The Emergence of Male Homosexuality and Homophobia in Modern-Day Maseru, Lesotho

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Abstract

Male homosexuality as a personalised identity is emerging in urbanising Lesotho, namely Maseru, due to a long history colonial influence that bled into neo-colonialism after the nation's independence in 1966. Homophobia has arisen as a response and centres on homosexuality as un-Christian, and to a lesser degree, un-African. This thesis seeks to examine what processes have led to the transformation of indigenous same-sex sexual desire and behaviour in Maseru, as well as how homophobic rhetoric has become popularised in discourse on sexuality and gender. Furthermore, drawing from a qualitative study on homosexual men in Maseru, it theoretically analyses how the contemporary homosexual identity is informed by, and responsive to, processes of globalisation.

This work first examines same-sex sexualities and how they have adapted to changes in colonialism, then later, neo-colonialism in Southern Africa, with focus given to that of Lesotho. Following, it assesses what academic literature has been produced on the subject in order to outline what issues and concepts have yet to be addressed. It moves on to presenting the findings from fieldwork based on assessing the experiences and personal identity constructions of homosexual men in Maseru. Finally, it theoretically frames the ideas presented in order to elucidate the power relations and processes that have contributed to changes in homosexuality as both an identity and as a social issue.

The conclusions of the work are that male homosexuality has arisen due to urbanisation in Maseru, which has led to the production of individual subjectivities. With the migration of gay culture from the West, a space opened for claiming an identity based on sexuality. However, this has led to spreading intolerance in Maseru, lending to a rising discourse of homophobia. Homosexual men are having to negotiate a position between tradition and modernity, which leads to contextualising one's identity. Varying forms of male homosexuality are enabled or disallowed according to certain factors, such as socio-economic status, which further informs how one constructs his homosexuality.

Foreword

I must extend my greatest gratitude to my parents, who supported me in my choice to move to South Africa despite being scared out of their wits. I must also thank, of course, my lovely supervisor, Judith Head, who provided invaluable guidance and moral support. The faculty of the University Cape Town Sociology Department have all been extraordinary in their kindness. Notably, I would like to recognise Melissa Steyn, Claire Kelly, David Cooper, and David Lincoln for their encouragement and for believing in me. Matrix Support Group, particularly TP, generously provided me with the resources and housing I needed to carry out my fieldwork. And, finally, I must thank my partner, Ida, without whom I would not have survived the last three months of this project.

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Interview List: Dates, approximate time duration of interview, group size, and interview type

Pseudonym	Date	Time	Group size	Type
Nom	10.07.12	01:20	Solo	Interview (audio recorded)
Ted	10.07.12	00:30	Solo	Interview (audio recorded)
Thabo	10.07.12	00:40	Solo	Interview (audio recorded)
Majaha	10.07.12	00:25	Solo	Interview (audio recorded)
Honey	11.07.12	00:45	Solo	Interview (audio recorded)
Peter	13.07.12	01:30	Solo	Interview (audio recorded)
Matele	18.07.12	00:20	Solo	Interview (audio recorded)
Shane	13.12.12	00:35	Group	Interview
Lucky	13.12.12	00:35		
Retha	14.12.12	00:40	Group	Interview accompanied by Questionnaires
Angel	14.12.12	00:40		
Papi	14.12.12	00:40		
Mutty	16.12.12	00:50	Group	Interview
Tiny	16.12.12	00:50		
Jeremy F.	16.12.12	00:50		

I. Introduction

Over the past two decades, southern Africa has witnessed the emergence of a debate around the presence of homosexual desire and behaviour amongst Africans. The rise in the number of individuals who identify as homosexual (or bisexual, lesbian or trans, for that matter) has ignited widespread and often virulent discussion regarding the authenticity of homosexuality in the African cultural context. Many state leaders have used the notion that homosexuality is a western import and therefore as foreign and destructive to African culture as colonialism itself in order to buffer their campaigns against the lasting effects of imperialism. Such homophobic rhetoric has flourished within southern Africa, and the resulting attitudes have manifested in a highly heteronormative system of shared ideologies.

In response, many scholars on African gender and sexuality have been recently making considerable strides in unearthing evidence that same-sex sexual desire and behaviour have always existed in African cultures, thereby debunking the notion that homosexuality is intrinsically alien to Africa. They have succeeded in presenting, at least in the academic realm, an alternative image of pre-colonial Africa in which same-sex sexuality was in fact present, though often in covert ways. To substantiate this, they explain that because homosexuality as an exclusionary and individuating identity is in itself a western construction, same-sex desire and behaviour in pre-colonial Africa must be regarded as contextually situated if it is to be understood. In other words, to search for modern constructions of homosexuality in pre-colonial Africa will inevitably lead to little or no success, so scholarship which clarifies this differentiation has proven invaluable in the endeavour to disprove such homophobic ideas.

Despite the emergence of such insight, the belief that homosexuality is destructive to Africa and her culture continues to prevail. Homophobia as a system of ideologies around the construction of gender expression and sexuality is fuelled by more than a simple misunderstanding of same-sex sexuality in Africa. Homophobia, and for that matter heteronormativity, are situated within a greater system of power relations which derive in great part from an extensive history of imperialism. These power relations, which work to uphold heteronormative standards whilst marginalising non-heteronormative desires and behaviours, have arisen amidst the decades of economic restructuring and cultural changes. Independence from colonial

rule did not halt these processes and allow states to return to their original forms, as neo-colonialism and globalisation continue to contribute to cultural and social transformations which have played a significant role in the rise of homophobia.

Levels of homophobia, and the forms in which it comes, vary greatly nation to nation. Zimbabwe, for instance, takes extensive measures both socially and legally to punish homosexuality. South Africa does not legally criminalise it anymore, but it still maintains a prevalence of homophobia in social attitudes, particularly outside the urban city centres. Lesotho's level of homophobia, on the other hand, is relatively benign when compared to surrounding nations. However, its emergence is palpable by those who identify as LGBT, pointing to a distinct culture of thought that actively discourages deviation from heteronormativity.

In Basotho society, many of the same patterns of erasure in terms of pre-colonial same-sex desires and behaviour are occurring. Accordingly, homophobic rhetoric, which either denies homosexuality as a facet of current-day Basotho culture or negates its historical presence amongst the Basotho, is steadily gaining ground. Responses to the growing numbers of Basotho men who identify as homosexual have lent to controversy, particularly in urban and peri-urban areas. However, there exists a distinct contrast between the general response of those in more developed areas as compared to less developed or undeveloped areas, in that homophobia seems to be most prevalent where globalising forces have had the greatest impact. This gives credence to the notion that homophobia as a set of ideologies is in fact a western construction, buffered by the circumstances of socio-economic transformations which provide a fertile ground for such ideologies.

This paper seeks to explore the source of rising homophobia in Lesotho, particularly within modern-day urban Maseru. As the majority of homophobic rhetoric has arisen in response to men who have come to publicly identify as homosexual, male homosexuality is the central focus. The ultimate goal is present a comprehensive analysis of rising homophobia in Maseru. To do so, this paper will investigate the emergence of the male homosexual identity in Lesotho and how same-sex sexual desire and behaviour are being misunderstood as modern. Additionally, it will examine the construction of heteronormative standards which contribute to intensifying homophobia and the social, economic, and historical reasons for such.

Finally, this paper will offer clarification as to why current levels of homophobia are low compared to levels in neighbouring nations in southern African.

II. Rationale and Researcher's Notes

The impetus for this thesis is drawn from the understanding that men who have sex with men (MSM) and men who identify as homosexual in Maseru are often overlooked or disregarded in scholarship on African sexualities. There is a considerable gap in much of the literature that assesses non-normative sexualities in southern Africa. This is particularly alarming given that homophobia is intensifying in parts of Lesotho (notably urban Maseru). Therefore, it is necessary to give due attention to the recent emergence of modern constructions of male homosexuality that are being met with social marginalisation in order to proffer visibility to these men. In providing a thorough analytical examination of homosexuality and homophobia in Maseru, those who are interested in working to counter homophobia will hopefully find themselves more equipped to do so.

Given the potential impact of this work, it is imperative that I, the researcher, provide a caveat regarding my position in this project. I realise that such important work necessitates a great deal of responsibility, both ethical and professional, due to the fact that my position as a postgraduate scholar at a renowned university affords me considerable power in representing those who are often left unheard. In Hoad's words:

> Intellectuals are bearers of the social relations of gender and makers of sexual ideology. The way we do our intellectual work of inquiry, analysis, and reportage has consequences: epistemology and sexual politics are intertwined. (1999:598)

Therefore, it must be acknowledged by not just myself, but by the readers, that this work will be to some degree ethnocentric, as my subjectivity is highly shaped by my western background in both life experiences and academia. In other words, my particular positionality puts me at considerable risk of succumbing to the process of 'Othering', whereby those whom I represent in my work are constructed within the reductive confines of my western perceptions and consequent assumptions. The potential detriments of such a process are a frequent occurrence in 'scholarly' literature situated in colonialist or neo-colonialist contexts.

The essence of my work's approach and execution is post-colonial, as I am analysing Lesotho's contemporary (post-colonial) constructions of homosexual

identities and the homophobic response in terms of how they have emerged particularly within urbanising Maseru. It examines how colonialist impressions and global forces have contributed to the emergence of homophobia. Therefore, to avoid 'Othering' the subjects discussed, the work requires the application of a critical lens, whereby I employ a continual process of self-reflexivity. Without the critical lens, representations may inadvertently be reductively discoursed, in that they may follow the culturalist assumptions that often prove inevitable in cultural comparisons. Thus, my work can either result in further disempowerment for male homosexuals, or it can contribute to redressing the inequities they face.

With this in mind, and given how marginalised male homosexuals in Lesotho already are, it would be remiss of me not to take the necessary measures to avoid such a reductive approach. Thus, through the journey of my thesis, I have taken considerable effort in ensuring that my representations are as contextually accurate and appropriate as possible. Through comparative studies of post-colonial approaches to sexuality in Africa as well as thorough examination of various historiographies, particularly those which consciously redress colonialist assumptions, I believe that my efforts have proven successful to a satisfactory degree. However, it should be again noted that, just as with any western-based researcher who studies non-western contexts, there will be traces or points of ethnocentrism. Critical responses by others, within and without academia, are greatly welcomed. The goal of this work is, after all, to contribute to the growing activism against homophobia in Lesotho, and like all projects, it is a joint effort.

III. Background and Content

Lesotho

The following sections will outline Lesotho's history in terms of politics, economy, and HIV/AIDS.

Basic description. Kingdom of Lesotho is a land-locked country, entirely surrounded by only South Africa. Also dubbed "The Kingdom in the Sky", this tiny nation lies at 1000 meters above sea level (People and History of Lesotho, n.d.). Its total area is a mere 30,000 square kilometres (Institute for Security Studies [ISS], n.d.) with a population just under 2.2 million (World Bank, n.d) Nearly all the nation's inhabitants identify as Basotho, with the primary language being Sesotho. English is also an official language, but most often it is used for administrative purposes, as opposed to Sesotho which is far more common on a day-to-day basis (People and history of Lesotho, n.d.). As for education, primary education has been free and compulsory since 2000 (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2010), and the overall literacy rate is remarkably high compared to surrounding nations, amounting to around 90% and slowly increasing. Finally, most of the population practices Christianity, with Roman Catholicism being the most widespread (Index Mundi, n.d).

Emergence of Basutoland. Lesotho's socio-political history is unique, particularly when compared to the surrounding South Africa, and therefore it is worth reviewing. The Basotho people have lived in Southern Africa since around the 15th century, but only in the 1800s did the Basotho nation begin to emerge. King Moshoeshoe I organised the various clans of Sotho-Tswana people and they all gathered together in what would become Basutoland (modern-day Lesotho). In the first quarter of the 19th century, the populace strengthened its unity during battles against the Zulu chieftain Shaka and his people. They found best protection on the mountaintop of Thaba-Bosiu, just outside Lesotho's current-day capital, Maseru. Thus, Basutoland emerged, and overtime King Moshoeshoe I provided increasing amounts of land for the various Basotho people. Soon thereafter, the king, among others, invited French missionaries to live with them, who subsequently introduced a plethora of European ideas, including literacy and modern forms of food production. Towards the middle of the century, Moshoeshoe appealed to the British in the Cape

Colony (present-day South Africa) for protection from encroaching Voortrekkers [1]. As a result, Basutoland became a British protectorate in 1868, but only after losing a great deal of the land to the Boers. A few years later, the British passed on their power to the Cape Colony, which culminated in the Gun War in 1881 after years of tension between the Basotho and the Cape. At this point, the British took back power of the protectorate, but maintained indirect rule from thereon until independence. Chiefs maintained the majority of powers regarding operations within the nation itself. (ISS, 2003)

Independence and politics. Basutoland eventually gained independence from British rule in 1966. However, before this, the British had begun taking measures to transfer the land to Union of South Africa, which was developed in 1910. However, with the rise of the apartheid in 1948 through the policies of the South African Nationalist Party, efforts were stopped (Nations, 2012). In this way, the Basotho people were able to escape the fate of such an oppressive regime. In 1960, several years after being awarded the freedom of self-legislation, Basutoland held its first elections, with Basotho Congress Party (BCP) winning most of the seats, enraging the Basotho National Party (BNP) and its leader Chief Jonathan. Finally, in 1966, after an enormous pressure from emerging political parties, the Kingdom of Lesotho was fully independent, established as a constitutional monarchy (ISS, 2003). The following decades are marked by a great amount of political turmoil. Basutoland held its first elections as an independent nation, and BNP won a more seats than BCP (Nations, 2012). However, the Basotho people became tired of Lesotho's dependence on South Africa for administrative and financial support, and they lost faith in the BNP. Thus, in 1970, the BCP won the election but the current Prime Minister, Chief Jonathon retaliated to his party's defeat and refused to cede power (ISS, 2003). He not only temporarily exiled the king, Moshoeshoe II, but he also stopped the application of the constitution (British Broadcasting Corporation[BBC], 2012). This both thwarted moves toward democracy and weakened the Basotho government as it was forced to strengthen its dependence on South Africa (ISS, 2003). Prime Minister Jonathan maintained power, but due to his highly controversial involvement with the African National Congress during the later stages of the apartheid, he later was replaced in a coup by Major-General Lekhanya (BBC, 2012). He deposed the king, Moshoeshoe II,

[1] Dutch colonisers in the Cape Colony, also known as Boers, or current-day Afrikaaners

due to the king's seeking more power. Moshoeshoe's son seized the throne, as King Letsie III, and in 1991, Lekhanya was forcibly replaced by Major General Ramaema (Nations, 2012). Ramaema succeeded in organising the nation's first democratic elections in 1993, effectively ending the military rule by instating a civilian government (ISS, 2003). The BCP won with Mokhehle elected as the Prime Minister. However, conflicts within BCP led to Mokhehle being dismissed as the leader, so he formed the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD). This move proved successful, as LCD won the general elections in 1998. Despite being internationally recognised as a fair election, opposition forces broke out, eventually leading to destructive fighting. A new system was instated in 1998 which made the electoral system proportional so that every party would have some representation in the government. Following this, in 2002, when elections were held, LCD won again, but defeated parties also gained some access to political representation, rendering the election the first peaceful election in Lesotho's history (Nations, 2012).

Economy. Lesotho's economy has changed dramatically over the last half century. Neoliberal changes in the economy opened up Lesotho's market to the world market in exchange for international aid in development (Mate, 2012). Rather than improving development, this undermined the structure of the economy by closing down local (informal) markets and compelling most trade to be conducted on global terms (Braun, 2008). The implementation of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project in 1986, intended to transfer water from Lesotho to South Africa, has displaced many communities and thus disabled traditional forms of farming for many. Much of the economy is based on agriculture, mining and export. However, due to extensive retrenchments for Basotho miners, men in Lesotho are facing high rates of unemployment, exceeding 50% (African Development Bank Group [ADBG], 2012).

HIV/AIDS. Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) severely affects those living in the sub-Saharan region of Africa, with about one of every twenty people being infected (World Health Organization [WHO], 2012). Though the epidemic in Lesotho has stabilised since 2000, currently 23.3% are estimated to be infected (Baral, 2010). Transmission has for a long time been linked with heterosexual sex, but more recent studies (such as 2009 Modes of Transmission) found that it occurs most frequently amongst those who have multiple partners at the same time, before and

during marriage (Baral, 2010:4). The epidemic is worsened by the lack of Antiretroviral Therapy (ART) availability (KFF, 2005).

Men who have sex with men (MSM) are at a particularly high risk due to social and sexual factors. Social factors include the fact that homosexuality in Lesotho is taboo, and certain same-sex sexual acts, such as transactional sex (prostitution) keep many from seeking support in preventing transmission or addressing infection. There is little information available specifically to MSM, and so many do not realise their risks. Also, many men practice sex with both sexes, often concurringly, which increases risk of infection (Baral, 2000). A study conducted in 2010 by Johns Hopkins School of Public Health student, Stefan Baral, found that of the 249 participants assessed, the self-reported rate of positive status was 11.6% (2010:18). However, only around half of the participants had in fact been tested in the year prior, so the percentage may well have been higher.

Homosexuality

The following sections will outline homosexuality in Lesotho. First, in order to contextualise the current state of affairs around homosexuality in Lesotho, indigenous same-sex sexuality in southern Africa will be examined. Next, the rise of homosexual identities and homophobia in southern Africa will be addressed, during colonialism and present-day (post-colonialism). Finally, homosexuality in present-day Lesotho will be thoroughly discussed.

Indigenous same-sex sexuality in Southern Africa. It is imperative to outline Africa's rich history of same-sex sexualities[2] in order to not only clarify the falseness of modern claims of a (pre-colonial) 'sodomite-free' Africa, but to also provide a foundation for critical examination of homosexual identity construction and homophobia in Lesotho today. However, it must be clarified that a great deal of what is known about pre-colonial or indigenous sexualities has been either ignored, omitted or falsified in records. The following will address this issue and how it is being addressed in academia. Subsequently, examples of what has been uncovered will be provided.

A recent emergence in scholarship on African gender and sexuality, such as that situated in post-colonial queer studies, has proffered visibility (and arguably

[2] As explained previously, the term 'same-sex sexuality' is contextually more appropriate than 'homosexuality', 'queer', 'gay', or any other terms denoting sexual orientation as understood within a Western, modern framework.

validity) to indigenous same-sex sexual desire and behaviour as having been (mis)represented in historic texts. The significance of a new and liberating approach to indigenous sexualities cannot be overstated, as they have provided a crucial divergence from most literature which has failed to challenge European depictions of pre-colonial and colonial African sexuality. Because Europeans authored the first, and for a long time *only*, documentation on African culture, representation was heavily distorted by prevailing European ideologies. Not only were African cultures heavily interpreted along the non-self-reflexive lines of western thought, but they were also often intentionally reconfigured to posit 'realities' that served to either sustain discourses around power (e.g. via evolutionist hierarchical positioning) or promote the vision of civilised restraint (e.g. by implying that even Africans are not sodomists, so neither should be Europeans) (Hoad, 2007). Therefore, in order to extract indigenous sexualities from imperialist framings, it has been important to employ a critical lens to expose the motives and consequent reconfigurations of European literature. In this way, critical scholarship has sought to historicise the sexualities by contextually re-positioning them. This disempowers the heteronormative rhetoric which serves to obscure same-sex sexualities and negate their contextual validity, thereby providing a pathway to understanding how (and why) they were discursively erased from African history. Such a process has proven imperative in the quest to prove that same-sex sexual desire and behaviour existed prior to the impact of Europe's colonial conquest.

The following accounts are examples of gender expressions and sexualities that fell outside the imposed boundaries of European standards. In line with the discussion above, the accounts are drawn from scholarship which has worked to disentangle non-heteronormative practices and patterns from western misrepresentations. First, gender expression as fluid and divorceable from one's sex is discussed; then sexual relations are examined, highlighting their purposes in indigenous culture.

Gender expression was, for much of pre-colonial Africa (or perhaps all of it), highly circumstantial and symbolic (Murray & Roscoe, 1998). Although also seen as part of the individual, gender expression was not restricted to being aligned with one's biological sex. It was not unusual that one's gender, as feminine or masculine, would change if particular economic or political circumstances necessitated it.

Alternatively (or sometimes additionally), this change was perceived as being ordered by a god or goddess. An example of this is discussed in Ifi Amadiume's (1987) book, *Male Daughters and Female Husbands*, which highlights the phenomenon amongst the Igbo people in pre-colonial Nigeria. Due to changes in ecology, a new system of production had to be developed whereby there was a sexual division in labour (Amadiume, 1987). Men took on authoritative power through ritual control, and women took on the food production labour. However, because of the status that was brought by one's success in subsistence farming and the fact that the Igbos lived in a traditionally patrilineal system, situations in which no son was present to inherit the land from the father often led to the social inscription of a (female) daughter as a 'male daughter'. Similarly, women could become 'female husbands' and acquire many wives, as commanded by the goddess, Idemili (Msibi, 2011). Both male daughters and female husbands were regarded and treated fully as male. The only possible exception is one that is not necessarily clear – it is not fully known whether these female husbands were permitted or expected to have sexual relations with their wives (Amadiume, 1987). Nonetheless, most important to note is the lack of rigid heteronormative structure, in terms of presuming a gender fixed to one's sex. Heteronormativity promotes a way of thinking that is steadily gaining ground in Africa today. Similarly, amongst the Shona of modern-day Zimbabwe, children who embodied opposite-gender characteristics that were determined immutable (after attempted changes, which often failed) were understood to be inhabited by the spirit of opposite sex. This child would then be taken under instruction of a teacher in the arts of divination (Epprecht, 2004:40). The child, and eventually the adult, would be regarded as this embodied sex in full and often as a possessor of special powers, a highly valued attribute in the Shona community (ibid.:40-41).

Similar examples can be found amongst the Nilotico Lango of Uganda, Senegalese of Dakar (Msibi, 2011), the Iteso of northwest (modern-day) Kenya and Uganda (Karp, Karp & Molnos, 1973 in Msibi, 2011), and in Angola and Namibia (Epprecht, 2004:41), where men who felt like women would become women and regarded fully as such, usually for spiritual purposes. It should be noted that whilst much of the ethnography seems to imply that gender transitioning adhered to the binary of masculine/feminine, this is not necessarily the case. Murray and Roscoe (1998:268) point out that most ethnographies do not clarify whether African cultures

understood gender as dualistic (dichotomous) or as pluralistic (multiple), so it would be presumptuous and reductive to assume that they understood femininity and masculinity to be opposing and irreconcilable.

Aside from gender fluidity, incidents of indigenous same-sex sexuality between men and between women are abundant in most pre-colonial (and, arguably, some modern-day) African societies. Murray and Roscoe (1998:xv) state in *Boy Wives and Female Husbands*, 'African homosexuality is neither random nor incidental – it is a consistent logical feature of African societies and belief systems'. Little evidence exists prior to what can be derived from ethnographic records. But the lack of evidence is not indicative of its absence, as pre-colonial southern African societies did not have a system of writing. What may be the most noteworthy evidence, however, is a collection of ancient rock paintings in what is now Zimbabwe, depicting male-male sexual acts (Epprecht, 2004:27;41-43). This group of bushmen, called the zvidoma, were nomadic hunters and gatherers, so when starvation became a risk due to ecological changes, they would likely have to have taken measures to reduce or maintain the population – hence, the same-sex sexual acts. However, this does not necessarily imply that this variation of sexuality was only meaningful in terms of its pragmatism; it may well have been another form of intimacy. It is important, instead, to draw from this example the apparent lack of shame or taboo around the act. As Epprecht explains, the zvidoma did not waste drawings on inconsequential things, so this must have had remarkable social significance. Also, opposite-sex sexual acts also only feature once in this collection of drawings, indicating that the two were perhaps not seen as mutually opposable in terms of social importance or relevance.

The advent of colonialism opened African culture to the earliest travellers – ethnographers and missionaries – and provided what is now the balk of evidence that same-sex sexual acts existed prior to colonialism. Compared to later reports, the first encounters seems to be a bit more generous in providing detailed or undistorted descriptions of African practices. In his book, *Hungochani*, Epprecht explores some of these ethnographic records which demonstrate colonists' reactions to what they encountered upon arrival (ibid.:25-26). Although much of this has been altered within or omitted from British archival collections, accounts from other nations are not as reticent. For instance, the 16th century Portuguese travellers wrote accounts of male

diviners who seemed to be possessed by a female spirit and who married other male diviners (ibid.:41-42). Also, Dutch sailors provided reports on the same-sex sexual practices they encountered amongst the Khoi people in the Cape – a fact which has been used to explain, at least in part, why Dutch sailors themselves engaged in it more readily than those in Holland (ibid.:52-53). British accounts, on the other hand, employed euphemisms and value-laden expressions in the few times they discussed same-sex sexualities (Hoad, 2007:7) – a discursive method intended, undoubtedly, to strategically frame such behaviour within the reigning ideologies around sexuality (Epprecht, 1998: 638). Hoad critically examines how King Mwanga II of late 19th century Uganda was described in British reports regarding his slaying the (newly Christian) male servants unwilling to provide him sexual attention (Tamale, 2007). Terminology was used to imply a lack of *civilité*[3] and development, including names such as 'degenerates' and 'sexual half-breeds'. Additionally the sexual acts referred to were never explicitly described, but rather coated in euphemistic nomenclature (Hoad, 2007:7).

In order to better understand how same-sex sexual desire and behaviour were contextually located in indigenous culture, it is important to bring to the fore the heavy emphasis on fertility and virility in the African cultural value system (Igboin, 2011:4). Family structure is traditionally very extended and central to African life, so it would naturally follow that procreation is highly valued. However, while the focus on fecundity did not preclude alternative sexual expression, it did set certain limitations. Except for the cases wherein certain individuals were called by a god or goddess, or were otherwise spiritually moved, to inhabit the opposite gender and act accordingly, most pre-colonial African cultures did not condone same-sex sexuality beyond childhood. If socially accepted during adulthood, it was typically not allowed as an alternative to cross-sex relationships, as this would negate the ability to procreate (Epprecht, 2004). In fact, the more children a woman had, the greater her social status (ibid.:28). However, same-sex sexual acts still occurred, as Epprecht (1998, 2002, 2004, 2010) discusses thoroughly in his work on southern African same-sex sexualities. For instance, within pre-colonial Shona culture, heterosexual sex was reserved for the purposes of marriage and hence reproduction. A bride's worth, and

[3] In reference to N. Elias' work, The Civilising Process (1939), in which he examines the transformation of human behaviour over centuries of pre-modern and modern Europe. The purpose of applying the term in the presented discussion above is to refer to a particular kind of civilisation – that which was constructed in modern Europe and disseminated through colonial conquests.

therefore the lobola paid for her, would decrease if she were to lose her virginity before the marriage. It was within the bride's family's best social and economic interests to prohibit her from any heterosexual activity prior to marriage. Amongst unmarried girls, the practice of kusenga was common: girls would, with their hands, stretch each other's labia majora, as often as daily (Epprecht, 2004:31). This was intended to increase the sexual pleasure of the future husband. As for boys, their sexual activity with women was socially prohibited until marriage as well – such self-restraint was regarded as highly honourable. However, sex play between boys was acceptable, particularly amongst herd boys.[4] This was understood as a healthy deterrent to acts which could lead to great familial shame, such as the impregnation of a girl outside marriage. In line with social restrictions regarding same-sex sexual play beyond childhood, however, both girls and boys generally were discouraged through mild measures (compared to today) from engaging in such acts once having reached social maturity (marriage). Nonetheless, it cannot be expected that same-sex desire or same-sex sexual behaviour did not continue after marriage in Zimbabwe, at least for some individuals. It did indeed, even thought it was socially condemned. The punishment was usually just a fine for once-off offenses. Although, in some parts of South Africa, repeated homosexual acts often received rather harsh sentences, as it was seen to be due to witchcraft (ibid.:36). However, typically, custom law dictated that the perpetrator would just be fined one beast, as seen in early 20th century Mazoe District in southern Zimbabwe. This was a relatively mild punishment, compared to the dozen beasts a woman's adultery would be fined. Shona society, like many traditional African societies, operated under a thick cloak of discretion – the community often tacitly agreed not to acknowledge non-procreative sexual behaviour (nor did it openly discuss opposite-sex sexual behaviour). This worked for men who were unwilling or unable to have sexual intercourse with their wives, which would preclude the expected pregnancies. The wife could, in this case, become secretly impregnated by the husband's brother or another man – a practice called kupindira. The knowledge would not be shared with anyone else, and the child would belong to the husband, as per the terms of the paid lobola (Epprecht, 2004).

An exception to same-sex sexual behaviour after social maturity would have been in transgenerational relationships, whereby a younger boy or man is taken on by

[4] Herding was (and still is, to a lesser degree) a social role of boys.

an older man (Greenberg, 1988). However, instead the discussion of such as a pre-colonial practice appears to be limited nearly entirely to northern Africa (what is now predominately Islamic). Nonetheless, as will be discussed later, southern African transgenerational relationships became increasingly commonplace during colonial rule within single-sex compounds such as prisons and mines.

Another important point to raise is that sexual fluidity existed in opposite-sex sexual relations as well, in a form of non-penetrative sexual relations between non-matured boys and girls. Called hlobonga, it was also hidden from public view, but tacitly permitted as a means for sexual release that would not jeopardise the kin-based system of fecundity as a means of gaining status and material wealth (Epprecht, 2004). This supplements the notion that sexuality was not rigidly set, in any form between people, as it is increasingly so today. It was instead highly understand in terms of reproductive practicality with the (often unspoken) acceptance of alternative means of sexual release and intimacy.

Homosexuality in colonial Southern Africa. Most of Southern Africa was colonised by mid-19th century by European nations. The British took most of the land (part of the South Africa region, Zambia, and Zimbabwe), but Dutch fought with the British for the Cape in South Africa, Portugeuse colonised in Mozambique, and later German settlers also claimed some land (Namibia). These colonies, which were mostly coastal ports, served as both trading spots and as stopovers for long journeys, such as the British to India. Such land ownership remained informal until the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, in which European nations made their claims official in an effort to avoid further disputes (Iliffe, 1995). However, for the sake of maintaining contextual relevance, the following discussion will focus exclusively on British colonisation and the consequent effects on same-sex sexual desire.

Prior to colonists settling in Southern Africa, Protestant missionaries from Europe travelled there in order to engage in work intended to 'save' the Africans from the 'detriments' of an un-Christian life. When addressing sexual deviance, missionaries focussed primarily those of a heterosexual form, such as polygyny, female circumcision, widow inheritance, etc. Of greatest concern was the Africans' inability to control their (heterosexual) virility, which was considered immoral and inherently changeable to the standards of bourgeois Europe (Epprecht, 2010:4). While they undoubtedly came across same-sex sexual behaviour, it seemed to have either

been actively ignored or considered not as important as other issues. It is likely that missionaries' records purposefully omitted homosexuality in order to construct the notion that such an abominable act did not exist even amongst the 'least civilised' beings of the world, thereby shaming Europeans into heterosexuality (Epprecht, 2004). It would not be until the colonisation of British traders in Southern Africa that imperialist constructions would come to impose upon African same-sex sexualities to a remarkable a degree.

Although the southern tip of Africa, the Cape Colony, was originally settled by Dutch traders, the 19th century brought extensive battles between the Dutch colonisers (Boers) and the British. Eventually, the British made a treaty with the Boers and the South African region was unified in 1910. The late 19th century also saw the advancement of the British South African Company on what would become named Southern Rhodesia (after the leader, Cecil Rhodes) [Nations, 2012]. The British hold on Swaziland and Lesotho was less strict, as neither was integrated into South Africa after its unification. However, Lesotho became increasingly dependent on the British colonists (Elderedge, 1993).

The influence of the Dutch in Southern Africa should not be overlooked. While their exclusive settlement in the Kaapstadt (Cape Town), in the Cape Colony, only lasted from mid-17th century till the late 18th century, they continued to contribute to imperialist shaping in the Cape region during colonialism. They brought with them Calvinism, which was particularly strong in Holland during their colonial conquests. This religious order placed heavy emphasis on physical restraint, particularly from sexual pleasure. Same-sex sexuality in Holland, particularly amongst males, was highly condemned, even punishable by death. However, men who travelled to the Cape were not able to bring their wives nor were they legally allowed to partake with local (female) prostitutes (Epprecht, 2004:51-53). So, although hidden from most historiographies– particularly in Dutch archives (though not all, as discussed above) – Dutch colonists engaged in clandestine sexual encounters with not only other male colonists, but with male locals as well (Aldrich, 2003:4-7). This is an interesting point to make, because much of the documentation of colonial life in the Cape by the Dutch makes invisible indigenous same-sex sexual relations while at the same time fostering, to a degree, a space for colonists to engage in the acts.

During the height of its colonial conquests in southern Africa (most of 19th century), the Victorian and early Edwardian Eras of Britain saw the rise of the bourgeois order. A period of modernisation, the British culture became increasingly centred on ideas of progress and nationalism. Most notably, this marked the reconceptualisation of sexuality as appropriately limited to the private sphere and as a representation of one's moral standing (Foucault, 1978) [to be expanded upon later]. Sexual acts became categorically evaluated – either it was the natural, default way, or it was the unnatural, deviant way. With homosexuality securely confined to the realm of deviance, settlers imported with them a set of ideologies which upheld rigidly defined heteronormativity. British imperialism sought to civilise the African 'savage', in order to 'establish legal order and to replace barbarism with the rule of resolute masculine integrity' (Moodie, 1997:2). The imperial mission was seen as necessitating the employment of highly self-restrained men who would not succumb to physical desires, thereby ensuring a successful advance over Southern African territory (ibid.:2-3). The fear of men becoming overwhelmed by homoerotic desire was a realistic one, given the colonists' endured absence of British women, and the frequent willingness of many local women in and near the colony to exchange sexual favours for money (Epprecht, 2004). However, just as with the Dutch, an effort to avoid accidental miscegenation with locals, and the fact that a significant number of colonists were in fact homosexual absconders of European anti-sodomy legislation, meant that the colonies became a sort of 'homosexual playground' (Aldrich, 2003:5).

Nonetheless, imperial rule introduced an economy of desire which demarcated socially acceptable expressions of sexuality and gender from deviant ones: 'Changes to the ways people felt, thought, talked about, and acted sexually were part and parcel of the colonial experience' (Epprecht, 2004:50). The implementation of gender-concretising and sex-segregating infrastructures, such as hostels, prisons, boarding schools and labour compounds provided fertile ground for both situational same-sex sexual relations between men (and, indirectly, between women) and the consequent imperialist restriction of such (Epprecht, 2004).

In South Africa, same-sex sexual relations amongst men within single-sex infrastructures were rife, as men were confined to small spaces in large numbers, with limited or no access to the outside world (ibid.). Within the prisons, men who might live exclusively heterosexual lives otherwise were engaged in sexual acts with other

inmates. The British officials of the Cape generally ignored this, rather than punished those who partook in it, as it was easier to maintain some degree of control by not impeding. Most famous within the inmate culture, in regards to male same-sex sexual relations, was the gang '28s', also known as the Ninevites, who based their internal power relations on homosexual acts (ibid.:60).

Perhaps most well-known phenomenon of infrastructural homosexuality is the occurrence of mine marriages in South African gold mines. Beginning in the late 19th century, African labour migrants came from all over southern Africa to live in the single-sex hostels and work long, dangerous hours digging for gold (ibid.). As will be explored more during discussion on homosexuality in Lesotho, the phenomenon of mine marriages arose increasingly in which a young man and an older man would engage in a 'transgenderal' (Greenberg, 1990) relationship (Murray & Roscoe, 1998:178-179). The older man would be the husband and the younger the 'wife', or 'boy-wife'; when the 'boy-wife' matured enough, he would leave his husband and take on his own 'boy-wife'. In exchange for some or all of the older man's wages, the 'wife' would take on traditional womanly activities, tending to the husband in many of the ways a wife back home (in the homestead) would (Moodie, 1997). This arrangement was often motivated by economic means, as the wife would take on the role for financial gain. However, this is not to say there lacked emotional intimacy, as a significant number of men engaged in these relationships spoke of their love for the other, especially the older for the younger. Nor is it to say that all of those involved were necessarily homosexual in the biological sense we understand it to mean today. Many of the men returned to the homesteads to lead exclusively heterosexual lives. In this way, the monetary gain is an important point to make, because it meant that the younger man would be able to accumulate enough wealth, in addition to his mining wages, to return to the homestead and fulfil his manly duties of paying lobola and supporting a family. Ironically, the same-sex sexual relationships on the mines enabled young men to maintain their 'manliness' in their home communities. As for the older men, the benefit of the relationship was that they could find companionship and sexual release (via intrafemural ejaculation, or, between the thighs), thereby avoiding the women in the town. These women, who were mostly prostitutes, were notorious for carrying sexual diseases and for draining the men of their hard-earned money. Also, for the sake of not jeopardising their role as husband and father back

home, it was necessary that they avoid the temptation of absconding from their duties back home, by accidentally impregnating a town woman. Also, the women did not provide for the men the practical, and sometimes emotional, support that boy-wives in the mines did. These arrangements were relatively open, though many men made it a point to be more discreet. However, it was commonplace enough for mine managers (white men) to note their existence, as demonstrated by the pattern of older men choosing from amongst the newly imported younger men who would be their boy-wives – a process that oftentimes led to disputes between men or ethnic groups. Interestingly, this phenomenon was not entirely unknown to the (female) wives of the married men back at the homestead. In line with the idea that sexuality was not conceptualised by indigenous Africans as an exclusionary identity construction [to be expanded upon later], the wives interviewed in rural South Africa did not express anger or seem to feel it was infidelity (Epprecht, 2004:200-01). Contrastingly, many wives felt relieved that their husbands had not been taken by another *woman*. The boy-wives were often accepted as the 'junior wife', even being accepted as part of the family.

Through the first few decades of the 20th Centuries, the British government and mine owners took minimal measures to thwart the practice of nkotshane (ibid:80). Particularly within the labour compounds of the mines in South Africa, officials were wary to impede on same-sex relations for fear that it would drive men to the town women and thus expose them to risks that would impinge on their ability to work efficiently (such as syphilis) [ibid.:79]. However, imported Christian values, such as morality, began to take effect on African men. Missionaries operating in southern Africa took it upon themselves to address the issue of nkotshane sternly and thoroughly (ibid.:153). Through extensive propaganda, missionaries convinced increasing numbers of Africans, especially mine-workers (where the issue of sodomy was seen to be most prevalent) that their conduct was worthy of eternal damnation. A distinct divide in personal views of nkotshane emerged between non-Christian Africans and Christianised Africans (ibid.:154). However, the rise in homophobia during the early to mid-19th century cannot be solely explained by Christian influence; other European implementations, centred on discourses of progress and development, contributed heavily to it (ibid.:154-155). [A discussion of these imperialist transformations will be discussed at length in the Theoretical Application chapter.]

Just as in other British territories, colonial law was imported and applied adjacent to customary law (Cowell, 2010). Customary law[5] generally applied to the people whilst common law (colonial law) applied more to the colonial commercial operations; criminal law, on the other hand, was split between these two realms of law. Customary law, could appeal common law, due to the 1885 Colonial Laws Validity Act which gave greater power to the colonial legislation. The British used criminal law frequently as a means to control the native populace. In particular, they imported the Offences Against the Person Act of 1861, which criminalises 'buggery'. Section 61 in particular says: 'Whosoever shall be convicted of the abominable Crime of Buggery, committed either with Mankind or with any Animal, shall be liable, at the Discretion of the Court, to be kept in Penal Servitude for Life or for any Term not less than Ten Years'. Whilst this law is indeed harsh, it was far more humane and reasonable than the punishments enacted by the previous colonial power, the Dutch. During Dutch rule, sodomy was reprimanded through torture and execution, and a significant number of the cases brought to court and punishments carried out were in fact for sodomy. These numbers dropped remarkably during British rule, as the British colony of southern Africa followed much in the footsteps of its motherland in terms of how sodomy was addressed (Epprecht, 2004:53-57). Over the course of its ruling, less than a handful of cases were brought to court regarding sodomy.

Most of the former British colonies, including Zambia and Zimbabwe, have retained the laws against sodomy even after independence. These laws are embedded in a legal system that is a blend of Roman-Dutch (Dutch colonial) law and English law. South Africa has since repealed such laws with its new constitution in the mid-1990s, but Lesotho and Swaziland still has laws that criminalise sodomy, as implemented during their colonial inclusion with South Africa (Ntabe, 2008). However, in regions like Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe) and South Africa, greater emphasis by the earliest British settlers was placed on issue of heterosexuality. This was driven by the (mistaken) notion that the Africans under their rule were plagued by hyper-sexuality and a general inability to maintain respectable practices in terms of sexual desire. Of course, this was a misinterpretation of the circumstances at hand. Sexuality was, for indigenous Africans, constructed differently, as it did not carry the taboo seen to arise within Victorian Era culture in England. Additionally, changes to

[5] Generally speaking this was 'native', or traditional law; see ibid.

the economy led to the development of a distinct commercialisation of sex, whereby women turned to prostitution in urban centres. The fact that male-male sexual relations were occurring was not readily recognised until single-sex infrastructures became more widespread, thereby providing the space and often necessary for such to happen on a noticeably frequent basis [as discussed above].

Homosexuality in post-colonial Southern Africa. It is no secret that homosexuality as both a practice and identity is highly scorned in most African societies. Over the past few decades, particularly since the rise of the AIDS virus spread (Maticka-Tyndale, Tiemoko & Makinwa-Adebusoye, 2007:12), homosexuality has become a centre-point of ideological and nationalist contestation (Mathury, 2009)[6]. Discourses around 'traditional' African identity have emerged regarding the disconcertingly broad acceptance that same-sex desire and behaviour is neither natural nor inherent to indigenous African cultural systems. This has been greatly fuelled by nationalist efforts to eradicate colonialist influences and changes seen to deteriorate African culture and societies (ibid.). Of the fifty-three African nations, thirty-eight criminalise same-sex sexual relations between men (and some also between women) [Msibi, 2011]. Leaders across Africa have used the platform of homophobia to buffer their populace-appeasing approach toward retaining 'traditional' African culture as a means of escaping the destructive imperialist past nearly all of Africa has experienced. The core arguments used are that homosexuality is un-African, diseased, western, and un-Christian. Most notably, President Mugabe of Zimbabwe is infamous for having described homosexuals in the mid-1990s as 'worse than pigs and dogs' and homosexuality as 'a scourge planted by the white man on a pure continent' (Mwaura, 2006 in Hoad, 2007: xi). Until Mugabe publicly derided it, the issue of homosexuality featured infrequently in political or social discussion (Epprecht, 1998). However, he, like many other African leaders, has contributed heavily to fostering a culture of homophobia by repositioning it within the framework of nationalist and racial discourse around what distinguishes an African from a non-African. The authenticity of one's African identity has been reconstituted as one which necessitates the rejection of imperialist influences (though, ironically, this does not include Christianity or technological advances).

[6] Refers to a focus on regaining African identity has been framed within a nationalist discourse around strengthening national identity in terms of African culture; see Mathury, 2009.

Mugabe's efforts are echoed by numerous other African leaders and political voices. Homophobia as an institutionalised (e.g. legally sanctioned) facet of society is seen as well in Namibia. Soon after Mugabe's attack on homosexuality in Zimbabwe, it became increasingly political in Namibia. Just as in Zimbabwe, the issue had not previously been widely-regarded in either the media or publicly discussed by those in power (Long, 2003). In late 1995, a deputy minister of Namibia told the press that 'homosexuality is like cancer or AIDS and everything should be done to stop its spread in Namibia' (ibid.:25). Adding to the growing discourse around nationalism and African identity, the Minister of Home Affairs, Jerry Ekandjo, stated the following in 1998: 'it is inimical to true Namibian culture, African culture and religion. They should be classified as human wrongs which must rank as sin against society and God' (ibid.).

On the other end of the LGBT rights spectrum is South Africa, which stands out strongly amidst its neighbours in regards to sexual freedom. South Africa, prior to its new constitution, also legally criminalised sodomy. However, since the transition to democracy, South Africa has declared the criminalization of sodomy unconstitutional. Despite its internationally-acclaimed radical approach to human rights, as demonstrated through perhaps one of the most progressive constitutions in the world (Human Rights Watch, 2003), homophobia is still rife outside major urban centres. Issues such as 'corrective rape' against lesbians in peri-urban areas, most notably townships, and male-specific homophobia, are buffered by a highly patriarchal social structure.

The Gay Rights Movement in southern Africa was instigated and driven in great part by rise of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, as it necessitated the visibility of non-heterosexual acts and identities in order to better address those who were often marginalised in the process of tending to the disease (Amory, 1997). This was undoubtedly much due to the fact that initially the most affected were the black, heterosexual demographic. However, focus within the LGBT community went first to gay white males in urban areas of South Africa, thereby further marginalising the already vulnerable group of African non-heterosexual men and women in terms of treatment and prevention (Epprecht, 2004:218). This compelled a number of black African people to become active in drawing attention to what had been politically and socially maintained as an unmentionable taboo: that homosexuality (and other non-

heterosexual sexualities) existed within the African community. With this palpable issue on hand, many LGBT rights activists across southern Africa used the spreading disease as a basis for the formation of various LGBT rights groups. Most of the groups which exist today, in fact, started as a means to open access for non-heterosexual individuals to the emotional and medical support necessary for prevention or treatment of HIV/AIDS. Notably, such activism has had to work to uncover the fact that a significant portion of the black 'heterosexual' male population covertly engages in sexual relations with other men, which lends particularly to the risk of HIV spread (Roberts, 1995).

Homosexuality in Lesotho. Indigenous same-sex sexualities amongst the Basotho are missing greatly from ethnographic records, lending to a yawning gap in contemporary scholarly literature. What was recorded by missionaries and travellers on what they encountered was greatly distorted in representation, as interests regarding discovery and subsequent documentation were heavily informed by Eurocentric ideologies around sexuality. However, the complexities of expression as outlined in the previous section serve to aid in understanding how sexuality and related concepts (such as sex and gender) have been conceptually reconfigured since the advent of colonialism.

As discussed previously, Lesotho shares a common history with surrounding southern Africa in terms of having a rich history of non-heteronormative sexual desire and behaviour. Highly discreet and often protected by social mores, same-sex sexual relations have been documented amongst both men and women, even within the past few decades (Kendall, 1999; Epprecht, 2002). However, homophobia has found its place within contemporary Basotho discourse, though not as severely or pervasively as in neighbouring nations, including, arguably, many parts of South Africa.

In the labour compounds of South African mines during the late 19th century through the 20th century, Basotho men were initially thought to not be 'vulnerable' to the 'plague' of sodomy. This misconception was likely due to the myth of the unusually rampant Basotho heterosexual nature, which depicted Basotho men as incorrigibly lustful after women and hyper-masculine in nature (Epprecht, 2004:185-89). The actual reasons probably drew from particular Basotho cultural modes, such as a relatively strong emphasis on patriarchy and the expectation that elders are to be respected without question. The former would paint Basotho men as misogynistic, a

quality that is often conflated with heterosexuality, and the latter would require young men entering the mines to submit to the will of elder miners. The denial or ignorance of such a phenomenon is evident in the absence of recorded accounts about Basotho men in this regard amidst the documentation of such practices by other ethnic groups. However, by the early 20th century, South Africa finally became aware of its existence and subsequently pushed for its prevention (Epprecht, 2002). Efforts failed, and by the 1940s, Basotho men had gained notoriety in the mines for their extensive participation, so much that within two decades the Sotho-ised version of nkotshane, *bokonchana*, was included in the dictionary (Hamel, 1965 in Epprecht, 2002).

Denial of same-sex sexual desire and behaviour did not only occur when discussing men in the mines; it was employed by colonial officials and researchers when regarding the Lesotho culture itself. However, it is the level of discretion that has successfully hidden such behaviour from documentation on Basotho people – the same discretion which would prevent public debate on the issue from arising for quite some time after it caused extensive concern for South African officials. Also contributing to the seeming invisibility of same-sex desire during colonialism was the lack of penal action taken against those who committed crimes of sodomy. In much part due to the fact that the British rule in Lesotho was relatively lax (compared to, say, South Africa or Zimbabwe), same-sex sexuality never had much occasion to draw attention from colonists. Additionally, and rather importantly, Lesotho lacked one of the most fundamental imperial implementations that set the stage for rising concerns about and restrictions on the 'unnatural act'. The infrastructures – such as single-sex environments, roads, and other developments – were never implanted in Lesotho as in Zimbabwe and South Africa, thereby precluding the predominant circumstances in which situational homosexuality could arise. The absence of this also prevented extensive imposition of imperialist values and social relations, though these would be imported indirectly through certain development measures taken later in the 20th century.

Sotho general law is an amalgamation of Roman-Dutch and English common law, and customary law is codified within the Laws of Lerotholi (Nations, 2012). However, the legacy of anti-sodomy legislation remains sanctioned in common law, effectively criminalising male-male sexual relations (but not female-female). Ntabe Motebo, a scholar of sodomy law in Lesotho, states:

> The prohibition on male homosexuality in Lesotho has been given a statutory flavour by Section 187 (5) of the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act 60. Under Schedule 1 part II of the same Act, sodomy has been listed as one of the offences in respect of which arrests may be made without a warrant. (Ntabe, 2008)

Additionally, the Sexual Offenses Act of 2003 declares same-sex sexual acts, between men or between women, as criminal. However, it should be noted that anti-sodomy legislation has yet to be applied to individuals for same-sex sexual behaviour. The law has, however, been applied in other terms for which it was meant, such bestiality.

Therefore, while same-sex sexuality is not actively penalised, Sotho culture does carry the legacy of imperial rule in terms of homophobia, to a certain degree. The limitations of the law as far as recognition of same-sex marriage as well as access to certain protections, be they legal, health or otherwise related, contributes considerably to the proliferation of anti-homosexual mentalities in Lesotho. Nonetheless, the range of Basotho impressions of same-sex sexuality does not extend often into levels of homophobia; generally people tend to be unaware of the meaning of homosexuality, or disbelieving of its presence in their culture.

Even in the media, such as newspaper publications, homophobic rhetoric is difficult to find. Regularly printed Public Eye Daily and Lesotho Times, both privately-owned, tend to take a neutral or even sympathetic approach to discussing homosexuality.[7] These publications, it should be noted, are primarily in English, but it seems that even Sesotho-based media generally avoid homophobia in their publications.[8]

Just as in other parts of southern Africa, the issue of spreading HIV/AIDS instigated a response amongst social activists who recognised that the LGBT population was being left defenceless against its peril. This led to the emergence of Lesotho's first and, to date, only LGBTI organisation, Matrix, in 2009. Their initial motive was to address issues around access to preventative measures and treatments for the increasingly vulnerable population of MSM, but their efforts have extended

[7] As determined through key word searches of articles over the year 2012 on each publication's website (including digital archives); see publiceye.co.ls, and lestimes.com
[8] As explained in interview with TP, president of Matrix Organisation; 12 December 2012.

outward to all sectors of the LGBTI demographic in regards to social, legal, and health concerns. Matrix has even publicly declared 17 May as International Day Against Homophobia, the day which WHO (World Health Organisation) removed homosexuality from the list of disabilities (Motsoeli, 2011).

IV. Literature review

Literature on same-sex sexualities in modern urban Lesotho is scarce, causing a small, but noticeable gap in queer scholarship on southern Africa. However, there is a relative abundance of literature that has contributed to the process of better understanding male homosexuality in modern-day Maseru. The following presents the literature that is currently available.

Same-Sex Sexualities in Traditional African Culture

While scholarly research on gender and sexuality in southern Africa is growing within academia, not much has been written on same-sex sexualities in Lesotho. Several authors that have extensively examined their presence during colonialism and beyond include Kendall and Epprecht.

Kendall (1999) speaks of love between women, in the form of a custom that is slowly dying out due in great part to globalisation of western values around sexuality. Her work is highly informative as she examines the lack of social taboo around pre-modern female-female intimacies, showing that traditional ideas of sexuality and gender do not negate such relationships. This can only be used a limited amount to understand male-male sexualities, however, as social customs around males, and the effects of colonialism on their constructions of gender and sexuality, are quite distinct from that of females. Similarly, Gay's 1986 research on 'mummy-baby' relationships amongst school girls in single-sex schools provides a foundation from which to understand Basotho gender relations and how they are changing.

Epprecht's work is most notable in relation to male homosexuality in Lesotho, as he has written on male-male intimacies in both the mines (2004) and in Lesotho itself (2002). While undoubtedly very useful in analysing homophobia and male homosexuality in modern Maseru, it is rather limiting in terms of scope. His work focuses rather narrowly on the colonial (and neo-colonial) constructions of hyper-masculinity in Basotho men and how colonial officials assumed they were immune to acts of 'sodomy'. He examines how this idea has permeated colonial (and neo-colonial) discourse on Basotho masculinity and the effects today. Epprecht also discusses how male homosexuality is conceptualised in modern Lesotho, by presenting an informal case-study on MSM (men who have sex with men) in peri-urban Maseru. This piece (2002) is particularly helpful for its approach, but

unfortunately it is rather out-dated, as the information he collected draws from research conducted in the late 1990s. Furthermore, this article only somewhat delves into how homosexuality has been discoursed into invisibility, and he conducts only two interviews.

Epprecht and Kendall are referenced frequently in academic research on same-sex sexualities, which is expected given that theirs is quite unique in context. However, much of what informs research on sexualities in Lesotho today must be drawn from other works as well, as both Kendall's work and Epprecht's work are neither recent nor extensive.

Scholarly literature on homosexuality or same-sex sexualities in southern Africa are plenty, but they tend to overlook Lesotho. Current queer, feminist, and post-colonial literature often discard Basotho sexualities from their analyses of queer identities in southern Africa. Long's (2003) book on homosexuality, published by Human Rights Watch, does a thorough investigation into homosexuality as a human rights issue in southern Africa, but it does not address Lesotho (or Swaziland). Murray (1998) examines contemporary challenges that homosexuals face in southern Africa, but his work also does not address Lesotho. Other works that focus on particular nations within southern Africa typically focus on Zimbabwe or South Africa. Much of Epprecht's work (1998; 2001; 2005) focuses on Zimbabwe; Steyn and van Zyl present a collection of essays by scholars who focus exclusively on South African queer identities. Understandably, these two nations are suffering from a great deal of homophobia and deserve extension academic attention; however, there seems to be a pattern of leaving Lesotho in the dark. When Lesotho is brought to the fore, it is typically in the context of mine-marriages. For example, Moodie (2006) makes references to Basotho men who engage in same-sex sexual acts in the South African mines, as do Murray and Roscoe (1998:178). Discussion is typically focussed on the fact of their presence with some explanation as to how Europeans responded (or did not respond).

As made evident little information on same-sex sexualities in Lesotho is presently available. However, a great deal can still be derived from works on southern Africa same-sex sexualities that do not discuss Lesotho in order how same-sex sexualities in Lesotho in particular were shaped prior to the effects of colonialism. Literature that outlines indigenous same-sex sexual desires and behaviour in Africa is

not extensive, but there are a few sources. Epprecht's work (2004) is applicable here, as he discusses how indigenous sexualities operated with traditional southern African culture, particularly within what is today South Africa and Zimbabwe. Murray and Roscoe (1998) published a book of essays regarding sexualities in Africa, many of which focussed on indigenous forms. Hoad (2007) examines such sexualities as they were encountered by colonists, as does Aldrich (2003). However, Aldrich gives a great deal more focus to how colonists engaged in same-sex sexual relations. Greenberg (1988) looks at same-sex sexual behaviour throughout the history of humanity and around the world. This is not as applicable in analysing Lesotho, but it does provide a basic overview of how sexualities have been differently shaped in varying contexts. Finally, Amadiume (1987) examines gender variations in traditional southern Nigeria, but her work is rather limited, as she negates the presence of sexual intimacy between people of the same sex without much justification.

Discussions on Same-Sex Sexualities

Several works provide a better understanding of how same-sex sexualities have been discoursed out of African traditions and history. Msibi (2011) compares several sub-Saharan nations together in terms of how homosexuality is represented in contemporary socio-political and legal discourse, and he shows how these are false by explaining the prevalence of same-sex desires and behaviours in those nations' traditional cultures. Dlamini (2006), Epprecht (1998), and Hoad (2000, 1999) all contest notions that homosexuality had no place in pre-colonial African culture. They show how colonialist ideologies operated to reconstruct the image of the African, and how post-independence (neo-colonial) ideologies in African nationalism have been heavily informed by these constructed images. Phillips (2000) takes this even further by framing this process within theory, exposing the myriad of reasons behind nationalist homophobic sentiment, particularly within Zimbabwe.

Concurringly, Anderson (2007) attends to the issue that same-sex sexual desires are not being appropriately contextualised, having lent to a forged absence of indigenous sexualities. Arondekar (2005) and Amory (1997) examine how much of the 'knowledge' accepted in modern-day academia derives from information archived by colonists, lending to a particular misconception about same-sex sexualities in pre-colonial and colonial Africa. They warn that even attempts to filter through the

prejudices may not be enough, and that queer theory must work with post-colonial theory to fully understand sexualities.

Transformation of Sexuality and Gender

Emerging in the academic arena is a new form of scholarship which focuses on how indigenous sexualities and gender identities have been shaped by colonialism and neo-colonialism. Globalisation is the most recurring theme, as many authors are seeking to uncover how this phenomenon is impacting on traditional forms of sexual relations. Altman (2004), Blackwood (2005) and Binnie (2004) all examine how globalising forces have been contributing to the emergence of modern forms of queer identities through the processes of colonialism and neo-colonialism. They uncover the reasons that certain types of homosexual identities are becoming more prevalent today. Stychin (2004) and Berlant & Warner (1998) examine how a queer space is opening up currently in developing nations. They challenge the notion that queer identities and cultures are uniform everywhere, contending instead that sexualities are contextually redefined and assumed by individuals. Concurringly, Corboz (2009) addresses approaches to understanding how sexual identities are being transformed by discussing various approaches used by scholars, emphasising the notion that local identities are not entirely overtaken by global ones. Davids & van Driel (2009) present a similar approach, as they examine globalisation through a gender-based critical analysis whereby heteronormativity is deconstructed. Morrell & Swart (2005) analyse post-colonialist scholarship in order to show how it often fails to take race, class, and location into account.

Work on masculinity has proven quite useful in understanding modern forms of male homosexuality in Lesotho. While this is a new area of study, there are a few authors who provide a substantial amount of literature. Notably, R. W. Connell (1993; 1998; 2003) has written a great deal on how masculinity is constructed in particular contexts. Her work examines how masculinities change and migrate according to power relations, and that a world gender order has arisen with globalisation whereby hegemonic masculinities are being created and transmitted. Morrell (1998) also studies masculinity, in terms of how it has been shaped by colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly along the axes of class and race. In discussing how masculinity has been embodied and understood by labour migrants in South Africa, Moodie (1997) applies research conducted with both employed and retrenched miners

on how they perceive themselves and others, in particular regarding the practice of mine-marriages. From a more theoretical standpoint, Groes-Green (2009) expands on Connell's work on hegemonic masculinities in order to elucidate how certain masculinities arise when class and gender intersect. Furthermore, Green (2005) applies Bourdieu's theory on capital in discussing how erotic capital is used in determining desirability.

Context

Much of how homosexuality has been shaped in Lesotho must be inferred from the research that has been conducted on modernising Lesotho or elsewhere in southern Africa. Much of this can be found in research on development, as this lends to a better understanding on how gendered power relations have been shaped. Epprecht's work (1996) is again useful, as he presents how women have negotiated their changing roles in Basotho society. It is helpful in determining how women have become pushed into the private realm. Braun (2008) does similar work, as she shows how women in Lesotho have empowered themselves amidst economic and environmental changes. Jolly (2011) discusses how development work in southern Africa has been framed within heteronormativity, which has served to amplify gender inequities. Finally, Mate (2012) and Bjorn (1997) address how women have been affected by neo-liberal changes, which lends to the discussion on how gender roles have been transformed and reified within a colonially-informed gender hierarchy.

V. Research Methods

Research Approach

In deciding how to approach my fieldwork and analysis, I chose to conduct a qualitative analysis rather than quantitative. Because the objective of the research was to examine the thoughts, feelings and experiences of my participants in regards to their sexualities and gender identities, a qualitative approach proved most appropriate. It allowed for a study at an individual level, providing the means by which to better address and understand the subjects at an intimate level. In this way, it was a phenomenological approach, as it sought to grasp the personal experiences of each participant (Marvasti, 2004). To have applied a quantitative approach to my research would have omitted the intimate details that I, the researcher, was able to observe and record when interviewing and spending time with the participants. As Neuman (2010:122) eloquently states:

> [Qualitative researchers] emphasize conducting detailed examinations of cases that arise in the natural flow of social life…[and] try to present authentic interpretations that are sensitive to specific social-historical contexts.

Qualitative research, in other words, allows for the researcher to absorb the nuances and details embedded in the stories shared personally by participants. While it does carry the risk of being subjectively interpreted by me, the researcher, this type of research gave me the opportunity to address each participant as a separate person, helping me to avoid filtering all the respondents' experiences through faceless quantifications.

Finally, because the issue I was addressing was regarding the constructed-ness of the modern homosexual identity and consequent discriminatory belief systems, qualitative research proved far more valuable a process. The face-to-face interviews gave me a chance to see how each person had experienced and interpreted his/her sexuality and encounters with homophobia, and had I simply collected just surveys, the resulting narrative would have been impersonal and generalised.

Process

I conducted fieldwork in urban Maseru, Lesotho in order to better understand the state of affairs regarding male homosexuality. The intention was to gain greater

insight into how men[9] who identify as non-heterosexual and live in Maseru both understand their sexuality and experience being non-heterosexual.[10] Information was obtained using a qualitative research approach, through the use of thorough personal interviews and, in a few instances, these were coupled with written questionnaires. These interviews were conducted over two time periods during 2012; first, in July then later in December[11]. Fifteen (15) interviews were carried out in total – a majority of which were done with Matrix members.

Participants

All those interviewed were born male. However a few identified as transgender (meaning, they identified primarily as a woman or as female). The ages spanned from 16 to 49, with the average age being twenty-five (25) years. Each participant was given the option of using a pseudonym, which all but one agreed to. While the interviews done person-to-person were recorded on audio, I have referred back to the audio only minimally.[12] Instead, the analysis is based upon extensive notes from the sessions. In the interest of protecting the dignity of the participants, I asked each to sign an ethical clearance form which clarifies my intentions as well as promises that their privacy will not be breached – fear of being 'outed' was for several of the participants a reason for hesitation to participate. The ethical clearance form is provided in the Appendix.

Interviews

Of the fifteen (15) total interviews[13], twelve (12) were conducted face-to-face, lasting between twenty (20) minutes and one and a half (1,5) hours. The average time spent in an interview was forty (40) minutes. Seven (7) of the interviews were one-on-one, but in a few cases, when circumstances necessitated it, group interviews of two (2) or three (3) were conducted. While most participants were fluent and comfortable in English, not all were, and in these cases an interpreter was used.[14] Although about a dozen questionnaires were distributed, only three (3) were completed.

[9] Three of the participants identified as transwomen who are attracted to men, but are socially recognised as men.
[10] I use the term 'non-heterosexual' in order to include those who identified as gay, bisexual or transgender (openly or secretly).
[11] See Appendix A for comprehensive list of dates conducted and time lengths.
[12] I have difficulty hearing so I only used the audio recordings in instances where the written notes were not decipherable.
[13] 'Interviews' includes both personal interviews and questionnaires with personal follow-up.
[14] TP, the principal organizer of the interviews, attended each one with me and provided Sesotho translation and interpretation whenever necessary.

The personal interview was only semi-structured, as per the 'guide approach' interview style, so while I made sure to address all the necessary questions, I allowed (and encouraged) the participant to engage openly and freely. A basic outline of the questions are as follows:

- Identity: age, place of residence, sexual orientation (which, if any, term is used), gender identity, sex identity[15], sexual history, relationship status, and 'out of the closet' status and with whom s/he is open about his/her sexuality.
- Personal history, including places of residence, schooling, employment, and family structure, and religion (including his/her[16] practice of it).
- Personal views regarding homosexuality: whether or not it is contagious, if one is born with it or learns it, if it has always existed in Africa or was imported with colonialism, whether the participant feels safe to be open in public (including, which spaces are more accommodating), and whether there is a power hierarchy within the queer community between various identities.
- Personal views regarding homophobia: worse in rural, peri-urban[17] or urban areas, if there are any laws which deal with homosexuality, religion's views and impacts, whether one's education level affects their degree of acceptance or rejection of homosexuality.

In regards to the questionnaire interviews, these were distributed for those who were unwilling or unable to meet in person. Participants had a choice between completing a questionnaire in English or Sesotho, though, only one participant took a Sesotho version. As for the questions listed, they were very similar to those asked in the personal interviews. However, it does attempt to gain further insight as to the participant's exposure to media, both African and western, as well as determine the impact of rural culture on his or her personal understanding of homosexuality. The questionnaire is provided in the Appendix.

Limitations

Unfortunately, the fieldwork process did not result in as many interviews as initially sought after. It should be noted that while Matrix boasts a membership

[15] Gender identity, as will be discussed in the Theoretical Application section, applies to where one falls on the spectrum of masculine to feminine. Sex identity, on the other hand, refers to male, female, transgender, intersex, or any other construction the participant may feel best describes him/her.
[16] I use 'her' to refer to the participants who actively identified as woman or female (transgender).
[17] Peri-urban refers to the space between urban (developed) and rural (under-developed), namely townships and small towns.

number exceeding 200, access to these members was greatly limited in the second interview period due to internal problems and the closure of the organisation's centre meeting space, its office. Therefore, each person was found through the existing social network of LGBTI or MSM/WSW[18], and a meeting was set up this way. Additional limitations applied to seeking a follow-up after personal interviews, which was nearly never successful, so the information used draws almost entirely from the actual interviews themselves. Additionally, despite promises that more questionnaires would be completed after my departure from Maseru in mid-December, none were ever returned. This is in great part due to the lack of office, as this limited person-to-person contact between TP, the principal organiser of my interviews, and those who were given questionnaires. Nonetheless, the personal and questionnaire interviews that were successfully conducted have provided, I feel, a sufficient overview to the experiences of non-heterosexual men in Maseru, Lesotho.

It is important to highlight the point that even though the issue of language difference was able to be resolved through the extensive efforts of the interpreter, there still existed a cultural language barrier, whereby certain terminology did not always convey the same meaning to me, the interviewer, as it did to the participant. With this understanding in mind, I took certain measures to reduce the risk of potential misinterpretation. First, I familiarised myself with the culture by staying in rural Maseru and interacting only with Basotho people, thus immersing myself as much as possible over the four cumulative weeks I spent there. Secondly, I reviewed the interviews with TP, the interpreter and my host (and the director of Matrix), after conducting them in order to clarify that I had understood the intentions of what was said. Cultural misunderstanding was, fortunately, less of a risk between me and TP, as TP has worked extensively with westerners and is thus adept at understanding the undertones of what I say as well as explaining what I might misconstrue. Finally, during the interviews, I made extensive effort to clarify the responses of the participant by asking for explanations and also by repeating the same question in multiple ways whenever I had any degree of doubt as to whether I was fully understood. I found that this helped sufficiently, as there were quite a few times when the meaning of the response was found to differ from my initial assumption. I do not mean to imply that this strategy was fool-proof, but given that there will always be

[18] Some individuals do not adopt an exclusionary term, in which case they are often referred to as MSM (men who have sex with men) or WSW (women who have sex with women). None of those interviewed used this term.

limitations due to culture, particularly with two cultures so very different as my American and the participants' Basotho culture, I feel that this strategy aided significantly in reducing the level of misinterpretation. I am aware of my capacity to unknowingly interpret and adjust answers according to personal expectations, and this must be taken into account by not only myself as the researcher, but by those who draw from this study. As explained in Chapter 2, I realise my ethical and professional responsibility to avoid 'Othering' my participants through misrepresentation and I have made significant effort toward honouring that responsibility.

Other limitations arose in regards to interview spaces. In the first round of interviews, during July, Matrix still had an office so all but one of the interviews was conducted there. Unfortunately the office was rather small with a great deal happening at once, so at times the interviews were laborious due to inability to hear the participant. Additionally, the high degree of background noise precluded me from attending to the recorded audio notes when I felt the written notes were not sufficient. During the second round, the lack of office proved challenging in that it became a mission to find spots in public spaces where we could speak openly without fear of being overheard (many of the participants, while being fully out, still maintained a relatively high level of discretion in terms of their sexuality). Therefore, I used outside tables at a local café for most of the interviews, which proved sufficient for maintaining privacy. Three of the interviews however were conducted on the front lawn of a church where the three participants were spending a weekend for an altar boy retreat. Unfortunately circumstances prevented us from meeting at another time in a less compromising place, so I gave the three participants questionnaire forms to fill in whilst sitting with me, and I followed up with brief, whispered questions to clarify any points of interest.

Finally, the age range of those interviewed was unfortunately limited to primarily between ages twenty-two (22) and thirty-one (31) with two outliers, sixteen (16) and forty-nine (49). Ideally, I would have liked to have had a more diverse range, but my contacts were limited to those whom I could find through Matrix (which is primarily comprised of young adults). Therefore, the information gathered in my fieldwork is limited in terms of varying experiences with identity construction, homophobia and other issues addressed.

Researcher's Experience

Perhaps coloured by my studies in Sociology, and my continual understanding that I have been granted far more status and opportunity than the average human being, I often found my position as the researcher rather awkward and imposing. It was difficult for me, in the beginning, to not feel as though I was using the undeserved power that I (like most white westerners) posses without second thought in order to achieve a personally-driven means – for me, namely, completing a MPhil. However, with time I came to recognise this as a certain fear of overstepping the boundaries between altruism and academic voyeurism, and I eventually understood that my position as a researcher carried not only a grand responsibility, but an invaluable opportunity, to contribute something that was painfully lacking. I believe that the participants and all others who assisted my research in Maseru were aware of the potential benefits of my work, and it was humbling and motivating.

In trying to ascertain how the participants regarded me, a white, butch female, it is difficult to know just how they felt. In my experience, Basotho people are not outwardly verbal in their regards of others, unlike Americans, and the cultural differences made interpretations a challenge. However, I believe that my level of education and my western status may have, especially in my first visit, conjured a great deal of respect and interest from those at Matrix. I later learned that it was one of the busiest weeks at the office when I first visited, as many members were eager to participate. Honestly, I was glad to be visibly queer, as it was perhaps the only point of commonality I shared with most of the participants. Our struggles as sexuality minorities felt like the sole place that our remarkably different lives intersected to any extensive degree. This allowed for myself and all the participants, I believe, to set aside all our cultural, racial, etc. differences and create a bond over which we could share stories and develop relationships. With this, the process of collecting data and finding even greater purpose in my work became possible.

VI. Findings & Analysis

This section will present, process and analyse the results of the interviews in order to address, in part, the questions posed in Chapter 1. As explained above, fifteen (15) individuals were interviewed at length, either by personal interviews or by questionnaires with personal follow-up.

The following table presents basic information regarding each participant. Included are the participant's chosen **pseudonym** ('Pseud'), **age**, **sex** (as self-identified: male (M), female (F), intersex (I), or transwoman (TW)), **gender** (as self-perceived: masculine (masc), feminine (fem), or in-between (mix)), **sexual orientation** ('Orient', as self-perceived: gay or bisexual (bi)), **residence** ('Res', current; all in Maseru: urban, peri-urban (peri), or rural), **employment** ('Employ', current), **education level** ('Educ', current or highest completed: high school (h.s.), Matric, college, undergraduate ('undergrad'), or postgraduate ('postgrad')), **religion** (including level of involvement: inactive Christian, active Christian, or somewhat Christian), and the **type of interview** (personal or questionnaire with personal follow-up ('quest')). Where information was not obtained, 'n/a' (not available) in used in its place.

Table 1

List of Subjects for the Current Study

#	Pseud	Age	Sex	Gender	Orient	Res	Employ	Educ	Religion	Interview
1	Ted	24	M	masc	gay	n/a	unemployed	postgrad	n/a	personal
2	Thabo	31	M	masc	bi/gay	rural	unemployed	college	n/a	personal
3	Majaha	22	M	mix	gay	urban	student	undergrad	n/a	personal
4	Peter	27	M	fem	gay	peri	project coordinator	postgrad	n/a	personal
5	Honey	24	M	fem	gay	urban	shopkeeper	undergrad	somewhat Christian	personal
6	Nom	28	M	mix	gay	urban	lawyer	postgrad	inactive Christian	personal
7	Shane	23	M	masc	gay	peri	student	undergrad	active Christian	personal
8	Lucky	25	TW[19]	fem	gay	urban	unemployed	college	active Christian	personal

[19] When referring to the participants who identify as transwomen, the feminine pronouns will be used.

9	Jeremy Finch	23	M	mix	gay	rural	theatre company	college	active Christian	personal
10	Mutty	24	M	mix	gay	urban	theatre company	undergrad	active Christian	personal
11	Tiny	49	M	masc	gay	peri	self-employed	Matric	inactive Christian	personal
12	Papi	16	I	masc	bi	peri	student	h.s.	somewhat Christian	quest
13	Retha	23	n/a	mix	bi	urban	unemployed	undergrad	active Christian	quest
14	Angel	28	TW	fem	gay	peri	unemployed	undergrad	active Christian	quest
15	Matele	22	TW	fem	gay	urban	student	college	somewhat Christian	personal

The following section will outline the responses received regarding key areas such as homophobia in Maseru, Christianity in terms of homosexuality, the degree to which the participants feel safe being 'open' about their sexuality, the understanding of laws in place regarding homosexuality, and the particular culture of the LGBTI community.

Being 'Out'

To begin, most of the participants are open about their sexuality – both with their immediate community (such as friends and school or work) and their family. The few that are not out[20] in full are only open with LGBTI friends but not with family or community. However, this comprises only about four (4) of the fifteen (15) interviewed. Therefore, the fieldwork resulted in a relatively comprehensive view of the levels of homophobia experienced in varying parts of Maseru.

Generally, the participants who are out do not experience high levels of discrimination in terms of homophobia. To clarify the qualifier, 'high', this denotes more life-threatening or extensively detrimental levels. However, most of the participants did explain that they receive verbal insults on a regular basis but none expressed great distress about it. For instance, Matele explained that he frequently gets called 'stabane', which refers to a man who desires to be a woman (Hodes, 2012). Ted also receives verbal insults, as often as daily, but he noted that usually he just gets 'harmless' pointing. The effect on Retha has perhaps been greater, as he

[20] 'Out' refers to being open about one's sexuality, either only to oneself or to others as well.

describes his experiences with homophobia as 'emotional discrimination' and says that he hides his sexuality where he lives (in urban Maseru) because he doesn't 'feel freely enough'. However, the remainder who are out have either had so little discrimination that they felt it was not worth commenting on, or they have not noticed any discrimination at all.

The families of those who are out were either comfortable with their sexuality from the time they 'came out'[21], or have made great progress in becoming comfortable with it. Undoubtedly, this has contributed heavily to their decision to be open in their community and greater society. There is a strong positive correlation between those who are open to their families and those who are open in their community, with the understanding that the open participants initially 'came out' to their families.

The few who are not out about their sexuality attribute this choice to the belief that their families will reject them and that the community will not be able to understand. Their involvement in the LGBTI community is limited to their engagement with Matrix and consequent interaction with other queer-identifying people.

Christianity

Interestingly, unlike those who are out, none of those who are *not* out describe themselves as active in Christianity, though each identifies as Christian (or as having been raised as such). Most likely, this is explained by the fear of being 'found out' and rejected. However, most of those who are out expressed a strong attachment to their church and religion.

> I understand my religion and I love it. *[Angel, questionnaire and interview]*

> I am active in the church [despite being gay] because I am interested in worshipping my God openly. *[Retha, questionnaire and interview]*

Interestingly, none of the actively Christian participants who are partially or fully open about their sexuality with their congregation and its leaders noted any problems personally at their churches. Shane and Lucky, who are both very active in their churches, explicitly state that they feel safe and welcomed. However, most of the

[21] Refers to 'coming out of the closet', an expression which describes the point at which an individual becomes open to others about his or her sexuality.

participants overall, including some who are actively engaged, did attribute homophobia to Christianity.

> Sometimes I feel bad about [being gay]…. Like, is it wrong or just God's challenge? *[Jeremy Finch, personal interview]*

> Sesotho culture learned homophobia from the Bible. *[Lucky, personal interview]*

> When it comes to Christianity, people make it difficult, because of the way they interpret the Bible…In particular, pastors and priests are becoming a problem. *[Thabo, personal interview]*

> Christianity has made people scared to come out. *[Tiny, personal interview]*

> [People are homophobic because] they don't have a clear understanding and are influenced by culture and religion. *[Retha, personal interview]*

Rural vs. Urban Homophobia Levels

The interviews explored how the participants view the level of homophobia in rural (un-developed) versus that in urban (developed) Maseru. Most (7) of the eleven (11) asked stated that rural-based people tend to be more homophobic due to a lack of education and enlightenment. Several of those who attributed homophobia to a lack of education cited the absence of modernisation in rural areas to be the main cause. They explained that a growing awareness around sexuality issues has provided a means for people to develop a more humane approach to alternative sexuality identities. For instance, Matele said that he and many other young gay men he had known had been forced to meet the chief and attend initiation school once their sexuality had been discovered. Others gave credit urban Maseru's size – saying that it provides relative anonymity and dissuades people from interfering in other people's business.

> Uneducated people [are more homophobic] because they do not understand the biological creation of human beings. *[Papi, questionnaire; translated by TP]*

> Westernisation has led people to understand homosexuality; it has not created any homophobia. If globalisation had never happened, Basotho culture would have kept LGBTI stuck (unable to progress), because there's no understanding of sexuality. *[Tiny, personal interview]*

> Globalisation brought about the education and exposure to let you know what your identity means and you can best live out that identity. And it helps other people understand you and accept you. *[Nom, personal interview]*

> It is very safe to love openly because people are getting to know more [in urban Maseru]. *[Angel, questionnaire]*

Interestingly, those who described urban areas to be *more* homophobic did so providing the same reasons that the others had used to explain its lack of homophobia. Four (4) participants cited rural areas as being more accepting either due to a lack of education, or due to the particular cultural ethos that lends to a relatively high level of emphasis on privacy, both one's own and that of others.

> Surprisingly, I think that people who are uneducated are more accepting… they take new information as information anyway… *[Majaha, personal interview]*

> People in rural areas don't understand sexuality fully, so they don't care and they don't mind – they recognise it but don't discriminate. *[Jeremy Finch, personal interview]*

> In urban areas, they don't understand that it's more than just sex… In rural, it's better, because Basotho culture is actually more open to homosexuality. *[Lucky, personal interview]*

> If you find one homosexual guy in the rural area, you'll find most people there accepting that person, supporting that person. But the one living in the urban areas… they'll say 'why are you doing this?' It's a bit difficult for a person there. …But in the rural area, they don't mind other people's business. *[Thabo, personal interview]*

Thabo is so comfortable with being out in his village that he is openly affectionate with his boyfriend when there. He explains that he and his boyfriend hold hands and kiss, and while some of the villagers may ask questions, he has never experienced any discrimination. This case is an exception, however, as most of the participants who have or have had boyfriends said they avoided being open with their boyfriends whilst in public. However, publicly showing affection is unusual in Lesotho for even opposite sex couples, so the lack of openness may draw only in part from fear of homophobia.

Regarding the rural vs. urban question in terms of homophobia levels, there is an interesting discrepancy that immediately appears to be contradictory in nature. However, a pattern is detectable when considering that the two groups of thought seem to be drawing conclusions from the same basis: homophobia is learnt. So, those who feel urban areas are more accepting of homosexuality are attributing such acceptance to having learnt about LGBTI issues, thus negating homophobic attitudes they have held or may encounter. In urban centres of Maseru, there is greater exposure to western media and ideas, so awareness of alternative modes of sexual expression are likely to be encountered. However, exposure does not always, of course, translate to benevolent understanding, particularly when regarding the plethora of media available today that present stereotypical or adverse images of homosexuality. Nonetheless, access to diverse ways of thinking is more of an option to those in the urban centre, so it is not surprising that so many participants should regard urban life to be better suited to acceptance of LGBTI individuals.

As for the rural areas, those who regard villagers to be more accepting are reasoning that they have not yet learnt homophobia, and they are still perhaps abiding by 'traditional' cultural ethos wherein sexuality is neither definitive nor abstractly moralistic. Many or most rural residents may very not interpret such behaviour as 'homosexual' per se, as it is conceptualised along western lines. This lack of understanding falls in line with the same reason why many of the participants find less educated people to be less homophobic – they believe homophobia is a learned attitude, often adopted from western media and culture. Accordingly, to lack knowledge about homosexuality would lend to lacking recognition of the stigmas attached to it, if regarding the process of homophobia as one which requires the adoption of the belief system centred on a particular way of regarding sexualities (i.e. dualistic, definitive, and value-laden).

This would support the thesis that homophobia is, roughly stated, an imported and locally adapted set of ideologies, since it is a reaction to a modern construction of same-sex sexuality. Therefore, just like homophobic thought, the particular acceptance of LGBTI people occurring in urban areas is a result of modernising modes of thinking. It follows logically that the participants' assessment of homophobia levels should have such a discrepancy.

Despite the researcher's expectation, there emerged no pattern in regards to one's belief about which area is more homophobic and where that particular participant lives. However, it must be clarified that while participants identify their primary community as the one of residence, it was not uncommon for most of them to move between spaces. For instance, many of the participants from rural areas often spent time in the urban area, and vice versa. Reasoning for such included commuting for work, meeting friends, spending time at the Matrix office (when it was open), and visiting other family. Therefore, it is plausible that most, if not all, the participants had a strong understanding of how, in their personal experience, rural areas contrasted with urban areas in terms of acceptance and homophobia. Thus, while there lacks a general consensus regarding where homophobia is strongest, it is important to note that both views (that it is worse in rural and that it is worse in urban) are in their own ways valid and substantiated. This falls in line with the notion that both homophobia and ideas around human rights are learnt, so it would follow that those who have not learnt homophobia would be less likely to judge homosexuality, just as those who have been exposed to the discourse of human rights, which is emerging in urban centres, would be proffered the option of recognising homosexuality as a valid and acceptable identity. Therefore, individual experience would, arguably, depend on the level of homophobia that person's community and family has been exposed to, as well as how much they have learnt about homosexuality within the context of diversity and human rights.

Hidden Same-Sex Desire

In the interview with Shane and Angel (who were interviewed together), a rather intriguing point was raised in regards to 'heterosexual' men who frequently shout homophobic remarks at open homosexuals in their peri-urban town just outside Maseru. They explained that many of these men will openly act discriminatory during the day, and then covertly seek out these homosexuals for sexual relations during the night. Peter also questions the authenticity of self-proclaimed heterosexual men, stating that upwards 90% of men in Maseru engage in some type of same-sex sexual activity, though only 10% of these men identify as queer in any sense; the remainder purport to be heterosexual and many of them are even married. Whether or not this statistic is anywhere near true, it is difficult to say. The point is still clear, however:

there are a significant number of men (actively or passively) claiming to be heterosexual who are covertly engaged in non-heterosexual relations.

Additionally, several of the participants raised the point that while homosexuality is rejected by so many Basotho people in and around Maseru, same-sex sexual desire and behaviour still occurs, though privately. For instance, Jeremy Finch had attended an all-boys boarding school in urban Maseru, and he witnessed a system in which older boys took younger boys under their protection and had a 'sort of relationship'. This resonates with the miners in mining compounds, as discussed in the Background & Content section. Also, Tiny and Retha explained that herd boys still often engage in (private) same-sex sexual behaviour when at their post. These accounts point to perhaps a conflicting zone at which traditional and modern cultures collide. Homophobic rhetoric is not by any means lacking in Maseru, but it seems that it may very well be stronger in ideology than in practice. Following the adage that 'actions speak louder than words', one might infer that pronouncements against homosexuality are more about adhering to a changing culture rather than a personally-driven principle.

Matrix and Self-Identification

In order to determine how effective Matrix's services were in helping to eradicate homophobia, participants were asked how they rated Matrix's work. It would be easy to assume that, since most of the participants were found through the Matrix social network (implying their involvement), it would follow that these participants would find Matrix's work to be a positive contribution. However, not all felt that the organisation's efforts would prove fruitful. A few felt that the prevalence of homophobia was too strong to be countered with any success. One particular issue was that only those who are already accepting of homosexuality would be willing to listen to Matrix. However, a majority of the participants spoke highly of Matrix in several regards. The primary reason they felt Matrix was succeeding in its mission was that it had provided for them personally a means of better understanding themselves through both resources and access to others like them. Also, they expressed gratitude toward the organisation for its work in disseminating information and helping to alleviate discrimination.

Also investigated in the interviews was the participant's sense of self in regards to his or her sexuality. To begin, common to all the participants was a lack of understanding about their sexuality and what it meant until relatively late in their teens, especially compared to the average age of thirteen (13) for boys in most western cultures (Kort, 2005). Most of the interviewees came out to themselves at around the ages 16-18, though all described feelings of same-sex intimacy as having existed long before this. Just as one might find elsewhere, the sense of 'always having known' was frequently mentioned. For those who clarified how they figured it out, exposure to others who identified as LGBTI was most mentioned. For one participant, Mutty, it did not become clear until he began his studies at university, despite having been called 'gay' whilst growing up due to his effeminate character. For another, Honey, he had believed as a child that his attraction toward male made him 'disabled', due to the absence of information about non-heterosexual sexualities or others like him. It was not until his late teens that he realised it was an orientation shared by others.

Western Influence and Heteronormativity

It is clear that western constructions and performances of sexuality are being adopted by Basotho LGBTI. Many of the participants presented the stereotypical lisp, limp wrist and exaggerated effeminacy that draws from western gay culture. The ones who did not exhibit such behaviour made a point of explaining that they were discreet for the sake of self-protection. As for terminology, the application of English identifiers, such as gay, fag, trans, doll, among others, points to the West's influence. More often than not, English terms were used in favour of Sotho terms.

There also seemed to be an adherence to the heteronormative habit of conflating sexuality with gender. When discussing male homosexuality, few made a clear distinction between effeminate men and gay men, as most participants conflated the two. It was not uncommon for the interviewees to substitute terms for gay men with terms for effeminate men (ntili[22] or fag). They acknowledged at points in the interviews that not all gay men are effeminate – as they mentioned that some are very masculine. But this seemed to be a conscious effort taken in order to distinguish between a 'typically' gay man (effeminate) and an 'atypically' gay man (butch), as if the norm is the former. Additionally, relationships between two men tend to take the

[22] Ntili is a seemingly neutral term which describes boys who act like girls and is used as a term for a gay boy or man.

form of masculine/femme, as contended by many of the participants (though this could also be due to the unconscious desire to maintain heteronormative standards even in a same-sex relationship).[23]

However, an intriguing divergence from western constructions sexual identity was found amidst the three (3) participants who identified as women. Though they called themselves women and female, applying the term transwoman, none of the three expressed outward femininity beyond gestural and vocal behaviour. Effeminacy was fully present, and two (2) adopted a new, feminine, name, but each still wore only masculine clothing. Whilst one (1) explained this choice as due to fear of discrimination, the other two did not feel that women's clothes were necessary in order to be women. Additionally, despite being attracted only to men, all three described their sexual orientation as 'gay', which deviates from the typical adoption of 'straight' by transwomen who are attracted to men in more western settings. This may point to a lack of western influence in one of the most nuanced and least common sectors of the queer community: transgenderism.

Legality

When asked about the laws that pertain to homosexuality in Lesotho, most of the interviewees were not aware of any laws, or they believed there might be one but were not sure exactly what it dictated. Only two of the participants (one of whom studied law) were aware that there are laws that prohibit male-male sexual relations. The lack of awareness regarding existing sexual offences legislation likely draws from the fact that it has yet to be applied specifically to homosexuals. Therefore, this can be argued to be considered positive, seeing that the influence of the law is so low that the participants do not know of its existence. In this sense, it points to a lack of need to be fearful of the law against homosexuality.

Nature vs. Nurture

Finally, participants were questioned about the source of homosexuality, specifically whether it existed before global influences or if it was imported. Additionally, they were asked if homosexuality is learned or if it biological (i.e. the nurture vs. nature controversy). With only one exception (namely Papi, who was not sure of the origin), every participant said that homosexuality has 'always existed' in

[23] Having been raised in a culture that normalizes and upholds male/female relationships, it is possible that men who have relationships or sexual relations with other men may seek to adhere to the dichotomy through opposing gender expressions.

Lesotho (and Africa) and that neither colonialism nor globalisation introduced it. They agreed that it is biological and not learned. A majority of the participants clarified that many, if not most, Basotho people believe it was imported, especially those who are Christian. However, a few mentioned cases in which they were told by elders that it had existed in their time (prior to the emergence of urban development, i.e. globalisation). This follows the line of thought that says that non-heteronormative behaviour and desire has been erased from colonial archives on Basotho (and other colonised) cultures.[24]

[24] See, for example, Arondekar (2005) and Epprecht (1998)

VII. Theory

The rise of modern forms[25] of male homosexuality in urban Maseru cannot be fully understood without theoretically framing the confluence of various forces that have led to its constitution. Similarly, emergent homophobic rhetoric also requires thorough historical examination, as it is itself a modern variation of intolerance. The construction of each was far from spontaneous; rather, it has been a complex process of developing, dissolving and reconfiguring relations of power throughout the colonial period to present-day. The following will seek to theoretically analyse the present conceptualisations of male homosexuality in urban Maseru as well as deconstruct social homophobia.

Modern conceptualisations of male-male sexuality have only emerged recently in urban Basotho culture, and they continue to transform, seeming to become further and further removed from indigenous forms. A number of scholars have, over the past few decades, dedicated considerable time to explaining how and why same-sex sexualities have transformed in the ways they have in developing nations of the world. Far too often, however, a dualist approach is used in understanding how subjectivities are modified, by qualifying the process as the submission of a passive party to a dominant one. This only serves to replicate colonialist ideological constructions of colonised subjects as lacking agency or historicity.

Corboz (2009) expands on this, identifying two approaches which predominate post-colonial scholarship: homogenisation and hybridisation approaches to globalisation and its effects. The former views the process of globalisation to be wholly or mostly consuming, leading to the replacement of traditional identities (and associated practices, beliefs, etc.) by modern ones. It disallows for any significant degree of agency on behalf of the colonised. Instead she proposes the hybridisation approach, which recognises and highlights how the 'global' and the 'local' interact and converge, continually constructing new formulations of culture and cultural identities.

However, Corboz (2009), as well as a number of other scholars, such as Blackwood (2005) and Altman (2004), warn against relying on the binary of traditional/modern, or local/global, or imported/indigenous. To apply the binary is to

[25] 'Modern' and 'traditional' or 'indigenous' are used in order to differentiate broadly between same-sex relations as understood by indigenous culture as an act, and same-sex relations as a fundamental marker of identity. The differences and the cautions in using them are described below.

both naturalise the two conceptualisations as well as preclude discussion around new productions. It also risks affording greater power to the West by implying domination – which only further marginalises the already-marginalised. Therefore, it is important that when using the terms 'traditional' or 'indigenous' and 'modern' or 'globalising', they be both used and understood not as reductive and mutually opposing, but rather as co-existing, interactive, and dynamic.[26]

Therefore it should be reiterated that Basotho men have, to a great extent, negotiated their sexualities and genders wilfully. But, as will be explained, it is not as simple as choosing when to adopt certain imported identity components; it is often a complicated, invisible process of gradual transformation.

In order to effectively expound the essential differences between indigenous sexualities and modern sexualities, sexualities within the general system of social values and interpersonal relations in traditional Lesotho should first be outlined. Sexualities are shaped by culture, so when culture transforms, so do meanings around sexuality. Hall's (1976) work on high-context/low-context cultural configuration helps elucidate this. High-context cultures tend to be found in more traditional, often (but not always) less-developed regions. Low-context cultures tend to emerge in more 'modern', developed societies. Lesotho's culture is higher-context in the more rural areas, but it becomes more low-context in more urbanised areas. However, it is arguable that the culture of urban centres, such as inner Maseru, are still relatively high-context when compared to cultures which are very low-context, such as much of the western world – a rather important point, given that the focus of the discussion is on the point of power exchange between western forces and local forces.

In explaining the differences between the two cultures and the resultant identities, Hall (1976) says high-context cultures tend to emphasise kinship-based relations such as extended family and strong community ties. Therefore, identity in traditional culture tends to be communally situated and constructed – personal achievements are greatly defined by the resulting contribution to the collective. Knowledge is drawn directly from the situation, lending to a more functional approach in terms of social signification around certain behaviours or customs. Space is shared by many people and not considered to belong to any particular person, except perhaps in terms of separating gender groups (women and men). Because

[26] These terms are used throughout the text, so it is important to note that they are applied fairly loosely and adaptively.

particular components of a traditional person's identity, such as their gender or sexuality, are fluid and often circumstantial, they are not seen as the essence of a person and therefore are understood as adaptable. Rather, sexual behaviour is understood by its immediate consequence – it exists outside the person, as an act or set of acts.

Contrastingly, Hall (1976) explains that low-context cultural identity is based on components that are regarded as internal, inherent, essential and immutable. Autonomy is expected and personal achievements are recognised as markers of one's personhood and hence social worth. It emphasises individualistic values which make responsible each person for her- or himself, thereby shaping behaviour in the interest of the self rather than the community. Space is compartmentalised for private ownership, and mutually implicit agreements discourage anyone from breaching these invisible boundaries. Knowledge is drawn from one source and lends heavily to generalisations through inductive processing. In terms of modern sexualities, the perceived individuating components of sexuality, gender and sex, are regarded and treated as neither fluid nor situational; rather it they are interpreted as essential to and representative of one's personhood. As such, they are discursively conflated to the extent that they cannot be conceptually divorced entirely from one another in any context. Therefore, modern homosexualities are, broadly speaking, the constructed individuation of a person – in other words, the publicly recognised and politically evaluated component that is regarded as fundamental to the person.

Many of the processes that have led to the rise of the modern homosexual identity have been informed by colonialism and globalisation. These two processes, (or one process if regarded in the broader context of western influence), have contributed vastly to the changes necessary for the gay identity to eventually emerge. An imperative point to make, however, is that the modern construction of homosexuality is neither global nor static (Binnie, 2004). Its migration over national boundaries does not result in a globally homogenising gay identity. Instead, each locality in which the modern homosexual identity emerges is heavily shaped by that particular context, and accordingly there will never be an exact replica from one place or time to another. Male homosexuality in modern-day Maseru is not exempt from this, as it too is highly shaped by the unique history of Maseru and greater Lesotho. Even within urban Maseru, there are variations of male homosexuality in terms of

how it is self-perceived (and named), performed and received (and recognised) by others. Like all identities, it is dynamic and susceptible to change.

According to Foucault (1977), sexuality is a point at which power is transferred. It is a space for power relations to be negotiated; meaning, it is a tool used in social interactions which determines one's social positionality (their social value) within the hierarchy of sexuality identities. This makes sexuality a marker of identity, as opposed to the traditional (indigenous) understanding of it as simply a behaviour (D'Emilio, 1983). Modern sexualities acquire meaning that draws on knowledge that is pre-supposed as internal and immutable. Signification extends beyond the immediate situation and is inscribed on the individual as a marker of fundamental personal worth. Sexuality, in other words, is a medium through which an individual is categorised and hierarchically located.

The emergence of this modern construction of sexuality occurs through the process of individualisation, which is predicated on particular economic and social formations. The development of individual subjectivities (in place of communal subjectivities) is crucial, as it presents a space for individual truths to be located. Such transformations are rooted in Europe during its long era of modernisation. Such has been elucidated by Foucault in his multi-volume work, *The History of Sexuality* (1977). To begin, it is imperative to explain that the development of a capitalist economy England (in 17th through 18th Centuries) contributed to a rise in individualisation, whereby persons were understood to be differentiated and definable through their actions. Though Foucault does not fully accept that changes were in most part due to the rise of capitalism (unlike most scholars in this field), he does emphasise class-based divisions as an important factor. He explains that the personal restraint of desire, particularly in relation to eroticism, became a necessary component in determining one's social value (via class and the associated social status). Therefore it is inextricably linked with the emergence of the English bourgeois culture. The effects began in this upper echelon of society – the citizens of which both dictated this model of restraint and internalised it. However, it could not have happened had sexual desire and behaviour not been lifted from the privacy of bedrooms and shifted to the forefront of insinuations around *civilité*[27] and

[27] In reference to N. Elias' work, The Civilising Process (1939), in which he examines the transformation of human behaviour over centuries of pre-modern and modern Europe. The purpose of applying the term in the presented discussion above is to refer to a particular kind of civilisation – that which was constructed in modern Europe and disseminated through colonial conquests.

respectability. This had occurred initially with Christianity and its push for confessions, then with discussions on sustaining the population, but eventually, during the Victorian Era in the 19th century it was reconfigured within a medical discourse whereby the value of one's personhood was measurable by one's health, either physical, or in this case, psychological. This resituated sexual behaviour and desire as a determining factor in identity constructions.

Continuing with Foucault's theory on sexuality, the person became identifiable through the process of pathologisation of homosexual desire. The knowledge of the person (one's essence or 'truth') was situated in one's sexuality. To deviate from expected sexual behaviour was to succumb to immorality or, more specific to certain sexual behaviours, perversion. One's intrinsic value came from the ability to repress physical urges, which would indicate the extent of one's rational capacity. This follows the modernist[28] notion of the binary of mind and body: the Cartesian principle that distinguishes between the rational (mental, self-restraint) and natural (physical, instinctive urge). As will be discussed further, a man's ability to control sexual urge defined his 'masculine integrity', which was the foundation of the 'imperial economy of desire' (Moodie, 1977 , as cited in Morrell, 2001:299).

Therefore, the emergence of the modern conceptualisation of male homosexuality in urban Lesotho (and many parts of Africa, for that matter) cannot be understood outside the construction of sexuality as a fundamental identity in Victorian England. Colonisation by the British introduced an array of new ideas, which were met, of course, with great resistance. However, as briefly discussed in the Background and Content chapter, colonialism implemented certain measures which served to facilitate transformations in every part of Sotho society and culture (Epprecht, 2004). Essentially, while efforts to transform the Basotho into 'proper' people were impaired by increasingly weakened imperial rule over Lesotho (at that time, Basutoland), colonialism still succeeded in laying the groundwork for other transitional forces toward the modern construction of homosexuality.

The roots of modern modes of sexual expression are found in the discursive conflation of sex, gender, and sexuality, as introduced to Lesotho by Victorian Era British colonialism. As explained above, low-context culture (as embodied by modernising western Europe) regarded these qualities to be both essential and

[28] Modernist is used to refer to a conceptual transition away from tradition as the base of social organizing.

inextricably linked. Early 19th century, explains Valdes (1995), codified the integration of gender with sex through the personification of gender qualities. Valdes applies his active/passive paradigm to clarify how the attributes of active and passive were rendered as fundamental markers of the male and female sexes, respectively. This would later expand with the assignment of sexualities, where heterosexuality and homosexuality would be assumed to align with particular gender expressions and be implicative of the authenticity of one's sex.

Therefore, in discussing the modernisation of sexuality it is imperative to also address formations of gender and sex, as they were reconfigured concurringly and mutually. This process created the foundation from which heteronormative ideologies would burgeon. Heteronormativity becomes applicable in examining the changes taking place during colonialism as it intertwines sexuality with gender and sex, rather than reducing sexuality to merely a pattern of sexual desires and behaviours. The heterosexual identity did not emerge outside of this intersection, as it was constructed within definable limits of gender expression and ideas around the significance of sex. An apt definition of heteronormativity is provided by Berlant (1998):

> By heteronormativity, we mean the institutions, structures of understanding and practical orientations that make heterosexuality seem not only coherent – that is, organised as a sexuality – but also privileged. (548)

Jolly (2011) expands on this definition by clarifying that heteronormativity is not reducible to distinguishing only the space between heterosexual and non-heterosexual. It also is applicable to alternative forms of opposite-sex (heterosexual) desire and behaviour, such as non-reproductive or polygamous behaviours. It works to organise power relations between people along the paralleled lines of sex, gender and sexuality. Transformations in Basotho society during colonialism are recognisably standardised within the Eurocentric confines of heteronormativity.

Early British colonialism in Lesotho sought to maintain control over the Basotho through implicit, yet pervasive, implementations of ideologies that 'Othered' Basotho men along gender lines. Basothos were discoursed into sexual savagery, thereby 'justifying' the white's continued rule over the Basotho. Phillips (2000) explains, 'Sex began to be reconceptualised as the location of individual truths, so that ignorance of a "sexual morality" was seen as one of the primary indicators of the

"savage" status of "heathen" natives…[This was] paramount to the development of civilisation' (11).

Colonial domination was based in economic interests, as evident by the exploitation of men to the labour mines. It served to create a hierarchy based on degree of *civilité* that would draw a distinct line between those Basotho who adapted to western notions of citizen and those who remained as 'heathens'. The former was granted access to an emerging middle class which, in exchange for its status and financial viability, had to denounce various gendered aspects of traditional culture and replace them with Christian values. This created four genders, according to Epprecht (1996): civilised men and women, and traditionalist men and women. With the interlacing of economic power and social status with Christian values, colonialist ideologies began to make headway in transforming the Basotho terrain.

Christianity polarised the gendered roles severely, as it worked in great part to serve the interests of the economy: notably women were forced to remain in Lesotho on the homesteads in order to ensure that they did not impede with the labour mines (which provided cheap labour for the British) [Epprecht, 2004]. Though traditional culture had not afforded women equal standing to men, women did have enough power to negotiate according to their needs. Increasingly this bargaining power was lost amidst the changes, as the local economy of exchange transitioned to one of a cash flow nexus that extended the market beyond the immediate community. Additionally, because they worked within the domain of the household and the immediate community, their limited access to cash meant they were prevented from engaging in the emerging economic sphere, lending to an increased divide between men and women.

British authorities also began to police the sexual practices of the Basotho. Basotho men were notorious (and still are, to a degree) for their sexual prowess and seemingly misogynist practices (Epprecht, 2002).[29] The British recognised this as a stable heterosexual quality (through the conflation of sexuality and gender) and only tended to sexual deviations of the heterosexual variety. However, eventually it came to light that even the virulently macho Basothos were engaging in sodomy through the

[29] Epprecht contends this characterization to be in great part true, and he offers little space for challenging it. However, it is likely that while they are likely to have indeed been highly patriarchal in traditional culture, perhaps even when compared to surrounding ethnic groups, the meaning of their patriarchal nature must still be contextualised. Patriarchy was probably not as subjugating and oppressive as it is understood to be. Epprecht does indirectly provide a critical approach on this, in his article, "Gender and history in southern Africa: a Lesotho 'metanarrative'", 1996.

infamous mine marriages, so much that they eventually became notorious for it amongst the various ethnic groups (Moodie, 1997). The British responded to this 'abomination' by deploying a discourse around sexuality and gender expression rendered the act immoral and uncivilised (Epprecht, 2001). Though this notion did not get internalised immediately with the Basotho men – they continued practicing bokonchana in the mines for many decades longer – it did eventually seep into Basotho cultural mores. As Epprecht notes, colonialism 'created direct incentives for Africans to police themselves against both traditional and modern expressions of same-sex sexuality' (2011:1092).

However, the implementation of western ideologies did not happen without the eventual (and often unconscious) consent of the Basotho people (or any other colonised Africans). Instead, the British succeeded in 'colonising the minds' of Africans through monopolisation of social values, a process which can be elucidated through Gramsci's notion of 'social hegemony' (Mastroianni, 2002). While Gramsci applied this concept particularly to the phenomenon by which western European proletariats consent to the imposed ideas and practices of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, it is useful in this context as it points to the act of the masses consenting to and internalising their status. In Lesotho, capitalist structures put in place produced a hierarchy based on access to material wealth, which of course was a principal source of privileging for the colonists. Such economic changes ('racial capitalism') and subsequent changes in social structures of power gave the British the space to determine what types of persons were 'deserving' of access to goods. It was those who adopted Christianity and adapted to westernised modes of thought that were able to gain power and the resulting status. However, as mentioned above, such transformations required adherence to specific conditions, such as imperialist notions of sexuality.

Those who did not adapt, on the other hand, were not only denied economic and social power, but were made examples through shaming. For instance, men who refused to follow imperialist ideological practices were publicly humiliated and emasculated. They were infantilised as 'boys' who could never mature, no matter their marital status or education level, due to their inability to earn sufficient income to accomplish crucial manhood tasks. Also their traditionally situated social power was undermined by predatory colonists who would make sexual advances on female

family members, including wives. As the basis of traditional African culture eroded steadily, adapting to colonial systems of thought and practice became a means of surviving for the Basotho, just as it did for other African groups colonised by the British at that time (Epprecht, 2004:159-161). Slowly, shaming by colonists became less necessary for the Basotho to feel shame, because it became internalised through the imported notion of sin. However, this would require the spread of Christianity, which would take decades, delaying this process of internalised shame into the second half of the 20th century.

The emasculation of men by colonists is important in the development of male homosexuality today, because it led to the development of a globally recognisable male heterosexual. Due to the increasingly unstable form of traditional masculinity (through colonialist emasculating efforts and racist socio-economic transformations), African men in the early to mid-20th century had to find alternative means of expressing and claiming their masculinity to reach traditional standards of manhood. With western practices and identities becoming increasingly synonymous with power and prosperity, resistance to changes faded in favour of finding ways to sustain themselves. So it is understandable that Basotho men (and women), particularly in urbanising areas, began to perceive certain western ideas as some variation of superior. More outwardly apparent, they adapted increasingly to imperial standards through the public consumption of European commodities, such as alcohol and western clothing (Epprecht, 2004:161). This also included expressing masculinity through active oppression of women – a means of regaining some element of power. This occurred most readily with men who were migrant labourers in South Africa, as they had both the money and geographical access to such things.

Even though Basotho men were adapting to western constructions of gender and sexuality, homosexuality did not emerge as an identity for several decades. Mine marriages by Basotho men in South Africa continued to proliferate through mid-20th century. Despite changes that made town-women safer to turn to for sexual release and allowed miners' wives to move nearby, Basotho men from the most rural areas of Lesotho continued to engage in mine marriages, unlike many other ethnic groups (Hoad, 1999:569). Important to note, however, is that these enduring Basotho men were from the most rural regions of Lesotho, pointing to the idea that globalising forces (strongest in urbanising Lesotho) contributed to the decline of mine marriages.

It also reveals the relatively slow pace that globalising ideologies were spreading in Lesotho, as compared to surrounding nations – an indication of the nation's lower level of development. Kendall's (1999) study on female intimacies in Lesotho supports this hypothesis, as the occurrence of same-sex love between women was increasingly limited to those in more rural, less globally exposed regions of Lesotho. Additionally, she found that while elderly women spoke of their early 20th century batsoalles (marriage-like ceremonies between female friends), these had steadily decreased in prevalence, until the remaining form she encountered was still intimate on both emotional and physical levels but to a less conspicuous degree.

During much of the 20th century, despite British anti-sodomy sentiments, same-sex sexual desire and behaviour encountered little or no legal ramifications (Epprecht, 2004). In great part the lack of colonial infrastructures in Lesotho itself – such as prisons, boarding schools, and mines – contributed to the prolongation of indigenous forms of same-sex sexual practices, as it delayed sexual desire's shift from the private to public sphere for most of the population. Also protecting these practices was the enduring stereotype of Basotho men as the most macho, virile and lusting in southern Africa (Epprecht, 2004). The conflation of gender and sexuality by British authorities led to the misguided assumption that Basotho men were not prone to same-sex sexual activities. However, the highly discretionary quality inherent to Basotho culture provided the necessary social fictions to protect these practices.

Post-independence Lesotho saw little relief from western imposition, as massive number of retrenched migrant labourers and increasing poverty levels in the nation meant that they were vulnerable to further transformative measures (Epprecht, 2004). Notably, the neo-liberal economic order of the 1970s exploited developing nations' fragile states by introducing international aid to promote development in exchange for opening their markets to the global economy (Mate, 2012). The idea was that development would be ensured in these poorer nations, as the neoliberalist approach assumed that every individual is, in him or herself, a sole economic agent and thus as capable as any other individual in excelling in business. Accordingly, the market provided opportunities because it is entirely rational and therefore un-biased in terms of race, class, gender, etc. However, this is faulty, and has been proven so, through its consistent tendency to further entrench existing inequities on every level, from the household to the global.

In Lesotho specifically, such changes have been seen with the development of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, commencing with a signed treaty in 1986 (Braun, 2008). Still on-going, this project intends to complete five dams across the country that would provide water for northeast South Africa. In great part it has been funded by World Bank and other western agencies, which is a red flag in itself. This has served to indirectly promote Eurocentric heteronormative standards in Basotho culture. Namely, it worked to further marginalise women, and expose men to globalising masculine forms.

For women, the LHWP served to concretise the division between the public and private spheres in Lesotho, thereby fully disempowering them with little option to mobilise (Braun, 2008). The local economies they had once worked in were now disappearing, meaning they were more reliant on men for power and therefore losing what was remaining of the nuanced autonomy that traditional customs had afforded them. Also, neoliberalist changes led to women having to take on more domestic work (Mate, 2012). This was particularly detrimental for them when dam constructions forced multitudes of rural communities to relocate, leaving women to rebuild the communities. Finally, any cash compensations paid by World Bank or other organisations went directly to men, the head of the house, reinforcing women's marginalisation. Therefore women often turned to acts that jeopardised their dignity in exchange for resources, such as selling their own bodies (Mate, 2012:22).

The consequent disempowerment of women has resulted in correlative empowerment for men (Mate, 2012). The neoliberalist economic order moved their responsibilities entirely to the public sphere, a space which was becoming politicised within the emerging nation-state. This repositioned their role as the provider within global economic realm, affording men both economic and social status as household heads. This was contrary to traditional culture, where responsibilities were not strictly relegated. Women and men both had responsibilities toward the homestead, and there were no clear lines distinguishing their gendered spaces. Furthermore, gaining access to a modernising economy, as well as earning an income, meant that (employed) men could participate as consumers. Consumer identity, as informed by class status, became an instrument of individualisation. Mate (2012:22) describes this process as 'the cult of foreign', because consumption 'becomes tied up with notions of dignity, choice and self-respect', which are regarded as conceptually coterminous with notions

of development and progression, thanks to the residual power relations of colonialism. Economic success overlaps with social status, which feeds into the evolving social hierarchy of power on a global level.

Alongside economic turnover, Christianity began burgeoning in Lesotho in the 20th century's second half. Perhaps fuelled by the enduring despair of poverty, spirituality gained significant ground in Lesotho. Though many conversions were taking place during colonialism (Basotho converts even used the acquired 'respectability' to distinguish themselves from non-respectable black South Africans), Christianity seemed to explode in popularity towards the end of the 20th century.

Given the other changes that had been happening in Lesotho, it should not be surprising that Christianity was an appealing lifestyle. Spirituality was central to traditional Sotho culture, and Christianity provided both spirituality (though in a very different form) as well as access to the monopoly on social status. Additionally, crucial in Christianity was the focus on family. Amidst the vast social and economic changes, traditional family structures were becoming unstable. The church provided a space for communing and maintaining meaningful ties with others. Igboin (2001) explains that 'religion is the basis for meaningfulness and functionality of values' in contemporary African cultures. Accordingly, Ingelhart and Carballo (1997) uncovered in their analysis of social values (World Values Survey, 1991, as cited in Ingelhart & Carballo, 1997), that traditionalist societies that struggle with general survival tended to be drawn toward spirituality, and that level of spirituality positively correlates with adherence to strict gender/sexuality roles. The growing alignment with Christianity and its value system has explained, over the decades it has been growing, an increasing concern with abstract notions such as sin and moral worth.

The role of Christianity in modern forms of homophobia is very important because it is cited most frequently as the source of homophobia – both by those who speak against it and those who experience its wrath[30]. Christianity in the global South, however, does not quite match up to its other half in the West. Its form is far more fundamental and inflexible than the more liberal versions in developed nations (Anderson, 2000). This is due to the fact that the values employed in Christianity are derived from social values already existing in Lesotho, core values such as family,

[30] As determined by examining the news media (see Background and Content chapter) and by interviews conducted with LGBT men in Maseru.

labour and other gendered institutions. Ingelhart and Carballo (1997) explain that there is a strong positive correlation between one's rating of God's importance and values such as national pride, large family structures and fecundity. Thus, prevailing discourses around the supposed inherent opposition 'authentic' African identity and homosexuality in great part draw from this set of values.

In attempts to recover traditional values that have been displaced or destabilised by colonialism, a discourse has arisen in Lesotho, as in much of Africa, around authentic African culture (Msibi, 2011). However much of how this lost traditional culture is imagined is greatly informed by imperialist notions of African culture and identity – relics of a century of oppression and hegemonic domination. Traditional Basotho culture was, and still is to a degree, greatly modified, and this began with colonialist conquests. The rewriting of African history in terms of erasing indigenous same-sex sexualities can be described as a discursive process whereby contestations over power lead to one assuming the ability to define the other (Epprecht, 2001). British colonialist knowledge was constructed in a particular way, a way which would serve to uphold British ideologies by promulgating them among Africans. As discussed above, this process proved highly successful in transforming African society. However, perhaps the most successful outcome was the internalisation by Africans of these constructed 'truths'. This is found in the transformation of gender relations.

Thus, this construction of neo-traditionalist values draws heavily from ideologies situated in Christian and nationalist discourse. Tradition is regarded as unchanging and essential, in the strategy to unify under a common national identity (Mathury, 2000). However, tradition is in fact dynamic and adaptive; so many characteristics are made invisible. Notably, indigenous same-sex sexualities are discoursed out of tradition and replaced with social constructions of more modernised versions of sexuality (as compulsorily heterosexual and reproductive). Similarly, gender relations prior to colonialism are lost from memory and replaced by modern forms of patriarchy (Msibi, 2011). These systems of beliefs are heteronormative at the core.

The global market has opened urbanising parts of Lesotho – especially Maseru – to a global-level hierarchy of identity constructions, facilitating a hegemonic system that continually contrasts developing nations such as Lesotho with developed nations

(Connell, 1998). This resonates with the enduring effects of colonialism, termed neo-colonialism, as globalising ideologies work to further marginalise those who are historically disadvantaged by colonial conquest. Not only is Basotho culture, particularly in urban centres, being transformed by western modes of thought (i.e. in terms of economic empowerment, education, humanist values, etc.), but it has also led to the exposure of men to a 'world gender order'. As coined by Connell (1998:10), it is described by the following: 'Men's bodies are positioned in the gender order and enter the gender process, through body-reflexive practices in which bodies are both objects and agents'.

Masculinities are pluralistic since they vary between contexts. Masculinity as a political identity, (whereby men have to compete for resources in a growing economy,) is a recent emergence in Lesotho, a product of the nation-state. Indigenous masculinities are not inscribed on the body like a clean slate, but rather are signified through individual acts. Modern masculinities are regarded as representing the essence of a person and is thus unchanging. Masculinities are arranged according to adherence to certain globalising social values, which derive greatly from factors such as economic power and sexual power.

Connell (2005) discusses hegemonic masculinity which is the normalised type of masculinity, but is often only achieved by a remarkable few. It is informed by media, which Connell describes as the 'vector for the globalisation of gender' (2005:843). Constructions of this type of idealised masculinity are drawn from and reinforced by western culture, which explains why economic power is imperative in its formulation. However, for those who do not have economic power, masculine status is sought after in alternative modes. Groes-Green (2009) demonstrates through his study on Mozambican men that those who cannot work towards the hegemonic masculinity due to class status turn to other forms such as those based in bodily power (physical domination). Men, he said, prove their masculinity through presentations of sexual prowess (pleasing women) or violence towards women. This is a Bourdieusian-inspired explanation in which a lack of one capital (in this case, economic) is compensated through an abundance in another capital (social, sexual, cultural or symbolic). It is arguable that this could be extended to power over femininity as an opposed form. Within the framework of heteronormativity, the conflation of sex, gender, and sexuality allow for the strategy of rejecting

homosexuality in order to reject femininity. Through this process of declaring what one does not relate to, one is able to declare what he (or she) *does* relate to.

The system of defining through contrast is what has enabled the construction of the male homosexual. To categorise one's identity or any component of it requires socially recognisable definers. However, the occasion must arise in which it becomes imperative to apply the identity. In Lesotho the occasion was found in growing concerns around HIV/AIDS in the non-heterosexual community. This broke any prevailing silences in Basotho culture around non-normative sexualities and brought to the fore sexual identities informed by 'deviant' practices and gender expressions. However, the ability to publicly live as a homosexual (or any other non-normative sexual identity) is only afforded to some. Applying once again an adapted version of Bourdieu's theoretic on capital, this is the presence or absence of sexual capital. This is a variation of Green's (2005) application which focuses on privileged sectors of LGBT culture and desirability. The application addresses negotiations of power according to one's ability to transfer other forms of capital into the (necessarily absent) sexual capital. Sexual capital is, in this application, derived from one's adherence to localised or globalised hegemonic forms of gender, sexuality, and sex. If a homosexual man in urban Maseru is open about his sexuality, then he needs to also be economically viable, for example, in order to compensate for the resultant loss of status. Financial strength would grant him more flexibility and agency in decision-making, thus enabling him to overcome social and economic disadvantages. This is particularly important if he is not only homosexual but effeminate. The further one 'deviates' from the heteronormative standard, the more they need to transfer from other capitals into sexual capital. For this reason, there is a distinct gender construction amongst homosexual men in Maseru. For example, men who are poor and gay tend to appear more masculine (butch) as opposed to those with more money.

Homophobia has strong links with sexism, as operating within patriarchy (Connell, 1993; Morrell, 1998). Though patriarchy is arguably a traditional component to Basotho culture, the modernised form experienced by urban women and non-heterosexual men today does not strongly resemble the form of patriarchy existent within traditional culture. Patriarchy has changed tremendously through Lesotho's history, and while it undoubtedly faced many transformations in Basotho's pre-colonial past, it is likely that it has undergone its greatest and most rapid

transformation since the advent of colonialism. The conceptual conflation of gender, sex and sexuality seems to have generated an understanding that being male is symmetrical to being in power, that this power must be expressed through certain gendered modes (hegemonic or dominant masculinities), and that these orientations necessarily require heterosexuality to make it conceivable.

The reconfiguration of patriarchy (or, 'heteropatriarchy') must be examined alongside the rise of nationalism. Many scholars, including Hoad (2007), Epprecht (1998) and Binnie (2005), perceive emergent nationalist discourse to be complexly intertwined with issues which fall under heteronormativity. Phillips (2000:9) notes, 'the colonial (and then the neo-colonial) state relie[s] on pathologies and demarcations within both the social body and the individual body to establish itself with increasing efficiency'. The emergent 'bureaucratic nation-state' is predicated on the collection of individualised subjectivities, organised through a bio-politic. The heteronormative distinction between the normal and abnormal (or perverse, in moralistic terms) lends to the construction of the citizen within the nation-state. This new bio-politic organises social life, using sex as a 'standard for the disciplines and as a basis of regulation… [that measures] a society's strength, revealing of both its political energy and biological vigor' (Foucault, 1978:146).

Sex as a tool for regulation must be assumed by the individual in order for it to truly function. With the growing correlation between citizenship and heteronormativity, the 'obedient subject' becomes constituted by the embodiment of certain sexual mores. The core of the operation lies in masculinity; certain formations of manhood are maintained through regulation – of others and of oneself: 'Other men watch us; grant our acceptance into the realm of manhood. Manhood is demonstrated for other men's approval' (Kimmel, 2000:71).

Therefore, a nationalist discourse cannot arise unless citizens distinguish their collective identity. Colonialism had, in all societal realms, necessitated a forged departure from much of traditional culture, thereby undermining the practice of many significant social mores and customs. Reclaiming Basotho culture requires locating within the highly transformed landscape the roots of tradition, a process which automatically leads to the strict conceptual bifurcation of the past and present. Hoad (2007:75) describes how anti-colonial nationalisms draw from the notion that modernity and tradition are necessarily opposed:

> The emergent nation must simultaneously posit itself as the vehicle of economic and cultural progress – in short, as the agent of modernity – and as the custodian of a fixed (in all senses of the word) identity conferring precolonial past – in short, as the repository of tradition.

Neotraditionalism is brought to fore here, as it is the site of located imaginaries around what constitutes an 'authentic' Basotho man. Moodie (1997) contends that masculinity (or 'manhood') has been highly reconceptualised, and that its neotraditionalist form is imagined to be reducible to "the basic rights of men to dominate women" (14). Msibi agrees, stating that "neoconservation works to create and foster patriarchy (2011:70). In this way, the term heteropatriarchy, as used above, is highly useful, as gives more weight to the grander structure of heteronormativity.

Furthermore, scholarly investigation into the roots of homophobia in modern-day southern Africa have often found that the common thread seems to rather consistently tie homophobic rhetoric back to issues of gender (Morrell & Swart, 2005). Gender, the social performance of one's sex, is the most publicly open signifier of an individual's sexuality and sex. So, when certain truths are constructed around sexuality and sex, it is one's gender that operates as the means by which an individual may speak these truths (or lies, for that matter) and the means by which they are received by the public. Sexual behaviours and desires, and one's biological sex, are not necessarily visible to the public. Therefore, gender would be the mode through which one meets (or fails to meet) social standards for sexuality and sex. Failure to comply with social standards is indicated through gender, so would perhaps follow that intolerance of homosexuality is not so much about the sexual acts themselves as it is about the deviation from heteronormative standards of gender expression (Bangwayo-Skeete & Zikhali, 2011). Epprecht (2006) takes this even further, suggesting that homophobia arises from the lack of discretion around one's sexuality. Of course, a space for discussion on sexuality and gender is emerging in Maseru, in which LGBTI people can say what they feel they represent, but currently these voices are rarely heard. This conflation of gender and sexuality is made evident by the fact that the slurs are used against homosexuals or non-masculine males in Maseru – nearly all of them refer to effeminacy.[31]

[31] *See* Findings and Analysis chapter

Drawing only from the rubric of heteronormativity (and one's location within or without it) is reductive without considering other factors. As demonstrated, sexuality and its associated powers are heavily informed by the intersection of multiple discourses – notably class, race and nation (Corboz, 2009). Notions of homosexuality presuppose spatial and temporal uniformity in the construction of the gay (homosexual) identity, which privileges western queer rights discourses (Blackwood, 2005:222). A particular type of gay or homosexual culture is made visible, and it is inextricable from existing power relations on both the global and local scales. Roberts (1995) calls this the gay identity migration, noting that access to the global gay culture is a privilege. It implies that certain requirements must be met in order to be able to claim a space as an authentic gay man. The contemporary globalised form of homosexual identity assumes the subject who embodies the gay identity meets certain criteria in terms of class (at least middle), race (white) and nation (western; democratic). Homosexual men in Lesotho meet perhaps one of these requirements (class), but most men likely do not. Given that Lesotho is one of the most economically disempowered nations in the world, and that so many of its urban men are unemployed, the transnational queer identity is exclusive to them. Though it is growing, the space for more men to come to understand their identity is yet to be far-reaching. Such 'transnational queerness' (Blackwood, 2005:222) carries the burden of marginalisation, as it implies that only certain types of homosexual identity are valid. In a way, this is in itself a variation of neocolonialist discourse: the constructed hegemonic homosexual identity serves as a re-producer of imperialist processes of 'Othering'.

The migration of the hegemonic homosexual identity also serves to make homosexual identities invisible in non-developed nations, which has proven highly detrimental in terms of HIV/AIDS prevention. Contemporary western discourses on African sexuality have upheld the notion that Africans lack same-sex sexual desire in their cultures. This is rooted in ethnocentric (racist, classist and sexist) colonial culture. Eckhert (2012:1) explains:

> The characterization of 'the sick African' in western AIDS discourse as (paradoxically) genderless and heterosexual ignores the hundreds of thousands of cases of HIV in people in Africa who would, in western

> terms, loosely be considered bisexual or homosexual, and is in this sense is blatantly heterosexist.

Therefore, when there were finally responses to the rising pandemic of HIV/AIDS in southern Africa amongst non-heterosexuals, it initially focussed solely on gay, white males in South African urban centres (Epprecht, 2004). The susceptibility of black non-heterosexuals to HIV/AIDS was overlooked in great part due to the social (mis)understanding that homosexuality was a white man's practice (Hoad, 2007:90). Such a notion only contributed to making Africans more vulnerable, as it resulted in a lack of available resources and support necessary to inform safe sex and thus prevent the spread of the disease.

However, eventually the issue of HIV spreading amongst sexual minorities became too large to ignore. The Matrix Support Group of Matrix was initially created to provide a safe, supportive space for those who practiced same-sex sexualities and were either fearing HIV infection or dealing with it. Matrix recognised that because homosexuality was discursively invisible within Sotho political society, it denied the recognition necessary for non-heterosexual people to be tended to sufficiently, particularly in regards to pressing matters such as HIV/AIDS awareness. Amongst Basotho men, the myth that HIV cannot be transmitted via same-sex sexual relations derives in great part from the issue on invisibility (Baral, 2010). With a focus on heterosexual sexual relations, the risks involved in anal or even oral intercourse are not made available by men who have sex with men in Lesotho.

As contended by Matthew Roberts (2005), the HIV/AIDS pandemic provided the catalyst necessary for discourses and organisation around gay and lesbian identities to be emerge in non-developed nations. It created the need for all men who desire men to begin seeing themselves as possessing some variation of homosexuality, because in the beginning stages of the emerging gay identity, there was a distinction according to 'position'. Men 'on top' (active, inserter) were not necessarily viewed as gay because of having the dominant position, and men 'on bottom (passive, receiver) were viewed as necessarily gay because of being in the submissive position (Roberts, 1995). This points to the conflation of sexuality and gender. Only those who acted as women could assume the identity 'homosexual'. To a certain degree this is still happening in Maseru, but it is decreasing in prevalence steadily, due to the issue of HIV/AIDS. It blurs the lines that divide men per their

positions, as it pulls 'active' men into the discourse on risks associated with same-sex sexual behaviour.

Unfortunately, assuming the gay identity is still not a viable option for so many men. This leaves activists for HIV prevention and AIDS treatment in a difficult position, because they are having to try to use western discourse on male homosexuality as a high-risk behaviour for HIV in order to reach out to and inform men who do not identify as such. With the HIV/AIDS movement being so rooted in the West, certain crucial elements just do not translate to Basotho culture. The assumption in the West, for example, that most men who have sex with men are exclusively homosexual falls short of appropriately addressing Basotho men, as a significant number either identify as bisexual or assume no label at all. Many men may not even consider anal intercourse with other men to be sexual at all, since it does not fall within heteronormative standards of sex, as per the imperialist ideologies that pervade notions of how sex is constructed. Those who *do* recognise that their same-sex sexual acts are sexual may be deterred from seeking support or materials due to ill-conceived social mores around homosexuality. Unlike in much of the West, where access to information and contacts is feasible through the internet and protected by relative anonymity, in Maseru and much of Lesotho, it is quite different. Despite its urbanisation and growing size, the community of Maseru is still quite small, and traditional social values lend to high interconnectedness between people, making the risks of jeopardising discretion run far higher.

Levels of Homophobia in Maseru

The question remains as to why levels of homophobia are not as severe in Lesotho as they are in much of southern Africa. The reasons are not immediately apparent, but some possible explanations can be drawn from discussions on development and nationalism. Notably, comparing Lesotho's emerging homophobia to that of South Africa and Zimbabwe can help elucidate potential reasons that these latter two nations are experiencing relatively stronger social intolerance to homosexuality. Both South African and Zimbabwean homophobic rhetoric is greatly situated in discourses around nationalism, conferred in claims of homosexuality being un-African. Though, just as in Lesotho, much homophobic rhetoric there draws from religion – namely, Christianity, certain differences in development have precluded such rhetoric from arising to a significant degree in urban Lesotho.

Anti-imperialist efforts in Zimbabwe, with the decades leading to the nation's 1980 independence, focussed greatly on reclaiming 'traditional' patriarchal power. However, just as in South Africa and Lesotho, this form of patriarchy, was reconstituted in colonialist ideas of what makes a real man. Both Zimbabwe and South Africa share the commonality of 'neotraditionalism' as a counterforce to colonial and neo-colonialism. But these two nations differ from Lesotho in two crucial ways: unlike Lesotho, colonialism brought a great deal of infrastructural development to South Africa and Zimbabwe, through the introduction of institutionalised sex-segregation (schools, prisons, mines, etc.) Infrastructural development in Lesotho was for a long time lacking, then minimal. Of course, Lesotho was not ever fully exempt as vast numbers of its men were labour migrants in South African mines. Nonetheless, the minimal presence of colonial infrastructures in Lesotho contributed to a relative lag in development, which negated high degrees of urbanisation as seen in the other nations.

Remaining mostly rural, in this way, allowed Lesotho to maintain many of its traditional practices and ideologies. As discussed above, the rise of the nation-state relies on the individualisation of its subjects. Due to 'delayed' development in Lesotho, the western construction of individualisation has not been able to spread as effectively as in South Africa and Zimbabwe. So, while Lesotho is legally a nation and its constituents are legal subjects (citizens), much of the nation still turns to traditional customs and ideas as the foundation for organising social life. A unified nationalist identity, therefore, is precluded by the lack of a highly organised nation-state.

Another mitigating factor may be the relative lack of domestic racial tensions. Zimbabwe, even after independence, still faces continual power struggles between its various racial groups, particularly between the white and black citizens (Epprecht, 2004). South Africa, of course, also deals with race-based challenges, given the legacy of apartheid. Racial tensions lend to continual contestation over national identity, as indigenous groups (i.e. black nationals) must find ways to prove the validity of their position in society. This often leads to deployment of discourse which features notions drawn from the 'neo-traditionalist' ideas discussed previously. Embedded in these discourses are re-constructions of patriarchy, buffered by colonially-derived understandings of heteronormativity. Homophobia arises amidst

this, as homosexuals make for an easy target when discussing how colonialism destroyed traditional African culture. It is predicated on the notion that tradition is static, and homosexuality threatens this. As Conrad (2001:125) explains:

> …[H]omosexuality in particular threatens the stability of the narrative of Nation: the very instability and specific historical contingency of the definition of homosexuality makes the category more fluid than most, and this brings into question the fixity and coherence of all identity categories.

While Lesotho is not immune to nationalist discourse, it is not as wide-spread or popular as it is elsewhere. In urban Maseru, in particular, such discourses are beginning to emerge with the effects of globalisation. Modernising identities are beginning to find themselves at the crossroads of global and local, continually vexed by (seemingly) opposing representations. But these discourses may be thwarted by more than just Lesotho's slow and precarious development. For many in the urban areas, the call to remaining 'true' to tradition may come from the belief that modernisation is not in fact as optimistic or promising as the West has made it seem. In order to address social ills and finds means of coping with widespread poverty and unemployment, Basotho people may turn back to indigenous forms of knowledge, defined by Morrell & Swart (2004) as 'a value system that predates colonialism and was integral to, and supportive of, precolonial societies and life' (97).

Therefore, even amidst urbanisation, Basotho people in developing areas may rely mostly on traditional value systems to understand and organise life. This may explain the lower levels of intolerance toward homosexuality, as customs around discretion and understandings of sexuality as more fluid than static preclude western forms of homophobia. However, as previously outlined, homophobia still exists in Christian culture, but even that homophobic rhetoric seems to not be as prevalent amongst church-goers as one might expect.[32]

A final point to consider is the growing level of awareness around homosexuality (or other non-heterosexual identities) in Maseru, Lesotho. The main question here is, To what extent are LGBTI rights as a human rights discourse

[32] Refer to discussions on participants' experiences with homophobia in the church in the Findings and Analysis chapter.

emerging in Maseru? This is highly difficult to assess, as no formal studies have been conducted on this matter, but it is possible to make some justifiable assumptions.

VIII. Reflection and Discussion

Male homosexuality in Maseru, Lesotho, has undergone tremendous changes with throughout Lesotho's long process of 'modernising'. As the field work results reflect, men who have sex with men (MSM) have adopted western notions of what constitutes a male homosexual. From terminology to exclusionary practices, men are adapting to a globalising notion of homosexuality. However, access to prevailing forms of sexuality are not accessible to all, so some much compromise certain expressions (such as un-masculine fashions) in order to maintain status in Maseru.

Additionally, male homosexuals are continually having to negotiate a space within the emerging neo-colonial culture which promotes a vocal degree of homophobia. They must contend with intolerance based in Christian faith in actively assuming and purporting their identity. Also, men must find a space that inhabits both the globalising process which enable embodiment of homosexuality as an identity, as well as remain true to traditional values (or, sometimes, neo-traditional values).

Such a discussion on how men are negotiating their identities in an ever-transforming landscape such as Maseru calls for further research. Though beyond the scope of this project, a comprehensively analytical comparison between rural and urban men would prove beneficial in understanding how masculinity and sexuality are being altered through urbanisation. Also, a further examination of how emergent identities emerge and are constructed in Maseru's particular (and multiple) contexts would proffer a deep understanding as to how homosexuality is locally defined.

Ultimately, because Lesotho is undergoing significant changes which are leading to emergent identities under the LGBTI rubric, study of such must gain a place in academic literature. Further investigation into the roots of homophobic discourse and action warrants immediate attention, as to aid in enabling Basotho culture to counter intolerance and work toward accommodating one of the most vulnerable groups in society.

IX. Conclusion

Modern forms of male homosexuality and homophobia in modern-day Maseru has been shaped by a long history of complex power relations. These processes span from pre-colonial Basotho culture through to today, and they contextually situated with Lesotho's particular historical narrative. Colonialism introduced western conceptions of gender and sexuality, which were gradually implemented through changes in social and economic spaces. With the implementation of the Eurocentric framing of heteronormativity, subsequent alterations to Basotho culture were able to take effect. While Basotho people had some agency in both refusing and assuming particular changes, ultimately colonialist impressions opened the door to neo-colonialism in terms of the rise of the modern form of homosexuality and emergent homophobic discourse.

Today, men are contending with both the pressure to adhere to 'traditional' culture and the need to embody personal identities shaped by globalising conceptualisations of homosexuality. They are having to find a space that allows for the co-existence of traditional and 'modern' identity constructions, which requires the fusing of both into a new form of homosexual identity. However, homophobia in Maseru is deterring many men from exploring and assuming the homosexual identity, particularly within urbanising areas. This is contributing to a number of problems, such as HIV/AIDS spread. Thus, social activists, such as those involved in Matrix Support Group, are working toward countering homophobia by introducing the Basotho people to human rights discourse. However, there are many obstacles, such as Christian-founded intolerance and limitations to reaching less developed areas.

As urbanisation increases, more men will gain access to globalising conceptualisations of homosexuality, and they will be able to assume them in varying ways. Hopefully, human rights discourse will have permeated urbanising Lesotho enough so that homosexuality will be able to emerge in society and be situated in a way that neither jeopardises Basotho culture nor precludes individuals' ability to fully explore and construct their sexual identities.

Appendix

#_____ Frances R Hartline
Thesis Data Questionnaire

Lipotso tse latelang, li reretsoe ho bokelletsa maikutlo le litsebo ho thusa moithuti oa boemong bo phahameng sekolong se phahameng sa University of Cape Town. Tsohle tse tlang ho aroleloanoa koano re ts'episa ho re e tla ba lekunutu joalo ka mabitso a 'nete. E le ho mothusa ho qetela lithuto tsa hae, re etsa kopo e kholo ho uena ho tlatsa kantle ho le-sisitheo lipotsong tse latelang. Re leboha nako ea hau le thuso ea hau
U ka e tlatsa ka botso le bosoeu kapo ka mokhoa oo o ka atlehang.

BOITLHALOSO BA HAU
Lebitso la pele (ha le hlokahale haholo):_____ :: **Lebitso la bosoasi (le tla sebalisoa tlalehong;)**:_____ :: **Lilemo**:_____
Boleng ba tlhaho: Botona/ Bots'ehali / tharasi / Tseling :: **Mokhoa oo u ikutloang o le oona**: Botona / Bots'eali / Tharasi/kapa hohong
Mokhoa oa ho itlhaisa sechabeng?: U le monna oa sebele /u le monna / u le motho / ha nyane u le mosali / u ikultoa u le mosali ka botlalo
Boleng: Gay / Bisexual / Lesbian / Straight / Pansexual / Asexual :: **u ikutloa u khotsofalletse bo uena (ka moo boleng ba hau boleng ka teng?)**: Ho joalo / Che :: **Haeba karabo ke 'Ho joalo', ka mokhoa o joang?**: Bots'ehali ho botona / Botona ho bo ts'eali / kapa engoe
Maemo a likamano tsa lerato: Ha u na moratuoa / U na le moratuoa / U nyetsoe/ U mohlolohali kapa Mohlolo? :: **Ha e ba o ka hare ho likamano tsa lerato, u na le nako e kae?**:_____ :: **Hlalosa boleng ba moratuoa oa hau**: Monna / Mosali / Tharasi/ kapa hohong::
Sebopeho seo o leng sona: Botona / Bohareng / Bots'ehali:: **Le phela 'mooho?**: Ho joalo / Che :: **U sebelisa puo e feng hongola kapa ho bala?**: Sesotho / Senyesemane / tseling :: **U ikutloa u phuthulohile ho sebelisa senyesemane?**: Ho joalo/ ka nako e ngoe / Che :: **Boiphihlelo thutong**: Sekolong se bohareng / Sekolong se phahameng (ha e ba ha hojoalo sekolo se tlaase, kapa ha oa sekena?_____) / Sekolo se phahameng (Selemo sa ho qeta lithuto tsa hau?___) / thuto lipakeng tsa e mahareng le e phahameng. :: **U ua sebetsa?:** Ho joalo/ Che :: **hae ba karabo ke'Ho joalo', mosebetsi oa hau ke ofe?**:_____ :: **U amohela ho feta M3000 ka khoeli?**: Ho joalo / Che :: **U holetse kae?**: Motse-moholo/Motseng:_____ Naha:_____ :: **E hlalose**: Maloting / Bohareng ba maloting le Mabalane / Motseng o pela teropo/ Mabalane :: **U phela kae ha ha joale?**: Motse-moholo/Motseng:_____ Naha: _____ :: **Hlalosa**: Maloting / Bohareng ba maloting / Motseng o pela teropo / Mabalane :: **U na le nako e kae u phela moo u phelang?**:_____ :: **U phela le mang?**:_____
Ke ha kae u mamelang kapa u shebellang lits'oants'o pono tsa manyesemane?: ha ngata / ka nako e ngoe/ ha u li sebelisi :: **Ke tse kae tsa Ma Africa tse u li sebelisang?**: tse ngata / tse ling / ha u li sebelisi :: **U mamaela litaba tsa Lesotho?**: Haholo / tseling / Ha u limamele :: **U sebelisa marang-rang ha kae?**: Ha ngata / Ka nako e ngoe / Ha u a sebelisi :: **Batsoali bah au ba holetse metseng ea Lesotho?**: Ho joalo / Che :: **Ha e ba ho joalo, Mabalane kappa Maluting a Lesotho?**:_____ :: **Ha e ba che, kae?**:_____ :: **Tumelo**: _____ :: **Batsoali ba hau ba u holiselitse tumelong ea hau?**: Ho joalo / Che :: **U sebeletsa tumelo ea hau?**: Ho joalo/ Che :: **Hae ba 'Che', hlalosa ho baneng. Ha e ba'Ee', hlalosa sehlahlo sa hau**: _____

BOLENG LE 'HO ITHLAISA SECHABENG' (HO PHUTHULOHA KA BOLENG BA HAU)
U hlokometseng eng ka boleng ba hau?: _____ :: **Ha e ba e fapane le mokhoa oo u itlhaisang ka oona sechabe ke eng?**:_____ :: **U tsebile boleng ba hau le ho tsebisa batho ba bang ka bona neng?**:_____ :: **Ka kopo hlalosa na u tsebisitse bo mang hona ba ile ba e amphela ka tsela e joang (sheba le bokosana)**:

Ke mang eo u motsebisitseng?:	*kamohelo: e hantle*	*E sa hlakang*	*E seng hantle*	*E mpe*	*Ha ke so ba bolelle. [ka kopo hlalosa hobaneng mabokosaneng a ka tlase]:*
Metsoalle (e seng litabana)					
Metsoalle (Litabane)					
Matsoalle e meng					
Batsoali					
Ba en aba hau					
Ba bang ba leloko					
Ba ithuti 'moho(e seng metsoalle)					
Litichere/ba koetlisi					
Basebetsi ba setsing ba boituto (e seng metsoalle)					
Ba a hisane					

U lumela u hlahile ka bolelng boo u leng ho bona, kappa u ithutiole bona? _____
U kile oa hlekefetsoa (ka mantsoa, ka ho otloa, kapa ka mokhoa o mong) ka lebaka la seo o leng sona? Ha e ba ho joalo, kae, ke mang? Hlalosa:_____
_____
_____
U ikutloa u phutholohile moo u phelang ka boleng ba hau? U phutholohile? Hlalosa: _____
_____
_____
U lumela ho na le lehloeo la litabane Maloting, Mabalane, kapo bohareng?:_____ **Hobaneng le le lengata moo?**_____
_____
_____
U nahana lehloeo leo le le kale batho ba lenka kae? Khetha ho tse latelang: Buithutong bo pharaletseng/Likerekeng /Sechabeng /Likolong /Malapeng/Metsoalleng :: **Ka kopo hlalosa karabo ea hau**: _____
_____
_____
Ke bomang haholo ba nang le lehoeo le lengata, barutehi kapa batho ba sa rutehang?_____ **Hobaneng?**_____
_____
_____
Ho na le melao kapa melaoana e teng ka hare ho naha e tobaneng le banna ba nang le litakatso tsa lerato ho banna ba bang?: Ho joalo/ Che / ha kena bo nnete :: **Ha e ba 'Ho joalo', E reng?**: _____
U lumela le hloeo lee e sa le le le teng ho tloha khale? Hlalosa:_____

KA KOPO TEKENA U NGOLE LE LETSATSI, HO FA FRANCIE TUMELLO EA HO SEBALISA LITABA TSEO O FANENG KA TSONA HO Li PHATLALATSA LE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN KAPA LITSI TSE LING TSA BO PHATLALATSI, LE HO LUMELA HORE A KA SEBALISA KA HLOKO LE KA HLONEPHO LITABA TSA HAU.

Figure 1

Fieldwork questionnaire in Sesotho

#_____

Frances R Hartline
Thesis Data Questionnaire

The following questions are intended to collect data for a post-graduate thesis at the University of Cape Town. All information provided is fully confidential in that personal information (such as name, etc.) will not be released. Please answer the questions as honestly and fully as possible. Ask for help if needed. Thank you for your time and assistance!

Either fill in the blank or circle the most appropriate option provided.

PERSONAL DETAILS

First Name (not required):_____ :: **Fake name (to be used in published report; required)**:_____ :: **Age**:_____
Sex at birth (circle one): Male / Female / Intersex / Other :: **Preferred sexual identity**: Male / Female / Intersex / Other
How would you describe you gender identity?: Very masculine / A bit masculine / In the middle / A bit feminine / Very feminine
Sexuality: Gay / Bisexual / Lesbian / Straight / Pansexual / Asexual :: **Are you transgender?**: Yes / No :: **If 'Yes', which?**: FTM / MTF / neither
Relationship status: Single / In a relationship / Married / Widowed :: **If in a relationship, how long have you been together?**:_____
Describe your partner's….Sex: Male / Female / Intersex / Neither :: **Gender**: Masculine / Middle / Feminine :: **Do you live together?**: Yes / No
Which language do you use most to read/write?: Sesotho / English / Other :: **Do you feel comfortable with English?**: Yes / Somewhat / No
Level of education attained: Middle school / High school (if not Matric, then grade?_____) / Varsity (years completed?___) / Post-graduate
Are you employed?: Yes / No :: **If 'Yes', what is your job?**:_____ :: **Do you earn more than R3000 per month?**: Yes / No
Where were you raised?: Town/Village:_____ Country:_____ :: **Describe it**: Rural / A bit rural / Rural-Urban / Urban
Where do you currently live?: Town/Village:_____ Country: _____ :: **Describe it**: Rural / A bit rural / Rural-Urban / Urban
How long have you lived there in your current residence?:_____ :: **Who do you live with?**:_____
How much Western media do you watch/listen?: A lot / Some / None :: **How much African media do you watch/listen?**: A lot / Some / None
How much news do you read from Lesotho?: A lot / Some / None :: **How often do you use the internet?**: Frequently / Sometimes / Never
Did your parents grow up in rural Lesotho?: Yes / No :: **If yes, which part of Lesotho?**:_____ :: **If no, where?**:_____
Religion:_____ :: **Did your parents raise you with this religion?**: Yes / No :: **Do you actively practice this religion?**: Yes / No
If 'No', explain why not. If 'Yes', explain how you are active: _____

SEXUALITY AND 'COMING OUT' (BEING HONEST ABOUT YOUR SEXUALITY WITH OTHER PEOPLE)

At what age did you realize your sexuality?: _____ :: **If it is not the same as you identify with now, what was it?**:_____
At what age did you first 'come out'?:_____ :: **Please explain who you've come out to and how they reacted (check one box)**:

Who you came out to:	*Reacted: Very well*	*Somewhat well*	*Not well*	*Very badly*	*I have not told them. [Please explain why not below]:*
Close friends (straight)					
Close friends (LGBTI)					
Other friends					
Parents					
Siblings					
Other family					
Classmates (not friends)					
Teachers / Lecturers					
Work colleagues (not friends)					
Neighbours					

Do you believe you were born with your sexuality, or that you learned it?_____
Have you experienced any discrimination (verbal, physical, or other) due to your sexuality? If so, where and by whom? Please explain:
_____
_____
Do you feel it is safe to be openly LGBTI where you live? And, *are* you open? Please explain: _____
_____
Do you feel there is more homophobia in rural, rural-urban, or urban areas?:_____ **Why do you feel it's worse there?**_____
_____
Where do you think homophobia is learned from the most? Choose up to 3 options: Media / Church / Community / School / Family / Friends
Please explain why you chose those options: _____
_____
Who do you believe tends to be more homophobic, educated people or uneducated people?_____ **Why?**_____
_____
Are there any laws in Lesotho regarding homosexuality in men?: Yes / No / Not sure :: **If 'Yes', what do they say?**: _____
_____
Do you think homosexuality in men has always existed in history? Please explain:_____
If you would like to add any other notes, please do here. Thanks again! _____

PLEASE SIGN AND DATE, INDICATING THAT YOU AGREE TO RELEASE THIS INFORMATION TO FRANCIE R HARTLINE FOR PUBLICATION THROUGH THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN OR ANY OTHER INSTITUTION, AND THAT YOU ACKNOWLEDGE THAT YOUR PERSONAL INFORMATION WILL BE USED RESPECTFULLY AND UNDER YOUR CHOSEN PSEUDONYM, UNLESS OTHERWISE SPECIFIED.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Figure 2

Fieldwork questionnaire in English

ETHICAL CLEARANCE: FORM OF CONSENT 1

University of Cape Town
Faculty of Humanities
Department of Sociology
Postgraduate Studies
Cape Town, South Africa

Researcher: Frances R Hartline
MPhil Sociology: Diversity Studies
Masters Dissertation

Project Title: Male homosexuality in modern-day Maseru, Lesotho
Research Time Frame: July – December 2012
Proposed Submission Date: TBA

Please write your initials next to each statement if you understand and agree.

_____**Purpose of study:** To determine the state of homophobia against male homosexuals or MSM (men who have sex with men) in modern-day urban Maseru, Lesotho; and to gain insight as to how male homosexuals or MSM understand themselves this context.

_____**Supervision:** My study is being supervised by Dr Judith Head, Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town.

_____**Your participation in the study:** Your participation will involve one 20-60 minute interview. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You may skip any questions you do not wish to answer. You can withdraw at any time during the interview or request that information gathered during the interview be omitted from the dissertation.

_____**Risk to you:** There is a minimal risk of feeling discomfort about data being shared by the researcher and the supervisor named above. There is a minimal risk that my report may identify you through circumstantial information, despite my best efforts to conceal your identity.

_____**Confidentiality and anonymity:** You may be asked for some identifying information, such as your age, gender, studies, location, etc. Your information will not be confidential, unless otherwise specified, since I am gathering information that will be used in my report, which may be published and thus distributed publicly. Please see the bottom of the document for your options for anonymity. I will ask for your name, email address and signature in order for my supervisor and ethics auditors (in the case that my work is audited) to verify the data is obtained from a real person.

_____**Storage of materials:** Written or typed interview notes, audio recordings from the interview, questionnaires and the consent forms for the interview will be stored securely by the researcher, for the duration of the research process up to the moment of submission. Thereafter, audio recordings will be destroyed and copies of the consent forms may be stored by the supervisor of this project, Dr Judith Head, in a password-protected digital folder. If so, then they will be summarily destroyed after one year of storage. Audio recordings and questionnaires will NOT be released to anyone outside of myself and Dr Head.

_____**Publication of results:** I will report data from your interview in the finalised dissertation paper, which may become the basis of a public presentation or publication by me, the researcher. If publication occurs, it will be in the form of an online report on a website, a blog, an online magazine or news site, a digital or printed book, or an academic journal. My assignments or publications may subsequently be used as a resource by future students, which may lead to request for future interviews. In addition, Matrix will receive a copy of the report for their use.

Your options for anonymity: You can choose all, some or none of them. Please put a check mark on the corresponding line(s), thereby indicating which permissions are granted to me.

I wish to remain anonymous:	Yes / No
I wish to remain anonymous, but you may refer to me by a pseudonym (fake name):	Yes / No
You may quote me and use my real name:	Yes / No

_____**Please note:** Even if you choose to be anonymous, your detailed responses may identify you to those who know you well enough.

ETHICAL CLEARANCE: FORM OF CONSENT 2

_____**Informed consent:** Your signature indicates that you have fully read and understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project, and that you agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researcher or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to request more information about the study, and you are also free to refuse to answer any specific questions during the interview. Your continued participation should be as informed by your initial consent, so you should fee free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

_____**Contact:** If you have further questions concerning matters related to this research, please contact Frances R Hartline, at +27 84 538 7458 or francie.rose@gmail.com; alternatively, you may contact the supervisor, Dr Judith Head, Professor of Sociology at UCT, at Judith.head@uct.ac.za.

Do you agree to participate in the study according to the conditions outlined above? Yes / No

May I audio-record your participation in this interview? Yes / No

PARTICIPANT'S NAME:_____

SIGNATURE:_____ DATE:_____

Please provide contact details below:

E-mail:

Tel #:

Other:

Figure 3

Ethical consent form for fieldwork conducted.

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FRANCES R HARTLINE **HRTFRA002**

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ESSAY TITLE: The Emergence of Male Homosexuality and Homophobia in Modern-Day Maseru, Lesotho

DUE DATE: 11 February 2013