

https://dspace.org/

He queer habitus of everyday spaces

Chiya, Khulekani Vincent

2022
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/34098

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

THE QUEER HABITUS OF EVERYDAY SPACES

By

Khulekani Vincent Chiya

476084

A research Report submitted to the Department of Psychology, School of Human and Community Development, Faculty of Humanities at University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Social and Psychological Research

(PSYC7022)

Supervised by:

Professor Hugo Canham

30 April 2021

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I ____**Khulekani Vincent Chiya**_____ (Student number: ___**476084**_____) am a student registered for the degree of __**Master of Arts in Social and Psychological Research**_ in the academic year _**2020**___. With ethics Protocol number:___**MAPSYC/20/02**_____

I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or Without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.

- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.

- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.

- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

- I have included as an appendix a report from "Turnitin" (or other approved plagiarism detection) software indicating the level of plagiarism in my research document.

Signature:  Date: _____**30 April 2021**_____

Table of contents

Acknowledgements 4
Abstract 5
Introduction 6
Rationale and problem statement 6
Literature review & theoretical framework 10
Introduction 10
Identity 11
Queer theory 12
Space 15
Queer space 16
Habitus 17
Research question: 20
Research methods 21
Research design 21
Sample 22
Research participants 24
Data collection 25
Interviewing 25
Visual representations of queer lives 25
Data analysis 27
Reflexivity 28
Research ethics 28
Findings and discussion 29
Gender identity and sexual orientation: wild queers and shifting selves 31
Assertion of identity and safety (physical & psychological): unspoken queer parameters 39
Queering space and negotiating compulsory heteronormativity: queer mothering and gender trouble 49
Conclusion 58
References 60
Appendix 65

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my research supervisor Professor Hugo Canham for your invaluable advice and inputs into this research. I have learned a lot from you and you have personally inspired me since the beginning of this project.

I cannot begin to express my gratitude to my research participants. Thank you so much for your time and for sharing your invaluable life experiences with me. I do not take it for granted. The completion of this project would not have been successful without your participation.

To Veronique Rothemberger thank you for being available whenever I needed help with recruiting and following up on potential participants. I value our friendship.

I could not have completed this project without the support from both my sister, Cebsile Chiya, and my mentor who became the mother I never had, Lindi Kunene. To Cebsile, thank you for having my back and always reminding me of the things that matter the most. Thank you Ma for the meals and always pushing me just when I needed it, you have always believed in me from the day we met.

Not forgetting Mathews Lebethe, Sfiso Mkhwanazi, and Humphrey Maja. I appreciate that you always made time to listen to your crazy friend rant about his masters and how exhausted he is. Thank you for engaging with some of the ideas I had for this project and sharing your life experiences with me. Our conversations always left me with something to think about regarding this project. You have all kept me sane in your own unique ways.

Finally, to the ancestors for always watching over us.

ABSTRACT

This research gives an account of how queer bodies navigate everyday spaces in Johannesburg. It uses queer theory and Bourdieu's theory of habitus to conceptualise queerness. This study adopts a qualitative queer methodology, which combines one on one interviews and an analysis of visual representations by examining social media accounts of queer people. The findings are organised into three themes; namely, gender identity and sexual orientation: wild queers and shifting selves; assertion of identity and safety: unspoken queer parameters; and queering space and negotiating compulsory heteronormativity: queer mothering and gender trouble. This study is consistent with the findings of previous studies that have looked at queer identities and space. However, unlike previous studies that focused on gay and lesbian people, this study focuses on the diverse range of queer people including transgender persons. The findings suggest that heteronormativity imposes itself as a norm and that has implications for the kind of queer habitus that can be negotiated within spaces of Johannesburg. However, the study points to generative queering of space in ways that affirm and enable queer lives. Forms of relating such as queer mothering disrupt homophobia and kinship practices and point to alternative possibilities and sites of care. The implications of this research are that queer lives need to be treated with more sensitivity and more research focusing on transgender lives would benefit both scholarship and the broader Trans community.

Keywords: *queer, space, habitus, queer theory, identities, gender, sexual oriantation*

INTRODUCTION

Rationale and Problem Statement

Much has been written about queer pain and suffering, however queer experiences cannot be reduced to just those of suffering. The term queer in itself tells a story of how a word that was meant to be derogatory has been repurposed to denote a positive assertion of identity (Johnson, 2001). Queer is defined as the assertion of the non-conformity, multiplicity, and fluidity of sexual subjects. It seeks to challenge the normative social ordering of sexual (heterosexual and homosexual) and gender (man and woman) binaries. Queer also challenges the processes that privilege certain sexual and gender practices, such as heterosexuality, as natural (Browne & Nash, 2010). It is a term that houses everyone who does not subscribe to a heterosexual identity and ways of being, and effectively acts as a substitute for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Intersex (LGBTQI+) (Callis, 2009). The concept is however not fixed and remains open to those not committed to normative identifications. This study seeks to understand how diverse queer bodies have made Johannesburg habitable.

Research that claims to look at LGBTQI+ identities often examines the lives of just gay and lesbian people. Other identities are rendered invisible or are hardly adequately accounted for under the LGBTQI+ umbrella (Mcknney, 2005). The rationale for this study is therefore to broaden the lens of inquiry by focusing on queer rather than LGBTQI+ people. This allows for an engagement with the multiple and shifting ways in which queer identities are produced and contested through the use of space, discourse and interactions (Meer & Miller, 2017).

A queer lens provides us with an avenue to see queer experiences as being beyond just violation and victimhood, to those of rebellion, pushing boundaries, and self-love. One of the ways that groups assert their identities is through the use and occupation of physical spaces. Queer geographers argue that queer spaces are produced through the appropriation of spaces that were created for heteronormative interests and that these are then re-purposed for queer consumption (Livermon, 2014). Queer bodies create counter spaces by challenging the normative ordering and imaginings of space (Meer & Miller, 2017). Thinking of queer as challenging the normative also allows us to appreciate the “creative labor of appropriation and re-appropriation that is central to the processes of black queer self-making” (Livermon, 2014, p. 510). Reddy (1998) contends that

gay sub-cultural spaces have been emerging throughout the country and that these constructions of queer spaces are about the assertion of identity, safety, and serve as compensation for imposed heteronormativity (Reddy, 2005). For instance, to assert a lesbian identity that shifts away from the normalised invisibility and of victimhood, visual artist Zanele Muholi uses photography to claim desire and intimacy while also challenging the heterosexualization of desire as normative (Bakare-Yusuf, 2011). Livermon (2014) looked at how black queers in Soweto re-purposed stokvel parties as usable space, for pleasure and visibility as explicitly sexual subjects through strategic performances. He observed that black queer men are desired in these stokvel parties, as they are seen as social lubricants bringing liveliness in these parties.

While space can be freeing and offer the possibility for queer re-imagining thereby sabotaging its homophobic parameters, it can also be limiting and unsafe. Certain spaces may privilege queer bodies belonging to particular racial and class categories. For example, black queers often have to negotiate not just space but also visibility and safety (Matebeni, 2018). In addition, Reddy (2002), Canham (2017), and Matebeni (2018) account for Johannesburg and Cape Town pride parades as spaces that are not particularly affirming for black working class queers. These spaces not only exclude and render them invisible, but also evoke the shame associated with being black and working class. As an agential response, working class queers have established alternative queer marches like Soweto Pride and Peoples Pride.

History shows us that space has always been contested in relation to who can lay claim over it. The contestations are particularly heightened when queer bodies enter space. Queer bodies have always sought to make space habitable for themselves. In addressing this contestation over space, South Africa was one of the first countries to legally recognise gay and lesbian people as deserving of equality. This was done by prohibiting unfair discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation by the Constitution that was promulgated in 1996 (Croucher, 2002). The affirmation of equality outlined in the Constitution (1996) was followed by legislation allowing for gay and lesbian marriage through the Civil Union Act, 17 of 2006. Although a change in legislation did not necessarily translate into a change in attitudes and treatment of gay, lesbian and transgender people, it has opened up space for debates and conversations about sexual orientation and the inclusion of queer people into the broader society. The media has played a significant role in mainstreaming issues of gay and lesbian people. For instance, there are more television shows

emerging with gay and lesbian characters. This level of visibility means that society is engaging with different sexual orientations in conversations about sexuality, whereas in the past such conversations always assumed heterosexuality as the natural form of expressing sexuality. This entails considerations of what it means to be a gay man, a lesbian woman, bisexual, intersex or to be transgender. In addition, visibility enables us to consider the space of queer people in society; be it work family, religion, cultural production and other social spaces. There has been progress in terms of how we have come to understand sexual orientation and gender identity, albeit very slow. A survey that was done by OUT[1] found that over a two-year period, 10 percent of the participants had experienced physical attacks, 20 percent where threatened with violence, while 39 percent reported having been verbally insulted (Morris, 2017). Fifty percent of the black participants reported knowing someone who was murdered because of their sexual orientation (Morris, 2017). It is very clear that reactions towards queer people and queerness have been varied. Whilst one part is trying to include them in society through mainstreaming and legal protection, another segment is actively and often violently resisting it.

In trying to understand how queer people have made and continue to make Johannesburg habitable, queer theory offers us an avenue through which we can question and challenge the normative understandings and ordering of gender and sexual orientation. It also provides us with lenses to understand and critique power relations and discourses surrounding sexual orientation and gender (Johnson, 2001). In this study, Bourdieu's theory of habitus is used to understand how social spaces in Johannesburg shape queer identities and how queer identities shape Johannesburg social spaces. This study employs qualitative queer methodology, which does not subscribe to one set of procedures, in recognition of the diversity and fluidity of the social and the diversity of queer experiences. While semi-structured interviews allow for a discursive discussion of participant's experiences, an analysis of participant's visual representations on social media allows participants to directly narrate stories of how they think their social media visual representations represent and narrate their queer identities and occupation of both physical and visual space.

[1] A non-profit organization in South Africa which provides sexual health services to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

In this section, I have argued that while South Africa's Constitution provides for legal protection of queer identities and queer rights, progress in attitudinal change has been slow as queer bodies still experience varying forms of violation. However, stories of victimhood and violation are not the only stories of queerness in South Africa. I have also briefly argued that by focusing on queer people instead of LBTQI+ persons we can better engage with the multiple ways in which queer identities are produced and contested in space. The rationale of this study was articulated as an investment in studying inclusive sexual and gender identities rather than adopting a lens that is limited to only lesbian and gay persons. Lastly, I have argued that through challenging the heteronormative organising principles, queering of space opens it up to multiple possibilities of queer pleasure, love, desire, intimacy, rebellion, pain, and sadness. This raises questions in relation to how queer bodies use space by testing its limitations and appropriating and re-appropriating it for queer consumption, while also succumbing to its policing and oppressive effects.

LITERATURE REVIEW & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This section gives an overview of the theoretical lenses through which this research is conducted. These are queer theory and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus. I start this section by looking at how queer identity has been defined and understood through the lenses of queer theory. I then engage with queer spaces, and how both queer theory and habitus can help us understand queer identities in social spaces.

Here, I begin with a brief literature review of work that thinks with the experiences of queer Africans. South Africa has a vast scholarship on queer identity and desire. The snapshots below acknowledge this work on queer identities and provides a pulse of the work that has already been done in South Africa. Rather than provide a close analysis of this work, I outline these studies to point to the various directions in which the literature has gone. The early scholarship was largely rights focused. Among some of these earlier scholars are Juan Nel (1994), Mark Gevisser and Edwin Cameron (1995), Bryce Lease and Mark Gevisser (2017). LGBT rights in educational settings have also been extensively studied in the South African context. See for example, Louisa Allen (2015), Dennis Francis and Reygan Finn (2016), Peace Kiguwa and Malose Langa (2017), Shose Kessi (2018), and Dennis Frances (2019). In the area of reproductive health, Mzikazi Nduna (2012), Mzikazi Nduna and Rachel Jewkes (2013), Peace Kiguwa (2015), Andy Mprah (2016), Sthembiso Mkhize and Pranitha Maharaj (2020) are examples of scholarly interventions. Scholars who have centred homophobia and hate crimes in their work include Aubrey Theron (1994), Vasu Reddy (2001, 2002), Helen Wells and Louise Polders (2006), Juan Nel and Melanie Judge (2008), Floretta Boonzaier and Maia Zway (2015), and Melanie Judge (2017). Lastly, some authors who have done work on identity and queer geography include Glen Elder (2002), Natalie Oswin (2007), Andrew Tucker (2009), Zethu Matebeni (2011, 2013), Gustav Visser (2013), Xavier Livermon (2014), Hugo Canham (2017), and Martin Zebracki and Tommaso Milani (2017), and Zethu Matebeni, Surya Monro and Vasu Reddy (2018). In this study, my primary interlocuters are this last set of researchers whose scholarship is located in queer identity and space studies. I expand on this strand of literature in the sections that follow. However, I begin by considering queer scholarship in other African countries.

Beyond South Africa, Kenyan scholars have recently provided an important archive for thinking about African queer desire and the complexities of how the term 'queer' travels in the African context. For example, Keguro Macharia (2009, 2015, 2019) has deepened the field by contemplating and articulating the ways in which we could consider a Queer African Studies as well as the methods and archives that may be generative for this exercise. Neo Musangi (2018) has troubled the ways that kinship and community practices are read by focusing on the lives of women who form alternative communities of practice and kinship in ways that unsettle common sense claims of homophobia, ways of being and queer desire. Eddie Ombagi (2019) has studied queer life in the city of Nairobi to show the malleability of the Kenyan cityscape to queer male desire. While Kenyan queer scholarship appears quite productive, other African countries have also engaged queer lives. For example, Tiffany Mugo (2013) and Gregory Kamwendo (2015) have engaged various facets of the queer experience in Malawi while Adriaan Van Klinken (2017) has sort to understand how Zambia's frame as a 'Christian nation' impacts sexual orientation and discrimination in that country. Natasha Tibinyane (2006) and Ashley Currier (2012) have looked at queer lives in post-independence Namibia. Emerson Lopes (2017) and Rui Garrido (2019) explore queer citizenship in Mozambique as one of the countries who have decriminalised queer citizens in the region. Monica Tabengwa and Nancy Nicol (2013) have tracked the progress towards decriminalising queer people in Botswana. Kare Moen, Peter Aggleton, Leshabari Melkizedeck and Anne-Lise Middlelthon (2014) have studied same-sex practices of men in Tanzania. Stella Nyanzi and Andrew Karamagi (2015) and Stella Nyanzi (2014) provide an example of queer scholarship in Uganda. Finally, Nonhlanhla Mkhize (2020) has studied violence perpetrated against queer people in Botswana, Kenya, Malawi, South Africa and Uganda. While this review provides a dipstick view of the scholarship on queer lives, there is of course much more work that has been done.

Identity

Identification is based on the recognition of common or shared characteristics amongst a group of people, person or even an ideal around which solidarity and allegiance is formed.
Identification is an ongoing process that is never fully completed (Hall, 2000). As an ongoing process, identity is not stable throughout life. The instability of identity suggests that identities

are created within discourse, temporality and in context. Identities are forged within particular historical moments and institutional spaces. This means that we think of particular groups within a particular location, time in history, based on the articulated practices and the spoken languages at that point in time. Though identities are never unified, they give us a sense of who belongs (included) and who is excluded. For Hall (2000), the process of identification becomes an act of power through its ability to exclude. Identity forms a representation of an individual within a particular context and within a particular time in history. The instability of identity also points to the troubled nature of identities. Hall (2000) argues that a non-essentialist, strategic and positional approach to identities rejects the notion that identities are parts of the self which remain the same across time. Culturally, instability and fluidity reject the notion that identities are collective or true selves that a people of common history and anncestry share. However, it accepts that identities are constantly in the process of change and transformation, they are never singular but they multiply across different discourses, positions, spaces, practices, and temporalities. Similarly for Iedema and Caldas-Coulthard (2008), identity can be understood as representing something that is imbued with meaning, is experienced and performed subjectively, and bares references to multiple others, places, temporalities and practices. This view of identity as complex and as shifting is aligned to how queer identities are constantly in motion and working against stability and arrival. Similarly, queer theory embraces fluidity, and unstable registers of self, attraction, identification and gender. I elaborate below.

Queer Theory

The term queer is discursive. This points to its multiple meanings and uses in different contexts and times. Historically, the term was been used with derogatory intent to describe effeminate men and homosexual people in general. It has however been claimed back by gay men, lesbian women, transgender people, bisexual people and even straight people who want to show allegiance with anti-homophobic politics and are not committed to heterosexual identity and politics (Callis, 2009; Butler, 1993). This coheres with how non-normative and marginalised people often repurpose concepts, spaces and naming practices. Repurposing removes negation and replaces it with self-affirmation thus depowering those who benefit from sexual hegemony. Queer moves us away from the narrow conceptions of lesbian and gay identities, in support of

non-normative conceptions of sexuality and gender. It refers to the politics of sexuality and modes of identification. It embraces the position of being off-centre, against the grain, quirky sensibilities, and refuses internalized inferiority. Queer identification turns hateful intent into self-love and makes a home in marginality and marginal space.

Queer theory challenges the ways in which we think of sexual identity. The term queer has always been understood as denoting something that is unusual, not 'normal' or something that is 'weird' as it relates to sexual identity. Johnson (2001) argues that the term queer in North America not only denotes something that is out of the norm, but in reality also denotes discursive and epistemological meanings founded in the lived experiences and cultural rituals of African Americans. The concept was originally used as a derogatory term to those who did not quite fit the established gender norms (Johnson, 2001; Butler, 1993). The term has since been reclaimed, not only by activists but by queer people as well. It is a term to house everyone who does not subscribe to a heterosexual identity and ways of being, and effectively acts as a substitute for LGBTQI (Callis, 2009). It can however be in excess to LGBTQI and may include people that are not committed to a heterosexual identity.

According to Callis (2009) queer became an identity category for people who did not want a label, who felt sexuality should be more fluid and inclusive and who also were concerned with the hegemonic assumptions surrounding sexuality and gender. It is a concept that refuses to settle. Thus, queer theorists look at heterosexuality and homosexuality as binary social constructs. To the queer theorist, power relations and the discourses surrounding sexuality, are a more important object of study than studying the individuals (Callis, 2009). For Johnson (2001), these power relations and discourses are rooted in, and can be understood through race, gender and class as these shape our experiences of the world. Queer theory demonstrates appreciation of the idea that amongst gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people there still exist race, class and gendered differences that intersect in the formation of queer identities. This highlights another important aspect of queer theory, which pertains to the assumed relationship between sexuality and gender (Halperin, 2003).

Early conceptualizations of queer theory were drawn from Michael Foucault and Judith Butler (Callis, 2009). For Foucault, identity is something that is created through and by discourse. In turn, discourse is created through power and knowledge. Foucault begins with how science

classified sex according to its biological reproductive uses rather than pleasure. Sexual acts that were purely for pleasure and not for biological reproduction were stigmatized as deviant within the medical and religious fields. This stigmatisation created a group of people labelled as sexual deviants. This process of categorizing and controlling sex was also done through the use of the religious and medical confessionary that required people to confess their excess and transgressive sexual desires. This process ultimately handed over the power to label these confessed desires to another individual deemed to be a knowledgeable professional acting on behalf of institutionally sanctioned knowledge episteme (Hall, 2001). The confession and the labelling gave the institution and the person deemed as professional, the powers to determine truths and created a sex discourse that normalised some behaviour while marginalising other desires and those who had them. However, once this discourse was internalized and accepted by a group of people, they could identify each other and seek each other out for the creation of a reverse discourse and thereby a creation of self-identities (Callis, 2009). This is what Johnson (2001) saw as the reconceptualization of Quare in the African American community. The act of laying claim in reverse and reconceptualization of the term queer was important for Butler. She found that it is necessary to refute homophobia in public policy and in private lives (Butler, 1993).

According to Butler (1990), sexual identity emerged through gender trouble and gender performativity. Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics used to distinguish between femininity and masculinity, while sexuality refers to one's patterns of sexual attractions. Both of these concepts are not stable, suggesting that they are susceptible to change over time (Rahman & Jackson, 2010). For Butler, sexuality and gender should not be read as being independent of each other. This is because our cultural understanding of gender requires that we read gender in relation to sex, and sexual desires must follow from that reading as well. For example, the normative cultural understanding of a man is that he is masculine and heterosexual. Anything outside of that becomes unintelligible and therefore presents what Butler termed as gender trouble (Butler, 2011). Effeminate heterosexual men or masculine women trouble binary conceptions of gender. These non-normative presentations and patterns of attraction trouble gender. Butler argues for gender as something that is not a stable part of identity. It is not evident outside of social constructed scripts of being. Rather, gender as a way of being, has to be performed on a daily basis, throughout life. This performance of gender is what makes one able

to be identified as either man or woman within the cultural context. The performance of gender is not at the will or by the choice of the individual performing the gender. Instead, the performance is a reiteration of gender norms, which precede the individual performing these norms (Butler, 1993). At different points of one's life, these prescribed performances may, however, be out of step with their sense of self. Prominent cases of people (e.g. Caitlin Jenner) who have changed their gender in the latter parts of their lives provide examples of how gender might be altered through the performance of requisite socially legible scripts. Similarly, sexuality is performed by reiterating what we have come to understand as being behaviour denoting a certain kind of sexual orientation (Callis, 2009).

Space

Space can be thought of in terms of physically generated and used spaces. Through its use over time, space becomes modified with symbolism and meanings attached to it. This means that it no longer is just space for physical habitation or momentary occupation but also a product of forms of knowledge. In this sense, space can be seen as concrete, physical and material, and it can also be seen as geometric, abstract and psychological. Through these lenses, like identity, space can be thought of as something that is produced and modified with time. Every society produces its own space, through varying social forces (Elden, 2007). This makes social space a product of social relations. Space is produced through social formations and through mental constructions. Capitalism is the main social formation through which space is organized. Feminist geographers and historians have argued that gender divisions influenced the organisation of cities and suburbs. They have also influenced the distinction between the public and private domains. Under capitalism, cities are public spaces that enable the practice of social, economic and political power generally associated with masculinity. On the other hand, suburbs represent the private domain and are constructed as spaces for dependence and domesticity, which are attributes typically, associated with femininity (Bondi, 1998). The development of capitalism leveraged on these gender divisions as men could be deployed to the cities for capital accumulation without the distraction of domesticity. Race, class and geopolitics play a role in relation to who gets to participate in capital accumulation and to what extent. By extension, these registers of identity also play a role on who can have access to cities. Elden (2007) argues that

space allocations are done on the basis of class and that class struggle becomes part and parcel of space. This suggests that access to spaces are controlled based on affordability (Canham, 2017). Inclusion and exclusion to space is thus regulated by capital. Because class struggle is an integral part of social space, history gets to set the pace for what is sayable and unsayable, what is thinkable and unthinkable within a given space (Rose, 1988). This also has the effect of allowing or prohibiting the expression of certain emotions and affects, within a given space (Pile, 2010).

Queer Space

There is an interconnectedness between spaces and sexuality. This is because spaces can foster or hinder the expression of certain sexual identities. Held (2015) argues that through repeated gender performance, we can constitute a space to be for a certain gender or sexual identity. Similarly, Canham (2017) contends that homophobic spaces of origin can often constrain the possibility of the realisation of particular queer identities. Previous research done by Held (2015) on queer spaces in Manchester, United Kingdom, looked at space as it relates to comfort and safety for queer people. Held found that queer friendly and queerly marked spaces offered queer people a sense of comfort and safety in a sense that they felt safer and more comfortable in spaces that were deemed to be for queer people. However, Canham (2017) found space, as it relates to queer identifying people, to be a boundless geography that is characterized by confusion, non-conformity, elusiveness and peculiarity. He termed this queer geography. It is boundless in a sense that spaces that queer people have to negotiate in their everyday life is not just limited to sexualized spaces, but this queer geography can emerge in other everyday spaces and unexpected spaces. To this, he makes an argument that spaces of safety for queer people are not always fixed, but created by complex and relational power flows (Canham, 2017).

As suggested earlier, space is always linked to class and class struggles (Elden, 2007). In a South African context, class, race, and gender are always interconnected (Moolan, 2013). Canham (2017) found that living in Johannesburg and in South Africa, neither guaranteed all lesbian women the same safety, bodily integrity, and equal human rights, nor is it affirming for all lesbian women, even though South Africa recognises the legal rights of the LGBTQI+ community. There are differing levels of marginalization that lesbian women experienced based on their race and class, i.e. working class black lesbian women still experience murders in townships. Race and class also plays a huge role in terms of spaces occupied by lesbian women.

Middle class lesbian women can afford to move to the suburban parts of Johannesburg, which not only affords them a more affirming sense of identity and safety, but also affords them access to other affirming social spaces such as Johannesburg Pride. On the other hand, black working class lesbian women mostly reside in townships, and even though they interact with the city and the suburban parts of Johannesburg through work, study and socializing, these spaces were not so affirming for them. Instead they navigate these spaces with an identity of the 'dirty lesbian'[2], which signifies a poor, black, township based lesbian (Canham, 2017). This represents black working class lesbian women as the "highly visible manifestation of the undesirable" (Gqola, 2006, p. 83), which fuels attempts to have them removed from society and history through forms of violation. Matebeni (2013) argues that black queer identities have been silenced and isolated from their communities through popular claims such as the view that being queer is Western and it is to betray the black race. The transition from working class to middle class allowed black lesbian women to move out of such communities to spaces that are perceived as more affirming for queer persons, such as Johannesburg suburbia (Canham, 2017). I use Pierre Bourdieu's habitus to understand queer identity in relation to the different spaces that queer people occupy.

Habitus

Pierre Bourdieu conceived of habitus as an organized set of values and principles, which are informed by the ways in which we think, perceive, represent, and the ways we make meaning of our social world. These act as a guide for how we behave (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014). They become internalised predispositions. The habitus is organized into dimensions; the ethos and the hexis. The ethos are predispositions that are something that is thought of as coming from within, that is unconscious, internalised values and principles which guide everyday life. The hexis are the predispositions that are thought of as physical. These include bodily movement, how we talk, walk and stand (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014). What is important to note about the habitus is that it is acquired through socialization (Liu, 2012). Through years of education and socialization, from birth, we assimilate views about the world into our bodies. We embody these views about the world and social order, as they are carried over through history into the present

[2] This is a term that some lesbian women used to signify a node of identification of masculine township based lesbian women.

and the future. It is also important to note that as an individual embodies them, they are also transferable from one social environment to the next (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014).

The concept of the habitus can help us understand part of individual identity as being shaped by our social context. Certain contexts will adhere to certain ways of being and ultimately individuals within that context will subscribe to those ways of being (Reay, 2015). For example, we are able to recognise that someone has 'good manners' because of the shared understanding we have as a group of what sets of behaviours constitute 'good manners'. These sets of behaviours are learned throughout our upbringing and become an essential part of ourselves. The habitus helps us to identify something within a particular context at a particular time (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014). Held's (2015) study on queer spaces and comfortability found that the 'lesbian habitus' was produced in the way in which lesbian women walked, talked, dressed, expressions of sexuality, wearing hair, and even in the way they held a drink (Held, 2015).

Habitus can be linked to what Bourdieu terms as cultural capital, in which he describes capital as that which enables individuals to appropriate social energy (Bourdieu, 2011). Cultural capital is our knowledge about the held beliefs and value systems in our social contexts. The acquirement of this knowledge has an effect of increasing an individual's value in society. Cultural capital relates to habitus in its embodied and objectified states, in that in its embodied state it relates to the internalization of certain principles and predispositions, while in the objectified state it relates to symbolic cultural artefacts (Bourdieu, 2011). This link helps us to understand habitus in two ways. The first is as it relates to social status of an individual in their social context, as attainment of cultural knowledge can increase one's value. The second is its direct relationship to the body, as it requires the embodiment of certain principles and predispositions, and also a display or participation in symbolic cultural artefacts.

One of the criticisms for Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the habitus is that it precedes practice and therefore regulates it. It does not give an explanation of how practices can also inform the development of the habitus (Mutch, 2003). For Bernstein (2004) the acquisition of a habitus as an organised set of principles and values not only allows individuals to perform in a certain way, but it also allows for counter arguments to this set of principles and values to emerge, allowing for the possible transformation of the habitus. Wenger (1999) added that individuals engage in different communities of practices. In each of these communities, a different aspect of the self is

constructed and different perspectives of the self are gained through engagement with these different communities of practices. This is contrasted to Bourdieu's conceptualisation of habitus as dispositions to act in similar ways across different communities of practice. This critique of the habitus opens us to see the habitus as being both structuring of practices and generative of practice.

I began this section by giving a snapshot of how scholarship has previously thought about queer lives and argued that my focus for this study is in relation to research that is located in queer identity and space scholarship. I then argued for identity as something that is complex, imbued with meaning, and is never fully unified but always shifting. This is evident in how queer identities are always in motion and working against stability and total legibility. Queer in itself represents an identity that was re-appropriated to mean something more affirming than its historic conception. In moving us away from narrow conceptions of lesbian and gay identities, queer theory supports non-normative constructions of sexuality and gender, and acts as an umbrella term for all those who are not committed to a heterosexual identity. While Foucault helps us understand the role of discourse and power in the creation sexual discourses and sexual identities, Butler helps us to analyse gender and sexuality as something that is not a stable part of identity, but as repeated performances throughout life. Butler contends that they often present gender trouble. It is not only biological markers, but also our gender performances that we are made intelligible as either man or woman. Lastly, I argued that the concept of habitus is important in helping us understand the role of social context and space in shaping identities. Certain spaces will subscribe to certain ways of being and as a result, people within those spaces will subscribe to those ways of beings. This creates an interconnectedness between sexuality and space in a sense that space can hinder or foster certain kinds of identities at the expense of other. However, space is also malleable and can be changed by people over time.

In developing the research questions, queer theory helps us appreciate the ways in which sexual identities are always shifting and cannot be contained to the ways we have come to think of and understand sexual identities, but rather challenges these normative ways of thinking. While the theory of habitus helps us appreciate that there is a role played by space in the structuring and moulding of identities.

Research Question:

The overarching question that I attempt to answer is:

How does habitus orient the ways in which queer subjects navigate everyday spaces in Johannesburg?

In an attempt to answer the overarching research question, I address three research sub-questions:

1. What is the queer habitus in Johannesburg?
2. How is the queer habitus expressed in everyday spaces?
3. How do every day spaces inform the queer habitus?

RESEARCH METHODS

Research Design

In an attempt to answer the overarching research question, I adopted a queer methodology. A queer methodological approach generally requires the researcher not to have presumptions about subjectivity from the onset. Rather, queer research is attuned to the formation and unfolding of subjectivity (Warner, 2004). This is because by definition, queer denotes an identity that is unclear, multiple and fluid (Browne & Nash, 2010). A queer methodology does not have to be loyal to one set of methods or chose one set of methods over the another. Queer methodology suggests that queer subjectivities can be studied through a plethora of methods. For example, both interviews and photographs are analysed in this study. Queer methodology recognises that the social is just as diverse and fluid and therefore cannot be limited to just human interaction. Queer appreciates that in a globalised economy, the social is no longer confined to traditionally understood territories and spatial boundaries (Warner, 2004). The task of a queer methodology is to question the normative (Browne & Nash, 2010), it seeks to disrupt the idea of a natural world and uncover subjectivity as it is experienced and represented (Holiday, 2000). Warner (2004) suggests that queer experiences must be accounted for in similar terms as those of the actual queer people living those experiences. This can be achieved through the qualitative paradigm adopted in this study.

Qualitative research is a systematic approach to collecting non-numerical data. It does not seek to make causal inferences or quantify behaviour. Rather, it is concerned with understanding human experiences through the meanings they attach to social action (Haslam & McGarty, 2003). It allows for the critical engagement with underlying beliefs, forms of power, and structures that inform subjectivity. This study was posed under the interpretive and critical social science paradigms (Scotland, 2012). The interpretive social science paradigm provides us with methodological and analytical lenses to understand and describe queer identities and the meanings attached to the identities within given every day spaces. It helps us understand how participants generate these meanings and make sense of their identities. The critical social science paradigm provides us with an avenue to critique the underlying discourses and power relations in the formation and meaning-making processes of queer identities. Through the critical

social science paradigm, we can reveal and critique the inequalities that exist within queer identities (Scotland, 2012). This study was both exploratory and descriptive, in a sense that it aimed to both explore and understand the various queer identities and the kinds of spaces they inhabit.

Sample

The sample consisted of adult queer identifying people, who are employed in the labour market. The reason for this focus is that I assumed that employed people would have a much wider range of spaces that they get to negotiate on an everyday basis. Also, the workplace plays a significant role in adult life, as most adults spend a significant amount of their time in their workplaces (Arnett, 2007). All the participants we were 'out' as queer or more explicitly as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender. Some participants did not identify as queer and at first did not understand what queer meant until I explained. The sample consisted of both working class and middle class queer identifying people, who identified as either black, Coloured[3], or White in terms of race. They resided in both townships and suburban areas surrounding Johannesburg, except for one participant who did not live in Johannesburg but travels to Johannesburg on a weekly basis for work. The reason for this diversity of participants is that I am also interested in understanding the intersectionality between race, class, and sexuality (Moolman, 2013) in the negotiation of social spaces. The sample size was determined through the process data saturation. Saturation is when the researcher is unable to get any newer data, and no new themes arise from the addition of more research participants. This study reached data saturation when it became apparent that there were no new emerging themes after the completion of ten interviews.

The sampling strategy that I used was a non-probability snowballing sampling method. In a non-probability sampling method, not every member of the population has an equal chance of being included in the research sample because the researcher does not necessarily have to begin with members of the target population specified prior (Huck, 2012). A non-probability sampling method means that not every person who identifies as queer in Johannesburg had an equal

[3] Here, coloured is used based on participants use of the label. This is not meant to replace the black Consciousness formulation of race in South Africa where black people included those whom the apartheid governments had classified as African, 'coloured' and Indian.

opportunity to be part of the study. Snowballing sampling is when participants help the researcher to recruit other participants through a chain-referral system (Etikan, Alkassim & Abubakar, 2016). The reason I used this sampling strategy is because I was looking at specifically employed queer people, hence not everyone who identifies as queer could be included as part of the sample. I used Facebook and Instagram to recruit potential participants. I posted details of the study on my personal Facebook and Instagram accounts, and requested that people share the post so that it reaches more people. I also shared the post directly with some of my Facebook and Instagram friends on their Facebook and Instagram direct messages and asked them for referrals to people who they may know who are willing to participate. I also posted details of the study on the Wits Activate[4] WhatsApp group and asked for referrals to potential participants. I recruited one participant through a referral from a colleague. Furthermore, I got two of the research participants through a referral from a friend. One participant I recruited in person at a queer non-government organisation that I frequent.

[4] Activate is a University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) association of queer students.

Research participants

The table below is a list of all the people who took part in the study, with pseudonyms. It contains demographic characteristics such as sexual orientation, age, race, class position and the place where participants live.

Participant	Queer Identity	Age	Race	Class position	location
Thandi	Lesbian	44	black	Working class	Soweto
Nate	Transgender man	24	White	Middle class	Sunninghill
Vincent	Gay	35	Coloured	Middle Class	Newlands
Lebo	Transgender woman	33	black	Working Class	Soweto
Peter	Gay	31	black	Working Class	Alexandra
Charlotte	Transgender woman	34	White	Middle Class	Carletonville & Johannesburg
Sindisiwe	Lesbian	32	black	Middle Class	Fourways
Moagi	Gay	30	black	Working Class	Tembisa
Bongani	Gay	30	black	Middle Class	Randburg
Mandy	Lesbian	29	Coloured	Working Class	Westbury

Table 1: Participant demographics

Table one shows that ten participants were interviewed for this study. Of these, three identified as lesbian, four identified as gay, two identified as transgender women and one identified as a transgender man. The preceding table provides the labels of lesbian, gay and transgender for ease of understanding the sample characteristics as broad rather than as a means of static categorisation. The average age of participants was 32 and the eldest was 44 years old while the youngest was 24. Six participants identified as black, two identified as coloured and two identified as white. Five participants identified as working class and lived in townships and five identified as middle class and lived in suburbs.

Data Collection

Interviewing

Data collection was done through semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews do not consist of fixed questions with a fixed order, but rather the interviewer has a few guiding questions and the other questions emerge as the interview unfolds (Haslam & McGarty, 2003). The reason I used semi-structured interviews is to allow for a discursive discussion of queer identity as this allowed for the probing of the interviewee's responses. Due to the Corona virus pandemic and the need to physically distance in order to halt the spread of the virus, it was not always possible to conduct face-to-face interviews at the time data collection commenced. In such cases, face-to-face interviews were substituted with video call interviews through WhatsApp video call and voice call; two of the interviews were conducted over WhatsApp video call and one was over WhatsApp voice call because the participant is visually impaired and had never used WhatsApp video call before. While I did offer the three participants a re-bate on the data they used for the interview, they all declined the offer. The rest of the seven interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis, with masks and physical distancing; two of the interviews were conducted at my home, while the other four were conducted at the participants' homes. All 10 interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the participants. The interviews took between an hour, and two hours and thirty minutes. All 10 interview recordings were then transcribed verbatim and recordings and transcripts were stored in a password protected computer. The guiding interview questionnaire, participant information sheet, participant consent form, and recording and quotation consent form are included in the appendices.

Visual representations of queer lives

Holliday (2000) contends that a thorough investigation of culture in contemporary societies needs to examine both text and experience, and the interplay between these two. Examining the interplay between text and experience not only allows us an understanding of how identities are constructed and displayed through cultural production, it also allows us to understand the meanings attached to cultural products used to construct identity and how identity is mapped out through those products. In addition to interviews, I also explored how queer identities are visually constructed and displayed. I did this by examining participants' posts from a social

media platform. In the social media platform which I examined, users can share content in the form of pictures and videos. Users follow each other and are able to see content from users that they follow. Users have the option to make their accounts either public or private. If a user decides to make their account private, their content will only be available to users who follow them. If they opt to keep their accounts public, any other user is able to access and view their content. Users can like and comment on the content of other users who they follow or users with public accounts. There is also an option where users can share the content of other users to other social media platforms. Users can also interact with each other privately through a direct messaging option. There is an explore option where users can browse content from other accounts of users they do not follow if their accounts are public (Duguay, 2015). I requested participants to choose two or three pictures from their social media accounts that are of significance to them. I then asked participants to reflect on these pictures. They did this through framing stories around the pictures or giving a critical stance of the photographs. Questions such as what was happening in this photograph? How do you think this picture portrays who you are/ your identity? How does this picture relate to your life? What intervention, if any, did you intend for this photograph to make in the world? These questions were asked to aid participants in their reflections. Initially for the first two interviews I did this process at the end of the interview, for the remaining 8 interview I did this process at the beginning of the interview. This helped in establishing rapport with the participants and the interview then followed the direction of the emerging stories told by the participants about their pictures and we reflected on those stories. This is a process suggested by Wang & Burris (1997) and Wang (1999) for a photovoice method, which is meant for community participation research based projects (Wang & Burris, 1997). Although I was not conducting a photovoice method, I borrowed some principles from it. This queered my research methodology by recognising and appreciating that the social field is constituted by the textual and visual. Exploring social media also afforded an appreciation of the multiple ways of identity representation, that traditional research methods would not otherwise be able to uncover (Holliday, 2000). An analysis of social media accounts enabled an understanding of how queer identities are constructed and represented in virtual spaces and how they take up and repurpose this space. Combining interviews with an analysis of visual representation on social media also allowed for a reflection on the meanings attached to these visual representations as they subsequently become intertwined with identity narratives

(Holliday, 2000). While social media is freely occurring and accessible data, permission was sought to analyse participants social media accounts. Importantly, they practised agency in selecting the three photographs for analysis themselves.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was done using discourse analysis. Parker (2013) defines discourse as a set of statements that construct an object. For Foucault, discourse is located in both a set of practices and ways of speaking which construct an object (Ussher & Perz, 2014). Discourse can therefore be seen as a set of interactions through which meaning is created, through either practice, statements, or language. Discourse analysis entails an analysis of the ways in which subjects use language, statements, or practice to articulate a particular subject at a given time, within a given social context (Van Dijk, 2006). The focus of analyses for discourse analysis is how subjectivity is produced, negotiated, and deployed through language and practice, in everyday situations. It is interested in how people use language and how they manage social interaction. I have followed the following steps in conducting a discourse analysis: firstly, all the interviews were transcribed verbatim, they were then read alongside the interview recordings; this was to get a feel of how text is used. A similar process was followed for participants' reflections of their social media visual representations. The next step was to develop a coding frame by selecting material for analysis, both text and visual, using the research questions as a guide, and organizing the themes into coded data. The coding of the themes for visual representations commenced during the data collection stage, as indicated in the above section. Finally, the coded data was analysed through reading and re-reading of the coded data and asking particular questions aimed understanding the functional aspect of discourse. Some of the questions that I asked included; how are subjects and objects constructed in text? What is the discursive context in which subjective accounts are produced? What are the contradictions and variations in the accounts? Are there any particular discursive themes that can be identified (Ussher & Perz, 2014)? In discourse analysis, analysis and the write up process cannot be separated; instead the analysis is further refined and clarified in the write-up process. Though these are the step suggested for a discourse analysis, Billing (1997) argues that methodological guidelines applied in conducting a discourse analysis should not be rigid, suggesting a fluidity in how discourse analysis can be conducted.

Reflexivity

Warner (2004) argues that for a queer methodology to work the researcher needs to be reflexive in how they constitute the object of study. This is because queer methodology hinges on not having any presumptions of subjectivity from the onset. This requires a researcher to reflect on their role in knowledge production. To this effect, I am positioned as a 28-year-old black, gay, middle class man, who resides in a suburban area in Johannesburg and embraces a queer identity. I grew up in a working class family, moving between Durban and Johannesburg townships. This is important as it enables me to approach this study from a point of insider knowledge that informs my approach to the study. My current class positioning and background aided in establishing rapport with my participants from both middle and working class backgrounds, as I could identify with both to a certain extent. I position myself as a queer person and as an ally to other queer people. I am part of a broader queer community and this enabled me to more easily approach potential participants and this meant that I knew some of the participants whether directly or indirectly through shared networks of queer friends or through social media, so it was easier to establish a rapport and participants seemed to be generally free and comfortable to share their stories.

Research Ethics

I applied the principle of informed consent. This means that participants were briefed on what the study is about and that participation entailed partaking in an interview with me. After the briefing, the participants signed an informed consent sheet. Participants were informed that they will not be anonymous to me because of face-to-face interviews or have a video call interview, and that I will also request for their social media accounts handles. Participants were informed that their identities will be kept confidential to readers; only the researcher and the research supervisor will have access to the interview data and their social media pictures collected for analysis. By its nature, a visual analysis of their representation of their subjectivities on social media implies that their pictures will form part of the analysis and they will be included in the final write-up, some of which might be pictures of the actual participants. In instances where the

visual representations are pictures of the actual participants, I have blurred out their faces and any other identifying information. I have used pseudonyms in the write-up. In instances where the visual representations are not pictures of the actual participants, they might still be traced back to the specific social media account in which they were posted, for this reason anonymity to readers cannot be guaranteed. Rodham and Given (2006) suggest that a common practice when using data from open online platforms is to not name the forum used. In the write-up I have not stated the name of the social media platform the visual representations are from, I have used just social media instead to limit possible tracing. However, there is no foreseeable harm in not guaranteeing anonymity as these visual representations are already posted on a public platform accessible to members of society, and Jowett (2015) argues that when posting on an online public platform, users usually do so with the expectation that their posts will be accessible to strangers. I informed participants that they could withdraw their participation from the study at any point, should they feel uncomfortable or uneasy with their participation or the use of their pictures. This way, I upheld the principle of do no harm. I also requested for consent from the participants to audio record the face-to-face and telephonic interviews. In the case of video call interviews, I offered participants data bundles and I informed them that the data is not a form of compensation for participating in the research, but is to make sure that they do not get disadvantaged financially by participating in this research. The participants declined the offer for data compensation. I informed the participants that data from the interviews, their visual representations, and the recordings will be kept safe in a password protected computer and that the data will only be used for the purpose of this research and might be used for future research as well. Ethical clearance was obtained from the University's Human Research Ethics Committee (non-medical), with protocol number: MAPSYC/20/02. The research report will be made available to participants on request. It will however also be accessible from the University library portal after the research has been successfully examined.

In this section I have shown that this study employed a queer methodology which is multiple and fluid. This allowed for subjectivity to be uncovered as experienced and represented by participants. The study uses a qualitative approach within the interpretive and critical social science paradigms, and is both exploratory and descriptive in nature. I employed a non-probability sampling strategy in which 10 participants with diverse queer identities were sampled. Data collection was done through semi-structured interviews and through an analysis of

participants' visual representations of their lives on social media. The data was then analysed using discourse analysis. Ethical clearance was obtained from the university's Human Research Committee (non-medical) before data collection commenced.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this section I share and discuss the findings from the 10 transcribed interviews and analysis of social media. The findings are organised into three recurring themes in the data. The three themes are gender identity and sexual orientation: wild queers and shifting selves; assertion of identity and safety (psychological & physical): unspoken queer parameters; and queering space and negotiating compulsory heteronormativity: queer mothering and gender trouble.

Gender identity and sexual orientation: wild queers and shifting selves

In terms of sex, participants identified either woman, man, transwoman, or transman. In relation to sexuality, participants identified as either as gay or lesbian, one participant at some point in his life identified as a straight transman. While gender denotes the socially constructed characteristics used to describe and differentiate between masculinity and femininity, sexual orientation denotes one's pattern of romantic or sexual attractions (Rahman & Jackson, 2010). The central idea under this theme is that gender and sexual identities are not stable concepts. This is to suggest that they change over time with exposure to more knowledge about queerness and gender, and with experience and experimentation of what feels right and what does not. Perhaps the transgender participants best illustrate the instability of gender and the limitations of available nomenclature.

> "So, like I've gone from identifying as bi, to then identifying as lesbian, and to then identifying as like a straight trans man, to like exploring Grindr because we all get a bit too bored, you know, like figuring out kind of what my attraction to men as a man looks like". Nate

Nate's sense of gender and sexuality has been changing over the years in ways that mark his transition and fluidity. He described both his gender and sexual orientation as unstable and shifting identities. These have changed over time with personal growth and new understandings of the self from various sources including the different spaces and communities of practice that he engages with, such as his girlfriend, teachers and learners at the school where he works, other queer people on campus, Grindr, social media, and queer spaces in Melville. There is an understanding that sexual and gender identities are different from each other. For instance, Nate

identifies as a gay transman. Here we observe that sexual attraction is separated from gender identification. This coheres with Butler's (2011) assertion that gender does not collate with sexuality in the ways we have come to expect.

Societal understandings of gender and sexual identities play a role in the identification and construction of queer identities. This is illustrated in Lebo's account of how she came to understand who she was as a transgender woman:

> "From a very young age I have always known that I was a woman, like being gay was never in me. At 15, I already knew that I was a woman but we called it gay because that is what it was being called. But I did my own research and found out about transitioning and I went to see different psychologists and they approved me for transitioning." Lebo

In the preceding excerpt, Lebo explains that she is not gay, but used to identify as gay for quite a while because that is how society viewed her, even though she felt like she was a woman. She is now taking hormones as part of her transitioning process. Below, we observe that through the limitations of available nomenclature, queer people like Lebo who embrace and enjoy femininity are referred to as wild as they trouble not only sexuality and but gender as well. The term wild is used to denote queers who contravene normative conceptions of gender to the extreme. The limited nomenclature in Lebo's case worked to erase her transness as a valid gender identity and relegated it to a stage performance persona.

> "We used to call ourselves drag queens before we started taking hormones. When you are wild they call you a drag queen." Lebo

For Charlotte, also a transgender woman, drag queen means something different to gender or sexuality. It is rather a stage performance persona.

> "So this is where my identity becomes more complex. I used to identify as a drag queen. I still do, but only as a performer. Okay, so there are transgender women out there who are not familiar with the language of transgender and non-binary and, you know, language usage is often like rooted in class, you know. So something that I've had to learn is that you get transgender women who call themselves drag queens, but actually they're transgender women. Yeah, because the strict definition of drag queen is usually a

performer, a male, a cis male, that performer or gay usually, but you do get a straight man who do drag as well, and you get women and lesbians who do drag as well." Charlotte

Charlotte and Lebo point to the varying understandings and constructions of queer identities and the role of society in those constructions. The organisation of these societies according to race and class plays a role in how queer is constructed. Charlotte and Lebo have different understanding of what a drag queen is. These understandings are based on both class and race.

In the cases of Lebo and Charlotte, both transgender women, class plays a role in the understand their gender identities. Since race and class always go together in this context, it can be argued that both Lebo and Charlotte's conceptions and understanding of themselves as transgender women is informed by both their race and class habitus. Ultimately, this informs the kind of knowledge and spaces they each have access to. Lebo grew up in a township in Soweto. During the interview, she kept on going back and forth by referring to herself as both gay and Trans, even though she ultimately identifies as a transgender woman and embodies the habitus of a transgender woman. She attributed being 'gay' to societal understandings of what a gay person is. Growing up in Soweto, the understanding of gay was someone who is born male but behaves like a girl. As a result, Lebo grew up believing that she was gay because that is what people around her labelled her as. This is despite the fact that she did not quite understand it and it never really felt like who she was. The gay label made sense to her because the only other alternative to her was a straight identification. However, she knew that she was not straight so she took up the gay label even though she could not fully identify with it. It was only when she was older and got to learn that there are transgender women, that she was able to explore and embrace this point of identification. Lebo suggests that she has always had a true self; her gender identity has always been a transwoman, it is only the labels around that have changed throughout the years.

The techniques of power used to label Lebo as gay are through the processes of labelling and confession as described by Foucault. This hands over the power to label desire to another person deemed more knowledgeable thereby giving them power to determine truths about who can be defined as gay and create a discourse around what is normal behaviour and what isn't in terms of gender performativity and sexual orientation (Callis, 2009). Musangi (2018) has shown that the imposition of labels often does not align with African people's actual experiences. Naming worked to construct Lebo as both a gender and sexual deviant. This is taken up by her father

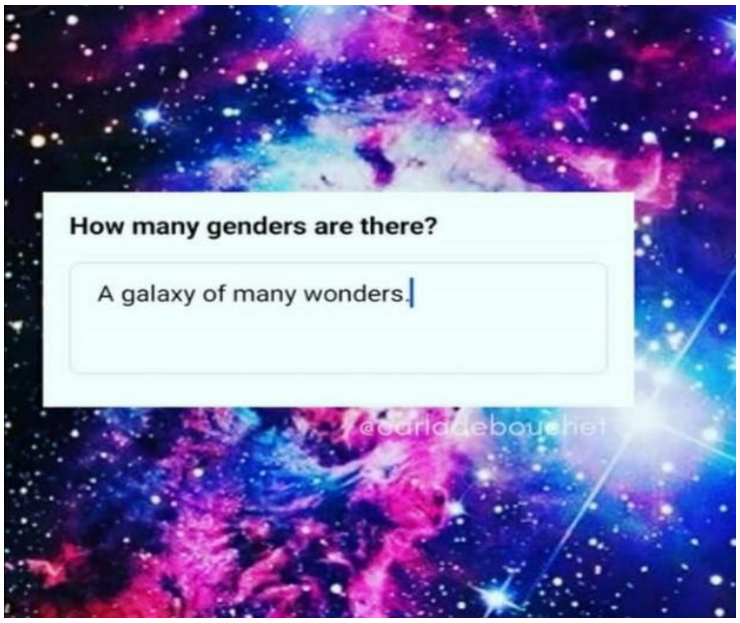
when he rejected her as someone who can legitimately continue the family name. This is because family ideals are not reserved for people who fall out of what is deemed to be the gender and sexual norms in society. From a very young age, her gender identification deemed her as someone not fit to have a family life, her gender and sexuality orients her away from societal ideals of what family should look like (Ahmed, 2006).

While Charlotte points to the idea that language and talk are important in the construction of subjects and subjectivity, when she says that, most transgender women identify as drag queens when in actual fact they are just transgender women. This understanding is mostly rooted in class. For Charlotte, who does drag performances, being a drag queen is a performance that can be done regardless of gender and sexual orientation; it is something that one chooses to do. It is a queer practice that does not correspond to defined lines. However, for Lebo, the drag queen is a label that is used for 'gay' people who are seen as wild and show more effeminate attributes. It is conferred upon by society based on how one behaves. In a drag show, a drag artist would typically impersonate either a woman or a man. In Lebo's field, being queer is translated into impersonating a woman just as a drag artist would by entertaining others. As a result her habitus as a transgender woman is informed by these conceptions of a drag queen impersonating a woman to the extreme or 'wild' which pushes boundaries of what is societally acceptable for not just queer people but also for women in general. The wild habitus is reserved for queers who push the boundaries of what is acceptable. Here, we can read being 'wild' as a queer performance.

The labeling of a transgender woman as gay or a drag queen also shows the limited usage of both gender and sexuality to the confines of the binary, where bodies are either seen as male or female, gender performativity is either masculine or feminine, and sexual orientation is either heterosexual or homosexual. These binaries restrict the possibilities of in-betweens and movement. These are in turn used as important indicators of social dynamics that affect behaviour, attitudes, identities, and life chances (Valocchi, 2005). In their restrictions, they have produced a recognizable habitus for certain groups of people, regardless of whether they are deemed socially acceptable or not. For example, the labeling of Lebo as both gay and a drag queen, even though she does not perform drag, comes from this understanding of a gay habitus – gay people look a certain way, dress in a certain way and behave in a certain way, and the only

variation is based on how feminine one presents. Those who are deemed to be presenting as extremely feminine are labeled as drag queens. This is the habitus that is understood and is intelligible to society. This is something that Charlotte contests in one of her social media pictures where she suggests that sexuality is as infinite as the galaxy. The queer habitus that Charlotte puts across does not need to conform or align to anything because the possibilities for gender and sexuality are so many that they cannot just be confined to just our understanding of how things should be, and just like a galaxy there are probably still so many variations and queer experiences that we are yet still to learn about and explore. The idea of queer is that it isn't a straight line, it can go in any direction and it can skew in ways that it has never done before.

Charlotte contests the idea that gender is limited to just the binary. She articulates this in her social media post which questions how many genders there are.



She argues that gender is a spectrum in a sense that:

> "It's if you look at a galaxy, there are so many stars, there's so many colors, and there are so many lights. It speaks to there being so many possibilities, you know, and that a queer person's experience is fluid. It is varied. And those variations do often do not comply to the social order." Charlotte

If we look at the galaxy, it not only opens up to the possibility of multiple worlds but it also points us to the idea that there is still so much that we do not know yet, so much that is still yet to

be discovered. It opens us up to the idea that what we know to make sense today is only a tiny drop in the ocean because there so many more ways of being and of sense making that we are still yet to discover. What the galaxy also points us to is the idea that our knowledge and understanding of the universe is never fully complete or unified. For Charlotte, the possibilities for gender are as infinite as the galaxy. Since our understanding and knowledge of something that we deem as a universal fact and as naturally occurring, such as the solar system, has been changing over the past decades with discovery and changes in science, we are compelled to question how something so socially constructed as gender hasn't evolved and is still limited to the binary. We now know that it cannot be limited to just the binary as we see differing multiple forms of gender representations and gendered ways of being. The natural sciences have embraced the chaotic nature of the galaxy and the universe as an object of study. This is because in the chaos of the universe, earth makes sense for life as we know and understanding it. However, that does not mean other lives outside of our conception are irrelevant or non-existent because we cannot conceive of the kind of conditions that would make them possible. Perhaps gender is just as chaotic hence, it could never be contained within the binary and should be embraced as such, because in the chaos there is sense for people like Charlotte and Lebo.

A queer habitus embraces the multiple-ness of gender, the 'doesn't make sense yet', the undiscovered, the alien to societal conceptions of how gender and sexuality look, the endlessness of possibilities of what could be. An emphasis on gender as a social construct points to its disposition towards alterability upon discovery of new ways of being. Therefore, while some participants critique layperson understandings of 'drag queens', it is worthwhile to contemplate their radical potential. In this regard, drag points to alterability and performative identities. Drag is irreverent and mocks rather than respects gender (Tornado, 2021; Shapiro, 2007). Therefore, 'drag queens' might be seen as embracing the ethos of multiplicity of something that 'doesn't make sense yet' and as a performative transgressive refusal to arrive at certainty. Drag disturbs space and intervenes to confuse rather than to confirm.

My transgender participants demonstrate a queer habitus that embraces variation and not following the straight line. However, this does not mean a queer habitus is immune from the straight line. This is because of imposed heteronormativity in how social space is constituted. Ahmed (2006) argues that bodies take shape by tending towards objects that are within reach,

and other objects become relegated to the background in order to maintain an orientation towards certain objects. Ahmed further observes that by looking at phenomenology we can understand how history can shape the kind of comportment, postures and gestures that bodies perform. History happens with the repetition of these performances. This recalls Butler's (1992) assertion that gender is a performative repetition. It also coheres with Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and the field. The labour behind these kinds of bodily comportments, gestures and postures disappears with the repetition and they start to appear as though they happen effortlessly (Ahmed, 2006). What is important to note behind these seemingly effortless repetitions is that a straight line may be forged.

Sindisiwe uses her gender performativity to communicate her sexual orientation because for her these two identities intersect:

> "… with androgynous, its mostly the way you present yourself, what you chose to wear and how you carry yourself and also as a lesbian, it's more like okay, you are in to women, that's like the first thing you think about when you talk about lesbians. And I mean, those two identities intersect in a way because as a lesbian you can choose how you present yourself in the world. So it's being a lesbian first and then androgynous. Being the androgynous kind of a lesbian." Sindisiwe

In this extract, Sindisiwe explains that her gender identity is androgynous and her sexual orientation is lesbian. There is a separation between gender and sexual orientation. She attributes the way she presents her identity to the spaces that she frequents such as GALA and learning from other queer friends at University.

> "I had those fears and stuff like that but I've gotten very comfortable with my identity and me being disabled and being queer does not really affect how I want to represent myself. I mean, I consider myself androgynous. I dress that particular way, from the way I dress people sort of like tell like this person does not have a normal life sexuality or something like that. But for me, it's a matter of being comfortable in the way I present myself so I have no hang ups around that. I mean, disability is there, it's obvious but my sexuality is not obvious. But the way that I present myself is more like saying out there "I'm queer and I'm actually proud," I have nothing to hide." Sindisiwe

For Sindisiwe, who describes her gender representation as androgynous and her sexual orientation as lesbian, the two identities intersect because they are the first thing that comes to mind when you think lesbian for her. Even though there are varied ways that one can embody being lesbian, presenting as androgynous makes it easily visible to most people because there are other lesbian women currently and before her who presented in the same way. Following Ahmed (2006), one might say that she is oriented towards a particular path. While other markers of her identity, such as her race and her disability are always there, she can't hide them because they are obvious, her sexual orientation only becomes obvious through bodily representation that she shares with others of a similar field or sexual orientation. For Foucault (2019), knowledge and power are used to create certain kinds of subjects and subjectivities. Sindisiwe uses this knowledge of how people generally perceive women who present as androgynous to assert a proud and visible lesbian identity. This is the lesbian habitus that is understood in the different communities of practice and fields that she engages in. She uses this knowledge and gender performativity to adjust the habitus accordingly when she engages with these different communities of practice and fields (Wacquant, 2004). For example, when she goes home to the Eastern Cape, she is aware that her gender performance has to be different. Even though they know that she is queer, she has to engage with that field in manner that is socially accepted as the norm for gender performativity. The existence of this knowledge about what queer should look like, aligns queer to a certain straight line that makes it readily identifiable as queer.

In this theme I have argued that both gender and sexual orientation are not stable concepts, but change with self-discovery and through engagement with different fields. A queer habitus embraces variety in both gender and sexual attractions that cannot be limited to binary configurations of gender. Society plays a role in how different queer bodies get to understand themselves as queer and in how they then present themselves. These understandings of queer are negotiated through class and race. Although queer embraces variation and multiplicity, it is not immune to the straight line as through repetitive performance of queered ways of being, a straight line can emerge. However, the defining feature of queer is that the line may zigzag and alter. This is to suggest that like the galaxy, being queer presents infinite possibilities.

Assertion of identity and safety: unspoken queer parameters

The central idea under this theme is that spaces have the potential to bring queer people together and to affirm their identities and create a sense of belonging, while fostering a sense of physical and psychological safety. However, queer spaces are not equally affirming or even safe to all queers. Other spaces that are not necessarily queer might be sought out with the purpose of finding comfort and safety for queer people within these spaces. However, these spaces come with certain limitations that still need to be negotiated.

Moagi gives an account of how queer visibility on certain days in heterosexual spaces, such as Busy Corner, has fostered a sense of safety. As a result, he is now able to go there even on days when queer people are not visible in large numbers. Busy Corner in Tembisa, north of Johannesburg is a queer friendly heterosexual space. However, Sunday's are considered queer days as the queer community occupies the space in larger numbers. Although Busy corner represents a space of safety for queers like Moagi, outside of queer spaces, the space is not without limitations. Even though the field at Busy Corner has transformed to be more accommodating to queers through practice, queers in the space still experience a restricted habitus.

> "I want to dance with a guy without being worried about someone in their little corner looking at you, and seeing there's a limit to how long this can go for or what this can look like and what happens if you cross that line. And so I think about these things. I think about those things that I think if straight people can enjoy spaces and be able to do all of that, why can't I? You can't do that. You know, you have to be very, you have to find a moment those spaces. Straight people don't have to find a moment. Any moment is a good moment for them to, you know, be themselves" - Moagi

Moagi explains that for him as a gay man, when he is in spaces that are not necessarily for queer people like Busy Corner, he has to wait for the right moment to ask a guy out. He cannot just walk up to a guy and start talking to them. However, the same is not true for straight people in

those spaces because they do not have to worry about their safety in the same manner that queer people have to.

Bourdieu defined fields as complex sets of individual and group relations within a particular context. The field and habitus produce each other in that while the habitus is produced through the embodiment of the field, the habitus also contributes in defining and creating meaning out of the field. In essence, while we draw knowledge from the field and internalise it into a socially made body, we also draw from this knowledge when interacting with the field (Idahosa, 2019). For instance, Moagi, a gay working class man, gives an account of how the queer habitus plays out in a field where the queer habitus is allowed but within unspoken defined parameters that are dictated by imposed heteronormativity. This occurs when he has to wait for the right moment at Busy Corner before walking up to a person to ask them out because he has to consider whether it is safe to do so first. He recognises that heterosexual people never have to worry about the consequences of asking the 'wrong' person out. These are concerns for both physical and psychological safety. The safety vetting process includes making sure that the guy is also actually gay before approaching them to avoid possible humiliation, coming out as offensive, or even violence.

> "I've also never gone to Busy Corner and felt unsafe, whether I was there on a Friday, on a Saturday or Sunday, whether it wasn't a day that had a lot of gay people present. I've never been there and felt unsafe. And as a result of that, I find it easier for me to keep going even if I don't go on a Sunday. But of course, I prefer going on Sundays as well now." Moagi

The history of this space, as a place that is reserved for heterosexuality, has defined boundaries of what is sayable and not sayable, thinkable and unthinkable for queer people (Rose, 1988). However, Moagi notes that Busy Corner is generally safe for the expression of a queer habitus because there are even days when there are more queer people present and that has made it easier for him to keep going back and prefers to go there. On Sunday's in particular, patrons know that the space is not only marked as queer but that is oriented around a queer habitus.

Vincent shares an experience of a restricted queer habitus in the church. Everyone in the church knows that he is gay because he does not hide it and he has never experienced homophobic

sentiments in relation to his sexual orientation at the church. He attributes that to his gender performativity as he presents as a cis gender man:

> "They can be very accepting. You find those other guys in the church who are feminine and people will pull up their noses just like, 'oh, look at that one or this one is gay or that one is a moffie' or whatever. You find that. But then I think because for me personally, because I am the way that I am, they are more accepting, they are very, very accepting." – Vincent

He attributes his acceptance to his gender performativity because he has noticed how some of the older women from the church would 'pull up their noses' when other queer people who are not cis gender presenting come to the church. Even though they would not verbally say anything, because the church is supposed to be welcoming to everyone who comes in, their facial expressions clearly mark the space as heteronormative and non-inviting. The parameters are drawn around the level of disruption that various queer bodies present to the space. Queers who disrupt the heteronormativity of church are frowned upon. Vincent's cis gender performance is less threatening to the church because it does not disrupt the established gender norms. Vincent only disrupts established sexual norms within the church, which is less visible compared to queers who disrupt both gender and sexual norms. Therefore, while the queer habitus can be expressed to a certain extent in the church because ones physical safety is not going to be threatened, there are psychological consequences for transgressing gender boundaries. These consequences include the shame as a consequence of the disgust presented through people pulling up their nose at one's sight. There are also psychological consequences for conformance such as having to live with a suppressed identity. Idahosa (2019) argues that acceptance, equality, inclusion and having valued dispositions in the field, signify an open door. The opposite must imply a shut door. Queers who are disruptive and are incompatible with the habitus of the church experience a shut door through the unwelcoming gestures that are meant to confirm that they do not belong in the church. Yuval-Davis (2004) refers to these practices as boundary policing and Puwar (2004) conceives of those against which the door is shut as space invaders. But because material violence is also not in line with the church habitus, those invested in heterosexual dominance resort to symbolic violence. Though Vincent navigates the church through a cis gender performance, he engages other fields and communities of practice, such as

home when he is with family, when he goes out with his boyfriend, or when he is at the mall and on social media, through a more expressive queer habitus that embraces the idea that gender is not limited to the man and woman binary. He shops at the female section of clothing shops and every now and then wears make up and posts it on social media. Vincent shared pictures of himself wearing makeup in the images.



He transgresses with the purpose of sending a message that clothing and make up are not limited or reserved for a certain gender. For Vincent, anyone can look however they want to look and dress in whatever way they want to dress. In these spaces, it is about his comfort and not about what other people find comfortable.

Sindisiwe is able to assert and comfortably present a queer habitus at work because there are other colleagues who are also queer and they have collectively made the space to be comfortable for themselves. This is aided by the fact that there are laws , which guard against discrimination in the workplace in South Africa. Visible acts of symbolic violence such as pulling up noses would count as workplace discrimination and people are aware of that, so they don't do it.

> "…working with open-minded people in the workplace, they can't really, even if they don't really necessarily agree with queerness or they are homophobic, they can't really be homophobic. It is sort of like, it's a principle—you just can't be homophobic in the workplace that's it. Its legal to be queer in South Africa so it will be a form of discrimination. I mean it also helps that I work with, I don't know, I work with a lot of

> doctors but I don't want to say this, that people who are educated are more open minded but they know how to hide their homophobic thoughts or whatever it is. They hide their homophobia quite well in the workplace but obviously you don't know how they are beyond the workplace." Sindisiwe

Sindisiwe can be freely queer at her workplace compared to when she is at her home in the Eastern Cape. She attributes this to having queer colleagues, and that this has afforded her a sense of safety and comfort. In addition, she attributes some of it to the fact that it is illegal to discriminate in the workplace. This means that people have to hide their homophobia. Here, we might suggest that the space has been queered even though the queer field is negotiated and bolstered by the presence of multiple queer bodies and legislation. This field is negotiated through class, which offers an additional layer of safety. Sindisiwe's workplace is generally a middle class space. This suggests that people are aware of the risks associated with homophobia and the possible damage to their career and livelihood if they transgress workplace codes of conduct and legislation.

Foucault (1978) argues that once certain truths and knowledge about a group of people have been determined through the confession and labelling process, a sex discourse is then created. This normalises some behaviours while marginalising other desires and those who embody them. However, once this discourse is internalised and accepted, it can be used by a group of people to seek and identify each other for a reverse discourse and creation of new and affirming self-identities. Discourses are created through power and knowledge. Counter-knowledge about queerness can be used by queer people to self-author counter discourses of queerness. In this sense, knowledge and discourse can be seen to be moving together as participants self-author what it means to inhabit a queer body and space. Sindisiwe uses her knowledge about being queer to give a bodily representation which says "I am queer and proud of it". This knowledge is attributed to some of the queer spaces, such as GALA and other queer friends from university, where she not only got to learn what it means to be queer, but she also found people she can relate to and identify with—how to present as and relate as queer. Through GALA and the university space, she acquired an androgynous lesbian identity, and is able to express it freely and safely within these spaces. She is also able to transfer this habitus to other communities of practice such as work, social media, and house parties organised by other queer people. All these

different communities of practice contribute to what she understands to be an androgynous lesbian identity. The creation of alternative safe spaces in the form of lesbian house visits on a rotational basis is another example of counter uses of marginalisation. These appropriated spaces such as the home become queered as a consequence of the possession and acceptance of counter knowledge. Dei (2000) and Sunganuma (2011) have similarly pointed to the uses of 'disoriented' and counter knowledges.

Lebo gives an account of how she uses knowledge about queer marginalization to navigate safety outside of queer spaces:

> "People would think that you deceive them, because they see you are beautiful and we don't explain that we are Trans, then you find yourself beaten up because people think you deceived them. My friend is versatile but dresses like a lady, so she found a guy and they went to the guy's place and we had to rush him to the hospital. So I think you need to tell a person upfront, just for your safety and they decide if they want to take you or not." Lebo

Lebo explains how clubbing spaces can be unsafe for transgender women. This is especially the case for clubs that are not necessarily for queer people. She recalled an experience of a friend who was transbashed because the guy felt that he was deceived because he did not know that Lebo's friend was a transgender woman. It is worth noting that Lebo describes her friend as versatile. This suggests that the she also defies stereotypical expectations of the sexual attractions and behaviours of transgender women. However, she also recalls that not all transgender women are necessarily unsafe because in some cases being seen as a woman can work to one's advantage, especially if she is not planning on going anywhere with the guy. When read as a woman, she can score free drinks for herself and her friends when she is dressed effeminately in one of the non-queer underground clubs in Johannesburg. She notes Buffalo Bills as one of the spaces that are safe for transgender women because queer people mainly frequent it. However, the limitations of queer spaces is that one is unlikely to pick up anyone there to 'hook up' with because the people who go there are just as interested in what she also wants in a guy—a guy who presents as masculine and 'manly'. To get the masculine guys that she wants, she has to go to places that are unsafe for transgender women. Taking risks exposes her to danger. Charlotte navigates safety in the Johannesburg inner city by dressing down and not wearing a lot of make-

up to ensure that she does not stand out as a transgender woman. She is aware that she already stands out as a white person in the inner city mostly occupied by black people. She recalled being more vulnerable in the inner city because of her race. As a result, she tries to avoid situations that may end up in a confrontation about her gender representation. This can be contrasted to when she is back at home in Carletonville where she has had a few confrontations and felt comfortable enough to respond to the confrontations. She navigates both these spaces through racialized and classed habitus which work differently is various spaces. Therefore, in the Johannesburg inner city, her middle class and racialized identity expose her to threat while these same attributes are protective factors in Carltonville. Although at face value it may seem like Lebo doesn't have to navigate race in both the inner city and Soweto, the absence or limited presence of other races in these spaces in both the city and Soweto deems these spaces as raced spaces. Segregation laws during apartheid reserved certain spaces for certain racial groups. The effects of that are still visible in the spaces Lebo frequents. This is controlled through class, as these spaces are mainly for working class people (Duncan, Stevens and Canham, 2014).

Once people are able to come together through the internalisation of a shared habitus within spaces and institutions, they are able to practice agency and assert their individual identities in various ways. They are also able to mobilize other marginalised identities for change and the gain of cultural capital, thereby assigning a different meaning to those identities (Valocchi, 2015). Sindisiwe experiences this at her workplace with other queer colleagues when they discuss how to be queer in the office and what to expect and not expect, actively asserting their identities while also creating a safe space for themselves as queers in the workplace. Moagi has found comfort at Busy Corner because of the presence of other queers on certain days. This has grown to the extent that he feels comfortable and safe to there even on days where there aren't so many queers. The normalisation of 'same sex' days like 'same sex Saturdays' at Great Dane and albeit unspoken, 'same sex Sundays' at Busy Corner, enables a queering of the spaces even if only fleetingly. Bongani, a gay man, also recalled feeling more confident and comfortable to participate in sports when he was in high school because his rugby coach was a gay man. He could be queer and still play sports without feeling that he was lacking in masculinity compared to the other boys. Navigating high school as a young gay man was also made easier by having other queers in the school and they were all popular because they were extroverts and they excelled academically, they were able to take up space because they also had the support and

protection of the teachers. For Thandi, a lesbian woman, working with other queer people across the continent has opened up her eyes to how unsafe the world still is to queers in other countries and as a result, she took up activism work to advocate for the importance of safe spaces for queers. These spaces would enable them to just be themselves and be able to assert and express their identities, and also share their stories, which they ordinarily would not share with other people in their lives because it is prohibited in their countries.

Social media has also been identified as one such space where queers can claim their identity and claim same sex love as it offers some level of safety. Sindisiwe noted social media as a safe space where she can comfortably be whomever she feels like she wants to be and claim her identity openly. Social media enables her to freely post pictures of her and her girlfriend:



> "So posting, I feel like it's very revolutionary because we like, we are claiming same sex love regarding that picture also and the identity you put there. I feel like it's actually quite easy to claim an identity on social media than it is in the real world. On social media you can pretty much be whoever you want to and I feel like that's the first safe space. Not to say it's safe but where you can feel comfortable about your identity and claim it openly." Sindisiwe

While social media enables her to safely claim queer love, it also enables her to claim interracial love in a society where that is still not as common, given our history of racial segregation. Just like Zanele Muholi's *Caitlin and I* (2009), Sindisiwe's picture with her girlfriend depicts a

moment that can only be publicly possible in post-apartheid South Africa (Matebeni, 2013). Whereas in apartheid South Africa the two women could have never been on the same beach together, let alone publicly share a kiss, in post-apartheid South Africa, they can take a picture together kissing on a beach in Cape Town. However, they are not always immune to backlash from both black and white people for crossing the racial line. In the past, they had an experience of racism in a restaurant where white patrons who were seated at the table next to theirs were saying racist things to each other about her while her partner was in the bathroom. Social media offered her some sense of safety from such confrontations. However, even on social media she has had to defend her relationship with a white woman. The intersection between the race, gender, and sexual orientation of the two women transgresses not just heteronormativity but also transgresses a racial order that was created in apartheid South Africa and maintained in post-apartheid South Africa. Sindisiwe not only trespasses by being in a white restaurant but by dating a white woman. She transgresses twice at the restaurant and that is met with racist talk of retribution. On social media, she is also reminded that her relationship disrupts the normative. However, as Sindiwe says, it is a revolutionary act to claim same sex interracial love, even on social media, because just like Muholi's *Caitlin and I*, it points us to a possible future of queer intimacy and desire that is without fear and threat (Matebeni, 2013). Nate is also in an interracial relationship. However, he did not report any racially charged backlash to their relationship. He also accounted for social media such as Grindr as a space where he could explore how being gay would look like for him as a transgender man should he want to explore this identity. He explored social media as a space where he can share and claim queer love with his girlfriend. This speaks to the generative and transformative potential of the queer habitus through engagement with different communities of practice (Wenger, 1999).

While being around other queer people and queer spaces can serve as a field for assertion of identity and safety for queers, it is not all queers who get to feel this way or are able to express their individual queer habitus in these spaces. Queer spaces for Sindisiwe do not always cater for her disability and they often present as ableist because they are not curated for a queer with a disability in mind and she always has to challenge them for not catering for people with disabilities. In her experience, she encounters queer and disability as separate identities. This is illustrated by a question that she was once asked by another queer person at one of the queer

spaces. Her peer asked if she really has to be black, queer, and disabled. The message that is sent to her in the violence of this question is that disability does not fit in with the queer habitus.

She gives an account of how she has to negotiate her disability in queer spaces because the two are never treated as intersecting identities:

> "I mean disability and queer are treated as two different identities where disability exists on its own and queer exist on its own. So it's sort of like treated singularly. But then now when you are disabled and queer, it's more like you don't really belong there. When you are in the queer spaces, it's more like ooh you are disabled and it doesn't cater, its only like for queer people and then you go to the disability space and it's like, this one is strictly dealing with disability so you sort of like floating in between. Cause they are never treated like intersecting identities mostly. Ja so, it's more like having to fight for your access to these spaces or claiming your identity in that sense. Like actually you can be both queer and disabled, that's a thing, that's really a thing because disabled people have the right to sexuality and they have sexuality even if its queer or heterosexual or asexual or whatever, you want to call it. Disabled people don't exist without sexuality, so does queerness." – Sindisiwe

Sindisiwe explains that her queer identity is always separated from her identity as a disabled person. The two identities are hardly ever seen as one; both queer spaces and spaces for disabled people do not cater for the two identities as one coherent identity. She recalled one experience where she attended a forum with GALA and after the forum one woman said she must pick her battles because she is already black, disabled, and now she's is queer too. This suggested that she should hide her queerness through gender performativity, since she cannot hide the fact that she is black and disabled. Just as Christopher Bell (2010) critiqued disability studies for excluding race by terming it 'white disability studies,' a similar criticism can be leveled at queer studies that do not see the intersections with disability and race. Sindisiwe finds that she is lost in the fissure of the intersections as she cannot be wholistically herself.

Lebo also experienced a similar exclusion at the Factory Bar, when she was turned away at the door because she did not look cis gender enough. She presented a 'gender trouble' for the space, while all her friends who looked a bit more cis gender were allowed in. She had to make sure that she looked a bit masculine the next time she went, but even then when she finally got in she

could not be fully comfortable because the field is reserved for cis gender gay men. Held (2015) argues that because previous research on safety focused on homophobic violence, heterosexual people ultimately became the focus of study as the threat to queer people's safety, however other identities that interact with sexuality can also impact on feelings of safety, especially in sexualised spaces. Previous studies done in the Manchester Gay Village in the UK, have shown that because of the desire to feel comfortable and because there has been so much pressure from heteronormativity outside of queer spaces, queers in queer spaces might find themselves making an effort to adapt so that they can be part of the space and be comfortable instead of just being themselves, because they can't go to heterosexual spaces. Queers might adapt themselves to follow certain queer styles, and a new identity is created through adaptations of the habitus (Held, 2015).

Under this theme I have argued that queer visibility in spaces that are not deemed to be for queer people can foster a sense of safety and comfort for queers in those spaces. However, queer people experience a restricted queer habitus in these spaces; especially queers who embody a disruptive queer habitus, because these spaces are still curated as heteronormative. Through engagement with different communities of practice, queers use knowledge about queer marginalisation to appropriate queer spaces in order to assert a queer identity and claim queer love. Race, class, sexuality, gender and disability play a role in how queers navigate safety within and outside of queer spaces. Although queer spaces can serve as a field for asserting a queer identity, not all queers have equal access to affirming queer spaces.

Queering space and negotiating compulsory heteronormativity: queer mothering and gender trouble

The common idea under this theme is that even though heteronormativity imposes itself as the default identity in everyday spaces, queers who create gender trouble remake spaces for their own habitation deform it. Heteronormativity works to legitimate certain identities while rendering others illegitimate in these everyday spaces. The repurposing of spaces that were previously reserved for heterosexual people through queer visibility and the creation of spaces where queer people can just exist outside of the demands and expectations of heteronormativity becomes important. This is because not all queer people can find safety and comfort through visibility in spaces that were previously reserved and marked as heterosexual.

Charlotte points to the idea of intimate relationships and intimate spaces, whether sexual or non-sexual, can aid in the process of being one's authentic self.

> "So I have a, I wouldn't say a drag mother, but like a Trans mother. And I would go to her house. I feel safest there because there are less people. My trans mother's name is Steph and she dresses up every single day. Yeah. And she's very glamorous. And so, she's a very sexual person. So I don't, I'm not going to get into what her and I have gotten up to. But. So. What, what makes a space cool for me is that it's private, that there, that we get to decide who comes into that space, you know? And if anybody becomes toxic or destructive, we have the agency to say you can leave because it's my friend's house and she doesn't tolerate more than two guests at a time, you know, so it's exclusive, but more like more intimate. Okay, so there's that thing of the more intimate the spaces, the more I feel like my more authentic self can come off like, yeah." Charlotte

Charlotte found out that she could be more of her authentic self as a transgender woman in an intimate space that she and her trans mother have created for themselves at the trans mother's house. To adopt a Tran's mother is to recreate kinship as relations of care and affirmation. Here we can read space as more than physical but as relational. Trans people like Charlotte not only alter their gender but their kinship structures. The private space gives them the agency to decide who comes in the space and also gives her a sense of safety to explore her sexuality. This space provides an escape from the daily-imposed heteronormativity that she experiences in public spaces. In public spaces, she is had to dress down and not wear make-up so as not to stand out as a transgender woman. In this private space dressing as her authentic self is encouraged and normalized. Whereas she experiences a restricted queer habitus in public spaces such as the Johannesburg inner city, the queer habitus has no restrictions in her Tran's mother's house.

Bondi (1998) argues that feminist geographers and feminist historians have always emphasized that the distinction between the city and the suburb are interlinked with the distinction between the private and the public, and both distinctions are imbued with ideas about gender divisions. The city signified a public domain associated with masculinity, social, economic, and political power. The suburb signified a private domain associated with femininity, dependence and middle-class domesticity. This feminist analysis is concerned with the ways in which the private and the public interlinks in men and women's lives and the role of class, ethnicity, race, age, etc.

In this feminist analysis, the gender divisions in which the distinctions between the public/ private and city/suburb are drawn is limited to the binary of man and woman. The man and the woman are a cis man and a cis gender woman. Transgender people are erased. This erasure is normalised by how the public is curated and the differing forms of disciplining those who transgress, which makes Charlotte want to dress down when going to the inner city. Transgender people like Lebo are also erased through talk that reduces them to drag artists. This erasure is rooted in heteronormativity. The heterosexist gaze works to ensure that transgender people either shrink themselves or they are completely erased in both public and queer spaces. For instance, Lebo was turned away at the Factory Bar because she did not look masculine and just like Charlotte, also had to dress down in order to gain entry. Private spaces such as Charlotte's Trans mother's house become places where Tran's identities can be affirmed and nurtured. For Lebo, private spaces such as friend's homes have offered identity affirmation, a safe way to party and have fun without the threat of violence, and have at many points provided a home for her when she didn't have a home because she was kicked out of home from when she was 16.

This distinction between private and public spaces illuminates the kind of 'acceptance' that queer people normally receive from society in general; that you can be queer so long as you keep it private. Both private and public spaces are gendered and sexualised in a sense that the private sphere is seen as the proper place for queers, because even though queer people may not be explicitly excluded from public spaces, heteronormativity works to ensure their exclusion and reserves public spaces for the heterosexual community and the performance of straight and cis behaviours and presentation. Thandi discovered a new world of queer activism through networks that her ex-girlfriend had created with other lesbian women in their area. They would meet at each other's houses on a rotational basis. These private meetings with other lesbian women created a space where they can connect with each other and share stories, while also discussing serious political issues that affect lesbian women within their community and other burning issues affecting queer people from different places across the continent. This reflects the development of a queer sisterhood that emerges in spaces of activism (Honkasalo, 2016). As a consequence of being immersed in activist spaces, Thandi took up work in the queer activism space. Prior to being part of these meetings, she did not see a need for activism.

> “There were women who wanted to start FEW (Forum for the Empowerment of Women). It was supposed to be a support group of lesbians. A space where we would rotate houses to meet and talk about political issues instead of just chilling and drinking and stuff, let’s be political for a change. Keke was that type of a woman, she felt that she's an activist and what, what, and she wanted us to be part of it and I said I wasn't going and she said it's fine if you don't go but this time around, it's our turn to host this. So that's how I have to know Zanele Muholi and all these other lesbian activists back then. And then I stayed in their meetings or support groups or whatever.” Thandi

In the preceding excerpt, we see that space can serve multiple purposes that include social, entertainment and political needs (e.g. Matebeni, 2018). For example, while Thandi initially sort fellowship and relaxation in the lesbian social network of rotational hosting, she discovered activism through convening with lesbian women activists who discussed political matters affecting lesbian women in addition to ‘drinking and stuff’. The rotational hosting created safe spaces that asserted homonormative ways of being in a world that generally rewards and expects heteronormativity. This is an example of queer place making. Since homes are normally unsafe because of heteronormative expectations of the family, these women recreated home as a queer space of affirmation, relaxation and strategy. This echoes Charlotte’s Trans mothers’ home in the previous excerpt where dressing as women is normalized and safe. Here, homes can serve as islands of affirmation where queer ways of being prevail as normative. Koegler (2020) similarly points to the advent of queer homemaking in the black British context.

The adaptation of an individual habitus for the creation of a new identity is something that Thandi experienced through her relationship with her ex-girlfriend who introduced her to other lesbian women who were doing queer activism work. Before that she did not see the need for activism work or to be part of queer activism work. She recalled stories about her ex-girlfriend being part of a group of lesbian women who would organise nights where they would gather at each other’s house on a rotational basis and have catch up sessions that were also political. At first, she was not keen on the sessions until it was their turn to host the women. She found comfort, and the realisation of having safe spaces for other lesbian women enabled her to start creating other networks with other queer people from different queer organisations that were starting up during those days. Such spaces as these created by Thandi and her ex-girlfriend

became important for lesbian women. Skeggs (1999) argues that the way in which cities are coded can create belonging for certain groups of people while disadvantaging other groups. These groups can historically lay claim to space in the city through struggles for legitimation, which then gets institutionalised into social spaces. Queer people get to learn that most spaces in the cites where they reside, such as Johannesburg, favour heteronormativity.

Being part of the social gatherings increased Thandi's social capital in the lesbian and broader queer community, as she started interacting with more queer people and doing queer activism work. Skeggs (1999) found that in the Manchester gay village, gay men had much greater access to different forms of legitimate capital and claim to social space than lesbian women, because the patriarchal coding of the city created a greater sense of belonging for males in general. This can be said to be true to my participants who embody both a queer and female habitus, like Thandi, Sindisiwe, Charlotte, and Lebo. The public spaces of the city are not created for queer women. Although the women frequented some of the queer spaces in the city, it was mostly within intimate spaces and gatherings, such as house parties or intimate chill sessions organised by friends, where they most felt safe and comfortable.

Mandy gives an account of how heteronormativity imposes itself on her through how her gender and sexual orientation are always read, especially in her workplace which is a space that was previously reserved for men:

> "Everybody thinks I am a boy, unless like, obviously I don't have a problem with it. If that is the image I am giving off, but most of the time they will be like 'boykie' or refer to me as a boy, unless I like say 'actually no I am not' and they would be so shocked and look at my pants…" Mandy



Even though Mandy presents as queer, she is still read as a heterosexual man because the space is curated for heterosexual men. Mandy transgresses spaces by taking her identity into public spaces. If Thandi and Charlotte are examples of people who create private domestic islands of safety, then Mandy moves across these spaces. Mandy hits dissonant notes when she queers the field by moving against normative instantiations of space. She is however misread in line with prevailing heterosexual norms of gender expression. She elicits shock when she corrects those who misread her. As a lesbian woman, Mandy's gender performativity makes it difficult for people to read both her gender and sexual orientation. She recalled stories of how she has always passed as a boy from a very young age and even in adulthood, she still has to come out to people as a woman who is also lesbian. This is because by just looking at her people still assume that she is a straight man. Mandy works in a very technical environment and dresses in overalls for work. This space is already constituted for a certain gender and sexual identity that is male and straight. In the context of her work space she is unintelligible as a woman because of her physical embodiment that goes against what society insists on perceiving as the 'normal' or expected physical embodiments for a woman. Her body does not pass off as woman, because the space is reserved for and constituted by men. This goes along with Canham's (2017) contention that even spaces that are not sexual in nature, can emerge as highly sexualised and gendered for queer people. Mandy had to navigate her workspace through the heterosexual gaze and even be involved in conversation that were heterosexist in nature. This changes when people find out that she is actually a lesbian woman who is also a mother. It disrupts heteronormativity and alters

conversations. Men suddenly want to involve her more in conversations about dating as she is now seen as the expert in dating women since she is also a woman herself. She recalled similar experiences in her previous jobs. She reported analogous encounters on a daily basis at the bus stop, at the markets that she goes to for side work and also for leisure. This even happens in more intimate spaces such as her girlfriend's parents' house. She recalled a story about a woman she used to date and they would get away with her visiting at the woman's parents' house because the woman's mother thought that she was a straight man. Heteronormativity imposes itself on her by making her identifiable as a straight man, even though she identifies as a lesbian woman. Fraser (1999) argues that the power of whiteness lies not in its superiority, but rather in its normality. The same argument can be applied in relation to heteronormativity since everyone is assumed to be heterosexual unless they present as queer or come out as queer.

Heteronormativity works by legitimating and assigning capital value to certain forms of visual presence within a space, while making others seem illegitimate and therefore not worthy of visibility. Spaces are produced through decisions about what should be visible and what should not be visible (Fraser, 1999). Peter challenges this by insisting on not only going to gay clubs but also frequenting heterosexual spaces that have a queer visibility. Examples of the latter are the Fourways Farmers Market and *Shisa Nyamas*.

> "Why do you have to even tag a club to say this is only for gay people? No, you don't have to. But I think for other people it's easy because that's where they can get to know other people better that are of maybe the same aspects as they are or same person as they are, or others they would even go further to say it's a safe space for me to be myself one, it's a safe space for me to maybe to get a partner or whatever the case may be. But you can still get a partner in the field" - Peter

He believes that spaces should not just be reserved for queer or heterosexual people, but they should be for everyone. For him, there should not be a separation by sexual orientation and everyone should be equally represented and visible. Even though he hardly goes out, when he does go out he makes sure that, he is dressed 'nicely' and smells 'nicely'. He visually represents himself and performs his gender in a manner that makes it clear that he is queer. He disrupts heteronormativity by using the very same visual signifiers that heteronormativity has long used to distinguish and discriminate against queer people, to leverage on visibility to demand some

form of recognition and social justice for queer people (Fraser, 1999). He leverages on the queer habitus to transform the space. In such spaces, visibility is no longer just personal, it is also political as it claims the space and rejects the imposition of heteronormativity. Visibility becomes a strategy to disrupt heteronormativity and make queer normal outside of queer spaces.

Free uncontained queer visibility that also does not need to be political is ideally how the world ought to look, but gender, sexuality, class and race still intersects in ways that produce and privileges certain queers as more socially acceptable than others. Class and race play a significant role in terms of access to safe and identity affirming spaces for queer people (Canham, 2017). For working class queers like Lebo, places for identity affirmation and safety are still very limited. The threats for physical safety in pubs and taverns in Soweto is still very real, as she has witnessed it happen to her friends on certain occasions. For her to access a social space where she can relax, rewind and just be herself with other queers, she has to travel to Buffalo Bills in the Johannesburg inner city. This is despite the fact that she does not prefer it because the kind of men that she is into do not frequent this space as they go where it is unsafe for her as a transgender woman in the townships. She has to make this trade-off where she has to decide between going to a place where she is not safe but has a potential to meet with someone. Or choose to go to a place where she will be safe and comfortable, and will not necessarily feel like she needs to tone down on femininity but is almost guaranteed to not "hook up" with anyone. So, while queer visibility has the power to disrupt and hopefully transform heteronormative spaces, some queers are still privileged by the intersection between class, gender, and sexuality that visibility will come at minimal personal cost. A differential habitus experience exists amongst queer persons. A queer habitus is contingent on the type of queer body, as some queer bodies are more privileged than others in certain spaces. Gender, class, and race play a significant role in the differing levels of marginalisation that queer people experience. For queers such as working class transgender people, this intersection of race, gender, and class makes the cost for visibility much higher than cis gender representing middle class queers..

In this theme, I have argued that heteronormativity imposes itself and has to be negotiated by queer people. For transgender people, public spaces have often erased their existence or required that they shrink themselves through the heterosexual gaze. They experience this even in queer spaces. Private spaces such as homes provide a space for a safe identity assertion for queers.

These private spaces can serve multiple purposes such as social, entertainment, and political needs. Although there is a distinction in what should be visible and should not be visible in public and private spaces, queer people like Mandy move across these spaces and queer the field by moving against heteronormativity. However, there are still trade-offs that need to be negotiated for queer visibility and visibility can come at a higher personal cost for some queers.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to draw queer lines in relation to space. This is important because space is highly contested in terms of who can have claim over it and what can be made visible and invisabilised. Queer bodies seek to make every day spaces habitable for themselves. This study sought to understand how diverse groups of queer people make Johannesburg habitable for themselves. The findings suggest that engagement with space plays a role in how queer is constructed and conceived by queers. Space is always simultaneously classes and raced. This has implications for the kind of queer habitus that is negotiated. It also has implications for understandings of queer presentation. Queer embraces multiplicity and variation, and deviates from heteronormativity's commitment to straight lines and ways of being. However, even though queer deviates from the heteronormative, public space is still curated through heteronormativity. This pushes queers to develop strategies to engage with heteronormative spaces through a process of negotiation which enables gains through a restricted queer habitus. For others, middle-class workplaces are a key site for asserting a queer habitus that disrupts heteronormativity. Queers who transgress and engage through a disruptive queer habitus often do so at the risk of retribution. In addition, heteronormativity works to push queers to establish alternative queer spaces for asserting a queer identity. Private spaces appear to be important sites for queer enactments. The findings suggest that particular kinds of queer bodies tend to be more exposed to different kinds of violence. Trans bodies are particularly transgressive and attract disciplining psychological and physical violence. Middle-class and cis gender presenting queer bodies generally have better access to queer affirming spaces. Heteronormativity imposes itself as normal and has the effect of the erasure of transgender people or demanding that they shrink themselves under the glare of the heterosexual gaze from both the queer and heterosexual communities. The appropriation of space and queering it can serve multiple purposes including the enabling of joy, entertainment, claiming queer love, asserting a queer identity, encouraging homonormativity, strategizing, and other political needs, without fear or threat.

The practical implications that emerge from this study is that more sensitivity needs to be paid to queer lives. More attention needs to be paid to the varying kinds of marginalisation that exist among queer people. Though heteronormativity excludes and limits queer people from full occupation of everyday spaces, for transgender people heteronormativity also works to ensure

that they are erased from everyday spaces and vocabularies. There needs to be a shift in the way in which gender thought of in terms of the man and woman binary as this works to the erasure of transgender people. There needs to be more sensitivity in ensuring that the categories of man and woman are not only limited to just cis gender men and women. Diversity and inclusion practitioners, governments, and non-government organisations doing queer work need to be more intentional in Tran's education and awareness raising. Sensitivity needs to be paid to other identities that intersect with queerness such as race, class, disability, etc. gender policies and those who engage in gender policy work should be intentional with how they include queer people and always be mindful and assessing who they are potentially excluding and in what way the identities that intersect with queerness can produce exclusions and erasures.

This study has been consistent with previous work on queer people such as that of Xavier Livermon (2014), Hugo Canham (2017), and Zethu Matebeni (2018) who looked at queer spaces. However, they all focused on either lesbian or gay people. This study draws its strength from attempting to look at a more diverse range of queer people. Focusing on queer opened for a much broader inclusion of persons who are not committed to a heteronormative identity, whereas previous studies had focus on just gay and lesbian people However, this also works as a limitation for this paper, as trans research is still relatively new in South Africa and still requires a more close focus rather than being housed under an umbrella term. Ten interviews were conducted for this paper. This ten is constitutive of a diverse group of queer people, which means that sustained engagement with different identities is limited. Future work would benefit from focusing more on transgender people to contribute more to our knowledge and how we think about the transgender habitus, especially black working class transgender people. South African scholarship has not advanced in the area of Trans lives and in some ways, scholarship lags behind activism. Therefore, there is some urgency for more research focused on Trans lives as it would benefit not just South African scholarship, but also the broader Trans community.

REFERENCES

1GB prepaid data price comparison in South Africa. (2020, March 17). Retrieved from https://mybroadband.co.za/news/cellular/342629-1gb-prepaid-data-price-comparison-in-south-africa.html

Ahmed, S. (2006). Orientations: Toward a queer phenomenology. *GLQ: A journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, *12*(4), 543-574.

Asimaki, A., & Koustourakis, G. (2014). Habitus: An attempt at a thorough analysis of a controversial concept in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. *Social Sciences*, *3*(4), 121-131.

Arnett, J. J. (2007). Emerging adulthood: What is it, and what is it good for? *Child development perspectives*, 1(2), 68-73.

Bell, C. (2010). Is disability studies actually white disability studies. *The disability studies reader*, *5*, 402-410.

Bernstein, B. (2004). *The structuring of pedagogic discourse* (Vol. 4). Routledge.

Billig, Michael. "Rhetorical and discursive analysis: How families talk about the royal family." *Doing qualitative analysis in psychology* (1997): 39-54.

Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital. (1986). *Cultural theory: An anthology*, *1*, 81-93.

Browne, K., & Nash, C. (2010). Queer methods and methodologies. *Farnham: Ashgate*.

Butler, J. (1993). Critically queer. *GLQ: A journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, *1*(1), 17-32.

Butler, J. (2011). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.

Callis, A. S. (2009). Playing with Butler and Foucault: Bisexuality and queer theory. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *9*(3-4), 213-233.

Canham, H. (2017). Mapping the black queer geography of Johannesburg's lesbian women through narrative. *Psychology in Society*, (55), 84-107.

Croucher, S. (2002). South Africa's democratisation and the politics of gay liberation. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *28*(2), 315-330.

Dei, G. J. S. (2000). Rethinking the role of indigenous knowledges in the academy. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *4*(2), 111-132.

Duguay, S. (2015, July). Is being# instagay different from an# lgbttakeover? A cross-platform investigation of sexual and gender identity performances. In *SM&S: Social Media and Society 2015 International Conference*.

Duncan, N., Stevens, G., & Canham, H. (2014). Living through the legacy: The Apartheid Archive Project and the possibilities for psychosocial transformation. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *44*(3), 282-291.

Elden, S. (2007). There is a politics of space because space is political: Henri Lefebvre and the production of space. *Radical philosophy review*, *10*(2), 101-116.

Etikan, I., Alkassim, R., & Abubakar, S. (2016). Comparision of snowball sampling and sequential sampling technique. *Biometrics and Biostatistics International Journal*, *3*(1), 55 - 56.

Fraser, M. (1999). Classing queer: Politics in competition. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *16*(2), 107-131.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality: Volume one*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (2019). *Power: the essential works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*. Penguin UK.

Gqola, P. D. (2006). Through Zanele Muholi's eyes: Re/imagining ways of seeing black lesbians. *Only half the picture*, 82-89.

Hall, S. (1996). Who needs identity. *Questions of cultural identity*, *16*(2), 1-17.

Halperin, D. M. (2003). The normalization of queer theory. *Journal of homosexuality*, *45*(2-4), 339-343.

Haslam, S. A., & McGarty, C. (2003). *Research methods and statistics in psychology*. London: SAGE Publications Limited.

Held, N. (2015). Comfortable and safe spaces? Gender, sexuality and 'race' in night-time leisure spaces. *Emotion, Space and Society*, *14*, 33-42.

Holliday, R. (2000). We've been framed: visualising methodology. *The sociological review*, *48*(4), 503-521.

Honkasalo, J. (2016). Sisterhood, natality, queer: Reframing feminist interpretations of Hannah Arendt.

Huck, S. W., Cormier, W. H., & Bounds, W. G. (2012). *Reading statistics and research* (Vol. 566). Boston: Pearson.

Idahosa, G. E. O. (2019). Dirty body politics: habitus, gendered embodiment, and the resistance to women's agency in transforming South African higher education. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *27*(6), 988-1003.

Iedema, R., & Caldas-Coulthard, C. R. (2008). Introduction: Identity trouble: Critical discourse and contested identities. In *Identity Trouble* (pp. 1-14). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Johnson, E. P. (2001). "Quare" studies, or (almost) everything I know about queer studies I learned from my grandmother. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, *21*(1), 1-25.

Jowett, A. (2015). A case for using online discussion forums in critical psychological research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *12*(3), 287-297.

Liu, J. (2012). Habitus of translators as socialized individuals: Bourdieu's account. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, *2*(6), 1168 - 1173.

Livermon, X. (2014). Soweto nights: Making black queer space in post-apartheid South Africa. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *21*(4), 508-525.

Koegler, C. (2020). Queer Home-Making and Black Britain: Claiming, Ageing, Living. *Interventions*, *22*(7), 879-896.

Matebeni, Z. (2013). Intimacy, queerness, race. *Cultural Studies*, *27*(3), 404-417.

Matebeni, Z. (2018). Ihlazo: Pride and the politics of race and space in Johannesburg and Cape Town. *Critical African Studies*, *10*(3), 315-328.

Meer, T., & Müller, A. (2017). “They treat us like we’re not there”: Queer bodies and the social production of healthcare spaces. *Health & place*, *45*, 92-98.

Moolman, B. (2013). Rethinking ‘masculinities in transition’in South Africa considering the ‘intersectionality’of race, class, and sexuality with gender. *African Identities*, *11*(1), 93-105.

Morris, M. (2017, December 15). Costs of coming out can be high for SA's LGBT community, says IRR. Accessed 12 May 2021. https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/michael-morris/costs-of-coming-out-can-be-high-for-sa-s-lgbt-community-says-irr_a_23294615/?ncid=other_saredirect_m2afnz7mbfm&guccounter=1

Mutch, A. (2003). Communities of practice and habitus: a critique. *Organization Studies*, *24*(3), 383-401.

Nasa. (2019, December 19). Our sun. Accessed 23, April, 2021. https://solarsystem.nasa.gov/solar-system/sun/in-depth/

Parker, I. (2013). Discourse analysis: Dimensions of critique in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *10*(3), 223-239.

Pile, S. (2010). Emotions and affect in recent human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *35*(1), 5-20.

Puwar, N. (2004). Space invaders: Race, gender and bodies out of place.

Rahman, M., & Jackson, S. (2010). *Gender and sexuality: Sociological approaches*. Polity.

Reay, D. (2015). Habitus and the psychosocial: Bourdieu with feelings. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *45*(1), 9-23.

Reddy, V. (1998). Negotiating gay masculinities. *Agenda*, *14*(37), 65-70.

Reddy, V., & Louw, R. (2002). black and gay: Perceptions and interventions around HIV in Durban. *Agenda*, *17*(53), 89-95.

Reddy, V. (2005). Subversive Pleasures, Spaces of Agency: Some reflections on lesbian and gay service-delivery work in eThekwini. *Feminist Africa*, *5*, 80-89.

Rose, N. (1988). Calculable minds and manageable individuals. *History of the human sciences*, *1*(2), 179-200.

Rodham, K., & Gavin, J. (2006). The ethics of using the internet to collect qualitative research data. *Research Ethics*, *2*(3), 92-97.

Scotland, J. (2012). Exploring the philosophical underpinnings of research: Relating ontology and epistemology to the methodology and methods of the scientific, interpretive, and critical research paradigms. *English language teaching*, *5*(9), 9-16.

Shapiro, E. (2007). Drag kinging and the transformation of gender identities. *Gender & Society*, *21*(2), 250-271.

Skeggs, B. (1999). Matter out of place: Visibility and sexualities in leisure spaces. *Leisure studies*, *18*(3), 213-232.

Suganuma, K. (2011). Ways of speaking about queer space in Tokyo: Disorientated knowledge and counter-public space. *Japanese Studies*, *31*(3), 345-358.

Tornado, G. B. (2021). Antitainment 70: Radical Drag, Performance and Politics. *Third Text*, *35*(1), 117-129.

Ussher, J. M., & Perz, J. (2014). Discourse analysis. *Qualitative research in clinical and health psychology*, 226-237.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of political ideologies*, *11*(2), 115-140.

Valocchi, S. (2005). Not yet queer enough: The lessons of queer theory for the sociology of gender and sexuality. *Gender & Society*, *19*(6), 750-770.

Wacquant, L. (2004). Following Pierre Bourdieu into the field. *Ethnography*, *5*(4), 387-414

Wang, C., & Burris, M. A. (1997). Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health education & behavior*, *24*(3), 369-387.

Wang, C. C. (1999). Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of women's health*, *8*(2), 185-192.

Warner, D. N. (2004). Towards a queer research methodology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *1*(4), 321-337.

Wenger, E. (1999). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. City?: Cambridge University Press.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2004). 10 Borders, boundaries, and the politics of belonging. *Ethnicity, nationalism, and minority rights*, 214.

APPENDIX A

Ethics Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ETHICS COMMITTEE

CONSTITUTED UNDER THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE: **PROTOCOL NUMBER: MAPSYC/20/02**

PROJECT TITLE: The Queer Habitus of Everyday Spaces

INVESTIGATOR Chiya Khulekani (476084)

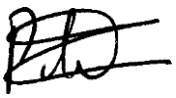
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATOR SHCD/Psychology

DATE CONSIDERED 30 June 2020

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE Approved unconditionally

RISK LEVEL Minimal Risk

EXPIRY DATE 31 December 2022

ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE 06 July 2020 **CHAIRPERSON** 

(Prof. Peace Kiguwa)

cc: Prof. Hugo Canham (Supervisor)

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.



Signature **Date**

30/ 07/ 2020

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

APPENDIX B

Participant Information Sheet

Good day,

My name is Khulekani Chiya and I am a Masters student in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project. This project explores queer identities and is under the supervision of Prof Hugo Canham. The aim of this research project is to find out how queer identifying people navigate everyday spaces.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. This activity will involve a face-to-face or video call interview with me and will take approximately 60 minutes. With your permission, I would also like to record the interview using a digital device. In addition to the interview, I would like to examine your Instagram account for an analyses of how you visually represent your identity.

There will be no personal financial costs to you if you participate in this project. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation but there are no disadvantages or penalties if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential as the information you give to me will be held securely in a password protected device and not disclosed to anyone else; only the researcher and the research supervisor will have access to the interview data and your Instagram pictures collected for analysis. By its nature, a visual analysis of your representation on Instagram implies that your pictures will form part of the analysis and they will be included in the final write-up, some of which might be pictures you. In instances where the visual representations are pictures of yourself, your face will be blurred out and any other identifying information will also be blurred out. I will use a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. In instances where the visual representations are not pictures of yourself, they might still be traced back to the specific Instagram account in which they were posted, for this reason anonymity to readers cannot be guaranteed. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. With your permission the data collected from this research project may be used by other researchers. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,
Khulekani Chiya

Researcher:
Khulekani Chiya, 476084@students.wits.ac.za, 0781432908

Supervisor:
Prof Hugo Canham, Hugo.canham@wits.ac.za

APPENDIX C

Participant Consent Form

I, _____, consent to being interviewed by Khulekani Chiya, for his study exploring how queer identifying people navigate everyday spaces. Please tick relevant boxes. I understand that:

- Participation in this study is voluntary. ☐
- I may refrain from answering any questions. ☐
- I may withdraw my participation and/or my responses from the study at any time before the research report is examined. ☐
- There are no risks or benefits associated with participation in this study. ☐
- All information provided will remain confidential, although I may be quoted in the research report, and anonymity cannot be guaranteed. ☐
- I agree that pictures from my Instagram account can be examined and used for analysis ☐
- If I am quoted, a pseudonym (Participant A, Respondent B etc.) will be used. ☐
- I am aware that the results of the study will be communicated in the form of a research report or journal articles. ☐
- The research may also be presented at a local/international conference and published in a journal and/or book chapter. ☐

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX D

Recording and Quotation Consent Form

I, _____ give my consent for my interview with Khulekani Chiya, to be audio recorded for their study. Please tick the relevant boxes. I understand that:

- The video/audio-recordings and transcripts will not be seen or heard by anyone other than the researchers and/or their research assistants. ☐

- The video/audio-recordings and transcripts will be kept in a password protected computer. ☐

- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report. ☐

- Although direct quotes from my interview may be used in the research report, I will be referred to by a pseudonym. ☐

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX E

Interview Guide

1. Tell me a bit about yourself; who you are and where you are from?
2. What is your understanding of what it means to be queer?
3. How would you describe yourself as a queer identifying person?
4. What aspects of yourself do you think represent you as a queer person?
5. What would you say informed your understanding of queer?
6. Tell me a bit about your social life
7. Tell me about some of the key relationships that you think have a daily impact in your life.
8. How would you describe your perception of these relationships?
9. How do you experience being queer within these relationships?
10. Tell me about some of the key places or spaces that you frequent in your daily life.
11. How would you describe your perception of these place or spaces?
12. How do you experience being queer within these spaces?
13. In which spaces are you most comfortable to express your queer identity?
14. In which spaces are you least comfortable to express your queer identity?
15. In your workplace who are the key groups/ individuals that you interact with the most?