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## SENEGAL: MOBILISING FOR GAY RIGHTS IN THE SHADOW OF HIV/AIDS

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### 1 Introduction

Despite being a former French colony, article 319(3) of the Senegalese penal code prohibits all acts against the order of nature with a penalty of up to five years in prison.<sup>1</sup> The law is enforced intermittently, but remains a threat to the LGBT-community and activists in particular. Indeed, on several occasions the law has been used to arrest individuals while they were engaged in activism. Repealing the law has therefore become an increasingly important, yet elusive target, for the burgeoning LGBT-movement in Senegal, which includes an estimated 15 organisations and several networks. These organisations have themselves become the source of public polemic as powerful conservative non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have published names and addresses of several of the most prominent organisations.<sup>2</sup> Neither this public attention towards homosexuality nor the existence of LGBT-organisations are a particularly old phenomenon, and they influence each other.

In a country where 95 per cent of the population identifies as Muslim, homosexuality has remained mostly taboo. For a long time, Senegalese society exhibited a relative tolerance towards homosexuals, as long as their existence and behaviour remained hidden from public view. There were discrete identities and social roles reserved for non-gender conforming individuals. In the late 1990s it became apparent that the social structures

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1 The law is clearly inspired by colonial law. The Napoleonic Code, most of which Senegal adopted at independence criminalised sexual relations between people of the same sex under the age of 21. The current law, from 1966, is thus more expansive as it also criminalises same-sex relations between consenting adults. The law is otherwise clearly inspired by the French counterpart, as it uses the same wording of the acts criminalised (for a more thorough analysis see VF Vibe 'Politicization of homosexuality in Senegal' PhD thesis, University of Bergen, forthcoming).

2 'Récépissés délivrés aux homosexuels: Jamra apporte ses preuves et cite les noms' *Senenews* 24 November 2019.

supporting some tolerance for same-sex sexualities were cracking. A concentrated HIV/AIDS epidemic ravaged the LGBT-community, who could stay silent no more. In this context, Senegalese gay men and women started organising. Concurrently, and partly because of this newfound visibility, violence towards LGBT-individuals increased, and political and religious actors capitalised on increased media attention on homosexuality, using it for religious and political gain. This politicisation process has again influenced how the LGBT-community organises and mobilises. It is this symbiotic relationship between politicisation and mobilisation that the chapter explores.

While the literature on social movements focuses extensively on how the political context influences movements and movement outcomes,<sup>3</sup> it rarely considers other contextual factors like politicisation and criminalisation. There has been an increasing turn to formal organisations in many African LGBT-movements, but there is still limited research on them, in particular in Francophone Africa.<sup>4</sup> This chapter contributes to filling these gaps in the literature by analysing data from field interviews conducted during fieldtrips in 2017 and 2018. The interviews were conducted mainly in Dakar, while some were conducted over Skype. Interviewees include LGBT-activists, human rights activists, AIDS-workers, academics, journalists, religious officials and politicians. In total over 70 people were interviewed. Ethical approval for this research was obtained from the Norwegian Center for Research Data. All interviews took place with the informed consent of the interviewees. The interviews were conducted in the place of choice of the interviewee, to make sure they were at ease and comfortable with the interview situation, and in order to protect LGBT-activists. I do not name the LGBT-individuals, but use the names of organisations, with the consent of the organisations named. Interviewees in official positions have in general not been anonymised unless they have so requested. Given my own position as a western scholar, and the highly politicised nature of homosexuality in Senegal, I was very conscious that my asking questions of this nature could be considered offensive. I thus avoided interviewing politicians during the 2017-election, as I was concerned that this could spark opposition and fuel politicisation. Several interviewees were interviewed on multiple occasions, at different points in time. This made it possible to follow changes in mobilisation tactics and interactions with the political context 'in real time'. Interviews from different stakeholders are used to corroborate evidence, as well as other

3 See for example DS Meyer & DC Minkoff 'Conceptualizing political opportunity' (2004) 82 *Social Forces* 1457.

4 C Broqua 'L'émergence des minorités sexuelles dans l'espace public en afrique' (2012) 126 *Politique Africaine* 15.

data sources, including newspaper articles, organisational documents, and archival data.

In the rest of the chapter, I use terms like homosexual, men who have sex with men (MSM), and LGBT. While the terms can to some extent be used interchangeably, they may also have distinct meanings. In the Senegalese context homosexual and homosexuality are both used by the community itself and in the public debate. MSM is mostly used in a medical and associative context and is strongly associated with HIV/AIDS work. It is also used as a safe word, that can be employed without rousing the suspicion of the public (as experienced by the author in several interview situations). The term LGBT is usually employed as a basket term, of all issues, and is also a term that most people outside of the community are not familiar with and is therefore safe to use. Actors who are more attuned to human rights issues often use the term.

The chapter starts with a brief discussion around the historical significance of homosexuality in Senegal, before showing how the gay rights movement developed in a context of HIV/AIDS. I will then show how changing international conditions, alongside extensive politicisation opened the movement to more human rights-oriented activism and lawfare before I conclude by showing the shortcomings in the current approach.

## 2 Historical significance of homosexuality in Senegal

People not conforming to gender roles has been a well-known feature of Senegalese society for a long time. In Wolof<sup>5</sup> the term *goorjigéen*, literally meaning man-woman, has been interpreted to include homosexuals. The *goorjigéen* had a very distinct and well-defined role in traditional Wolof-society. The *goorjigéen* were important social actors, often linked to powerful female political leaders, so-called ‘grandes dammes’, who were mobilisers during elections. Leopold Sédar Senghor, the first president of Senegal, and Blaise Diagne, the first African deputy elected to the French parliament in 1916, used ‘grandes dammes’ and *goorjigéen* in their election campaigns. Niang and Broqua<sup>6</sup> have showed that *goorjigéen* played a crucial advisory role, both politically and socially for these women.

5 Wolof both designates a culture and a language, which are both predominant in Senegal.

6 CI Niang et al “‘It’s raining stones’: Stigma, violence and HIV vulnerability among men who have sex with men in Dakar, Senegal’ (2003) 5 *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 499; CI Niang ‘Understanding sex between men in Senegal’ in P Aggelton & R Parker (eds) *Routledge handbook of sexuality, health and rights* (2010); C Broqua ‘Góor-jigéen: la resignification négative d’une catégorie entre genre et sexualité (Sénégal)’ (2017) 9

Gender non-conforming people were thus tolerated but not necessarily accepted in society. They were ceremonial masters, leading baptisms, weddings and funerals, whilst being considered among the lower castes of society.<sup>7</sup> The term *goorjigéen* did not necessarily mean homosexuality as it strictly speaking referred to a man who was effeminate, had no gender, and was considered ‘natural eunuchs’.<sup>8</sup> Many if not all *goorjigéen* were still what one would consider MSM today, however, the term did not invite such interpretations.<sup>9</sup>

This does not mean that open displays of homosexuality were tolerated in post-colonial Senegal. Indeed, in 1966 the Senegalese parliament changed the colonial penal code, criminalising same sex relations of any age.<sup>10</sup> This was part of a broader effort to provide the legal tools that would allow for a sanitisation of Senegal ahead of the widely mediated *Festival des Arts Nègres* later that year.<sup>11</sup> The festival was an important political and economic tool in the post-colonial project of Léopold Sédar Senghor. It was supposed to attract tourists, that a failing Senegalese economy needed, and project an image of African culture to the rest of the world that would break with colonial stereotypes.<sup>12</sup> This forced more of the community behind closed doors, but they still kept the ceremonial role discussed above.

In the 1980s and 1990s political, economic and societal crisis went hand in hand with increased reporting on homosexuality in the local press.<sup>13</sup> Simultaneously with increased presence of homosexuality in political and religious discourse, the *goorjigéen* changed meaning, and increasingly became a synonym for homosexuals. The community had yet not started organising and the associations that existed, acted more as meeting grounds rather than as a basis for activism. It was through the

*Socio: la nouvelle revue des sciences sociales* 163.

7 I Mills *Sutura: Gendered honor, social death, and the politics of exposure in Senegalese literature and popular culture* (2011) 120; Broqua (n 6).

8 M Epprecht *Sexuality and social justice in Africa* (2013) 115.

9 Interview with the Secretary General of Renapoc on 23 May 2017.

10 FK Camara ‘Ce délit qui nous vient d’ailleurs : l’homosexualité dans le code pénal du Sénégal’ (2007-2008) 34 *Psychopathologie Africaine* 317; CI Niang, EE Foley & NDiop ‘Colonial legacies, electoral politics, and the production of (anti) homosexuality in Senegal’ in L Boyd & E Burrill (eds) *Legislating gender and sexuality in Africa: Human rights, society, and the state* (2020).

11 Vibe (n 1).

12 LE Taylor *The art of diplomacy in Dakar – The international politics of display at the 1966 Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres* (2019).

13 MT Kassé ‘Mounting homophobic violence in Senegal’ in H Abbas & S Ekine (eds) *Queer African reader* (2013).

response to HIV/AIDS that the first organisations and forms of activism came about.

### 3 The gay rights movement in Senegal

In order to understand the gay rights movement in Senegal one cannot ignore the role that HIV/AIDS has played in mobilising the gay community. Its origins in HIV/AIDS work have meant that the organisations have been primarily focused on public health work, while shying away from more politically challenging tactics.

#### 3.1 HIV/AIDS in Senegal: A success story?

Senegal is seen as one of the pioneers and early movers in HIV prevention in Africa and has one of the lowest prevalence of HIV in the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa estimated at 0.3 per cent in 2021.<sup>14</sup> Already in 1986, following the first known cases of the most virulent HIV type, HIV-1, the National AIDS Prevention Committee, under the auspices of the Ministry of Health, was created to coordinate the national, multi-sectoral response.<sup>15</sup> *The Conseil National De Lutte Contre le Sida* (CNLS) replaced the old structure in 2001, after recommendations by the World Bank. The CNLS is placed directly under the Prime Minister, and as such highlights the increased importance given to HIV/AIDS by political authorities. Senegal was also the first country in Africa to make Antiretroviral Therapy (ART) available in 1998.<sup>16</sup>

Senegal has been successful in curbing the epidemic due to several factors. Prostitution is legal in Senegal and female sex workers are required to register with the authorities, which has meant that they are easier to reach, test and inform.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, in 1978, a national STD programme was put in place, which facilitated prevention, and whose

14 E Pisani *Acting early to prevent AIDS: The case of Senegal* (1999); J Putzel 'The global fight against AIDS: How adequate are the national commissions?' (2004) 16 *Journal of International Development*; J Iliffe *The African Aids Epidemic* (2006); CNLS *Rapport Annuel* (2021).

15 N Meda et al 'Low and stable HIV infection rates in Senegal – Natural course of the epidemic or evidence for success of prevention?' (1999) 13 *AIDS* 1397; Iliffe (n 14) 71.

16 A Desclaux et al 'Access to antiretroviral drugs and AIDS management in Senegal' (2003) 3 *AIDS* S95.

17 Clandestine sex workers, of which there are more, however, are not well integrated within the response to HIV/AIDS and have correspondingly higher prevalence rates (EE Foley & R Nguer 'Courting success in HIV/AIDS prevention: The challenges of addressing a concentrated epidemic in Senegal' (2010) 9 *African Journal of AIDS Research* 325).

laboratories were used to discover the HIV-2 virus in 1986.<sup>18</sup> Other mediating factors is the predominance of Muslim culture which has kept the age of sexual debut high and levels of non-marital sex comparatively low.<sup>19</sup> The continued collaboration with existing health NGOs, alongside support and aid from political and religious leaders is also recognised as very important.<sup>20</sup> In fact, Muslim and Christian leaders held several national and international conferences on the epidemic and religious responses to it in the 1990s. They helped provide information on AIDS and responsible sexual behaviour to the public.<sup>21</sup> While the approach has been successful, the vulnerability of gay men was hardly recognised in Senegal, or in the rest of Africa.<sup>22</sup> The national HIV/AIDS strategy released by the CNLS in 2001, symptomatically only referred in passing to homosexuality as a risky behaviour.

### 3.2 The 'discovery' of MSMs

In the mid-1990s the seeds of change were sown when a team of researchers led by anthropologist Cheikh Ibrahima Niang based at the Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar (UCAD) conducted a study on migration and HIV/AIDS. During their research, they were alerted by female sex workers to the existence of networks of MSM, experiencing high levels of HIV-prevalence and stigma.<sup>23</sup> This led to a more targeted study of the MSM-community in 1999. Almost 50 per cent had experienced verbal abuse, and 13 per cent indicated they had been physically abused by police.<sup>24</sup> The report also emphasised the reluctance of many MSM to go to medical facilities, for fear of being ignored or outed.<sup>25</sup> With low condom use, high levels of STI-symptoms and a high prevalence of bisexual behaviour, it presented a large risk for the general population. The report spurred increased awareness of the issue and the need for 'developing non-stigmatizing interventions for MSM'.<sup>26</sup> A task force, consisting of NGOs

18 Meda et al (n 15) 1401.

19 Iliffe (n 14) 56.

20 Meda et al (n 15); Putzel (n 14).

21 Meda et al (n 15) 1402; Pisani (n 14).

22 R Parker, S Khan & P Aggleton 'Conspicuous by their absence? Men who have sex with men (MSM) in developing countries: Implications for HIV prevention' (1998) 8 *Critical Public Health* 329.

23 Interview with Amadou Moreau on 3 July 2017; Interview with Cheikh Ibrahima Niang on 2 February 2018.

24 CI Niang et al 'Meeting the sexual health needs of men who have sex with men in Senegal' Horizons Final Report (2002) 12-13.

25 Niang et al (n 24) 15.

26 Niang et al (n 24) 17.

and the USAID mission, supervised by the CNLS, was put in place to develop and coordinate the inclusion of MSM in the response to HIV. The task force was supposed to train peer educators, sensitise service providers, liaise with police to reduce violence, and to engage in capacity building of MSM leaders and create spaces for MSM where they can exchange information in a safe environment.<sup>27</sup> Subsequent research in 2004 by the same team confirmed the findings in the first epidemiological study on HIV prevalence among the gay community. Twenty-one point five (21.5) per cent of MSM were HIV-positive, between 20 and 30 times higher than in the general population.<sup>28</sup>

This research acted as a moral shock, leading to the recognition that something had to be done in order to both help the MSM-community, but also, and perhaps most importantly to keep the disease from spreading to the general population. As one of the initial researchers put it:<sup>29</sup>

So we brought the problem to the attention of the political authorities, the authorities of the health system, to tell them, listen, if you want Senegal to remain a model in the response to HIV, and if you want to achieve good results with regards to all of the communities ... it is time to act.

This can be seen as an important critical juncture in the development of LGBT-associations in Senegal. It changed the goals, resources, alliances and ultimately the strategies that MSM employed. Prior to the early 2000s the few associations that existed, like *And Ligueey*, were primarily support networks of friends; there was no interaction with the state, or other actors. With this research, a new category of people, the MSM, was created. It opened the space for an extensive collaboration between state actors, civil society, international actors and the MSM community.

In order to reach the community, health NGOs (*ANCS*, *ACI* and *ENDA-Santé* primarily) and researchers decided to train and build on existing informal leaders in the MSM-community.<sup>30 31</sup> These were thought

27 As above.

28 AS Wade et al 'HIV infection and sexually transmitted infections among men who have sex with men in Senegal' (2005) 19 *AIDS* 133.

29 Interview with Amadou Moreau on 3 July 2017; AC Mbaye *Les discours sur l'homosexualité au Sénégal. L'analyse d'une lutte représentationnelle* (2018) 258.

30 Interview with Abdou Diop on 14 July 2017.

31 A more cynical view is espoused by some of the activists. They claim that this was primarily a strategy by the state to disentangle itself from responsibility at the same time as they could attract substantial funds from the Global Fund. If this became a public issue the government could just deny any responsibility, and they could claim that the state did not in any way encourage this behaviour (Interview former leader

to be better able to reach hiding MSMs who did not trust official health providers. These proved crucial when researchers wanted to engage in research on the issue both in 2004 and in 2007. In order to better reach the community, the health NGOs and medical division of the Ministry of Health encouraged and facilitated the creation of MSM-associations. Over a three-year period four of the most important associations, *Prudence* (2003), *Adama* (2003), *Espoir* (2004), and *Aides-Senegal* (2006), were created, all in Dakar.<sup>32</sup> With leaders who were trained as peer educators or mediators, their main objective was to reach MSM with prevention messages and material, which they appear to have been successful at. Between 2004 and 2007 the percentage of MSM that reported being members of identity organisations had increased from 11 to 41 per cent.<sup>33</sup> According to the authors this is indicative of a burgeoning 'milieu homosexuel', although they are quick to note that there might be substantive selection biases in the sample.

The strategic focus was initially mainly centred on prevention. Peer educators, initially around 40, went into the communities to talk with MSM about prevention, risky behaviour and condom use.<sup>34</sup> This initial mobilisation was purely within a public health approach and was based on service provision, including distribution of condoms and lubricants.<sup>35</sup> The peer educators went to bars and places known to be frequented by gays, and for home visits to people who were in hiding. Frequently the educators would use focus groups (causeries) to reach as many people as possible.<sup>36</sup>

After an initial prevention phase there was also an increased focus on treatment. Allies within the state structure focused on creating a network of sensitised health providers in order to increase access to stigma-free healthcare for MSM. Around 2006, there was an increasing realisation,

AIDES-Senegal on 4 July 2017). This view is certainly not without merit, especially when considering how central politicians have dealt with the issue once it has become public.

32 NN Gning 'Analyse d'une controverse: les discours sur l'homosexualité dans l'espace public au Sénégal' (2013) 13 *Stichproben - Vienna Journal of African Studies* 93.

33 J Larmarange et al (2009) 'Homosexualité et bisexualité au Sénégal: une réalité multiforme' (2009) 64 *Population* 756.

34 A Moreau et al *Implementing STI/HIV prevention and care interventions for men who have sex with men in Senegal* (2007).

35 CI Niang et al 'Targeting vulnerable groups in national HIV/AIDS programs' *Africa Region Human Development Working Paper Series* (2004).

36 K Lavoie 'VIH/sida, homosexualité et innovations sociales en matière de prévention au Sénégal : le rôle des médiateurs de santé' (2015) 22 *Aspects Sociologiques* 35; Moreau et al (n 34).

however, that this was not enough, and in order to get MSM to make use of health services a number of MSM leaders were trained by the DLSI to be mediators in several health facilities.<sup>37</sup> It was thought that it would be easier for MSM to go to these health facilities if familiar faces accompanied them. These had received training in health issues including how the health structures function. As one of these former mediators said: 'our role was to convince our peers to come to the health services'.<sup>38</sup> The mediators engaged in similar activities as the peer educators, but also included supporting – physically, mentally and financially – people to go to health centres or hospitals.<sup>39</sup> Focus groups were also used by mediators, where messages of support were accompanied with educational information related to prevention. While this originated in Dakar, there are now mediators and health stations for MSM present in all of Senegal.

In many ways the public health approach has been quite successful. The fight against AIDS has provided an opportunity for the LGBT-community, and a space where different actors can work together. It offers a discourse under which organisations have been formed and funded, policies have been made and advances in rights can be attempted. This has become a safe space where the community is listened to, and as such creates a sort of 'therapeutic citizenship', in the absence of regular political citizenship.<sup>40</sup> The community is firmly represented in the CNLS and other decision-making areas, and the MSM-community remains a key focus for mainstream HIV/AIDS organisations.

At least since 2006 the Country Coordinating Mechanism (CCM) of the Global Fund has included organisations that either directly or indirectly worked with MSM. Key populations were later directly represented in the CCM. First by one representative, and later, at the recommendation of the Global Fund this was increased to three.<sup>41</sup> This affords them considerable leverage over how HIV/AIDS funds are spent and ensures the community a voice. Because of the Global Fund's exigence that key populations are represented and included in the process they have gained considerable leverage over the state, because it needs the community's cooperation in order to obtain funds from the Global Fund. The Senegalese state, being heavily reliant on these funds to finance the HIV/AIDS response, has in many ways become dependent on the LGBT-community. As the secretary-general of Renapoc sees it: 'If it weren't for our signature Senegal would

37 Moreau et al (n 34).

38 Interview with President of Aides Senegal on 30 May 2017.

39 Lavoie (n 36).

40 VK Nguyen *The republic of therapy* (2010).

41 Interview with President of Renapoc on 8 March 2017.

probably not get the Global Fund funding'.<sup>42</sup> Being represented in country coordinating mechanisms has been a significant challenge in the Global Fund-framework for LGBT-movements elsewhere in Africa, and their inclusion must therefore be seen as a substantial success.<sup>43</sup>

Concretely, the public health approach also appears to have been successful in stabilising and reducing the prevalence rate of HIV in the gay community. In the early 2000s it was estimated that around 21.5 per cent of MSM were HIV-positive.<sup>44</sup> A study in 2007 found similar levels with a prevalence rate of 21.8 per cent.<sup>45</sup> While the HIV-prevalence rate among MSM still remains much higher than the general prevalence rate, in 2014 there had been a significant decrease to around 18.5 per cent.<sup>46</sup> This is reflected in condom use and risky behaviour, which is respectively increasing and decreasing. Linked to this MSM receiving ART have also increased over the past years. Outside of HIV/AIDS, the public health approach has responded to other health-related needs in the community. For example, interventions made by the movement have proved effective at reducing internalised stigma<sup>47</sup> and medical treatment has not been limited to HIV/AIDS.<sup>48</sup>

This initial reliance on a health framing is not uncommon in Africa, and many organisations have emerged from the fight against HIV/AIDS, much in the same way as in Senegal.<sup>49</sup> While the creation of LGBT-organisations, and subsequent inclusion into the public health response has been successful from a public health point of view, it has also projected

42 Interview with the Secretary General of Renapoc on 23 May 2017.

43 ST Fried & S Kowalski-Morton 'Sex and the Global Fund: How sex workers, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender people, and men who have sex with men are benefiting from the Global Fund, or not' (2008) 10 *Health and Human Rights* 127; A Seale, A Bains & S Avrett 'Partnership, sex, and marginalization: Moving the Global Fund sexual orientation and gender identities agenda' (2010) 12 *Health and Human Rights in Practice* 123.

44 Wade (n 28).

45 S Abdoulaye et al 'Reduction in risk-taking behaviors among MSM in Senegal between 2004 and 2007 and prevalence of HIV and other STIs. ELIHoS Project, ANRS 12139' (2010) 22 *AIDS* 409.

46 CNLS 2016 *Rapport Annuel 2015* 5 Dakar: CNLS; Diop (n 30).

47 CE Lyons et al 'Potential impact of integrated stigma mitigation interventions in improving HIV/AIDS service delivery and uptake for key populations in Senegal' (2017) 74 *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes* S52.

48 Diop (n 30).

49 MW Roberts 'Emergence of gay identity and gay social movements in developing countries: The AIDS crisis as catalyst' (1995) 20 *Alternatives* 243; C Broqua 'Les formes sociales de l'homosexualité masculine à Bamako dans une perspective comparée: entre tactiques et mobilisations collectives' (2012) 31 *Politique et Sociétés* 113 at 128.

the MSM onto the public's mind, which has led to a response from politicians, religious actors, and the media.<sup>50</sup> In the following I will show how this intense politicisation, alongside donor requirements have pushed the movement towards an emphasis on human rights.

### 3.3 Towards human rights

With increased visibility demanded by HIV/AIDS and encouraged by health actors in Senegal, homosexuals were increasingly demanding inclusion in the response to HIV/AIDS. This alerted the religious and societal actors, in particular a Muslim NGO called Jamra, which was a central religious actor in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Jamra used this opportunity to mobilise against homosexuality.<sup>51</sup> Homosexuality burst onto the public arena in 2008, when photos from an alleged gay marriage were published in a relatively unknown magazine, *Icone*, which overnight became the best-selling magazine in Senegal.<sup>52</sup> Later, in December 2008, the International Conference on AIDS and STIs in Africa (ICASA) took place in Dakar, and homosexuality once again adorned the front pages of Senegal's many newspapers. MSM were openly included in the conference for the first time. This visibility was met with opposition by religious organisations and led to death threats and use of violence against spokespersons for the movement.<sup>53</sup> In the aftermath of the conference nine members of the MSM-group *Aides-Senegal* were arrested in the vicinity of their office. While they were not caught having sexual relations, the main evidence being lubricants and condoms used in training of peer educators, they were charged with acts against nature, and being part of a criminal group. This resulted in an eight-year prison sentence, three years more than the law against homosexual behaviour prescribes.<sup>54</sup> National civil society actors put together a *comité de crise* to manage the situation, and engaged in intense lobbying alongside international actors, such as the French government. Following the efforts, the nine men were released, many of whom then had to flee the country. This period was marked by intense media focus, violence, and political and religious threats.<sup>55</sup> Other forms

50 N Angotti, T McKay & RS Robinson 'LGBT visibility and anti-gay backlash' (2019) 5 *Sociology of Development*.

51 C Broqua 'Islamic movements against homosexuality in Senegal: The fight against AIDS as catalyst' in A van Klinken & E Chitando (eds) *Public religion and the politics of homosexuality in Africa* (2016); Gning (n 32).

52 President of Renapoc (n 41).

53 President Renapoc (n 41); interview with Programme Manager African Consultants International on 2 March 2017.

54 Broqua (n 51).

55 Kassé (n 13).

of discrimination also occurred, including exhuming bodies of presumed homosexuals, arbitrary arrests and violence committed by other citizens.<sup>56</sup>

The incredibly hostile reactions towards homosexuals that emerged in the aftermath of these events had large repercussions for the public health response to HIV/AIDS. Associations and their members went into hiding for fear of exposure and lynching. Many individuals stopped treatment, fled the country, or isolated themselves. Moreover, even service providers felt stigmatised for providing services to these people. Several of them received threats, including a fatwa<sup>57</sup> released against Cheikh Niang by the University Mosque at the UCAD. They also became the protectors of the community who sought refuge from stones and abuse. As one of the doctors that accompanied the movement detailed:<sup>58</sup>

I arrived one morning at work, and found many people in front of my office. They sought refuge here, because they didn't know where to go, as they had been chased from their houses.

According to research by Poteat et al<sup>59</sup> MSM-organisations were forced to stop their activities, which impacted treatment and prevention activities and accessibility to prevention-materials. The arrests and subsequent homophobia also had an impact on allies among civil society, some of whom were threatened and thus had to suspend activities. There was also a sharp decline in medical visits by MSM, which is corroborated by the CNLS which reported that the number of MSM consulted and reached with prevention efforts dropped compared to 2008, and that this is attributable to the 'turbulences of 2008'.<sup>60</sup> The events ruptured social networks and diminished the almost ten years of social trust that had been built up among and with the MSM.

The arrests led to a recognition in the community as well as among allies within civil society, that the public health approach was not enough. Following the release of the nine in April 2009, allies within civil society converted the *comité de crise* into a *comité de restraint*. The new structure, comprising members of the LGBT-community, HIV/AIDS organisations,

56 Gning (n 32) 103.

57 An islamic legal opinion released by an Islamic jurist.

58 Diop (n 30).

59 T Poteat et al 'HIV risk among MSM in Senegal: A qualitative rapid assessment of the impact of enforcing laws that criminalize same sex practices' (2011) 6 *PloS One*.

60 CNLS *Rapport de situation sur la riposte nationale à l'épidémie de VIH/SIDA Sénégal: 2008/2009* (2010) 26.

as well as human rights actors set out to create a new advocacy strategy.<sup>61</sup> The strategy was a response to an increased fear in the NGO-community that arrests and homophobia would undermine the efforts and the advances that had been made in HIV/AIDS.<sup>62</sup> The three-pronged strategy consisted of creating messages of correct information both on HIV, and on fundamental rights; training MSM, journalists and police; and the creation of alliances with religious leaders, politicians, and human rights organisations. In the meantime, the CNLS had taken the initiative to create a *Groupe de Reflexion sur les MSM* (GRMSM), into which the group was incorporated. This signalled a shift in the focus of the community and its allies, which would prove to be quite controversial.

While the public health approach did not disappear, and most of the funding, activities and attention was at the time of publication still centred on public health and HIV/AIDS, there has been a reorientation towards more human rights. This newfound emphasis on human rights has for example materialised in several activities where MSM leaders talk openly about their sexual orientation in front of and together with members of the community, police and religious leaders.<sup>63</sup> This is less, or only tangibly linked to HIV/AIDS and public health and focuses on the rights of the individual to privacy and non-discrimination, together with developing a rights consciousness in the community. Sessions on self-esteem and sexual orientation are also regularly conducted.<sup>64</sup> In the premises of a Spanish health NGO, weekly sessions explaining terminology and increasing the autonomy of members of MSM-organisations are conducted as well.<sup>65</sup> These are all examples of what could be labelled as rights talk, a process by which individuals come to understand their individual problems as linked to human rights.<sup>66</sup> The development of rights consciousness is a crucial step in seeking justice either through court-based lawfare or other forms of mobilisation.

On an organisational level there is also evidence of growing human rights approaches. In 2016 a new network saw the light of day including almost all LGBT-associations in Senegal. The PAC-DH (*Plate-forme des*

61 Africa Consultants International *De l'intervention en temps de crise au plaidoyer à long terme : Promouvoir la tolérance et le respect des droits des groupes vulnérables au Sénégal* (2011).

62 Africa Consultants International (n 61) 7-9.

63 Interview with the former manager at the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in Senegal on 13 July 2017.

64 President AIDES Senegal (n 38).

65 Programme manager of the Spanish Health NGO on 18 July 2017.

66 S Engle Merry 'Rights talk and the experience of law: Implementing women's human rights to protection from violence' (2003) 25 *Human Rights Quarterly* 343.

*associations communautaires pour la promotion des droits humains*) includes 12 associations. While the aim is still to ‘contribute to the improvement of the health context in Senegal’, and that it is not about breaking with the public health approach, the network aims to complement this approach with human rights activities.<sup>67</sup> This network could specifically be useful in cases when arrests or high stigma prevents allies and health NGOs from interfering. Other networks and organisations have more recently been engaging in rights talk, and other forms of societal lawfare including petitioning and limited media campaigns. This includes most notably the *Collectif Free*, which is a Franco-Senegalese network, regrouping some 15 organisations, that both targets Senegalese public opinion through petitions and media campaigns and the LGBT-refugees coming to France. In Senegal, in addition to providing refuge and helping arrested individuals, they have released at least two petitions focusing on the respect for human rights for LGBT persons in Senegal, and a press release calling for the repeal of article 319(3) of the Senegalese Penal Code.<sup>68</sup> The first, addressed to President Sall originated in late 2020 following months of arrests and calls for stronger criminalisation.<sup>69</sup> The second targeted deputies in the National Assembly, calling on them to halt a bill that would double the penalty for same-sex relations in late 2021.<sup>70</sup> While the Bill did not pass, this is most probably linked to political considerations by the Sall regime than concrete pressure by the *Collectif Free*.

There are multiple reasons for this newfound turn to human rights. As mentioned, it is partly related to the growing sensation that public health was not enough.<sup>71</sup>

67 Minutes meeting PAC-DH on 13 February 2016.

68 ‘Sénégal: Nous demandons à ouvrir sans délai un débat autour de l’article 319 – alinéa 3!’ *76 Crimes* 10 December 2020 <https://76crimesfr.com/2020/12/10/nous-demandons-a-ouvrir-sans-delai-un-debat-autour-de-larticle-319-alinea-3-au-senegal/> (accessed 19 June 2022).

69 ‘Au Sénégal, nous voulons le mêmes droits pour tous/toutes’ *Collectif Free* 5 November 2020 [https://action.allout.org/fr/m/102074e8/?utm\\_source=facebook&utm\\_medium=social\\_organic&utm\\_campaign=mgp-102074e8](https://action.allout.org/fr/m/102074e8/?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=social_organic&utm_campaign=mgp-102074e8) (accessed 19 June 2022).

70 ‘Sénégal: STOP à la « loi de criminalisation de l’homosexualité »’ *76 Crimes* 24 December 2021 <https://76crimesfr.com/2021/12/24/petition-senegal-stop-a-la-loi-de-criminalisation-de-lhomosexualite/> (accessed 19 June 2022).

71 Interview with Leader of Adama on 10 March 2017.

When there were a lot of arrests, we realized that our rights are being violated, that MSMs are being persecuted, so we said we also had to focus our activities on human rights.

The leader and founder of the PAC-DH, who is concurrently also the leader and founder of AIDES-Senegal similarly argues that:

We saw that there were a lot of support activities, and prevention, but still there were more infections, how come? It is not a lack of information, it is not a lack of prevention, but the people don't dare to go, so why?<sup>72</sup>

The public health framing was also seen as excluding other groups, in particular lesbians. Public health has favoured an almost exclusive focus on MSM who have a higher risk of contracting HIV. While this may be understandable from a public health approach it silences even further other groups like lesbians and transgender, because 'as soon as we talk about homosexuality, we think only of men'.<sup>73</sup> These groups are doubly marginalised, in society as well as within the movement. Prominent civil society leaders have stated that lesbians do not form part of key populations and therefore do not belong in the new health network for key populations.<sup>74</sup> Thus, an important actor in pushing for stronger rights focus has been lesbian activists who do not feel represented within the public health framework. In reflecting over the creation of her organisation, a lesbian leader said that 'we realized that there are associations fighting just against HIV, but there has to be an association focusing on human rights'.<sup>75</sup>

A further weakness in the public health approach was the increasingly strong link being made between homosexuality and HIV/AIDS. This is reflected in surveys of religious leaders,<sup>76</sup> and in statements by important anti-gay actor Jamra.<sup>77</sup> They have on several occasions alleged that HIV/AIDS is a gay disease. The implication is that anti-gay laws must be strengthened in order to curb the epidemic. This is particularly pertinent

72 President Aides-Senegal (n 38).

73 Interview with Leader of Sourire des Femmes on 11 March 2017.

74 Leader of Sourire des Femmes (n 73).

75 As above.

76 DA Ansari & A Gaestel 'Senegalese religious leaders' perceptions of HIV/AIDS and implications for challenging stigma and discrimination' (2010) 12 *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 633.

77 Agence de Presse Sénégalaise *La participation des homosexuels à l'ICASA 2008 était «inopportune», selon Jamra* 11 December 2008 ; interview with Bamar Gueye on 31 May 2017.

in the Senegalese case which has a much more concentrated HIV/AIDS epidemic than other countries. For some, the very term MSM is stigmatising, and reinforces the notion that homosexuality is all about sex,<sup>78</sup> even though it has been thought to be less controversial than focusing on human rights and identity.<sup>79</sup> Evidence of this can also be found in the records of the constituent assembly of PAC-DH, where it says:<sup>80</sup>

Health, the point of entry for advocacy, can become a prison and an instrument for stigmatization for example in the hands of this NGO [Jamra] which accuses certain vulnerable groups of ‘propagating HIV’ in Senegal. This NGO clearly states that their stigmatizing accusations are relying on data from the Minister of Health.

The human rights approach has also been championed by new international actors, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), which since the arrival of new staff in 2013 has been organising several activities concerning sexual orientation rights. They immediately identified that there were already many efforts in the health domain, and there was mounting fear that the approach was increasing stigma against gay men, and creating the impression that homosexuals were the cause of HIV/AIDS.<sup>81</sup>

International institutions and organisations also influence the strategic choices of the organisations as it remains the main funder of the organisations. In the same period the appearance of new funds and changes to existing funding mechanisms, expanded the tactical repertoire of the Senegalese movement. There is a decrease in the overall level of funding for HIV/AIDS in general, and Senegal in particular.<sup>82</sup> This fear was noted already in 2014, and reflected in declining budget allocations. There is a gradual decrease from over 14.2 billion FCFA spent in 2014, to only 8.5 billion FCFA that was available for 2017.<sup>83</sup> There was also a change in the modalities of funding, which increases the emphasis on rights. In the Global Fund’s new funding mechanisms, for example, human rights play a more prominent role than before. The increased importance of rights is also evident in the development of recent strategic plans. From

78 Secretary General Renapoc (n 42).

79 T Boellstorff ‘But do not identify as gay: A proleptic genealogy of the MSM category’ (2011) 26 *Cultural Anthropology* 304.

80 PAC-DH (n 67).

81 Former programme manager OHCHR (n 63).

82 CNLS *Plan Stratégique National de Lutte Contre le Sida 2014-2017* (2014).

83 As above.

the 2011-2015<sup>84</sup> plan there is a more explicit focus on human rights for sexual minorities, while from 2014-2017 lesbians and transgender were also mentioned.<sup>85</sup>

Increasingly, actors within the response to HIV/AIDS are fearful that public health approaches that only involve prevention and treatment will receive less funding, especially since Senegal is a country that has succeeded in preventing a generalised epidemic. In discussions within the GRMSM in 2012-2013 this became evident as several actors suggested a strategic shift towards human rights was needed, in order to attract funds.<sup>86</sup> This is also what is seen in the diversification of funding actors. Before, almost the entire budget was channelled through the CNLS or the ANCS as main beneficiaries of the Global Fund and other international funds. Now, there are more independent funders, including different embassies and international NGOs like the Africaso, Amsher, Heartland Alliance, COC and a Spanish health NGO. While these funds are still small, diversification of funds allows for a diversification of activities. The availability of funds for LGBT has increased in general over the past years, and the events of 2008-2009 brought to the attention of international actors the LGBT-population.

The increased focus on human rights in the movement has occurred concurrently with an increasingly proactive state. The Senegalese state is facing a strategic dilemma between on the one hand wanting to prevent HIV from spreading and limiting international naming and shaming, and on the other hand facing political criticism from an increasingly vocal opposition that has weaponised homosexuality. Indeed, when Macky Sall, former Prime Minister under Abdoulaye Wade, stated that he would approach the issue of homosexuality in a modern way during the presidential election campaign in 2012, he quickly became known as the gay candidate.<sup>87</sup> Sall was elected, but questions surrounding his alleged gay friendliness did not disappear. This forced Macky Sall to strengthen his anti-LGBT rhetoric, famously opposing the then US President Barack Obama's call to decriminalise in June 2013.<sup>88</sup> This has remained a preferred weapon of the opposition ever since, and therefore precluded any public advancement of LGBT-rights. At the same time authorities are under pressure by international donors and foreign governments at the

84 CNLS *Plan Stratégique National sur le Sida 2011-2015* (2010).

85 As above.

86 Minutes of meeting, Groupe de Reflexion Sur Les MSM on 4 January 2013.

87 Gning (n 32).

88 B Bertolt & LEJS Massé 'Mapping political homophobia in Senegal' (2019) 18 *African Studies Quarterly* 21 at 27-28.

same time as they try to portray Senegal as a modern, stable and secular state in a region that is marked by instability and religious extremism.

### 3.4 Interactions with the state

The movement's interactions with the state are multifaceted. On the one hand movement members risk arrest by state actors, abuse by politicians and lack of treatment in public hospitals. They also, however, receive treatment at specialised clinics and funds to run organisations. The convoluted relationship with the state is also illustrated in the fact that certain state actors have tried to protect LGBT persons, sometimes because of activism and sometimes out of political opportunism. In the aftermath of the egregious arrests in 2008 and 2009 the GRMSM was founded, as discussed above. This was one of the first attempts by civil society to open dialogue with the state to prevent arrests from occurring. Since then, dialogue, bureaucratic advocacy and targeted attempts of sensitisation of decision-makers became a common reoccurrence.

A frequent venue for advocacy has been the National Assembly. The GRMSM or other parts of the community have participated at yearly workshops for parliamentarians on HIV/AIDS. The focus of these workshops is primarily on 'key populations' which is a term used in the HIV/AIDS industry to designate populations that are particularly at risk for HIV/AIDS within a given context. In Senegal female sex workers (FSW) and MSM have been considered key populations since the early 2000s. During the workshops, which are facilitated by the CNLS, focus is purely on HIV/AIDS, but includes sessions on MSM, and even the rights of MSM, and the detrimental consequences of the anti-gay law.<sup>89</sup> Legal officers within the CNLS were also tasked with making sure that key populations who are arrested received adequate medical care, and preventing strong media attention whenever arrests occur.<sup>90</sup>

While legal change seems to be out of the question due to the political situation, some progress has been made through bureaucratic or administrative channels, so-called regulative lawfare. The perhaps most significant was a temporary unspoken moratorium on the anti-gay law. In early 2016 several gay men were arrested in Kaolack. This led to a prolonged period of tension, which also spilled into the political arena. A new Bill was tabled, and the topic became a central issue in the 2016 constitutional referendum. This was highly problematic for the government. To mitigate the political costs, the former minister of justice of the time Sidiki Kaba

89 Interview with Djibril Niang on 9 March 2017.

90 Niang (n 89); interview with Safiatou Thiam on 2 June 2017.

appears to have ordered that the law should not be enforced.<sup>91</sup> This caused a decrease in the number of arrests. The involvement of the Minister of Justice – a former human rights lawyer who had previously received a lot of criticism for pro-LGBT statements – can be understood both as political opportunism and as a consequence of activism by local and international actors.<sup>92</sup> It certainly appears to be an effort by the political authorities to defuse the political situation ahead of the 2017 legislative elections and the 2019 presidential elections, and avoid homosexuality becoming a central issue as in the 2012 presidential elections and 2016 constitutional referendum. These efforts appear to have been successful as homosexuality never became the same hot button issue during these elections.

The temporary moratorium and active involvement of the minister of justice in these matters, appear to have subsided, and arrests are increasing. In 2020 alone, the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) counted at least 36 arrests of suspected gay men.<sup>93</sup> While the moratorium did not stay in effect for very long, this form of state lawfare from above may still, however, be the best hope of the movement in the current political climate.

### 3.5 Prospects for court-based lawfare?

In many parts of Africa court-based lawfare has become more and more common, also in exceptionally politicised contexts like the Senegalese. In Senegal the courts have, however, rarely been the site of contestation, beyond judging individuals charged under article 319(3). A nefarious example is the judge who convicted the nine activists following the *ICASA*-conference in late 2008. Disregarding the law, the judge sentenced the activists to eight years in prison, not the five years that the law prescribes. The judge also disregarded the fact that none of the activists were actively engaging in sexual relations when they were arrested.<sup>94</sup> The evidence was sex toys, lubricants and condoms, which were routinely used by the activists in sensitisation campaigns with the community.<sup>95</sup> The decision

91 Leader Sourire des Femmes (n 73); interview with Seydi Gassama on 8 February 2018; JL Ferguson “‘There is an eye on us’: International imitation, popular representation, and the regulation of homosexuality in Senegal’ (2021) 86 *American Sociological Review*.

92 Ferguson (n 91).

93 LR Mendos et al *State-sponsored homophobia 2020: Global legislation overview update* 122.

94 Human Rights Watch *Fear for life – Violence against gay men and men perceived as gay in Senegal* (2010) 26.

95 Human Rights Watch (n 94) 26.

was however overturned on appeal, which is not an uncommon fate for cases brought under article 319(3).<sup>96</sup>

Many activists mentioned that they were engaging with the police and the courts, but almost exclusively in reaction to concrete arrests – in an effort to free the detainees or provide medical assistance – or as part of sensitisation campaigns to prevent arrests or conviction. Courts are rarely perceived as a venue for proactive legal change. Despite being a civil law country, founded upon the French legal system, the Senegalese Constitutional Council (*Conseil Constitutionnel*) can engage in limited judicial review.<sup>97</sup> There are however three other large obstacles preventing the courts from being used.

Standing in the Senegalese system is limited. In order to challenge the constitutionality of a law, citizens need to be a contending party at a trial at the Supreme Court. Alleging a violation of their constitutionality, they can demand ‘an appeal for concrete constitutional review at the CC [Constitutional Council]’.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, organisations do not have standing, and the applicant needs to be an individual.<sup>99</sup> Very few homosexuals were open about their sexual orientation in Senegal today, due to the risk to their personal life if they were to do so. This severely curtails any attempt to challenge actions, regulations or laws in the courts. Many of the civil society actors also lack of training in human rights, and did not support the gay rights cause. Some human rights organisations, like the *Ligue de Droits de l’Homme* have actively opposed homosexual rights in Senegal, while others like RADDHO are silent on the issue.<sup>100</sup>

The independence of the judiciary also limits the prospects for the courts to make decisions favouring gay rights.<sup>101</sup> The constitutional justices are elected by the president, who also presides over the powerful

96 Interview with François Patuel on 8 March 2017.

97 IM Fall *Evolution constitutionnelle du Sénégal* (2009) 76.

98 C Heyl *The contribution of constitutional courts to the democratic quality of elections in Sub-Saharan Africa: A comparative case study of Madagascar and Senegal* D Phil dissertation, University of Duisberg-Essen, 2017 at 144.

99 SD Kamba ‘An assessment of the possibilities for impact litigation in Francophone African countries’ (2014) 14 *African Human Rights Law Journal* 449.

100 President Renapoc (n 41).

101 M Samb ‘Etat des lieux de la justice. Réflexions sur une gouvernance en crise’ in MC Diop (ed) *Sénégal (2000-2012) Les institutions publiques à l’épreuve d’une gouvernance libérale* (2013); EHO Diop ‘Réviser la Constitution au Sénégal: Consolider la démocratie ou « honorer » le Président’ in MC Diop (ed) *Sénégal (2000-2012) Les institutions publiques à l’épreuve d’une gouvernance libérale* (2013).

'Conseil Superieur de la Magistrature'.<sup>102</sup> The Council decides among other things on judicial promotions. There are also several examples of informal interferences by the executive towards the judiciary.<sup>103</sup> As one moves further down the judicial hierarchy other challenges to judicial independence occur. Lower level judges are often employed in so-called positions of 'nécessités de services', and can freely be moved around the country. In these cases the principle of immovability, which protects judges from being arbitrarily moved around against their will, becomes mute.<sup>104</sup> This practice effectively hinders the constitutional protection afforded to judges. In this context, were a judge to issue a ruling that accords rights to the LGBT community in some way, they could come under intense pressure from the media and the religious sphere, and so would the political authorities. This may restrain judges from making pro-LGBT decisions.<sup>105</sup> Since the limited independence of courts is well known in society, any major court decision would be associated with the ruling party, therefore preventing the executive from enacting controversial legal change hiding behind a court decision, as has been the case in several European countries.<sup>106</sup>

A third issue is the level of training in human rights that judges receive. Indeed, according to some informants this can be as little as a two-weeks course.<sup>107</sup> This means that judges have very little experience with how to handle these cases and as such are not equipped to make a legal case for LGBT-rights. This is shown in some of the lower-level decisions where LGBT-individuals have been met with very harsh penalties, that also do not conform to national law. Moreover, this is exacerbated by the fact that lawyers charge exuberant amounts of money for representing homosexuals, often also requiring them to renounce their sexual orientation.<sup>108</sup>

Given the lack of locus standi and minimal support structures, lack of judicial independence and little human rights training for judges, the fact

102 S Teliko 'L'indépendance de la justice au Sénégal' (2019) 3 *Les Cahiers de la Justice* 483 at 490-491.

103 See Heyl (n 98) 152-155 for some examples.

104 Teliko (n 102) 488.

105 But see Ferguson (n 91) for a discussion on how lower court magistrates resist interference by the Ministry of Justice in prosecutions of homosexuals precisely by invoking their independence.

106 LR Helfer & E Voeten 'International courts as agents of legal change: Evidence from LGBT rights in Europe' (2014) 68 *International Organization* 77.

107 Programme Manager African Consultants International (n 53).

108 President Renapoc (n 41).

that court-based lawfare is lacking in the Senegalese context should come as no surprise.

#### **4 Concluding thoughts and prospects for court-based lawfare**

Senegal remains an important case for understanding both politicisation of homosexuality and proactive mobilisation by the LGBT-community across Africa. This chapter has showed that the politicisation of homosexuality may engender a powerful response from the community and among international actors. After violence and strong mediatisation national and international allies of the community mobilised. New structures were erected which were conducive to a strategic change in the way LGBT organisations and allies would mobilise. At the same time, the intense politicisation has prevented public political action. Repealing article 319(3) is not likely in such a political environment.

This case study explores both the merits and the pitfalls of employing a public health approach. Emphasising public health may in many contexts be the only way that LGBT-organisations can mobilise. It is also the only area in which most governments can provide some form of rights or concessions. One should not think of this as some form of benevolence. Rather this is a very politically rational choice. By allowing MSM to be part of the HIV/AIDS response Senegalese authorities were seeking both to contain the epidemic, keeping it from spreading, and curing the favours of the international community. The activities are often shrouded in international terminology to make them impenetrable for local conservatives and avoid attention.

There is an undeniable turn towards human rights within the gay rights movement in Senegal. Several organisations have engaged in various forms of rights talk, trying to build legal consciousness among the community. Others have engaged in limited forms of societal and legislative lawfare by engaging with or petitioning the legislature. Within the state the community has found pockets of allies, that have been able to provide meaningful change to the community. It is however still a fact that most funds are tied to HIV/AIDS. The human rights frame continues to remain underdeveloped and has yet to involve court-based lawfare.

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'Sénégal: Nous demandons à ouvrir sans délai un débat autour de l'article 319 – alinéa 3 !' *76 Crimes* 10 December 2020 <https://76crimesfr.com/2020/12/10/nous-demandons-a-ouvrir-sans-delai-un-debat-autour-de-larticle-319-alinea-3-au-senegal/> (accessed 19 June 2022)

'Sénégal: STOP à la « loi de criminalisation de l'homosexualité' *76 Crimes* 24 December 2021 <https://76crimesfr.com/2021/12/24/petition-senegal-stop-a-la-loi-de-criminalisation-de-lhomosexualite/> (accessed 19 June 2022)