

https://dspace.org/

Exploring the meanings attached to the sexual identity of Black women-loving-women (WLW) in Soweto.

Pakade, Nomancotsho

2014-01-09
http://hdl.handle.net10539/13387

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

'Why should I be described as a particular woman when hetero-women are free from such?' (ss10)

Mpho threw back the question on labelling as a same-sex-practising woman and as one of the participants who greatly rejected any specific term used to identify same-sex-practising women. Mpho poses a challenge to the visibility of Black women's sexualities against a history of scarce narratives. The scarcity of these narratives becomes thinner for same-sex-practising or loving Black women, even for those who locate their experiences and expressions within a sexual identity. The challenge lies in capturing the marginalised narratives of same-sex-practising women within a smaller pool of Black women's sexualities more broadly. In asserting the marginalised voice, she surfaces the confrontation of an accepted women's sexuality as heterosexist. The research report seeks to contribute to the documentation of Black women's sexuality, through offering an analysis of what constitutes an expression of same-sex-practising women in the Sowetan township context, nineteen years into democracy.

1. Orientation, Problem Statement and Research Objectives

Same-sex loving women and men in post-1994 South Africa have been discriminated against and continue to be treated as outcasts in some societies. Most of the prejudice has been fuelled by the open condemnation of sexual minorities by both professionals and civil society. Van Zyl (2008) highlights that, historically, the psycho-medical field in South Africa has pathologised non-heterosexual sexualities, while organised religion has also been used to condemn same-sex sexual expressions through labelling it as ungodly. In addition, traditional discourses have also regulated expressions of gender and sexuality, deeming homosexuality as un-African (Matebeni, 2009; Reddy, 2002; Van Zyl, 2008). Traditional cultural values favour heterosexual unions and reject same-sex loving as an imported Western sexual practice (Gunkel, 2010). Same-sex sexuality remains a highly contested issue in South Africa, despite the progressive laws that ensure non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and same-sex marriages, amongst other legislative gains. There is a need to expose the disjuncture between supposedly inclusive

laws and the marginal positioning of sexual identities such as Black Women-Loving-Women[1] (WLW) within their social context in townships. The term 'Black' will be used as defined by the legislature as part of the previously disadvantaged group which includes Indians, Coloureds and Africans. This investigation into the identities of WLW focuses specifically on Black Africans within their historically defined urban geographic setting, commonly known as the township.

Sexual identities and sexual acts are conceptualised and negotiated differently, depending on the means of disclosure, but they are also tied to the understanding of what these particular identities mean to those who take them on. Kitzinger and Rogers (1985) argued that understanding a lesbian identity should emphasise a set of meanings the women themselves attach to their understanding of the term which may include emotional, sexual and political expressions. Similarly (or, in contrast) Gomez (1983) opts for the concept of WLW and insists that the term exists in Black communities but has diverse expressions. Furthermore, she urges that it should not be separated from its root of women's same-sex sexualities by writing only about Black lesbians. This suggests that there is a need to acknowledge and understand the specific sexual identities of WLW, along with their meanings and different forms of expressions.

Rich (1993), advocated for a 'lesbian continuum' or the 'lesbian within',as opposed to lesbianism, and for the need to acknowledge the historical and cultural influences that have shaped the various forms in which women have committed to other women. Some authors, such as Ferguson (1981), have emphasised the sexual element of the lesbian identity. She argues that sexual feelings and behaviour are part of the primary elements of identity for women who identify themselves as lesbian, even if they are celibate. Similarly, Faderman (1981) conceptualises a lesbian relationship as one that entails strong affectionate feelings directed towards other women, including sexual content to whatever degree. So far, the literature points to an ambiguous definition of lesbian or lesbianism, as some definitions place more emphasis on the sexual practices while others use broader definitions which encompass commitment, attraction and love. Nonetheless, Potgieter (2005) argues that, in the South African context, not all women who are involved in sexual-emotional relationships with other women identify as lesbian or with any particular lesbian community.

[1] Similar to Moonsamy's (2009) usage of WLW, this concept intends to move beyond lesbian and homosexual as it seeks to be inclusive of diverse political and personal means of expressing women's same-sex identities. The relevance of the term WLW will be discussed further below in this section.

The experiences of Black WLW in Soweto are likely to be different to whites, partly due to the history of apartheid[2], traditional or cultural factors and the differential level of homophobic violence in their respective societies. The contextual focus of this study is Soweto, the biggest township in South Africa. It was selected partly because of its historical background and partly because most prominent stories of Black WLW around Johannesburg arose out of Soweto. Soweto has been depicted as a violent society and this has consequently dominated the understanding of same-sex loving women's sexualities in townships. The idea of violence appears to dominate discussions on the Black lesbian identity in townships. For instance, a 2012 Google search of Black lesbians in South Africa, at least on its first three pages, mostly yielded stories of violence against such women. Despite this, it was the first township around Johannesburg to host its own Gay Pride March in 2004. This march has been an annual event since then, constituting one form of public expression that has created visibility for sexual minorities in Soweto.

There has been a growing body of literature which focuses on women's same-sex sexuality, including Black women's experiences. Murray (2012) also surveys the literature and comments that post 1994 there has been an emergence of texts on women's same-sex sexuality. She reviews three books, namely Gunkel's *The Cultural Politics of Female Sexuality in South Africa*, Diesel's *Reclaiming the L word: Sappho's Daughter Out in Africa* and Mkhize et.al's *The Country We Want to Live In*. Murray (2012) acknowledges that Gunkels contributed to theorising women's sexuality, while Diesel offers personal accounts on diverse expressions of being lesbian with the last book focusing on the challenge of violence targeted at non-gender conforming and same-sex-practising women. Most of the literature places emphasis on the last category of violence, particularly when discussing the Black lesbian experience in the township (See Ochse, 2009) .However; others have focused on the construction of collective identities. Currier (2007), for instance, examines the visibility of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex social movement organisations in South Africa and Namibia while Craven (2011) focuses on the historical reading of Johannesburg Pride. While these studies engage a gap in women's sexuality in post 1994 South Africa, this study seeks to contribute to the subjective expressions of same-

[2]The apartheid regime was an institutionalised system enforced by the National Party government between 1948 and 1994. Its core policies were racially defined with the white race positioning itself as politically, legally, institutionally and socially superior and privileged.

sex women's sexual identity that do not rely on violence perpetrated against these women as a starting point to document their perceptions of what it means to be a WLW in a township context. The study in its analysis of the meaning and expression of the Black WLW sexual identity, contributes to the understanding of the social representations of what it means to be a Black lesbian in a public domain and against the norms in already existing social categories of race, sexuality and gender.

The current study draws on in-depth interviews, Q methodology and participant observation methods in order to explore women's same-sex sexual identities within this contradictory Sowetan context and explore the meanings attached to the terms, whether colonial, native or even slang that Black WLW use to identify themselves.

It must be acknowledged that the term WLW has been criticised in particular by Matebeni (2009) who writes that sexual practices,in the conceptualisation of a lesbian sexuality, are ignored. Adding to that, the understanding of the lesbian identity is often seen through the emotional lens as is the case of the term 'Women-Loving-Women' which foregrounds, if not appears, to centralise the affective element of this sexual identity. Matebeni (2009) also argues that women's same-sex relations are read through the lens of political relations between women, rather than through the sexual aspect of this identity. She suggests that the work of Rich (1993), Faderman (1981) and Potgieter (1997), ignores issues of sex and sexuality and Potgieter, in particular, employs a feminist understanding of WLW which "desexualises the lesbian identity" (Matebeni, 2009, p. 104). It is also Matebeni's (2009) contention that Potgieter, whose research explored the lives of Black South African lesbians, failed to define the word 'lesbian' in the South African context. As suggested earlier, the current study intends to explore Black women's same-sex sexualities in Soweto, with emphasis on the terms they use to express this identity and what defines this sexual identity.

The self-identification of WLW has been dominated by the 'lesbian' identity in the literature. Even though terms such as 'lesbian' and 'isitabane'[3] may be used to self-identify as a WLW, the meanings attached to these terms fluctuate across time and context. In attempting to understand specific WLW identities such as lesbian, the current study will search for diverse meanings associated with women's same-sex relations amongst Black WLW in Soweto. Black WLW in

[3] a slang term used to identify same sex loving men and women in the townships

townships are often perceived as a homogenous group. However, a variety of factors, including but not limited to the section of the township in which they reside as well as the social, economic and power structures they experience, shape the expression of their sexual identity. Their articulation and understanding of their sexual identity is therefore likely to be context-specific and negotiated over time.

A variety of different definitions have been attached to the term 'lesbian'. Many women in same sex relationships identify as lesbians and use different terms such as 'dyke', 'manvrou'; ''butch' and 'femme'' to label themselves (Potgieter, 1997), but both Potgieter's (1997) research in South Africa and Kendall's (1995) research in Lesotho found that when female same-sex practices occurred the women did not associate them with any particular term. Potgieter (1997) asserted that the participants in her sample did not use the term 'lesbian' but referred to themselves as WLW. Others use the term 'lesbian' to describe their sexual identities,even though they may not engage in same-sex acts (Matebeni, 2009). Matebeni (2009) suggests that it is the homophobic climate which inhibits the expression of such sexual identities and practices and as such causes reluctance about owning a particular sexual identity. Moreover, Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy, and Moletsane (2010, p. 13) argue that "there are no widely accepted, positive, non-colonial terms for a celebrated and chosen, non-conventional sexual identity." This study will indicate the contradiction of self-labelling in homophobic societies and the rejection of terms by same-sex-practising women as an expression of taking charge of their sexual identities.

The term WLW has been chosen in the current study report in order to capture the concept of women who are primarily attracted to women and committed to women's same-sex relationships. The usage of this term is primarily for the writing up of this report and is not meant to be used as a term that women in same sex relations use to identify themselves as part of their everyday life. This is to allow the participants space to provide the term by which they self-identify, without imposing a particular term or understanding on them. The intention is to allow them to elaborate the meaning of the term that they themselves choose, rather than abstract concepts which have been imposed on them by outsiders. WLW has been used by various writers to capture women's same-sex emotional and/or erotic relations. The approach taken here is that understanding WLW means a willingness to embrace the sexual aspects expressed through erotic feelings and behaviour, as well as the social, political, emotional and any other behaviours or

affiliations that participants claim as expressions of their sexual identity. However, the emphasis is on self-identification. It must be noted that even though WLW is used as an umbrella category, *Woman who Loves Women* as an identity term in the research process also emerged amongst other labels women used to self-identify themselves. The current study seeks to contribute to the process of rendering women loving women's same sex identities visible by uncovering how these identities are defined within a township context.

1.1. Aims and Objectives

The major aim of the current study is to explore the sexual identities presented by Black WLW in Soweto. The emphasis is on how the woman who may self-identify as WLW expresses her sexual identity and on how this identity is communicated to others. This study's contribution lies in capturing their subjective perceptions of their own sexual identity as a marginalised group within sexual minorities. This issue was explored through the research question, *what are the various ways in which Black WLW express their sexual identity?*

The second aim is to understand the meanings attached to the terms used to self-identify as a WLW in Soweto. This will be done through examining the form and content of the presented sexual identities. A variety of terms are used as communicative symbols of people's sexual identities. For example, in the townships, specific terms such as 'isitabane' are widely used to identify same-sex loving men and women. Even though little is known about the linguistic origin or how it came about, the term, 'isitabane' continues to be widely used in everyday speech. It is the intention of the current study to investigate this and other terms used to describe WLW in Soweto and uncover the meanings attached to these terms. Thus, the following research sub questions provide a framework for the second aim, *what terms are used to self-identify as WLW in Soweto?* And *what are the meanings attached to these terms?*

1.2 **Chapter Outline**

Chapter Two introduces a conceptual framework for this study. It does this by drawing on studies of social identity and also highlights the theoretical limitations of identity development theories that have emerged from those studies, particularly when analysing same-sex practices in relation to sexual identities. In addition, the chapter maps out women's same-sex experiences through practices and emerging gay and lesbian cultures against the South African socio-political

background. Furthermore, Black Feminism is proposed as an alternative theoretical analytical tool as a means to capture both the 'women' and the 'Black' experience in understanding Black women's same-sex sexuality

Chapter Three covers the research method employed for the data collection. The chapter starts with a brief introduction to Q methodology along with its main steps for data gathering. A distinction is made between results from Q methodology in relation to Appendix V and the questionnaire demographics.

Chapter Four gives an account of the results from Q methodology and the demographics, offering a description of various factors which further complicate the expression of the sexual identity in question. This chapter demonstrates the diversity and variety of people who identify as Black WLW and also gives indications of themes to be provided in the next chapter.

Chapter Five provides the analysis on data gathered through Q methodology and the demographics questionnaire and it provides answers to the research questions posed. This chapter further explores the factors which contribute to specific expressions of WLW.

Chapter Six summarises the key arguments and the contribution of the study to the field. This chapter reveals how the two distinct expressions of Black WLW and the terms commonly used to self-identify as Black WLW indicate the sexual identity of Black same-sex identifying women in Soweto.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores social identity theories as an entry point into discussing sexual identities, specifically same-sex. It further provides a review of literature on Black women's same-sex experiences, as well as factors such as gender role and expressions, along with self-identifying terms which influence the ways in which women perceive their sexuality. Finally, it proposes Black feminism while critically reflecting on its limitations as a theoretical framework in reading Black women's sexuality.

2.1.1 Exploring the Social Identity Approach

The concept of social identity has been used in various theoretical frameworks. It has been useful in providing a link between an individual and group analysis with its contextual framework which acknowledges the structures and processes of groups (Brewer & Yuki, 2007). Developed in the late 1970s by Tajfel and Turner, in the era of the Civil rights movement and the rise of Identity politics, Social Identity Theory (SIT) focuses on intergroup relations, while the Self Categorisation theory (SCT) is about self-categorisation and personal identities. SIT defined social identity as the part of self-concept arising from membership of particular social groups with much emphasis on the value and emotional attachment to the group (Tajfel, 1981). Person-based identities hinge on how the self-concept has been influenced by the shared socialisation in a particular group, while in-group based identities; the self is perceived as part of a larger social category (Brewer, 2001). The latter is associated with SCT; the personal identity is in constant negotiations with the social categories and in relation to a collective. SCT then emphasises the concept of depersonalised representations insisting on "a shift towards the perception of self as an interchangeable exemplar of some social category and away from the perception of self as a unique person" (Turner, Hogg, Oaks, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987, p. 50).

The social identity approach, comprising of SIT and SCT, privileges the role of group identities in an individual's formation of the Self-concept. These theories have also been useful in understanding the role of prejudice in group affiliation (For in-depth analysis of these theories

see Hornsey, 2008). Social discrimination has largely influenced how sexual minorities organise themselves, and how they negotiate their sexual identity in hostile communities. Nonetheless, the current study will not focus on the societal negative perceptions, prejudice or the impact of these in the group affiliations of Black same-sex-practising women. The social identity approach entails elements of person-based identities, the dynamics of self-representation along with self-identification. This approach prioritises the formation of these representations rather than the meaning attached to a specific identity (Brewer, 2001) which is central to this study.

The analysis of social identity as a concept has also been explored through identity development theories, with a handful of studies which exclusively focused on the homosexual identity. For instance, James Marcia (1966) proposed the Identity Status Theory adapted from Erikson's identity development stages, to measure individual development within a particular identity including homosexual identities. Cass's (1984) non-linear six stages of development was one of the first identity development theories that exclusively focused on the homosexual identity. Other identity development theories mark 'coming out' as one of the key stages (See Coleman, 1982; Lipkin, 1999), while others emphasised self-acceptance, to an extent, when the homosexual identity is an essential identity (See Troiden, 1989). Identity development theories have been critiqued as pre-deterministic, some linear in their approach, as they downplay multiple contextual factors that influence the expression of identities. In addition, they often ignore the potential socio-political influences on the individual across the life course, while cultural assumptions which also inform development are seldom critically examined (Savin-Williams, Ritch, & Cohen, 1996). Jenkins (2004) argues that identity should be perceived as a continuous process which is layered in multiple forms. He further adds that identity evolves in its various forms, hence it is never final. Thus the development theories, with their historical reading of sexual identities and emphasis on individualised reflections in a process over time, may not compliment Q methodology (to be discussed in the next chapter).

Sexual self-identification is embedded in social structures such as the economy, urban life and forms of social order. The manner in which particular sexual practices became identities ought to be located within specific historical accounts so that it may become clear how same-sex acts become translated into identities (Garton, 2004). Sexual identity encompasses desire but also includes how one thinks and feels about oneself, as well as how others view and label ones'

sexuality (Silber, 1990). These ideas echo the views of social identity theory's interactional communication through labelling and responding to those labels as an experiential act within a particular context. However, in this case, we are dealing with what is a sexual, highly contested, regulated subject across time. For example, Nichols (1987) insists that sexuality is political, largely due to its regulation and believes that there are political implications when discussing any form of sexuality. The section below highlights conversations around sexual practices, while maintaining that sexual identity, as a specific identity, resembles elements of social identities.

2.1.2 Locating Sexual Identity as a Social Identity

There are diverse views on how sexual identities emerged as categories of identification. Some argue that it was the late nineteenth century European and American psychologists and sexologists who began to conceptualise sexual-emotional practices and preferences into categories of 'heterosexual' and 'homosexual' identities (See Foucault, 1978; Kinsey,Pomeroy, Martin, & Ghebard, 1953; Halperin, 1990; Faderman, 1991). However, Boswell (1980) and Brooten (1996) insist that such categories existed before but that the late nineteenth century work reframed them. Garton (2004) adds that the emergence of historical forms of sexual identity depend on the writer concerned, because same-sex desire may have existed but sexual identities may not have. At times, sexual practices are tied to sexual identity at times. Jenkins (2004) argues that it is the experience of acquiring knowledge, the exploration of practices and attaching meaning to an act that positions acts within an identity. Garton (2004, p.77) further locates identities within networks and subculture maintaining that:

> the research of modern sexologists like Kinsey and Boswell assumes that same-sex desire is universal, but that only under special conditions does this fact create social networks, or an identifiable gay subculture in which such desire can be acknowledged and flourish. The context for the emergence of a gay subculture, argues Boswell, is social tolerance

When the terms 'gay' and 'lesbian' came to identify a particular group of sexual identities under homosexuality, it was a double edged sword: embracing an identity meant vulnerability to forms of social surveillance, punishment and discrimination. In some instances, the marginalization of

sexual minorities was met by resistance through political mobilization under the banner of sexual identities in search for freedom and rights (Garton, 2004).

Post 1994 South Africa enabled sexual minorities to emerge from the margins. However, given that identities are context-bound and fluid, Black women's same-sex identities in townships have found various forms of expression and are currently being shaped by violence and stigma. Jenkins (2004) is of the view that the issue of identifying self or others is based on meaning which is communicated and negotiated in interactions, further adding that all human identities are social identities. Brewer and Yuki (2007) propose that social identity constitutes individual experiences that eventually represent the self and are located within a context. Thus, the individual experiences which shape the social identity can also hold meaning in relation to how self is presented and negotiated within a particular environment. Sexual identity as a social identity is underpinned by the sexual activity and the sexual object choice. On the other hand, Ponse (1978) argues that sexual identity entails both the social and personal identities in relation to the preference of sexual activity with a particular gender. However, sexual identity and sexual activity are not always congruent.

2.2 **Brief History of Homosexuality in South Africa: Locating Women's same-sex identities**

The apartheid regime was a legal system enforced by the National Party government of South Africa between 1948 and 1994; its core policies deemed the 'white race' politically, legally, institutionally and socially superior and privileged. The racial segregation which began in colonial times became more extensive and intensified as an official policy under the 1994 regime (Ratele 2001). The non-white category was hierarchically constructed as the 'other' group. This notion of 'othering' even with regard to sexuality was also racialised. For instance, interracial sexual relations were criminalised under the Immorality Act of 1957[4] along with prostitution, interracial sex, cross dressing and homosexual conduct and other state defined sexually-related deviances. Sexual acts between two women were not criminalised until 1988 when 'immoral or indecent' acts were extended to include women/girls and boys/men under the age of 19 years (Cameron, 1995). Wells and Polders (2006) argued that the apartheid laws denied the existence of women's same-sex relations, consequently rendering them invisible through its delays in

[4] This Act was amended from the 1927 Immorality Act (see Ratele, 2001)

criminalising these acts. Inherent in being recognised by law was a contradiction: Legal acknowledgement of one's social identity also meant exposure and punishment. The legal focus on men's same-sex relations can also be read as a chauvinistic gaze that punished sodomy as a means of rejecting sexual receptive acts by men associated with submissiveness. The lack of legal punishment of women's same-sex relations does not imply that women's sexuality was free from regulations even though their same-sex conduct was accommodated in secrecy under the chauvinistic gaze. Furthermore, post-1994 South Africa emphasised that recognition by law – though positively through inclusiveness and equality – facilitates social acceptance.

The oppressive apartheid laws extended to the monitoring and strict regulation of sexual practices in favour of heterosexual practices within racial groups. Homosexuality was also regulated within the white population. Kopano (2001) has argued that it was perceived as undermining the Afrikaner nationalist agenda of masculinity as there were no official interventions policing Black same-sex sexualities. For instance, in Black men's hostels same-sex practices were common. Due to labour migration, Black men were recruited and many came from rural homelands to become mine workers in the city. In the absence of wives and girlfriends who were left behind in homelands, same-sex practices were taking place as a way of life in the hostels (Moodie, Ndatshe & Sibuyi, 1989). In 1966 in Forest Town, a northern suburb of Johannesburg, police raided a party of about 400 gay men, some of whom were in drag. It has been reported that the party alerted the state to same-sex conduct, which had not been conceptualised as a vibrant subculture within the city before (Gevisser, 1995). The racialisation of sexualities is also evident in how white same-sex narratives remain the most historically documented, to an extent prioritised, while within narratives of sexual minorities, stories of same-sex identifying men such as *gay* men featured more prominently than those of WLW. Gevisser (1995), in *Defiant Desire*, mentions the existence of lesbian subcultures in the 1950s and 1960s that categorised themselves as 'sporting women'. At that time sport in a form of cricket, hockey and soccer created a space for lesbian women. Other same-sex-practising women forged friendships organised by professions, such as groups of clerks and secretaries. Furthermore the 'butch' identity 'was far more entrenched than it is now and gender rituals were de rigueur...the 'butch' wore slacks, kept their hair short, and were expected to get drunk; the 'femme's wore dresses, bobbed their hair and were in great demand' (Gevisser, 1995, p.21). However, the subculture described by Gevisser represents a history of white WLW during

apartheid. Black women's same-sex experiences at this time remained largely undocumented and Black WLW were nearly invisible in texts until the late 1980s in South Africa.

During the late 1970s at the height of political instability, social movements and organisations emerged to mobilise against the apartheid regime. For instance, McLean and Ngcobo (1994), through one of their participants, Linda[5], revealed that the aftermath of the 1976 youth uprising in Soweto gave people – including sexual minorities – confidence, as this was an era of defying authority, and of 'ungovernability'. Against this background, in 1983, the first Johannesburg Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) organisation to be established was the Gay and Lesbian Association of South Africa (GASA), followed by the Rand Gay Organisation in 1987 and Gays and Lesbians of Witwatersrand (GLOW) in 1988 (Gevisser, 1995). Some of these organisations attempted to include lesbians but were male-dominated (Gevisser, 1995). It should be noted that even though GASA was predominantly white, it opened up a space for other LGBT organizations to emerge. This space was later expanded and became more racially inclusive as more organizations gained courage and created a presence in the townships. Activists involved in LGBT organizations with financial support from the Equality Foundation[6] set up in the mid-1980s, largely paved the way for the post-1994 constitutional inclusion of non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Nonetheless, the gay agenda was not readily included within the broader liberation struggle. However, Simon Nkoli, a gay Black man who was arrested and tried with others in the well-publicised Delmas treason trial in the 1980s 'became a gay symbol for people in the anti-apartheid movement' (Donham, 1998, p.13).

The emergence of GLOW as the only racially inclusive organisation based in Johannesburg in the mid-1980s, enabled networking and a space for sexual minorities to emerge from the margins. The Black members of GLOW were largely men from Soweto and KwaThema. However, there were women such as Beverly Palesa Ditsie who were members. The first gay Pride march organised by GLOW in 1990 themed 'Unity in the Community' further created a space for visibility. It was during this event that Soweto born Ditsie publicly came out as a Black lesbian and accounts of other Black women's same-sex experiences emerged in townships in the

[5] Linda was one of the founders of the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of Witwatersrand-GLOW.
[6] The money raised for the National Law Reform Fund (NLRF) initiated in 1986 was never used and was transferred to a trust in 1993 the Equality Foundation to lobby for the inclusion of sexual orientation in the new Constitution (See Hoad, Martin & Reid, 2005).

early 1990s (Chan Sam, 1993 and Mamaki, 1993). Since then, many voices of Black WLW continue to be documented more so under the post 1994 democratic South Africa.

In the book titled *Pride: Protest and Celebration,* De Waal and Manion (2006) retrospectively capture 46 diverse accounts of Pride Marches from 1990 to 2005. Included in these are reflections of Black WLW who saw Pride as part of their coming out experience. Other narratives exposed inequalities. For instance in the book, Nonhlanhla Zwane, who attended the 1994 Pride March, indicated that she felt excluded as, at that time, some gay bars[7] such as Skyline did not allow women. Social spaces were self-monitored. one of the earlier clubs was Butterfly bar, established in the 1970s in Hilbrow. This club ran for over two decades changing its name to Skyline in the mid-1980s. In most of the clubs Black people were not allowed on the dance floor or were not served drinks. Black men were the first to be allowed in such spaces, largely because most of the clubs were gay rather than lesbian-oriented and inclusive. It was in 1994 that one of the bars in Hilbrow, Connections began allowing women to enter (See Gevisser, 1995). De Waal and Manion (2006) also captured Zodwa Shongwe's narrative of how Pride was dominated by men. She also detailed how Nkateko[8] held discussions on homophobia in townships and mobilised Black women to participate in the 1997 Pride March with placards bearing slogans such as 'Breaking the Silence of Lesbians in Africa'. In the same book, others such as Donna Smith who was the 2001 co-chair of Pride and Thuli Madi who attended the 2003 Pride reflected on the Black and white racial divide. Smith argued against the commercialisation of Pride advocating for community ownership, while Madi complained about the entrance fee charged at Zoo Lake[9] which excluded many Black people who could not afford it or the beverages being sold there (De Waal &Manion, 2006).

Craven's (2011) PhD research report focuses on Johannesburg Pride in more detail and unpacks the complexities around the intersection of race and gender when analysing sexual identities. In addition, she is suspicious of struggles that emphasise a strategic choice of one identity, such as race, over another, for example gender. She highlights how racism becomes hidden amongst sexual minorities. Craven (2011, p.18) maintains that:

[7] Gay bars and clubs usually host Pride after parties
[8] Black lesbian organisation initiated by Beverly Palesa Ditsie in 1996
[9] Zoo Lake park becomes a designated area for festivities after the Johannesburg Pride March

> [t]he intersection of race and sexual orientation is one that gay and lesbian people of colour have to balance constantly, particularly in contexts in which there is a need to engage in struggles against both racial and sexual discrimination.

Indeed, Craven's case study of how racism manifests itself within the gay and lesbian community through the Johannesburg Pride March, uses race as a single-axis analysis which inherently flattens the Black and white dynamics at play within such a community. Certainly, Craven mentions people of colour but does not capture the experiences of Black people, in particular how Black women navigate the space to celebrate their sexual identities and to mobilise against their sufferings. It can be argued that those representations of Black WLW from townships and their sexual practices do not correspond easily with their lived experiences through labels they choose to self-identify alongside their gender expressions (See Potgieter 1997, Matebeni, 2009).

In understanding Black women's same-sex identities, it is worth noting that women's bodies and sexuality across history and race have been subjected to policing by the state, society and men. The regulation of sexuality in public spaces and its allocation as something that belongs to a private space speaks to the regulation of women as this includes cultural ideals which guide the acceptable female sexual behaviour in relation to the less regulated male sexual behaviour. However, within the context of Black sexuality, Black women's bodies have been subject to silencing during the colonial encounter. In the African-American context, hooks (2001, p.115) argues that:

> Black women's bodies are objectified in ways that deny subjectivity…Many Black females learn early on how to objectify themselves, their bodies, and use their sexuality as a commodity that can be exchanged. The Black women who have internalized this way of thinking about their sexual selves though they may appear 'liberated' are in actuality estranged from their erotic power.

Foucault (1978) noted that sexual policing began in the 1900s, through all kinds of self-care and disciplining procedures. For instance, the classification of homosexuality as a mental illness was part of how sexual subjects became policed quite literally by the psychological apparatus and state bureaucracy. Posel (2001) adds that the different kinds of sexual policing keep up with the

emergence of what she terms as a 'liberated' body presented as free, capable of responsible and knowledgeable, while there is a sense of disciplining the body and stabilizing the family. Consequently, if sex is explored in an unruly manner, it threatens the family and corrupts the body. Aspirations of nationhood are intimately linked to the productive discipline of sexualities. Osha (2004) further acknowledges the context; stating that Black sexuality has encountered a series of erasures and misinterpretations through the colonial encounter, while the post-liberation era, with its nationalist agenda, too often assumed and imposed heterosexism in conceptualising sexuality. However, this manifested differently in each nation or region. Osha (2004) maintains that binary framing of the Black sex subject is either the virginised or hypersexualised body. This is also associated with Christian and traditional values of pure bodies which frame the female body as a 'virgin' or 'whore'. In the colonial encounter, these values were politically appropriated, and became racialised and legalised such that Black bodies were hypersexualised as Black men were treated as sexual predators preying on white women's bodies, while Black women's bodies become sites of sexual exploitation for white men (See Pape, 1990). Crenshaw (1989, p.69) offers a racial reading on early canal statures and rape laws and emphasises that Black women's 'femaleness made them sexually vulnerable to racist domination, while their Blackness denied them any protection'. If a subjective moment of sexual agency occurs outside this framing, it becomes invisible. Even though there was silencing of Black subjectivity during the colonial encounter, African sexualities experienced different forms of oppression and these were mediated by historical, cultural and sometimes religious factors. Some of these factors had threads of colonisation and apartheid, such as sodomy laws in British Colonies and the Immorality Act during apartheid South Africa, while some have acquired new forms of oppression.

Women's same sex identities have been captured across history, though these accounts do not extend very far back in Africa, owing to the tradition of oral history (Murray, 2001). Women have been identified and labelled through regulations by the state, society and men. For example, gender non-conforming women ran the risk of being identified as a same-sex loving women. In Mombasa, for example, non-conformity was regarded as women who resisted marriage, who were interested in education and keen on their careers and, consequently, were labelled as *misago*, regardless of their sexual preference (See Murray, 1998). However, the shaping of women's sexuality does not say much about the subjective owning of certain identities, meanings

attached to terms and how the same-sex arrangement influences sexual practices. Instead same-sex desire and practices for women have been and are clouded by misconceptions and myths. This point is illustrated by Murray (1998) who discovered that the Zande people refer to sex between women as *adandara*[10]with connotations of evil behaviour associated with witchcraft. More recently in South Africa, the Human Rights Watch report (2001) highlighted that one of the myths is that lesbian women want to be men and have bodies that entail both female and male sex organs.

Throughout the world, people view homosexuality as a corrupt or backwards element that came from outside of their society, depending on the value system that is being used. For instance, Ba, Benette and Battle (2001) highlight that the American Psychological Association (APA) declassified homosexuality as a mental illness in 1973, yet homophobic views persistently reject it as legitimate sexuality. The APA Task Force 2009 report, discussing the limitations of reparative therapy in relation to sexual orientation, raised concerns with the notion that sexual orientation can be changed. The APA report further argued that 'There are no studies of adequate scientific rigor to conclude whether or not SOCE do or do not work to change a person's sexual orientation' (APA, 2009; 120).

Murray (1998) questions the notion of 'traditional' African culture as he argues that such histories were written during the colonial encounter. As such the presence of the observer had its particular effects. Homosexuality has been dubbed as un-African during such encounters and when women's friendships were seen as intimate sites, they were desexualized. In addition, at times, Black women's same-sex practices were documented in a manner that somehow made reference to men within a heterosexist framework. A case in point is how the notion of labour migration has been used to explain women's same sex relations. Women were said to have turned to each other in the absence of men and *vice versa*. Furthermore, Murray (1998), in his attempt to trace women's same-sex history in sub-Saharan Africa, finds that the only explicit reference to women's same-sex practices includes the insertion of carved sweet potatoes, manioc roots, or bananas amongst the Zande women. These phallic objects were suggested as evidence of same-sex practices between Zande women using such objects on each other, thereby limiting the understanding of women's same-sex practices as the focus is on penetration which is

[10] A wild cat considerd unlucky (Murray, 1937)

typically seen as a core description of sex. Interestingly, Murray quotes Shepard's 1978 work which claims that women who engaged in sexual relations were known as wasaga. This term was used as a means of referring to their sexual activities which include the sexual practise of two bodies 'grinding'. These sexual activities were not further explored. Nonetheless, words such as "bumping and grinding" and "contact" were used to describe the touching and rubbing of labia as a sex practice (not as foreplay but sufficient sexual acts) (in Pakade, 2010). Much of the research tells us about the sexual sites that enable women's same-sex desire but these reveal little about the type of relationships and the role-playing of such desires.

2.2.1 Roles within Women's same sex Relationships

Same-sex relations for women have been expressed in different forms, at times in specific relations such as the romantic friendships that Kendall (1998) identified as mommy-baby friendships in Lesotho and Bongie's 'Amachicken' relationships in South Africa (Bongie in Chan Sam, 1995). These romantic friendships took a homosociability approach amongst young women, either in boarding schools or spaces exclusive to women in which they explored their sexuality. Often these friendships were age structured as it was the older women who often proposed the friendship to the younger women. Same-sex sexual play is often seen as part of the sexual development process but, for some, such sexual play goes beyond exploration amongst peers and moves towards embracing same-sex desire as part of a sexual identity. Murray (1998) identified that the *msagayi* relationships were characterised by dominant women, usually older and wealthier, with the younger one generally performing the feminine role. However, how these roles are translated into sexual behaviour was not reported. Furthermore, young married women amongst the Hotten and Nama in Southern Africa engaged in same-sex relations. Female initiation in Tanzania was seen as another sexual site, in which women demonstrated with one another how to have '…proper sexual congress' (Murray, 1998:42). In post-1994 South Africa, Khwesa and Wieringa (2005) focused on 'butch'-'femme' relationships, exploring the roles and traits that characterise a 'butch' identity amongst Black women. Furthermore, the sexual identity of this subculture is read relationally along with its gender expression. As such the construction of this lesbian identity is limited to her interaction with her lover.

Murray (1998) asserts that age-stratified relationships between women long existed despite the fragmented data available on homosexuality among women in sub-Saharan Africa. However, a

culturally marked category is a woman who undertakes a sort of 'husband' role and claims some of the prerogatives of men in the cultures. As such homosexuality for both men and women finds its major expression through gender roles e.g. wives of women in Benin and Kenya (Murray, 1998), and Lesotho Babies (Gay, 1985). The forms of sexual relations and play that WLW engage in are also telling of how gender expressions are negotiated by WLW as part of their sexuality. The age-difference can also be telling of power dynamics. For instance, the older women can be expected to be the responsible lover financially and therefore capable of supporting her lover. Similarly, with the mummy-baby relationships, the exchange of gifts may entail equal distribution. However, the 'mummy' can be a source of knowledge in sexual practices that the young 'baby' may not have explored before.

2.2.2 Gender expressions of Same-sex Practicing Women

From a Euro-American perspective, Vicinus (1989) asserted that lesbian historiography has primarily focused on mapping the past of lesbian women and their communities, capturing the dominant forms of lesbian behaviour, lesbian friendships and 'butch'/'femme' roles, and unpacking the climate that enabled the emergence of the modern lesbian identity. Research into these three areas unfolded rapidly during the 1960s when political discourses were opening up on gender and sexuality issues. However, narratives of the 'mannish' women who lived their lives as men and fulfilled most of the man's role in relationships existed as early as the 1800s (Boswell, 1991).

What constitutes a lesbian identity has been left to the writer and the type of dimensions they decide to include for analysis. For example, Kitzinger (1987) focused on the personal fulfilment that resulted from lesbianism accompanied by a lack of shame, positive attitudes toward men, belief in being born lesbian, lesbianism as an active participation in feminism, and negative childhood experiences, amongst others. While, more recently, Wilson (2009) working with African-American women in her study, argues that a contemporary lesbian culture has moved towards androgynous self-representation which is interpreted as opposing what is expected to be an appropriate feminine expression. In addition, androgynous expressions are associated with the white middle class. Wilson (2009), using the term *gender-loving* to describe same-sex relations between women, further argues that the sexual life of Black gender-loving women has been

distinct with its non-conforming forms of expression since the 1920s Yet she points to the dress codes and hairstyles as possible markers of age, geographic location, class and so forth.

The 'butch'-'femme' identities have been widely critiqued, mostly by feminists who accused such relations of modelling heterosexist ideas (Vicinus, 1989). In her analysis, Wilson (2009) employs Herdt's understanding of sexual culture which constitutes sexual behaviour and sexuality. Wilson (2009) indicates that the identification of lesbian women through labels is most likely to be within the 'butch' and 'femme' continuum. Using Rubin's (1998) framework on women's sexuality and identity, Wilson (2009) acknowledges that in as much as such identities are connected to common societal standards of men and women, they remain distinct. Wilson's approach to sexual culture and labels is useful in that it locates the sexual behaviour and scripts within a lesbian community without imposing judgement or feminist ideals that often stigmatise forms of masculine expressions by WLW.

Kheswa and Wieringa (2008) in their South African study offered the 'butch'-'femme' relationship as another form of understanding women's same-sex relations, through which the 'butch' is perceived as the providing dominant partner and the 'femme' is more subtle in her ways of exercising power. However, Gevisser (1995) notes that the 'butch'-'femme' relations were more associated with the white working class in apartheid South Africa, while white middle class women were most likely to organise around sports clubs. Beyond the 'butch'-'femme' category, researchers such as Graziono (2004) have focused on the racial aspects of sexual identities in post-1994 South Africa. Graziono (2004) maps out township narratives within the racial divide of Black and white and emphasises the specific contextual limitations of resources, knowledge, violence and culture faced by Black sexual minorities but also highlights the different forms of resistance and hope. Hewat and Arndt (2002) argue that much of the stress experienced by Black lesbians comes from the frustration of being rejected in their own culture coupled with the constant fear of hate crimes and homophobic prejudice which they might experience as victims. Again the issue of hate crimes is further tackled by Mkhize et al (2010) in the 2010 book; *The Country We Want to Live In* which solely focuses on the Black lesbian identity. It enmeshes the lesbian identity in homophobic violence by reflecting on discussions and campaigns that seek to address homophobic violence. The book's conclusion extends its call for government to take up Hate Crime legislation and advocates for more systematic and

thorough documentation of these cases. The reading of WLW through hate crimes takes on a particular perspective on violence and often captures the individual trauma and further locates the Black WLW experience within the political terrain of the human rights framework. In as much as the violence ought to be addressed, the Black WLW identity should not necessarily be defined by violence. These authors illustrate that the expressions of sexual identity are shaped by many factors including, race, gender, class and geographic settings, and point to the importance of acknowledging these factors in understanding the experiences of same-sex loving women.

On the other hand, Gunkel (2010), in the South African context, chooses the term sexual culture to map out intimacies in public and private life, including both regulated and resistant sexual practices and how these become politicised in a modern heteronormative society where intimacy is private. Another analysis by Swarr and Nagar (2003) drew attention to the political and economic struggles of Sowetan based women and compared them those experiences by Indian lesbian. They focused on the interrelations between identities such as race, class and gender. These authors arguethat the experiences of poor women in same-sex relationships, t are largely shaped by their conditions of unemployment or contract work along with shelter in informal settlements that may be unsafe spaces for women. Furthermore, Swarr and Nagar (2003) concluded that the everyday struggles of access to resources and the living conditions of poor lesbian women should not be separated from their expressions of sexuality. These contributions highlight the multiple ways in which the Black women's sexual identities can be understood, further indicating the intersections between Black, lesbian, and class identities in particular instances.

According to Murray (2001), and similar to the European context, 'mannish' women were identified as *wandewande* among the Amhara peasants. However, gender expression within the (southern) African context is not unitary and consistent as an articulation of women's sexuality. This occurs, for instance, amongst the Zande, lesbians, dressed entirely as women with no attempts to look like men. Although the dominant woman was more assertive in manner and in conversation than most of the other women, they were still seen as bidding for male privilege beyond sex with submissive women (Murray, 2001). Morgan and Reid (2003) in their study of seven *sangoma* (traditional healer) women engaging in same-sex relations sought to explain same-sex sexuality in an African framework. Against the discourse of homosexuality as

unAfrican, these writers discussed same-sex desire as spiritually sourced from the male ancestor incarnating the women. This analysis facilitates a discussion on same-sex sexuality within the African context but through the traditional healer as a legitimate spiritual body Their findings revealed that older women attributed same-sex desire and their masculine gender roles to their dominant male ancestor (idlozi). This may have been shaped by the political and social context of the late 1960s and 1970s when women conformed to heterosexual norms and married young. Furthermore, some of the *sangomas* did not use. On the other hand, the younger *sangomas* claimed the lesbian identity prior to the *sangomas* initiation which later enhanced its understanding and possibly facilitated family acceptance. The *sangomas* are neither completely masculine nor feminine but more in-between the two, depending on which ancestral spirit is present. As such, there is no unitary sense of gender expression.

There is a close relationship between gender expression and sexual orientation. Gender expression is often documented into the binary of feminine and masculine through dress, hairstyles and mannerisms. The Human Rights Watch (2011) report revealed that the masculine gender expression signals the women's sexual orientation and this consequently creates hyper-visibility. The argument is that the ''butch'' or non-gender conforming women who present themselves as masculine are pressured to prove that they are heterosexual or risk being identified and ill-treated for being suspected to be lesbians. Similarly, Murray, quoting Porter (1995), adds that gender variance is more significant than sexual behaviour for labelling women *misago*. For example, women resisting marriage, interested in education and career oriented were labelled *misago.* Regardless of their erotic preference, they are condemned for challenging the gender-status system. 'femme' lesbians or effeminate WLW tend to conform to conventional feminine norms and are not readily recognisable as they are assumed to be heterosexual. This external societal assumption of heterosexuality creates some form of internal policing amongst the WLW networks through the notion of 'passing'. According to the HRW report, passing is when gender expressions are consistent with mainstream views of femininity. As such, bisexual and, to a limited extent, 'femme' lesbians are not trusted by their partners as they are perceived to 'pass' so well that they might cheat with a man, thus succumb to heterosexism. However, terms such as androgyny and gender variance have also been used to signal cracks within the binary frame of

the gender expressions, while gender-'queer'[11] captures the inconsistency with the gender expression and sexual orientation.

In summary sexual identity, as with all social identities, is dependent on history, context, time and space. Sexual identity is an identity located in a particular history characterised by dominant heterosexuality in understanding desire and sexual preference. The history of same-sex relations indicates that sexual identity, like any other social identity, is bound by time and fluid and that the meaning of a label locates it in the history of a particular space. Moreover, sexual identities are characterised by sexual practices which are in turn mediated through gender expressions as means of negotiating sexuality.

2.3 **What is in a term? Women's Same-sex Labels.**

More research into and documentation of sexual identities meant that specific terms became definitive of particular same-sex sexual identities. One of the most commonly used and documented terms referring to same-sex loving men and women is 'homosexual'. However, many terms continue to be used while others have lost their popularity. Jagose (1996) argues that the term 'homosexual' was first coined in 1869 by a Swiss doctor, Karl Maria Kertbeny, although it was Haverlock Ellis, the sexologist, who propagated its use during the 1890s. Jagose (1996) argues that even though 'homosexuality' is still used, there has been a shift against using the term for self-identification due to its association with the pathologising discourse of medicine. The term 'gay' appears to have emerged as an alternative to 'homosexual'. It is in the 1960s when the women and anti-racist movements gained momentum that gay people also mobilised, and same-sex-practising people rallied in numbers behind the term gay (community) (D' Emilio, 1991). It seems that 'gay' enabled same-sex self-identification without the shadow of pathologising non-heterosexual relations for both women's and men's same-sex relations. In general, the term 'gay' grew to be associated with male same-sex relations, though in some contexts it has been applied to females. Generally distinguishing terms such as 'gay women' and 'lesbian women', amongst others, have substituted the term gay.

[11] See the Gender Spectrum website for a list of labels and definitions http://www.genderspectrum.org/about/understanding-gender

Eliason and Morgan (1998) argue that the term 'lesbian' has been used widely in academia, the media and in different societies, but without much consensus on what it actually means. Rich (1993) emphasises the need to use terms that embody women's same-sex relations (in her case lesbian) so as to counter invisibility. Kitzinger and Stainton-Rogers (1985, p.167) argue that 'the term lesbian identity epitomizes the set of meanings ascribed by the individual to whatever social, emotional, sexual, political or personal configuration she understands by her 'lesbianism'; the emphasis being on the way which a woman constructs her lesbianism and the story she tells about it'. Lorde (1984) and Rich (1993) have argued that one's identity as a Black lesbian is a meaningful whole and should not be seen as a mere addition to the other identities one may hold. These authors highlight the importance of not making assumptions about the meaning of widely used terms. They reject the conflation of identities in favour of acknowledging the intersection of identities such as being Black and lesbian.

Lesbian is not the only term used for Black WLW in townships. In addition, the terms 'isitabane' or "stabane'', 'inkonkoni' and 'ungqingili', an Nguni word, is used to identify same-sex loving men and women. 'Ungqingili', according to folklore, is an animal that does not understand itself because it engages in both opposite and same sex acts. This explaination has been received as derogatory by lesbian and gay people. However, some self-identify as 'ungqingili' as a means to give positive meaning to the term. Similarly, 'inkonkoni' is another Nguni word used to identify same-sex loving men and women. According to Morgan and Reid (2003) 'inkonkoni' is known as the blue wildebeest which is a wild animal found in Southern Africa. The association with same-sex acts is on the basis that the wildebeest is sexually indiscriminate. However, Ntuli (2009) contends that the term is specific to isiZulu and is used to identify a passive or submissive same-sex practising men also known as 'ismeshi' or 'skesana'. Nonetheless, in Johannesburg townships, 'isitabane' or "stabane'' is more widely used than 'ungqingili' or 'inkonkoni'. These are just some examples of terms that fall outside the Eurocentric labels, yet are specific to the township context. It is also worth noting that each township may have its own terms understood by sexual minorities. In Potgieter's (1998) Western Cape sample, it was not surprising that the Xhosa-speaking women who said they loved other women had their own terms such as 'nongayindoda'[12] , and 'isitshuzana''[13] in some townships. Similar to, for instance, Uganda,

[12] Literal translation means men-women/women-men. A Xhosa word used to identify r same-sex practicing people
[13] Refers to same-sex practicing and identifying men and women

'kuchu' is a term used to identify same-sex loving people as a code to communicate in an environment that criminalises same-sex acts and consequently same-sex identifying people. Saslow (1991) insists that the shift in words used to document and identify same-sex relations ought to be seen as more than merely new terms but as descriptions of ways of being that have long existed. Jagose (1996) adds that these terms are indicative of relations that are constantly undergoing change from both the (hostile) society and those being discriminated against. I would further argue that terms used to identify women's same-sex relations, more than being indicative of relations, are themselves contradictory as they flag myths and misconceptions. In addition, their continued use without any subjective meaning attached to them by those who self-identify, fails to challenge the myths but allows the terms to be instrumental in rendering same-sex relations visible through language.

Women's same-sex relations are not only structured in particular ways but also find expression through gendered roles. As a means to further contextualise Black WLW's same-sex relations, Black feminism offers a critical analysis of sexuality through, race, class and gender.

2.4 Understanding Black WLW through Black feminism

This section of the chapter will present Black feminism, an originally African-American ideology and theory, as a useful tool for unpacking Black WLW's sexuality within a South African township setting. The dominant ideas of Black women's sexuality have been "repressive" and inherently "descriptive" within a heterosexist framing of sexuality (hooks, 1992). However, insights derived from Black feminism highlight the layered power dynamics that limit and enable the expression of what appears to be a deviant sexual identity for women in township settings. Consideration of Black feminism will provide some background or context for beginning to understand the positioning of Black WLW women within the feminist discourse. It is difficult to write about WLW in South Africa without using the word 'lesbian', largely because WLW is a term that has been created by writers in academia rather than an actual identity adopted by women to describe their everyday experiences. The literature tends to be dominated by lesbian narratives but this does not imply that the two terms are synonymous as WLW offers a broader category to describe women's same-sex identities.

Murray and Roscoe (1998) point out that amongst many myths maintained by the Europeans, the one on homosexuality as incidental if not absent in Africa still persists. Wilson (2008) also highlights that the African body was seen as a sum of its instincts, culturally unsophisticated and as 'primitive in its various expressions'. The colonial encounter framed Black sexuality as primitive against the white pure and desirable bodies (hooks, 2001). In a further irony, the Anglican Church in Europe and the US now sees tolerance of homosexuality as a key indicator of a modern, civilised society, once again marking Africans as "primitive".

2.4.1 *Basic Assumptions underlying Black Feminism*

There are various branches of feminism across the world. The feminist project is heterogeneous but is underpinned by the need to challenge oppression as it seeks to understand, analyse, and mobilise against sexism and gender inequality (Valdivia, 2002), each guided by specific injustices experienced by women in their political struggle. However, there is no necessary agreement on how to achieve that goal (Valdivia, 2002). Feminism, as an activist movement and as a body of ideas advocating for transformation of women's marginal position and social change, has gained extensive theoretical treatment (Mekgwe, 2010). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to survey feminism and its progression. However, I will focus on those aspects that are relevant to this project.

Mekgwe (2010) highlights that there has been a tendency to treat western feminism as monolithic, even though it can be divided into branches including Liberal, Radical, Marxist and Social feminisms. This is due to the emergence of feminisms that have been marginalised from the mainstreamed 'first' world feminisms. Nonetheless, Mohanty (1991) argues that western feminist theory, though it claims to be universal in its approach, inherently entails western concerns and biases. Similarly, Beal (1969) and Collins (1990) highlighted that for African-American women, feminism concerned itself with the white westernised experiences of women, overlooking racial differences. Hence, the development of a Black feminist perspective which focuses on gender, race and class as means of capturing and understanding the realities of Black women (See Davis, 1981; Combahee River Collective, 1983; Collins, 1990). Black feminism attracted women who were part of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement by combining the frustrations of feminism that were not inclusive of the Black experience and the race/Black struggle that appeared to undervalue women's struggles. There were frustrations with the Black

Power Movement's insensitivity towards women's experiences in centralising the race struggle. Furthermore, Black feminists such as Smith (1991) framed their struggle as a rejection of white supremacy, capitalism, sexism and homophobia, and mobilised through the gay and lesbian liberation for a revolution which would counter such systems of oppression. Research by Battle et al. (2001) on Black LGBT has highlighted that the nationalist politics associated with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s in its cultural nationalist approach privileged heterosexuality in conceptualising sexuality. Crowell (2011) also asserts that the relevance of Black sexuality within the larger body of works on human sexuality is often treated as a separate issue or special topic, separate and difficult to address.

Discussions on feminist writings and organising in Africa also have branches which include but are not limited to Africana womanism, Womanism/African Womanism, African feminism and Black feminism. Hudson-Weems (2001) argues that Africana womanism advocates from an African-centred perspective. She insists that Black feminism and African feminism are limited in addressing 'Africanans' (identified as Continental Africans in the Diaspora) given their feminist approach which is embedded in western history. Hudson-Weems argues further that Africana Womanism differs from white feminism and Black feminism as it is ideologically grounded in African culture and also remains distinct from African womanism. According to Steady (1982, p.16) 'African feminism concerns itself with the liberty of all African people…it questions features of traditional African cultures without denigrating them, understanding that these might be viewed differently by different classes of women …and it cannot accept separatism from the opposite sex'.

Mekgwe (2010) points out that womanism fails to make a clear distinction between a womanist and a feminist. Amongst some African scholars and writers, the emphasis has been on an African perspective of feminism, sharing with and borrowing from the African Diaspora. The African feminism perspective and African womanism, amongst others are similar to other feminisms in their quest to address issues such as gender inequality, gender discrimination, political participation and representation, and different forms of oppression. Mekgwe (2010) maintains that advocating for different brands of feminism is delaying the concrete discussion of how to engage with sexism, homophobia, racism and other forms of oppression within a classed society. The relevance of Black feminism in this study lies in how this worldview considers the women's

sexuality beyond heterosexist framing, yet does not reduce it to specific prescriptive forms of loving women. Furthermore, it was Black feminists, amongst others, who in the midst of condemning 'butch' and 'femme' subcultures, critiqued such ways of policing women's sexuality and advocated for women's unlimited and uncensored choice to live out their attractions within or beyond heterosexism. In addition, Black feminism offers more than politically acknowledging WLW's identities as it extends to incorporate sexuality, race and class elements of such identities within the discourse of women's struggle. The racial inequalities that continue in post-1994 South Africa have disproportionately affected poor women and children, like in the rest of the world. However, the face of the poor remains predominantly Black in South Africa, despite the increased percentage of women participating in high offices in parliament, as editors in the media, preachers and as entrepreneurs. It is from the race and class analysis that Black feminism situates an understanding of women-loving-women within a framework of Black women's sexuality.

2.4.2 Black Feminist Approach to Sexual Identity

Black feminism seeks to disrupt problematic and socially constructed sexual meanings which bind and police women's sexuality. In a society that continues to objectify and commodify women's bodies, Black women's body parameters extend to lesbian erotica, only if the two women are equally effeminate and playful under, or in relation to, the male gaze. Smith (1999) is among many Black feminist scholars who critiqued homophobia within Black culture, arguing that it as embedded in religious and nationalist traditions dominant amongst African-Americans. Latina writers Cherries Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua (1998) explore sexual possibilities and prejudices within movements and the ways in which these are represented. a hook (2001) adds that violence and power are exercised by Black men over women. She concludes/argues that this is the result of the disempowerment of the Black man by White patriarchy within the global capitalist system which has created an underclass of Black people.

Sex has and still is regulated by governments framing who can have sex, with whom and how. The government's regulation of sex affects women more than men as the former are usually the victims of and violated by the latter. The public political debates on sex have and continue to be shaped by moral and religious foundations. The laws of some African states (e.g. Uganda, Zimbabwe and Nigeria) criminalise same-sex relationships on the basis that they are 'unnatural'

or ‘ungodly’. In a male-privileging and predominantly heterosexist society, the regulation of sex can be seen as a social attempt to repress women, particularly women engaging in non-heterosexist sexualities and, as such, the laws maintain patterns of domination.

The earliest research on Black lesbians came from Black feminists during the 1970s, for example Lorde and Smith. Black feminists and lesbians in the United States (US) started their own organisations in the 1970s in response to racism in the women’s movement and sexism in the Black freedom liberation movement (Smith, 1982). Much of the previous documentation on Black lesbians in South Africa has been rooted in personal accounts and experiences, which offer a very individualistic view of identity (See Mamaki, 1993; Nkabinde, 2008). The limitation of this approach lies in generalising experiences, such that Black lesbians are associated with specific trends such as playing soccer or smoking weed, rolled up in a piece of newspaper. As Nagar and Swarr (2005) claim, this is a way of expressing their sexual identity. Nonetheless, Black feminism emphasises the importance of using a lived experience as a criterion for generating knowledge and that theory should be built ‘from the ground up’ when examining different forms of domination (Collins, 1990). More importantly, the Black feminist lens may provide a framework for understanding the meanings behind Black WLW in townships attach to their sexual identity.

In South Africa, the expressions of Black WLW have been shown to be influenced largely by gender non-conformity either by identifying as a ‘‘butch’ lesbian’ or adopting masculine mannerisms and rejecting the ‘expected women’s role’ (Matebeni, 2008). The sexual preference of WLW can be seen as another form of challenging heterosexuality and male-centeredness. It can be argued that Black WLW interpret their sexual identity in very different ways, partly because of their position within a particular Black society in a township where access to resources, group belonging, or even the potential for homophobic violence, limit or enable their self-identification. Meaning is also created over time and influenced by cultural or historical events. For instance, Sowetan WLW, particularly lesbians, are closer to the city of Johannesburg where most LGBTI organisations are housed, and have had the privilege of hosting Pride Marches since 2004 to foster visibility and a measure of tolerance in comparison to the experiences of WLW in townships in the East Rand. WLW in townships are likely to identify as lesbian. However, WLW may differ in terms of their gender roles, preference of partners and the degree of politicising their sexual identity. This reinforces the idea that differences in self-identification, sense of belonging within

the LGBTI society and the Black societies that shape WLW's experiences will give rise to different meanings being attached to WLW sexual identities.

Finally, Black WLW continue to experience discrimination and prejudice to a greater degree than their white counterparts (Mkhize et al., 2010). Similar to African-American WLW, as argued by Black feminists, women's struggles are racially defined, even though they may share similarities (Smith, 1982). It can be argued that in South Africa, where explicit homophobic stereotypes exist (partly fuelled by political rhetoric of how 'unafrican' and 'ungodly' homosexuality is), the dominant-submissive stereotypes of WLW covered by the media contribute to the marginalisation of Black WLW, further constructing them as a homogenous group. However, the context-specific knowledge of these stereotypes is significant in understanding the circumstances that influence Black WLW's sexual identities. Hames (2003) commented that the women's movement in South Africa should embrace lesbian concerns as a means to strive towards women's equity. In addition, lesbian and gay rights are seldom addressed by the larger women's movement, even in the global context, with the exception of a minority of feminists and largely by LGBTI and human rights oriented organisations. The value of Black feminist theoretical analysis in comprehending the experiences of Black WLW, lies in its approach which acknowledges the hierarchies of power within race, class, gender, sexuality, as well as its sensitivity to the economic and political domains that position Black women. Black feminism will be useful in understanding how the socio-economic context and race influence WLW's construction of their sexual identity and what terms they are most likely to use to self-identify.

2.4.3 *Limitations of (Black) feminism*

Socialists have provided extensive critiques of a feminist approach regarding the oppression of women. However, the criticism has been in parallel to the introspection amongst feminists. The root of oppression is often the point of divergence for both schools of thought. German (2006) argues that feminism has set itself to fight patriarchy. Orr (2010) points out that patriarchy has been understood differently by different people but generally seen as system of control and domination of women that is separate from and pre-dates capitalism. German maintains that feminists view the economic mode of capitalism as separate from an ideological mode of patriarchy. According to German (2006) the two are interlinked, arguing that all the time the economic basis of a society and the ideas which arise within that society on will ultimately shape

the understanding of gender. Limiting patriarchy to an ideology is to assume that ideas sustain themselves (German, 2006). In addition, Orr (2010) maintains that recently patriarchy is seldom treated in full as a theory and often used as a mere description to capture the discrimination against women. Socialist thinkers such as Morgan (2007) assert that gay and women's oppression exists due to the importance of the nuclear family for the capitalist society. Nevertheless, Black feminists maintain that oppression presents itself through gender, race, class and sexuality. Furthermore, they engage withwith progressive Black men as allies in the fight against racism, sexism and homophobia, amongst others.

Despite its critical analysis of oppression, one of the limitations of Black feminism is that, while much continues to be written about feminism, it remains unclear how the desired social order will be systematically dealt with beyond women's spaces of subtle resistances. Even so, socialists express commitment to genuine sexual liberation that goes beyond tolerance in its openness to sex and various forms of sexuality and a society free from oppression (Orr, 2010). On the other hand, Black feminist thinkers remain committed to advancing women's (sexual) liberation.

2.5 Conclusion

Most of the existing literature in South Africa about Black WLW, particularly lesbians, has taken on the form of individual narratives of being lesbian, reports and experiences of homophobic violence, the structural legal gains and the human rights framework. This project seeks to shed light on subjective perceptions of how Black WLW sexual identity is expressed. Focusing on the terms and varying views will allow for an analysis that goes beyond unique individual experiences, but also locates these individual views within a particular society. Furthermore, this study intends to begin addressing the gap between how subjective meanings of sexual identities, in particular Black WLW, are understood in a wider context than previous research which has used qualitative narratives to capture a particular WLW's experience.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter presents the methodology for my analysis. It also determines the relevance of this analysis, the sampling methods of participants and its tools for data collection. Q methodology was useful when looking at both the subjective and the relational experiences of Black WLW from the township.

3.1 Research Design

WLW from townships have been identified through several terms by researchers and activists, guided by their ideologies. The current study has opted to explore the expressions of WLW's sexual identity, along with terms often used to identify them. This exploration of subjective experiences of WLW insists on a methodology which explores varying perspectives of the meanings attached to being a Black WLW in Soweto. One of the advantages of Q methodology is that it is designed to elicit subjective beliefs and perspectives, and describes them within a diverse range as part of an analytical process that has not been defined a priori.

A qualitative approach may appear more relevant to unpack sexual identities. However, the contribution of the study also lies in the qualitative/quantitative method used. Q methodology has been widely used to capture subjective perceptions for different identities, but also widely used in psychological research. This is the second study, to date, in South Africa which specifically focuses on Black same-sex practicing women using Q methodology. The first study was conducted by Cheryl Potgieter in her 1997 Master's thesis.

Q methodology places emphasis on the 'participant's subjective perspectives, but consistently uses the same questions, concepts and the exact format (grid) which maximises comparability of these subjective perspectives within a bigger sample than would be the case with a qualitative approach' (Donner, 2001, p. 26). Firstly, this study begins addressing the gap between how subjective meanings of sexual identitie (in particular Black WLW) are understood in a wider context than previous research which has used qualitative narratives to capture a particular WLW's experience. Secondly, Q methodology does not offer a quantitative approach of predetermined standardised scales. Nevertheless, Q methodology offers a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research. It is qualitative in its assumption and research logic as it

was developed primarily to examine subjective behaviour yet it uses a statistical analytical approach as well (Watts, & Stenner, 2005).

3.2 A brief introduction to Q methodology

Q methodology was invented by William Stephenson in the 1930s. Given that Stephenson was a student of Charles Spearman at that time, Q methodology has traces of Spearman's factor analysis. The data is captured in a manner that centres on self-references emphasising subjective rankings. A comprehensive interpretation of factor arrays includes inspection of the item scores within and across factors taking into account the extreme and neutral grouped expressions along with the discrepancies (Brown, 1980; Kitzinger, 1999). In 1935,British factorist Godfrey Thompson developed a paper that questioned the methods (other than tests) through which correlations of people could be computed.He furthersuggested a distinction of person correlation through the letter 'q' from Pearson's 'r.'(Brown, 1980). Rozalia (2007) uses the term 'sinthetic' to distinguish Q methodology's holistic approach to evaluating parts within a structure, unlike the R factor analysis which explains the whole as components driven by the assumption that the whole is equal to the sum of its part. For a more detailed comparison between R and Q methodology see Brown (1980), Watts and Stenner (2005), amongst others. Q-methodology is said to be a useful method for examining the human subjective view as it allows participants to provide their subjective points of view about the social issue under investigation, which are then explored through factor analytic statistical techniques (Kitzinger, & Stainton-Rogers, 1985)

Brown (1980) asserts that Stephenson's conceptualisation of Q methodology primarily emphasises the 'intra-individual analysis' as it seeks to distance itself from using devices, such as attitude scales, to indirectly conceptualise the internal states and traits. Furthermore, Q methodology insists on an unfolding of subjective integration with the self at the centre such that it strives towards retaining self as the starting point where measurements begin. McKeown (1984) is of the view that, inherent in Q methodology, is the scientific and philosophical understanding given to subjectivity where the data is primarily self-referenced. The meaning of statements is given by the subject through assigning statements into ranks in relation to each other. The participants' placement of statements in ranks, based on meaning, insists on subjectivity (Brown, 1980). Q methodology assumes that people's subjective experiences are diverse. In its techniques, it allows for the exploration of this diversity and simultaneously

enables the emergence of a wide range of different perspectives. It is from this social-oriented perspective that Webler, Danielson and Tuler (2009,p.5) see the Q techniques as 'self-referential', given that the process of Q sorting relies on participants' reflecting, evaluating and placing of statements in comparison and in relation to each other. Q methodology is based on the belief that the behaviour of allocating statements in a grid is an expression of participants' subjectivity. (Wigger and Mrtrek, 1994).

Kitzinger (1999) asserts that the Q methodology is useful when researching subjectivities and exploring diversity and also uncovering the issues involved in interpretation. She emphasises that it was intended to research people's experiences, opinions, ideas, beliefs, and perspectives. A researcher may use her own definitions and understandings to structure her Q sorts . However, the structuring of the Q sorts does not mean that the researcher's classification excludes the emergence of alternative perspectives. Q methodology has a focus on eliciting and describing wide perspectives and different subjective experiences, none of which are defined a priori by the researcher. The process of working out the meaning of a factor based on the weighted average q sort distribution for that fact is the most subjective part of the entire process of Q methodological research (Brown, 1980). Danielson (2009) adds that this method, through factor analysis, identifies underlying patterns in the data, while also distinguishes commonalities and differences amongst patterns. The crucial and subjective step of Q methodology is Q sorting which is a process of placing statements (about the identity under enquiry) in relation to each other in a grid. In this process, participants reflect and reconstruct their subjectivity as they determine what values count and matter most in their identity. (Lister & Gardner, 2006).

Steven's idea was that the subjective behaviour can be subject to reliable investigation, using an objective procedure of the Q technique. Even though Q methodology uses a forced-choice approach for its distribution, this enables participants not only to reflect but differentiate nuances in different statements as they are placed in relation to each other (Shemmings, 2006).

3.3 PROCEDURE

For most research studies, Q methodology is carried out in a particular sequence, although it allows some flexibility in how the procedures are to be undertaken. For this study the five key steps are as follows:

3.3.1 Step 1: Establishing the concourse

Q methodology's steps start with setting up a concourse which as, Webler, Danielson and Tuler (2009) explain, consists of text usually from interviews or the literature on the social enquiry at hand. The concourse is meant to capture expressions of various perspectives on a particular topic. One of the benefits of constructing a concourse from interviews is that the statements generated out of the concourse end up coming directly from the people being studied. Consequently, the researcher's influence in designing the stimuli is minimised to the act of selecting statements (Webler et. al, 2009).

The concourse for this study was drawn from informal conversations with WLW from Soweto and WLW who are activists within the LGBTI sector that I have worked closely with, and secondary data was sourced from journals. The aim of the concourse is to capture opinions, beliefs and perspectives associated with the sexual identity of Black WLW, both in the academy and in popular lived experiences, as means to understand the expressions and meanings attached to what is publicly known to be such women.

With regards to the *written* word or experience, the time framework set for searching articles included only articles published from January 1994 to August 2011. The keywords used included 'Black women loving women', 'women loving women in townships', along with terms such as 'Black gay/homosexual women' and 'lesbian associated with women loving women'. Given that the experiences of Black WLW (if not lesbians) have been increasingly written about as a post 1994 project of acknowledging (if not advocating for) sexual minorities (particularly Black women) whose history has been a shadow to White WLW's distant narratives, most of the articles were considered for the research. However, some articles that placed much emphasis on comparing Black/African to White WLW were not considered nor Black same-sex practising men in relation to the Black women's same-sex experiences. The exclusion of such narratives provided a frame which prioritised the interest on the narratives and experiences of Black WLW as a sexual identity in itself. Also articles that solely focused on violence as an element of Black WLW's experience were not given much attention. Even though violence towards women and sexual minorities is one of the chronic social ills of our times, the current study distances itself

from perspectives that overuse violence to an extent that it becomes defining of women's experiences.

The *lived* word or experience was sourced from seven Black WLW; two were university students in their early 20s, two were employed with minimum contact in LGBTI NGOs in their early 30s and three were (feminist, gender and LGBTI) activists. The aims of these informal conversations were to get a sense of perceptions of and about Black WLW from Soweto and their widely held beliefs. These conversations were guided by these broad questions:what does it mean to be a WLW in Soweto? What kind of WLW are you most likely to find?, What characterises WLW from Soweto?, What do you think affects WLW from Soweto the most?. Notes of the conversations were written down to inform themes to be considered for the concourse.

From both the *written* and the *lived* word, there were ten common themes that emerged. Statements were strategically selected by dividing the data into emerging categories as a means to make them representative of the concourse. From each identified theme a statement was produced. These statements are also known as Q statements (Webler et.al, 2009). Below are the common themes that emerged:

What it means to be a WLW

WLW and religious and cultural practices

WLW and children/family

WLW and role playing

Sexual behaviour

Dress and styles of display

Body image

Openness as WLW

Community affiliation and political alliances

Labelling

The concourse was sent to six Black WLW and two researchers whose research focuses include gender, sexuality and Black Lesbians for clarity and suggestions. This process enabled reviewers to check for content validity of the statements and judge the relevance of statements to the target population. The feedback from this group refined the Q statements and reduced their number to those most relevant for the study: 60 Q statements which were the final set (see appendix II). The statements were filtered from 100 to 60, largely due to the ambiguity and repetition of some statements. 60 statements fall within the range of 40-60 which is advised for Q methodology (Watts & Stenner, 2005, Shinebourne, 2009).

It should be noted that these themes do not represent the perspective and opinions of Black WLW in Soweto, as one of the principles of Q methodology is that its subset of possible statements, along with its sample, cannot be generalised.

3.3.2 Step2: Developing Q statements

Each Q statement is an individual expression on a particular matter written on a numbered card. Their quality should be maintained through accurately representing what was discussed in the concourse (McKeown, 1984). Another important quality of the Q statements is that they should be interpreted in relation to each other. It is this subjectivity for each participant that allows for different responses to produce various meanings that are likely to differ from the researcher's initial assumptions.

The Q statements were limited to English and IsiZulu, partly because the researcher is familiar with both languages, and IsiZulu is the most widely used language in Soweto (see Ceruti, 2008). A lecturer at the Department of African Languages at the University of Witwatersrand and an independent Nguni translator, were the key translators who assisted in maintaining the necessary precision of the statements. The translations of statements from English to isiZulu occurred on two levels. Initially, the statements were directly translated into isiZulu by an independent Nguni translator. The statements were then discussed by the researcher and an African Languages final student and Zulu women in her early 50s. The second round entailed translating the statements from isiZulu back to English by the lecturer. Given that sex or sexuality have historically been silenced discussions, limited to passing rituals and problems arising, it was not surprising that

some words such as *gender* took on a similar meaning to *sex* when translated to isiZulu. However, amongst the people who were working on the translation, there was consensus that township Zulu, which has been diluted over the years in a diverse multilingual Soweto context, has its distance from rural Zulu which others call the true Zulu or commonly referred to as *isiZulu sangempela*. There was also acknowledgement that the written (Zulu) language, coupled with the mixing of languages typical in townships, made the translations challenging. Nonetheless, all 60 statements were discussed and translated in an accessible isiZulu, while attempting to balance the meaning along with choosing popular terms when synonyms were an option.

3.3.3 Step 3: Sampling Method

Participants who engage in Q sorting are referred to as Q participants. Q sorting is the process whereby participants are instructed to sort statements into a numbered continuum grid of extremes, ranging from a positive to a negative. Q participants are chosen to offer an alternative representation of a population as they '…represent the breadth of opinion in a target population, not the distribution of beliefs across the population' (Webler et.al, 2009: 22). Often a Q study will result in between two and five social perspectives. For each perspective, it is sufficient to have four to six individuals who "define" a perspective, although plenty of studies involve many more people (Webler et.al, 2009).

Snowballing from different entry points as a sampling method was appropriate for recruiting the 'visible' and 'not-so-visible' participants via LGBTI organizations, Facebook invites, and by 'word of mouth'. The invites were also extended through advertising and relying on social networks such as sport groups and the emerging gay and lesbian nightlife through clubs and lounges in Soweto. Due to ethical responsibilities, only Black WLW over the legal age of eighteen years were recruited. The invite for participants mentioned IsiZulu and/or English as the two languages to be used during the fieldwork. Furthermore, the invite was extended to women born in Soweto, living or having lived in Soweto, or having had strong presence or affiliation with Soweto. However, the research project attracted participants who also spoke Sesotho, Tsotsitaal and English. Initially, the brief mentioned that only people who have lived in Soweto for at least two years would be considered. However, because of the sensitivity of the topic under

study, and the willingness of women to participate, some women had stayed in Soweto for a few months to less than two years. Nonetheless, fifty women participated in the study and more were still willing to share their experiences. Due to time constraints, fifty participants seemed a sufficient number. Participants were contacted telephonically. Their phone numbers were either obtained through referrals, or via Facebook. Some took the initiative of contacting me as they saw the research invites from Facebook. The Q sorts were administered at their homes, friends or lover's house and in parks around Soweto.

Each participant was offered a participation information sheet and informed consents at the beginning of each session (see Appendix III and IV).

With the fifty women who participated in this study, 16% have some secondary education, 40% have matriculated, 20% have some university degree, 18% have post school diploma/certificate and 6% have a university degree. 84% said their first sexual encounter was consensual, 12% feel it was non-consensual and the remaining percentage represented the women who did not want to respond to this question. On the other hand, 78% identified their first sexual partners as female, 20% identified first sexual partners as male while the rest are missing.

With regards to employment, 12% were self-employed, 24% were employed full time, 12% were part time workers, 16% were students, 32% were unemployed but worked previously, 4% were unemployed and have never worked. The participants were also asked to identify other sources of income within their households and they could choose as many as they could, to give an idea of various forms of income per household. For 52% their source of income was their own occupation/business, 10% relied on government pension, 4% company pension, 6% UIF, 12% government grant, 4% disability grant, 8% rent from backyard rooms or shacks, 4% secondary occupation, 2% shares, 4%savings, and 44% of the women relied on other people's income.

The age range for the women was 18-48 years with 28 as the mean age, while the mean age for the first sexual encounter was 16 years.

With regards to belief systems, Christian was the most chosen category, followed by Amadlozi (Ancestors). See Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3. Religion, faith or belief system			
		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Amadlozi[14]	11	22.0
	Anglican	3	6.0
	Apostle twelve	3	6.0
	Assembles of God	1	2.0
	Buddhism	1	2.0
	Christian	13	26.0
	Jehova's witness	3	6.0
	Methodist	3	6.0
	Other Christian	1	2.0
	Roman catholic	3	6.0
	Shembe[15](Nazareth Baptist Church)	2	4.0
	Believe in God but no Religion	4	8.0
	Missing	2	4.0
	Total	50	100.0

Participants were also asked about their marital status. 72% had never been married, while 16% were in cohabitation popular known as *vat n sit*. In addition, 4% were separated from their partners, 2% were once married and another 2% had been divorced.

3.3.4 Step 4: Administering Q sort

Q sorting is a technique through which the tools (Q statements) are acted upon by participants. It is the process where participants are instructed to sort the statements into a numbered continuum grid of extremes, ranging from a positive end to the negative one with a neutral point in between, usually represented by zero. The placement of statements should always be in relation to each

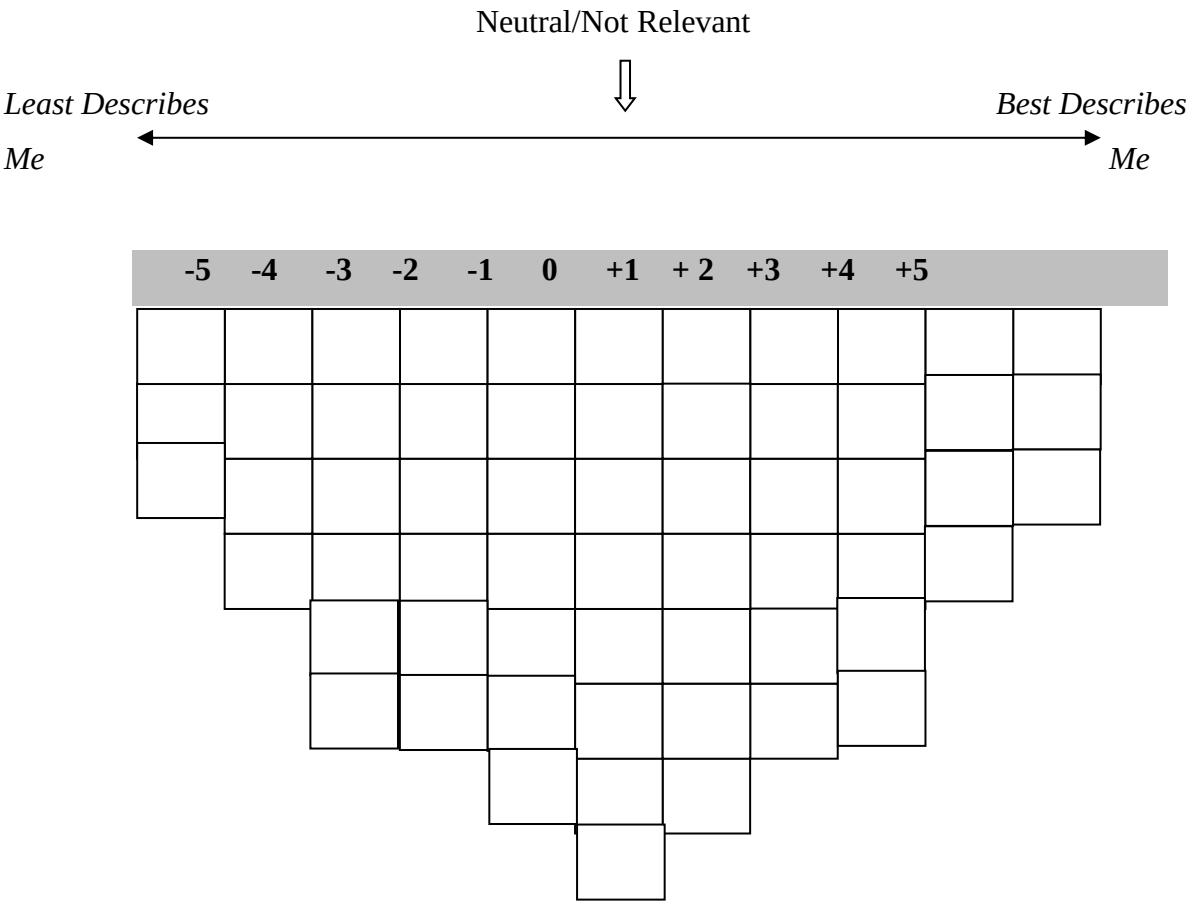
[14] Ancestors
[15] An African initiated church which is a mixture of Zulu tradition and Christianity

other. It is this process that directly seeks to reveal the participants' beliefs and opinions about the issue under investigation as meaning is given by participants in the process of assigning statements in ranks and in relation to one another (McKeown, 1984).

Each step of the process was explained to the participants and some of them were audio-interviewed about the experience of Q-sorting. At the beginning of each interview, after participants read the participation information sheet and signed the informed consent, they were handed the demographics sheet which had questions on some biographical data (see Appendix IV). Participants were then given instruction for the survey (see Appendix V) which explains the process of Q sorting 60 numbered statements in a grid that ranges from -5 to 5. The Q cards were shuffled to ensure their randomisation. As a starting point, participants were asked to read the statements carefully and then place them into three piles of statements namely "Least Describe Me", "Neutral/Not Relevant" and "Best Describes Me". The participants were then asked to rank order each pile into the grid until all 60 statements were each on the grid sheet (see figure 3.1 below) with a condition of instruction which stated "as you go through each statement, think about what being a Black WLW in Soweto means to you, taking into account your experiences about your sexuality over the years. Sort the statements starting with the pile of statements that you feel "Best Describes" you and place those from 5, starting with only three statements that best describe you, and sort the rest within the range of 1 and 4. Then sort those that 'Least Describe" you starting with only the three that least describe (-5) and sort the rest within the range of -1 and -4. Please remember that zero only has 8 spaces for statements that are "Neutral/Not Relevant" to you.

Figure 3.1

Grid Sheet



3.3.5 Step 5: Data Analysis & Interpretation

The correlation coefficient and factor analysis are the statistical means used as part of Q methodology to analyse data and to reveal patterns in the manner people associate opinions (Webler et.al, 2009). In Q methodology the factor analysis analyses the variables in a data matrix by rows instead of columns as would be the case in other multivariate analysis. It is this distinction in analyses which sets the variables as persons (owing primarily to the inherent subjectivity in the Q technique) rather than items, and this allows a focus on the interrelationship of scores across items for each participant (LeCouter & Delfabbro, 2001).

The data was analysed using the PQMethod software program which was downloaded for free from http://www.lrz-muenchen.de/~schmolck/qmethod/down-pqx.htm (Schmolck, 2002). The 50 Q sorts from participants were each entered into the program and the sorts were analysed using a by-person factor analysis. Unlike the traditional quantitative analysis where items are subject to factor analysis, Q methodology through its by-person factor analysis demonstrates how subjects are grouped. Furthermore, it reveals individual's loadings with each factor, indicating what kind of statements are mostly rated negative (which are signs of rejection of the factor's perspective) and positive (shared subjectivity with others) by participants who loaded on the same factor (McKeown & Thomas, 1984)

The initial step was to establish which Q sorts completed by participants were grouped together. This outlines a trend which is identified as a factor. The factor loadings indicate how each factor loading correlates with each factor. For instance, participants who share a similar view point are grouped under the same factor. The Q sorts are correlated to indicate the similarities in viewpoints of participants. If the participants sort the statements in a similar manner, for example, then the correlation coefficient will be high and only one factor (viewpoint) will be identified (Corr, 2001). Dennis (1986) is of the view that it is acceptable to have more than one but less than seven factors. In Q methodology it is the viewpoints that are recorded and therefore seen as important as compared to the number of people who share that particular viewpoint.

One of the scores to note when interpreting is the factor score. The factor scores are weighted averages (Z scores) of the values given to each statement by individuals defining the factor (Ellingsen et.al, 2009). Distinguishing statements are also worth noting for analysis and these are typically statements which are statistically unique for a specific factor. On the other hand, consensus statements are those that are not statistically different between factors. The z scores for statements ought to be considered together, rather than in isolation, when interpreting data. This is because it is a collection of statements that create a sense of meaning for each factor. The Distinguishing and Consensus statements for this sample will be further explored in the next chapter.

There are a number of options for analysis used in Q studies. One of them is to retain all factors with at least two factor loadings. The criteria for factor extraction differ from traditional factor analysis approaches. According to Davies and Hodge (2005, 327) '…the eigen value for each

factor extracted depends on both the number of cases of particularly types within the sample and the total number of cases'. The principal component analysis (PCA) and varimax rotation were both performed on the data and only two factors were retained. These two factors will be introduced in-depth in the next chapter.

The results of the analysis are interpreted and expressed in the form of different social perspectives. The Q method integrates both qualitative and quantitative techniques to reveal social perspectives. Social perspectives are identified by looking for patterns in individuals' Q sorts (Webler et.al, 2009). McKeown (1984) asserts that factor analysis in Q methodology places subjectivity into an operant form since its focus is on the correlation and factoring of participants rather than tests. Furthermore, Q sorts reveal the subjective implicit states which were not necessarily readily available prior to the research. Webler et.al (2009: 10) explains that 'what factor analysis does is mathematically invent a few new variables that explain variations in many variables'. The qualitative analysis of these new variables is left to the researcher to tease out their meaning. Factors analysis reveals underlying explanations of patterns in a large set of data and can also simplify the large data, often down to two or five factors. Once the factor is described in the language of the Q statements, it becomes a social perspective and the product of the Q study. In Q methodology, minority views are not discarded (including views held by only two participants) once the factor is documented, the Q matrix detects it along with other factors (Brown, 2006). Q methodology can be said to utilize a form of multivariate analysis, given that it systematically categorises various ways in which participants' respond to the statements on particular issues (LeCouter & Delfabbro, 2001).

3.4 The Demographics questionnaire

As an attempt to profile the participants, the demographics questionnaire focused on the age, number of children, marital status, levels of education and employment status of participants, amongst others. It further checked how long women had stayed in Soweto, given that Johannesburg is a city of migration both internal and from outside the country.

The section on terms used to self-identify along with terms used by others to identify same-sex practising women and the demographic questionnaire were relevant tools for the sub question regarding terms and their meaning. A list of 17 terms commonly used to identify same-sex

practising women was sourced from journal articles, media and conversations with activists and friends. The 50 participants were asked to choose as many of these labels that they would use to describe themselves.

In further collecting data on the expression of Black WLWs' sexual identity, participants were asked to share the age of their first sexual encounter, the gender of their sexual partner and the number of sexual partners to date. The kind of beverages that the women prefer was also questioned through a list of options, along with their level of privacy with regards to the number of people per household. A list of faith systems was also listed as means to explore how the women perceive their religious beliefs in relation to their sexual identity. While filling-in the demographics, some of the participants would talk about their responses. These conversations also informed the field notes. The demographics questionnaire which had questions related to terms used to describe WLW, the languages used by participants along with belief systems, amongst others, were analysed using SPSS as the PQmethod software primarily analysed the Q sorts.

After completing the questionnaire, the participants moved to the Q sorting process outlined above. Post this process, each participant was asked to reflect on the extreme six statements they had placed as under "Best Describes Me" and "Least Describes Me" (See the Appendix II for the grid). All the responses were audio-recorded.

So far, the chapter has shown the relevance of Q methodology when exploring subjective perspectives and its usefulness as an analytical tool for capturing the expressions of Black WLW's sexual identity. Furthermore, the method was outlined and its key characteristics were teased out in the five stages that Q methodology followed for this study. The remaining section now turns to the limitations of this method, the researcher's position with the sub population and ethical considerations

3.5 Limitations of Q methodology

Q methodology has several limitations but I will highlight only three that Dennis (1986) pointed out. The first one is related to time. The time required for each participant to sort statements, along with explaining the process to participants with instructions that are comprehensive, is time consuming as the sessions on average were more than an hour and 30 minutes for each

participant. One of the crucial limitations of Q methodology is that even though validity may be confirmed, it could be affected if a participant is not clear on the Q sorting process which then could lead to a misrepresentation of their ideas (Dennis, 1986)

3.6 The author's involvement in the field of enquiry.

As a young Black WLW, I have been involved with the LGBTI sector through work since 2008 at *Behind The Mask*, an online news magazine as a human rights writer. I then continued to work for OUT Well-Being a psychosocial support oriented LGBTI organisation as a co-ordinator in one of their research projects. I am currently involved with the Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action an archives oriented LGBTI organisation. Working within these organisations has given me more exposure to the LGBTI society in Southern Africa and some parts of East Africa. I have also participated in seminar discussions, protest marches and campaigns which all have allowed me to learn more about the LGBTI society through non-governmental organisation. However, this has also exposed me to the lived experiences and struggles faced by sexual minorities through campaigns and informal interactions.

3.6.1 *A scene on the Field*

I was invited to two stokvels by some of the participants. The one stokvel had mostly women in their late 20s to the 40s with most of the couples employed; the stokvels were often hosted in more affluent sections of Soweto where most of them stayed such as Protea. The first group had approximately 14 couples. But the second stokvel had women in their mid 20s to the late 30s and met in one of the older and less affluent areas in Soweto where most of them stayed in White City area. It is this second stokvel that I visited and that I will further reflect on.

The proceedings are often standard. The host cooks using monetary contribution from members. The meetings start with acknowledging absenteeism and late payments. The outstanding fees are further discussed and negotiated, considering whether members should be expelled or one member will volunteer to pay on their behalf. The next meeting venue is discussed after everyone has paid their dues. The meeting ends with lunch and with plenty of alcohol. Members in these groups were couples and single members. Approximately 24 members attended such gatherings. Nonetheless, the membership number fluctuates as some members are not easily located as members since they come and go depending on their financial security.

It was particularly difficult to recruit participants at the event; only five were interviewed from this group as the levels of alcohol consumption heightened. I was offered alcohol but I settled for a soft drink. Given my unfamiliarity with Soweto, in each area with each visit I relied on key informants that were identified prior to the fieldwork and through networks and Facebook. One of the key informants who I will refer to as Mswati[16], who herself is a migrant from Swaziland, accompanied me to the stokvel meeting. She raised some concerns about my drink, believing that some of the women were keen on spiking it.

Interacting with the stokvel members came with a lot of suspicion. Questions were posed about my sexuality, access and ownership of the car which I used for the fieldwork and the fact that I presented myself as a Wits student when I was introducing the research project and in the information participation sheet. The car and the education were central in most discussions along with my age. Mswati alerted me that not only did I need to keep my drink in sight but that we had to leave sooner that we had planned. While I was interviewing some of the women, the informant was also assessing the environment and engaging with the group for potential interviewees. She was accused of being my lover and once she denied such claims she was asked to spike my drink so some of the stokvel members could easily take the car keys from me. Once I knew this, I wrapped the interview and said my goodbyes but the women continued offering alcoholic drinking, arguing that I was done with the interviews so I could relax. On our way out, two women approached me and wanted compensation for the interview, despite having explained verbally but also in the copy of the Participant Information sheet that the research project bears no material benefits for them and it is part of fulfilling university requirements for me to pass. They further engaged me, pointing out to the section in the questionnaire of what type of drinks they enjoyed as a sign that I raised expectation to buy them alcoholic drinks. One of them asked for a lift home and felt she was too drunk to stay. We (I and Mswati) took her home as we called and came with her when we were getting lost in finding the venue for the stokvel meeting. Once we got to her home, she bought more beers and insisted that we drink. On my way to the toilet I overheard her on the phone saying '...bala endlini, bazophuza then ngizonithinta[17]'. As expected, I went to the toilet, came back and told my informant that it was time to leave and we left. Even though I grew up in different townships, each is unique but that

[16] pseudonym
[17] They are here at the house, they will drink then I will call you

experience instilled some fear that I had not known, especially among women. Indeed what participant 23 said about class playing a defining role in how we interact took another form, different than what I thought I had understood during the interview. It should be noted that some of the stokvel members drove in expensive cars. The two markers (education and the car) that deemed me different from some of these women were traits that some of the members had but somehow it created tensions as I was positioned as the outsider worth the time to engage with them but also perceived as an opportunity for some of them to get something.

This brief account is meant to highlight the challenges of being a researcher in a community that one is also a part of. It also indicates the circumstance that allows a researcher to be read as an insider but still be treated as an outsider, partly due to the specificity and the nature of sexual identities being context-bound.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Confidentiality is one of the key ethical concerns that remain at the core in the presentation of data, while maintaining professional boundaries throughout the research project (Halsey & Honey, 2003). The confidentiality of participants remains protected, which is important given the social networks of WLW as sexual minorities tend to be a small community. The dissertation is written in such a manner that the identity of participants cannot be detected. Participants who were invited to participate in this study were women over 18 years to accommodate the legal age of consent. The women were invited and they voluntarily participated. During the fieldwork, participants were reminded to reserve the right to decline or withdraw from the study at any time, without any penalty. The research study has no advantage or harm associated with participating in it and throughout the fieldwork there were no complains made to me or discreetly to my supervisor. Each participant was given a participation information sheet so as to allow them to make an informed decision about partaking or not in the current study project. All the participants were issued an informed consent in a written form which they signed upon, agreeing to participate. For the audio-recorded interviews, the informed consent was separate such that the audio-recording was a clear expectation from the beginning. In each informed consent, permission to donate the acquired information in the current study project to the Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA), an archives LGBTI non-governmental organisation, was clearly stated.

Given that I spent a lot of time moving in-between spaces and associated with WLW, the assumption could be that I was at risk of being identified as a WLW who is also a visitor not familiar with this particular township context. It is difficult to argue that I was or not at risk throughout the field work. However, I will emphasise that I do not hold the view that townships are violent spaces. Nevertheless, I will also highlight that one of the crimes with higher prevalence in South Africa is rape and sexual assault , particularly towards women in general, including same-sex practising women, children and pensioners (Smith, 2013)

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the factor analysis and the 60 Q sorts that were analysed using PQ Method software along with some of the results that emerged from the demographics questionnaire and the interviews. The first part of the results is presented by comparing the first two significant factor arrays. In the later part of the chapter I will focus on the most significant factor arrays in order to explore some points that were raised during the discussions.

4.2 Correlation and Factor Analysis

In Q methodology, the participants, instead of the variables, are clustered together and as such reveal an underlying social perspective, in the sense that the participants chose a set of statements which – through factor analysis – are grouped in such a manner that they reflect the individual's perceptions of a particular issue under investigation in relation to others' perceptions. Brown (1993) explains that each Q sort can be treated as a single variable. The 60 completed Q sorts were correlated producing 50 x 50 matrix (See Appendix VII). Each of the resulting final factors presented below represents a group of perspectives that are mutually highly correlated. Respondents with similar views loaded on the same factor and the resulting factors indicate perceptions and consensus found across the individuals.

The sample consisted of 50 women who sorted 60 statements that were sourced from the concourse on perceptions of Black WLW in townships. The correlation matrix was factor analysed using Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and rotated by Varimax factor rotation, which is computer-automated using PQMethod Software (version 2.11). The software allows both the Centroid factor analysis and PCA. However, PCA is often used as it not only captures commonality among factors (as does the Centroid method), but incorporates the specificity of factors (Webler et al., 2009). Furthermore, the PCA works better with normal and continuous data, which is often the case with Q sorts, given that the items are forced into a quasi-normal distribution (McKeown, 1984). Varimax rotates the factors such that individuals are associated with only one factor and also 'maximises the amount of variance explained on as few factors as possible' (Webler et al., 2009, p.10). In order to present interpretable data, the factor must have at least two sorts that exclusively load significantly on it (Stenner & Marshall, 1995) and have an

eigenvalues greater than one (Brown, 1980; Donner, 2001). Initially, eight factors with eigenvalues greater than one were extracted. However, an examination of the eigenvalues and variance scores indicated that the first two factors were the most defining accounts with the first variable accounting for 35 percent explanation of variance and the second factor accounting for 8 percent, as too few sorts loaded exclusively to make up other factors. See Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: *Eigenvalues of Unrotated Factors*

	Eigenvalues	Percentage Explained by Variance
Factor 1	17.33	35
Factor 2	3.99	8
Factor 3	2.62	5
Factor 4	2.27	5
Factor 5	1.99	4
Factor 6	1.77	4
Factor 7	1.67	3
Factor 8	1.45	3

Furthermore, the two factor solutions were accompanied by factor loadings, meaning that the participants chose a set of statements which, through factor analysis, grouped statements according to their similarities and differences as means of surfacing perceptions of the particular issue under investigation in relation to other perceptions. Factor loadings are indicative of each individual's Q sorts relationship to the factor and the extent to which they relate to each other (Van Exel, & Graaf, 2005). The two-factor solution explained 43 percent of the variance with a total of 28 Q-sorts (56 percent of the sample) loaded significantly onto one of the two factors within this solution. For the rotated factors, insignificant loadings (i.e. those smaller than 0.35) were excluded and the Q sorts that have significant loadings are referred to as factor exemplars. PQ Method outputs and statistical data for all the dataset are presented in Appendix VII.

Factor interpretation was based on the top five ranked statements about Black WLW, along with those that had a z-score greater than 1.5. In addition, participants' explanations for their placement of certain statements in the + and – 5 positions were also useful for interpreting the data. Analysis of the sort data provided by 50 participants revealed that 10 participants (20 percent of the sample) dominantly loaded on Factor A, while 18 participants (36 percent of the sample) loaded on Factor B. Although other factor solutions were statistically low, given that they only explained variance from 5 percent and below, a two-factor solution was adopted as it appeared to have grouped two distinct perspectives on what participants mostly agreed on as significant attributes of a WLW. The Q sort analysis produced two distinct perspectives concerning the expression of the Black WLW sexual identity among women in Soweto. The expression of the Black WLW sexual identity in Soweto was interpreted and analysed based on the two-factor solution.

4.3 Factor Interpretation: Factor A

Factor A accounted for 17 % of the study of variance after rotation, with 10 participants (ss 1. 6, 23, 27, 28, 37, 38, 43, 48 & 49) loading significantly on this factor. The top five ranked statements combined with those that had z-scores greater than 1.5 that characterise Factor A share a common underlying theme of a 'Dominating partner in a relationship'. The participants in this factor typified a masculine gender expression of their sexual identity with more strict expectations of heterosexist gender conformity at the surface. An analysis of the factor array confirms that all the statements that are positively ranked are opinions that support primarily a 'closed construction' and a 'masculine gender expression'. This is embodied by women who negotiate their masculine sexual identity as something completely distinct from the masculine gender expression of men as the interpretation of what it means to be a Black WLW, whilst the negatively ranked statements are those that suggest that one would intentionally reject such views. See Table below for exemplar statements of Factor A.

Table 4.2: Exemplar statements for Factor A including Significant Normalised Factor Scores

No.	Statements	Ranking	Z-scores
26	I prefer to date feminine looking women	+5	1.900
8	I believe God made me this way as a WLW	+5	1.851
2	I think I was born a WLW	+5	1.750
23	I like being a dominant partner in a relationship	+4	1.719
53	I am not familiar with feminism	+4	1.591
15	If there's any *lobola*[18] to pay I would pay it for my partner	+4	1.528
57	I don't like labeling myself, I just love women	+4	1.509
1	I am attracted to both w/m but choose to identify as WLW	-5	-1.642

The type of partner that same-sex loving women are most likely to date, combined with deterministic ideas of Christian beliefs, and the 'natural' understanding of being born a same-sex loving women characterise Black WLW's sexual identity in this factor. As part of locating their sexual identity within relationships, women (who loaded significantly in this factor) prefer dating feminine looking women (26: +5). Furthermore, when negotiating sexual identity outside relationships with a more individualised self-introspection, the women's beliefs are that God made them this way as WLW (8: +5) and that they are born WLW (2:+5). In addition to this, distinct roles within a relationship also inform the expression of Black WLWs' sexual identity, as the women like being the dominant partners in the relationship (23; +4) and believe that if there is any *lobola*[19] to pay, they would pay it for their partners (15:+4). Women who share this perspective are not familiar with feminism (53:+4) and do not like labeling themselves as they just love women (57: +4). Given the Christian beliefs and the idea of being born a WLW, this group of women have a strong rejection of the possibility of being attracted to both women and men and still choose to identify as WLWs (1: -5).

[18] Dowry also popularly referred to as the Brideprice

[19] commonly understood as the 'bride price', but are gifts to the bride's family either as livestock or in a monetary form which traditionally is paid by a man or the man's family within a heterosexual union

Data from 10 participants (20% of the sample) loaded significantly on Factor A. In the interviews with those women who defined Factor A, there was emphasis on how the type of women they would be romantically and sexually involved with would be treated, with expectations that maintained distinct roles. In the interviews, participants who defined Factor A said such things as 'I don't want my partner to touch my breasts, *uzongijwayela*'[20] (ss23), 'In a relationship you must stand your ground, *uma ukhuluma kuzwakele*[21]', 'I don't want a woman to pay lobola for me because *uzongijwayela*' (ss6), 'I dress to express myself, I'm Zulu and I like being the head'. When commenting about God creating WLW, there were more responses that critiqued the church. One participant thought that, '…we should be able to access spaces of worship without this gendered separation, cause now we will have to wear suits, carry both the bible and guns to church...' (ss23)

This reflects a frustration with being a WLW in a church where the seating arrangement separates men from women and children such that men occupy, for instance, rows on the left, facing the priest in the pulpit, with women and children on the right side. Furthermore, the acceptable attire for women is often dresses and skirts that are seen as respectable for women while men are encouraged to be gentlemen in suits, or to wear a jacket or blazer at least.

On the same vein another woman added,

> On church and attires, the emphasis is on women wearing dresses…the church should not judge, I don't feel comfortable in a dress, don't feel that I am that type of a woman…Jesus wore a garment, a dress…..culture not Christianity is the issue…the bible says '*gqoka ngokuhloniphekile*'[22] … Culture in itself becomes confusing because the Shakas never wore pants themselves *beba qqoka ama-bheshu*.[23] (ss38)

[20] A Zulu phrase, which, literally translated, means 'the person will get used to/know me'. In practice, the word usually signals discomfort when someone has overstepped some boundaries, similar to the phrase 'too close for comfort'.
[21] Direct translation from IsiZulu to English means, 'when one speaks one must be heard'.
[22] Direct translation from IsiZulu to English means, 'dress up in a respectable manner'.
[23] Direct translation from IsiZulu to English means, 'they used to dress up in (ama-bheshu) traditional attire made of animal skin primarily worn by Nguni men'.

The most negatively rated statement was about being a WLW attracted to both women and men. This statement was widely rejected, focusing its WLW definition exclusively on women's same-sex attraction. For this factor women distanced themselves from being attracted to men and framed such attraction as an unimaginable act for them. Qualitative data expanded on this with participants sharing their personal experiences:

> 'I don't see myself sleeping with men, it just doesn't make sense...just laying there...it's disgusting...I'm terrified of penises' (ss10)

> 'I have never been attracted to males, they are ugly, have facial hair that's rough and hard hands, and I don't find that appetising.'(ss6)

Others shared views about their observations of women who engage in both same-sex and heterosexual sexual encounters:

> I don't trust 'femme's; I am a 'femme' myself, because some of them do sleep with men. I understand if a woman is bisexual but what they tell us is that they are les [lesbian] but continue to sleep with men. (ss20).

Sexual attraction and desire for men is thought of as something outside the Black WLW's sexual identity. The exclusion of same-sex attraction in conceptualising what Black WLW sexual practices should constitute, poses challenges in relating with bisexual and effeminate same-sex practicing women. In fact the suspicion of women who sexually engage with men while claiming a lesbian sexual identity, for example, is at risk of not being accepted as a 'legitimate' WLW.

4.4 Factor Interpretation: Factor B

Factor B explained 26% of the study variance after rotation. Eighteen participants (36% of the sample which constitutes of ss8, 9 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, 26, 29, 32, 36, 39, 40) loaded significantly on this factor, explaining more variance than any other factor. The conceptualisation of being a Black WLW in this factor was more rooted in the relationship the women had with their body, particularly their breasts. Women in this factor seem to value the notion of equality in their relationships, given that they believe sex is about both partners pleasuring each other (25:+5) and that household chores are better shared between partners (22: +5). Furthermore, these women feel comfortable with their breasts (38: +5), as they do not hate

their breasts (37:-5) and reject binding them to make them seem smaller (39: -5). Faith, as the basis of feeling shame for being a WLW (10: -4), is rejected in this factor along with the possibility of dying in the closet because of tradition (9:-5). See Table below for exemplar statements for Factor B.

Table 4.3: Exemplar statements for Factor B including Significant Normalised Factor Scores

No.	Statements	Ranking	Z-scores
25	Sex is about both of us pleasuring each other	+5	2.053
38	I am comfortable with my breasts	+5	1.841
22	Household chores are better shared between partners	+5	1.737
10	Because of my faith I feel ashamed of being a WLW	-4	-1.510
39	I bind my breasts to make them smaller	-5	-1.527
37	I hate my breasts	-5	-1.674
9	Because of tradition I will die in the closet	-5	-1.788

The statements that defined Factor B echo a more flexible construction of Black WLW. Qualitative data sustains this interpretation. Participants explained their placement of statements in the +5 slot saying, 'Although I'm a Tom[24], I don't believe in being a provider, 50-50 is the way to go'. On the same note, on equal relations in a relationship, even with sexual practices, ss13 also maintained that, 'Sex for me is for both of us. I had an encounter with a woman who didn't want to be touched and that was just weird for me'. Another participant, reflecting on house chores, said 'sharing chores is the right way to go. I also would like assistance for some of

[24] Tomboy refers to women who prefer to dress in men's style and clothing but not always signaling same-sex orientation. In some instances like ss13 the men's clothing form part of the masculine gender expression of a same-sex practicing women.

the household chores that I can do for them. And if I can do all of them, it's tiring to do everything' (ss32). Most of the women in factor B were conscious of how the gender roles influence their sexual practices, issues of domesticity and their engagement with the traditional role of women in these spheres. This illustrates inclusive counter-practices that transgress gender norms as means to redefine gender expressions while maintaining the same-sex sexual identities.

One woman further demonstrated:

> 'I like a woman who cooks and cleans, I've had an encounter with a potential girlfriend, she cooked and it was the best thing ever. I don't know, it's just you don't get to date a tomboy or 'butch' who can actually cook. Most of them have this patriarchy system going on in their heads about a 'femme' girlfriend who can cook for them. It would be great to have someone who cleans after me than me having to do it. I do it a lot. I was brought up in a very domesticated manner' (ss.18).

All the women in Factor B were 'out' meaning they had revealed their sexuality to either siblings, particular members of the family or loved one. Interesting statements were those regarding tradition and faith that signaled uneasiness with embracing same-sex desires as they were both rejected (see Table 4.3). Some of the participants explained how they negotiate their faith and, traditional practices with their sexual identities. One participant indicated that she tries, '..[to] dress up properly when there are family gatherings. My family is Christian, we don't slaughter[25], or are too strict on traditional practices' (ss17). Families that have combined both the religious and cultural beliefs take different a stand on slaughtering and preparing home-grown *umqombothi*[26]. Those who shy away from slaughtering animals or including *umqombothi* in their ceremonies are generally read as not being traditional.

One participant commented on traditional weddings and *lobola* claiming that she wanted, 'a white wedding'. She added that:

> "...growing up and also the media, TV and magazine you look at them and think, 'Oh I want my wedding to be like this'...I'm not a traditionalist, I don't really care about

[25] The slaughtering of an animal depending on the importance of the gathering varies from a cow, sheep, goat and in some instances chicken. The animal not only becomes a sacrifice but the process of ending its life is tied to an ancestral conversation. This practice is organised by gender, age and clan lineage, amongst other factors

[26] Home made, traditional beer

slaughtering but I would do it if my partner's family expects it of me, although I'm not much of a traditionalist" (ss.14).

Marriage historically has been associated with heterosexism. How WLW imagine their weddings offers insights into gender roles as such discussions on who pays lobola for who highlights the negotiation of same-sex sexualities within traditional rituals. For some this entails willingness to resemble the gender roles within a traditional heterosexual relationship as a means to negotiate acceptance from families.

4.5 Differences and Similarities of both Factors

Factor A's interpretation of Black WLW is distinguished from Factor B by the framing of attraction, roles and expectations of a relationship. Women in this group prefer dating feminine looking women (26:+5), like being the dominant partner in a relationship (23:+4) and if possible, would like to pay lobola for their partners (15:+4). Consistent with their preferred role of dominance in a relationship, they reject the idea of being attracted to masculine looking women (27:-5), or wanting a partner who can financially provide for them (30:-4) or even dress to express their femininity (31:-4). In addition to this, the framing of attraction is clearly limited to women as the possibility of being attracted to both women and men, while continuing to identify as a WLW (1:-5), is rejected. See Table 4.3 below for distinguishing statements with scores.

Table 4.4: Distinguishing Statements for Factor A

		Factor A		Factor B	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
26	I prefer to date feminine looking women	5	1.90*	1	0.37
8	I believe God made this way, as a WLW	5	1.85	4	1.37
23	I like being a dominant partner in a relationship	4	1.72*	1	0.41
15	If there's any lobola to pay I would pay it for my partner	4	1.53*	0	0.15

57	I don't like labelling myself, I just love women	4	1.51*	-2	-0.70
31	I dress to express the femininity in me	-4	-1.09*	3	0.99
30	I want a partner who can financially provide for me	-4	-1.18*	-1	-0.44
27	I am attracted to masculine looking women	-5	-1.36*	1	0.24
1	I am attracted to both w/m but choose to identify as WLW	-5	-1.64	-3	-1.23

What distinguishes this group of women from those of Factor A is the preoccupation with breasts with five statements referencing the breasts loaded on the extreme scores. Relations women have with their bodies (particularly breasts) had positive meaning for these women, as they expressed it as part of their body that contributes to how they see themselves as women. Other participants such as ss32 felt that their large cup-size was also a lesbian-puller and gives them advantage in the dating scene. On the contrary, in Factor A, the one distinct comment on breasts was made by ss23 who posed the question 'Which lesbian would want more breasts? She concluded, 'ideally we all want to be flat'. These participants from Factor A offer another example of a gender masculine expression held as a core of a sexual identity, thereby rejecting the visibility of breasts as symbols of femininity associated with women's bodies. Furthermore, women from the same group are reluctant to date masculine-presenting women (statement 27;-5) like themselves. It can be argued that Factor A entails characteristics of what constitutes a 'butch'-'femme' lesbian subculture from a 'butch' perspective with clear censoring of 'butch'-'butch' partnerships. See Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.5: Distinguishing Statements for Factor B

		Factor A		Factor B	
No.	Statement	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
25	Sex is about both of us pleasuring each other	3	1.22*	5	2.05
22	Household chores are better shared between partners	3	1.24	5	1.74
38	I am comfortable with my breasts	1	0.48*	5	1.84
44	I love it when my partner caresses my breasts	2	0.64	4	1.39
50	I'm a member of a political group to empower myself as a WLW	-1	-0.69*	-4	-1.34
42	I would feel sexier with bigger breasts	-2	-0.83	-4	-1.25
9	Because of tradition I will die in the closet	-3	-1.06*	-5	-1.79
37	I hate my breasts	-2	-0.77*	-5	-1.67
39	I bind my breasts to make them smaller	-3	-1.00*	-5	-1.53

Women in Factor B reflected on political participation, even though they negatively rated the statement (50), locating the notion of politics on the periphery of their sexual identity, while emphasising the nature of relations they expect from relationships and their sense of being comfortable with the feminine bodies. For Factor A, the nature of relations also was a key category in conceptualising their sexual identity. However, their distinct relations with women have strict gender roles. While Factor B evoked ideas on political participation as means to characterise their sexual identity outside their relationships, Factor A turned to God (statement 8; +5) as means of negotiating their sexual identity with themselves and their society outside of their ideal sexual partnerships.

It is important to note that despite the two distinct perspectives on the expression of Black WLW's sexual identity, these perspectives had points of agreement. Table 4.5 illustrates common statements that were not only significant but were ranked similarly with close scores for both Factors. The highest rank is 4 with the statement on the unfamiliarity of feminism. The

extremely rejected statement also ranked -4 was about battling with coming out [‘of the closet’] because of faith*Table 4.6 Consensus Statements: Those That Do Not Distinguish Between ANY Pair of Factors.*

No.	Statement	RNK	SCORE 1	RNK	SCORE2
4	Even if I didn't have sex with women I would still be a WLW	2	0.99	2	0.52
11*	I could never come out because of my faith	-4	-1.08	-4	-1.32
24*	I like a partner who is dominant	-1	-0.60	-1	-0.42
36*	When I dress up I don't think about my sexuality	0	-0.15	0	0.14
45*	I do not like to be seen with WLW in public	-3	-1.03	-3	-1.22
46*	I feel comfortable expressing my WLW self in my neighbourhood	3	1.23	3	1.31
53*	I am not familiar with feminism	4	1.59	4	1.45
59*	Going to pride marches made me realise I'm part of a community	3	1.45	3	1.20

(All Listed Statements are Non-Significant at P>.01, and Those Flagged With an * are also Non-Significant at P>.05)

The Table above indicates that both factors do not see their faith or belief systems as a hindering factor in expressing their sexuality (see statement 11; -4). This is worth noting given that much of the discourse on anti-same-sex practices relies on religious notions of same-sex practices as ungodly or against the bible. Moreover, this also points out that the societal negative beliefs, continuously imposed to discriminate, are not internalised by these women. As such, being publicly identified amongst WLW is not an issue (statement 45; -3).

The only statement read as neutral by both factors makes specific reference to a dress code that is meant to signal their sexuality. This is surprising given the distinct men's clothing preferred by masculine-presenting women in Factor A, the cross dressing and the conventional women's fashion preferred by women in Factor B. A possible explanation is that women from both Factors hold their sexual identities as part of their core self, along with other identities. As such they do not see themselves as continuously and actively performing through dress code the expressions of their sexual identity.

The unfamiliarity of feminism (statement 53; +4) and the Pride marches (statement 59; +3), as sites of community belonging, signal the idea of a collective related to their sexual identity, yet as elements on the periphery of their sexual identity. One of the participants explained her observation on the idea of an LGBTI community:

My first experience of the Jo'burg pride march was not so welcoming, *inking siya-clasana* (problem is we class each other), *sishayana ngezitina* (we steal each other's girlfriends).I don't like much of our gatherings (ss32)

The critical questioning of the idea of a community was also shared by a lesbian activist, Funeka Soldaat, one of the co-founders of Freegender[27]. In our personal communication Soldaat jokingly shared in my 2012 visit in Khayelitsha.

> You know how it is, in Cape Town we are divided along racial lines, even in social spaces, while in Jo'burg you can access as many spaces as you can but the thin line is class in affording those spaces.

Some LGBTI NGO projects have which centralised feminism, along with the growing feminist literature on women's same-sex practices in the academy. However, feminism as a theoretical tool of analysis and as a critical political ideology has yet to inform the everyday experience of Black WLW in Soweto. Perhaps, the latter is more difficult to sustain in the current socio-political context of weak and fragmented social movements, whereas scholarly work may read Black WLW's responses to the challenge of homophobic violence as resembling feminist resistance.

4.6 Background of the Two Main Factors: A&B

The following chapter will focus exclusively on the two main factors that were statistically significant in producing two distinct expression of Black WLW in Soweto. This subsection will briefly highlight some of its demographics as a way of providing background of who has defined two expressions of sexual identities for contemporary Soweto.

Table 3.4 Some Demographic Questionnaires Limited to WLW who defined Factor A&B[28]

	Factor A (10 Participants)	**Factor B (18 Participants)**
Age Range	25-44	18-48
No. of Children	3 women (each with 4, 2& 1 children respectively)	3 women (each with 4,3 & 2 children respectively)
No. of years in Soweto	4 years-27 years	4months-40 years

[27] a lesbian oriented community-based organisation in Khayelitsha, Western Cape

[28] Please note that the rest of the sample is not included in this table as they were not statistically significant to define either Factor A or B. In addition, the table primarily focuses on peculiar cases of participants in relation to the rest of both Factor A & B women

Migration	2 women stayed elsewhere in JHB and only 1 initially was from other parts of Gauteng	2 women migrated from the Eastern and Western Cape, 3 from around Gauteng and 3 from elsewhere in JHB.
Education[29]	2 women had Grade 12, 1 University degree, 1 with some Secondary education, 3 Post school diploma/certificate & 3 women had some University education.	8 women had Grade 12, 2 Post school diploma/certificate, 2 Some secondary, 4 Some university education, 2 University degree
Employment[30]	0 students, 3 women were unemployed , 4 self-employed , only 1 employed* ,2 full-time employed**, & 3 unemployed	6 unemployed but currently students, 3 employed full-time**, 1 self-employed & 4 unemployed though they have worked before
First Sexual encounter:	One woman admitted to a non-consensual sexual encounter with a man.	1 woman's non-consensual first sexual encounter was with a woman, 2 women had theirs with men. 1 woman did not indicate whether the first sexual encounter was consensual, although it was with a woman.
Gender of first sexual partner	The gender of first sexual encounter was with women for 9 participants	4 women had a man as their first sexual partner.
***** less than 30 hours week on part-time basis ** more than 30 hours a week on a full-time basis		

[29] The Education category retrospectively focuses on obtained qualifications
[30] Student was listed as an employment category for those who are currently studying

Factor B has a more diverse group of women, with the majority born and bred in Soweto, yet with women migrating from the Capes and neighbouring countries. This factor is also characterised by more women accessing education from some secondary schooling to some university and attaining degrees. In addition, more women from this Factor were open about their first (consensual) sexual partners who were men. Furthermore, their alcohol taste ranged from beers in green bottles, to ciders (Hunters, Redds, & Savanna). The green bottled beers (Heineken, Amstel, Castle light, and Windhoek) are perceived as an expensive taste of imported beers that carry some status of being able to afford one's taste and self-sufficiency. The alcohol taste in this factor is sharply defined within masculine presenting women preferring beer and the more feminine vouching for ciders. Interestingly, Factor A's taste ranged from beer, mostly green bottles (Heineken, Windhoek, Castle Light) but without excluding the brown bottles (e.g. Castle Lager), to whisky (Jameson & Jonnie Walker) and Brandy (V.O) with one exception who was a wine drinker (rose). The choice of alcohol for Factor A's more than revealing status is indicative of drinks perceived as 'hardcore' as opposed to the sweet ciders and cocktails.

The middle-ground options for both Factors was Wine and Tequila which was preferred by some women who were both either masculine or feminine presenting.

4.7 The Demographics Data

In addition to the Q data, demographic questions also provided a frame of locating the women in the Sowetan context through questions on employment status, education level, shelter, amongst others, which were explored to evoke class differentiations amongst these women. A section on the demographic questionnaire was also dedicated to the issue of self-identification and labelling by others. This was done to uncover whether there is a consistency in how women perceive themselves and how others perceive and label them. Data from the questionnaire was analysed using SPSS 14.

4.7.1. Review of Factor A&B Demographics in relation to the Sample Group

As part of evaluating Black WLW expression, the current study project recognised that these women live in communities. In order to provide a holistic frame for Black WLWs' sexual

identity, it was necessary to examine understanding where the women come from and what other factors have possibly shaped their sexual identity . Socio-economic conditions such as unemployment and the need to share a sleeping room with more than one family member hints at the lack of privacy and independence and how these might shape the daily experiences and expressions of Black WLW in Soweto. The first sexual debut was also explored, in part, as means to tease out myths around rape turning women into lesbians. The results show the opposite as most of the women consensually had their first sexual debut with women (See Appendix VIII).

4.7.2Employment Status of WLW

Out of the 28 women in both Factor A & B, only 5 were employed full-time, 7 unemployed and 5 self-employed. Furthermore, there were only 6 students out of the 28 women and they all defined Factor B. Both the percentage of self-employed and employed part-time workers combined is equal to those who are employed full-time. However, such categories of self-employment and part-time work are unstable and fluid. For instance, participant 23 from Factor A sells atchaar[31]and cigarettes and participant 13 from Factor B designs and sells t-shirts for R100, along with snacks and cigarettes, and they both think of themselves as self-employed, even though profits are considerably less than the conventional small business enterprise. Part-time workers vary from NGO contract workers and causal workers at a supermarket, with more short-term semi-skilled project-oriented employment.

Both self-employment (12%) and part-time work (12%), like the unemployed group of participants, heavily relied on other sources of income. For Factor A, other sources of income included child support grants and pensioner's grant. Other people's (often family or lover) salary also became the participants' financial source of support, as well as rent from backyard rooms/shacks. These sources of income were divided within a range of 2 to 13 people per household with an average of 4 people per household. Interestingly, 4 women in Factor B had their rooms to themselves, 3 who are renting the property shared with their partners and the rest shared with at least 4 people on property owned by family. In Factor B, 8 women had their sleeping rooms to themselves in property owned by family and 3 on rented property. The rest of

[31] Pickled mango with other vegetables

the women in Factor B shared their rooms in owned property by a friend/family with an average of sharing with at least 2 people .This group of women were supported by loved ones through other's income, rent from backyard rooms/shacks, disability grants and pensioner's grants. The latter Factor differed from the former in terms of the child support grant as one of the sources of income. Within the large sample, the most concentrated category is the group of women who were unemployed (32%) but have worked previously. Consistently, % of the women in their household relied on other people's income (See Appendix IX)

The issue of high levels of unemployed, insecure work and dependence on other loved ones' income is not peculiar in Soweto or amongst same-sex practising women. Rather it is consistent with the national unemployment crisis across age groups but affecting the youth more (For an in-depth analysis See Ceruti, 2011). However, it is worth noting that not only the socio-political context, but also the economic dynamics such as affording a private space, affect the women's (same-sex) sexual expressions.

4.7.3 Sexual Debut of WLW

The expression of Black women's same-sex practices within relationships was also explored, particularly in relation to sexual debut. Similar to the South African population[32], even though it has been inconsistent over the years, the average age of a first sexual encounter for this group of women was 17 years. Only 20% of the participants had their sexual debut with men while the rest were with women. The first sexual encounter was non-consensual for 12% of the women, while 84% said it was in agreement. See Table 4.8 and 4.9 below. Nonetheless, for Factor A, only one out of 10 women had a non-consensual debut with a man, while for Factor B out of 18 women, 3 involuntarily had their sexual debut (1 with a woman, 2 with men). These findings only focused on the first sexual encounter with the intention to surface whether the hegemonic heterosexual culture is invalid for other sexualities to emerge in the absence of positive archetypes and role models for those conscious of the same-sex desire during their adolescent years. It was not surprising to learn that some of the women forcefully lost their virginity in a country with one of the highest rates of rape, dubbed 'the rape capital of the world'.

Table 4.8 Gender of first sexual partner

[32] Richter et.al, 2005 median age between 16 and 17 for young women

Gender of first sexual partner			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not Marked	1	2.0
	Female	39	78.0
	Male	10	20.0
	Total	50	100.0

Table 4.9 First Sexual Encounter: Consensual or Not

Was the encounter consensual?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not Marked	2	4.0
	Yes	42	84.0
	No	6	12.0
	Total	50	100.0

4.7.4. Language As more than a Methodological Tool

Participants were asked to choose as many languages they often used as part of their everyday experiences, as means to provide a socio-cultural reading of their Sowetan context. Similar to Ceruti's work, the Table 3.1 below indicates that isiZulu is the most used language followed by Sesotho in Soweto, in this case amongst WLW..

Table 4.10.

Language often used	Percentage
IsiZulu	60%
IsiXhosa	16%
IsiSwati	4%
SeSotho	34%
SeTswana	22%
English	22%
Afrikaans	4%
SePedi	6%
Other	2%

The issue of language was further explored as participants were also asked to indicate which languages were most often used with friends, which revealed the combination of mother tongue and Tsotsi Taal as the dominant language amongst friends (see Table 3.2 below). The masculine presenting women from Factor A identified more with use of Tsotsi Taal. Interestingly, the second highest used language is English which women in Factor B identified with it more. This also indicates a sense of integrating other languages outside the African languages in a township context.

Table 4.11

Language often used with Friends	Percentage
Tsotsi taal	22%
English	36%
Mother tongue	28%
Mother tongue and Tsotsi taal	40%
Other	IsiZulu (8%), Tsonga (2%) and Sotho (4%)

4.7.5 Labels as signifiers of Sexual Identities

A list of 17 terms commonly used to identify same-sex loving women was sourced from journal articles, media and conversations with LGBTI activists and black WLW. The participants were asked to choose as many of these labels that they would use to describe themselves. For example they could tick 'yes', 'no' or 'do not understand' to all. See Table 4.10 below.

Table 4.12: Self-identified Labels for WLW.

WOULD YOU CALL YOURSELF...?		
Labels	**Yes in %**	**Don't Understand in %**
Woman who loves women	84%	4%
Lesbian	84%	4%
Woman who has sex with women (WSW)	76%	4%
Gay woman	64%	6%
Stabane	50%	10%
'butch'	48%	4%
Tomboy	40%	4%
Ungqingili	32%	66%
'femme'	28%	4%
Dyke	26%	26%
Inkonkoni	22%	30%
Curious	16%	18%
'queer'	12%	46%
Bisexual	10%	4%
Nongayindoda	6%	50%
Double Adaptor	6%	12%
Lipstick Lesbian	4%	16%

The Table illustrates that *Woman who Loves Women*, as an identity category that emerged from the literature, along with the term 'lesbian' are the most popular self-identifying labels. 84% of the sample selected 'yes' to both terms. The least chosen term was *Lipstick* 'lesbian' with only 4% of participants who identified with this label. The 'do not understand' option is included in Table 4.10 to indicate that even though the terms may be used, some of the WLW do not understand the terms. 'ungqingili' and 'nongayindoda' were 66 and 50% respectively and were the most foreign terms for the sample. However, the labels 'Women who Loves Women' and 'lesbian' were not only the most popular terms but were also amongst the most understood terms. Similar to the Q-sample, women in both Factor A and B mostly self-identified as lesbian with WLW as the second preferred term. The third options differed as for Factor A it was 'butch' and for Factor B it was 'isitabane'. There were three women from both Factor A and B who refused to choose any labels, maintaining that they prefer using their names.

Table 4.12 showed the entire sample of women and what they chose in broad terms of self-identification. These broad terms are shown in Table 4.12 as singular terms rated on popularity and general understanding of terms. As a result, Table 4.13 focuses these results into most popular singular terms used to self-identify by the two groups which emerged from the Q analysis. Thus, table 4.13 divides statistically significant popular terms into Factor A and B as you will note some of the terms do not appear on the table as the combination of terms reduced the broader list from 17 to 11 terms. Given that participants were asked to choose as many terms as they identified with, there were multiple terms chosen by participants which in turn created layers of nodes in how these terms overlapped. This reveals that clusters of terms chosen by the women were also an indication of how the understanding of the terms was derived from similar characteristics. For example, 'curious' was not seen as a legitimate women's same-sex term more than signalling an exploratory state. On the other hand, 'tomboy' was also perceived as ambivalent term for women who can be both masculine and femme in their gender expressions. Similarly, in Factor B some women chose the term 'butch' with isitabane and 'nongayindoda'. 'Butch/ and 'Nongayindoda' both imply a masculine gender expression, particularly 'Nongayindoda' as its literal translation means man-woman or woman-man.

Table 4.13 Factor A&B Self-identifying Labels

	Factor A (n=10)	Factor B (n=18)
Lesbian	9	16
WLW	8	15
'butch'	6	4
Stabane	5	10
'queer'	2	2
Dyke	1	9
Terms associated with Bisexuality: Double Adaptor, Curious	3 Curious and 1 Bisexual	1Bisexual; 1Double Adaptor
Terms seen as Feminine: 'femme' and Lipstick Lesbian	2 'femme's	1Lipstick Lesbian; 8'femme's

Out of the 10 women who constituted Factor A, only 2 identified themselves as 'femme'. For example one of the terms that does not appear on the table but which formed the multiple terms chosen by those who identified with 'femme' in Factor A was 'tomboy' and 'curious'. One woman rejected all terms preferring to be called by her name. The rest of the woman identified in this group as 'butch' and also chose 'nkonkoni'[1] as one of the terms they identify with. Of the women constituting Factor B, only one woman exclusively identifies as 'femme', 4 used a combination of 'tomboy' with 'isitabane', 3 women chose 'butch', with 'isitabane'/'nongayindoda'. Only 2 women did not choose 'lesbian' as a term. The rest combining 'lesbian' with 'gay' 'WLW'/'dyke'. The results highlight that women use different labels to self-identify depending on the context. For instance, 'butch', 'dyke', 'femme' and 'tomboy' were in-group terms that same-sex practising women used amongst themselves, while others such as 'isitabane' were used with broader audience

Furthermore, women from Factor A actively distanced themselves from what is understood as 'feminine' labelling. For instance, participant 1 maintained that she is definitely not 'femme',

while participants 23 and 38 added that in their respective neighbourhoods they used ‘monk’ and ‘sgezunga’ as acceptable terms for masculine presenting women like themselves. Androgyny was not provided as an option in the list and it did not come up in conversation with the women. However, ‘futch’ can be argued to be an androgynous term which was evoked by two women from Factor B. Participant 14 explained, ‘Futch is a lesbian who is neither ‘butch’ nor ‘femme’. I think it was made known by some American documentary about African-American lesbians but women use [it] in cyberspaces like chat rooms a lot’. The least used term by both groups is ‘‘queer’’ and one of the women shared, while laughing at her herself, that, ‘‘queer’ is one of those terms that tertiary lesbians like to use and some of us initially didn’t even know how to pronounce it properly’(ss20). These results indicate that women in Factor A appear to have a strong sense of masculinity, hence the exclusion of ‘femme’ as a self-identifying term in this group. In Factor B the term ‘dyke’’ is also read within a continuum of masculine expressions but with a lighter masculine expression which has a mixture of both feminine and masculine tendencies, as compared to a ‘butch’ identity which centralises a masculine expression as part of the sexual identity. Hence, some women in Factor B have chosen ‘dyke’’ in the same group in which some women consider themselves ‘femme’s’.

In continuing exploring these terms, participants were also asked to choose from the same list of 17 terms, what they have been called in their respective neighbourhoods. Participants, again, had an option to choose as many labels as they were being associated with. See Table 4.10 below.

Table 4.14 Labels used by other towards Women Loving Women [WLW]

WHAT OTHERS HAVE CALLED YOU IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD?	
Labels	**Marked in %**
Stabane	84%
Lesbian	76%
Tomboy	56%
Inkonkoni	36%
Woman who loves woman	32%
'butch'	32%
Gay woman	30%
Woman who has sex with women (WSW)	24%
'femme'	18%
Bisexual	16%
Double Adaptor	14%
Dyke	12%
Curious	8%
Ungqingili	4%
'queer'	2%
Nongayindoda	2%
Lipstick Lesbian	2%

The data shows that the most popular term used to describe WLW in Soweto is 'isitabane' with 84% of the sample stating that they have often been labelled as such by people in their neighbourhoods. Interestingly, 'lesbian' remains amongst the highest terms used for both self-identification, as well ashow others label WLW in Soweto. The least used terms associated with WLW are *Lipstick* 'lesbian', 'nongayindoda' and 'queer' all at 2% each.

Despite the above quantitative outputs, in conversation with WLW, women were unsettled by the labels used by others in the community to describe WLW.

> I don't like labelling myself, within the gay community its fine, I don't care, but not in the broader community about being called istabane. I hate it big time. (ss6)

Against the background of different interest groups advocating for increased visibility and the claiming of rights by Black same-sex practising people in a homophobic country, here the participant poses a challenge on visibility in relation to being named by others. Similar to Mpho in the opening quote of this report,'isitabane' as an identifying term outside the LGBTI community is not acceptable for some same-sex Black WLW. The quote below offers insights on resisting labels:

> Labelling people puts them in boxes. I think that's how discrimination starts because as soon as people start labelling people they don't care who the person is from inside, they just label whatever it is that they see. If you say she's lesbian, they start having their own perspectives on that without knowing the person. (ss48)

The quote below further extends the discussion on labelling as a risky negotiation of one's sexual identity that may perhaps, overshadow other identities. Similarly to the ss48 quote above, there is resistance in being bound by particular expectations inherent in these labels, hence the reference to 'boxes'.

> Thing is people know that you are lesbian but when they come across you and then start talking that this kid is a stabane... Growing up I felt there is no need for that. Now that I've grown, I don't really care cause that's what I am. Whatever people call me it's fine ... Thing is I don't give people names, I don't want to be treated in a way that's opposite to how I treat people, cause at the end people will not know my name except the one that they call me. I mean there a lot of whores, but I would never talk about a woman and say here comes the whore. I don't have the right to refer to her like that and so why should I accept the names given to me. (ss13)

Furthermore, when asked about who identified them mostly by these labels, the women responded:

> People in my neighbourhood call me tomboy because of how I dress, but the homophobic people call me stabane…and you can tell with attitude and facial expressions when people are homophobic…only the high school/matric and tertiary going students call me a WSW. WLW is stereotyping but not homophobic, just people who don't understand the lifestyle/sexuality but who have an idea [or are] curious with lots of questions. (ss10).

It appears that 'lesbian' and 'isitabane' are terms used in and outside the same-sex practising networks. While distinguishing terms such as 'butch', 'futch', ''femme'', and, to a lesser extent, 'dyke'' and 'queer' are labels that serve particular functions within the same-sex practising networks.

4.8 Conclusion

In an attempt to capture the subjective accounts of Black WLW, the Q analysis and results indicated that there are two dominant forms of gender expressions and perceptions of what constitutes a Black WLW sexual identity in Soweto. Factor A distinguished itself through conceptualising this sexual identity in a 'closed construction' of attraction, with distinctions of roles each partner is expected to play. As such, women in this factor identified with a sense of being domineering in the relationship, with potential partners expected to cook and clean. On the other hand, women who defined Factor B had a more inclusive and flexible construction of the Black WLW. These women placed emphasis on being comfortable with their bodies, particularly their breasts. Furthermore, they valued the notion of equality in their relationships from sharing household chores to believing that sex should be about both partners pleasuring each other. The only politically related statement that was significant to all the women was a shared unfamiliarity with feminism.

The questionnaire data allowed for the analysis of Black WLW's experiences to be contextualised within Soweto, but also to superficially surface the class dynamics of these women. This data has also illustrated the significance of acknowledging the subjective process of labels and how the labels can also be a sight of resistance and contradictions as part of understanding the sexual identity of Black WLW. In summary, the chapter has provided the results of the data, focusing on each factor fairly extensively. The following chapter will engage with these results through the analysis and discussion of factors in depth.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION.

The aim of this study was to understand the meanings attached to identities of Black WLW in Soweto by assessing how women who self-identify as WLW express their sexual identity and how they communicate this identity to others. This study's contribution lies in capturing their subjective perceptions of their own sexual identity as a marginalised group among sexual minorities. In exploring the various ways in which Black WLW express their sexual identity, the research focused on terms used to describe WLW in Soweto to capture the meanings that currently characterise same-sex loving women's sexual identity.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the main findings of the research in relation to the presented literature in Chapter Two. It will begin with a summary of the two most important findings that emerged from the research. Furthermore, it will discuss in some detail the accounts based on factors extracted from the Q-sample of 50 Black WLW from Soweto. Statements from the Q-sample and verbatim quotations from participants' interviews and conversations will be presented to illustrate the accounts.

5.1 Summary of Research Findings

This research report sought to explore the characteristic expressions of Black WLW's sexual identity to understand how same-sex identity is expressed in Soweto. Two main findings emerged from the analysis of 5 Q sorts. Two dominant forms of gender expressions and perceptions of what constitutes a Black WLW sexual identity emerged.

1. One expression supports a 'masculine gender expression' which contributes in understanding this particular sexual identity along with the labels associated with it. The type of partner that same-sex loving women are most likely to date combined with Christian beliefs and the 'natural' understanding of being born a same-sex loving woman characterise Black WLW's sexual identity in this factor. There is a continuous critique through judgement, discomfort and rejection of masculine presenting women, particularly the 'butch' women by other WLW. As is also reflected in the literature the assumption is that they reproduce heterosexist masculinities. These masculine presenting women become the visible same-sex practising women through their non-gender conforming expressions and are subject to violence as a means to punish them for not being 'proper' or 'traditional' women (See Human Rights Watch Report, 2011; Holland-Mutter, 2012).

2.) The conceptualisation of being a Black WLW in the second factor was more rooted in the relationship the women had with their bodies, particularly their breasts as part of embracing their femininity. Women in this factor seem to value the notion of equality in their relationships. The statements that defined Factor B echo a more flexible construction of Black WLW. This category appears to shift away from strict gender roles and expectations within relationships and is seen as more inclusive. However, I will argue that the two expressions are not necessarily in contrast but offer diverse expressions of gender roles mediated through roles in butch/femme relationships, for example. While on the other hand, the diversity also highlights women who sought equality in the ir romantic relationships through the sharing of responsibilities.. Nonetheless, the two factors are distinct but not necessary mutually exclusive.

5.2 Research Question 1: What are the various ways in which Black WLW express their sexual identity?

The primary research goal of this research report was to explore expressions of same-sex women's sexual identity, as means to conceptualise and understand the subjective meaning associated with the experience of being a Black WLW in Soweto. There are various ways to capture how people articulate their identity. This research report primarily used Q methodology to surface subjective social perspectives. The social perspectives derived from statistical significant scores of Q sorts can be seen as key elements that Black WLW use to draw parameters on what constitutes a sexual identity of Black WLW. As mentioned, the results yielded two main expressions and the chapter will now focus on what constitutes each of these sexual identities' expressions.

5.2.1 FACTOR A: Black WLW Sexual Identity Anchored in Female Masculine Expressions

The expression of a same-sex sexual identity of the women who defined this factor is underpinned by firm beliefs of being born a WLW, along with having Christian beliefs. This sexual identity negotiated through strict gendered relations, positions women's masculine expressions as domineering in relation to their romantic or sexual partners who are widely preferred to be more feminine and commonly identified as 'femme's'. This factor seems to have largely captured the masculine expressions of the 'butch' aspect within the 'butch'-'femme' lesbian subculture. The statements that defined Factor A can be grouped into three themes of (1)

how women thought of their sexual identity through gender roles and in relation to their romantic partners-as lovers, (2) self-introspection and the understanding of one's sexual identity, and (3) thinking about sexual identity through labels and in relation to networks/communities and feminism-the politics of naming.

5.2.1.1 *WLW as Lovers*

Of the 60 statements, women in this factor ranked highest a statement on the type of women (feminine looking) they prefer in relationships and/or are most likely to be attracted to (See Table 4.1 statement 26). Usually feminine looking women in the literature are described as partners to 'butch' women. Outside the 'butch'-'femme' subculture, feminine women are suspected to be heterosexual or bisexual (Levitt, & Hiestand, 2005; Austin, 1992).The 'butch'-'femme' subculture, demands a masculine gender expression from 'butch' women and a feminine gender expression for the 'femme' or lipstick lesbian locking both women into a specific gender script and, to an extent, into roles in sexual activities. The 'butch'-'femme' gender expression within a relationship and the subculture were accused of mimicking heterosexuality (Vicinus, 1989; Bell; Binnie, Cream, & Valentine, 1994).The 'butch' has been framed as the active oppressor in relation to the active oppressed 'femme'. The notion of an active oppressor maintains what some feminists have identified as a problematic heterosexist masculine expression which frames dominance as a powerful position to maintain in a relationship. This critique has been engaged with by authors such as Levitt and Hiestand (2004), Matebeni (2011) and Ochse (2009) who argue that the gender expressions of lesbian identifying women are largely assumed to be similar to traditional heterosexual relationships. It is this assumption which overlooks the non-conventional masculine and feminine expressions among same-sex practicing women as an expression in itself.

In other chosen statements by participants who defined factor A, the masculine expressions were further presented in the interview through statements such as 'I don't want my partner to touch my breasts, *uzongijwayela'* .The women reflected on the relationship with their bodies as a hint of their gender expression in relation to the rules of sexual engagement. Participants who shared that they dislike it when the partner (who is most likely to be 'femme') touches their breasts mentioned that this was not about any sense of discomfort provoked by such a sexual experience. Instead it is presented as a rule to assert control over one's body (which is important in defining

one's sexuality in being able to choose which parts of the body will inform how desire is channelled). The control of sexual stimuli through the refusal of 'butch' women to allow for their breasts to be caressed is used to articulate a form of dominance which is further maintained through how sex is performed by who and to whom. This point will further be illustrated in the section below on Factor B which had women who believe that practicing reciprocated sexual pleasure provides a sense of equality. The equality in Factor B is weighted on what one partner prefers to exclude in sexual practices for various reasons (which may include discomfort, preference or unfamiliarity with acts). As an option, the woman's partner may be equally accepted to exclude sexual practices. However, because the feminine looking body is read as the site of pleasure which can be pleasured by the 'butch' in sexual acts such as penetrative practices, top positions which have been commercially mainstreamed as traditional male's positions are associated with the 'butch' partner. Furthermore, the 'butch' is comfortable 'taking charge', prefers sexual acts and positions they are less likely to perform from a receiving end if the tables were turned. This illustrates how problematic masculine expressions find their way into same-sex sexual practices as a characteristic of the 'butch' sexual identity. Kheswa and Wieringa's (2005) accounts of 'butch' lesbians revealed that, the 'butch'-'femme' rigid role-playing is not necessarily automatic, nor does it always neatly fit into the masculine-'femme' binary, respectively. But their conclusions do not rule out the domineering 'butch' who welcomes being mistaken for a man as an assertion of her sexual identity through masculine mannerisms and men's clothing she prefers to wear. Simultaneously, the critique of this preferred masculine sexual expression in an intimate relationship does not necessarily have to be read as politically oppressing on the basis of mirroring heterosexism or being seen as traditional and, therefore, backward. The limitation in such a critique is on demonising heterosexism as an inherently oppressive structure. However, this is not to deny that patriarchy is enhanced by the nuclear family in the form of a heterosexual household which places men as the superior being over women within a capitalist political terrain. The critique of heterosexism in this manner also indicates stereotyping. Borrowing from Rubin's (1998) concept of sexual hierarchies, same-sex sexuality is assumed to beunderpinned by equal relations based on the sameness of gender and/or sex .This then perpetuates the myth that same-sex relations are immune to oppressive masculine and feminine relations. The issue of unhealthy sexual relations which may include, but are not limited to, abuse should be directed at those practices and not at gender expressions of sexual

identities maintained by both the active oppressor and the active oppressed. It is the human rights rhetoric of gender equality, amongst other rights, which seeks to disrupt the unhealthy gender practices by promoting a balance in unhealthy hetero and/or homo -sexual identities in its interventions. The mediation approach of human rights works within the notion of the social construction of gender and understanding in homo and hetero-sexual relations.

The women further shared their thoughts about their roles in romantic relationships, stating that 'in a relationship you must stand your ground, *uma ukhuluma kumele kuzwakele.*[33]' and 'I dress to express myself. I'm Zulu and I like being the head'. Such phrases are often associated with being said by a man, often portrayed as traditional in a moment of maintaining his ground as the father or the husband, and roles related to being the leader who is worthy of being head. Similarly, in Rankotha's (2005) research on Black men's same-sex sexuality, the Zulu traditional masculinity was associated with *indoda eqotho*, referring to a man with status and integrity who is a provider and leader in the family. As such, having a partner who caters to their household needs (such as doing laundry and cooking) speaks to the integrity of the masculine dominant partner. This again gives insight into how the masculine expressions shape gendered sexual relations in romantic relationships. Furthermore, the two statements concerning the outlook on relationships indicate that women in Factor A like being a dominant partner (See Table 4.1 statement 23; rated 4) and would prefer to pay *lobola* (See Table 4.1 statement 15; rated 4) for their partners. The latter statement is an illustration of how the dominance can be articulated in the relationship, given that it is the provider's role in the form of men, within a heterosexist tradition, whose duty is to pay *lobola* for his future wife. Additionally, the choice of alcohol for women in Factor A, is indicative of drinks perceived as 'hardcore' and traditionally associated with masculinity ranging from beer to whisky.

The gender of their first sexual partner was with a woman for most of the women in Factor A. This can be argued to indicate a snapshot of the development of a sexual identity through adolescence. Adolescent years are associated with puberty and the introduction to sexual intercourse. The sexual debut of 17 years is consistent with the general South African population which highlights a resistant sexual identity which finds expression in the absence of role models

[33] Direct translation from IsiZulu to English means when one speaks one must be heard

and in violent condemnation. Furthermore, this finding contradicts the myth that same-sex practicing women acquired their sexual identities by an unfortunate sexual incident with a man.

Even in the presence of various interventions, the alarming and steadily increasing gender-based violence, particularly in the form of rape in South Africa, affects all women across race, age, gender, religion, class, amongst others. Gender-based violence takes a particular form with specific motives in each case. Furthermore, same-sex identifying women are also affected based on their multiple identities such as being a gender non-conforming woman, and for most because of their working class and poor contexts.

5.2.1.2 Self-introspection: The Understanding of One's Sexual Identity

In evaluating their own sexual identities, these women strongly believed that not only God made them WLW (See Table 4.1 statement 8, rated 5) but that they were born WLW (See Table 4.1 statement 2, rated 5). These two statements can be understood within their context by locating them within the socio-political public arena in Africa which has been harsh on same-sex sexual identities. The first statement alludes to how religion has critiqued same-sex sexuality as 'ungodly', 'an abomination' and a threat to the heterosexual family. Therefore, evoking the sexual identity as God's doing deflects the religious prejudice. Furthermore, the belief of being same-sex practising women, buffers the rejection of WLW through framing it as following its natural course which therefore cannot be undone. Political leaders have fuelled such sentiments in framing the gendered notion of nationhood by claiming that the west is bullying African countries into homosexuality (Menyengevana, 2010). African government officials are not alone in such a cultural framing of homosexuality. In 2004, a health official in North Korea insisted that there were no homosexuals, prostitutes, drug-addicts or HIV and AIDS in the country (Wockner, 2004). What is consistent in these examples is how nations are locked into heterosexist framing of gender through excluding what is understood as sexual deviance. In overt political ideologies such as the nationalist agenda, same-sex sexual practices between women and men are often associated with the colonial encounter through western imperialism, while in western societies it is framed as imported through other races, classes or nations(Rupp, 2006; Epprecht, 2004).

On the other hand, scientific research has maintained homosexual prejudice as pathology. This is similar to the racist research that framed black people as sub-humans, more explicitly in psychology through the Diagnostic Statistical manual III which professionally categorised homosexuality as a pathology (Drescher, 2009). Even though it was in 1978 that homosexuality was declassified in the DSM III, discussions of an abnormal same-sex sexual identity outlasted such a move. A case in point is the continued practice of reparative therapy on re-orientating same-sex desires and how leaders such as Robert Mugabe in his 88th birthday celebration reiterated his view that homosexuals are still worse off than pigs (Allen, 2012).

These three arguments against same-sex practices are a backlash to the increased visibility of same-sex identities in South Africa and in practice share some overlaps. Gevisser (1995) locates the lesbian and gay subculture through the existence of clubs and social bars which, post WWII in Johannesburg, were predominantly white. He also investigates the emergence of politically organised groups. According to Gevisser, the collapse of one of the first organisations, the Gay Association of South Africa (GASA), was largely due to its political conservatism and the rise of the black gay subculture. This shift has been framed as a move away from apolitical 1960s gay life towards the late 1980s language of gay rights as human rights within the national liberation discourse (Gevisser, 1995)

Counter-arguments to these three main anti-homosexual agendas have also been addressed by scholarly writing, public discussions and political campaigns. In response to the religious arguments, different churches emerged in support of homosexuals arguing that the Higher Being created us all, hence statement 8 was rated 5 (See Table 4.1). This raises the bar regarding who can question the Highest order as a means to destabilise homophobic religious sentiments. The human rights discourse dominated the nationalised gendered body by historically locating same-sex practices as part of the African experience through narratives of romantic friendships (See Gay 1985, Kendall, 1998), labour migration during the apartheid era that enabled same-sex practices in men's hostels (See Junod, 1927; Moodie 1988) and lesbian sangomas (Nkabinde, 2008, GALA Lesbian Sangoma Collection). The discourse of a normal sexuality as heterosexism in apartheid South Africa was negotiated through what Gevisser (1995) calls conservative ideas which promoted the same-sex sexual identity as responsible and professionals who are white and responsible couples. This proper homosexual life sought to mainstream itself through

heterosexual ideals and as capable of living a normal life by distancing itself from the stereotyped promiscuous homosexual. Given that what is normal has been couched in discussions of what is natural, particularly in promoting the heterosexual sex practice arguing its usefulness for procreation, pro same-sex sexual identities thus frames their identity as natural. Hence, the statement *born this way* was also rated 5.

5.2.1.3 The Politics of Naming

In reflecting more about their sexual identity, women admitted that they were not familiar with feminism (53, 4) and did not like labelling themselves (57, 4) insisting that they just love women. The latter statement will be dealt with in-depth on the section that focuses on labels. However, it is worth mentioning that even though women were dismissive of labels when directly questioned about various labels they identified with some and rejected others. Furthermore, there was strong emphasis on describing themselves as women who love women, despite the chosen or dismissed label.

5.2.1.3.1The unpopularity of the feminist ideology amongst same-sex loving women

Sanger (2010) points to the separate engagement of gender research and activism which is in parallel to same-sex practising women in South Africa. She further argues that addressing issues of gender outside their feminist principles as misguided but acknowledges that gender continues to be associated with women and the homophobic violence affecting lesbian women, amongst other sexual minorities, as a lesbian challenge. Proponents of feminism have argued that it is such an analysis of patriarchy as an oppressive system, operating through unequal relations of power between men and women, which perpetuates violence and continues to disempower women, including same-sex practicing women, across societies (Hames, 2008; Lewis, 2010). Why then are same-sex loving women not familiar with feminism despite its longstanding practice and writing? I would like to argue that the political exclusion of lesbian women in gender or women's issues within feminist movements and projects has facilitated the unfamiliarity of feminism amongst Black WLW. Even when lesbian issues have been incorporated in women's issues; feminism remains popular in scholarly writing and political campaigns which at times have been distant from the everyday experiences of same-sex practising women.

The distance can be understood as similar to other movements in South Africa, including the academic left's propagation of socialism as an option through campaigns around basic services as an attempt to move beyond barricading and threatening to withhold their voting power. Despite the political perspectives of grassroots activists struggling for basic services, they have foregrounded the working class and the poor's struggle as means to challenge unequal power relations under capitalism (See Sinwell, 2010). Similarly the issue of homophobic violence and the fight for basic services are everyday confrontations, mostly experienced by the working class and the poor. The basic instinct of fighting for survival is not often articulated through feminist or socialist language. Rather, it is through organised (socialist oriented) organisations and LGBTI (NGOs) where such campaigns are given the ideological shape. Furthermore, researchers within the academy and in social movements also give weight to such ideologies by linking them to homophobic violence and the limitations of capitalism. For example, Matebeni in her thesis (2011) focused on the revival of the African feminist thinking amongst activists, scholars and researchers through the lesbian feminist leadership institute held in 2008 Mozambique under the theme 'Feminist Response to Patriarchy and Homophobia in Africa'. Here the theoretical feminist framework met the narrative of women's struggles in their lived experiences. A number of participants were not familiar with the language in discussion and especially with terms such as patriarchy. Matebeni locates this disjuncture in language as a barrier, with English as a second or third language amongst Portuguese and French speakers. Language as a barrier is not sufficient on its own. Even though it could be relatedwith levels of access to resources such as education which may entail access to political ideologies like feminism. However, the political identification and use of ideologies is not limited to theoretical framings within the academy. . The disjuncture is further highlighted by Matebeni who claims that the participants could not understand why they had to spend their time and energies 'dismantling patriarchy' when they could 'barely survive'. According to Matebeni, many of the participants were 'Black women and transgender men from low socioeconomic backgrounds' (2011, p. 350). The terms were unpacked through a group discussion facilitated by a director from a feminist group and, as such, after the session participants showed willingness to identify as feminists and to fight against patriarchy.

Matebeni (2011) argues that such feminist models that seek to integrate lesbian and transgender experiences ought to be revisited. The author further asserts that better ways of building on and

expanding lesbian feminism should go beyond mass-distribution of t-shirts with *feminist* as slogans printed on them or through mobilising large crowds to participate in such conferences and organisations. She further highlights that the institute failed to interrogate the category lesbian:

> ..There was an unarticulated rejection of lesbians whose behaviour and sexual styles do not conform to the feminist agenda and the "ideal" woman; specifically 'butch'-'femme' lesbians, masculine women and female-to-male persons. This rejection was perpetuated by the assumption that such are oppressive and represent patriarchy...lesbian-feminism has oppressed those women who seeking to be different (p.352).

Matebeni's thesis concludes that black lesbian identity is expressive as it is shaped by aesthetics, style and pleasure and that by virtue of its existence and its visibility through naming sexual identities (specifically as lesbian) offers a political claim to power and the politics of inclusion. The disjuncture highlighted by Matebeni assists in understanding why the Soweto based WLW, whose context has accepted the Pride March while the discrimination and violence continue to occur, are not so eager on naming themselves as feminists. This is not to take away from the active engagement with NGOs, police stations, campaigns and courts as means to fight against homophobia, but to appreciate such struggles in their level of everyday life outside the theoretical framing, even when the frame speaks to similar actions.

The only negatively significant statement (1, -5) in this factor draws sharp parameters on this sexual identity as it excludes attraction to men for one to identify as a WLW. Interestingly, even though the research invite only used the phrase WLW to refer to same-sex loving women, out of the 50 women, only one of the participants identified as a bisexual. However, her loadings were only significant in relation to factor B.

5.2.2 Factor B: An Inclusive Construction of Black WLW

The statements that defined Factor B echo a more flexible construction of Black WLW. Most women (36 % of the sample) identified with this factor. The three highly ranked statements (See table 4.3) highlighted reciprocity of sex, the sharing of household responsibilities, and a sense of comfort/esteem with one's body, particularly the breasts. 'Sex is about both of us pleasuring each other' (Statement 25, +5); 'Household chores are better shared between partners' (Statement 22,

+5); ‘I am comfortable with my breasts’ (Statement 38, + 5).The first two statements are underpinned by an expectation of equality within women’s same-sex relationships. Ochse (2009) in her dissertation writes about the pressures related to maintaining equality in women’s same-sex relationships. Amongst her participants there was a strong belief that relationships are based around principles of negotiation, communication and understanding. As a result of this belief of shared responsibilities, the division of household labour is not pre-determined by biological sex which assumes particular roles to (effeminate) women as compared to allocating responsibilities based on skills and ability (See Ochse, 2011 on best friend model of same-sex practising couples). Some of her participants, however, acknowledged amongst lesbian relationships that it is the ‘butch’-’femme’ ones that are unequal. The issue of equality is continuously compared with heterosexuality, maintaining that women in same-sex relationships have a greater chance of achieving equality in lesbian rather than heterosexual relations. Similar to Levitt et al (2003) and Kurdek (2005), Ochse (2009) argues that there is flexibility around the division of household chores as same-sex practicing women often consider skill, interest and time-constraints in allocating chores. She further maintains that these relationships are egalitarian as they follow the best friend model (See Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Kurdek, 1993) but also acknowledges that it is dependent on individual personalities. It must be noted that Ochse’s participants continuously distanced themselves from ‘butch’-’femme’ relationships, framing them as heterosexist, potential sites of domestic violence and unequal.

One of the limitations in Ochse’s analysis is the comparison of lesbian relationships to heterosexual ones as it casts heterosexuality as always inherently problematic. The comparison further limits the understanding of same-sex relationships as relations on their own. As such, the problematic gender expressions of masculinity and femininity, even in lesbian relationships, are attributed to heterosexuality in the case of the ‘butch’-’femme’. In addition, it is unclear how the negotiations of roles and chores are facilitated beyond skill and interest, which makes it difficult to tell whether they move away from the traditional binary allocation of household labour. For instance, Wieringa and Kheswa’s (2005) paper pointed to cooking, replacing bulbs and throwing out the trash as practices of household chores in relation to gender roles within ‘butch’ ‘femme’ relationships which they also argued are/were flexible and open to negotiation. The notion of moving away from strict women’s same-sex sexual identities too often casts the ‘butch’-’femme’ relations as negative without seriously interrogating what in this case being ‘progressive’ entails.

The 18 women who defined factor B varied from identifying as ‘femme’, bisexual, ‘butch’, tomboy or having no clear labels or roles. Ochse correctly excluded the biological factor in negotiating the division of household labour in women’s same-sex relationships, but it can also be argued that such a division is not sufficient in explaining how sexual identities are mediated through equal relations within a household. The issue of labels and expressions of sexual identity will be further explored in the next section. However, it is worth mentioning that the shift in labels and re-labelling also mirrors evolving sexual identities.

The third highly ranked statement focused on women’s comfort with their bodies. The positive image these women have with their bodies, for some, can be read as consistent with feminine expressions amongst same-sex loving women in which the body is seen as a site of pleasure. One of the participants shared,

‘...I love my big breasts, I know they are a crowd puller and make woman go crazy when we’re having braais.’ Similarly one of women in Factor A who is masculine presenting explained: ‘...I am woman, I know that and I don’t have problems with my breasts because this is how I was created.’ More women in Factor B made reference to their breasts, not only as parts they are born with, but as part of their sexual identity in how they locate them as one of the sexy things about them. They seemingly embraced their breasts, in and outside motherhood, yet within their sense of womanhood.

In some studies, the ‘butch’ or masculine presenting woman is uncomfortable with her breasts to an extent of binding them, at times, and minimises contact with body parts such as breasts. For some women that heightens erotic pleasure parts (Nagar &Swarr, 2005). Taking into account the division of household labour, the relationship women have with their bodies, how their gender is expressed within relationships may give insight into their sexual identity.

The Table below illustrates that even though more women in Factor A were mothers as compared to Factor B, more women in the second Factor B are cohabitating with 2 of them engaged and one divorcee from a previous heterosexual marriage. A family-oriented household in a form of a steady relationship and parenting can be argued to contribute to how equality in the form of sharing chores shapes the rules of engagement within women’s same-sex relationships.

	Factor A	Factor B
Children	**5**	**3**
Cohabitation/ Vat n Sit	**1**	**5, including a (hetero) divorcee**
Gender of first sexual encounter	**Out of 10 women only one had her first sexual encounter with a man and it was non-consensual**	**Out of 18 women, For 2 women their sexual debut was non-consensual with men, for one woman it was non-consensual with a women, while four had a consensual agreement with men in their sexual debut. The rest were consensual with women.**

The hetero/homo-varied previous sexual experiences of women in Factor B are another factor indicative of flexibility in how this sexual identity is negotiated overtime. The four women who consensually had their sexual debut with men were comfortable in sharing this information and did not explicitly show any signs of regret or shame. As such they recounted their sexual experiences with men as more than an experience they went through but as part of their journey in exploring their sexuality. Women in Factor B showed variance in how they thought about what constitutes their desire and informs their sexual practices, they neither condemned nor defended the 'butch'-'femme' relationships. Although they acknowledge it as an experience for some women. The subjective understanding of these women's sexual identities became more complicated when discussing the meanings attached to terms they choose to self-identify with.

Women in Factor B rejected statements related to negative feelings around one'd breasts. Furthermore, women in this factor, rejected feeling ashamed about their sexuality because of their faith. This was also echoed as 50 of the interviewed women were out to at least one significant other, including one of the parents, siblings or extended family and friends. This is

further indicated by the highest negative score of the statement referring to dying in the closet because of tradition (9, -5).

5.3 Research Question 2: What terms are used to self-identify as WLW in Soweto? And what are the meanings attached to these terms?

A variety of terms are used as communicative symbols of people's sexual identities. For example, specific terms such as 'isitabane'/*i*'isitabane' have been used to discuss township-based same-sex loving men and women's experiences. Even though little is known about the linguistic origin or how it came about, the term, *i*'isitabane'/*i*'isitabane' continues to be widely used in everyday speech and academic writing. It was the intention of the current study to explore this and other terms used to describe WLW in Soweto and uncover the meanings attached to these terms as a means of capturing the negotiation of sexual identity through terms.

Participants were given a list of 17 commonly used terms to identify same-sex loving women sourced from scholarly articles, activist and NGO reports and conversations with people. The women were asked to firstly choose names they liked self-identifying as (See Table. 4.9) and secondly, names that they were called around the neighbourhood by others, including friends, neighbours and strangers (See Table 4.10). *Woman who loves women* and the term 'lesbian' were the most popular self-identifying labels, 84 percent of the sample selected yes to both terms.

5.3.1 'isitabane'/istabane'

The term 'isitabane' is a commonly used label associated with same-sex practicing and/or non-gender conforming (Black) people in townships. 'isitabane' is the only non-English term that not only was present in most discussions during the fieldwork, but was also ranked in the top 5 of mostly used terms. This term ranked 5 out of the 17 terms with 50% of the participants comfortable with identifying with it and 10% admitting that they did not understand it. Out of the four commonly used Nguni or township slang terms which are 'ungqingili', *'inkonkoni'*, *u*'nongayindoda' *and* 'isitabane'. The last one is the only accepted term for self-identification as the rest were marked as not understood. These findings indicate that 'isitabane' as term is not necessarily a key common word amongst Black same-sex loving women in Soweto. On the other hand, upon rating what others have commonly identified these women, 'isitabane' led by 84 percent and 'lesbian' followed by 76 percent. While the least used terms associated with WLW

are *Lipstick* 'lesbian', 'nongayindoda' *and* ''queer'' all at 2%. Although 'isitabane' is rated highest on what the 50 women were identified as by others, the findings in the literature indicate that the term continues to be associated with stigma and negative connotations which may explain the disjuncture in lower scores of self-identification, as compared to the naming by others. A possible explanation of why 50% of same-sex loving women identify as such lies in the analysis that stabane and lesbian are contextually accessible terms. However, Stabane has not been mainstreamed and widely appropriated at the same rate as lesbian. The accessibility of Stabane in townships is evident in discussions about same-sex practicing people, even though the era of its emergence, along with its linguistic origins, has yet to be pinned. It is not only a common but widespread label across different areas and age groups. Prior to the interview with her daughter, Ms. Maponyane, an 84 year old mother of one of the participants (Pat's mother), shared that same-sex practicing people have always existed but were not understood and they were not discussed. Ms. Maponyane further added that the usage or the understanding of the term has changed over the years. She elaborated that when she was younger it was largely used to identify effeminate men who were understood to have a desire to be women '*…kusho ukuthi bebaziphatha njengabantu besifazane, nangendlela benza ngayo nje izinto yonke nje into yabo ibenobufazane*[34]*'. She carried on that 'leligama belisetshenziswa futhi kubesilisa nakubesifazane, kulaba ubuthi uma ubabheka okukuqala ungatholi kahle ukuthi kahle kahle uwubulili buphi so abantu bebathi banezinto ezimbili*'[35] (Field notes, November 2011). Same-sex practising men and women have also used this term as a synonym to gay and homosexual. However, the results have also indicated that the term is not free of prejudice as it continues to be evoked with negative connotation.

5.3.2 *'I-*'lesbian' *yi-*'lesbian' *you know mos'*

What the results yielded is that 'lesbian' is a common term in Soweto used to self-identify by same-sex loving women and also used to name same-sex loving women by others. Furthermore, the results indicate a higher internal usage within networks of same-sex practising women, but

[34] This means they carried themselves as woman and they were womanly in their ways.

[35] The term also referred to both men and women whose gender at first glance was ambiguous and who were thought to possess both female and male genitalia.

also accessible for people outside these networks. Hence, it was rated second in relation to what people in participants' neighbourhoods call such women.

Amongst same-sex loving women, 'lesbian' as a term and as means of self-identifying themselves, was equally used as 'woman who loves women'. However, when looking at the naming by others, 'lesbian' though widely used is not used as often as 'isitabane'. The term lesbian has been evoked in mainstream media (e.g. Schneider, 2010. 0.365. gaycomhttp://www.365gay.com/news/south-africa-school-shuts-dorm-after-lesbian-kiss-spotted) through images of violence and human rights rhetoric, academic writing (See Swarr, 2010; Matebeni, 2010), public marches and campaigns as a descriptive term of same-sex (black) loving women. Outreach programmes in communities through campaigns such as, but not limited to, the Soweto Annual Pride March and 07-07-07 Act to End Hate have also publicised this term as part of a political project of challenging homophobia and promoting visibility of sexual minorities. Only % of the participants claimed to not understand what a lesbian is and out of the 50 participants only one participant explained her understanding of the term. The 47 year old participant explained lesbian as originating from an island of Lesbos tapping into Sappho's same-sex accounts of women. Her understanding emphasised same-sex sexual and romantic relations exclusive to women. Most of the participants[36], explained lesbian as 'i-lesbian yi-lesbian you know mos'...'i-lesbian is a women who loves women'... 'i-lesbian *umfazi ojola nabanye abafazi* (lesbian is a woman who dates other woman)'. The continuous use of this term with the overlap in its usage is indicative of how a term is used instrumentally as part of negotiating same-sex sexuality. Instrumentally, this meant that it is an accessible term across age, different classes of neighbourhoods in Soweto tasked with identifying same-sex loving women who may be open about their sexuality, or those who are non-gender conforming and suspected of engaging in same-sex relations with women. It is the accessibility of this term that when woman are questioned about their sexuality, it is a familiar term assumed to be understood by families when these women 'come out' or in some instances in which campaigns use to engage homophobes.. The emphasis is on how it is a common entry point in engaging with same-sex sexual identities where the meaning attached to the term is less prioritised. For instance, when

[36] Even though 84% self-identified as a lesbian when asked about the meaning attached to the terms they chose

coming out identifying as lesbian maybe easily be understood as compared to ‘queer’ or ‘ungqingili’ which are not widely used.

The least understood terms in relation to self-identification were ‘ungqingili’ (66%), ‘unongayindoda’ (50%), ‘queer’ (46%), inkonkoni (30%) and ‘Dyke’ (26%). ‘Ungqingili’ and ‘inkonkoni’ are words often associated with isiZulu speaking people. Even though isiZulu is a widely used language in Soweto, these terms are often linked with what some participants have labelled as isiZulu *sangempela* (the real isiZulu) *noma isiZulu sase-Natali* (the Natal isiZulu). This line of thought reflects that isiZulu spoken in rural KwaZulu-Natal (predominantly Zulu speaking province) has its specific terms, different from the multilingual Soweto scene. The same can be argued for ‘unongayindoda’ as it has been a term often used in research settings including the Eastern and Western Cape townships and rural settings where isiXhosa is the predominant language. IsiXhosa, though present in some conversations amongst Sowetans, is not as widely used as isiZulu.

Furthermore, ‘nongayindoda’ and ‘queer’ scored lowest in both categories of self-identifying and naming by others. Queer as a term, as a theoretical, activist and identity position has been mostly written about in the North American and European experiences associated with the 1980s critical engagement with the LGBTI categories. The results indicated that this label as an identity term is associated with university students, the educated, and came with class connotations when issues of accent and pronunciation were discussed by participants. Tenorio (2010) acknowledges that ‘queer’ as an identity was associated with white and white male privilege and as such many of the marginalised social identities, specifically LGBT people of colour, do not necessarily associate themselves with ‘queer’ as an identity. Alternative terms have emerged. The Black ‘queer’ Studies reader was a result of the 2000 Conference held in North Carolina, seeking to address the missing black experience within ‘queer’ theory. Similarly to the word ‘dyke’’ which has often featured in narratives of same-sex practicing white women in the 1940s (See Gevisser, 1995), it has yet to gain any popularity amongst the black women.

During the fieldwork many more names outside the 17 on the list were acknowledged such as ‘monk’, ‘shukela’, ‘sgezunga’, ‘i-Pink’, some of which were not known by other WLW in some areas around Soweto. This points to how context specific some terms are and the agency that women exercise in negotiating their sexual identities by adopting terms which, at times, may be a

protective measure of acknowledging each other's existence and containing conversations without exposing themselves. Similar experiences have occurred in Uganda-Kampala, with same-sex practising women identifying themselves as 'kuchu' as compared to homosexual or lesbian. In a documentary titled *Kuchus of Uganda*, Kasha Jacqueline Nas the then director of the first LGBTI organisation in the country (Freedom and Roam Uganda-FARUG) explains that the terms is used only by those who understand its meaning but also affords them the opportunity to talk about their experiences in public spaces. It becomes a code. In 2009 and in conversation with Kasha when I visited Uganda, she further explained that this term emerged without meaning but later realised that in Swahili it meant the same which was a welcomed coincidence for same-sex practising people.

The label 'woman who loves women' had more strength for self-identification; it catered for those who were trying to escape 'isitabane' and 'lesbian' along with other known same-sex practising frames related to subcultures and those who are reluctant to take on labels. It also spoke to what the women believe is at the core of their identity which is loving women. This was also consistent with one statement rated by women from Factor A who maintained that they did not like labelling themselves (57, 4), insisting that they just love women.This term also highlights that the majority of women in the study associate their sexual identity with affective meaning in as much as they also chose the historically politicised lesbian. This indicates the need to consider positive terms that cater for the affective and the political aspects, while maintaining a balance that does not over-politicise or hypersexualise this particular group of women

This chapter has shown that the naming of subjects through projects by researchers, activists and other writers, at times, fails to critically engage with meaning and can be based on assumptions, hence texts have referred to Black same-sex practising people as *izitabane*. On the other hand, critical engagement with naming may entail questioning self-identification, rather than accepting it as authentic. How women choose to identify is not just an issue of self but is tied to the broader community. Even though it may begin from an individual choice of expression, it speaks to the entire group which is currently under siege. The growing number of localised terms gives us a snapshot of clusters operating in disconnected layers, some more underground than others. The negative terms that have been adapted, even though socially accessible, are still laced with disapproval of difference. Hence Jacob Zuma in 2010 used the term *ungqingili* maintaining that

while growing up he would not allow *ungqingili* to stand in front of him (Goge, 2006).These negative terms mean that, in the struggle for expression, inclusion and safety, the first hurdle must always be about what same-sex practising women are not, rather than equally positioning them as another layer which indicates diversity of women and sexuality. As Dee (2010:134) puts it:

> "The language we use must surely flow from the kind of struggles we are seeking to wage. LGBT as a label may fail to capture the unlimited rainbow of sexualities and gender identities that are possible in human society, but it is a political term that has emerged out of the struggle against oppression."

This chapter does not advocate for LGBT labels but rather seeks to surface the issue of relevance in naming. In the quote above, Dee speaks from a British perspective which critiques queer as an identity as well as a political position. Jenkins (2004) argues that the naming of people associated with particular sexual practices became concretised through the naming of sexual identities. Therefore terms signal sexual identities in particular eras and the question lies in their relevance in engaging their era. For a South Africa that offers a wide range of constitutional rights that are limited by discrimination and prejudice-motivated violence, are the current dominant terms effective in capturing the individual diverse expressions while pushing sex and gender boundaries towards a shift for social change?. It may be limiting to focus on the ever-changing definitions , if not meanings, without investigating what triggers the shifts and how they are maintained in an era, with what intentions and for how long. The struggle for sexual freedom cannot be limited to potential rights or individual expressions alone but must take a stand against oppression. Contesting issues of naming is a form of resistance, while the process of naming and self-identification must be tied to people's freedom to express their sexuality and gender identity without threat, fear or any violation. For any oppressed group, the assertion of self-determination is essential in the process of becoming as a people or reclaiming a sense of self. Yet in advocating for such space(s) it should be acknowledged that the process of becoming, of self-naming comes with its own complexities. The process of naming whether its focus is on erotic expression or within the human rights rhetoric of a political sexual identity under siege, must be people-centred and driven and mostly reflect the struggles of those marginalised the most.

In conclusion, this chapter has surfaced that gender expressions can be associated with terms, while also signaling a sexual identity as in the case of the masculine presenting 'butch' women. The research has also teased out what constitutes the two main sexual identities that the research found amongst Black WLW in Soweto. WLW and 'lesbian' were the terms used most to self-identify, while 'isitabane' is the only 'non-English' term that women chose in the top five. These terms were also telling of the expressions of these women's sexual identities.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The main aim of the current study is to explore the sexual identities presented by Black WLW in Soweto. The framework of Black feminism was useful in locating this study in the discussions of understanding subjective perceptions of sexual identities in a socio-political context which has mobilised and documented Black same-sex practices, with less engagement with its construction as a sexual identity. Furthermore, the Black feminist approach catered for a diversity of this sexual identity as a gender expression within a lesbian subculture but also as a fluid expression for women. There are various contradictions that may cloud the analysis of Black women's sexuality, particularly against the racialised colonial background that has held in high esteem the notion of womanhood to White women's expressions of their gender. The historical reading of the Black women's sexuality as hyper-and hetero-sexual frames the White women's sexuality as polar opposites. For example, Collins (2001) argues that White femininity has historically been constructed and engaged with as pure, in contrast to the black femininity seen as a sex subject. The everyday struggle of being a same-sex practicing woman is met with her gender transgression as masculine presenting women through their clothing and sense of style. This transgression of norms that frames black women's sexuality becomes visible in the 'butch' subculture. Beyond the physical experience, these women's notion of their sexual identity is in relation to social norms which sometimes are challenged as part of their everyday experience.

6.1 Key Findings and Synthesis

The current study fills a gap regarding sexual identity in the local literature. Furthermore, the research adds context, language and gender expressions as dimensions of sexual identity to the international literature. Q methodology as a research method has been widely used to capture subjective perceptions for different identities and it has also been used in psychological research. This is the second study in South Africa which specifically focuses on Black same-sex practicing women using Q methodology, which is explored in greater depth in chapter three. The first Q study exploring the Black lesbian identity was conducted by Cheryl Potgieter in 1997.

The key findings of this study were:

1. Black women's same-sex sexual identity in its diverse forms is expressed through masculinity and femininity and organises itself into subcultures.
2. The number of terms same-sex loving women use to self-identify further extends the expression of one's sexual identity. This is because these terms are used as symbolic tools to negotiate the sexual identity in different spaces and circumstances, from coming out as a 'lesbian' to courtship practices of being 'butch' to being discriminated for being 'isitabane'.

The Q methodology allowed for these expressions to be surfaced without boxing what a sexual identity should constitute. The 50 Black WLW did not talk of their experiences in relation to White same-sex practicing women, nor did they reference Black/African women in the continent. They reflected on their experiences within a localised framework as 'woman loving women' is simply that - women loving other women as sexual partners and companions. Thus the violence that much documentation has emphasised in reporting is a hard reality and a continuous threat. However, it is not a central aspect of the Black WLW's sexual identity. The chapter will now turn to the strengths and limitations of the study. It will further offer recommendations for future research.

6.2 Strengths of the study

The qualitative/quantitative nature of the research provided a rich data for the study. The Q sorting process allowed the women to think through what it means to be a WLW as they reflected with each statement in relation to other statements about their sexual practices, relations with the body, type of lover, their views on marriage, amongst other issues. The Q sort was critically evaluated prior to the fieldwork as a means to check for content and face validity.

6.3 Limitations of the study

The Q methodology sample cannot be generalised as it heavily relies on subjective perceptions of a subset in a population. The presence of the researcher and the reading of my sexuality as a Black same-sex practicing women may have been a confounding factor with participants

engaged in the Q-sorting process. Perhaps more importantly, however, the accessibility of the researcher during this process had value for queries arising.

The challenges of producing statements lie in the fact that the exercise is demanding of time. The time-constraints may have limited the representation of statements. One of the great limitations of the study is that the interview questions were limited to the three extreme points of the statements sorted under 'disagree' or 'agree'. The importance of the follow-up interviews post the Q sorting was underestimated and it provided clarity on some statements and more in-depth examination of the accounts. This was partly due to the time constraints as participants spent approximately 30 minutes on the demographics questionnaire and an hour for the Q sorting process.

A limitation of Q methodology is that it is a challenging method for a people who are semi-literate. However, the Q statements were also translated in isiZulu as a means to cater for a wider group. Thus only women fairly fluent in English and isiZulu could have participated in the current study, thereby excluding other women. Nonetheless, the Sowetan context is a multi-lingual township with the majority of people familiar with isiZulu. Blyth (1989) pointed out that working class participants would not have space and privacy to properly engage with the Q sorts. Indeed this was a challenge. However, spaces like the park and friend's places were used as alternatives both for those who were not out about their sexuality to their families and for those who did not have spaces to themselves in their homes.

6.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Scholars have increasingly documented Black women's same-sex sexuality. This study also aimed at contributing in the understanding of Black WLW's sexual identity with its heterogeneous expression. However, in the era of global rights rhetoric, persistent heterosexual norms and violence targeted at women, there is a need to document and celebrate non-gender conforming and same-sex identifying women's experiences in the African continent.

This exploratory study intended to contribute towards making Black same-sex practicing women's sexual identity visible. However, more in-depth studies are needed for documenting such sexual identities. Furthermore, studies that offer a visual imagery of these expressions

might provide deeper insights and a historical reading of gender expressions amongst same-sex practicing women.

REFERENCE LIST

Beal, F.M (1969) Double-Jeopardy: To be Black and Female. [Accessed from: http://www.uic.edu/orgs/cwluherstory/CWLUArchive/blackandfemale.html]

Bennet, M., & Battle, J. (2001) *We can See them but We can't hear them: LGBT members of African American Families.* In Bernstein,M., & Reimann, R (eds) Queer Families, Queer Politics: Challenging Culture and the State. New York: Columbia University press

Blumstein, P. & Schwartz, P. (1983). *American couples: Money, work, sex.* New York:William Morrow

Blythe, S. (1989). An exploration of accounts of lesbian identities using Q Methodology. Unpublished Master's dissertation. University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Boswell, J. (1980) *Christianity, social tolerance and homosexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boswell, J. (1989), 'Revolutions, universals, and sexual categories', in M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus & G. Chauncey, Jr. (eds.), Hidden from history: reclaiming the gay and lesbian past, 17-36. London: Meridian.

Brewer, M.B. (2001) The many faces of social psychology: Implications for political psychology [Electronic version]. *Political Psychology*, 22(1), 115-125.

Brewer, M.B., & Yuki, M. (2007). Culture and social identity. In S. Kitayama & D. Cohen(eds), *Handbook of Cultural Psychology*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Brooten, B.J.(1996) *Love between women: Early christian responses to female homoeroticism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brown, S. R. (1980). *Political subjectivity: Applications of Q methodology in political science.* London: Yale University Press.

Cameron (1995 "Unapprehended Felons": Gays and Lesbians and the Law in South Africa In Gevisser, M & Cameron, E (eds), *Defiant desire: Gay and* 'lesbian' *lives in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press

Cass, V.C. (1984) Homosexual identity formation: Testing a theoretical model [Electronic version]. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 20(2~~):~~), 143-167.

Ceruti, C. (2008). Who Sympathised with Zuma in Soweto 2006? Teasing the social basis of populist following from a quantitative data set. *South African Sociological Review*, 39(2), 318-347.

Chan Sam, T. (1994). Five women: Black lesbian life on the Reef, In Gevisser, M & Cameron, E (eds), *Defiant desire: Gay and* 'lesbian' *lives in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press

Coleman, E. (1982) Development stages of the coming out process. In J.D, Weinrich, J.C. Gonsiorek & M.V Hotvedt. (eds) *Homosexuality: Social, psychological, and biological issues*. Bervely Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 1990. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment.* Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Combahee River collective (1983) "The Combahee River Collective Statement." Zillah Eisenstein (ed.), Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism. New York: Monthly Review Press: 362-372.

Craven, E. (2011) Racial Idenity and Racism in the Gay and Lesbian Community in Post-apartheid South Africa. MA Report. University of Witwatersrand, Johanneburg.

Crenshaw (1989) Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." University of Chicago Legal Forum 1989: 139-167.

Crenshaw, K. 1992 "Whose Story Is It Anyway? Feminist and Antiracist Appropriations of Anita Hill." Toni Morrison (ed.) Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power. New York: Pantheon: 402^40. 1989 Demarginalizing the I

Currier, A.M. (2007) The Visibility of Sexual Movements Organisation in Namibia and South Africa. Thesis (Doctoral dissertation), University of Pittsburgh.

D'Emilio,J. (1981) 'Gay Politics, Gay Community: San Francisco's experience' Socialist Review, 55.

Danielson (2009)Davies, B.B., &, Hodge, I.D. (2005) 'Exploring environmental Perspectives in lowland agriculture: A Q methodology study in East Anglia, UK'. *Ecological Economics*, 61(2-3): 323-333.

Davis, A.(1981)Women, Race and Class. New York: Vintage

De Waal, S., & Manion, A.(2006) Pride: Protest and Celebration. Johanneburg: Fanele

Dee H (2010) The Reds in the Rainbow: Sexuality,Socialism and LGBT Liberation, London: Bookmarks Publication.

Donham, D.L (1998) 'Freeing South Africa: The 'Modernisation of Male-Male Sexuality in Soweto'. Cultural Anthropology, 13(1): 2-21.

Donner, J.C (2001) Using Q-sorts in Participatory Process: An introduction to the methodology: Social Analysis: Selected Tools and Techniques, 24-50

Eliason, M.J., & Morgan, K.S. (1998). Lesbians define themselves: Diversity in lesbian identification[Electronic version] *Journal of Gay,* 'lesbian', *and Bisexual Identity*,3(1), 186-210.

Faderman, L. (1981) *Surpassing the love of men: Romantic friendships and love between women from the renaissance till present*. New York: William Morrow & Co.

Ferguson, A. (1981). Patriarchy, sexual identity, and the sexual revolution. *Signs*, 7 (1), 158-172.

Foucault, M. (1978) trans. Hurley, R. *The history of homosexuality: An introduction*, New York: Random House.

Garton, S. (2004). *Histories of sexuality: Antiquity to sexual revolution*. London: Equinox.

Gay, J. (1985) '"Mummies and Babies" and friends and lovers in Lesotho' In Blackwood, E. (eds) The many faces of homosexuality: Anthropological Approaches to homosexual behaviour. Newy York: Harrington Park Press, 97-116

German, L (2006) feminism and socialism International Socialist Journal.

Gevisser , M. and Cameron, E. (1995). Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa. Ravan Press, Johannesburg.

Gevisser, M. (1995) ‘ A Different fight for Freedom: A history of South African Lesbian and Gay organisations in South Africa-1950s-1990s’ In Gevisser , M. and Cameron, E. (eds). Defiant Desire: Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa. New York & London: Routledge, 38-69

Goge S (2006) ‘UZuma Uxolisile ngodaba lo ‘Ngqingili’,September 29, Isolezwe, South Africa, Independent Print Ltd.

Gomez, J. (1983) A Cultural legacy denied and discovered: Black lesbians in fiction by women. In B. Smith (ed) *Home girls: A black feminist anthology*. New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press.

Graziano (2004) Coming out on a South African University Campus: Adaptations of Gay men and Lesbians. *Society in Transition*, 36(2):237-286.

Gunkel, H. (2010) *The cultural politics of female sexuality in South Africa*. New York: Routledge.

Halperin, D. M. (1990*). One hundred years of homosexuality, and other essays on Greek love.* New York: Routledge.

Halsey, C., & Honey, A. (2005). Unravelling ethics: illuminating the moral dilemma in research ethics [Electronic version]. *Signs*, 30(4), 2141-2142.

Hames, M. (2003) Standpoint: The women’s movement and the lesbian and gay struggles in South Africa. *Feminist Africa: Changing Cultures, 2*. [accessed on 02 November 2010 at http://www.feministafrica.org/index.php/the-women-s-movement-and-lesbian-and-gay-struggles-in-south-africa]

Hammonds, E. M. (2002) Towards a genealogy of black female sexuality: The problematic silence. In M.J. Alexander & C.T. Mohanty (eds*) Feminist genealogies, colonial legacies, democratic futures.* New York: Routledge.

Hewat, H., & Arndt, M (2002) The experiences of stress and trauma: Black Lesbians in South Africa. Honours Thesis, Univsity of Johannesburg

Hooks,B. (1992) Race and Representation African. New York

Hudson-Weems (2001) African womanism, africanansHudson-Weems, Clenora. ‚Africana Womanism: The Flip Side of a Coin'. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*. Vol. 25, No. 3 Fall 2001: 137-145.

Jagose, A. (1996). *Queer theory: An introduction*. New York: New York University Press.

Jenkins, R. (2004). *Social identity*. Second edition. London: Routledge.

Kendall, J. (1998). When a woman loves a woman in Lesotho. In S. Murray & W. Roscoe (eds). *Boy-wives and female husbands: Studies of African homosexualities*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Kheswa,B., & Wieringa,S.(2005). My attitude is making a girls needs to walk: 'butch'-'femme' subculture in Johannesburg, South Africa. In R. Morgan & S. E. Wieringa (eds). *Tommy boys,* 'lesbian' *men, and ancestral wives.* Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Kinsey,C. Pomery,W.B. ,Martin C.E , Gebhard, P.H. (1953)Sexual Behaviour in Human Female. Philadelphia; Saunders.

Kitzinger, C. (1987) *The social construction of* 'lesbian'*ism*. Bervely Hills: CA; SAGE Publications.

Kitzinger, C. (1999). Researching subjectivity and diversity – Q-methodology in feminist psychology [Electronic version] . *Psychology of Women Quarterly,* 23, 267-276.

Kitzinger, C., & Stainton-Rogers, T. (1985). A Q methodological study of lesbian identities [Electronic version]. *European Journal of Social Psychology*. 15, 167-187.

Klugman (2008) intensified racial integration under policy…general apartheid history

Kopano(2001) homosexuality regulated amongst whites

Kurdek, L.A. (1993).The allocation of household labor in gay, lesbian, and heterosexual married couples. *Journal of Social Issues, 49*(3), 127–139.

LeCouter, A., & Delfabbro, P.H. (2001).Repertoires of teaching and learning: A comparison of university teachers and students using Q methodology. [Electronic version]. *Higher Education*, 42(2), 205-235.

Lipkin, A. (1999*). Understanding homosexuality, changing schools: A text for teachers, counselors and administrators*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Perseus Books Group.

Lorde, A. (1984). Sister outsider: essays and speeches. Freedom, CA: Crossing Press.

Mamaki, (1993). Two Episodes: Corner of Insults. In M. Krouse & K. Berman (eds) *Invisible Ghetto:* 'lesbian' *and Gay Writing from South Africa.* Johannesburg: Cosaw Publishing Company.

Marcia, J.E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 3, 551-558.

Matebeni, Z. (2008). Vela bambhentsele: Intimacies and complexities in researching within black lesbian groups in Johannesburg. *Feminist Africa*, 11, 89-96.

Matebeni, Z. (2009) Sexing women: Young black lesbian's reflections on sex and safe(r) sex. In V. Reddy, T. Sandfort and L.Rispel *From social silence to social science: Same-sex sexuality, HIV & AIDS and gender in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

McKeown, B.F. (1984). Q methodology in political psychology: Theory and technique in psychoanalytic applications. *Political Psychology,* 5(3), 415-436.

McKeown, B.F. (1984). Q methodology in political psychology: Theory and technique in psychoanalytic applications. *Political Psychology,* 5(3), 415-436.

Mclean, H., & , Ngcobo,L.(1994) Abangibhamayo Bathi Ngimnadi: Gay Sexuality Reef township. In Gevisser, M & Cameron, E (eds), *Defiant desire: Gay and* 'lesbian' *lives in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press

Mekgwe, P. (2010) Theorisinf African Feminism(s): The Colonial Question. *Quest*, XX:11-22.

Mkhize, N., Bennett, J., Reddy, V., & Moletsane, R. (2010). *The country we want to live in: Hate crimes and homophobia in the lives of black* 'lesbian' *South Africans*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Mohanty, C.T. (1991), Under Western Eyes. In Mohanty, C.T, Russo, A., & Torres, L (eds) Thirds World Women and the Politics of Feminism. Bllomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Moodie T.B with Ndatshe.V & Sibuyi, B (1989) *Migrancy* and Male Sexuality on the South African Gold Mines . In Duberman, M.B.,Vicinus, M.,&Chauncey Jr, G (ed's). Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past . New York, New Amercan Library

Moonsamy, D. (2009). *What will be say? Three stories of indian women loving women in Jozi*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Morgan, R. & Reid, G. 2003. 'I've got two men and one woman': Ancestors, sexuality andidentity among same-sex identified women traditional healers in South Africa. *Culture,Health & Sexuality,* 5(5), 375-391

Murray, Stephen O; Roscoe, Will (1998), *Boy-wives and Female Husbands: Studies in African homosexualities*, St. Martin's Press,

Murray,S.O (2012), *Pieces for a History of Gay Studies*, Obregó

Nichols, M.(1987). Lesbian sexualities: Issues and development theory. In The Boston Lesbian Psychologies Collective (Eds) 'lesbian' *Psychologies: Exploration and Challenge*s, 97-125.Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Nkabinde, Z.N. (2008). Black bull, ancestors and me: My life as a lesbian sangoma. Johannesburg:Jacana Media.

Ntuli, P.M. (2009) IsiNgqumo: Exploring Origins, Growth and Socio-linguistics of an Nguni urban-township homosexual subculture. Thesis (MA) University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Ochse (2009) Black Les township of Q Methodology in Political Science. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Ponse, B. (1978) Identities in the lesbian world: The social construction of self. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Potgieter, C.A (2005). Sexualities? Hey this what black, South African lesbians have to say about relationships with men, the family, heterosexual women and culture. In M. Van Zyl & S. Steyn(eds) *Performing* ''queer''*: Shaping sexualities 1994-2004* (Volume1). Roggebaai, Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Potgieter, C.A. (1997). *Black South African 'lesbian's: Discourses of invisible lives. Unpublished Master's dissertation. University of Western Cape, Cape Town.*

Ratele, K (2001) The Sexualisation of Apartheid. Unplublished Phd Thesis, University of Western Cape, Cape Town.

Reddy, V. (2002). Perverts and sodomites: Homophobia as hate speech in South Africa. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 20(3), 163-175.

Rich, A. (1993). Compulsory homosexuality and lesbian existence. In H. Abelov, M. A Barele & D.M. Halperin, (eds). The lesbian and gay studies reader. New York: Routledge.

Rozalia, G.B. (2007). Q factor analysis (Q Methodology) as a data analysis technique (accessed from http://steconomice.uoradea.ro/anale/volume/2008/v4-management-marketing/159.pdf on January, 09, 2011)

Savin-Williams, R., Ritch, C., & Cohen, K.M. (1996). The Lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual children to adults. Fort Worth: Hacourt Brace College Publishers.

Schmolck (2002). Schmolck, P., 2002. PQMethod 2.11. Downloaded from www.rz.unibwmuenchen. de/~p41bsmk/qmethod

Shinebourne, P. (2009) Using Q Method in Qualitative Research. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 8(1): 93-97.

Silber,L.(1990). Negotiating sexual identity: Non-lesbians in a lesbian feminist community. *Journal of Sex Research*, 27(1), 132-139.

Smith, B. (1982). Toward a black feminist criticism. In G.T. Hull, P.B. Scott & B. Smith (eds) *All the women are white, all the blacks are men but some of us are brave.* New York: Feminist Press.

Stenner & Marshall (1995) on loadings of factors..2 significant factors n settle

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tenorio, S. 2010. Women-Loving Women: Queering the Black Urban Space during the Harlem Renaissance. WS 197 Senior Seminar.

Troiden, R. R. (1989). The formation of homosexual identities. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 17(1-2), 43-

List of Initial Statements

73.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorisation theory*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Van Zyl, M. (2008) Beyond the constitution: From sexual rights to belonging. In M. Van Zyl & S. Steyn (eds) *The prize and the price: Shaping sexualities in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Vicinus, M. (1989). They wonder to which sex I belong: The historical roots of the modern lesbian identity. In D. Altman, C. Vance, M. Vicinus & J. Weeks (eds), *Homosexuality which homosexuality?*. London: GMP Publishers.

Watts, S., & Stenner, P. (2005a). Doing Q methodology: Theory, method and interpretation. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *2*, 67–91.

Webler, T., Danielson, S., & Tuler, S. (2009). *Using Q method to reveal social perspectives in environmental research*. Greenfield MA: Social and Environmental Research Institute. (Downloaded from: www.serius. org/pubs/Qprimer.pdf. on December, 05, 2010)

Wells, H & Polders, L. (2006) Anti-gay Hate Crimes in South Africa: Prevalence,reporting practices and experiences of police. *Agenda*, 67(2-3):20-28

APPENDIX I: First List of Q statements

1. I am attracted to both women and men but choose to identify as a WLW.
2. I am a WLW because I am primarily attracted to women.
3. It is fashionable to be attracted to women.
4. It is easier to be with women.
5. I am attracted to women, but I have sex with mainly men.
6. My attraction to women is maybe a phase.
7. I am at ease with being a WLW.
8. I believe God made me this way(as a WLW).
9. I think I was born a WLW.
10. It is difficult to be a WLW in my area/community etc
11. Even if I didn't have sex with women, I would still be a WLW.
12. If I were to sleep with a man, I would still be a WLW.
13. I have been sexually involved with men but would not do it again.
14. I have never been sexually involved with men.
15. I feel guilty when having sex with a woman.
16. I have difficulty reconciling my religion and sexual identity.
17. If you are raised Christian being a WLW comes with guilt.
18. God loves me just the way I am.
19. Because of my faith, I feel ashamed of being a WLW.
20. Growing up in a tradition-practicing family, my sexuality is not acceptable to them.
21. I do not imagine myself married to anyone.
22. Traditional weddings are challenging for WLW.
23. I don't want my partner to pay lobola for me.
24. I do not believe in lobola.
25. If there is any lobola to pay, I would definitely pay it for my partner.
26. I prefer a white wedding than a traditional one.
27. Marriage is a heterosexual thing.
28. I avoid talking about marriage to my family.
29. I do not like the idea of being pregnant.
30. The only way for me to have a child is through adoption

31. I do not see myself as a mother.
32. Cooking and Cleaning is part of serving my partner.
33. I like a woman who cooks and cleans for me.
34. Household chores are better shared between partners.
35. Being with a woman means doing things equally.
36. My gender presentation does not determine how I enjoy sex.
37. My gender presentation reflects my role during sex.
38. I like being the dominant partner in a relationship.
39. I like a partner who is dominant.
40. I prefer pleasuring my partner than her touching me.
41. Sex is about both of us pleasuring (penetrating) each other.
42. Even though my partner penetrates me, I prefer penetrating her most of the time.
43. I like using toys during sex.
44. I prefer to date feminine looking women.
45. I am attracted to masculine looking women.
46. I find gender-neutral WLW more attractive..
47. I like packing* for my lover (packing is putting on either a strap on for possible sex later – let's say you're going out. Or it's using a soft faux penis on occasion just for the fun of it. You basically just wear it in your pants to create a little bulge – so to confuse the world and to have fun.}.
48. I don't understand WLW who pack.
49. I get excited by WLW who pack.
50. Being a WLW for me means financially providing for my partner.
51. I want a partner that can financially support me.
52. A partner must be good in bed to maintain our relationship.
53. Sex is not that important in my relationship with women.
54. Dress-codes can be telling of what kind of a WLW you are.
55. The way I dress makes me easily identifiable with a WLW subculture in my neighbourhood.
56. I dress to be visible as a WLW.
57. I wear t-shirts with gay-messaging to be visible as a WLW.

58. I don’t dress in a manner that could ‘out me’.
59. I dress to express the femininity in me.
60. My dress style expresses the masculinity in me.
61. I dress in such a manner that I can be mistaken for a man.
62. When I dress people mistake me for a man.
63. My dress style is not related with my sexuality.
64. I mix-match dressing styles.
65. I wear men’s clothes because I feel comfortable in them.
66. I don’t like wearing skirts or dresses.
67. I only wear skirts or dresses in traditional ceremonies.
68. Even in funerals, I don’t wear skirts or dresses.
69. I love wearing make-up when I go out.
70. When I wear revealing clothes that show-off my body, I feel sexy
71. I would never be caught dead in heels.
72. When I dress up I don’t think about my sexuality and putting it out there
73. I like dressing like a tomboy in baggy clothes.
74. I don’t feel comfortable dressing like a conventional woman.
75. G-strings are for other women, not for me.
76. I wear men’s underwear to express myself as a WLW.
77. I feel sexy in lingerie.
78. Sometimes I feel like a man.
79. I hate my breasts.
80. I have no issues with my breasts. They are just there.
81. I bind (or put bandages around) my breasts to make them smaller / hide them.
82. If I had the money I would reduce my cup-size.
83. I like the fact that my breasts are barely visible.
84. I would feel sexier with bigger breasts.
85. I could live with a flat chest with no boobs.
86. I don’t like my partner to touch my breasts.
87. I love it when my partner caresses my breasts.

88. My cup-size suites my body.
89. I hate my menstrual cycle; it reminds me of my femininity.
90. I prefer a brush-cut to as an expression of being a WLW.
91. I like being bald to express my WLW identity.
92. I love wearing weaves as a WLW.
93. I love keeping up with trendy feminine hairstyles as part of my WLW expression.
94. I don't like to be seen with other WLW in public.
95. I prefer hanging out with other WLW in private spaces.
96. I feel comfortable expressing myself as a WLW around my neighborhood.
97. I am 'out' but I do not like explicitly discussing my sexual orientation to others.
98. Because of tradition, I will die in the closet.
99. I could never come out because of my faith.
100. I am a member of a WLW sport club.
101. I attend protest marches to express frustrations of being a WLW.
102. I believe that gatherings organised by LGBTI NGOS have allowed me to learn more about being a WLW.
103. Going to Pride marches made me realise I was not alone.
104. I have never been to any pride marches.
105. Pride Events allow me to affirm myself as a WLW within society.
106. Pride marches for me are political acts of claiming spaces within society.
107. I don't like going to protest marches except Pride.
108. I am associated with a political party as means of pushing the WLW agenda.
109. I am a member of a political group, to empower myself as a WLW.
110. Activism is not for me, I just love women.
111. Loving women is a personal experience, nothing political.
112. I don't find feminism useful in understanding my experiences as a WLW.
113. I am not familiar with feminism.
114. I have read/listened to a discussion about feminism.
115. As a WLW I believe, I am a feminist.
116. I read books about WLW to make me understand my experiences.

117.	I feel I am part of a WLW community.
118.	I know a lot of WLW in my neighbourhood.
119.	Amongst my friends, we speak Tsotsi taal.
120.	I identify as a WLW who is a Pantsula.
121.	I am a WLW who is a Diva.
122.	I have a masculine walk (ngihamba njenge outi/ngiyabhampa).
123.	I refer to my friends as gents(amajita/amagenge).
124.	Amongst my friends we call each other 'girlfriends'.
125.	I don't like labeling myself, I just love women.
126.	Labelling myself as a WLW is a political statement.
127.	I am more likely to call myself 'butch'.
128.	I am more likely to call myself 'femme.'
129.	I am more likely to call myself a dyke.
130.	I am more likely to call myself Stabane.
131.	I am more likely to call myself bisexual.
132.	I am more likely to call myself curious (lesbian curios/bi-curious) etc.
133.	I am more likely to call myself Gay woman.
134.	I am more likely to call myself (gender 'queer') or 'queer'.
135.	I am more likely to call myself Ngqingili.
136.	I am more likely to call myself Nkonkoni.
137.	I am more likely to call myself Tomboy.
138.	I am more likely to call myself Nongayindoda.
139.	I am more likely to call myself Lesbian.
140.	I am more likely to call myself WSW.
141.	I am more likely to call myself WLW.
142.	I most likely to be labelled as a 'butch'.
143.	I most likely to be labelled a 'femme'.
144.	I most likely to be labelled as iStabane.
145.	I am most likely labelled a dyke.
146.	I am most likely to be labelled as Gay.

147.	I most likely to be labelled as a ‘queer’.
148.	I most likely to be labelled as uNgqingili.
149.	I most likely to be labelled as iNkonkoni.
150.	I most likely to be labelled as a tomboy.
151.	I most likely to be labelled as uNongayindoda.
152.	I most likely to be labelled as a Lesbian.
153.	I most likely to be labelled as a WSW.
154.	I most likely to be labelled as a WLW.
155.	I most likely to be labelled as uBaba.
156.	.I most likely to be labelled as a lipstick lesbian / double-adaptor / bisexual/ khwelecingweni – the list is endless here.

APPENDIX II

PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

TITLE: *EXPLORING THE MEANINGS ATTACHED TO IDENTITIES OF WOMEN LOVING WOMEN IN SOWETO*

STUDENT RESEARCHER: *PAKADE,N.*

DEPARTMENT: *PSYCHOLOGY,UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND*

General Introduction

A person who is to participate in the research must give his or her informed consent to such participation. This consent must be based on an understanding of the nature and risks of the research. This document provides information that is important for this understanding. Research projects include only participants who choose to take part. Please take your time in making your decision as to whether to participate. If you have questions at any time, please ask.

Purpose and Expectations of the Study

The focus of the intended research is on studying the meanings associated with identities and the terms taken up by Women-Loving-Women (WLW). This study aims to look at a wide range of views, beliefs and understandings of what it means to be a particular a WLW , amongst others, in Soweto.

If you identify as as a Black WLW over 18 years old, can communicate in IsiZulu or English, born in Soweto, living or have lived in Soweto or have some strong presence or affiliation with Soweto , I would like to invite you to participate in the current study project. Approximately fifty or more WLW from Soweto will be invited to partake in this study. However, this project is part of a Masters Degree in Research Psychology and focuses on different aspects of the women's same-sex identities in Soweto.

I would appreciate if you could donate one hour and twenty minutes of your time, to participate in this project. If you choose to participate in this study, the first twenty minutes will be a brief session consisting of basic questions largely regarding demographics; information about you like age, sex etc. The next hour will be dedicated to first explaining the participant's role in the research, then the expectations of arranging statements on cards in relation to each other, moving from 'strongly agree' associated with -7 to 'strongly disagree' with a +7 on a scale.

The interview might invoke some frustrations that may be associated with being a Black WLW in Soweto. However, such risks are not perceived as being in excess of 'minimal risk'. Should the need arise to speak to a counsellor during or after the interviews, please let me know or directly contact the Counselling and Careers Development Unit (CCDU) on West Campus close to gate 9 or on 011717 9140/32 or OUT LGBTI on 012 430 3272.

Benefits, Risks and Complaints

There are not direct benefits for you as a participant in this project. However, the data collected will be submitted as a report that I believe is necessary for documenting the township experiences of WLW in a democratic South Africa.

Any information that is obtained in this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential. Your real name or any information that will explicitly identify you and your location in Soweto will not be published. In any report about this study that might be published, you will not be identified. If I write a report or article about this study, we will describe the study results in a summarized manner so that you cannot be identified.

Your participation is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or you may withdraw your participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled**.**

Should you choose to participate and have interest in the outcomes of the research project, a summary of the findings will be made available in a research report after April 2012 and you are welcome to contact me regarding the summary.

You may ask any questions you have now. If you later have questions, concerns, or complaints about the research please contact me on 078 323 9031/ncotsho@gmail.com**.**

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, or if you have any concerns or complaints about me or the research, you may contact my supervisor Prof. Gillian Finchilescu at the Wits Psychology department, second floor in Umthombo building or 011 717 4534.

It is necessary for you to sign the informed consent before you can participate in this project. Your signature indicates that the current study study has been explained to you, you understand the aims of the research and your role as a participant, and that you voluntarily agree to take part in this study. You will receive a copy of this form.

Thank you for your time.

Nomancotsho Pakade

APPENDIX III

INFORMED CONSENT

TITLE: *EXPLORING THE MEANINGS ATTACHED TO IDENTITIES OF WOMEN LOVING WOMEN IN SOWETO*

STUDENT RESEARCHER: *PAKADE,N.*

DEPARTMENT: *PSYCHOLOGY,UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND*

General Introduction

A person who is to participate in research must give his or her informed consent to such participation. This consent must be based on an understanding of the nature and risks of the research. This document provides information that is important for this understanding. Research projects include only participants who choose to take part. Please take your time in making your decision as to whether to participate. If you have questions at any time, please ask.

Purpose and Expectations of the Study

The focus of the intended research is to study the subjective meanings ascribed to identities taken up by Women-Loving-Women (WLW). This study aims to look at diversity of perspectives, beliefs and understandings of what it means to be a WLW, amongst others, in Soweto.

If you identify as a Black WLW over 18 years old, can communicate in IsiZulu or English, born in Soweto, living or have lived in Soweto for at least two years or have some strong presence or affiliation with Soweto, I would like to invite you to participate in the current study project. Approximately fifty or more WLW from Soweto will be invited to partake in this study. This project is part of a Masters Degree in Research Psychology that focuses on different aspects of the female same-sex identities in Soweto.

I would appreciate it if you could donate one hour and twenty minutes of your time, to participate in this project. In the first twenty minutes your role as a participant will be explained, followed by a brief session consisting of basic questions, largely regarding demographics. The next hour will be dedicated to sorting the statements in a grid and in relation to each other.

The interview might invoke some anxiety that may be associated with being a Black WLW in Soweto. However, such risks are not perceived as being in excess of 'minimal risk'. Should the need arise to speak to a counsellor during or after the interviews, please let me know or directly contact the Counselling and Careers Development Unit (CCDU) on West Campus close to gate 9 or on 011717 9140/32 or OUT LGBTI on 012 430 3272.

Benefits, Risks and Complaints

There are no direct benefits for you as a participant in this project. However, the data collected will be submitted as a report that I believe is necessary for documenting the township experiences of WLW in a democratic South Africa.Any information that is obtained in this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential. Your real name or any information that will explicitly identify you and your location in Soweto will not be published. In any report about this study that might be published, you will not be identified. If I write a report or article about this study, we will describe the study results in a summarised manner so that you cannot be identified.

Your participation is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or you may withdraw your participation at any time without penalty.

You may ask any questions you have now. If you later have questions, concerns, or complaints about the research please contact me on 078 323 9031/ncotsho@gmail.com**.**

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, or if you have any concerns or complaints about me or the research, you may contact Prof. Gillian Finchilescu at the Wits Psychology department, second floor in Umthombo building or 011 717 4534.

It is necessary for you to sign the informed consent prior to partaking in this project. Your signature indicates that the current study study has been explained to you, you understand the aims of the research and your role as a participant, and that you voluntarily agree to take part in this study. You will receive a copy of this form.

Thank you for your time.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

I have discussed the above points with the participant.

_____ _____

Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent ***Date***

APPENDIX IV

DECLARATION BY PARTICIPANT

By signing below I agree to take part in an MA research project titled *Exploring the meanings attached to identities of Women-Loving-Women in Soweto.*

I declare that:

The information regarding the research has been explained to me and it is in a written language that I understand. I am aware that taking part in this study is **voluntary** and that I may choose to withdraw my participation at any time without any penalties.

I hereby give consent to be **audio-taped** during the arrangement of statements on a grid and possibly after so as to reflect on the process with the researcher.

Signed at (place)……on(date)……2011

……

……...

Name of Participant* **Signature of Participant**

*Not applicable if anonymity is taken as an option

Declaration by investigator

I (name)……declare that:

I explained to *……. …….the participant's role in the research, the information in this document and about the project as a whole. I encouraged her/him to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them. I believe the participant understands the aspects of the research relevant to them.

Signed at (place)…….on(date)……..2011

……..

……..……

……

Name of Investigator **Signature of Investigator**

APPENDIX V

DEMOGRAPHICS

"PLEASE TELL US ABOUT YOURSELF"

What is your age? FILL IN NUMBER

Biological sex (OBSERVE AND MARK)

1	Male
2	Female
3	Third Sex
4	Other (Please Specify) ----------

Marital Status

1	Married? (a) Man (b) Woman

2	Divorced? (a) Man (b) Woman
3	Widowed? (a) Man (b) Woman
4	Separated? (a) Man (b) Woman
5	Never been married?
6	Cohabitation/ "Vat an Sit"? (a) Man (b) Woman
	Other (Please Specify) ……

How many children have you had?

How long have you lived in Soweto?

years	

ONLY IF LESS THAN ONE YEAR:

months	

What language do you speak most of the time?

1	isiZulu
2	isiXhosa
3	Siswati
4	Ndebele
5	Sesotho
6	Setswana
7	Xitsonga
8	Tshivenda
9	English
10	Afrikaans
11	sePedi/Northern Sotho
12	Shangaan
	Other (Please Specify) ……

7. What language do you speak with friends

1	Tsotsital
2	English
3	Mother-tongue
4	Tsotsi Taal + Mother tongue
5	Other ----------

8.Where did you last live before you came to live in Soweto?

Was it….		
	1	I have always lived in Soweto
	2	Elsewhere in Johannesburg
In South Africa	3	Eastern Cape
	4	Freestate
	5	Gauteng
	6	Kwa Zulu Natal
	7	Limpopo
	8	Mpumalanga
	9	Northern Cape
	10	Northwest
	11	Western Cape
In a neighbouring country?	12	Lesotho
	13	Swaziland
	14	Mozambique
	15	Zimbabwe
	16	Botswana
	17	Namibia
In the rest of Africa	18	Angola
	18	Nigeria

	19	DRC/Congo
	20	Any other African country (WRITE) ……
Anywhere else	21	(WRITE)

What is your highest educational level COMPLETED?

1	No formal education
2	Some primary school
3	Completed primary school (Std 5/Grade7)
4	Some secondary
5	Matric/Form 12
6	Some university education
7	Post-school diploma (not university)/certificate
8	University degree
9	Post-graduate university

WOULD YOU CALL YOURSELF… READ LIST AND CHOOSE AS MANY AS YOU WANT.

		Yes	No	Do not understand

	Tomboy?	1	2	3
	Ngqingili?	1	2	3
	Stabane?	1	2	3
	‘butch’?	1	2	3
	Curious?	1	2	3
	Nkonkoni?	1	2	3
	‘femme’?	1	2	3
	‘queer’?	1	2	3
	Bisexual?	1	2	3
	Nongayindoda?	1	2	3
	Woman who has sex with Women?	1	2	3
	Lesbian	1	2	3
	Women who loves Women?	1	2	3
	Lipstick Lesbian	1	2	3
	Double Adaptor?	1	2	3
	Dyke?	1	2	3
	Gay Woman	1	2	3

Which of these terms are most likely to be used in Soweto? *CIRCLE AS MANY AS NECESSARY*

Tomboy?	1
Ngqingili?	2
Stabane?	3
'butch'?	4
Curious?	5
Nkonkoni?	6
'femme'?	7
'queer'?	8
Bisexual?	9
Nongayindoda?	10
Woman who has sex with Women?	11
Lesbian	12
Women who loves Women?	13
Lipstick Lesbian	14
Double Adaptor?	15
Dyke?	16
Gay Woman	17
Nongayindoda?	18

Woman who has sex with Women?	19
Other ……	

Age of First sexual encounter: ___

(b) Was the first sexual encounter consesual?:____

Gender of First sexual partner:_____

Number of Sexual Partners to date:_____

Employment Status

1	Self-Employed?
2	Employed full-time (30 hrs or more a week)?
3	Employed part-time (less than 30 hrs a week)?
4	Student
5	Retired
6	Unemployed but have worked previously
7	Unemployed but has never had a paid job
	Other (Please Specify) ……

Number of people per household:___

32 Source(s) of income:

1	Occupation or Business
2	Government Pension
3	Company Pension
4	UIF
5	Child Support Grant
6	Disability Grant
7	Other Government Grant
8	Rent from Backyard Rooms or Shacks
9	Secondary Occupation
10	Shares
11	Unit Trust
12	Savings
13	Interest on Savings
14	Other People's income
15	Other ----------

Is the place where you live…RESPONDENT'S DWELLING

1	Rented?
2	Owned by you or a family member?
3	Owned by a friend?
4	*Don't know*
	Other (Please Specify) ……

Do you personally share a sleeping room with someone who is not your wife or girlfriend?

Yes	1	
No	2	

How many people share that room? WRITE NUMBER

What is your religion, faith or belief system?

1	Amadlozi/Badimo/Swikwembu
2	African Evangelical Church
3	Anglican
4	Apostle Twelve
5	Assembles of God
6	Baptist
7	Buddhism / Buddhist
8	Christian (without specification)
9	Church of God and Saints of Christ
10	Dutch Reformed
11	Faith Mission
12	Full Gospel Church of God
13	Hinduism / Hindu
14	Islam / Muslim
15	Jehovah's Witness
16	Judaism /Jewish
17	Lutheran
18	Methodist
19	Nazareth
20	Other Christian
21	Pentecostal Holiness Church

22	Rastafarian
23	Rhema church
24	Roman Catholic
25	Salvation Army
26	Seventh Day Adventist
27	Shembe
28	St John's Apostolic
29	United Congregation Church
30	Universal Church of God
31	Zionist Christian Church
32	Other (specify) ……
33	Believes in God but no religion
34	No religion
35	Don’t believe in God
36	Atheist
37	Agnostic
38	(Refused to answer)

39	(Do not know)

Do you drink alcohol?

1	Yes	
2	No	***Skip the rest of the questions***

What type mainly? CHOOSE ONLY ONE

1	Beer	***Continue to Q0***
2	Cider	
3	Spirit mixers (like smirnoff spin, bacardi breezer etc)	
4	Spirits (such as whiskey etc)	
5	Wine	***Skip to Q****Error! Reference source not found.*
6	Umqombothi	
7	Home made liquor	
	Other (Please specify) …….……	

Which brand?

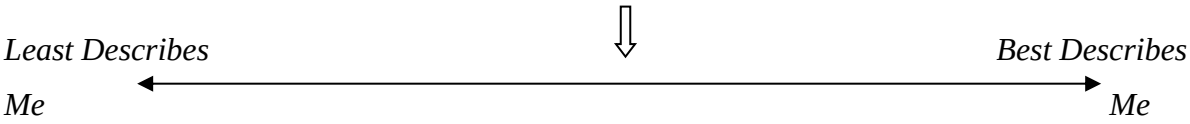
1	Castle Lager	***Beers***
2	Carling Black Label	
3	Castle Milk Stout	
4	Hansa Pilsner	

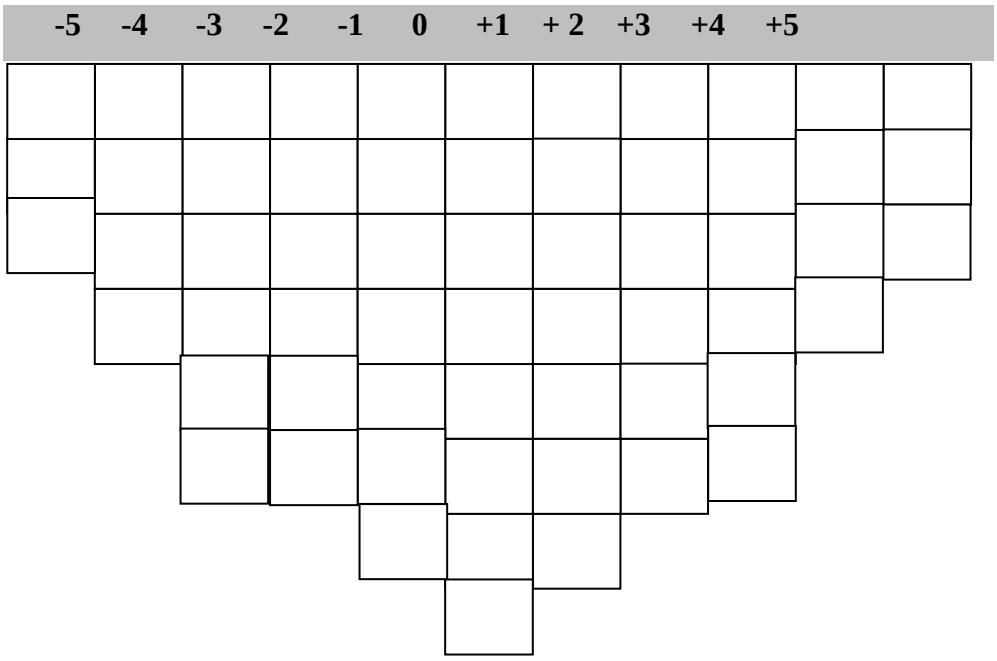
5	Miller	
6	Hofbrau	
7	Windhoek	
8	Amstel Lager	
9	Heineken Beer	
10	Other (please specify)……..	
11	Savanna	***Ciders***
12	Redds	
13	Hunters	
14	Crossbow	
	Other please specify ……	

Most of the Questions are adapted from Classifying Soweto Survey June/July 2006 Designed by the researchers from the South African Research Chair Unit for Social Change (University of Johannesburg)

APPENDIX VI: Grid Sheet

Neutral/Not Relevant





APPENDIX VII: Correlation Matrix Between Sorts

SORTS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

1 ss1 100 38 45 31 39 54 25 36 36 46 43 43 46 18 43 43 51 19 61 43 25 42 47 38 34 19 39 38 34 27

2 ss2 38 100 46 50 28 46 33 27 45 41 30 46 46 32 39 44 39 33 46 51 24 30 29 28 43 40 17 37 42 42

3 ss3 45 46 100 53 44 34 18 22 38 18 2 40 44 23 36 48 41 33 42 45 16 31 31 33 37 40 48 34 37 35

4 ss4 31 50 53 100 31 41 16 31 37 27 11 47 32 15 34 23 40 20 37 58 27 41 43 22 48 35 16 34 31 24

5 ss5 39 28 44 31 100 22 26 29 38 40 17 43 32 13 37 25 42 18 35 38 7 11 33 42 46 38 37 45 34 6

6 ss6 54 46 34 41 22 100 30 35 21 44 67 39 40 7 35 21 48 8 35 36 22 58 59 52 35 24 42 49 9 2

7 ss7 25 33 18 16 26 30 100 32 29 23 8 36 29 19 41 6 26 31 28 43 27 21 11 26 27 29 28 25 9 -2

8 ss8 36 27 22 31 29 35 32 100 44 38 27 55 49 40 43 21 39 55 40 54 45 46 33 57 52 48 26 36 25 29

9 ss9 36 45 38 37 38 21 29 44 100 27 26 43 43 29 25 35 42 30 31 49 30 28 26 29 52 47 21 24 33 28

10 ss10 46 41 18 27 40 44 23 38 27 100 36 57 31 30 45 46 54 25 29 51 43 28 32 38 44 46 18 36 40 24

11 ss11 43 30 2 11 17 67 8 27 26 36 100 27 26 -4 11 22 45 -9 29 15 19 41 52 45 25 14 39 38 15 2

12 ss12 43 46 40 47 43 39 36 55 43 57 27 100 46 26 32 50 46 38 42 65 31 40 36 34 42 41 40 46 44 37

13 ss13 46 46 44 32 32 40 29 49 43 31 26 46 100 29 49 34 37 46 50 46 27 23 38 48 46 45 38 34 26 17

14 ss14 18 32 23 15 13 7 19 40 29 30 -4 26 29 100 39 30 17 37 23 34 35 22 -5 14 35 39 -2 22 37 39

15 ss15 43 39 36 34 37 35 41 43 25 45 11 32 49 39 100 20 40 39 27 39 47 26 17 33 38 40 12 27 21 15

16 ss16 43 44 48 23 25 21 6 21 35 46 22 50 34 30 20 100 36 42 47 45 29 27 34 26 39 41 38 34 58 54

17 ss17 51 39 41 40 42 48 26 39 42 54 45 46 37 17 40 36 100 25 28 53 45 42 45 43 51 47 42 46 50 19

18 ss18 19 33 33 20 18 8 31 55 30 25 -9 38 46 37 39 42 25 100 36 50 37 31 20 29 37 40 5 14 34 42

19 ss19 61 46 42 37 35 35 28 40 31 29 29 42 50 23 27 47 28 36 100 53 27 33 42 44 34 25 33 38 43 19

20 ss20 43 51 45 58 38 36 43 54 49 51 15 65 46 34 39 45 53 50 53 100 53 36 39 52 53 49 26 43 48 35

21 ss21 25 24 16 27 7 22 27 45 30 43 19 31 27 35 47 29 45 37 27 53 100 35 10 40 35 48 11 27 47 37

22 ss22 42 30 31 41 11 58 21 46 28 28 41 40 23 22 26 27 42 31 33 36 35 100 59 35 36 24 30 41 24 16

23 ss23 47 29 31 43 33 59 11 33 26 32 52 36 38 -5 17 34 45 20 42 39 10 59 100 51 38 23 35 50 26 8

24 ss24 38 28 33 22 42 52 26 57 29 38 45 34 48 14 33 26 43 29 44 52 40 35 51 100 45 46 32 49 29 6

25 ss25 34 43 37 48 46 35 27 52 52 44 25 42 46 35 38 39 51 37 34 53 35 36 38 45 100 81 33 47 46 26

26 ss26 19 40 40 35 38 24 29 48 47 46 14 41 45 39 40 41 47 40 25 49 48 24 23 46 81 100 25 37 52 26

27 ss27 39 17 48 16 37 42 28 26 21 18 39 40 38 -2 12 38 42 5 33 26 11 30 35 32 33 25 100 46 29 9

28 ss28 38 37 34 34 45 49 25 36 24 36 38 46 34 22 27 34 46 14 38 43 27 41 50 49 47 37 46 100 58 17

29 ss29 34 42 37 31 34 9 9 25 33 40 15 44 26 37 21 58 50 34 43 48 47 24 26 29 46 52 29 58 100 42

30 ss30 27 42 35 24 6 2 -2 29 28 24 2 37 17 39 15 54 19 42 19 35 37 16 8 6 26 26 9 17 42 100

31 ss31 26 42 17 11 17 37 38 44 32 44 29 41 36 39 43 25 24 35 21 32 36 29 11 27 16 29 2 32 23 20

32 ss32 21 34 26 40 21 23 38 44 27 37 15 40 30 48 38 20 35 41 37 43 48 40 15 29 30 39 17 44 46 34

33 ss33 40 33 38 20 7 45 9 21 26 40 50 46 41 16 19 54 51 25 38 38 34 34 41 33 25 26 40 33 37 34

Appendix VII: Correlation Matrix between Sorts continued…

34 ss34 -29 -33 -35 -32 -35 -41 -14 -34 -25 -25 -28 -33 -30 -19 -21 -16 -38 -24 -50 -38 -9 -38 -45 -45 -32 -19 -19 -47 -27 4

35 ss35 54 49 44 51 44 53 26 52 49 52 41 55 36 23 26 52 62 41 46 66 34 51 61 57 51 40 27 46 46 26

36 ss36 28 37 28 39 10 17 18 51 39 25 4 34 33 30 27 25 39 53 22 55 54 40 19 35 35 34 -10 8 27 47

37 ss37 49 26 31 13 30 40 4 31 22 30 39 35 31 2 11 47 37 26 39 34 23 40 43 49 33 29 38 45 41 21

38 ss38 53 31 42 42 50 40 21 26 36 22 22 59 43 -1 26 35 42 14 44 46 6 24 50 26 28 16 44 54 32 13

39 ss39 12 23 33 40 27 20 14 48 30 31 6 36 47 33 41 9 48 28 10 47 38 18 12 33 62 61 27 42 31 15

40 ss40 18 30 37 35 34 20 23 44 31 48 19 42 34 27 35 33 47 33 16 34 35 25 19 33 73 74 34 33 47 27

41 ss41 10 19 27 27 26 31 23 28 11 27 10 31 40 12 28 1 32 6 16 27 25 15 21 24 38 40 35 38 15 4

42 ss42 18 21 32 25 20 22 21 32 23 11 1 26 48 19 20 26 16 29 44 33 19 12 26 28 37 35 17 32 18 11

43 ss43 52 37 33 31 42 56 14 34 30 52 57 65 34 9 18 40 44 11 42 41 20 41 50 46 40 29 37 65 46 21

44 ss44 10 31 7 13 11 14 -7 10 4 35 26 14 8 24 17 11 12 -6 0 9 7 0 3 22 15 6 2 2 3 18

45 ss45 10 47 32 21 21 7 6 19 29 35 23 22 10 35 23 20 32 12 10 33 21 14 10 29 26 32 11 11 31 22

46 ss46 25 -6 21 17 17 32 10 2 5 8 17 12 -16 -15 -11 15 12 -14 15 13 -12 11 28 10 3 -7 33 32 7 -14

47 ss47 40 98 44 48 27 48 30 29 48 42 37 45 45 34 37 42 39 29 46 49 27 31 29 29 44 39 17 39 42 45

48 ss48 60 50 43 34 42 57 31 36 39 43 43 53 50 24 31 42 49 19 58 51 37 48 47 50 43 38 52 59 56 27

49 ss49 97 41 46 34 46 52 27 34 38 49 39 46 50 15 43 43 52 20 63 48 26 38 47 37 35 19 40 37 34 26

50 ss50 57 55 46 38 43 60 30 40 43 47 43 50 51 32 38 43 49 24 56 51 36 48 48 48 50 41 50 57 53 29

Appendix VIII: Individual Q Sort Loadings for each Factor

Factor Matrix with an X Indicating a Defining Sort

Loadings		
QSORT	1	2
1 ss1	0.6784X	0.3510
2 ss2	0.2484	0.6425
3 ss3	0.3665	0.4945
4 ss4	0.2826	0.5126
5 ss5	0.4139	0.3794
6 ss6	0.6960X	0.2944
7 ss7	0.1468	0.3962
8 ss8	0.1710	0.6699X
9 ss9	0.2111	0.5659X
10 ss10	0.2900	0.5849X
11 ss11	0.6104	0.1546
12 ss12	0.4146	0.6058X
13 ss13	0.3217	0.5803X
14 ss14	-0.1966	0.6326X
15 ss15	0.0768	0.6097X
16 ss16	0.3550	0.4835
17 ss17	0.4373	0.5645X
18 ss18	-0.0642	0.6407X
19 ss19	0.5348	0.4149
20 ss20	0.2988	0.7246X
21 ss21	-0.0209	0.6588X
22 ss22	0.4440	0.3965
23 ss23	0.7072X	0.2342

24 ss24	0.4413	0.4800
25 ss25	0.2159	0.7078X
26 ss26	0.0260	0.7619X
27 ss27	0.5948X	0.1969
28 ss28	0.5821X	0.4138
29 ss29	0.2482	0.5904X
30 ss30	-0.0525	0.5379
31 ss31	0.0835	0.5147
32 ss32	0.0335	0.6492X
33 ss33	0.4590	0.3742
34 ss34	-0.4720	-0.3208
35 ss35	0.5523	0.5505
36 ss36	-0.0559	0.6419X
37 ss37	0.5687X	0.2602
38 ss38	0.6992X	0.2324
39 ss39	-0.0161	0.6459X
40 ss40	0.0223	0.6634X
41 ss41	0.1713	0.3927
42 ss42	0.2726	0.3283
43 ss43	0.6813X	0.3583
44 ss44	-0.0776	0.2781
45 ss45	-0.1014	0.5124
46 ss46	0.5063	-0.1655
47 ss47	0.2664	0.6370
48 ss48	0.6550X	0.4702
49 ss49	0.6805X	0.3646
50 ss50	0.5957	0.5424
% expl.Var.	17	26