigated, numerous interrogated, many lost their careers, some committed suicide and others survived. Personal details have been changed to ensure the anonymity of the people, but it is their voices that tell this story. An official state apology was delivered November 28, 2017. Due to an impending class action court case, an agreement for compensation was also reached. Compensation and memorials will be forthcoming to those who were affected by the LGBTQI2+ purge campaign. To this day, no evidence exists that these soldiers were “ever” a threat to national security. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: Canadian military; discharged soldiers; homosexuality; interrogations; justice; LGBT; national security; purge campaign

Hampf, M. Michaela. 2004. “‘Dykes’ or ‘Whores’: Sexuality and the Women’s Army Corps in the United States during World War II.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 27 (1): 13–30.

No abstract available.

Summary:

When the Women’s Army Corps (WAC) was founded in the United States in 1943, utilizing American womanpower was a matter of military expediency. At the same time, military service provided many women with mobility, education, and greater economic and personal autonomy. Women soldiers were subject to rumors and hostility by the public and media that found the stereotypical ‘feminine’ to be irreconcilable with the stereotypically masculine ‘soldier’ and considered both lesbian and heterosexual women’s sexual agency a threat to military masculinity and established gender roles. Archival records of the US Army show that women’s sexuality was controlled by discourses of desexualization and/or hypersexualization, by policies denying their sexual agency and of their victimization. The WAC leadership created an image of the ‘respectable’ female soldier based on assumptions about the class and race nature of sexual morality. During the Second World War (WWII), military psychiatrists’ focus on homosexuality shifted from criminal to medical concepts. Concerns over lesbianism in the Corps, which was the apotheosis of cultural anxieties over women’s entrance into the

military, highlight the performative nature and the close connections between the categories gender and sexuality. (*Summary from original source*)

Johnson, Laura, Jillian Shipherd, and Heather M. Walton. 2016. "The Psychologist's Role in Transgender-Specific Care with U.S. Veterans." *Psychological Services* 13 (1): 69–76.

Abstract:

Psychologists are integral to the care of transgender individuals. This article details the many roles for psychologists in transgender-specific care, including diagnosing and treating gender dysphoria; providing treatment for comorbid conditions; referring to medical services such as gender confirmation surgeries, voice modification, and cross-sex hormone therapies; serving as consultants within health care systems; and advocating for addressing barriers in systems in which transgender individuals live and work. Transgender veterans have unique experiences and vulnerabilities related to their military service that are detailed from a review of the literature, and we make the case that Veterans Health Administration (VHA) and community psychologists are well-positioned to provide care to transgender veterans (trans-vets). In this article, the authors describe the experiences that many trans-vets have faced, identify the importance of treatment for gender dysphoria (and draw the distinction between gender identity disorder and gender dysphoria) as well as psychologists' roles, and clarify which transgender-related services are available to eligible veterans through VHA per policy and how VHA providers have access to training to provide that care. In addition, we describe how veterans can connect to the VHA, even if they have (and want to continue working with) non-VHA psychologists or other community providers. (*Abstract from original source*)

Kaplan, Danny, and Eyal Ben-Ari. 2000. "Brothers and Others in Arms: Managing Gay Identity in Combat Units of the Israeli Army." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 29 (4): 396–432.

Abstract:

Although policies regarding the enlistment of homosexuals in Western armies have become the subject of a heated debate, their own experiences in the military have received little systematic analysis. The authors examine the experience of gay men in combat units of the Israeli army, as derived from retrospective life stories. The authors found no common adjustment problems related to these men's sexual orientation. At the same time, variable identification strategies with hegemonic masculine military culture emerged. One is engagement and includes identification with soldiery as a test for masculinity, taking part in heterosexual discourse, and an active attempt to develop social ties. The second strategy is compartmentalization, which involves focusing on professional aspects of the military job and building walls in the interpersonal sphere. Consequently, the authors propose that the ties between behavioral adaptation to military service, processes of identification with organizational values, and the acquisition of a particular identity are loosely coupled. (*Abstract from original source*)

Kaplan, Danny, and Amir Rosenmann. 2012. "Unit Social Cohesion in the Israeli Military as a Case Study of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell.'" *Political Psychology* 33 (4): 419–36.

Abstract:

U.S. military policy "Don't Ask Don't Tell" (DADT) restricted integration of gays in the U.S. military based on the premise that knowledge of gay peers would decrease interpersonal bonds among unit members. Despite the heated debate over DADT, this social cohesion thesis, reflecting the tensions of homosocial desire, has not been tested empirically. The Israeli military provides an operative case-study for this thesis, given its nonexclusionary policy and intensive combat experience. Measures of perceived social cohesion and knowledge of gay peers were obtained from a sample of 417 combat and noncombat male soldiers using an inventory of interpersonal emotions towards unit members. A MANOVA of social cohesion by knowledge of gay peers and combat/noncombat unit yielded the hypothesized increase in cohesion in combat versus noncombat units. Yet contrary to the DADT premise, knowledge of gay peers did not yield decreased social cohesion. Comparisons with the U.S. military are presented, suggesting in both cases a loose coupling between stated policies and soldiers' experience on the ground. Implications of these findings for the reassessment of DADT and its repeal are discussed. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: gay; military; cohesion; masculinity; combat; homosocial

Kerrigan, Matthew F. 2012. "Transgender Discrimination in the Military: The New Don't Ask, Don't Tell." *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 18 (3): 500–18.

Abstract:

With the recent repeal of the "Don't Ask Don't Tell" (DADT) policy, gay rights groups celebrated a new victory for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) rights. However, most people do not realize that DADT did not apply to transgender persons. Transgender persons are banned from serving by various regulations within each division of the armed forces and a Department of Defense directive imposing certain psychological and medical restrictions. The restrictions are automatic and do not leave room for case-by-case evaluation of readiness to serve. This paper first examines a study conducted by the Palm Center of the University of California, Santa Barbara, which provides new insight into the plight of transgender service members and veterans. It then discusses the broad-reaching impact of certain military regulations that threaten not only transgender rights, but the rights of all LGBT persons in the military. It then examines the limited case law pertaining to transgender rights and discrimination in the military. Finally, this paper argues that if regulations targeting transgender persons are not reexamined, the repeal of DADT might not truly protect all lesbian, gay and bisexual persons, as the existing regulations leave room for arbitrary discrimination. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: transgender; discrimination; military; LGBT; gender-nonconforming

Lee, Alvin. 2010. "Assessing the Korean Military's Gay Sex Ban in the International Context." *Law & Sexuality: A Review of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Legal Issues* 19: 67–94.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“This Article will explore these issues, ultimately arguing that, when viewed in light of certain unique aspects of Korean law and culture, article 92 stands alone in the international community, representing an exceptionally flagrant violation of the rights of the men it seeks to punish. Part II will offer a background of Korean military conscription as well as the military's legal treatment of gays. Part II.A will discuss the nature of mandatory military service in Korea, including the social and legal ramifications for failing to complete service. Part II.B will discuss the Korean military's attempts to regulate sexuality, including article 92 and its past and present applications to gay men. Part III will explore past and present methods employed by other nations' militaries for the purposes of regulating sexuality and sexual conduct. Part III.A will discuss regulation of sexual status through military personnel bans, such as the policy colloquially known as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" in the United States. Part III.B will discuss regulation of sexual conduct within the military, paying special attention to the context of same-sex sexual activity. Part IV will argue that article 92 is a gross violation of human rights that is indeed singular throughout the world. Part WA will compare article 92 to other states' regulations of sexuality and sexual conduct in the military, showing that it is unlike what is found in any other peer nation. Part IVB will argue that article 92 could be construed to represent a violation of international human rights precedent that proscribes prohibitions against same-sex sexual conduct generally, placing Korea in violation of its treaty obligations with respect to human rights accords. Part IVC will argue that unique aspects of Korean law and culture make it such that article 92 denies gay men the ability to realize fully participatory adult male citizenship in Korean society” (Lee 2010, 69-70).

Lehtonen, Jukka. 2015. "Going to the 'Men's School'? Non-Heterosexual and Trans Youth Choosing Military Service in Finland." *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies* 10 (2): 117–35.

Abstract:

Military service is obligatory for those who are legally men in Finland, and the majority of men do their service, although there is the possibility for women to apply for voluntary military service. In this article I analyse the experiences and stories of non-heterosexual men, non-heterosexual women, transfeminine and transmasculine respondents in relation to their military service. My data are from a survey with 1861 responses from trans and non-heterosexual people under 30 years of age. I analyse what kind of significance they give to gender and sexuality in their perceptions of military service. Military service is often seen in their stories as a 'men's school' from which they distance themselves or which they see as a way to prove their masculinity. The four respondent groups reacted

differently towards military service in many respects. Their reasons given for deciding to avoid military service included pacifist concerns on the part of some, but concerns relating to gender and sexuality were far more frequent in decisions to avoid military service. The army was often seen as best suited for heterosexual man, and military culture was seen as sexist and homophobic. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: non-heterosexual; transgender; masculinity; heteronormativity; homonormativity; military service

Lindsay, Jan A., Colt Keo-Meier, Sonora Hudson, Annette Walder, Lindsey A. Martin, and Michael R. Kauth. 2016. "Mental Health of Transgender Veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan Conflicts Who Experienced Military Sexual Trauma." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 29 (6): 563–7.

Abstract:

Little is known about military sexual trauma (MST) in transgender veterans. To address this gap, we examined archival data regarding transgender veterans from the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts. There were 332 transgender veterans treated at the Veterans Health Administration between 2000 and 2013 (78 men, 254 women; mean age 33.86 years), with most being non-Hispanic White. Transgender status and mental health conditions were identified using the International Classification of Diseases, 9th Revision (ICD-9; World Health Organization, 1980) codes and chart review. Men and women were analyzed separately, using contingency tables and χ^2 testing for categorical variables and t tests for continuous variables. Likelihood of having a mental health condition and MST were examined using logistic regression. Among the 15% of participants who experienced MST, MST was associated with the likelihood of posttraumatic stress disorder, adjusted OR = 6.09, 95% confidence interval (CI) [1.22, 30.44] and personality disorder, OR = 3.86, 95% CI [1.05, 14.22] for men and with depressive, OR = 3.33, 95% CI [1.12, 9.93], bipolar, OR = 2.87, 95% CI [1.12, 7.44], posttraumatic stress, OR = 2.42, [1.11, 5.24], and personality disorder, OR = 4.61, 95% CI [2.02, 10.52] for women. Implications include that medical forms should include gender identity and biological gender and that MST treatment should be culturally competent. (*Abstract from original source*)

Livingston, Nicholas A., Danielle S. Berke, Mollie A. Ruben, Alexis R. Matza, and Jillian C. Shipherd. 2019. "Experiences of Trauma, Discrimination, Microaggressions, and Minority Stress Among Trauma-Exposed LGBT Veterans: Unexpected Findings and Unresolved Service Gaps." *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* 11 (7): 695-703.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Objective: LGBT veterans experience high rates of trauma, discrimination, and minority stress. However, guidelines for case conceptualization and treatment remain limited. The

aim of the current study was to examine the experiences of trauma and other high impact experiences among LGBT veterans to inform case conceptualization and treatment. *Method:* We recruited 47 LGBT veterans with a history of exposure to LGBT-related Criterion A trauma and performed semistructured interviews about their experiences in trauma treatment, barriers to engagement, and treatment needs and preferences. We used thematic analysis of qualitative codes guided by inductive and deductive approaches to characterize the variety of trauma and high impact experiences reported. *Results:* LGBT veterans disclosed a range of clinically relevant stressors, including Criterion A traumatic events, minority stress, and microaggression experiences, including interpersonal and institutional discrimination perpetrated by fellow service members/veterans, citizens, therapy group members, and health care providers. *Conclusion:* These data provide a unique account of LGBT veteran's identity-related trauma and concomitant interpersonal and institutional discrimination, microaggression experiences, minority stress, and traumatic stress symptoms. Findings highlight existing service gaps regarding evidence-based treatments for the sequelae of trauma, discrimination, microaggressions, and minority stress. In addition, we noted past and present issues in military and health care settings that may lead to or exacerbate trauma-related distress and discourage treatment seeking among LGBT veterans. We provide suggestions for clinical work with LGBT veterans and encourage ongoing research and development to eliminate remaining service gaps.

“Clinical Impact Statement: LGBT veterans are exposed to higher rates of trauma than their nonveteran LGBT counterparts and non-LGBT veterans. They also must cope with other highly impactful experiences such as discrimination, microaggressions, and minority stress. Reactions to these events may create overlapping symptom clusters that may interfere with trauma treatment and recovery, especially under circumstances of persistent threat (e.g., ongoing discrimination). Existing empirically supported trauma treatments were not developed for LGBT veterans, or to treat discrimination, microaggressions, or minority stress; treatments that address these latter concerns are not trauma-focused. This work highlights the critical need for further research and development to meet this population's treatment needs” (Livingston et al. 2019, 695).
Keywords: LGBT; veteran; PTSD; minority stress; treatment

Ly, Lynn. 2017. “(Im)possible Futures: Liberal Capitalism, Vietnamese Sniper Women, and Queer Asian Possibility.” *Feminist Formations* 29 (1): 136–60.

Abstract:

This article examines the ways Vietnamese sniper women have been narrated and imagined in North America. Part nightmare, farce, icon, historical figure, and real person, the weaponized Vietnamese woman was a troubling figure to comprehend for US soldiers and the public alike. Navigating across historical, aesthetic, and performative texts, the article thinks through the different authorized narratives about this figure, and the queer futures made unintelligible in their making. It argues that liberal capitalism plays an important role in the determination of the relationship between past to present, and what may be imagined as possible, now and in the future. Vietnamese women soldiers during

the US war in Vietnam (1955-1975) both frustrate and realize a queer Asian diasporic desire for historical ground on which to challenge racialized, gendered, and sexual epistemological regimes of the war. That is, while militant Vietnamese women were used as evidence of liberal capitalist logics, they also often failed to complete its fantasies, opening up important alternative and queer pasts--ones that inevitably fail to reach dominant conceptions post-Vietnam War presents, but also, for that very reason, critically arrive at an alternative modality for living in the present as a queer Asian and Vietnamese woman. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: liberal capitalism; militarism; queer Asian women; queer of color critique; time studies; transpacific studies

Mankowski, Mariann. 2017. "Aging LGBT Military Service Members and Veterans." *Annual Review of Gerontology & Geriatrics* 37 (1): 111–25.

Abstract:

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the experiences and needs of aging sexual and gender minority (SGM) veterans. Significant demographic changes in the composition of aging military veterans have taken place. Most noticeably since the repeal of "don't ask, don't tell" attention has been drawn to this population of older veterans and their specific mental, physical, and psycho-social health care needs. Recent policy, program, and research initiatives have begun to address the significant health disparities of this population of older adults. SGM veterans are more likely to report higher rates of sexual harassment and sexual assault, and are more vulnerable to homelessness and unemployment when compared to the general population of older lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) adults. Aging SGM veterans may also carry a heavy burden as a result of their experiences as service members and may be reticent to disclose their sexual identity with formal veteran service programs. Access to and utilization of social care networks and social support for SGM aging veterans is a serious concern. Isolation, poorer health outcomes, and increased chronic health conditions may exacerbate the marginalization this older adult population has experienced. A majority of SGM veterans will utilize community-based services, and it is essential that all health care professionals understand the unique needs of this cohort of older adults. Future directions for research, policy, education, and service delivery are explored. (*Abstract from original source*)

Matarazzo, Bridget B., Sean M. Barnes, James L. Pease, Leah M. Russell, Jetta E. Hanson, Kelly A. Soberay, and Peter M. Gutierrez. 2014. "Suicide Risk among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Military Personnel and Veterans: What Does the Literature Tell Us?" *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior* 44 (2): 200–17.

Abstract:

Research suggests that both the military and veteran and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) populations may be at increased risk for suicide. A literature review was conducted to identify research related to suicide risk in the LGBT military and veteran populations. Despite the paucity of research directly addressing this issue, themes

are discussed evident in the literature on LGBT identity and suicide risk as well as LGBT military service members and veterans. Factors such as social support and victimization appear to be particularly relevant. Suggestions are made with respect to future research that is needed on this very important and timely topic. (*Abstract from original source*)

McNamara, Kathleen. 2019. "Disclosure of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Identity among U.S. Service Members after Repeal of LGBT Military Service Bans." PhD diss., University of Southern California.

No abstract available.

Summary:

"Manuscript One: This qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews of 42 active duty LGBT service members addresses the research question: to what extent and under what conditions do LGBT service members disclose their LGBT identity in the military workplace following repeal of LGBT military service bans? This manuscript uses data coded as "Disclosure Stress" by the research team, which was then thematically analyzed to uncover themes related to disclosure stress.

"Manuscript Two: This mixed methods analysis of 248 surveys and 42 interviews of LGBT service members addresses the research question: Do demographic and military-related traits drive outness among LGBT service members, and to what extent are these individuals "out" to various military colleagues? Qualitative data are then used to contextualize these findings.

"Manuscript Three: This quantitative analysis of surveys completed by 248 LGBT service members and 296 non-LGBT service members addresses the research question: To what extent do unit climate perceptions vary by sexual orientation and gender identity and do unit climate perceptions drive outness among LGBT service members?" (McNamara 2019, 15).

Keywords: Military; LGBT; workplace; policy; outness; coming out; disclosure; climate

Moradi, Bonnie. 2009. "Sexual Orientation Disclosure, Concealment, Harassment, and Military Cohesion: Perceptions of LGBT Military Veterans." *Military Psychology* 21 (4): 513–33.

Abstract:

From the perspective of 445 lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) U.S. military veterans, the present study examined hypothesized relations of sexual orientation disclosure, concealment, and harassment with unit social and task cohesion. Findings indicated that sexual orientation disclosure was related positively, whereas sexual orientation concealment and harassment were related negatively to social cohesion. Also, through their links with social cohesion, each of these variables was related indirectly to task cohesion. When the set of predictors was examined together, sexual orientation

disclosure had a positive direct relation with social cohesion and a positive indirect relation with task cohesion, whereas sexual orientation–based harassment had a negative direct relation with social cohesion and a negative indirect relation with task cohesion. These data provide useful groundwork for evaluating military policies and practices regarding sexual orientation. (*Abstract from original source*)

Moradi, Bonnie, and Laura Miller. 2010. “Attitudes of Iraq and Afghanistan War Veterans Toward Gay and Lesbian Service Members.” *Armed Forces & Society* 36 (3): 397–419.

Abstract:

U.S. policy banning openly gay and lesbian personnel from serving in its military rests on the belief that heterosexual discomfort with lesbian and gay service members in an integrated environment would degrade unit cohesion and readiness. To inform this policy, data from a 2006 survey of Iraq and Afghanistan war veterans are analyzed in this study. Views of these war veterans are consistent with prior surveys of military personnel showing declining support for the policy: from about 75 percent in 1993 to 40 percent in this survey. Among the demographic and military experience variables analyzed, comfort level with lesbian and gay people was the strongest correlate of attitudes toward the ban. War veterans indicated that the strongest argument against the ban is that sexual orientation is unrelated to job performance and that the strongest argument in favor of the ban is a projected negative impact on unit cohesion. However, analyses of these war veterans' ratings of unit cohesion and readiness revealed that knowing a gay or lesbian unit member is not uniquely associated with cohesion or readiness; instead, the quality of leaders, the quality of equipment, and the quality of training are the critical factors associated with unit cohesion and readiness. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: don't ask, don't tell; lesbian; gay; military cohesion; military readiness; sexual orientation

Parco, James E., David A. Levy, and Sarah R. Spears. 2015. “Transgender Military Personnel in the Post-DADT Repeal Era: A Phenomenological Study.” *Armed Forces & Society* 41 (2): 221–42.

Abstract:

This study is the first to systematically inquire into the lives of transgender men and women currently serving across the branches of the US military in the post-“Don't Ask, Don't Tell” (DADT) repeal era. We employed an interview protocol from a stratified convenience sample (n = 14) of clandestinely serving active duty, guard and reserve military members from the US Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps who self-identified as transgender or transsexual. Using phenomenology as a methodological foundation, we present a revelatory case study based on lived experiences from firsthand accounts furthering the collective understanding of gender dysphoria in a contemporary military context. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: transgender; LGBT; gender dysphoria; phenomenology; military

Poulin, Carmen, Lynne Gouliquer, and Jessica McCutcheon. 2018. "Violating Gender Norms in the Canadian Military: The Experiences of Gay and Lesbian Soldiers." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 15 (March): 60–73.

Abstract:

Militaries are men-dominated and value a heteronormative masculine warrior ideal (Kaplan, 2003). Soldiers, however, are not necessarily heterosexual and men, nor do they always embody the prescribed warrior ideal. How the values related to hyper-masculinity and heteronormativity influence the experiences of gay and lesbian soldiers is an empirical question. In the present study, the Psycho-Social Ethnography of the Commonplace (P-SEC; Gouliquer & Poulin, 2005) methodology was used to investigate how the institutions of heterosexuality and the Canadian military shape gay and lesbian soldiers' experiences. Interviews with 10 lesbian and 10 gay soldiers were conducted and analysed. The findings reveal that lesbian and gay soldiers face fairly widespread discrimination in the military environment. They must contend with the institutional demands to meet the requirements of a hyper-masculine-heteronormative soldier ideal. Gender differences are highlighted and social policy recommendations are discussed. (*Abstract from original source*)

Puar, Jasbir K. 2004. "Abu Ghraib: Arguing against Exceptionalism." *Feminist Studies* 30 (2): 522–34.

No abstract available.

Summary:

The torture of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib is neither exceptional nor singular, as many people, including Donald Rumsfeld, the Bush administration, the US military establishment, and some good liberals would have one believe. As Puar discusses, the claim of exceptionalism surrounding these events is being produced on three interrelated planes: that of the rarity of this particular form of violence, that of the sanctity of the sexual and of the body in relation to the individual rights of privacy and ownership accorded to the body within liberalism, and that of the transparency of this abuse as defying the normative standards that guarantee the universality of the human in human rights discourse. (*Summary from ProQuest*)

Ramirez, Heliana, and Paul R. Sterzing. 2017. "Coming Out in Camouflage: A Queer Theory Perspective on the Strength, Resilience, and Resistance of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Service Members and Veterans." *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services* 29 (1): 68–86.

Abstract:

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) service members have made profound contributions to the U. S. military despite serving under anti-LGBT military policies. Little is known about their everyday acts of strength and resistance, which is vital information for developing strengths-based services. This article utilizes a queer theory framework to (a) discuss LGBT military contributions and anti-LGBT military policies, (b) explore three LGBT-specific military minority stressors, and (c) identify four strategies of strength and resistance used to manage an anti-LGBT military environment. Clinical suggestions are proposed for integrating military and LGBT identities and designing interventions that blend military and LGBT cultures. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: LGBT; military; veteran; strengths-based; resilience; queer theory

Ramirez, Heliana, and Katharine Bloeser. 2019. "Queering the Warrior Archetype: LGBTQ Servicewomen." In *Invisible Veterans: What Happens When Military Women Become Civilians Again*, edited by Kate Hendricks Thomas and Kyleanne Hunter, 113-31. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, LLC.

No abstract available.

Summary:

"The writers of this chapter would like to stress that this is not an exhaustive review of the literature on veterans, LGBTQ people, women and suicide. These topics warrant entire books unto themselves. It is the hope of the authors that this chapter will provide some insight into how the intersection of these identities can place sexual and gender minority servicewomen at risk for suicide -- in particular, when transitioning into the civilian world While much of this chapter focuses on individual factors we should note that there are structural factors that also contribute to suicide risk. Policies that fail to protect sexual and gender minorities are shown to contribute to suicide and adverse health outcomes (Perez-Brumer, Hatzenbuehler, Oldenburg, & Bockting, 2015)" (Ramirez & Bloeser 2019, 115).

Redcay, Alex, Wade Luquet, and Randy Hagan. 2020. "Changing Social Policy and the Transgender United States Soldier." *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work* 5 (3): 191-200.

Abstract:

While eighteen nations have policies that support military personnel who are transgender, such individuals have only been openly allowed to serve in the USA since 2016. There are an estimated 8950 active duty transgender personnel currently serving in the four branches of the US military with thousands of additional troops serving in the reserve forces. Yet recent executive memorandums from the current US presidential administration are attempting to reshape the policy and have threatened the transgender soldier from serving in spite of research supporting their service and their contribution to military readiness. Inclusive transgender military policy is new and still malleable

making it subject to political whims not supported by the facts. This paper covers the history of transgender military service including recent research and case law that has shaped policy. The response of military social workers in conjunction with the social work code of ethics is explored at both the clinical and advocacy level. (*Abstract from original source*)

Rokvić, Vanja, and Svetlana Stanarević. 2016. “Toward Gender and LGBT Equality in the Serbian Armed Forces.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 55: 26–34.

No abstract available.

Summary:

This article focuses on gender equality in the Serbian Armed Forces (SAF), discussing both gender equality and sexual orientation equality (LGBT equality). Based on the examination of researches and other data, this article concludes that despite the positive shifts granting women the right to military education and professional military service, women continue to be a minority in the SAF. The article further concludes that while there is no official discriminatory policy as regards the admission of members of the LGBT population to the armed forces in Serbia, the few researches into this issue have revealed deeply ingrained views according to which the presence of homosexuals in the armed forces compromises cohesion and leads to unit conflict and division. Finally, the article concludes that a social context ruled by stereotypes and negative attitudes is not conducive to creating conditions for equal opportunity for all, regardless of sex, sexual orientation or gender identity, and that it will take a time before complete equality and diversity are attained in the SAF. (*Summary from original source*)

Scheper, Jeanne, Nathaniel Frank, Aaron Belkin, and Gary J. Gates. 2008. “The Importance of Objective Analysis’ on Gays in the Military: A Response to Elaine Donnelly’s *Constructing the Co-Ed Military*.” *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy* 15: 419-48.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“On February 28, 2007, former Rep. Martin Meehan (D-MA) and a bipartisan group of co-sponsors reintroduced the Military Readiness Enhancement Act in the House of Representatives to amend title 10 United States Code § 654 (“Policy Concerning Homosexuality in the Armed Forces”) to enhance the readiness of the Armed Forces by replacing the current “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy with a policy of nondiscrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. In the recent *Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy* article, “Constructing the Co-Ed Military,” Elaine Donnelly, president of the Center for Military Readiness Asserts that “nothing has changed that would justify the turmoil that would occur in and outside of Congress if Meehan’s legislation were seriously considered

or passed.” But on what evidence is she basing her claims that turmoil would ensue if 10 U.S.C § 654, the ban on openly gay service members, were repealed? ...

“In the following pages, we respond to the substance of Donnelly’s critique, addressing the factual errors in her analysis, addressing her unsupported assertions about the quality and integrity of research in this area, in particular by the Palm Center, and commenting on the stakes raised by the rhetoric Donnelly chooses to deploy in presenting her position in lieu of evidence to support that position. An analysis of the substance of her complaints shows that her critique is without merit, that the methodologies behind the studies she cites are in fact sound, and that the data show that discrimination compromises military effectiveness, while integration enhances it. We agree with one aspect of Donnelly’s argument: when lives and national security are at risk, basic assumptions must be challenged and objective analysis is at a premium. And that is the place from which the Palm Center approaches our research” (Scheper et al. 2008, 419-21).

Schuyler, Ashley C., Cary Klemmer, Mary Rose Mamey, Sheree M. Schragger, Jeremy T. Goldbach, Ian W. Holloway, and Carl Andrew Castro. 2020. "Experiences of Sexual Harassment, Stalking, and Sexual Assault During Military Service Among LGBT and Non-LGBT Service Members." *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 33 (3): 257-66.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Sexual victimization, including sexual harassment and assault, remains a persistent problem in the U.S. military. Service members identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) may face enhanced risk, but existing research is limited. We examined experiences of sexual harassment, stalking, and sexual assault victimization during service in a sample of LGBT and non-LGBT active duty service members. Service members who identified as LGBT ($n = 227$ LGB, $n = 56$ transgender) or non-LGBT ($n = 276$) were recruited using respondent-driven sampling for an online survey. Logistic regression models examined the correlates of sexual and stalking victimization. Victimization was common among LGBT service members, including sexual harassment (80.7% LGB, 83.9% transgender), stalking (38.6% LGB, 30.4% transgender), and sexual assault (25.7% LGB, 30.4% transgender). In multivariable models, LGB identity remained a significant predictor of sexual harassment, $OR = 4.14$, 95% CI [2.21, 7.78]; stalking, $OR = 1.98$, 95% CI [1.27, 3.11]; and assault, $OR = 2.07$, 95% CI [1.25, 3.41]. A significant interaction between LGB identity and sex at birth, $OR = 0.34$, 95% CI [0.13, 0.88], suggests an elevated sexual harassment risk among male, but not female, LGB service members. Transgender identity predicted sexual harassment and assault at the bivariate level only. These findings suggest that LGBT service members remain at an elevated risk of sexual and/or stalking victimization. As the military works toward more integration and acceptance of LGBT service members, insight into victimization experiences can inform tailored research and intervention approaches aimed at prevention and care for victims” (Schuyler et al. 2020, 257).

Shipherd, Jillian C., Lauren Mizock, Shira Maguen, and Kelly E. Green. 2012. "Male-to-Female Transgender Veterans and VA Health Care Utilization." *International Journal of Sexual Health* 24 (1): 78–87.

Abstract:

This study examined rates of military veteran status in an American male-to-female transgender community sample ($n = 141$). Thirty percent were veterans ($n = 43$), a rate that is triple the proportion of veteran status noted in the general population (10.1%). Among the veteran subsample, we examined health care utilization, including Veterans Health Administration (VA), health, and barriers to care. Use of VA services was higher among transgender veterans (transvets) than published rates of VA use in the general population of veterans (annual 6.2% to 15.8%), with 16.3% of all transvets seeking some VA care in the past 6- months. The most common physical health problems treated at the VA in the past year were high cholesterol, blood pressure, and vision problems. Irrespective of VA use, the majority of transvets reported getting routine health care (88.4%), and their physical health ratings were commensurate with population norms. Mental health services (e.g., depression, posttraumatic stress disorder, and gender identity counseling) were also utilized (9.3% VA, 25.6% non-VA) at levels consistent with the relatively low mental health functioning scores in this sample ($SF-12 = 32.6$, $SD = 8.3$). Barriers to care were endorsed more for medical than mental health treatment. In particular, transvets were concerned about medical providers' reactions to their gender identity or sexual orientation. Given elevated rates of transvets in this community sample and reported barriers to care, culturally sensitive treatment is a priority for transvets in both VA and non-VA health care systems. (*Abstract from original source*)
Keywords: transgender; transsexual; gender; veteran; service utilization; barriers to care

Strand, Sanna, and Katharina Kehl. 2019. "A Country to Fall in Love with/in': Gender and Sexuality in Swedish Armed Forces' Marketing Campaigns." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21 (2): 295-314.

Abstract:

Gender mainstreaming measures adopted by armed forces have gained scholarly attention for the ways in which they ascribe meaning and relevance to military institutions, perform national identities and order international politics. This article analyzes how gendered and sexualized subjectivities and symbols are mobilized in recent marketing campaigns launched by the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF). In these campaigns, Sweden is performed as a "progressive" nation/state whose citizens hold values, rights and freedoms considered "extreme in the eyes of others," thus being in need of protection by the SAF. This notion of Swedish progressiveness—often constituted as equality between people of all sexual orientations and gender identities—is epitomized in the campaign slogan "Sweden, a country to fall in love with/in." This article probes how performative enactments of a gender-exceptional nation works within broader discursive terrains

constituting a military institution undergoing large-scale transformations. We argue that constructions of a tolerant and modern Sweden (re)produce treacherous, single narratives of distant and dangerous Others and risk making invisible domestic discrimination on the basis of gender identity and sexual orientation, ultimately enabling the ongoing rearmament and reterritorialization of the SAF. (*Abstract from original source*)
Keywords: public relations; homonationalism; military; sexuality; the Swedish Armed Forces

Sullivan, Kathleen M., Ralph B. Mills, and Lauren Dy. 2016. “Serving LGBT Veterans: Los Angeles LGBT Center’s Veterans Initiative.” *Generations: Journal of the American Society on Aging* 40 (2): 83–6.

Abstract:

A small percentage of LGBT veterans receive their owed veterans benefits. This article describes an innovative program at the Los Angeles LGBT Center’s Senior Service Department that helps veterans secure benefits, thus markedly improving their lives and freeing up resources for other LGBT elders to access services. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: LGBT veterans; dishonorable discharge; other than honorable discharge; Blue Discharge; veterans benefits

Sundevall, Fia, and Alma Persson. 2016. “LGBT in the Military: Policy Development in Sweden 1944–2014.” *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 13 (2): 119–29.

Abstract:

This article contributes to the growing field of research on military LGBT policy development by exploring the case of Sweden, a non-NATO-member nation regarded as one of the most progressive in terms of the inclusion of LGBT personnel. Drawing on extensive archival work, the article shows that the story of LGBT policy development in the Swedish Armed Forces from 1944 to 2014 is one of long periods of status quo and relative silence, interrupted by leaps of rapid change, occasionally followed by the re-appearance of discriminatory policy. The analysis brings out two periods of significant change, 1971–1979 and 2000–2009, here described as turns in LGBT policy. During the first turn, the military medical regulation protocol’s recommendation to exempt gay men from military service was the key issue. During these years, homosexuality was classified as mental illness, but in the military context it was largely framed in terms of security threats, both on a national level (due to the risk of blackmail) and for the individual homosexual (due to the homophobic military environment). In the second turn, the focus was increasingly shifted from the LGBT individual to the structures, targeting the military organization itself. Furthermore, the analysis shows that there was no ban against LGBT people serving in the Swedish Armed Forces, but that ways of understanding and regulating sexual orientation and gender identity have nonetheless shaped the military organization in fundamental ways, and continue to do so. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: LGBT; policy; armed forces; discrimination; working life; military service; Sweden

Thylin, Theresia. 2018. "Leaving War and the Closet? Exploring the Varied Experiences of LGBT Ex-Combatants in Colombia." *Women, Gender & Research* 27 (2-3): 97-109.

Abstract:

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programmes have been acknowledged as a crucial part of peacebuilding initiatives and the importance of ensuring that they are gender responsive has been increasingly recognized by the international community. However, policy guidance has failed to include ex-combatants who do not conform to a narrow, binary understanding of gender and make no reference to sexual and gender minorities. Similarly, LGBT ex combatants have been overlooked by scholars and very little is known of their experiences as they transition to civilian life. This article explores the varied experiences of LGBT ex-combatants who have been part of three different armed groups in Colombia. Using semi-structured interviews with ex-combatants from the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the 19th of April Movement (M-19) and the United Self-Defenders of Colombia (AUC), this article shows how DDR processes may generate significant and rapid transformations for sexual and gender minorities. The article also outlines particular challenges faced by LGBT ex-combatants. In conclusion, I argue that policy makers and researchers should incorporate a gender perspective in DDR that moves beyond a narrow, binary understanding of gender in order to respond to the needs, ensure the participation, and protect the rights of LGBT ex-combatants. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: LGBT; ex-combatants; Colombia; DDR; reintegration

Thylin, Theresia. 2020. "Violence, Toleration, or Inclusion? Exploring Variation in the Experiences of LGBT Combatants in Colombia." *Sexualities* 23 (3): 445-64.

Abstract:

While scholars have started to pay increased attention to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) persons serving in state security forces, little is known of the experiences of LGBT combatants operating in non-state armed groups in conflict settings. This article explores the experiences of LGBT persons from three different armed groups in Colombia. While LGBT combatants are often in a highly vulnerable position, this article reveals large differences between armed groups, as well as important exceptions within groups that contribute to LGBT combatants' varied experiences. In conclusion, I argue that understanding these variations in LGBT combatants' experiences has important policy and programme implications and provides opportunities for more inclusive peacebuilding processes in Colombia and beyond. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: Armed conflict; Colombia; combatants; FARC; LGBT

Walker, Christian. 2018. "Gay Male Military Leadership during and after 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell': A Phenomenological Study." PhD diss., The Chicago School of Professional Psychology.

Abstract:

Basic human rights such as the freedom of speech, liberty, equal treatment, and civil rights are central aspects of being a citizen in the United States. Although these are fundamental rights that every citizen has, they are often denied based on sexual orientation and the military is no exception. Throughout time, discriminatory laws and policies have changed and evolved. Within the military, the most recent policy of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) had an adverse impact on the military and the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) community as a whole. It had far-reaching effects for service members, the people they led, and the entire Department of Defense (DOD). During DADT, LGBT leaders could not put forth their authentic selves, and they lived in constant fear of losing their jobs while serving their country. Little research exists concerning the experiences of gay male officers in positions of leadership during and after DADT. This study aims to fill this gap by exploring their experiences living under the ban, as well as changes to their leadership approach after the ban was lifted. It also explores the effects of DADT on leadership capability and mission readiness. The study utilizes a phenomenological approach to gain an understanding of individual thoughts and opinions. Data analyzed for the study produced six themes of significance. Three themes were seen during DADT: maximizing self-worth, detachment, and fear and uncertainty; three themes were seen after DADT: mentorship, psychological safety, and authenticity. Results of the study produced significant content that related to leadership, authenticity, and development. (*Abstract from original source*)

Walker, Shneicia Lenise. 2019. "The Art of Being Unseen: A Phenomenological Study Exploring Alienation as Told through the Lived Experiences of LGBTQ U.S. Military Service Members Who Served before and during the DADT Repeal." EdD diss., Drexel University.

Abstract:

For many years, mastering *the art of being unseen* been a practice for countless LGBTQ military personnel in order to avoid harassment, violence, and expulsion from the U.S. Armed Forces. Prior research on LGBTQ military personnel who served both before and after the repeal of DADT has documented their multifaceted experiences (Alford & Lee, 2016; Allsep, 2013; Gatson, 2015; Goldbach & Castro, 2016; Mondragon, 2013; Parco, Levy, & Spears, 2014; Quam, 2015; Spinks, 2015; Vaughn, 2014). While several studies identified the participants' experiences of alienation, these studies were largely exploratory and did not investigate or interrogate alienation with any depth or rigor. Drawing on Seeman's (1975) six variants of alienation, this dissertation explores the phenomenon of alienation as experienced by LGBTQ military personnel. Understanding their experiences of alienation may help to inform and improve military policies and procedures intended to ensure their full integration into the U.S. Armed Forces. This research study utilized a phenomenological approach to explore alienation as lived and

experienced by five LGBTQ military personnel during both the enactment and repeal of DADT. Participants were recruited from private and closed military and veteran LGBTQ partnering support groups and organizations located online. Of the five participants, three identified as lesbian, one identified as gay and/or homosexual and the fifth participant identified as queer. Analysis of the data resulted in three themes: 1) experiences with coming out; 2) a climate of oppression; and 3) alienation. This research study includes four major findings: 1) three of the five participants identified themselves as being in the identity acceptance stage the first time that they disclosed their sexual orientation; 2) participants described military culture as oppressive to LGBTQ military personnel both before and after the repeal of DADT; 3) of Seeman's six variants of alienation, cultural estrangement was the most prominent variant described by the participants; and 4) in addition to Seeman's six variants of alienation, participants exhibited a resilient variant of alienation in the form of self-preservation. Findings from this study inform both practice and future research. In addition, the study identifies the need for further exploration of the lived experiences of transgender military persons. (*Abstract from original source*)

Yi, Horim, and Timothy Gitzen. 2018. "Sex/Gender Insecurities: Trans Bodies and the South Korean Military." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 5 (3): 378–93.

Abstract:

This article examines the South Korean military's treatment of trans people in the context of all "able-bodied men" being conscripted for two years. While trans men are exempt from service because they are not considered able-bodied men, trans women pose a significant complication for the rigid military conscription system, given that most trans women in their early twenties—the time when most will be drafted into service—have yet to change their legal gender identification. As the military's definition of one's anatomical makeup is the key criterion for conscription or exemption, the transgender body is a material manifestation of the insecurities of a rigid sex/gender system perpetuated by a masculine and patriarchal military institution. Written on the bodies of trans people is the militarization of the sex/gender system. The Cold War–born Korean military—a geopolitical binary pitting the Democratic People's Republic of Korea against the Republic of Korea—is faced with bodies in transition and resorts to anatomical determinism for the sake of national defense and (re)production. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: transgender; military; body; sex/gender; South Korea

B. Non-Academic Sources

**Cooper, Helene. 2017. "Trump Cites Familiar Argument in Ban on Transgender Troops." *The New York Times*, August 3.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/03/us/politics/transgender-military-trump.html?searchResultPosition=9>.**

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Years of study have not produced much evidence to support President Trump’s claims that transgender members make it harder for the military to focus on ‘decisive and overwhelming victory’” (Cooper 2017).

Fanning, Necko L. 2019. “I Thought I Could Serve as an Openly Gay Man in the Army. Then Came the Death Threats.” *The New York Times*, April 10. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/10/magazine/lgbt-military-army.html?searchResultPosition=24>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“A former soldier recounts the harassment he endured for being open about his sexuality, even after ‘don’t ask; don’t tell’ was repealed” (Fanning 2019).

Harkin, James. 2016. “We Don’t Have Rights, but We Are Alive: A Gay Soldier in Assad’s Army.” *Harper’s Magazine*, February. <https://harpers.org/archive/2016/02/we-dont-have-rights-but-we-are-alive>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“All the same, the lack of formal rights for Syrian homosexuals makes them vulnerable. A few months earlier, Samir had been sitting in the bar where we’d first met when a friend of his went off to a date that he’d arranged on Grindr, the gay dating app. Samir had warned his friend not to go, and it turned out that he was right to be wary. The date was a trap: two men set upon his friend, stealing his phone and his wallet. When he returned to the bar several hours later, he was covered in bruises. Samir said that few of the patrons expressed any sympathy; it was his friend’s own fault, they felt. For a long time afterward, people at the bar kept asking to use the man’s phone before announcing, to general hilarity, that it was no longer in his possession. Like Hassan, Samir blamed such callousness on traditional Syrian culture, not on Assad. “Even straight people can’t express themselves fully here,” he said. It sounded more like resignation than a complaint” (Harkin 2016).

Koren, Marina. 2016. “The U.S. Military’s Welcome for Transgender Troops.” *The Atlantic*, June 30. <http://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2016/06/transgender-military/489584/>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“The U.S. military will allow transgender people to serve openly in the military for the first time in U.S. history.

“ ‘This is the right thing to do for our people and for the force,’ Secretary of Defense Ash Carter said Thursday. ‘We’re talking about talented Americans who are serving with distinction or who want the opportunity to serve. We can’t allow barriers unrelated to a person’s qualifications prevent us from recruiting and retaining those who can best accomplish the mission.’

“The new rules will be phased in over the course of one year. Effective immediately, transgender people in the military now will not be discharged. After one year, transgender people will be permitted to join the military, including attending the academies or Reserve Officers’ Training Corps programs” (Koren 2016).

Mach, Magdalena. 2017. “Meet the LGBT+ Military Unit Fighting ISIS.” *Words in the Bucket*, August 2. <http://www.wordsinthebucket.com/meet-the-lgbt-military-unit-fighting-isis>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“This military unit, The Queer Insurrection and Liberation Army (TQILA), which is a subgroup of the International Revolutionary People’s Guerrilla Forces (IRPGF), is a specifically LGBTQI+ military unit made up of international volunteers ‘who seek to smash the gender binary and advance the women’s revolution as well as the broader gender and sexual revolution’, as claimed in a public statement on the IRPGF’s Twitter account” (Mach 2017).

Sang-Hun, Choe. 2017a. “South Korea Military is Accused of Cracking Down on Gay Soldiers.” *The New York Times*, April 26. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/26/world/asia/south-korea-military-anti-gay-campaign.html?searchResultPosition=2>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“The armed forces’ treatment of gay service members has become an issue in the presidential race, with the leading candidate saying he opposes homosexuality” (Sang-Hun 2017).

Sang-Hun, Choe. 2017b. “South Korean Military Sentences Captain for Sex with Other Servicemen.” *The New York Times*, May 24.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/24/world/asia/south-korea-gay-soldier-military-court.html?searchResultPosition=3>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“The verdict was condemned by rights groups, which said that the country’s military was conducting a homophobic ‘witch hunt’ amongst its ranks” (Sang-Hun 2017).

Sang-Hun, Choe. 2019. “In South Korea, Gay Soldiers Can Serve. But They Might Be Prosecuted.” *The New York Times*, July 10.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/10/world/asia/south-korea-army-gay.html?searchResultPosition=12>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Male soldiers who have consensual sex are being charged with committing ‘indecent acts,’ even though the army says it does not discriminate against sexual minorities” (Sang-Hun 2019).

Sang-Hun, Choe. 2020. “South Korea Discharges Soldier Who Underwent Sex-Change Surgery.” *The New York Times*, January 22.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/22/world/asia/south-korea-sex-change-soldier.html?searchResultPosition=6>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“In a first for the country, an active-duty South Korean soldier faced a military panel that decided whether she was fit to serve after a gender-reassignment operation” (Sang-Hun 2020).

II. LGBTQ+ People in Wars and Post-War Settings

A. Academic Sources

Alessi, Edward J., Sarilee Kahn, and Sangeeta Chatterji. 2016. “The Darkest Times of My Life’: Recollections of Child Abuse Among Forced Migrants Persecuted Because of Their Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity.” *Child Abuse & Neglect* 51: 93–105.

Abstract:

Numerous studies demonstrate that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) children and youth are likely to experience abuse by peers, parents, and other adults and that these experiences correlate with a host of mental health problems. However, there is little understanding of the experiences of LGBT children and youth living in countries where social and legal protections for sexual and gender minorities are limited or nonexistent. This qualitative study used thematic analysis to explore the child and adolescent abuse experiences and their impact on the pre-migration mental health of LGBT forced migrants. We analyzed 26 interviews with individuals who obtained refugee or asylee status in the United States or Canada on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. Participants originated from countries in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East. Analysis revealed the following themes: abuse by parents and caregivers, abuse by peers and school personnel, having nowhere to turn, and dealing with psychological distress. Findings indicate that participants experienced severe verbal, physical, and sexual abuse throughout childhood and adolescence and that this abuse occurred at home, in school, and in the community. Furthermore, there were no resources or sources of protection available to them. Participants linked their abuse to subjective experiences of depression, anxiety, and traumatic stress, as well as suicidal ideation and suicide attempts. We conclude with implications for refugee adjudication practices, mental health care, and international policy. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: LGBT children; LGBT youth; international child protection; child abuse; thematic analysis

Arat, Zehra F. Kabasakal, and Caryl Nuñez. 2017. “Advancing LGBT Rights in Turkey: Tolerance or Protection?” *Human Rights Review* 18 (1): 1–19.

Abstract:

Tolerance is treated as a virtue and a key principle in liberal theories of the state and human rights. Critics of liberalism have already addressed limitations of tolerance, and the United Nations (UN) introduced broader and more inclusive human rights and non-discrimination norms. Yet, tolerance is still invoked in human rights advocacy, and the UN promotes teaching tolerance as a means to protect human rights. However, there is an asymmetrical relationship between the “tolerant” and the “tolerated,” which must be questioned for its human rights implications. The paper contends that tolerance does not ensure non-discrimination, freedom from persecution, or ending violence. Instead, it can be complicit in violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons.

As an illustrative case, it examines Turkey—a country that has pursued the liberal policy of tolerance by not criminalizing homosexuality—during a reform period that involved further liberalization of law but not the protection of LGBT rights. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: affect; biopower; discrimination; homophobia; human rights; LGBT; tolerance; Turkey; violence

Ashe, Fidelma. 2018. "Deconstructing Dominant Narratives of Peace: LGBTQ Perspectives on Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland." In Political Studies Association Annual Conference, UK, March 18, 2018. Belfast: Ulster University.

Abstract:

The paper discusses findings from an AHRC funded project titled LGBTQ Visions of peace in a Society Emerging from Conflict. In ways, this was a complex project that combined methodologies in Arts and Social Science, but its central aim was very simple. The creation of visions of peace in societies emerging from conflict becomes dominated by the powerful groups that brokered the peace. Working with a range of NGOs the project aimed to facilitate the participation of LGBTQ people in developing and disseminating alternative visions of peace. As such, the project located LGBTQ people as agents of social change within Northern Ireland.

Bahreini, Raha. 2008. "From Perversion to Pathology: Discourses and Practices of Gender Policing in the Islamic Republic of Iran." *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 5 (1): 1–51.

Abstract:

The Islamic Republic of Iran punishes homosexuality with death but it actively recognizes transsexuality, and partially funds sex change operations. This article aims to examine how this seemingly progressive stance on transsexuality is connected to the IRI's larger oppressive apparatus of gender. It will first provide an overview of the cultural politics of gender and sexuality under the Islamic Republic's rule, and will then discuss the confluence of religious and medical literatures that led the Islamic Republic to adopt its new discourse on transsexuality despite – or perhaps rather because of – its sex/gender politics. The article does not deny that this emerging discourse has been somewhat empowering for those transsexuals who genuinely desire surgical transformation. But empowering as it might have been for such transsexuals, the emerging discourse is still deeply troubling since it systematically regards homosexuality and more generally any sexual or gender non-conformity as unintelligible, perverse, and punishable by law, except for those willing to transform their "wrong bodies." The article will, therefore, demonstrate that the IRI's permission of transsexuality and sex change operations is motivated by a goal that is more about assimilating gender atypical individuals into the heteronormative order than about broadening horizons for sex/gender possibilities. The article ends by discussing how this discourse is making non-surgical trans/multi-gendered identity illegible and illegitimate not only as a publicly recognized

possibility, but also with regard to transpersons' own self-perception and self-constitution of their gender and sexual subjectivity. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: homosexuality; transgender; transsexual; the Islamic Republic of Iran; sex change surgery

Bilić, Bojan, and Marija Radoman, eds. 2019. *Lesbian Activism in the (Post-)Yugoslav Space: Sisterhood and Unity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

No abstract available.

Summary:

This book intertwines academic and activist voices to engage with more than three decades of lesbian activism in the Yugoslav space. The empirically rich contributions uncover a range of lesbian initiatives and the fundamental, but rarely acknowledged, role that lesbian alliances have played in articulating a feminist response to the upsurge of nationalism, widespread violence against women, and high levels of lesbophobia and homophobia in all of the post-Yugoslav states. By offering a distinctly intergenerational and transnational perspective, this collection does not only shed new light on a severely marginalised group of people, but constitutes a pioneering effort in accounting for the intricacies – solidarities, joys, and tensions – of lesbian activist organising in a post-conflict and post-socialist environment. With a plethora of authorial standpoints and innovative methodological approaches, the volume challenges the systematic absence of (post-)Yugoslav lesbian activist enterprises from recent social science scholarship.

(Summary from Palgrave Macmillian)

Table of Contents:

1. "Introduction: Recovering/Rethinking (Post-)Yugoslav Lesbian Activisms" – Bojan Bilić
2. "Yearning for Space, Pleasure, and Knowledge: Autonomous Lesbian and Queer Feminist Organising in Ljubljana" – Teja Oblak and Maja Pan
3. "Cartographies of Fear and Freedom: Lesbian Activists in the First Belgrade and Zagreb Pride Parades" – Sanja Kajinić
4. "Sisterhood Beyond Borders: Transnational Aspects of Post-Yugoslav Lesbian Activism" – Irene Dioli
5. "Breaking the Silence: Lesbian Activism in Macedonia" – Irena Cvetkovic
6. "Searching for a Lesbian Voice: Non-Heterosexual Women's Activism in Montenegro" – Marina Vuković and Paula Petričević
7. "(In)Visible Presences: PitchWise Festival as a Space of Lesbian Belonging in Bosnia and Herzegovina" – Adelita Selmić and Bojan Bilić
8. "Conclusion: Discovering the Lesbian in Us—On Our Ongoing, Never-Ending Struggles" – Marija Radoman
9. "Epilogue: Collecting Fragments—Towards (Post-)Yugoslav Activist Archives" – Bojan Bilić

Bilić, Bojan, and Sanja Kajinić, eds. 2016. *Intersectionality and LGBT Activist Politics: Multiple Others in Croatia and Serbia*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

No abstract available.

Summary:

This volume combines empirically oriented and theoretically grounded reflections upon various forms of LGBT activist engagement to examine how the notion of intersectionality enters the political context of contemporary Serbia and Croatia. By uncovering experiences of multiple oppression and voicing fear and frustration that accompany exclusionary practices, the contributions to this book seek to reinvigorate the critical potential of intersectionality, in order to generate the basis for wider political alliances and solidarities in the post-Yugoslav space. The authors, both activists and academics, challenge the systematic absence of discussions of (post-)Yugoslav LGBT activist initiatives in recent social science scholarship, and show how emancipatory politics of resistance can reshape what is possible to imagine as identity and community in post-war and post-socialist societies.

This book will be of interest to scholars and students in the areas of history and politics of Yugoslavia and the post-Yugoslav states, as well as to those working in the fields of political sociology, European studies, social movements, gay and lesbian studies, gender studies, and queer theory and activism. (*Summary from Palgrave Macmillan*)

Table of Contents:

1. LGBT Activist Politics and Intersectionality in Croatia and Serbia: An Introduction – Bojan Bilić and Sanja Kajinić
2. The (In)Visible T: Trans Activism in Croatia (2004-2014) – Amir Hodžić, J. Poštić, and Arian Kajtezović
3. Against Bisexual Erasure: The Beginnings of Bi Activism in Serbia – Radica Hura
4. Uncovering an A: Asexuality and Asexual Activism in Croatia and Serbia – Milica Batričević and Andrej Cvetić
5. Queer Beograd Collective: Beyond Single-Issue Activism in Serbia and the Post-Yugoslav Space – Bojan Bilić and Irene Dioli
6. Nowhere at Home: Homelessness, Non-Heterosexuality, and LGBT Activism in Croatia – Antonela Marušić and Bojan Bilić
7. Normalisation, Discipline, and Conflict: Intersections of LGBT Rights and Workers' Rights in Serbia – Irene Dioli
8. Towards a More Inclusive Pride? Representing Multiple Discriminations in the Belgrade Pride Parade – Marija Radoman
9. White Angels Zagreb: Combating Homophobia as “Rural Primitivism” – Andrew Hodges
10. Queer Struggles and the Left in Serbia and Croatia: An Afterword – Dušan Maljković

Blanchard, Mary W. 1996. “The Soldier and the Aesthete: Homosexuality and Popular Culture in Gilded Age America.” *Journal of American Studies* 30 (1): 25-46.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“The aftermath of civil strife, note some historians, can change perceptions of gender. Particularly for males, the effect of exhaustive internal wars and the ensuing collapse of the warrior ideal relegates the soldier/hero to a marginal iconological status. Linda L. Carroll has persuasively argued, for instance, that, following the Italian wars, one finds the ‘damaged’ images of males in Renaissance art: bowed heads, display of stomach, presentation of buttocks. In fact, male weakness and ‘effeminacy’ can, notes Linda Dowling, follow on the military collapse of any collective state. Arthur N. Gilbert argues, in contrast, that historically in wartime, male weakness in the form of ‘sodomites’ was rigorously persecuted. From 1749 until 1792, for instance, there was only one execution for sodomy in France, while, during the Napoleonic Wars, the period of 1803–14, seven men were executed. Such analysis suggests that, in the aftermath of civil wars, cultural attitudes toward effeminate or homosexual men shifted from suppression or persecution during martial crisis to one of latitude and perhaps tolerance in periods following the breakdown of the military collective

“The aftermath of America’s Civil War, the decades of the 1870s and 1880s, provides a testing ground to examine attitudes toward the soldier/hero and toward the effeminate male in a time of social and cultural disarray. At this time, an art ‘craze,’ the Aesthetic Movement, captured popular culture. Aestheticism, seen in the eighteenth century as a ‘sensibility,’ had, by the nineteenth century, an institutional base and a social reform ideology” (Blanchard 1996, 25-6).

Byrne, Sean, Robert C. Mizzi, and Nancy Hansen. 2017. "Living in a Liminal Peace: Where is the Social Justice for LGBTQ and Disability Communities Residing in Post Peace Accord Northern Ireland?" *Journal for Peace and Justice Studies* 27 (1): 24-51.

No abstract available.

Crouthamel, Jason. 2008. “Male Sexuality and Psychological Trauma: Soldiers and Sexual Disorder in World War I and Weimar Germany.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17 (1): 60–84.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“In the intersections between war, gender, and sexuality, historians have debated the degree to which the age of total war represented a step toward ‘remasculinization,’ a process by which traditional constructions of masculinity are bolstered and strongly redefined as a reaction to a breakdown of hegemonic conceptions of masculinity. In

German society the First World War led to particularly intense debates over whether or not combat had been essentially healthy or destructive for the male psyche and body. On the brink of 1914 doctors and critics anticipated that the war would reinvigorate men weakened by decades of peace and the accelerated pace of modernity. The brutality and stress of modern warfare, however, seriously tested traditional gender norms and boundaries. The postwar milieu was wrenched by cultural debates over the social effects of the war, intensified by the political divisions in the wake of defeat and revolution. Conflicts over the rise of the 'new woman' and debates over the memory of the war as something either horrifying or laudable culminated with the Nazi seizure of power. The Nazi state aimed unprecedented violence against men and women who failed to conform to the regime's social and sexual ideals. Through remilitarization and war Nazi ideologues hoped to counter allegedly degenerative behaviors like homosexuality and restore the health of the male body and psyche" (Crouthamel 2008, 61–2).

Davis, Dirk A., Giuliana J. Morales, Kathleen Ridgeway, Modesto Mendizabal, Michele Lanham, Robyn Dayton, Juana Cooke, Karin Santi, and Emily Evens. 2020. "The Health Impacts of Violence Perpetrated by Police, Military and Other Public Security Forces on Gay, Bisexual and Other Men Who Have Sex with Men in El Salvador." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 22 (2): 217-32.

Abstract:

Gay, bisexual and other men who have sex with men face both high levels of violence and a disproportionate burden of poor health outcomes. We explored violence perpetrated against Salvadoran gay, bisexual and other men who have sex with men by public security forces; perceived motivations of violence; and impacts on health. We conducted structured qualitative interviews with 20 participants and used systematic coding and narrative analysis to identify emergent themes. Nearly all participants described the physical, emotional, sexual and/or economic violence by public security forces. Most attributed being targeted to their gender expression and/or perceived sexual orientation. The most common impact was emotional distress, including humiliation, fear and depression; lasting physical injuries were also widely reported. Study participants felt unable to report these incidents for fear of retribution or inaction. Men reported feelings of helplessness and distrust, avoidance of authorities and altering when, where or how often they appeared in public spaces. Programmes and interventions should focus on providing mental health services for LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex) victims of violence, educating public security forces on the legal rights of Salvadorans and expanding current LGBTI-inclusive policies to all public security forces.

(Abstract from original source)

Keywords: violence; men who have sex with men; police; military; El Salvador

Drissel, David. 2017. "Rainbows of Resistance: LGBTQ Pride Parades Contesting Space in Post-Conflict Belfast." *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research* 8 (3): 240-62.

Abstract:

The article seeks to demonstrate how marchers in the annual LGBTQ Pride Parade strategically contest and reclaim heteronormative public spaces in Belfast, Northern Ireland. There is an exploration of participants adapting transnational symbolic representations and discourses to the distinct national-local cultural milieu in which they are scripted and performed. The discursive frames, symbols, and performances of Belfast Pride are compared to those of sectarian parades in the city. The subaltern spatial performances and symbolic representations of Belfast Pride are depicted as confronting a universalized set of heteronormative discourses involving sexuality and gender identity, while at the same time contesting a particularized set of dominant local-national discourses related to both ethnonational sectarianism and religious fundamentalism in Northern Ireland.

Evans, Jennifer V. 2010. "Decriminalization, Seduction, and 'Unnatural Desire' in East Germany." *Feminist Studies* 36 (3): 553–77.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“In this article, I suggest three things: first, I bring to light the uneasy relationship between prudishness and changing social mores that failed to dissipate after the decriminalization of homosexuality; second, I show that biological explanatory devices were central instruments of state power in East Germany; and third, I argue that efforts at controlling sexual desire backfired in significant ways, enabling subcultural self-determination and emboldening citizens after 1968 to take the regime to task for failing to live up to the spirit of the new law. Taking seriously Günter Kracht's argument that the gendered worlds of individual citizens must be analyzed together with statements generated by the regime, I wish to argue for a political-cultural synthesis in thinking about the way masculinity and the abject functioned historically in the GDR. We must begin by looking at the ways in which various images of masculinity shaped official and private life, both the roles set out by the state for its citizens and those internalized, embraced, or rejected in the intimate realm” (Evans 2010, 554-55).

Gabbard, Sonnet D'Amour. 2017. "Old Ties and New Binds: LGBT Rights, Homonationalisms, Europeanization and Post-War Legacies in Serbia." PhD diss., The Ohio State University.

Abstract:

My dissertation examines the historic links between the anti-war activists in Serbia with the current efforts and work for LGBT justice and rights. As an interdisciplinary scholar, my work integrates a variety of epistemologies across disciplines by putting anti-war and LGBT activists' experience in Serbia into conversation with one another to address unique vulnerabilities. Drawing from transnational feminist and queer critiques of governance, (homo)nationalism, and transnational sexuality studies, I consider how new

nonheterosexual identity politics—with roots in anti-war activism—have surfaced in Serbia since the Kosovo War. I argue that it is at the intersection of anti-war and LGBT organizing that new and conflicting identity politics have emerged, in part as a reaction to a pro-war hyper-nationalism and neoliberal globalization. (*Abstract from original source*)

Gay, William C. 2009. “Political Use of the ‘War on Terror’ to Augment Domestic and International LGBT Repression.” In *A New Kind of Containment*, edited by Carmen R. Lugo-Lugo and Mary K. Bloodsworth-Lugo, 29-37. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“I contend that the widespread silence about the arrests of the Cairo 52 on 11 May 2001 is connected to the United States’ response to 11 September 2001. How are “5/11” and “9/11” connected? To mix metaphors, how has the spotlight of 11 September 2001 led the United States government to turn a deaf ear to 11 May 2001? In brief, the “war on terror” includes the “terror of war.” Whenever war occurs, terror occurs (Holmes, 1981). In this case, fear or apprehension is quite extensive within the LGBT community about speaking out against the war or of “coming out” in many parts of the world because the United States’ quest for allies in its “war on terror” has largely removed from the agenda strong protest against human rights abuses.

The United States wants to avoid erosion of support from allies. It considers silence on abuses of human rights to be a small price for maintaining an ally. From my perspective on peacemaking and social justice, advocacy for humans rights and utilization of diplomacy are vital and should occur between silence and violence. I contend that silence is violence (Gay, 1994, pp. 129-132)” (Gay 2009, 30).

Green, James N. 2012. “‘Who Is the Macho Who Wants to Kill Me?’ Male Homosexuality, Revolutionary Masculinity, and the Brazilian Armed Struggle of the 1960s and 1970s.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 92 (3): 437–69.

No abstract available.

Summary:

Several thousand students joined small clusters of soldiers, workers, and others in revolutionary opposition to the Brazilian civilian-military dictatorship that came to power in 1964 and controlled the government for two decades. Operating underground, these left-wing activists engaged in diverse efforts to organize an effective guerrilla opposition to the authoritarian regime. Within their ranks, some militants who had homosexual desires faced a hegemonic culture of the left that considered same-sex sexuality a reflection of “bourgeois decadence,” an immoral aberration, and an affront to proper revolutionary behavior. This article explores how leftist Brazilians with homoerotic

desires negotiated norms of compulsory heterosexuality and constructions of revolutionary masculinity in the 1960s and 1970s as they lived in the underground, among members of different political organizations while imprisoned, or in political exile. (*Summary from Duke University Press*)

Gunkel, Henriette. 2010. *The Cultural Politics of Female Sexuality in South Africa*. New York: Routledge.

No abstract available.

Summary:

Sexual identity has emerged into the national discourse of post-apartheid South Africa, bringing the subject of rights and the question of gender relations and cultural authenticity into the focus of the nation state's politics. This book is a fascinating reflection on the effects of these discourses on non-normative modes of sexuality and intimacy and on the country more generally. While in 1996, South Africa became the first country in the world that explicitly incorporated lesbian and gay rights within a Bill of Rights, much of the country has continued to see homosexuality as un-African. Henriette Gunkel examines how colonialism and apartheid have historically shaped constructions of gender and sexuality and how these concepts have not only been re-introduced and shaped by understandings of homosexuality as un-African but also by the post-apartheid constitution and continued discourse within the nation. (*Summary from Routledge*)

Hagen, Jamie J. 2016. "Queering Women, Peace and Security." *International Affairs* 92 (2): 313–32.

Abstract:

The aim of the eight Women, Peace and Security (WPS) United Nations Security Council resolutions, beginning with UNSCR 1325 in 2000, is to involve women in peacebuilding, reconstruction and gender mainstreaming efforts for gendered equality in international peace and security work. However, the resolutions make no mention of masculinity, femininity or the LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) population. Throughout the WPS architecture the terms 'gender' and 'women' are often used interchangeably. As a result, sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) tracking and monitoring fail to account for individuals who fall outside a heteronormative construction of who qualifies as 'women'. Those vulnerable to insecurity and violence because of their sexual orientation or gender identity remain largely neglected by the international peace and security community. Feminist security studies and emerging queer theory in international relations provide a framework to incorporate a gender perspective in WPS work that moves beyond a narrow, binary understanding of gender to begin to capture violence targeted at the LGBTQ population, particularly in efforts to address SGBV in conflict-related environments. The article also explores the ways in which a queer security analysis reveals the part heteronormativity and cisprivilege play in sustaining the current gap in analysis of gendered violence. (*Abstract from Oxford Academic*)

Haritaworn, Jin, Tamsila Tauqir, and Esra Erdem. 2008. "Gay Imperialism: Gender and Sexuality Discourse in the 'War on Terror'." In *Out of Place: Interrogating Silences in Queerness/Raciality*, edited by Adi Kuntsman and Esperanza Miyake, 71–95. York: Raw Nerve Books.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Our article focuses on the situation in Britain, where ‘Muslim’ and ‘homophobic’ are increasingly treated as interchangeable signifiers. The central figure in this process is Peter Tatchell who has successfully claimed the role of the liberator of and expert about Muslim gays and lesbians. This highlights the problems of a single politics of representation, which equates ‘gay’ with white and ‘ethnic minority’ with heterosexual. At the same time, the fact that Tatchell’s group Outrage passes as the emblem of queer and hence post-identity politics in Britain shows that the problem of Islamophobia is not reducible to the critique of identity. The active participation of right- as well as left-wing, feminist as well as gay, official as well as civil powers in the Islamophobia industry proves racism more clearly than ever to be a white problem, which crosses other social and political differences” (Haritaworn et al. 2008, 10).

Hartal, Gilly. 2016. "The Politics of Holding: Home and LGBT Visibility in Contested Jerusalem." *Gender, Place & Culture* 23 (8): 1193–206.

Abstract:

This article explores LGBT politics of space in Jerusalem, a contested and fractured city. By interpreting the challenges and contradictions inherent in the Jerusalem Open House (JOH), a social movement and community space in Jerusalem, the article will show how the discourse and the practice of the JOH lead to a politics of holding. This LGBT spatial politics consists of striving to include oppositional politics, emphasizing the consolidation of public and private LGBT politics of home. The JOH persistently maintains a politics of holding, continually balancing inclusion, creating a home- like space and framing the organizational space as a shelter for all LGBT individuals in Jerusalem, while adopting a politics of visibility. This visibility enhanced processes of politicization which at many points stand in contrast to the JOH’s goals of being accessible, inclusive, and safe. The politics of holding illustrates the religious, political, national, and ideological fractures’ at work in producing a unique kind of LGBT spatial politics in the conservative Jerusalem space. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: contested cities; LGBT/queer space; public and private space; LGBT visibility; LGBT in Israel; sexuality and space

Hassim, Shireen. 2009. "After Apartheid: Consensus, Contention, and Gender in South Africa's Public Sphere." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 22 (4): 453–64.

Abstract:

The South African transition from apartheid to democracy is one of the iconic developments of the late twentieth century coming soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The country, led by a universally admired Nelson Mandela, seemed to embody the world's hopes for peace and democracy. In the aftermath of the first inclusive elections in 1994, South Africans adopted one of the world's finest constitutions and set up a modern and representative system of governance. However, the euphoria was not sustained. Economic inequality rose; poverty appears intractable, and an increasingly angry citizenry seems less willing to adhere to the liberal norms of tolerance and respect for difference. This article lays out some dimensions of the new conflicts detailing the intolerance for outsiders and violence against women and gay and lesbian people. I argue that the quality of democracy is not measured by its formal institutions, important they may be. Rather, it is in the interactions between citizens in the public sphere that we are able to ascertain the extent to which democratic values have become normalized. Viewed from this perspective, it is evident that the legacies of distrust and antagonism continue to shape the possibilities of democratic deliberation in the public sphere. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: South Africa; public sphere; xenophobia; violence; sexuality; gender

Hawthorne, Susan. 2005. "Ancient Hatred and Its Contemporary Manifestation: The Torture of Lesbians." *The Journal of Hate Studies* 4 (1): 33–58.

Abstract:

This paper looks at a number of different elements that make up the experience of torture by lesbians in the contemporary world. I draw together elements of popular culture, along with testimonies by lesbians, concerning torture in diverse countries, as well as citing some historical sources. I examine the justifications and excuses given for torture, including the view that rape is a normal part of heterosexual activity. I argue that domination is exemplified in the punishment of lesbians as outsiders in patriarchal culture, in particular when groups and nations go to war. (*Abstract from Journal of Hate Studies*)

Jensen, Erik N. 2002. "The Pink Triangle and Political Consciousness: Gays, Lesbians, and the Memory of Nazi Persecution." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11 (1/2): 319–49.

No abstract available.

Summary:

The article presents information on gay, lesbians and the memory of Nazi persecution. The gay and lesbians perceived oppression for a long historical pattern that extended from Nazi era to the presents. The article traces the evolution over the past thirty years of collective memories in both the American and German gay communities in order to show what these communities have remembered and why. The article shows how cleavages in the communities have fostered alternate memories and how the American and German memories reflect different national experiences. Furthermore, many gays and lesbians remain altogether unaware of the historical significance of the pink triangle. Nevertheless, a larger memory has emerged that, despite differences, does contain shared symbols, narratives, and referents and has significantly influenced the consciousness of the broader gay and lesbian community. After struggling through the lean years of the 1940s, most gay men and women sought sanctuary in the economic boom of the 1950s; along with other West Germans, they avoided reminders of a painful past during which some had sympathized with the regime, even as others had faced persecution. (*Summary from EBSCO*)

Johnson, Toni A. M. 2007. "Flamers, Flaunting and Permissible Persecution: R.G. (Colombia) v. Secretary of State for the Home Department [2006] E.W.C.A. Civ. 57." *Feminist Legal Studies* 15 (1): 99–111.

Abstract:

This note analyses a recent case of the English Court of Appeal in which the applicant, R.G., a gay, H.I.V. positive Colombian claimed asylum on grounds of persecution due to his sexuality. Both the Asylum and Immigration Tribunal and the Court of Appeal rejected R.G.'s claim for asylum. The Court of Appeal's first and most significant reason was that the alleged persecution was not sufficiently serious or life threatening, since R.G. had not suffered actual physical violence throughout the 13 years that he had lived as a closeted gay man in Colombia. Secondly, the court considered the real reason for R.G.'s seeking asylum was his desire to access free health care in order to manage his H.I.V. His allegations of persecution on the grounds of sexuality were viewed as a sham. This note is critical of the approach taken by the Court, which, it is argued, displays an insensitivity to the complexity of sexual identity and its performance and has the effect of perpetuating and legitimating discrimination against lesbians and gay men. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: asylum; discretion; gays; H.I.V.; medical treatment; persecution; refugee

Kiss, Ligia, Meaghen Quinlan-Davidson, Laura Pasquero, Patricia Ollé Tejero, Charu Hogg, Joachim Theis, Andrew Park, Cathy Zimmerman, and Mazedra Hossain. 2020. "Male and LGBT Survivors of Sexual Violence in Conflict Situations: A Realist Review of Health Interventions in Low-and Middle-income Countries." *Conflict and Health* 14 (1): 1-26.

Abstract:

Conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) against women and girls has been the subject of increasing research and scholarship. Less is known about the health of men, boys and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) and other gender non-binary persons who survive CRSV. This paper is the first systematic realist review on medical, mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) interventions that focusses on male and LGBT survivors of CRSV. The review explores the gender differences in context, mechanisms and outcomes that underpin interventions addressing the health and psychosocial wellbeing of male and LGBT survivors. The aim is to contribute to the design and delivery of gender-sensitive and, when needed, gender-specific approaches for interventions that respond to specific needs of different groups of all survivors. We conducted a systematic search of academic and grey literature to identify medical and MHPSS interventions that included men, boys and LGBT survivors. We identified interventions specifically targeting women and girls that we used as comparators. We then purposively sampled studies from the fields of gender and health, and sexual abuse against men and LGBT people for theory building and testing. We identified 26 evaluations of interventions for survivors of CRSV. Nine studies included male survivors, twelve studies focussed exclusively on female survivors and one study targeted children and adolescents. No intervention evaluation focussed on LGBT survivors of CRSV. The interventions that included male survivors did not describe specific components for this population. Results of intervention evaluations that included male survivors were not disaggregated by gender, and some studies did not report the gender composition. Although some mental health and psychosocial consequences of sexual violence against men and boys may be similar among male and female survivors, the way each process trauma, display symptoms, seek help, adhere to treatment and improve their mental health differ by gender. Initiatives targeting male and LGBT survivors of CRSV need to be designed to actively address specific gender differences in access, adherence and response to MHPSS interventions. Models of care that are gender-sensitive and integrated to local resources are promising avenues to promote the health of male and LGBT survivors of CRSV. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: conflict-related sexual violence; men; boys; and LGBT survivors; medical interventions; mental health and psychosocial support interventions; systematic realist review; realist synthesis

Kuntsman, Adi. 2008. "The Soldier and the Terrorist: Sexy Nationalism, Queer Violence." *Sexualities* 11 (1/2): 142–70.

Abstract:

An Israeli soldier, praised for killing terrorists in their homes, and adored as a gay prince charming; a Palestinian gay man called either a lying terrorist or a cute Arab boy with an almond ass; an Abu-Ghraib prisoner, whose naked body, pornographically mediated and distributed by the media generates a homosexual rape fantasy of all Arabs in-the-name-of- Israeli-security. These images were collected during my ethnography of a Russian-Israeli GLBT community, in the community's website. My analysis of the website's publications and discussions focuses on the ways violence, sexuality and nationhood intertwine in immigrants' sense of belonging to the country that is officially defined by

the state policy – and indeed perceived by many immigrants themselves – as their home. I examine how masculinities become synecdoches of nation, and how homosexual fantasies work to create attachment to one's national home and hatred towards those defined as its enemies. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: immigration; masculinities; nationalism; queer studies; violence

Maier, Nicole. 2020. "Queering Colombia's Peace Process: A Case Study of LGBTI Inclusion." *The International Journal of Human Rights: Special Section: Gender, Sexuality and Transitional Justice* 24 (4): 377-92.

Abstract:

In August 2016, Colombia's government announced that they had reached an agreement with the country's largest guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). This peace deal was historic in Colombia's more than half-century long armed conflict; however, Colombian voters rejected it. A revised version was ultimately passed through a congressional vote. Despite the intense domestic criticism of the peace talks, they have been praised internationally and revered as a model for the world, particularly with regard to their efforts surrounding victims of the armed conflict. This article focuses on one particular group of victims, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) individuals. The experience of LGBTI people in armed conflicts has historically been one of exclusion from peace processes. This article explores how Colombia's peace process has approached the LGBTI experience through interviews with LGBTI activists and analyses of collaborative civil society efforts. The actions taken by LGBTI organisations reveal the critical role of truth and memory initiatives and capacity building. While much work has been done, Colombia is left with many unanswered questions about what a post-conflict society will look like for LGBTI victims of the armed conflict. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: LGBT; victim; Colombia; armed conflict; transitional justice; peacebuilding

Margalit, Alon. 2018. "Still a Blind Spot: The Protection of LGBT Persons during Armed Conflict and Other Situations of Violence." *International Review of the Red Cross* 100 (907-909): 237-65.

Abstract:

This article draws attention to the situation of LGBT persons during armed conflict. Subjected to violence and discrimination outside the context of armed conflict, the latter aggravates their vulnerability and exposure to various abuses. Despite important progress made with respect to their protection under human rights law, a similar effort is largely absent from the international humanitarian law discourse. This article accordingly highlights some of the norms and challenges pertaining to the protection of LGBT persons in time of war. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: International humanitarian law; LGBT; sexual orientation; gender identity; armed conflict; protection; discrimination; non-refoulement; sexual violence

Moore, Melinda W., and John R. Barner. 2017. "Sexual Minorities in Conflict Zones: A Review of the Literature." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 35: 33–7.

Abstract:

In civil and ethnic conflict, sexual minorities experience a heightened risk for war crimes such as sexual violence, torture, and death. As a result, sexual minorities remain an invisible population in armed conflict out of a need for safety. Further study of sexual minorities in conflict zones confronts matters of human rights, war crimes, and the psychosocial effects of war. This article reviews the existing research on sexual minorities in conflict zones, examines the findings on human rights, war crimes, and the psychosocial effects of war and violence on sexual minority populations, and reviews the barriers to effectiveness faced by intervention programs developed specifically to aid post-conflict societies. The article concludes with a summary of findings within the literature and further considerations for research on aggression and violent behavior with sexual minority groups in conflict zones. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: violence; aggression; sexual minorities; gender; war; armed conflict; human rights

Moussawi, Ghassan. 2016. "Queer Disruptions: Modernity and Non-Normative Gender and Sexualities in Post-War Beirut." PhD diss., Rutgers University.

Abstract:

My dissertation addresses the changing historical meanings of sexual practices and identities, and the effects of political turmoil and conflict on the experiences of LGBTQ individuals in post-war Beirut. Drawing on ethnographic observations, life history interviews and content analysis, I rethink how claims of modernity and progress operate by focusing on queer sexualities in Beirut since the year 2005. Dominant Euro-American understandings of coming out and LGBTQ visibility are often used as indicators of non-Western societies' modernity and progress. My work complicates this stance, illustrating how queer lives in Beirut unsettle and disrupt binaries of visibility/invisibility and tradition/progress. In addition, I show how dominant narratives of modernity view the emergence of "gay rights" in the Middle East as a marker of progress, without taking into account local exclusionary practices. I examine public discourses, personal narratives, and collective organizing strategies in a number of different contexts. Unlike much research that focuses on how sexuality emerges as the most salient marker of difference in LGBT people's personal narratives, my research illustrates that LGBT individuals in Beirut emphasize how gender, class, and sectarian identities act as their primary modes of visible self-making. Rather than treating queer visibility as a hallmark of progress, individuals devise strategies of visibility such as creating and living in what they refer to as "imagined bubbles." Queer Beirutis' strategies vary across different family and social contexts and are shaped by political turmoil, regional instability, and sectarian conflict. Using a feminist intersectional lens, I highlight how various queer social circles contest, yet unwittingly reproduce, the exclusionary practices of Beirut's cosmopolitanism that sideline gender-nonnormative and transgender persons, as well as migrant workers and

refugees. Marginalized queer Beirutis, particularly working-class and gender-nonconforming individuals, question Beirut's cosmopolitanism and carve out new understandings of queer visibilities that challenge dominant understandings of modernity and progress.

Munro, Brenna. 2016. "Locating 'Queer' in Contemporary Writing of Love and War in Nigeria." *Research in African Literatures* 47 (2): 121–38.

Abstract:

The child soldier novel is not usually read in terms of sexuality; however, sexual trauma, sex between men and boys, and the production of damaged masculinities are central to representations of the boy soldier in contemporary writing about war from Nigeria, including Chris Abani's *Song for Night* (2007), Uzodinma Iweala's *Beasts of No Nation* (2005), and Chimamanda Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006). The queer figures of the perverse adult military man and the violated and violating boy soldier emerge in complex relation to contemporary representations of the Nigerian gay man—and all of these texts negotiate the politics of sex and race across multiple reading publics. Jude Dibia's gay character Adrian in *Walking with Shadows* (2005) asserts legibility and respectability in sharp contrast to the queer subjectivities of war writing, for example, yet all of these texts dramatize negotiations with stigma as it circulates across representations of sexuality. (*Abstract from original source*)

Naber, Nadine, and Zeina Zaatari. 2014. "Reframing the War on Terror: Feminist and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Activism in the Context of the 2006 Israeli Invasion of Lebanon." *Cultural Dynamics* 26 (1): 91–111.

Abstract:

This article seeks to expand the kinds of questions we ask about the diverse militarized campaigns referred to collectively as the "war on terror," the grassroots resistance to these wars, and efforts committed to creating a world without destruction and killing. Shifting the focus of this feminist critique of war away from the center of power (the empire) to the everyday lives of feminist and queer activists living the war on terror from the ground up, this article examines a distinct feminist and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) social movement that worked to respond to and resist the US-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 2006. We argue along with our interlocutors in Lebanon that asymmetrical systems of gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and family are entangled in the historical conditions of transnational capital, empire, and war, and necessitate an intersectional approach that refuses to impose false binaries or hierarchies on a complex social reality. We conclude by arguing the importance of reframing the war on terror and reimagining feminist and LGBTQ policies as a critique of the post-racial discourse, beyond dominant imperialist and nationalist discourses, which are exclusionary, sexist, and homophobic in different ways. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: activism; intersectionality; Israel; Lebanon; queer; war; women's movement

Nyanzi, Stella. 2013. "Homosexuality, Sex Work, and HIV/AIDS in Displacement and Post-Conflict Settings: The Case of Refugees in Uganda." *International Peacekeeping* 20 (4): 450–68.

Abstract:

This article aims to disrupt the silence, invisibility and erasures of non-heteronormative sexual orientations or gender identities, and of sex work, in HIV/AIDS responses within displacement and post-conflict settings in Africa. Informed by Gayle Rubin's sexual hierarchy theoretical framework, it explores the role of discrimination and violation of the rights of sex workers and of gender and sexual minorities in driving the HIV/AIDS epidemic during displacement. Specific case materials focus on ethnographic research conducted in urban and rural Uganda. Recommendations for policy, practice and programmes are outlined. (*Abstract from original source*)

Oswin, Natalie. 2007. "The End of Queer (as We Knew It): Globalization and the Making of a Gay-Friendly South Africa." *Gender, Place & Culture* 14 (1): 93–110.

Abstract:

In J. K. Gibson-Graham's *The End of Capitalism (as we knew it)*, the authors (Julie Graham and Katherine Gibson) provocatively deploy queer theory to further their project of telling non-capitalist stories of globalization. In short, they reject the narrative that globalization is always and only penetrative in the hope that global capital will 'lose its erection' and 'other openings' in the body of capitalism can be considered. I adopt their strategy of looking at stories of globalization. But, while they are concerned with the homophobia of economic theorizing, I consider the gay-friendly discourse of post-apartheid South Africa. Recent expressions of official tolerance by various nation-states around the globe have been dismissed as the mere appropriation of difference by hegemonic forces. Against such interpretations, I look at the ways in which the inclusion of 'sexual orientation' in post-apartheid South Africa's constitutional Equality Clause can instead be read as a queer globalization. Based on this reading, I problematize the presumption that queer globalizations take place beyond the realm of the hegemonic and point to the need for queer theorists to think through the political ramifications of homosexuality's repositioning as saviour rather than scapegoat of certain nation-states. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: globalization; queer theory; South Africa; post-apartheid; homosexuality

Payne, William J. 2016. "Death-Squads Contemplating Queers as Citizens: What Colombian Paramilitaries Are Saying." *Gender, Place & Culture* 23 (3): 328-44.

Abstract:

Colombian right-wing paramilitary forces aligned with the state and leftist guerrilla groups are associated with homophobic and transphobic attacks. However, the most

extreme accounts of violence are attributed to the former group. Sexual and gender minorities are victimized in the ongoing internal conflict in which armed actors use attacks as a form of communicative violence meant to discipline the civilian population. At the same time, Colombian lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) communities are making significant advances in gaining recognition of their human rights. This article explores the space where the advance of LGBT rights confounds reactionary homophobic beliefs of illegal right-wing armed groups. I consider how concepts such as 'nation' and 'citizen' shape the discourse of paramilitary forces in their account of their group's homophobic violence. Special attention is paid to the logic provided by two informants, former paramilitary members themselves, regarding the conditions under which right-wing paramilitary groups would be obliged to recognize the rights of sexual and gender minorities as citizens. The article concludes with a discussion of how the development of a sexual citizenship discourse, in place, may serve to disrupt extreme violence against sexual and gender minorities in the context of militarization and armed conflict. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: sexual citizenship; paramilitary; homophobic violence; Colombia; LGBT; queer

Petchesky, Rosalind P. 2005. "Rights of the Body and Perversions of War: Sexual Rights and Wrongs Ten Years Past Beijing." *International Social Science Journal* 57 (184): 301–18.

Abstract:

The Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and its companion documents, those of the Vienna Conference on Human Rights (1993) and the International Conference on Population and Development (1994), took important steps toward securing recognition for what we might call human rights of the body. These are affirmative rights relating to sexual expression, reproductive choice and access to health care and negative rights pertaining to freedom from violence, torture and abuse. But ten years later, the violated male bodies of Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo, and Gujarat seem to mock certain of Beijing's most basic premises: that women are primarily the victims rather than the perpetrators of bodily abuses; and that, as such, women are, or should be, the privileged beneficiaries of bodily integrity rights. This paper re-examines these premises in the shadow of the 'war on terrorism,' religious extremism, and practices of racialised, sexual, and often homophobic violence against men that emerge in wars and ethnic conflicts. In particular it looks at the war in Iraq and how that war configures such practices in both old and new ways. My purpose is not to repudiate feminist visions but rather to challenge the exclusive privileging of women as the bearers of sexual rights and to open up discussion of new, more inclusive coalitions of diverse social movements for rights of the body. (*Abstract from Wiley Online*)

Puar, Jasbir K. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham: Duke University Press.

No abstract available.

Summary:

In this pathbreaking work, Jasbir K. Puar argues that configurations of sexuality, race, gender, nation, class, and ethnicity are realigning in relation to contemporary forces of securitization, counterterrorism, and nationalism. She examines how liberal politics incorporate certain queer subjects into the fold of the nation-state, through developments including the legal recognition inherent in the overturning of anti-sodomy laws and the proliferation of more mainstream representation. These incorporations have shifted many queers from their construction as figures of death (via the AIDS epidemic) to subjects tied to ideas of life and productivity (gay marriage and reproductive kinship). Puar contends, however, that this tenuous inclusion of some queer subjects depends on the production of populations of Orientalized terrorist bodies. Heteronormative ideologies that the U.S. nation-state has long relied on are now accompanied by homonormative ideologies that replicate narrow racial, class, gender, and national ideals. These “homonationalisms” are deployed to distinguish upright “properly hetero,” and now “properly homo,” U.S. patriots from perversely sexualized and racialized terrorist look-alikes—especially Sikhs, Muslims, and Arabs—who are cordoned off for detention and deportation. (*Summary from Duke University Press*)

Puar, Jasbir K., and Amit Rai. 2002. “Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots.” *Social Text* 20 (3): 117–48.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“This essay discusses how gender and sexuality are central to the war on terrorism. The authors argue that ‘the construct of the terrorist relies on a knowledge of sexual perversity (failed heterosexuality, Western notions of the psyche, and a certain queer monstrosity),’ and that ‘normalization invites an aggressive heterosexual patriotism.’ Examples from media representations of terrorists are cited, and the stereotyping of the turban is discussed as well. A conclusion is drawn that these reactions to September 11 and the war on terrorism involve the construction of a racialized and sexualized other, ‘even as Western norms of the civilized subject provide the framework through which these very same others become subjects to be corrected’” (Puar and Rai 2002, 117).

Ratele, Kopano. 2014. “Hegemonic African Masculinities and Men’s Heterosexual Lives: Some Uses for Homophobia.” *African Studies Review* 57 (2): 115–30.

Abstract:

Based on two relatively well-reported cases of homophobia in Malawi and South Africa, this article aims to show some of the ways in which hegemonic African men and masculinities are unsettled by, but also find ideological use for, the existence of homosexuality and nonheteronormative sexualities. Deploying the notion of

psychopolitics, the article traces the interpenetrating psychosocial and sociopolitical aspects of homophobia. The argument is that analyses of issues of lesbian, gay, and “othered” sexualities are vital for a fuller understanding of the production of hegemonic forms of gender and masculinity in Africa. The article suggests that the threat posed by homosexuality is used as a distraction for some of the socioeconomic development-related failures of Africa’s ruling men but also, more significantly, for the impossibility of hegemonic African masculinity itself. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: homophobia; homosexuality; heteronormative; heterosexual; masculinities

Richter-Mintpetit, Melanie. 2007. “Empire, Desire and Violence: A Queer Transnational Feminist Reading of the Prisoner ‘Abuse’ in Abu Ghraib and the Question of ‘Gender Equality’.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 9 (1): 38-59.

Abstract:

Dominant discourses in the United States paint the acts of prisoner ‘abuse’ committed by US soldiers in Abu Ghraib in 2003 as either the obscene but exceptional example of some low-ranking soldiers gone mad, or as the direct result of the suspension of the rule of law in the global ‘war on terror’. Alternatively, feminist theorist Barbara Ehrenreich suggests that the pictures depicting female soldiers torturing prisoners are both horrifying and a sign of ‘gender equality’. This article departs from all three of these positions. I argue that the micro-level violences shown in the Abu Ghraib pictures are neither just aberrations nor a sign of gender equality. Rather they follow a pre-constructed heterosexed, racialized and gendered script that is firmly grounded in the colonial desires and practices of the larger social order and that underpins the hegemonic ‘save civilization itself’-fantasy of the ‘war on terror’. I explore how the participation of some of the US Empire's internal Others, namely White western women, may disrupt some of the social processes of normalization underpinning this colonial fantasy, but nevertheless serves to re/produce the identity and hegemony of the US Empire and its heterosexed, racialized and classed World (Dis)Order. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: Abu Ghraib; civilization; colonial; desires; Ehrenreich; Empire; fantasy; gender equality; militarized masculinity; Orientalism; US; ‘Whiteness’

Ripoll, Julieta Lemaitre. 2009. “Love in the Time of Cholera: LGBT Rights in Colombia.” *Sur* 6 (11): 73–89.

Abstract:

In a recent hearing before the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights, human rights activists denounced the violence in Colombia besetting lesbian, gay, bisexual, transvestite, transsexual and transgendered individuals (LGBT). Amongst the problems enumerated were abuse of police power, sexual violence in the prisons, murders fueled by hate, as well as several kinds of discrimination. This contrasts with the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court, where there has been advancement in the protection of individuals’ sexual rights. This article, which describes both the violence as well as the Court’s sentencing, analyzes the symbolic role of the law and argues that these activists

have an ambivalent relationship with the law: while wary of it, for its inefficacy, they mobilize for legal reform and benefit from the Court's progressive jurisprudence.

(Abstract from original source)

Keywords: gay rights; LGBT rights; sexual rights; same-sex equality; The Colombian Constitutional Court; hate crimes

Ritterbusch, Amy E. 2016. "Mobilities at Gunpoint: The Geographies of (Im)mobility of Transgender Sex Workers in Colombia." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106 (2): 422–33.

Abstract:

Drawing from geo-ethnographic data collected during a participatory action research (PAR) project funded by the National Science Foundation and subsequent research conducted in Colombia with marginalized youth populations, this article explores the sociospatial exclusion and (im)mobility of the oppressed, subjugated, and persecuted through the social cartographies, geo-narratives, and auto-photographic images of transgender sex workers that were displaced by paramilitary-led gender-based violence and forced to leave their birth cities and rural communities in Colombia at an early age. As is the case for thousands of victims of the armed conflict in Colombia, displaced transgender populations seek refuge and opportunity in the streets of Bogotá, Colombia. The (im)mobilities of transgender sex workers are explored in two stages—the forced, violent mobilities of their displacement, followed by their experiences of discrimination, sociospatial exclusion, and persecution through hate crimes and social cleansing killings on arrival in Bogotá. This article discusses how research actors constructed their own spaces of cohesion and resistance to the multifaceted discrimination and marginalization from mainstream urban society through PAR. The PAR project presented in this article continues as part of the broader struggle of transgender sex workers to challenge the exclusionary discourses and praxis that limit their mobilities and autonomy in the city. This article concludes with examples of how research actors use the action-driven elements of PAR to negotiate, analyze, and resist the relationships of power and violence embedded within their urban environment and begin to re-present and change the reality of their immobility within the city. *(Abstract from original source)*

Keywords: Colombia; gender-based violence (GBV); gendered (im)mobilities; internally displaced persons (IDPs); participatory action research (PAR)

Rohde, Achim. 2016. "Gays, Cross-Dressers, and Emos: Nonnormative Masculinities in Militarized Iraq." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 12 (3): 433–49.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Much has been written about gender-based violence against Iraqi women under the thirty-five-year dictatorship of Saddam Hussein and since the fall of the regime in 2003 (Brown and Romano 2006, 56, 60–62; Al-Jawaheri 2008, 108–17; al-Ali 2005, 742–43,

754–55; 2007, 198, 207, 226–29; 2008, 413–16; Smiles 2008, 272–76; al-Ali and Pratt 2009, 78, 80, 157–61; Campbell and Kelly 2009, 24–25; Fischer-Tahir 2010, 1391–92; Ranharter and Stansfield 2015). Although the mass recruitment of men as soldiers and fighters often temporarily expanded spaces for women’s participation in the Iraqi public sphere (Efrati 1999, 28, 30–32; Rohde 2010, 86–91), militarism and militarist discourse before and since 2003 have reinforced gender polarity and heroic forms of masculinity, marginalizing and degrading the noncombat social positionalities of the majority of men and women (Rohde 2010, 124–43; 2011, 100, 104, 109–10; Fischer-Tahir 2012, 93–94; Abdulameer 2014). Nevertheless, organized violence against queer positionalities, or men perceived to violate sexual and gender norms, occurred only after 2003. This essay explores ruptures and continuities in organized violence against sex or gender nonconformity in recent Iraqi history.

“For the late Ba‘thist period in Iraq, I analyze scholarly and journalistic sources, including items published in Iraqi newspapers and transcripts of a conversation between Saddam Hussein and tribal leaders in 1991 or 1992. For the years after 2003, I systematically analyzed four Iraqi (Arabic) daily newspapers (Al-Zaman, Al-Sabah, Al-Mada, and Al-Manara) and a weekly journal (Al-Esbu‘iyya) from late 2008, 2009, and spring 2012. I draw on other sources as well, including news videos, human rights reports, academic work, and other journalistic sources. Given the dangers and restrictions of research in Iraq, the available sources allow some preliminary analysis that can inform future systematic studies on gender and sexual diversity in Iraqi society” (Rohde 2016, 433-4).

Rosner, Emma D. 2020. “Abu Ghraib, Homonationalism, and the Rationalization of Modern Torture.” *Inquiries Journal* 12 (9): 1.

Abstract:

Drawing on Jasbir Puar’s analysis of homonationalism in the post-9/11 United States, I investigate the Orientalist and Islamophobic discourses present in liberal and LGBTQ news articles and human rights reports responding to the release of torture photos from Abu Ghraib prison in May 2004. This study looks at how Western journalists and human rights organizations from diverse political and social identifications bolstered the homonationalist project in their responses to torture at Abu Ghraib. In doing so, it reveals homonationalism as a discourse with multiple iterations that differ across the varied archive of LGBTQ and liberal journalism and human rights reports. The prevalence of homonationalist, Orientalist, and Islamophobic discourses in Western journalism and human rights reports in the aftermath of Abu Ghraib demonstrates a shared inability to confront the constitutive role of sexualized violence in the service of US colonial power. (*Abstract from original source*)

Saldin, Robert P. 2011. “Strange Bedfellows: War and Minority Rights.” *World Affairs* 173 (6): 57–66.

No abstract available.

Summary:

An article is presented that reports on the connection between war and minority rights, describing the ties between conflict and the development of civil rights and liberties. The article discusses how minority groups contribute to war efforts, noting historical examples related to women's suffrage and African American soldiers in World War II. Information is provided on the U.S. armed forces and the repeal of the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy prohibiting gays from openly serving in the military, speaking to the moral and practical aspects of the repeal by President Barack Obama. (*Summary from EBSCO*)

Scicchitano, Dominic. 2019. "The 'Real' Chechen Man: Conceptions of Religion, Nature, and Gender and the Persecution of Sexual Minorities in Postwar Chechnya." *Journal of Homosexuality*, January. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2019.1701336.

Abstract:

In March of 2017, the Russian LGBT Network received their first reports of police violence against individuals in Chechnya because of their perceived sexual orientation. In the following months, news spread of a campaign of forced disappearances and torture specifically targeting suspected homosexual men. Between December, 2018 and February, 2019, police carried out another wave of unlawful detentions of men on the basis of their sexual orientation. The reports of unlawful detentions and extrajudicial killings of queer men may seem surreal in a world that has slowly grown more progressive with regard to LGBT rights issues. And yet, this violence is the reality faced by gay and bisexual men in Chechnya under Ramzan Kadyrov, the hypermasculine Chechen leader. This paper explores the ways in which religious practice, imaginations of nature, and conceptions of gender have influenced Chechnya's current anti-LGBT climate. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: Chechnya; caucasus; LGBTQ+; antigay violence; unlawful detentions; religious fundamentalism; masculinities; gendered nature

Serrano-Amaya, Jose Fernando. 2014. "Chiaroscuro: The Uses of 'Homophobia' and Homophobic Violence in Armed Conflicts and Political Transitions." PhD diss., University of Sydney.

Abstract:

This research connects studies of gender and sexualities with studies of political conflicts, conflict resolution and democratisation, using two in-depth case studies (Colombia and South Africa). It explores the hypothesis that homophobia, or the set of hatreds bundled under that term, plays a fundamental role in the dispute for hegemony between antagonists during political transitions. The study shows how homophobia, as a form of gender and sexual violence, has both a constructive and deconstructive character in political transitions. It contributes to the transformation of gender and sexual orders required by warfare and deployed by armed groups. It also reinforces the creation of

consensus around the projects of change implemented by them. From the perspective of individuals and their organisations such hatreds are part of the embodied experience of violence caused by protracted conflicts and social inequalities. In their struggles for dignity, such violence becomes a reason to mobilise and to transform themselves into political activists.

This PhD research is important for theoretical, methodological and political reasons. Theoretically, it creates links between fields of study that have been developed separately from each other, reading concepts applied in one field with the lens of the other. Debates on ‘non-normative’ sexualities are useful in discussing normative concepts such as ‘conflict resolution’. Methodologically, the research analyses issues of documentation, memory and case construction that are of relevance in the field of human rights and gender in post-conflict reconstruction. In terms of political significance, this research is developed at a time in which discrimination against individuals and collectives, because of their sexual orientation and gender identities, is being increasingly recognised in the international arena. This research provides information that has not yet been collected and provides a systematic analysis useful for NGOs and state institutions.

- Chapter One introduces the research problem and its transformation during the research process.
- Chapter Two discusses relevant literature, such as the concepts of ‘homophobia’ and ‘political homophobia’. It also introduces discussions about transformation of gender and sexual orders during and after conflicts and presents core concepts for the research.
- Chapter Three describes the methodological perspective, data collection and data analysis used in the research. It also shows the ethical dilemmas presented by the research topics.
- Chapter Four offers a framework for the analysis of anti-homosexual violence. The framework is adopted from secondary literature, using information from Peru and the former Yugoslavia.
- Chapter Five and Six present the data produced for the research. Chapter Five presents the data collected in archives in South Africa and Colombia. Chapter Six presents personal narratives based on interviews carried out in the two countries. Both chapters offer a description of different practices of anti-homosexual violence in political transitions and how they are experienced by individuals.
- Chapter Seven and Eight contains the case studies of South Africa and Colombia. The case studies are constructed following the analytical frame introduced in Chapter Four and using the data presented in Chapters Five and Six. Both cases offer in-depth descriptions of experiences and uses of anti-homosexual violence during conflicts and in political transitions.
- Chapter Nine presents the research findings. Findings are discussed in relation with what is already known in the field with new perspectives that the present research opens.
- Chapter Ten reflects on the research results in order to offer some ideas relevant for policy work and activism, in particular with issues of social transformation in the context of protracted conflicts.

- Chapter Eleven considers the challenges that the research makes to the studies of sexualities and of political transitions. It revisits core concepts introduced at the beginning of the thesis and shows paths for new theoretical developments. (*Abstract from original source*)

Serrano-Amaya, José Fernando. 2018. *Homophobic Violence in Armed Conflict and Political Transition*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

No abstract available.

Summary:

This book argues that homophobia plays a fundamental role in disputes for hegemony between antagonists during political transitions. Examining countries not often connected in the same research—Colombia and South Africa—the book asserts that homophobia, as a form of gender and sexual violence, contributes to the transformation of gender and sexual orders required by warfare and deployed by armed groups. Anti-homosexual violence also reinforces the creation of consensus around these projects of change. The book considers the perspective of individuals and their organizations, for whom such hatreds are part of the embodied experience of violence caused by protracted conflicts and social inequalities. Resistance to that violence are reason to mobilize and become political actors. This book contributes to the increasing interest in South-South comparative analyses and the need of theory building based on case-study analyses, offering systematic research useful for grass root organizations, practitioners, and policy makers. (*Summary from Palgrave Macmillian*)

Shepherd, Laura J., and Laura Sjoberg. 2012. “Trans-Bodies In/of War(s): Cisprivilege and Contemporary Security Strategy.” *Feminist Review* 101 (1): 5–23.

Abstract:

This article explores a gendered dimension of war and conflict analysis that has up until now received little attention at the intersection of gender studies and studies of global politics: queer bodies in, and genderqueer significations of, war and conflict. In doing so, the article introduces the concept of cisprivilege to International Relations as a discipline and security studies as a core sub-field. Cisprivilege is an important, but under-explored, element of the constitution of gender and conflict. Whether it be in controversial reactions to the suggestion of United Nations Special Rapporteur Martin Scheinin that airport screenings for terrorists not discriminate against transgendered people, or in structural violence that is ever-present in the daily lives of many individuals seeking to navigate the heterosexist and cissexist power structures of social and political life, war and conflict is embodied and reifies cissexism. This article makes two inter-related arguments: first, that both the invisibility of genderqueer bodies in historical accounts of warfare and the visibility of genderqueer bodies in contemporary security strategy are forms of discursive violence; and second, that these violences have specific performative functions that can and should be interrogated. After constructing these core arguments,

the article explores some of the potential benefits of an interdisciplinary research agenda that moves towards the theorisation of cisprivilege in security theory and practice.

(Abstract from original source)

Keywords: gender; queer; war; cisprivilege; violence; security

Suran, Justin David. 2001. "Coming Out against the War: Antimilitarism and the Politicization of Homosexuality in the Era of Vietnam." *American Quarterly* 53 (3): 452–88.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Historians of the Vietnam War and the American antiwar movement have missed almost entirely that conflict’s unique relevance to homosexual men and the gay rights movement. More surprising, however, is the fact that historians of Gay Liberation have consistently over-looked evidence of the war’s considerable impact on the lives of homosexual men and women. Focusing on events in the city of San Francisco, I argue in this article that the emergence of the modern gay rights movement was tightly bound up with the mobilization of people and resources nationwide both in compliance with U.S. policy toward Indochina and in opposition to it. Because the war meant different things to different people and because it affected men and women differently—e.g. women were not drafted—my argument is based primarily on the experiences of gay men in one city and the significance attached to male homosexuality in the context of the war. By foregrounding certain dramatic experiences shared by homosexual men (in particular, experiences with the Vietnam draft and antiwar movement), this article recalls forgotten aspects of both the Vietnam experience and the social origins of Gay Liberation” (Suran 2001, 453).

Swimelar, Safia. 2019. "Nationalism and Europeanization in LGBT Rights and Politics: A Comparative Study of Croatia and Serbia." *East European Politics & Societies and Cultures* 33 (3): 603-30.

Abstract:

LGBT rights have come to be seen as allied with the idea of “Europe” and a European identity, particularly in the process of European Union enlargement to the East. Scholars have examined the ways in which external norms interact with more local, often “traditional” norms and identities. In this process, nationalism and conceptions of national identity and gender/sexuality norms can be seen as important factors that influence the domestic adoption of LGBT rights, particularly in the postwar Balkans. Croatia and Serbia (from approximately 2000 to 2014) present two interesting and different cases to analyze how discourses and dynamics of national and state identity construction, nationalism, and LGBT rights relate to discourses of “Europeanness” and European identity and how these affect the political dynamics of LGBT rights. This article finds that in Croatia, national identity was constructed in terms of convergence

with European norms and identity, homonationalism was used to distinguish themselves from a “Balkan” identity, and there was a lower threat perception of the LGBT community framed primarily as a “threat to the family.” In Serbia, state and national identity was constructed in opposition to Europe and homosexuality had stronger threat perception, framed primarily as “threat to the nation.” In short, nationalism and national identity were less disadvantageous as a domestic constraint to LGBT rights in Croatia than in Serbia. The dynamics between nationalism and LGBT rights played out, for example, in the politics of the marriage referendum, Pride Parades, and public discourse more generally. This research contributes to the scholarship on LGBT rights and nationalism by empirically analyzing the different ways that nationalism, gender/sexuality, and European identity interrelate and influence LGBT rights change in a changing post-war identity landscape and how domestic constraints affect human rights norm diffusion. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: LGBT rights; nationalism; Balkans; europeanization; human rights

Tschantret, Joshua. 2018. "Cleansing the Caliphate: Insurgent Violence against Sexual Minorities." *International Studies Quarterly* 62 (2): 260-73.

Abstract:

Why do insurgents target certain groups for extermination? Despite a great deal of attention to the targeting of civilian ethnic minorities, comparatively little scholarship exists on insurgent violence against sexual minorities (lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transsexual individuals). This article maintains that the decision to target sexual minorities follows three distinct logics: two strategic and one ideological. First, insurgents face an incentive to outbid rivals by targeting sexual minorities when homophobic violence is politically and socially legitimated. Second, territorial control creates an incentive for insurgents to signal their ability to selectively punish, which they can accomplish through homophobic violence. Third, revolutionary ideologies provide legitimation for exclusionary violence in the pursuit of transforming society. Statistical analysis of insurgent violence against sexual minorities from 1985 to 2015 lends strong support for these arguments. Process tracing of the spread of violence against sexual minorities in Iraq and Syria clarifies the strategic causal mechanisms. When progovernment militias targeted perceived homosexuals with impunity, antigay violence was adopted by insurgent groups seeking to legitimize their claims to power; violence then quickly spread to competing insurgents. Two additional cases from Latin America demonstrate that ideology plays an important role in influencing which groups embrace homophobic violence even under these strategic constraints. (*Abstract from original source*)

Worthen, Meredith G. F. 2019. "Transgender Under Fire: Hetero-cis-normativity and Military Students' Attitudes Toward Trans Issues and Trans Service Members Post DADT." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 16 (3): 289-308.

Abstract:

The repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell, Don’t Pursue” (DADT) was a victory for lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) military members but left most transgender (trans) military members closeted and failed to address trans military inclusion. The purpose of the current study is to explore military students’ attitudes toward trans issues and trans service members in the year 2012 (post DADT) through a framework of hetero-cis-normativity: a system of prejudice whereby it is “normal” to be both heterosexual and cisgender and it is not normal (and therefore acceptable to be prejudiced toward) non-heterosexual and non-cisgender individuals. Specifically, this study utilizes both closed- and open-ended survey responses from a college student sample of active and veteran members of the United States Reserve Officer Training Core (ROTC) and/or United States Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, Coast Guard, National Guard, and Reserves) enrolled at a southern US university (N = 374) to understand how gender, infantry/combat military occupation, and combat zone deployment (and interactions among these) as well as feminist identity and LGB supportive attitudes play a role in military students’ attitudes toward trans men and women, perspectives about gender-affirming surgeries (i.e., “sex change operations”), and opinions about trans individuals serving openly in the U.S. Armed Forces in the immediate aftermath of the DADT repeal. Consistent with the hetero-cis-normativity framework, both the qualitative and quantitative findings revealed that being a woman, being a feminist, being supportive of gay and bisexual men, infantry/combat military occupation, and combat zone deployment were all significantly related to military students’ trans perspectives. In addition, the qualitative findings situated military students across a spectrum of support of trans military service, with most students overall in the “do nothing to help trans people serve” category but a large percentage of women and LGB respondents comprising the “do more to help trans people serve” category. Implications for future research and policy recommendations are provided.

Zea, Maria Cecilia, Carol A. Reisen, Fernanda T. Bianchi, Felisa A. Gonzales, Fabián Betancourt, Marcela Aguilar, and Paul J. Poppen. 2013. “Armed Conflict, Homonegativity and Forced Internal Displacement: Implications for HIV among Colombian Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Individuals.” *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 15 (7): 788–803.

Abstract:

Colombia has endured six decades of civil unrest, population displacement and violence. We examined the relationships between contextual conditions, displacement and HIV among gay, bisexual and transgender individuals in Bogotá, Colombia. A total of 19 key informants provided information about internal displacement of sexual minorities. Life-history interviews were conducted with 42 participants aged 18 to 48 years and included questions about displacement experiences, sexual behaviour, life prior to displacement and participants' economic and social situation in Bogotá. The interplay of a variety of factors – including internal conflict and violence, homonegativity and ‘social cleansing’, gender and sexual identity and poverty – strongly shaped the varied experiences of displacement. Migration, sexual violence, exchange sex and low rates of HIV testing were risk factors that increased vulnerability for HIV in this displaced sample. Although

displacement and HIV in Colombia are major problems, both are understudied. (*Abstract from original source*)

Keywords: internal conflict; internal displacement; homonegativity; gay; bisexual; and transgender; HIV; Colombia

B. Non-Academic Sources

Amnesty International, ed. 2001. *Crimes of Hate, Conspiracy of Silence: Torture and Ill-Treatment Based on Sexual Identity*. London: Amnesty International Publications.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“ ‘Article 1: “For the purposes of this Convention, the term ‘torture’ means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions.’

“In the past AI’s work against torture has highlighted the plight of those subjected to torture in a political context, such as opposition activists or journalists. Christine, Norah, Paul, Rodney and Charles are dissidents of a different kind, targeted not only because of their opinions or activism, but on account of their very identities. The victims of torture highlighted in this report include lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender rights activists seen as threatening the social order; women seeking to exercise autonomy over their bodies; men seen as traitors to masculine privilege because they are perceived as adopting ‘feminine’ roles; and transgender people calling into question the traditional assumption that all humankind must fall irrevocably into one of two gender categories. Defiance of the “heterosexual norm” can provoke moral condemnation, exclusion and violence, including torture. In this sense, violence against LGBT people is gender-based violence, inflicted on those who challenge or fail to conform to traditionally defined gender roles” (Amnesty International 2001, 6).

Armitage, Susie. 2014. “The Chaos in East Ukraine Is Hitting LGBT People Particularly Hard.” *Buzzfeed*, May 30. <http://www.buzzfeed.com/susiearmitage/the-chaos-in-east-ukraine-is-hitting-lgbt-people-particularl#.wlgKGoVG5>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Ukraine's conservative, industrial east has never been an easy place to be LGBT. In Soviet times, it was a crime. Today many there follow the resurgent Russian Orthodox Church, which condemns homosexuality. In the coal mines that drive the region's failing economy, the worst insults are crude anti-gay slurs. And as eastern cities have slipped out of Kiev's control and casualties mount, many LGBT people feel increasingly under threat” (Armitage 2014).

Austen, Ian. 2017. “Victims of Canada’s ‘Gay Purge’ to Get Apology from Trudeau.” *The New York Times*, November 21.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/21/world/canada/gays-trudeau-apology.html?searchResultPosition=19>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Prime Minister Trudeau will apologize next week for a program that removed perhaps thousands of gays and lesbians from the public service, the military and the Mounties” (Austen 2017).

Bartell, Lyra. 2016. “Colombia’s LGBT Community Reports Increased Violence and Discrimination.” *Colombia Reports*, May 19. <https://colombiareports.com/colombias-lgbt-community-reports-increased-violence-discrimination>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Reports of violence and discrimination against Colombia’s LGBT community have been steadily increasing in recent years, according to the country’s Human Rights Office.

“The office said it had received almost the same number of registered complaints from individuals identifying as LGBT in the first four months of this year as they received throughout the entire year of 2015” (Bartell 2016).

Gessen, Masha. 2017. “The Gay Men Who Fled Chechnya’s Purge.” *The New Yorker*, July 26. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/07/03/the-gay-men-who-fled-chechnyas-purge>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Chechnya is one of the eighty-five constituent regions of the Russian Federation, and is ostensibly a secular state. In reality, it is a state within a state, run by Kadyrov, who is supported by Vladimir Putin. Kadyrov’s Chechnya is a more extreme version of Russia: a

mafia state that uses religious rhetoric to enforce control over its citizens. Putin draws some of his authority from a close relationship to the Russian Orthodox Church; Kadyrov relies on a crude homespun version of Islam. Behavior including drinking (which is technically legal), drug use (which is not), women dressing immodestly, women smoking, contact of any sort between unmarried women and men, and open sexual expression is policed by law enforcement and by extended families ...

“L.G.B.T. people have been a prime target of Kremlin propaganda since 2012. That year, Putin returned to the Presidency for a third term, amid mass protests. In response, the Kremlin started queer-baiting the protesters. A succession of cities and, eventually, the federal parliament passed bills banning “propaganda of nontraditional sexual relations among minors.” Television presenters raged against imaginary homosexual recruiters of Russian children. (At the time, I was living in Russia and was active in protests against the regime and the anti-gay legislation.) Anti-gay violence became so pervasive that a café in central Moscow posted a notice saying that attacks would not be tolerated on the premises” (Gessen 2017).

Ghoshal, Neela. 2018. *Audacity in Adversity: LGBT Activism in the Middle East and North Africa*. Washington DC: Human Rights Watch.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“This report accompanies a series of videos produced by Human Rights Watch and the Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality (AFE). The videos feature individual activists reaching out in Arabic to LGBT people living in the Middle East and North Africa with messages of support and encouragement. The report thus focuses on those parts of the region where Arabic is predominantly spoken.

“The report provides context for the videos, highlighting and detailing the existence of movements that are making change in the face of significant obstacles, including criminalization of same-sex conduct (and, in a few countries, gender non-conformity), arbitrary arrests and ill-treatment, forced anal examinations, lack of gender recognition for transgender people, violence by state and non-state actors, restrictions on freedom of expression and association, family rejection and community stigma” (Ghoshal 2018).

**Goble, Paul A. 2017. “Kadyrov Opens First Concentration Camp for Gays Since Hitler’s Times.” *Euromaidan Press*, April 7.
<http://euromaidanpress.com/2017/04/07/kadyrov-opens-first-concentration-camp-for-gays-since-hitlers-times/>.**

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Chechen head Ramzan Kadyrov has not only sponsored direct attacks on members of the LGBT community in his republic but has adopted a plan for “the final solution of gay issue” and opened the first concentration camp in the world for sexual minorities since Hitler did so in the 1930s, according to a Novaya gazeta investigation.

“The goal of this effort, the paper’s Elena Milashina and Irina Gordiyenko say, is “the complete cleansing of Chechnya from men of non-traditional sexual orientation.” The authorities have set up several internment camps where inmates are killed or forced to promise to leave the republic” (Goble 2017).

**Hagen, Jamie. 2014. “The Missing Group of Victims in Conflict-Related Violence.” *WMC Women Under Siege* (blog), December 11.
<http://www.womenundersiegeproject.org/blog/entry/the-missing-group-of-victims-in-conflict-related-violence>.**

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Iraq is just one of eight countries in which homosexuality is punishable by death. More than half of those nations, including Iraq, Iran, and Nigeria, qualify as conflict and post-conflict countries. Yet it’s rare to see media mention of this kind of violence, which is also gender-based, when it covers war and iniquities. Little has been formulated in the way of action plans to stop this type of violence, either, despite efforts like those of the commission and organizations like MADRE. To date, there’s not much out there in terms of a nation’s stepping up to respond to this violence in Iraq or elsewhere around the globe. International protection measures to address LGBT-targeted violence—which, as in Leyla’s case, can be state-sponsored—require a response that recognizes that gender-based violence includes cases like this” (Hagen 2014).

Heartland Alliance International. 2014. ‘No Place for People Like You’: An Analysis of the Needs, Vulnerabilities, and Experiences of LGBT Syrian Refugees in Lebanon. Chicago: Heartland Alliance International.

No abstract available.

Summary:

As of November 4, 2014, the conflict in Syria had caused over 1 million civilians to seek refuge in Lebanon, and refugees now make up over a quarter of Lebanon’s total resident population. Despite the dramatic number of refugees in Lebanon and the corresponding large-scale humanitarian response, there has been very little attention dedicated to understanding and addressing the needs of minority populations. The number of LGBT refugees in Lebanon is still unknown; however, given that conservative estimates approximate 5% of people worldwide self-identify as sexual minorities, the total number of LGBT Syrians in Lebanon may be close to 50,000. HAI

acknowledges that only a small fraction of those refugees who are LGBT will self-identify and seek protections based on their sexual orientation and gender identity because of stigma and risk (real or perceived). However, HAI believes that for the sake of the hundreds of LGBT Syrians who will come forward, and the thousands more who may be at immediate risk and in need of urgent protection and support, the humanitarian community must take immediate, concrete action to safeguard the rights of this highly vulnerable population. (*Summary from original source*)

Human Rights Watch. 2009a. ‘Not Worth a Penny’: Human Rights Abuses against Transgender People in Honduras. New York: Human Rights Watch.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“As this report documents, police often use these provisions to justify harassing and arbitrarily arresting transgender people. The provisions also encourage arrests by Honduran police of transgender people engaged in sex work, itself not a crime under Honduran law.

“Honduras has an obligation under international law to apply its laws in an impartial and non-discriminatory manner. Courts in other Latin American countries, like Colombia and Argentina, have struck down comparable laws on the grounds that concepts like “public morals” are too vague and invite discriminatory treatment.

“Another factor contributing to ongoing violence against transgender people is impunity. Inefficiency and ineffectiveness in police investigations runs like a thread through all Honduran criminal investigations but they are a particular problem in cases involving violence against transgender people. We are aware of no successful prosecutions of police accused of violence against transgender people over the past five years in Honduras. No one has been prosecuted for any of the 17 murders of transgender people.

“When cases are not properly investigated and perpetrators are not adequately punished, the government sends a message to society that it condones violence. It also sends a message to victims that initiating complaints will not result in convictions and redress. State inaction in response to attacks on transgender people in Honduras feeds the violence, and encourages discrimination against them by state and non-state actors.

“The government of Honduras should ensure that all attacks against members of the transgender community are investigated and the perpetrators brought to justice. The National Bureau for Criminal Investigation (Dirección Nacional de Investigación Criminal, DNIC) and the Office of the Attorney General should respond effectively, efficiently, and without prejudice to claims by transgender people. The Ombudsman’s office should provide follow-up on these cases and continue to be a forthright voice in support of transgender, lesbian, gay, and bisexual (TLGB) people in Honduras.

“By supporting the OAS Resolution on Human Rights, Sexual Orientation, and Gender Identity in 2008, Honduras made a commitment to protecting transgender people, which should now be matched by specific actions. Honduras prides itself on its young democracy. As such it should reaffirm equality, non-discrimination, and the promotion and protection of human rights for all its people. Transgender people in Honduras repeatedly told Human Rights Watch that all they wanted was for people to see and treat them as human beings. It is the international obligation of the Honduran state to ensure that this happens, and to act upon its commitments made in the OAS General Assembly.”
(*Summary from original source*).

Human Rights Watch. 2009b. “They Want Us Exterminated”: Murder, Torture, Sexual Orientation and Gender in Iraq. New York: Human Rights Watch.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“A killing campaign moved across Iraq in the early months of 2009. While the country remains a dangerous place for many if not most of its citizens, death squads started specifically singling out men whom they considered not “manly” enough, or whom they suspected of homosexual conduct. The most trivial details of appearance—the length of a man’s hair, the fit of his clothes—could determine whether he lived or died.

“At this writing, in July 2009, the campaign remains at its most intense in Baghdad, but it has left bloody tracks in other cities as well; men have been targeted, threatened or tortured in Kirkuk, Najaf, Basra. Murders are committed with impunity, admonitory in intent, with corpses dumped in garbage or hung as warnings on the street. The killers invade the privacy of homes, abducting sons or brothers, leaving their mutilated bodies in the neighborhood the next day. They interrogate and brutalize men to extract names of other people suspected of homosexual conduct. They specialize in grotesque and appalling tortures: several doctors told Human Rights Watch about men executed by injecting glue up their anuses. Their bodies have appeared by the dozens in hospitals and morgues. How many have been killed will likely never be known: the failure of authorities to investigate compounds the fear and shame of families to ensure that reliable figures are unattainable. A well-informed official at the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) told Human Rights Watch in April that the dead probably already numbered ‘in the hundreds’” (Human Rights Watch 2009b, 2).

Human Rights Watch. 2010. *Fear for Life: Violence against Gay Men and Men Perceived as Gay in Senegal*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Violence against people on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender expression escalated in Senegal starting in early 2008. Men who identify as or are perceived to be gay increasingly became targets of popular vengeance and arbitrary arrests. In research conducted in 2009 and early 2010, Human Rights Watch documented a range of abuses, including police abuse and arbitrary detention, physical threat, assault, and verbal abuse by private individuals, and blackmail, extortion, and robbery. We also examined how media and religious institutions have contributed to the climate of violence.

“Although recent panics over homosexuality cast it as a new and foreign phenomenon in Senegal, all anecdotal and documentary evidence suggests that same-sex relations between men as well as women have long existed in Senegalese society, even if the terms have changed over time. What is new is the manipulation of anti-gay sentiment by a few Senegalese political and religious leaders, giving public discourse a particularly vicious turn, which in turn has fed an upsurge in already existing private actor violence targeting gay men and men perceived as gay. Some Senegalese media have contributed to the upsurge by giving prominent coverage to the hate-mongering and offering virtually no counter narrative.

“This report helps fill that gap, revealing the impact of violence on individual lives and examining some of the underlying causes of the current intolerance. Two key incidents have exemplified the virulent turn in Senegal—the “gay marriage” scandal of February 2008 and the arrest of the “nine homosexuals of Mbao” in December 2008. Based on interviews with many of the men involved, this report provides detailed insights into the two cases and the destructive impact they have had on these men's lives and on the lives of many other Senegalese. The report also details other instances of arrests and police torture of gay men and men perceived as gay as well as violence by non-state actors, and the social context and cultural climate of fear and suspicion in which these attacks take place.

“We conclude with recommendations to key government departments, civil society groups, and international actors concerned with recent developments in Senegal. It is essential that Senegalese authorities uphold the fundamental rights of all Senegalese residents, address the impunity with which private actors attack individuals known or perceived to be gay, provide clear access to justice and redress to individuals who face homophobic violence, and promote a culture of tolerance and diversity” (*Summary from original source*).

International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC). 2014. *When Coming Out Is a Death Sentence: Persecution of LGBT Iraqis*. New York City: International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“The rapid advance of the Islamic State and its takeover of large swathes of Iraq has spelled the beginning of a new chapter of deadly risk for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) Iraqis, a persecuted minority against whom human rights abuses have been documented for over a decade. And in areas of Iraq outside of the Islamic State’s control, LGBT Iraqis are caught up in a rising tide of violence and abuse, due to the unchecked power of Islamic State fighters as well as their pro-government militia opponents.

“Despite the difficulty of securing interviews with LGBT individuals in areas under the Islamic State’s control, and despite the collapse of state justice and security institutions, the Islamic State’s imposition and enforcement of its interpretation of Islamic law compels the conclusion that LGBT individuals are highly likely to be at imminent risk of death, according to research and analysis by the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC) and MADRE” (IGLHRC 2014, 1).

Kagan, Michael, and Anat Ben-Dor. 2008. *Nowhere to Run: Gay Palestinian Asylum-Seekers in Israel*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University’s Public Interest Law Program (PILP).

Abstract:

In the Occupied Palestinian Territories, some gay men face torture and potentially lethal violence at the hands of PA security forces, members of their own families, and armed militant groups. Brutal repression of homosexuality by a wide array of actors in Palestinian society puts an unknown number of people at risk, and represents an important violation of human rights for people living in the Occupied Territories.

Meanwhile, Israel prohibits these people from even filing asylum applications, simply because of their nationality. The United Nations has intervened in a few cases to promote resettlement of gay Palestinian men to third countries, but the UN refugee office in Jerusalem has generally cooperated with Israel in excluding Palestinians from the asylum system.

Israel has increasingly recognized equal rights for gays, lesbians and trans-gendered people and has taken substantial steps in recent years to implement the right to seek asylum. Asylum claims based on sexual orientation are becoming increasingly routine in international refugee law. If respect for the rights of gay men in the Occupied Territories does not improve, and if the State of Israel’s current refusal to receive Palestinian asylum-seekers does not change, innocent people will be put in mortal danger. Israel’s continued refusal to consider asylum claims from gay Palestinians violates the general rule of international law – recognized by Israel’s High Court – against returning a foreigner to a territory where his or her life or freedom may be in danger. Under international law, no state may discriminate by nationality with regard to refugee protection.

This report analyzes evidence that gay Palestinians are at risk of severe human rights violations in PA-controlled areas and analyzes Israel’s obligations to asylum-seekers

under international law. It then makes recommendations as to how Israel and the United Nations can better protect gay Palestinian asylum-seekers. (*Abstract from original source*)

Knight, Kyle. 2014. “Lost in the Chaos - LGBTI People in Emergencies.” *The New Humanitarian*, August 14.
<http://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2014/08/14/lost-chaos-lgbti-people-emergencies>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“World Humanitarian Summit participants are asking if the catch-all phrase “affected population” is too general and oversimplified to account for the specific vulnerabilities of a number of populations—including gender and sexual minorities.

“In a state of emergency, this can determine whether or not vulnerable populations receive life-sustaining help. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people’s experiences in crises are under-researched and misunderstood, which can lead to protection gaps.

“Amnesty International documented how LGBT people have been targeted in security forces’ “social cleansing” drives in Colombia, and Human Rights Watch highlighted how police targeted transgender people in a similar “cleansing” drive towards the end of Nepal’s civil war. And even humanitarian systems designed to help can contribute to LGBT people’s marginalization. Oxfam research revealed that following the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004, transgender women were denied access to temporary shelters because their appearance didn’t match the gender listed on their ID documents. An OutRight report on the 2010 Haiti earthquake recovery effort showed that even well-intentioned, gender-specific food distribution queues excluded some LGBT people from accessing aid” (Knight 2014).

Kramer, Andrew E. 2019. “Chechnya Renews Crackdown on Gay People, Rights Group Says.” *The New York Times*, January 14.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/world/europe/chechnya-gay-people-russia.html?searchResultPosition=7>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Security forces in the Russian region of Chechnya have again cracked down on gay people, killing two and applying tactics once used against Islamist terrorists to find and arrest dozens of others, a Russian rights group said in a report issued on Monday.

“Since late last year, two gay men have been killed and about 40 men and women who are either homosexual or suspected of being homosexual have been detained in a makeshift prison, according to the rights group, the Russian LGBT Network.

“Though Russia decriminalized homosexuality during the breakup of the Soviet Union, the police in Chechnya have periodically detained gay people in extrajudicial arrests without repercussions from the federal authorities” (Kramer 2019).

Lavers, Michael K. 2017. “Colombia LGBT Group Opens Four ‘Houses of Peace.’”
Washington Blade: America’s LGBT News Source, March 14.
<http://www.washingtonblade.com/2017/03/14/colombian-lgbt-group-opens-four-houses-peace>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“A Colombian LGBT advocacy group has opened four ‘Houses of Peace’ (‘Casas de Paz’ in Spanish) in support of the implementation of a peace agreement between the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia.

“Caribe Afirmativo announced last September that it would open four ‘Houses of Peace’ in Soledad, a city that is located adjacent to Barranquilla, Ciénega in Magdalena Department, Carmen de Bolívar in Bolívar Department and Maicao, a town in La Guajira Department that is less than 10 miles from the Venezuelan border.

“The announcement took place less than three weeks before Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos and FARC Commander Rodrigo ‘Timochenko’ Londoño signed a peace agreement in the city of Cartagena that specifically acknowledged LGBT Colombians as victims of the conflict and called for their participation in the country’s political process. Caribe Afirmativo Director Wilson Castañeda, who is one of three Colombian LGBT rights advocates who participated in the peace talks that took place in Havana, was among the more than 2,500 people who attended the ceremony” (Lavers 2017).

Luongo, Michael. 2012. “Gay Palestinians Caught in the Middle of the Conflict.”
GlobalPost, June 8.
<http://thegroundtruthproject.org/gay-palestinians-caught-in-the-middle-of-the-conflict/>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Conflict still rules the region, a complex and bloody dispute about land, history and religion decades in the making, but at the Palestinian Queer Party, music takes precedence and peace rules the room.

“Held every six weeks or so, the party demonstrates what is possible with gays in charge, say those who attend.

“The majority of the crowd at the party are gay Palestinians living within the borders set after Israel’s victory over Arab forces in 1948 — officially called Arab-Israelis — but about a third are Israeli Jews. West Bank Palestinians have also been known to cross the separation wall to mingle and dance here, risky a trip as that might be. Once they are among fellow gays, these Palestinians can often hide from Israeli authorities in plain sight” (Luongo 2012).

Lytvynenko, Jane. 2015. “Intolerance and Violence Against LGBT People Is on the Rise in War-Torn Ukraine.” *Vice*, September 8.

https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/in-war-torn-ukraine-there-is-no-time-for-lgbtq-rights.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“When I asked how to find Kiev's only queer community center, a man outside blowing cigarette smoke nodded, grimaced, and pointed at the unmarked entrance without a word. The only hint for potential visitors is a printed sign saying "queer home" taped to the inside of a window. The entrance is a heavy metal door and the stone steps leading into the basement space are worn down and uneven. This is what serves as the capital's only permanent gathering place for the LGBTQ community, discreetly hidden away for safety.

“In Ukraine, activists and allies have been steadily fighting for LGBTQ acceptance. But as visibility grows, so does intolerance and violence. Activists try not to let the threat of getting beaten up or killed get in the way, but the government and police are overwhelmingly indifferent to LGBTQ issues and unwilling to help” (Lytvynenko 2015).

Rahman, Raad. 2017. “No Country for Bangladesh’s Gay Men.” *The New York Times*, June 30. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/30/opinion/bangladesh-lgbt-gay.html?searchResultPosition=16>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Justice is becoming increasingly rare in Bangladesh for the families and friends of those murdered by terrorists. On April 25, 2016, Xulhaz Mannan, a prominent member of

Bangladesh's L.G.B.T. community, and Mahbub Rabbi Tonoy, a revered theater artist and L.G.B.T. activist, were both brutally murdered at Mr. Mannan's house.

“Six jihadists, wearing tailor-made courier-service outfits, pretended to deliver a parcel and hacked down the two men in front of Mr. Mannan's mother. A severe Alzheimer's patient, she still asks about her son's whereabouts.

“He was murdered because he had fostered a powerful vision of visibility around Bangladesh's marginalized L.G.B.T. communities and published Bangladesh's only L.G.B.T. magazine, *Roopbaan*” (Rahman 2017).

Rowlands, Lyndal. 2016. “Fearing Violence, LGBT Refugees Rarely Seek Help.” *Inter Press Service*, June 23.
<http://www.ipsnews.net/2016/06/fearing-violence-lgbt-refugees-rarely-seek-help/>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Despite their extreme vulnerability, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) refugees often do not seek the assistance they need, since revealing their sexual or gender identities can put them in grave danger.

“ ‘People are just absolutely completely terrified to come out, and rightly so, they will be dead, they will be dead if they come out,’ Neil Grungras, Executive Director of the San Francisco-based Organization for Refuge, Asylum & Migration (ORAM) told IPS.

“ORAM works with some of the world's most vulnerable refugees including LGBTI refugees fleeing Syria and seeking refuge in Turkey, where Grungras says that there are currently as few as five self-pronounced LGBT persons within a total population of over 2.7 million refugees” (Rowlands 2016).

Saldiva, Gabriela, Natalie Winston, and David Greene. 2017. ““They Told Me I Wasn't A Human Being’: Gay Men Speak of Brutal Treatment in Chechnya.” *NPR*, June 15.
<http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2017/06/15/532977587/they-told-me-i-wasnt-a-human-being-gay-men-speak-of-brutal-treatment-in-chechnya>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“At an unmarked apartment building in Moscow, there's a notice taped to a large metal door with a list of tenants who haven't paid their rent. Up five flights of stairs, on the top floor, two young men sit side by side on an old couch in a one-bedroom apartment.

“They're calling themselves Gregory and Arnie. They don't want to use their real names because they fear for their lives. Both men recently left Chechnya, where they were detained and beaten because they're gay” (Saldiva et al. 2017).

Smith, Hannah Lucinda. 2013 “How Jihadists Are Blackmailing, Torturing, and Killing Gay Syrians.” *Vice*, November 12.
<http://www.vice.com/read/gay-syrians-are-being-blackmailed-by-jihadists>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Shadi believes that his gay friend joined Jabhat al-Nusra as a means of self-preservation. But any gay men who do choose to join the extremists are themselves in a precarious position, and some will go to any lengths to keep their own sexuality a secret. Jihad, a 28-year-old from Homs, knew that his life was in danger when some of Nusra’s gay members began taking extreme steps to keep their homosexuality under cover. “My friend was killed after he slept with three Nusra members,” he said. “The neighbours said that they tortured him from 1 AM until 4 AM, then they shot him—once in the leg, once in the side, once in the shoulder, and once in the head. I took his body from the police with his sister and buried him” (Smith 2013).

Stack, Liam. 2016. “Gay and Transgender Egyptians, Harassed and Entrapped, Are Driven Underground.” *The New York Times*, August 10.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/world/africa/gay-egyptians-surveilled-and-entrapped-are-driven-underground.html>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Since the 2013 military intervention that established former Gen. Abdel Fattah el-Sisi as the country’s ruler, at least 250 lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people have been arrested in a quiet crackdown that has shattered what had been an increasingly vibrant and visible community. Through a campaign of online surveillance and entrapment, arrests and the closing of gay-friendly businesses, the police have driven gay and transgender people back underground and, in many cases, out of the country” (Stack 2016).

Weiss, Philip. 2014 “Israel Surveils and Blackmails Gay Palestinians to Make Them Informants.” *Mondoweiss*, September 12.
<http://mondoweiss.net/2014/09/blackmails-palestinian-informants/>.

No abstract available.

Summary:

“Israel has sold itself internationally as a gay Mecca. (Here, here, and here, for instance.) This freedom is regularly cited by advocates for Israel in the west, making stark comparisons to Muslim societies that repress gays. Well here’s a new spin on that claim: reports that Israeli intelligence pried into Palestinians’ phone calls and internet activity so as to identify and blackmail Palestinian gays and turn them into informants against other Palestinians” (Weiss 2014).