

What is it like for a Gay, Nigerian Male living in Nigeria?

Alex Igundunasse¹
University of Lagos, Nigeria

Nathan Odiase
University of Lagos, Nigeria

Thomas Alao
University of Lagos, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

Following the enactment of the year 2013 Same Sex Prohibition bill into law, it is now illegal to practice homosexuality in Nigeria. With this development, a variety of scholars have come up with a number of papers in reaction to this law from largely the legal, ethical, cultural or spiritual perspective. However, there has been very little from the psychological perspective especially how these homosexuals perceive or experience their state of sexual orientation in Nigeria. Consequently, this study sought to explore some of the experiences and perceptions of these people from a psychological perspective using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Analysis of transcripts explored the extent of the hope, fears and aspirations of homosexuals in terms of their quality of life. They suggest that living as a homosexual in Nigeria is a very daunting experience and it makes life a little more difficult due to the fear of persecution and prosecution. Further implications and areas of further research suggested.

KEYWORDS: Experience, Homosexuality, IPA, Nigeria, Perception

Introduction

It is no news that homosexuality or same sex partnerships are practiced in many parts of the world today. It may be fair to suggest that most parts of the Western world have reasonably embraced homosexuality and enabling frameworks been endorsed to support their activities. In America for example, there are enabling laws that protect the rights of these people. However, that is not the case in Nigeria. The act of homosexuality has been met with stiff opposition by proponents of both religious and cultural ideologies here in Nigeria (Ukah, 2018). This resistance has led to the creation of stringent laws with severe punishments for homosexuals in Nigeria (Amnesty International, 2015/16). The laws in Nigeria prescribe that offenders risk a 14-year jail term for homosexual acts or 10 years jail term for those who promote it. All these

¹Corresponding author: Department of Psychology, University of Lagos, Nigeria. E-mail: aigundunasse@unilag.edu.ng

laws are stated in the Nigerian Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act of 2013. In view of this development, it is imperative to understand that implication of this scenario in a formal study.

A number of studies have been conducted as it relates to the ethical, legal, health, religious or cultural implications of homosexual in Nigeria (Ahmadu, 2001; Asue, 2018; Endong & Calvin, 2015; Obasola, 2013; Obidimma & Obidimma, 2013; Oginni, Mosaku; Mapayi, Akinsulore & Afolabi, 2017; Ukah, 2018). However, there is very little on the psychological dimensions of homosexuality, especially the perceptions and experiences of these homosexuals towards the laws that have been put in place. This study aims to fill in that gap. The current study explores some of these aspects of homosexual experience and what it really means to them in the Nigerian context (Mapayi, Oginni, Akinsulore, & Aloba, 2016). We explore the perspectives of these homosexuals from the varying media intrusions on homosexuality and seek to understand how they feel about the media responses to same sex relationships in Nigeria (Mckay & Angotti, 2016). This is in view of the fact that in the Western world, rights and privileges of homosexuals are well protected by the law. In the United States or United Kingdom, for example, there are laws that protect homosexuals from being fired for their sexual orientation.

There has been an on-going debate as to whether homosexuality is a variant of inherent human enduring trait or as a result of early exposure, curiosity and peer group pressure which is the entire anecdote of the nurture side of the debate within the context of psychobiology (Servick, 2014). However, that debate is out of the scope of this paper. It will suffice here to raise a simple question. Can homosexuality be seen as a natural phenomenon or a creation of identity from the lived experiences of Nigerian homosexuals living in Nigeria? In other words, what does it mean to be a homosexual in Nigeria? This therefore gives credence and research basis for an attempt to explore the phenomenon in the Nigerian context.

Psychological basis of Study

This study seeks to explore the perceptions and lived experiences of homosexuals using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The IPA is an approach which inductively requires the researcher to understand and identify the meaning making processes of each individual experience (Regassa, 2017; Smith & Osborn, 2003). IPA is a tool that facilitates a form of “inter-subjectiveness” in how people make meaning about their experiences. Therefore, the essence of this study is essentially exploratory in nature and done within the context of psychological perspective.

The purpose of this study lies central to Social Identity Theory where different groups or individuals belonging to a social stratum, find solace, esteem recognition and warmth from belonging in the society by continuously promoting the ideologies, behaviour and disposition of their groups. Theoretically, if we are researching homosexuality from the prism of the Social Identity Theory, we may perhaps suggest that this is an out-group that needs to be researched (Allport, 1954; Boutelier, 2019; Carothers, 2018; Johnson & Hinton, 2019; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This study is therefore significant because very little empirical evidence has been published in both local and International arena as to the nature, perceptions and lived experiences of homosexuals of Nigerians from a psychological perspective. Therefore, an exploratory and inductively analytical inquiry would facilitate further research of people with this kind of sexual orientation in this part of the world.

Research Questions

What are the experiences and perceptions of males who live as gay in Nigeria with respect to their sexuality? This research seeks to explore issues specifically directed towards the lived experiences and circumstances that shape the formation of their sexual orientation and their identity as homosexuals. We further seek to get some understanding as to the reason why they chose to be identified as homosexuals or indeed, how they found themselves as homosexuals and to what extent these developments have affected their lives. The main research question largely embedded in the interview questions with the participants in this study.

Overview of Literature

In reviewing existing research literature for the study, clarifications had to be made to address major issues this study would explore. The overarching idea of this review was to understand the existing conceptual framework of homosexuality and to identify existing models that would help in the interpretative process.

Homosexuality involves an apparent same sex orientation that comprises emotional or romantic bindings to a member of the same sex. This orientation has become so accepted as a norm in Western societies that people who practice homosexuality have created an identity making them a minority group in the society (Garnets & Kimmel, 1991; Lozano-Verduzco, 2015). They now belong to a set community which they believe they should be free to exercise their rights openly without stringent moral and religious confines that may restrict them (Mckay & Angotti, 2016).

Homosexuality was listed in the Diagnosis and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders II (DSM II), and was listed under the category of sexual disorder (Fox, 1988). A massive debate ensued before that period as to the necessity and pragmatism of putting it as a mental disorder because it did not fulfil the criteria for its classification. Opponents of this idea claimed that as long as it did not cause a measure of individual subjective distress or result in an impairment of social and cognitive functioning, homosexuality should be removed from the manual. Proponents of this position viewed this as an attempt to malign the integrity of the DSM for people not to crave help for their perceived maladaptive sexual tendency. In the end, a decision was made on December 15, 1973 as to the removal of homosexuality as form personality disorder from the clinicians' manual.

A study by Martin and Hetrick (1988) identified that there are basic components and features of homosexuality which are ubiquitous in nature. The first identifying marker of homosexuality is the sexual craving and attraction to a member of the same sex. In countries where homosexuals are a subject of stigmatization and ridicule, the probability of engaging in homosexual activity may be limited even in the presence of internal attractive cravings (Savin-Williams, 1990). But if they are in places where they are warmly received, their behavior could be largely different (McGee, 2016)). This label is a proof of their covert acceptance of a homosexual identity which we see as prevalent in communities where homosexual actions are allowed freely (McGee, 2016).

According to Adolfsen, Iedema and Keuzenkamp (2010), the observations of these negative feelings may lead to the creation of homonegativity. This is explained in a five-factor measurement of negativity towards homosexuals' scale. The results of this scale when administered indicated striking differences across cultures and this development supports how the preponderance and acceptance of homosexuality is culture or morally bound (Adolfsen et al., 2010).

On the flipside, the media has played an active role in the adjustment of rigid perception towards people with same sex orientations. A study by Calzo, Ward and Monique (2009), reports that the media's use of individual stories and previous experiences as a tool to appeal to the readership of the communities not to see these individuals as outcasts but as part of the society. They do this because the media presents a viable alternative for the promotion of their idea while pledging anonymity (Olson, Cadge & Harrison, 2006). Recent advances in media have promoted the effect of marginalizing homosexuals on their mental health thus symbolizing a medium for the outcry of the homosexual minority (Uribe & Harbeck, 1992).

Based on these observations, we can conclude that just as the prevalence of homosexuality is different across communities, so do the numbers of homosexuals in these communities vary in their understandings (Furnham & Saito, 2009; Hammack, 2018). We therefore explore these distinct experiences as to why they are now identified as homosexuals in Nigeria. This is in the context of the evolution of homosexuality and same sex orientation in different cultures and communities (Barth, 1969).

Method

The Context of the Researcher

The authors in this study are psychologists in an institution of higher learning in Nigeria. At various times, each author came across the revealing experiences of homosexual in the academic environment and the country at large. So, in one of our routine coffee breaks, we got talking about the subject of homosexuality shortly after we had read about the arrest of some homosexuals in the media. As psychologist, we felt the need to research and understand how these groups of people feel or experience homosexuality in view of the fact that there was very little literature in this area from the Nigerian perspective.

Research Design

The study took a generally inductive approach in qualitative research methodology that sought to explore and identify unique individual experiences or perceptions of some gay people living in Nigeria. It involved a bottom-top process of data enquiry where questions are asked but participants essentially drove the data generating process (Willig, 2001). In this approach, the method of enquiry is emergent as responses to a particular question is most likely to determine the next question to be asked. It should also be noted that on the back drop of this, the questions revolved around the boundaries already set out in the delimitations of the research which was to explore the perceptions and experiences of homosexuals in Nigeria. This was in view of the criminal implications of being a homosexual in this country.

The general research design also followed a close interactive atmosphere between the participants and the researcher so that in-depth interpretation of emerging responses would follow. This interactive process gave the participants a good atmosphere for the expression of their perceptions and experiences because questions asked were aimed at eliciting friendly and self-revealing responses (Madill, Jordan & Shirley, 2000). In this study, the interpretative phenomenological analysis as a theory and method was used to explore these perceptions and experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

The specific research tool for this qualitative research enquiry is the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and as earlier stated in the study, we explored interpretations of subjective experience and meaning making processes of individuals belonging to the

category of interest. This is consistent with Husserl's Phenomenology where participants are masters of their subjective experiences and it involves the way these experiences are perceived, interpreted and talked about by the participants (Finlay, 2005). It also looks at the implications of participant perception of experience to their ability to anticipate future outcomes and act on them.

It is different from the normal interview process due to the fact that it follows a double interpretation or hermeneutic process where the conceptions and paradigms of the researcher is used to interpret the experiences as told by the participants (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Therefore, it takes into cognizance the germane process of inter-subjectiveness between participants and the researcher on the subject of interest (Smith, 2004). It involved a three-stage analysis of themes derived from the interview transcript of participants. The interview is first analyzed to form themes that are general on topical interpretations of participants words and responses (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes are then taken to the next stage of analysis where they are transformed to reflect purported concepts from the behavioural sciences to enable the researcher narrow down the themes into key areas that fit into the theoretical frame work of study (Patton, 2002). The final stage involved the meticulous organization of these transformed psychological concepts to meaningful results so as to enable the researchers develop a good report of the overall study (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

Participants and Procedure

Permission to conduct the study were sought and obtained from the University Central Research Committee. The terms of approval were consistent with American Psychological Association (APA) rules and guides for doing research. Having met the conditions of using IPA, participants in this research were drawn from various parts of Lagos metropolis. They were all male with ages ranging from 23- 31 years old with some working-class background. They were approached at fairly known place in the Lagos metropolis with a larger gay population. The third author in this research personally approached each of the six participants in this study separately. The third author explained to them the basis of the research and why it was important for them to participate in the research. Participants were made to understand that participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any given time in the process of the research. Participants were made to understand that all ethical measures and approvals were obtained prior to the study and they were fully assured of anonymity and confidentiality. Therefore, no person would be able to trace or identify the participants in the research.

The Interview

To ensure that each participant felt at ease, each participant was asked to select what time and venue was most suitable for the interview. Only the third author conducted the interview with the support of the first author. This was because the participants did not want a second person at the venue of interview. The first author who designed the study also prepared a list of semi-structured questions and gave the third author the necessary preparation to conduct the interviews. These semi-structured questions were used to explore participant's perception and experience of homosexuality with the context of what it meant to them. For example, some questions asked included; How would you explain your sexuality? How does it feel to be gay in Nigeria? What does it mean for you identity when you are referred to as gay? And so on.... Each interview lasted between 40-60 minutes. Interviews were recorded onto a tape recorder and Dictaphone as back up. The interview data was transcribed verbatim and the analysis was done using the IPA guiding principles in transcribing and analyzing interview data (Smith, Jarman & Orsborn, 1999).

Data Analysis

The second author conducted the analysis. Before the analysis was conducted, the first author ensured that the interview data on the tape recorder was consistent with the transcribed data. The first author also ensured that the transcript data was consistent with the data analysis after it was completed. This was to ensure coherence of the entire narratives in the data. This is an approach that ensures reliability in qualitative research data (Yin, 1989). However, in terms of validity, the concept of validity in qualitative research differs completely with quantitative research. What is often advocated here is for the researcher to ensure that material presented in the study should be dependable or trustworthy so as the reader can make reasonable interpretation of the phenomenon that is under investigation. (Elliot, Fisher, & Rennie, 1999; Golafshani, 2003). Apart from that the issues of sample size or process of selection of participants is not very material except that in IPA, sample of participants must be homogenous. (Smith et al., 1999). No names were used, and participants were referred numerically so as to maintain anonymity in the analysis.

Consistent with IPA procedures, the second author read each interview transcript carefully, then annotating and coding each one at a time before proceeding to the next one (See Appendix A). The broad themes from each transcript were fully developed. Subsequently themes that were emerging were focused after repeated readings of the transcript and the themes and superordinate theme eventually emerged and this method of analysis is complied with Smith's et al. (1999) approach for IPA analysis.

Analysis

In the exploration of their perception and feelings, a variety of areas became prevalent across all participants. These areas helped us identify what was common with most participant and those of which are unique to each participant.

The first major theme classified as 'early experiences' was one which explored the area of their early experiences as a gay. In this area, the antecedence that led them to being homosexuals was explored. This theme identified the period of inception and explored the affective and cognitive states of participants in this regard. For example, Participant 1 expressed some of his early experiences as a gay person in the following words:

Oh, okay well actually um... (looks ahead), I think the first experience I had was when I first came back from secondary school, um.... someone walked up to me [reminiscing] well, I was in my mum's shop and so the person walked up to me and was just talking, and we became friends. He was a customer. Therefore, we became friends, so we became close and exchanged numbers I didn't [pause] at that time, I didn't know anything about homosexuality or bisexuality. So, we kept on dating and I was invited into his house, he tried to do something, he was like romancing me, touching me, it felt very strange. Something that I have not done before. He gave me oral sex and I think I fell for it. [Pauses] So that was that.

The quote above clearly depicted early experiences as a gay person by participant 1. He did not claim he was born gay but someone who was a customer in his mother's shop introduced him to that kind of behaviour. The experience was simply that someone introduced him to homosexuality, and he did enjoy the relationship. He was candid about the nature of the romance largely because it was his first time, but he enjoyed it despite the initial strange feelings. Other participants had a variety of experiences ranging from those who felt they were born gay to those who felt circumstance led them to becoming gay.

The second theme classified as ‘perception of homosexuality’ was one which peered into their opinion as to how they felt about homosexuality on one hand and how they felt Nigerians broadly perceived homosexuality on another. This approach was taken because it was important to reconcile their own perspectives with that of other Nigerians. This is against the notion that IPA is largely interested in understanding “what is it like” for the participants and not what they are perceiving about other. It was important to clarify this due to the nature of the Nigerian context of the study. This theme captured feelings of prejudice, variations of discrimination, marginalization and in some cases the acceptance of homosexuals. It explored their sensitivity to societal norms in Nigeria and how some conventions in this part of the world affect their lives. For example, participant 4 was of the view that:

“Well I think it's injustice, I think it's none of the government's business because the government is supposed to be there for us to take good care of us and make sure nothing goes wrong in the economy and the society but they are putting their nose into other people's private lives isn't just fair and it's not like being an homosexual is a disease.

The third theme captured their opinion about the criminalization of homosexuality in Nigeria. It explored their perception about the law and how this law affects them emotionally. It revealed the effect of the government legislation on them or indeed their displeasure with government policy in Nigeria on homosexuality. For example, Participant 3 captured it as follows:

“I am very angry, very angry and it all boils down to our backwardness in this society. Why should you place such stiff penalty [gesticulates angrily], what are we preaching here”? Participant 2 responded in similar manner, *“Yeah it's illegal.... It makes me enraged and it makes me think about leaving the country” [He retorted].*

The fourth theme captured their perception of self and worth. It explored how their same sex orientation made them feel about themselves and their worth or value in terms of self-esteem. This theme was also linked with their intrinsic experiences as homosexuals which explores their emotional states as people of same sexual orientation. Participant 6 captured it in this way:

“To be honest [Sighs] it makes me resentful, that I can never be as normal as other people and it makes me feel disgusted and angry at myself for harboring feelings that would probably lead to my demise”

and participant 5 summed it up this way,

“You see I have thought about this well...well and being gay just seems too stressful and if I could exchange it I would, no questions asked”.

The fifth theme identified how their sexual orientation affects their interaction with other heterosexuals and how this is contingent on their building long lasting relationships and participant 4 had this to say:

“I have a couple of friends, male friends, female friends. My male friends each time that I try to talk to them or hug them or something they think like you are trying to feel up on some things [shakes his head] and ummm.. my it's so weird because most times when you get into the room, if for instance you find um them in the midst of themselves talking and you just come in and they just keep quiet all of a sudden [pauses and thinks] and yeah they are overly nice to me.[stops, and then adds] My female friends are very.. very... very.. loving [places both hands over his chest and smiles] I like them because they are very nice caring, yeah, I think that's

it". The themes were analyzed from the verbatim transcript. See summary of results in Appendix B & C.

Discussion

The results from the analysis show intriguing understanding of how homosexuality in Nigeria is viewed from the perspective of homosexuals. Hitherto, very little was known about these kinds of people in Nigerian because they operated underground. All participants involved in this study affirmed that their homosexual and same sex orientation was either biological or indeed due to some social circumstance. They believed in some of the cases that a being homosexual was not a choice but more or less a biological predisposition to act that way. To the best of our knowledge, it should be stated that very little qualitative research has been done on gay people in Nigeria within a psychological context. So, there is not much to compare with in terms our current findings within the Nigerian context. Similarly, that there is very little to compare with in qualitative studies in the Nigerian context. Therefore, the comparisons made here are with studies conducted in other parts of the world.

In the present study, participant 6 showed early signs of discomfort with his identity as a homosexual. It may be safe to suggest that this occurred due to the predominant heterosexual tendency around him. This observation is similar to findings of Lozano-Verduzco (2015). It was also seen from the analysis that most of the participants were introduced to homosexuality by strangers or friends (Participant 1 and 4) showing a contradiction in their initial opinion that homosexuality is biological (Hammack, 2018). Based on that we may be inclined to suggest that when a participant attempts to imply that homosexuality is inherent or in the genes, it may be an attempt to rationalize their actions and homosexual tendencies. It can also be noted, for example, Participant 1 and 2 rationalized that they missed a relationship from their respective care givers, and it contributed to them becoming homosexuals. We can then conclude that a caregiver's presence might have had a great effect in the determination of one's sexual orientation. There is no existing literature to validate this finding to the best of our knowledge but the reader may want to reason the plausibility of this contrition.

As expected, most participants believed that the Nigerian community detests them and their presence. Most participants perceived fear, hatred, and ridicule especially the negative perception and prejudice that comes from the Nigerian society. This finding is supported by similar findings in Mapayi et al., (2016). Although the Mapayi study was largely quantitative in nature, it offers a fair indication of the extent of the negative attitudes towards homosexuality in Nigeria. Therefore, the most likely conclusion we can make is that most of them live in constant fear and insecurity due to the likely repercussions of the reactions of Nigerians towards them. Someone living in the West or where homosexuality is acceptable will most probably not experience this kind of feeling.

When we explored their perceptions about the criminalization, it was seen that all participants who contributed to this theme felt enraged about the criminalization of homosexuality in Nigeria. Some felt it is unfair and an act of injustice by the government (Participant 3, 4, 1). Some participants believed that is the final nail on the coffin of their freedom. It was evident that these participants viewed this law in Nigeria as double jeopardy because they are already being discriminated against and criminalization rather compounds the situation. This scenario therefore made them feel rejected in the society and enraged. It is against the backdrop of this that participant 1 felt it would impede freedom and creativity amongst homosexuals who might be productive in the nation.

With regards to how they perceived themselves, it was a mixed reaction amongst participants. Participant 3 for example felt both a sense of shame and but somehow accepted his identity. This mixed feeling might have been as a result of the pleasure and gratification of being homosexual coupled with the rejection he gets from the society. The same can also be said about Participant 1. However, there was evidence to suggest that the presence of other homosexuals made them feel a sense of worth and belonging despite the shameful feeling that may come with it. Participants 2 and 6 harbored self-hate and resentment because they believed that it wasn't a good choice and they could do nothing about it. They felt the pressure to act as heterosexuals, but they are encumbered by their homosexual fantasies and attendant contradictory feelings.

An intriguing observation was made when most participants attested to the fact that they are fully ready to renounce their same sex orientation if it were possible. This was really astounding because most of the participants initially suggested that they were biologically predisposed to being homosexuals. This then brings to the fore the ideas that people prefer to be accepted by the society than their personal idiographic demeanor. Acceptance in the Nigerian society appeared to mean a lot to them. This referred to that feeling of self-worth or esteem, but it was in their reckoning a little elusive for them because of their understanding of the Nigerian society. Although the criminalization of homosexuality in Nigeria may not necessarily have been a deterrent, they are willing to trade-off their supposedly 'biologically' driven homosexual tendency on the altar of societal acceptance, so it seemed in some of these cases.

In exploring their relationship with other homosexuals, it was observed that most had one thing or the other to say about fellow homosexuals especially Participant (2, 4, 5). For instance, there was a sense of support, freedom and intimacy for fellow homosexuals. However, Participant 6 on the other hand has no trust for homosexuals. This was very revealing taking into cognizance that this same participant 6 revealed that he also had no trust for heterosexuals. This made the issue of trust not attributable to his sexual orientation. Other participants like 3, 4, and 5 revealed that their same sex orientation has no effect on their interaction with heterosexuals. They still feel free amongst heterosexuals so long their sexual orientation remains hidden and undisclosed else they risk stern and harsh treatments (Cass, 1979; Ponce, 1978)

When admonishing other heterosexuals, most of the participants encourage every homosexual to be confident and accepting of their identity. Here we got sense that these homosexuals have become a close-knit minority group that found solace, warmth and belonging in themselves (Harry, 1989; Cass, 1984). This is consistent with Tajfel's (1978) concept of social identity. It is evident here too that the homosexual community in Nigeria craves for freedom and emancipation from the stringent perceptions of the society. This is obvious as participant 2, 3, 6 encouraged homosexuals to be secrets while accepting their identity. Participant 1 encourages rehabilitation and remorse for those who believed that being homosexual made them unstable in both their mental and physical lives.

Conclusion

This analysis therefore brings us to the understanding that the negative feelings and rejection of homosexuals makes them uncomfortable here in Nigeria. Gay people in other parts of the world where homosexuality is acceptable may not go through this experience. The fact that homosexuality is criminalized compounds the situation for these Nigerians who are homosexuals. The pressure for them to abide by the law is ever present. In all, these

homosexuals want to retain their sexual orientation and be accepted by the society for who they are. This view appears to be the most prevalent among the participants in this research. This also brings to the fore the plausibility of generalizing our findings to other homosexuals in Nigeria. We can say with some measure of caution that the views expressed here in terms of our findings, we believe, are a fair representation of what how homosexuals feel in Nigeria. In studies like this what matters is the depth of the information gathered and not necessarily the number of participants in the study. Further research may consider the use of other qualitative approaches to understand the depth of how people of this sexual orientation feel in the broader context of the Nigerian society. For example, grounded theory approach may be explored to build theory that explains homosexuality as a phenomenon in an elaborated manner.

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Appendix A
Initial Noting on Transcript

Exploratory Comments	Original Transcript
Bisexuality?	<p>Researcher: Are you homosexual?</p> <p>Participant 1: Yeah, I am not really a homosexual, I am BI</p> <p>Researcher: What does it mean to be BI?</p>
Sex with both men and women?	<p>Participant 1: Bisexual really means to have sexual relations with two different sexes, (pauses) which maybe having sex with the same sex and having sex with the opposite sex at the same time at the same period</p>
Confirmation of identity	<p>Researcher: Are you homosexual?</p> <p>Participant 2: Yeah, I am</p> <p>Researcher: At what age did u identify as homosexual</p>
It is in the genes	<p>Participant 2: Um am not entirely sure, uh I think probably everyone's born with it</p>
Other issues attributable to sexuality	<p>Researcher: Did u learn to be homosexual?</p> <p>Participant2: No, I can't say I learnt to be. But I can say that they were factors involved</p>
Homosexuality is not learned but inherited	<p>1</p> <p>Participant 3: Well I can't really say, per se but I could say that I have been a homosexual all my life</p> <p>Researcher: Did you learn to be homosexual?</p> <p>Participant 3: Of Course, not (scoffs)</p> <p>Researcher: Could you share a few of your experiences that you identify as homosexual</p>

Appendix B
Process of Tracking Experiential and Emerging Themes

Participant	Object	Perceptual & Experiential claims	Emerging themes
Particip-1	Confused feeling	“you understand but that doesn't mean they should not be sober they should not	Emotional instability

		have that sober redemption or that remorse of wanting to change because it is also good for one to have a repentant heart”	
Participt-2	Ambivalence	“Sometimes it makes me feel bad to be truthful (rubs his shoulder) sometimes I feel bad that for some reason I think if I was the right person my right partner, I wouldn’t feel entirely bad”.	Emotional instability
Participt-3	Rejection	“The fact that people do not accept homosexuals or well accept people of that kind of orientation”	Frustration
Participt-4	Injustice	“Well I think it's injustice, I think it's none of the governments business 'cause the government is supposed to be there for them to take us to take good care of us and make sure nothing goes wrong in the economy and the society”	Restricted freedom
Partipt-5	Injustice	“And as far as I am concerned this thing seems too vindictive to be considered justice or law”	Restricted freedom
Participt-6	Rejection	“At least the hurt and pain I feel is Internalized and people just see me as weird, (pauses to gather his thoughts) but the honest truth is I would gladly die with this as long as people don't see me as wrong”	Frustration

APPENDIX C

Overall Table of Themes

Superordinate theme	Participants contributing to this theme.	Subthemes	Participants contributing to this sub-theme.
Early experience being homosexual	All Participants	Homosexuality inherent (Born Homosexual)	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
		Initial discomfort, confusion and conflict	1, 6
		Romantic attraction to men	3, 5
		Homosexual fantasies	1, 6
		Compliance to sexual advances	1, 2
		Initial association with friend and stranger	1, 4
		Initially naive	1, 2
		Missing relationship from caregiver	1, 2
Views about homosexuality in Nigeria	All participants except 6	Perceived hatred	1, 2, 3
		Perceived fear	1, 2, 3
		Perceived ridicule	3
		Negative support and perception	4
		Potential escalation	1
Opinion about criminalization	All participants except 6	Angry and enraged	1, 2, 3
		Feels its injustice and unfair	3, 4, 1

		Angry homosexuals are docile	5
		Feels hurt	3, 5
		Feels it impedes maturation and creativity	1
		Seeks Freedom	
Perception of self	All participants except 4	Shameful feeling	1, 3, 6
		Accept identity	1, 3, 5
		Negative feeling and self-hate	2, 6
Change orientation if given a chance to	All participants except 4	Ready to comply and relinquish	1, 3, 4, 5, 6
Intrinsic homosexual experiences	All participants except 4	Emotional instability	1
		Craves heterosexual future	
		Negative perception	
		Internal conflict	
		Frustration	3
		Persistent sexual fantasies	5
	Seeks gay intimacy	2	
	Feels hurt	6	
	Doesn't accept identity		
Relationship with other heterosexuals	All participants	Positive/ Normal social interaction	3, 4, 5
		Restricted freedom/poor social interaction	1, 2
		Odd feeling	5
		Lack of trust	6

Relationship with other heterosexuals	All participants except 2, 4, 6	Freedom	1
		Intimacy	1
		Relief	3
		Lack of trust	6
Admonition to other homosexuals	All participants	Accept identity	1, 2, 3, 4
		Encourages confidence	1, 3, 5
		Encourages secrecy	2, 3, 6
		Craves confidence and equal opportunity	1
		Encourages remorse and rehabilitation	1
		Encourages fight for rights	4