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“HOMOSEXUALITY” IN AFRICA: ISSUES AND DEBATES

Deborah P. Amory*

This article explores the recent emergence of a new subfield within African Studies: not just the study of sexuality in African contexts, but the study of “homosexuality,” or same-sex erotics and identities. I will outline some of the events that herald this new era of African Studies, and review some of the current research topics and debates. In the end, I hope to convince readers that this research deserves the support of all activist scholars within African Studies.

This article is framed by the basic assumption that emphasizes the importance of situated knowledges, or locating the emergence of specific discourses and representations (including academic theories) within their historical and political contexts of production.¹ In African Studies, the studied avoidance of research on homosexuality² and the downright heterosexual panic concerning the issue constitutes one such context. This tendency is perhaps best captured by the recurring and insistent refrain, “There Is No Homosexuality In Africa!” This refrain is chanted like a mantra by politicians, scholars, and lay people alike, and is often accompanied by the similarly insidious accusation that homosexuality is a “western perversion” imposed upon or adopted by African populations.

The fact of the matter is that there is a long history of diverse African peoples engaging in same-sex relations, as demonstrated below. Indeed, evidence suggests that it was the historical processes of colonization and missionization that consistently altered African sexual practices.³ Virulent homophobia may be the real western perversion at work here. Moreover, there is growing evidence that African men and women are being actively persecuted on the basis of their sexual practices and identities. For example, the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Campaign (IGLHRC) has recently confirmed the 1994 rape at gun point of four lesbians in Nigeria who had sought refuge in a feminist center in Calabar.⁴ During my fieldwork in Tanzania in 1991-92, I heard one friend describe with apparent humor the ambush and severe beating of one local man who was known to be a *shoga*, or homosexual. Porter, as well, describes the physical violence that all too often accompanies Kenyan discussions of homosexuality.⁵ More widely known are the condemnations of “homosexuality” by the governments of Zimbabwe and Namibia, discussed below. The point is that sexual orientation has become a cause, or perhaps an excuse, for political persecution and personal violence in diverse African contexts. This fact provides the sometimes volatile setting for current research.

Other important contexts for current research include feminist and women’s organizing in Africa, and feminist theory on gender and sexuality in African Studies, even as

women’s concerns remain largely peripheral to African nation states and the field of African Studies. Finally, the emergence of post-colonial gay and lesbian identities and liberation movements around the world have played an important role in supporting and encouraging this research.

Given these contexts, research explores a variety of topics, including local, pre-colonial same-sex practices and identities; the eminently queer nature of the colonial enterprise; the post-colonial politics of sexuality within African nation states; the current emergence of a human rights discourse based on lesbian and gay identities, and postcolonial gay and lesbian organizations in African contexts.

In this article, I occasionally bracket the term “homosexuality” in order to highlight the fact that same-sex erotics, practiced by many people in many different historical contexts, do not always necessarily lead to the emergence of homosexual identities. This bracketing of the term emphasizes the fact that homosexuality as a social identity is a fairly recent phenomenon, as Michel Foucault and others have demonstrated and theorized.⁶ Interesting debates revolve around the use of terms like “homosexuality,” “lesbian,” and “gay” in African contexts, and I will outline them below.

GLAS (Gays and Lesbians in African Studies)

An important sign of these new times in African Studies, includes the fact that the organization GLAS, Gays and Lesbians in African Studies, was approved as an ASA-sponsored organization in April of 1996. The history of the organization dates back approximately two years, to the 1994 ASA meetings in Toronto. At those meetings, eight people gathered in response to announcements and adopted a preliminary mission statement and the name, GLAS. The group serves two purposes: one, to share information, contacts, and resources “related to and action concerning homosexuality in Africa.” Second, the group was founded as a way to support lesbian, gay, and bisexual colleagues in African Studies. The first official business meeting of the group was held in Orlando at the 1995 ASA meetings, as well as the first GLAS-sponsored panel: “Homosexuality in Africa: Does It Exist and Why Does It Matter?” This panel was designed to counter the disbelief surrounding the issue, and demonstrate the importance of the topic. The following year, two panels featuring current research in Africa were organized for the 1996 San Francisco ASA meetings. GLAS also co-sponsored a reception with IGLHRC in San Francisco, celebrating its new status as an official ASA-sponsored organization.

I will pause here simply to note that most discipline-based professional organizations have had similar caucuses (with similar goals) for up to twenty years, including the American anthropological, historical, and political science associations. Interestingly, lesbian and gay caucuses have been much more noticeably absent from area studies organizations. Oftentimes, members of these caucuses have pioneered the study of "homosexuality" in the respective disciplines, and the founding of GLAS follows the same pattern. In this section, I will discuss both the process and the outcome of the GLAS panels at the 1996 ASA meeting in an attempt to highlight a number of important issues, from current research to contemporary debates.

Wolfram Hartmann and I organized the two panels, titled rather playfully, "White Boys Do Southern Africa: A Queer Perspective" and "Same Sex Unions in 20th Century Africa." They were well-attended and (for the most part) well-received, an indication of interest in the topic within African Studies. For different reasons, the panels represent two obvious points of departure for the study of same-sex relations in Africa. The first panel, "White Boys Do Southern Africa," focused on the important research currently being conducted in Southern Africa on same-sex relations and "homosexual" identities. The title was meant to serve as a campy (i.e. humorous in a gay sort of way) acknowledgement of the fact that it is predominantly white male scholars based in Southern Africa who are conducting this research. The second panel, "Same Sex Unions in 20th Century Africa" highlighted a particular absence of theoretical attention to same-sex sexuality. That is, "same-sex marriages" ("woman-woman marriage," for example) have been duly recorded in a wide range of classic and contemporary ethnographies, but the analysis of sexual practices and meanings within these contexts has been noticeably absent.⁷ However, these two panels could hardly represent all of the important new research being conducted. Rather, as with any panel, presenters included people who we could contact and people who could afford to travel to San Francisco. Additional topics are also being researched, and I think both the inclusion and exclusion of topics merits discussion. I will begin with the former, and conclude with the latter under the more general heading of "Debating Homosexuality."

"White Boys Do Southern Africa: A Queer Perspective"

Some of the first research specifically on "homosexuality" in Africa is currently being conducted in Southern Africa. The forging of political consciousness during the liberation struggle in South Africa involved the emergence of a self-consciously political lesbian and gay identity in that country. The publication of the powerful volume, *Defiant Desire*,⁸ marks that moment in particularly important ways. For example, it both documents "the many facets of South African homosexual experience" (p. 3) through time and within different communities of color, and records the history of political organizing in terms of gay and lesbian identities from the 1950s to the 1990s. The foreword to the International Edition notes a number of

important historical events that coincided roughly with the publication of the volume: the democratic election of Nelson Mandela, the inclusion of sexual orientation as a protected status under the country's constitution (Section 8 on Fundamental Rights), and South Africa's first gay film festival. Some of the articles record what has heretofore been another "lost" history, and the volume as a whole incorporates class, color, and gender into its analysis, as well as sexuality. In many ways it heralds both a new identity and a new analysis, just as the publication of *This Bridge Called My Back*⁹ in 1984 marked a new generation of feminist criticism in the United States. Finally, the publication of *Defiant Desire* coincided with the first conference on lesbian and gay studies in Africa, held in South Africa.

South Africa, then, provides a particularly important site of research because of the broader liberation struggle and the organizing on lesbian and gay issues there. Academic research has contributed to this movement, and also has been encouraged by another political crisis: recent outspoken attacks on "homosexuals" and "homosexuality" by the governments of Zimbabwe and, within the last year, Namibia. In January 1997, for example, following homophobic statements by President Nujoma, the Namibian Secretary for Information and Publicity declared, "homosexuality deserves a severe contempt and disdain from the Namibian people and should be uprooted totally as a practice." News of these events, like the ongoing battles over the exclusion of GALZ (Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe) from the annual Zimbabwe International Book Fair, has been internationally publicized over the internet. One of the two panels at the 1996 ASA meetings focused on research in the Southern African region, both because of the research being conducted there and because of the political struggles at stake.

The papers in the panel, "White Boys Do Southern Africa," addressed a number of issues, including those of representation and sexuality, colonialism, geographies of identity, and the relationship between U.S. hegemonic gay identity and current political struggles in South Africa. Wolfram Hartmann's (U. Namibia) paper, "A Blind Date: Queer Studies Meets African Studies, or, A Camp in Ovamboland" explored questions of representation and queer identity¹⁰ through an analysis of photographs taken by a colonial officer in Ovamboland (Namibia) during the 1910s and 1920s. Hartmann argued that a queer aesthetic was evident in these photographs, based on images both included and excluded from the camera's frame.¹¹

Marc Epprecht (U. Zimbabwe) presented a paper titled, "'Good God Almighty, What's This!': Homosexual 'Crime' in Early Colonial Zimbabwe."¹² Based on early colonial court records in Zimbabwe (1880-1923), Epprecht challenged structuralist and functionalist accounts of homosexuality as a response to labor migration and sex-segregated living and working conditions. His paper demonstrated that homosexual "crime" among African males (indecent assault and sodomy) began too early, was too widespread and was too varied in nature to be dismissed as a result of European

too varied in nature to be dismissed as a result of European sexual decadence. Moreover, the archival evidence revealed that some African men were prosecuted for "crimes" that took place within the context of relationships that they themselves described as affectionate.

The focus of the panel then shifted to South Africa. In a paper titled, "The South African Body Politic: Space, Race, and Heterosexuality," Glen Elder (U. Vermont) drew on archival materials, including a 1968 Select Committee Report on an amendment to the Immorality Act, to demonstrate how the imaginative and geographic ordering of apartheid was premised in many ways on a white heteronormative view of sexuality.¹³ Also addressing the South African context, Thomas Olver (Vista U., South Africa) traced the development of gay identity in South Africa through a discussion of gay culture and literature and in relation to the emergence of North American and European gay identities. Olver's paper presented an important critique of hegemonic gay U.S. identity, exploring the political implications of Euro-American dominance.

The discussant for the panel, Morris Kaplan (SUNY-Purchase) called our attention to the "sexual anxieties of colonialism," particularly as those anxieties were refracted through colonial constructions of race. Indeed, the historically-based papers of this panel suggested that it may be useful to conceptualize colonialism as an eminently queer endeavor, one in which the anxieties of "homosexuality" from a European perspective pervade the unequal power relations between colonizer and colonized.

"Same Sex Unions in 20th Century Africa"

For this panel, Stephen O. Murray (San Francisco) provided a critical review of the ethnographic literature about both male-male and female-female marriage. He cited Nadel and Evans-Pritchard for the relatively thorough descriptions of same-sex behaviors among Nuba and Azande men, respectively. Otherwise, the ethnographic record, particularly with reference to woman-woman marriage, is replete mostly with denials of homosexual behavior, alongside an evident failure to even ask the pertinent questions—as in, "do you (the female 'husband') have sex with your wife?" Murray concluded by suggesting that the available data will likely never provide an answer to the question, "were these relationships sexual?" Rather, he argued that the more basic and, ultimately, more important question becomes: "what do we mean by 'sexual'?"

The three other papers on the panel presented case studies of different same-sex unions, or alleged unions. Rudi Gaudio (U. Arizona) discussed the case of "Man Marries Man in Northern Nigeria?" with a big question mark. He described an inflammatory newspaper article that reported a marriage between two Hausa men. Gaudio's paper focused on the Islamist newspaper's insinuation that this alleged marriage was the result of Western influences. Gaudio noted that, at times, Hausa men do use words like "marriage" to describe their same-sex relationships, but never without a great deal of irony and humor. He also noted the fact that Hausa men were surprised to learn that American men also

engage in same-sex relations. The Islamist newspaper utterly missed the irony with which Hausa men talk about their lives, and Gaudio closed with a warning to Western scholars that we, too, might be inclined to miss such ironies in our haste to identify commonalities with other "gay" communities and practices around the world.¹⁴

Ronald Louw's (U. Natal) paper, "Same Sex Desire and African Culture: Untraditional and Traditional Weddings in the 1950s in Durban, South Africa," reported on research he has been conducting into male-male marriages in a black shanty town outside of Durban. Based on interviews and oral histories, Louw has been able to document the existence of a vibrant "homosexual" community from the 1950s, complete with community hall and regular weddings. This case study provided a nice complement to recent research on the "circumstantial homosexuality" among African men in the mine compounds and prisons, and gave some sense of the historical depth of same-sex relationships within this particular community in Durban. Finally, I presented a paper titled, "Woman-Woman Marriage in Swahili Society." Noting an isolated example of marriage between two women, I argued that the sexually explicit gossip describing this sexual and social relationship could best be understood by locating it within discourses of sexual joking that more broadly constitute an important part of the construction of gender in Swahili-speaking societies.

Several of the papers presented at these panels will be published in forthcoming volumes on "homosexuality" in Africa, joining a small but growing literature on the topic. To date, two volumes address gay and lesbian lives in South Africa: *Defiant Desire*, described above, and *The Invisible Ghetto*.¹⁵ *Human Rights and Homosexuality in Southern Africa*, by Chris Dunton and Mai Palmberg, outlines struggles and debates in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Botswana.¹⁶ *African Homosexualities*, edited by Stephen O. Murray and William Roscoe (New York University Press, forthcoming), will offer reviews of the ethnographic literature and research articles on the topic. Multiple entries on Africa are included in new editions of *The Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*, forthcoming from Garland Press, which will be published in two separate volumes: *Lesbian Histories and Cultures*, edited by Bonnie Zimmerman, and *Gay Male Histories and Cultures*, edited by George E. Haggerty. Several other proposals for edited volumes on Africa and "homosexuality" are currently at preliminary stages. It seems a good time, then, to assess current debates in this field.

Debating "Homosexuality"

If the 1996 ASA panels described above give us some idea of current research, they also offer the opportunity to discuss some of the debates surrounding the study of "homosexuality." In this section, I will focus on two particularly important issues: Cultural imperialism and cross-cultural lesbian and gay studies; and, Where are the women?

As GLAS was organizing itself during the past three years, and as we were planning the panels for the 1996 ASA conference, concerns about the racial, ethnic, and gender

composition of the organization and of the presenters for the conference were raised. GLAS, like other lesbian and gay professional caucuses, is overwhelmingly white, with many more men than women as members. This state of affairs reflects more generally the identity politics of the ASA, formed within and against specific parameters set out by American racism and sexism.¹⁷

The institutionalized racism, sexism, and homophobia of professional organizations are also reflected in debates within lesbian and gay studies about research on and representations of same-sex sexualities. Cross-cultural lesbian and gay studies has been accused more than once of cultural imperialism. For example, anthropologists and others have been criticized for roaming the world in search of cross-cultural evidence of the universality of "homosexuality," in much the same way that Euro-American feminists have been criticized for collapsing all women into a single monolithic category of "woman," one that ultimately serves the interests of western feminism. Kath Weston, in a 1993 review of lesbian and gay studies in anthropology, cautioned against the ethnographic cataloging of same-sex desires and practices around the world, arguing instead for the importance of local, community-based studies that highlight the complex constructions of sexuality as informed by race, class, gender, and nation.¹⁸ Similarly, Gaudio's presentation described above cautioned gay western scholars about the dangers of simple-minded interpretations of Hausa men's very subtle and nuanced discussions of their same-sex relationships.

Some scholars have responded to these issues by arguing that the terms and analytic categories of "homosexuality," "lesbian," and "gay" are inappropriate to the cross-cultural study of same-sex sexualities. For example, Blackwood argues that "progress in lesbian cross-cultural studies has been limited by its subsumption in the broader category of homosexuality."¹⁹ She draws our attention to both the material and ideological constraints that are differentially imposed on men and women in any given cultural context, and the divergent meanings of sexual practices and behaviors that result. Blackwood joins with other scholars in calling for an integrated analysis of "sex-gender systems, one that pays attention to local nuances in meaning, and the interconnections between sex, gender, and other categories of social identity as well, including generation, religion, class, etc." (This, in part, was my argument, described above, that Swahili-speakers' gossip about two women's failed "marriage" was part of a broader sex-gender system, where gender is crafted and constructed through sexual joking of all varieties.) Cross-cultural research has demonstrated that there is tremendous variability in the way different groups of people conceive of, talk about, and practice their sexualities.

Indeed, the hetero/homo opposition simply does not stand up well to cross-cultural comparison, again proving to be an historical construction. Thus it remains an open question as to whether or not historical "third gender" roles, such as Swahili *mashoga*, or the Hausa "men who talk like women" described by Gaudio, can be considered

"homosexual," or "gay."²⁰ In fact, it leads to a questioning of the category of "sexuality" itself as a western construction.

Even as western (gay and lesbian) scholars reach the inevitable analytical conclusion that "homosexuality" (and the terms, "lesbian" and "gay") are not appropriate to non-western contexts, a growing number of organizations are forming in African and other countries that are proudly named gay and lesbian. These organizations draw on a developing human rights discourse that identifies lesbian and gay rights as human rights. In 1991, for example, Amnesty International recognized persecution on the basis of sexual orientation as a human rights issue, and sexual orientation has recently become grounds for political asylum applications in the United States.²¹ Issues of sexuality, human rights, and "sexual rights," were hotly debated in Beijing at the Fourth World Conference on Women.²² And the incorporation of sexual orientation into the South African 1996 constitution has also broadened debates to include constitutional law. New information technologies, particularly the internet, are playing an important role in these developments. Alerts about human rights violations are transmitted through IGLHRC's Emergency Response Network; GLAS maintains an electronic newsletter and can be located through the ASA home page on the World Wide Web. As postcolonial queer identities emerge around the world, a growing literature addresses questions of gender, sexuality, and identity in postcolonial contexts.²³

These somewhat contradictory developments are noted in an article that assesses the possibilities, promises and difficulties of a gay and lesbian movement in Kenya. John Mburu describes what appears to be a division of labor between Western gay researchers, who study "traditional" same-sex practices, and Kenyan gays and lesbians who are more interested in pursuing research and organizing politically in order to confront the multiple inequalities of post-colonial Kenya: the oppression of women, gays and lesbians, political minorities and the desperately impoverished.²⁴ That is, while western scholars work to reclaim past traditions of "homosexuality," African activists and scholars (particularly in the diaspora) are more concerned with theorizing post-colonial lesbian and gay identities. For these scholars and activists, the terms "lesbian" and "gay" are appropriated from their western contexts and applied to African lives and politics.

What we are witnessing, then, are two related but distinct developments in African Studies (and around the world): one branch of research documents and theorizes diverse African histories of sexuality and gender, while another articulates emerging postcolonial liberation movements organized around lesbian and gay identities and rights. In a discussion of AIDS activism and feminist theory, Katie King has described this historical juncture as one of "global gay formations and local homosexualities."²⁵ Indeed, international AIDS organizing has played an important role in these developments. These are simultaneous projects that exist in an uneasy historical relationship to each other, the products of the recent restructuring of the world economy and the power of new

information technologies. Hopefully, we will be able to simultaneously embrace, appropriate, critique and resist gay western culture, as well as document local histories and erotics of same-sex relations.

And where are the women? This was another difficulty we faced in organizing the 1996 ASA panels, and a difficulty that the GLAS leadership faces as well. The question of women's representation has been a historically vexed one in African Studies, whether in scholarship, the ASA, or the job market. A recent search through a Sociofile database (an electronic catalogue of articles in the Social Sciences) by the subject headings of "homosexuality and Africa" revealed only a few entries, all of them about men. Indeed, sharply pointed barbs are known to fly among anthropologists on this issue. "Why don't you publish anything about women?" demand the feminist (and lesbian) anthropologists; "Why don't you do the research?" demand the (gay) men. "We do research on men, why can't you do research on women?" counter the women. And on it goes.

There are a few obvious answers to these questions. One is that women in the academy and in African Studies are too vulnerable to risk their careers on "controversial" topics.²⁶ African women have argued that their feminism centers not on sexuality, but on the economics and politics of mere survival in present-day Africa. A perhaps less obvious answer to this "woman question" would highlight the important impact that feminist organizing has had in Africa, and particularly as a result of the twenty-plus years of organizing for the U.N. World Conferences on Women and concurrent NGO Forums, held in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995).²⁷ Part of the history of these conferences has been ongoing debates about feminism and sexuality. These debates have taught western feminists to broaden their definitions of feminism (to include economic, health, and environmental issues) and they have introduced African feminists to western discourses on sexuality and sexual rights. For more than twenty years, African women (and lesbians) have been busy organizing, and western women as well. I should not have been surprised, then, by a search of Women's Resources International, a CD-ROM database just like Sociofile. Plugging in the key words "lesbian and Africa," 30 entries came up on the screen. (Sociofile produced 5 entries given the words "homosexuality and Africa.") The Women's Resources International citations listed not "respected" academic journals, but popular feminist and lesbian newsletters such as *Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights*, *Off Our Backs*, *Connexions*, *Kinesis*, and on. In short, part of the answer to the question, "where are the women?" may be that they are too busy organizing to present papers at academic conferences in the United States.

The study of same-sex relations and the fight for lesbian and gay rights in Africa constitute important challenges for all of us. If nothing else, this article will hopefully convince a few skeptics that the research and organizing currently being conducted are worthy of support from all quarters. That said, we also need to learn from the histories of African

Studies and feminist organizing more generally. Our analyses need to be informed by an awareness of the multiple causes of political persecution and oppression: gender, race, ethnicity, class, religion, as well as sexuality. We need to work to form alliances with other scholars and groups who share these goals. Human rights work provides one particularly important context for practicing and theorizing postcolonial African gay and lesbian identities and politics, as well as research on African sex-gender systems, both historical and contemporary.

Notes

1. Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14(4), pp. 575-99. Carolyn Martin Shaw demonstrates the usefulness of this approach in her compelling analysis of the politics and poetics of colonial Kenya; see *Colonial Inscriptions: Race, Sex, and Class in Kenya*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.
2. For an early acknowledgment of that fact, see Deborah Pellow, "Sexuality in Africa," *Trends in History* 4(4), pp. 71-96, 1990. For a provocative analysis of the more general anthropological silence on sexuality, see Don Kulick, "The Sexual Life of Anthropologists: Erotic Subjectivity and Ethnographic Work," in *Taboo*, Don Kulick and Margaret Willson, eds., pp. 1-28, New York: Routledge, 1995, and Stephen O. Murray, "The Anthropological Tradition of Explaining Away Same-Sex Sexuality When it Obtrudes on Anthropologists' Notice," *Anthropology Today* 13(3), pp. 2-5, 1997.
3. Beth Maina Ahlberg makes this point in her discussion of Kikuyu sexual practices; see "Is There a Distinct African Sexuality? A Critical Response to Caldwell," *Africa* 64(2):220-41, 1994. See also Carolyn Martin Shaw, *Colonial Inscriptions*.
4. One of the four women had just published an article on lesbianism in Nigeria, which also condemned previous attacks against women. See *IGLHRC Emergency Response Network*, vol. VI, no. 2.
5. Mary A. Porter, "Talking at the Margins: Kenyan Discourses on Homosexuality," in *Beyond the Lavender Lexicon*, William L. Leap, ed., (Amsterdam: Gordon Breach Publishers, 1995), pp. 133-53.
6. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, New York: Pantheon, 1978.
7. See Joseph M. Carrier and Stephen O. Murray, "Woman/Woman Marriage in Africa," in *African Homosexualities*, Stephen O. Murray and William Roscoe, (eds.), New York: New York University Press, forthcoming.
8. Mark Gevisser and Edwin Cameron, eds., *Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa*, New York and London: Routledge and Braamfontein, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1995.
9. Moraga, Cherrie and Gloria Anzaldua, eds. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, New York: Kitchen Table/Women of Color Press, 1984.

10. Here and below, the term "queer" encapsulates the different categories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and simply alternative genders and sexualities.
11. A slightly different version of this paper will appear in the forthcoming volume on colonial photography in Namibia, *The Colonizing Camera*, Wolfram Hartmann, Patricia Hayes, and Jeremy Silvester, eds., Capetown: Univ. of Capetown Press.
12. Forthcoming in *African Homosexualities*.
13. Forthcoming in *Mapping Bodies*, New York: Routledge. See also Glen Elder, "Of Moffies, Kaffirs and Perverts: Male Homosexuality and the Discourse of Moral Order in the Apartheid State," in *Mapping Desire*, David Bell and Gill Valentine, (eds.) New York: Routledge, 1995.
14. See also Rudolph Gaudio, "Unreal Women and the Men Who Love Them: Gay Gender Roles in Hausa Muslim Society," *Socialist Review*, 95(2), 1995; and Rudolph Gaudio, "Men Who Talk Like Women: Language, Gender and Sexuality in Hausa Muslim Society," Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Linguistics, Stanford University, 1996.
15. Matthew Krouse and Kim Berman, eds., *The Invisible Ghetto*, Johannesburg: COSAW, 1993.
16. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, *Current African Issues* #19, June 1996.
17. Deborah P. Amory, "African Studies as American Institution," in *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*, Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds., pp. 102-16, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
18. Kath Weston, "Lesbian/Gay Studies in the House of Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 22, pp. 157-85. See also Pedro Bustos-Aguilar, "Mister Don't Touch the Banana: Notes on the Popularity of the Ethnosexed Body South of the Border," *Critique of Anthropology*, 15(2), pp. 149-70, 1995.
19. Evelyn Blackwood, "Cross-Cultural Lesbian Studies: Problems and Possibilities," in *The New Lesbian Studies*, Bonnie Zimmerman and Toni A.H. McNaron, eds., pp. 194-202, New York: The Feminist Press. See also Deborah Elliston, "Erotic Anthropology: 'Ritualized Homosexuality' in Melanesia and Beyond," *American Ethnologist*, 22(4).
20. See Deborah P. Amory, "Mashoga, Mabasha, Mage: 'Homosexuality' on the East African Coast," forthcoming in *African Homosexualities*.
21. "Russian bid to 'cure' lesbian was persecution, court finds," *Boston Sunday Globe*, June 29, 1997, p. A21.
22. See "Conference Reports" in *Signs*, 22(1), 1996, especially Ara Wilson, "Lesbian Visibility and Sexual Rights at Beijing," pp. 214-18.
23. Again, "queer" is a favored term because it captures the sense of a wide range of genders, sexualities, and oppositional identities that are emerging in various post-colonial contexts. For example, see Martin F. Manalansan IV, "(Re)locating the Gay Filipino: Resistance, Postcolonialism, and Identity," in *Critical Essays: Gay and Lesbian Writers of Color*, Emmanuel S. Nelson, (ed.), (New York: Harrington Park Press), pp. 53-72; Geeta Patel, "Home, Homo, Hybrid: Gender and Sexuality in South Asia," forthcoming in *College English*; Took Took Thongthiraj, "Toward a Struggle Against Invisibility: Love Between Women in Thailand," *Amerasia Journal*, 20(1), pp. 45-58, 1994.
24. John Mburu, "Dreams and Delusions of an Incipient Gay and Lesbian Movement in Kenya," forthcoming in *Different Rainbows: Same-sex Sexualities and Popular Struggles in the Third World*, London: Gay Men's Press.
25. Katie King, "Local and Global: AIDS Activism and Feminist Theory," *Camera Obscura*, 28, pp. 79-98, 1992.
26. For a discussion of the challenges of being an African feminist and academic, see Abena P. A. Busia, "On Cultures of Communication: Reflections from Beijing," *Signs* 22(1), pp. 204-10; on the hazards of being a professional queer ethnographer, see Kath Weston, "The Virtual Anthropologist," in *Anthropological Locations*, pp. 163-84.
27. Thanks to John Mburu for this insight.

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Resources

GLAS: Gays and Lesbians in African Studies. To subscribe to the GLAS electronic mailing list, send a message to "majordomo@mail.smu.edu" with the following command: subscribe glas@mail.smu.edu

GLAS can also be found through the ASA home page on the World Wide Web: http://www.sas.upenn.edu/Africa_Studies/Home_Page/ASA_Menu.html

IGLHRC: International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 1360 Mission St., Ste. 200, San Francisco, CA; 94103, iglhc@iglhc.org

ILGA: International Lesbian and Gay Association ilga@ilga.org

Human Rights and Homosexuality in Southern Africa is available from Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, P.O. Box 1703, S-751 47 Uppsala, Sweden; fax (46) 18-69 56 29.

Dakan, produced by Mohamed Camara (Guinea). First African film to address issues of homosexuality. Available from California Newsreel, 149 North St., Ste. 420, San Francisco, CA, 94107; email: newsreel@ix.netcom.com

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