

“Not my boxes anyway”: Textual Intersections of Gendered, Sexual and Racial Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa

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Declaration

I declare that this research project is my own, unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at this or any other university.

Signed: _____

Gabriela S. Pinheiro

Date: 5th July 2018

Abstract

The perpetual construction of black lesbian women's identities with discourses of risk and pathology is problematic, reinforcing stereotypes that blackwash homophobia. Blackwashing discourse invisibilises the complexity, fluidity and plurality implicated in the construction and performance of identities. Further, risk paradigms conceal the agency and power that many black lesbian women demonstrate in their negotiation of post-apartheid spaces. The current study aimed to explore possible ways in which black lesbian women construct and perform their identities in post-apartheid South Africa. Activism performed by, and for, black lesbian women was focalised in the research, diverging from discourses of blackwashing homophobia. Underpinned by feminist, intersectionality theory, a pluralist methodological approach was implemented, combining performativity theories with Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. The data analysed was naturally-occurring, comprising online materials produced by black lesbian female activists. The findings of the study highlighted that black lesbian women in post-apartheid South Africa construct and perform multi-faceted identities. Moreover, discourses of violence featured minimally in participants' constructions, compared to that which has been foregrounded previously. Instead, discourses of power, agency, activism and resilience emerged – attesting the intricate possibilities that exist at the intersections of gendered, sexual and racial identities in contemporary South Africa.

Keywords: black lesbian women, activism, intersectionality, feminist research

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Glossary of Relevant Terms and Acronyms

ANC

African National Congress. The political party governing South Africa (SA), at the time of conducting the current study.

Apartheid

An Afrikaans word that means ‘separateness’. Refers generally to the system of institutionalised racism that was implemented and maintained by the National Party in SA, from 1948-1994 (see, e.g. Seekings & Nattrass, 2005).

Butch

A term that, stereotypically, denotes a lesbian woman whose physical stylisation and/or behaviour appear ‘masculine’ (Matebeni, 2011).

Coming out

“Involves an identity [...] process, whereby a homosexual individual explores his/her sexuality in a predominantly heterosexual environment” (Smuts, 2011, p. 24). Being ‘out’ has connotations of being open and expressive about one’s identification as ‘gay’, ‘lesbian’, ‘queer’, etc.

Femme

Understood, stereotypically, to be the ‘feminine’ counterpart to a ‘butch’ woman, in a lesbian relationship. A lesbian woman whose physical stylisation and/or behaviour appear ‘feminine’ (Matebeni, 2011).

GBV

Gender-based violence. An umbrella term that includes domestic, economic, physical, emotional and sexual manifestations of abuse that transgress – to varying degrees and across different settings – a person’s human rights, based on gender and/or sexual orientation (CSVN, 2016). Types of offenses range from ‘milder’ manifestations (for example, verbal harassment) to criminal offenses (such as rape).

Hegemonic masculinity

“The configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women and other men [...] considered [...] weak” (Connell, 1995, p. 77).

Heteronormativity

“The institutions, structures of understanding and practical orientations that make heterosexuality seem not only coherent – that is, organised as a sexuality – but also privileged as a natural state; or projected as an ideal or moral accomplishment” (Jolly, 2011, p. 6).

HIV/AIDS

Human Immunodeficiency Virus, which, if left untreated by anti-retroviral medication, can develop into Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome.

Intersex

“Sometimes, individuals are born with genital, genetic or hormonal characteristics” that cannot be classified as being one sex – ‘male’ or ‘female’. “However, for clinicians, an intersex diagnosis can refer also to attributes that are not apparent on the body’s surface, including XXY sex chromosomes or indifference to the hormones that produce effects connotative of masculinity [...] medical treatment of intersex is standard practice in the West. Treatment typically begins in childhood, even in infancy. It can extend over a lifetime in the case of hormonal interventions or repeated genital surgeries” (Morland, 2014, p. 111).

LGBTQIA+

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer, Asexual and Allies. A broad term that intends to increase awareness of the diverse range of sexual and gender identities adopted by individuals worldwide (American Psychological Association, 2012).

National Government

The political party governing SA from 1948-1994; responsible for the implementation of the apartheid system (see, e.g. Seekings & Nattrass, 2005).

Non-heteronormativity

Identities and institutions that challenge or subvert hegemonic heteronormativity. For example, LGBTQIA+ identities.

Passing

To live successfully in one's gender of choice (for example, *I 'pass' as male*).

SA

South Africa/South African.

Top/Bottom

“Top/Bottom identities are usually attached to sexual practices amongst gay men (although not restricted to gay men only) that describe active roles such as an insertive sexual position during anal and/or oral intercourse (top) as well as so-called passive receptive roles (bottom identity). These labelling practices are not only restricted to sexual intercourse but may extend to other facets of subjectivity, behaviour, lifestyle and other interactions and performances” (Wegesin & Meyer-Bahlburg, 2000; Zheng & Zheng, 2011, as cited in Kiguwa, 2015, p. 117).

Transgender

“Scholars and activists politicised gender non-conforming expression and embodiment through the term *transgender*, in order to call into being a collectivity centred on gender self-determination that reveals, and challenges, the social production and state-sanctioned containment and regulation of gender and sexual deviancy” (Green & Ellison, 2014, p. 223).

Chapter One: Introduction and Rationale

In contemporary South Africa (SA), social science research has demonstrated increasing investment in the study of gender and sexuality (e.g. Amory, 1997; Du Pisani, 2001; Nel, 2014; Posel, 2004). The emergence of these constructs as important research topics has been motivated, largely, by the pervasiveness of GBV¹ and HIV² in the country (García-Moreno et al., 2013). Mostly, the effects of further enquiry into gender and sexuality have been positive, enriching knowledge in domains such as: South African (SA) masculinities (e.g. Ratele, 2001; Walker, 2005); non-heteronormative³ gender and sexual identities (e.g. Gibson & Macleod, 2012; Swarr, 2012); young peoples' constructions of GBV (e.g. Gordon & Collins, 2013; Kiguwa et al., 2015) and the possible impact of historical events on current gender hierarchies (e.g. Moffett, 2006). Furthermore, key studies (e.g. Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013; Hirschowitz, Worku, & Orkin, 2000) have provided insight into the prevalence and scope of GBV, aiming to inform national policies and legal frameworks.

In comparison to existing research on heteronormative⁴ gendered and sexual identities, fewer studies have focalised identities within LGBTQIA+⁵ communities. In particular, a significant gap can be identified in research concerning black, lesbian-identified women. Exploring discourses of black lesbianism in SA, Potgieter (2003) explained that previous research had been biased in its focus on white, middle-class women. Before 1997, not a single academic endeavour had studied issues relating specifically to black lesbian women in SA (Potgieter, 2003).

¹ Gender-based violence. An umbrella term that includes domestic, economic, physical, emotional and sexual manifestations of abuse that transgress – to varying degrees and across different settings – a person's human rights, based on gender and/or sexual orientation (CSVR, 2016). Types of offenses range from 'milder' manifestations (for example, verbal harassment) to criminal offenses (such as rape).

² Human Immunodeficiency Virus, which, if left untreated by anti-retroviral medication, can develop into Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome.

³ Identities and institutions that challenge or subvert hegemonic heteronormativity. For example, LGBTQIA+ identities.

⁴ "The institutions, structures of understanding and practical orientations that make heterosexuality seem not only coherent – that is, organised as a sexuality – but also privileged as a natural state; or projected as an ideal or moral accomplishment" (Jolly, 2011, p. 6).

⁵ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer, Asexual and Allies. A broad term that intends to increase awareness of the diverse range of sexual and gender identities adopted by individuals worldwide (American Psychological Association, 2012).

Since then, interest in such subject matter has increased considerably. However, there are gaps in the literature that persist. For example, in research pertaining to black lesbian women, the tendency has been for many contemporary studies to ‘blackwash homophobia’ (Judge, 2017). ‘Blackwashing homophobia’ implies focusing predominantly on issues such as discrimination (e.g. Harper & Schneider, 2003; Van Zyl, 2011; Vincent & Howell, 2014) and ‘hate crimes’ (e.g. Gontek, 2007; Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy, & Moletsane, 2010; Swarr, 2012) committed against black lesbian women in post-apartheid⁶ spaces.

This is not to suggest that such studies have made insignificant contributions to research on LGBTQIA+ issues. Black lesbian women do encounter considerable challenges in post-apartheid contexts (Mkhize et al., 2010), and these obstacles should not be dismissed or minimised. Violence against black lesbian women occurs particularly because these individuals are female and choose to express non-heteronormative sexualities. However, such violence is especially prominent when these identities intersect with economic disempowerment and township living (Graziano, 2004; Salo, Ribas, Lopes, & Zamboni, 2010). Undoubtedly, existing research has been valuable in raising awareness and encouraging discussion of these issues – playing a key role in “getting the nation talking about sex” after significant censorship throughout apartheid (Posel, 2004, p. 53).

However, when black lesbian women are constructed with discourses of risk repeatedly, their identities are positioned in terms of victimisation (Judge, 2017; Matebeni, 2011). Consequently, black lesbian women (especially when occupying township spaces) are labelled as perpetual targets of discrimination and abuse, confining the ways in which we think and/or talk about their identities. Moreover, blackwashing discourses establish and maintain the notion that ‘hate crime’ and ‘corrective rape’ are special types of crime that happen exclusively to black, lesbian women’s bodies. Such reductionist tendencies contradict the aims of most emerging research into non-heteronormative genders and sexualities, which seeks to adopt a critical approach towards understanding identities (Nel, 2014). Further, one-dimensional constructions of non-heteronormative identities conceal aspects such as resilience, power, agency and activism – notable features in the expressions of gendered, sexual and racial identities in post-apartheid spaces

⁶ An Afrikaans word that means ‘separateness’. Refers generally to the system of institutionalised racism that was implemented and maintained by the National Party in SA, from 1948-1994 (see, e.g. Seekings & Nattrass, 2005).

(Moreau, 2015; Salo et al., 2010). Hence, the construction and performance of black lesbian women's identities warrant further critical exploration, if counter-knowledge is to be produced and blackwashing discourses are to be dispelled. Critically, interesting questions emerge about other possibilities for the intersections between gendered, sexual and racial identities in present-day SA.

The current thesis explored these aspects through a multi-layered analysis of online texts, constructed by black lesbian women who have been, and/or are involved in township-based activism against GBV. Discussing 'intersectional citizenship', Moreau (2015) highlighted that:

Scant attention has been paid to the activism specifically of black lesbians in a situation where their belonging at a national level is ensured by a constitutional commitment to sexual minority rights, but where local and regional belonging is jeopardized by violence and popular discourses that posit that "homosexuality is unAfrican". (p. 496)

The current study contended that discrimination and 'hate crime' should be framed as possible *parts* of what it might mean to be a black lesbian woman in post-apartheid SA. However, acknowledging black lesbian women as full citizens is also important, so that the fluidity, complexity and plurality of black lesbian identities are not invisibilised (Judge, 2017; Matebeni, 2011). Intersectionality theory can assist research in developing a multimodal methodological approach to thinking about identities (see, e.g. Crenshaw, 1991; Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). In particular, intersectionality theory makes a useful contribution to critical explorations of identities in the 'new' South Africa (Moreau, 2015).

At the outset, it is important to note that 'woman', 'black' and 'lesbian' identities do not constitute stable characteristics. Rather, these terms denote contested and multidimensional axes of identities that engender immense variability across temporal, cultural, geographical, socio-historical and political contexts (Crenshaw, 1991). Thus, the language and meaning-making used in the construction of identities will contrast in different spaces. For example, some women in same-sex relationships might identify with words other than 'lesbian' in constructing their identities (Clarke, Ellis, Peel, & Riggs, 2010). Having acknowledged this, the aim and structure of the thesis are provided.

Aims of the Study

This research aimed to explore possible ways in which black lesbian women construct and perform their identities discursively⁷.

Structure of the Thesis

In the first chapter of the research, an introduction to the current study was presented. Further, a rationale was provided, foregrounding the potential importance and/or relevance of this study, before presenting the research aim. In chapter two, the relevant existing literature on identity is reviewed, discussed and critiqued, with specific focus on the constructs of ‘gender’, ‘sexuality’ and ‘race’. At the conclusion of the literature review chapter, the research question that was answered in this study is provided. Thereafter, chapter three outlines the methodological approach that was implemented in the current research. In this third chapter, issues pertaining to reflexivity and ethics are also discussed. Finally, in chapter four, I present the findings of the research, before concluding with a final discussion of these findings in the fifth chapter.

⁷ The black lesbian women, referred to in this aim, have been and/or are involved in activism against GBV and have produced these discursive constructions in online material.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this chapter, the relevant, existing literature on identity is discussed. Throughout this discussion, the identity constructs of ‘gender’, ‘sexuality’ and ‘race’ are focalised, reviewing previous theorisations of the connections between these constructs. Further, important theoretical milestones are outlined, emphasising the value of an intersectional approach to the current study. The discussion in this chapter also traces the development of gendered, sexual and racial identities throughout SA history, centralising the importance of black women’s activism and resistance against inequalities. Finally, the current study’s research question is presented, followed by a discussion of the research methodology in chapter three.

Early Theorisation of the Relationship Between ‘Gender’ and ‘Sexuality’

Historically, mainstream psychology (e.g. Udry, 1994) theorised that sexual identities constituted the direct consequence of ‘gender’. Further, ‘gender’ was understood as the natural outgrowth of one’s physiological sex (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003) – a theory that was popularised by research rooted in evolutionary and biological paradigms (Richardson, 2007). The ideas circulated by mainstream approaches to social science research had significant implications – particularly in terms of social meaning making and understanding around gendered and sexual identities. Importantly, mainstream models played key roles in constructing identities in binary and static terms (Anthias, 2014). The dichotomisation of ‘male’ and ‘female’, in the spheres of gender and sexuality, facilitated the dominance of a heterosexual social hierarchy (Richardson, 2007). As such, heteronormative discourses filtered into other domains of social life. For example, ‘role’ theories perpetuated the notion that males and females were suited to different activities and should be socialised to fulfil prescribed ‘gender roles’ in society (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

Confronted with the question of non-heterosexualities, mainstream approaches tended to consider homosexual individuals as ‘sexually-inverted’ people, who exhibited traits and behaviours characteristic of the opposite gender (Havelock Ellis, 1928, as cited in Peplau & Garnets, 2000). Other mainstream theorists (e.g. Cass, 1979; Gonsiorek, 1995, as cited in Bilodeau & Renn, 2005) explained homosexuality by proposing a universal pattern of homonormative identity development, comprising a series of ‘stages’. Predominantly, stage models derived evidence for development patterns by using studies that recruited small samples (consisting mostly

of male research participants). The stage models suggested that non-heterosexual individuals navigate a series of identity development stages, beginning in their early adolescence, or early twenties. From the initial, ‘coming out⁸’ stage, stage models predicted, and applied universally, a linear model of non-heterosexual identity development. By doing so, such models focused primarily on the navigation and resolution of the supposed conflict implicated in being homosexual (Bilodeau & Renn, 2005).

Early, mainstream theorisation of identities has been questioned in more critical, contemporary scholarship. The ways in which these mainstream theories universalized identity development have been challenged, asking how stage models might account for people whose realities do not fit neatly into the proposed formative stages (Anthias, 2014). Hence, questions emerge as to the possibility of critical approaches towards identity development.

Critiquing and Questioning Mainstream Approaches

The role of psychological discourse. With social development, emergent psychological research (e.g. Moreau, 2015; Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004; Ratele, 2001) adopted an increasingly-critical attitude towards the exploration of gender and sexuality. As such, the supposed biological basis of human gender; the conflation of ‘gender’ with ‘sex’; the existence of two genders and their respective ‘roles’ and the rules of heterosexuality have been questioned (Richardson, 2007). Gavey (1989), for example, observed that because mainstream paradigms were located within broader liberal humanist traditions, their constructions of gender and sexuality were ‘taken-for-granted’ as fundamental truths about human functioning. Advocating the disruption of these ‘truths’, Judge (2017) and Nel (2014) echoed these sentiments, in their respective discussions about psychology’s responsibility to engage more critically in its conceptualization of gender and sexuality.

Problems with mainstream theory. Contemporary research (e.g. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003) has since evinced the variation and complexity characterising peoples’ identities, with unique intricacies having been discovered – even at the level of biology (Richardson, 2007). For example, ‘sex’ has been demonstrated as being rooted in a “combination of anatomical, endocrinal

⁸ “Involves an identity [...] process, whereby a homosexual individual explores his/her sexuality in a predominantly heterosexual environment” (Smuts, 2011, p. 24). Being ‘out’ has connotations of being open and expressive about one’s identification as ‘gay’, ‘lesbian’, ‘queer’, etc.

and chromosomal features [and] biology offers [...] dichotomous male and female prototypes, but it also offers us many individuals who do not fit these prototypes” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 2). There is significant value in these critiques of biological and evolutionary theories, because they attest the difficulty (and inaccuracy) of trying to classify and/or determine the development of identities in relation to human physiology. Further, inversion theories (e.g. Peplau & Garnets, 2000), and stage models (e.g. Cass, 1979) of identity development, have encountered significant criticism. For example, it has been argued that these theories neglect to account for the complexities and fluidities of people’s contexts, and the extent to which these influence the construction and expression of identities (Richardson, 2007).

Importantly, “one’s citizenship determines access to resources and powers of a particular state” (Segalo, 2015, p. 74). Mainstream theories fail to explore the potential roles of power, oppression, privilege, agency and resilience. In doing so, mainstream theories neglect to question how spatial and temporal contexts might come to shape our being-in-the-world, and our capacities to navigate social spaces (Janks, 1997). Finally, the normalisation of stable, binary constructions (gendered and/or sexual) is problematic, because it facilitates hegemonic dominance of heteronormativity in society – legitimizing the exclusion of non-binary identities (such as ‘lesbian’ identities) from research, and, more broadly, from equal participation in society (Gavey, 1989).

Especially in a contemporary SA context, where historical discourses have been central in shaping current social interactions (Kramer, 2015; Moffett, 2006; Segalo, 2014; Whitehead, 2013), orientating social science research towards more critical approaches is essential. Hence, exploration and understanding of black lesbian women’s discursive identities in post-apartheid spaces cannot be achieved without acknowledging these critical theoretical positions.

Theorising ‘Lesbian’ Identities: Critical Approaches

Throughout recent decades, research (for example, ‘lesbian theory’ and ‘lesbian feminist theory’ – see, e.g. Calhoun, 1994) has shown increasing investment in establishing a working definition of ‘lesbianism’. However, the following section will illustrate that the meaning of the term *lesbian* transforms constantly. Moreover, ‘gender’ and ‘race’ do not feature within lesbianism in essential, universal or static ways (Tate, 2012). Ultimately, it will be demonstrated that “current shifts in the study of identity, lesbian, feminism, race and blackness suggest that the usefulness of

identity categories is in their instability and how they are constantly reshaped” (Matebeni, 2011, p. 55).

Post-structuralism and definitional tensions. Shifting away from fixed, one-dimensional definitions of identities, post-structuralists extended the tenets of social constructionism, positing that signifying terms (like ‘lesbian’) should be contested by those researching, and/or identifying with them (Guess, 1995, as cited in Matebeni, 2011). Through constant processes of re-imagination and deconstruction, the term ‘lesbian’ can be rendered unstable and inessential, creating myriad possibilities for its expression and evolution (Levitt & Hiestand, 2005). For example, ‘queer theory’, influenced by post-structural accounts of identity, proposed that ‘sexuality’, and its connection to other identities (like ‘gender’ and/or ‘race’), is not uniform or stable. Collapsing mainstream distinctions between biological sex and ‘gender’, social constructionist and post-structural viewpoints challenge traditional conceptualisations of identity formation. Theorising about the relationship between ‘gender’ and ‘sexuality’, Butler (1990) reiterated the notion of realities and identities as being constructed socially. Governed by institutional discourses and taboos, identities constitute notions of how we should think, behave, appear and feel – constructs that depend largely on social contexts (Page & Peacock, 2013). The implication is that, because all existence is social, it follows that bodies are ‘gendered’ from the moment of their social existences. These ideas suggest that there can be no single, or quintessential ‘female’ and/or ‘lesbian’ identity, because identities are culturally-enforced, and socially-policed, effects (Butler, 1990). Further, social constructionist and post-structural theories recognise the significance of power, oppression, privilege and agency – highlighting that, across geographical and/or social locations, subjects are constrained and/or privileged as to the types of gendered, sexual and/or racial identities that can be constructed and performed (Butler, 1988).

However, the relevance of queer theory has been questioned and critiqued – particularly because of its reluctance to label ‘categories’ of people as ‘lesbian’ (Butler, 1990). Further, the term ‘queer’ has been problematized. If being ‘queer’ implies having no essential identity, and subverting society’s prescriptions of what identities *should* be, then this implies that *anyone* (including women who identify as ‘lesbian’) can be ‘queer’. This risks the dismissal of women who identify with their sexuality by choosing, actively, to claim the word ‘lesbian’. Wekker (1993), for example, explored potential ways in which black women have made meaning of their sexual attractions to other women. Quoting the black lesbian poet, Audre Lorde, Wekker (1993)

noted that women might choose to claim and use the term ‘lesbian’ in constructing their sexualities – the naming of ‘lesbian’ highlighting their strength, resilience and power; but also shattering the silence and invisibility of black homosexualities (Kulick, 2013; Rudwick, 2011). However, in claiming the term, ‘lesbian’, one is not necessarily foregrounding it as essential, incontestable or more significant than other axes of identities (Bowleg, 2008), but rather demonstrating a possible way of finding meaning and value in negotiating one’s sexuality.

Feminism and intersectionality. Attempting to provide a unitary definition of *feminism* is challenging, as the term denotes a broad and multifaceted collection of beliefs, values and actions (Freedman, 2001). Further, different branches of feminist scholarship diverge, and some are opposed purposefully, in terms of core ideologies. Traditionally, ‘Western feminism’ is classified with a system that divides feminist activity into several ‘waves’. In this Western system, ‘First-wave’ feminism refers, generally, to feminist movements during the late nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, that fought for women’s suffrage and other rights (Lazar, 2007). Further, ‘Second-wave’ feminism denotes the resurgence of feminist activities in the late 1960s and 1970s (Freedman, 2001) – where protest was aimed, once more, at gaining ‘full citizenship’, and equal human rights, for women (Segalo, 2015).

However, this Western classification system represents only a general summary, and has been critiqued in recent years. Predominantly, the classification summary has been questioned because it neglects to acknowledge that feminist activity had occurred long before the term ‘feminism’ was used, and because it conceals the diverse schools of feminist scholarship that exist (Freedman, 2001). For example, Matebeni (2011) discussed the important influences of ‘black feminism’ and ‘African feminism’ in focusing explicitly on the stories of black women; developing knowledge about the possible intersections of sexuality and gender with race, class and generation (to name a few) (e.g. Collins, 2000, as cited in Matebeni, 2011; Crenshaw, 1991). Even within these schools of feminism, however, there is immense variability in terms of how women (and men) therein choose to express themselves as ‘feminist’. This message is conveyed effectively in the African Feminist Forum’s “African Feminist Charter”⁹ (2006) which reads:

As Feminists who come from/work/live in Africa, we claim the right and the space to be Feminist and African. We recognize that we do not have a homogenous identity as feminists – we acknowledge and celebrate our

⁹ Available at http://awdf.org/wp-content/uploads/Charter_of_Feminist_Principles_for_African_Feminists.pdf.

diversities and our shared commitment to a transformatory agenda for African societies and African women in particular. This is what gives us our common feminist identity. Our current struggles as African Feminists are inextricably linked to our past as a continent, diverse pre-colonial contexts, slavery, colonization, liberation struggles, neocolonialism, globalization, etc. (p. 7)

For these reasons, it seems more appropriate to use the term *feminisms*. The turn to feminisms represents a broad range of theoretical and/or political orientations that pursues equality and fairness for all women, and that seeks critical understandings of gendered power relations (Weedon, 1987). Writing this thesis, it was challenging to negotiate the theoretical ‘weight’ of feminist thought and scholarship, and at the outset of the study, there was a hesitance to place ‘feminism’ at the centre of the work. Predominantly, this hesitance concerned the feeling that ‘feminist’ had become somewhat of a trendy buzzword, and a reluctance to label the current study as ‘feminist’ in a manner that was nonchalant, uninformed and/or unproblematic. It was also daunting to note that the study was being written in the context of conflict and debate around feminist issues of representation. In particular, the authority of white, heterosexually-identified, middle-class women to write about issues like ‘race’ and ‘lesbianism’ has been questioned and critiqued (Judge, 2017). However, Judge (2017) argued that, equally, the depoliticization of authorial identities constitutes a reproduction of middle-class privilege. Hence, the feminist project of politicizing identities proved valuable in the current work, facilitating theoretical and personal reflection about the intersections between genders, sexualities and races (Weedon, 1987). As such, intersectional feminism constituted the core framework in the current research, allowing essentialist constructions of different identities to be dispelled.

‘Intersectionality’ is an example of a framework that embraces pluralist understandings of *identities*. Intersectionality theory originated in America, where it was pioneered by black, female scholars (e.g. Crenshaw, 1991) who emphasised the need to study black women’s experiences, with ‘race’ as a key focal point (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991; Shields, 2008). Its founding theorists (e.g. Crenshaw, 1991) asserted, at the time of developing the theory, that most Western, feminist scholarship had focused on middle-class, educated, white women. Instead, intersectionality argued for a more inclusive view (Shields, 2008). Whilst intersectionality theory situates itself within a critical, feminist lens, its value and uses extend beyond feminist work (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013) – especially in areas of study that are influenced by social structures and power relations (Stewart & McDermott, 2004).

‘Intersectionality’ is another term that cannot be defined seamlessly or singularly, because it varies according to the research context (Cole, 2009). However, consistent elements, featuring in most definitions of ‘intersectionality’, are as follows: social identities are organizing mechanisms of social interactions, that constitute one another mutually, and that reinforce, or ‘naturalise’ one another (Shields, 2008). The mutual and plural existence of identities implies that the significance of one axis of identity is illuminated only in the relation of that axis, to another (Shields, 2008). For example, one cannot discuss ‘genders’, productively and meaningfully, without engaging in conversation about other identity constructs that might be influencing it. In post-apartheid SA, the most glaring axes of identities might be considered ‘race’, ‘class’ and ‘sexuality’ (Judge, 2017). Moreover, identities ‘reinforce’ one another mutually, because the process of identity construction and maintenance is active and dynamic (e.g. Gibson & Macleod, 2012), involving ‘practice’ of one axis of identity, in relation to others (Shields, 2008). Further, the notion of power assumes significance – individuals are located socially, and identities are reflective of power operations, privilege, oppression and social stratification (Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Hence, it follows that subject positions can be resourceful and/or oppressive. However, the construction and maintenance of identities is a fluid process, influenced by the constant interplay between the individual and space (Crenshaw, 1991; Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Therefore, intersectionality theory rejects binary constructions of identities, insisting that “no social group is homogenous” (Stewart & McDermott, 2004, p. 532). Even within social ‘groups’, that appear to be naturalised in society, there is immense variation.

Intersectionality theory is particularly valuable when used to think about possibilities for heterogenous relationships between genders and sexualities (e.g. Levitt & Hiestand, 2005). The theory construes ‘gender’ as a single axis of identity that is interwoven with social institutions and discourses. These social structures influence the ways in which people interrelate, based on the identities that they choose to claim and/or reject (Cole, 2009). Intersectional constructions of identities disrupt heteronormative social ordering, in their insistence that identities are always open to contestation and evolution. In their 2008 study, Diamond and Butterworth used a longitudinal, case-study approach, applying an intersectional framework to the exploration of sexual identity development. The authors followed four, female respondents, who, at the outset of the study, self-

identified as ‘transgender’¹⁰. The participants’ constructions of ‘gender’ demonstrated the value of an intersectional framework – as an analytic approach for understanding not only multiplicity across identity constructs, but also within those identity constructs. In this case, ‘male’ and ‘female’ identities were deconstructed, and the findings from the Diamond and Butterworth (2008) study attested that:

Over the years, the majority of women underwent notable transitions in sexual identification, for example, switching from ‘lesbian’, ‘bisexual’, and ‘unlabeled’, identifications [...] as changes in relationships and social environments rendered different identities more or less relevant and salient. (p. 367)

For example, ‘Lori’ was a participant who, at the time of the study, was taking testosterone daily, and passing¹¹ as ‘male’, but stated:

I don’t want to be a guy. I identify as gender queer and people just get really crazed because they feel this need to constantly see things in two boxes and if you switch the boxes you can be a boy who wants to be a girl and a girl who wants to be a boy. But you can’t ever be outside the boxes...(p. 369)

Thus, despite the adoption of a ‘traditionally-masculine’ gender presentation, Lori expressed ambivalence about assuming and living a ‘male’ identity. Instead of undergoing a direct transition from female to male, Lori oscillated constantly between those traits and expressions that had been identified as more ‘feminine’, and those that were more ‘masculine’. Thus, the participants’ constructions of gender and sexuality showed that “identities are always moving targets, reforming and reshaping themselves across diverse social and interpersonal contexts” (Diamond & Butterworth, 2008, p. 375). Further, the study highlighted that traditional signifiers of identities (such as ‘woman’ and/or ‘lesbian’) shift and evolve across time and location, arguing for the heterogeneity and intersectionality of identities (Levitt & Hiestand, 2005).

¹⁰ “Scholars and activists politicised gender non-conforming expression and embodiment through the term *transgender*, in order to call into being a collectivity centred on gender self-determination that reveals, and challenges, the social production and state-sanctioned containment and regulation of gender and sexual deviancy” (Green & Ellison, 2014, p. 223).

¹¹ To live successfully in one’s gender of choice (for example, *I ‘pass’ as male*).

Tracing Identities Throughout SA History

Achieving heteronormative hegemony in SA. Segalo (2014; 2015) emphasised the importance of acknowledging SA's sociohistorical context in any analysis of contemporary identities, interactions and hierarchies in the country. Critically, SA's history is characterised by oppression, social inequalities, and issues of power and privilege (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). The conditions ensuring the dominance of heteronormative gender and sexual relations in SA, began with the implementation of colonial rule in 1652 (Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012). The existence of same-sex relations throughout Africa's precolonial history is well documented (Van Zyl, 2011). However, colonial policies constructed homosexuality as 'unAfrican'. This was part of the systematic control of African sexual and familial practices, and the imposition of Christian, judicial and moralizing discourses about sex and relationships (Amory, 1997; Van Zyl, 2011; Vincent & Howell, 2014).

Colonial practices filtered into the apartheid era, which institutionalised systems of racial discrimination, with the primary objective of preserving white 'Afrikanerdom' (Du Pisani, 2001). The National Government's¹² policy of 'Separate Development' became the backbone of SA's legal framework, entailing that 'whites' and 'non-whites'¹³ should live separately, with the black population being relocated, forcibly, to isolated and under-resourced areas (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). Embedded in the racialised conflict, gender and sexuality emerged as sites of oppression and violence. A heteronormative social order was established, and the resulting gender inequality created power imbalances in the social spheres of the country (Gontek, 2007; Moffett, 2006; Segalo, 2015).

Black men and women were severely oppressed under the apartheid regime (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). Du Pisani (2001, p. 158) highlighted that the oppressive policing of daily life, under apartheid, established an 'ideal masculinity', related to a puritan system of values – "rigid austerity and strictness in conduct and morals". Part of the institutionalization of racism was to construct black males as existing outside of the 'Afrikanerdom' ideal (Du Pisani, 2001), by pathologizing them as "hypersexual, innately lascivious, sexually violent and physically strong"

¹² The political party governing SA from 1948-1994; responsible for the implementation of the apartheid system (see, e.g. Seekings & Nattrass, 2005).

¹³ In this instance, the terms 'white' and 'non-white' are used to refer to racial categories that were established and used during the apartheid regime in SA. These terms are still used in SA in 2018.

(Swarr, 2012, p. 965). The masculinities of black men were complicated further, by the patriarchal ideologies with which many traditional Chiefs governed the homelands (Morrell et al., 2012).

Particularly for black women, however, living in apartheid SA was traumatic and oppressive, motivating many of them to try and resist the challenges imposed by their government. Anti-apartheid activism occurred mainly through protest and the joining of civic, anti-apartheid organisations (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). Black women had limited human rights and were entitled only to partial belonging in apartheid society (Segalo, 2015). Some of the main challenges that they encountered included (and were not limited to): the implementation of pass laws; restricted access to towns and cities; having to support their children at home, whilst their husbands lived and worked in ‘white-only’ areas; scarce employment opportunities (with much lower pay than their male counterparts, and almost no job security); and trying to mobilise cohesive modes of resistance, in unfavourable conditions that constrained their freedom of movement and expression (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005; Segalo, 2014). Thus, gender inequality was very apparent during apartheid, and intersected with other forms of social inequality, including along racial and sexual axes (Segalo, 2014; 2015).

During apartheid, the domains of sex, and sexuality, were politicised. Motivated by colonial anxieties about black sexualities, the National Government had, as its primary objective, the prohibition of sexual interaction across racial lines (Posel, 2005). Fundamentally, the goal was to guarantee white ‘purity’ and dominance, with legislation introduced to criminalise, and stigmatise miscegenation (interracial sex). The apartheid system subjected sex and sexuality to significant censorship and policing (Posel, 2004). This was achieved through the imposition of “an extensive armoury of regulations and prohibitions to control the practice and transaction of sex, its public representations and performance” (Posel, 2005, p. 128). New legislation banned the distribution and/or consumption of pornography, and SA media was censored heavily, with propagandist regulations trying to extinguish the possibility of sexual conversation, and/or cross-racial transaction. In domestic spheres of life, sex became a private matter, and GBV (particularly sexual violence) did not feature as a political concern, except in cases involving black perpetrators and white victims (which invited governmental and public disgrace). Amongst white SAs, the threat of communist ideology caused sexual malignancy – with left-wing politics constructed as products of sexual immorality (Posel, 2005).

Moreover, the government published propaganda constructing sex as ‘taboo’, and myths of homosexuality as ‘unnatural’ and ‘ungodly’ were propagated (Jacobs, 1999; Vincent & Howell, 2014). Homosexuality was outlawed in the country, as a means of preserving the interests of the white, heteronormative order. Legally, homosexual intercourse was criminalised, and homosexuals were denied all forms of protection against discriminatory dismissal from employment (Vincent & Howell, 2014). Across SA, “a deep-seated homophobia deterred the open expression or assertion of any sexualities deemed transgressive” (Posel, 2005, p. 128).

Women who identified as ‘lesbian’ were constructed, during this time, as existing outside of the boundaries of ‘humanness’. At a sexual level, lesbians were portrayed as deviants; having failed both gendered and sexual norms, and incapable of engaging in ‘real’ sex (for reproductive purposes; symbolised by the penis) (Judge, 2017). These conditions facilitated the use of sexuality to order social space and discipline those SA identities that threatened white, heteronormative supremacy (Foucault, 1976). Sex and sexuality formed fundamental axes, along which the apartheid government could stifle white dissidence, and control black sexualities in its ultimate quest for racial purity (Posel, 2005). In this sense, sexual identities, like gendered and racial identities, were recruited as weapons of state control, with non-heterosexuals denied recognition as “full citizens” (Segalo, 2015, p. 73). The effect of these sociopolitical conditions was to invisibilise black homosexualities, because the control of genders and sexualities was embedded heavily in the racialised conflict. Hence, to be a black lesbian woman at this time involved significant oppression (Kulick, 2013).

In the context of the current study, the above discussion of SA’s sociopolitical history assists in the contextualization of dominant, contemporary discourses around gendered and sexual identities in SA. For example, connections are visible between colonial and apartheid discourses (perpetuating the myths of homosexuality as unnatural and unAfrican) and some of the current discourses that organize and order SA societies (Judge, 2017; Vincent & Howell, 2014).

Identities in post-apartheid SA. The dismantling of the apartheid regime, in 1994, catalysed the beginning of a new period in SA’s history. The democratically-elected ANC¹⁴ government institutionalised numerous legislative changes pertaining to the rights of social groups that had experienced previous persecution. Racial, political, social and economic dimensions

¹⁴ African National Congress. The political party governing South Africa (SA), at the time of conducting the current study.

changed with the installation of a black government, and the abolition of policies that had served to disenfranchise non-white individuals previously. The eradication of the Separate Development Policy initiated major changes in the migration and residential patterns characterising the landscape (Morrell et al., 2012). Further, the new Constitution and Bill of Human Rights¹⁵ foregrounded women's rights, with the ANC Women's League at the forefront of these changes. The ANC Women's League advocated for sexual and reproductive health rights and achieved the implementation of liberal abortion; maternity service acts; and the reservation of thirty percent of parliamentary seats for women (Morrell et al., 2012).

In 1996, SA became the first country in the world to protect sexual orientation as a fundamental human right, enshrining it in the revised Constitution (Gontek, 2007). Other, monumental changes in the sexual sphere included: The Labour Relations Act (preventing dismissal from employment on the grounds of sexual orientation); the Abolition of Sodomy Law (legalising homosexual intercourse); the right for homosexuals to serve in the military; the right for homosexual parents to co-adopt a child, and the recognition of same-sex partnerships in reference to benefits, including state pensions and immigration rights (Vincent & Howell, 2014). These legislative revisions culminated in the 2006 Civil Union Act, legalising same-sex marriage and symbolising a major triumph for the LGBTQIA+ community (Van Zyl, 2011).

Despite these changes, the advent of democracy has not been successful in eradicating social inequalities in SA, and the country "continues to lag behind in the journey towards cohesion" (Segalo, 2015, p. 79). For example, post-apartheid SA is characterised by extreme levels of GBV (García-Moreno et al., 2013). A community, self-reporting survey (Gender Links, 2012, as cited in CSV, 2016) found that 51% of women in Gauteng have experienced some form of GBV, with 76% of men in Gauteng admitting to the use of violence against their intimate partners. Further, the SA Demographic and Health Survey (Department of Health, 1999, as cited in Hirschowitz et al., 2000) reported that females of specific demographics (younger; black African) are more likely to be targets of rape. Thus, SA ranks as a high-risk area for GBV, despite significant underreporting and the constitutional protection of women (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013). Moreover, the effects of racial inequality can still be identified, in the disproportionate experience of GBV by black SA women.

¹⁵ Available at: <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/SACConstitution-web-eng.pdf>.

Segalo (2014) explored the ways in which black SA women construct the new ‘freedoms’ that post-apartheid democracy promised, focusing on ‘suffering and healing’ through the embroidery of narratives. The findings of the study illustrated that, whilst black women are considered full citizens in legal terms, their daily experiences collide with social inequalities and power imbalances. Moreover, the ideals espoused by ‘democracy’ had not ensured equal access to resources for the participants, who expressed frustration at the challenges facing many black women in post-apartheid SA. Segalo’s (2014) participants recognised that, whilst racial oppression had lessened in the new democratic era, the fragments of apartheid racial imbalances and power struggles were still experienced. Alluding to the importance of race in their narratives, the participants explained that “where you come from determines what you get access to” (Segalo, 2015, p. 77). In this sense, the axes of gendered and racial inequalities could be identified as intersecting, for the participants, in such a way as to render their lived experiences of post-apartheid SA challenging and constraining.

In contemporary SA, continued discrimination, stigma and violence against LGBTQIA+ community members occur in the broader context of GBV (Gontek, 2007). Further, there is major tension between political legislation and public attitudes towards non-heteronormative individuals (Van Zyl, 2011). Vincent and Howell (2014) conducted a qualitative analysis on public attitudes towards homosexuals, finding that homosexuality is viewed as ‘unAfrican’ and ‘unnatural’ in post-apartheid SA. The study concluded that homophobic discourses dominate in such a context, because of SA’s sociopolitical history, and because of the connections between homophobic discourses and institutional power (The Church; Christianity and/or government). Such homophobic discourse is invested in the moralization of sex and relationships, neglecting to consider the evidence of homosexual relationships in Africa throughout precolonial history (Vincent & Howell, 2014).

Furthermore, the notion of homosexuality as ‘unAfrican’ is perpetuated by patriarchal discourses, forming part of apartheid residues still evident in contemporary SA. Without wanting to centralise masculinities in the current study (see, e.g. Macleod, 2007), a brief discussion of post-apartheid masculinities is necessary and important. Connell (1995) argued that ‘masculinities’ do not refer to men, but to *positions* that men occupy in societies. Through repetition of specific, gendered practices, ‘masculine’ patterns emerge and naturalise. Further, masculinities are practiced and formed through social interactions between men and women in societies (Connell,

1995). Therefore, to discuss masculinities is to speak of societal gender relations and power structures. Hence, and perhaps more importantly, challenging patriarchal discourses through feminist work should necessitate changes in the lives of men, also (Connell, 1995; Jewkes, Flood, & Lang, 2014).

Connell's (1995) theory of hegemonic masculinity¹⁶ suggested that masculine positions are plural, intricate and even contradictory in nature – because masculinities transform throughout history and are influenced by social structures. Existing local research (e.g. Shefer, Stevens, & Clowes, 2010) has highlighted that whilst hegemonic masculinities can be linked with violent practices towards other men, women and children (e.g. Clowes, Lazarus, & Ratele, 2010; Ratele, 2008), SA masculinities are complex and multifaceted (e.g. Langa & Kiguwa, 2013; Morrell et al., 2012). Owing to the complex gender matrix that was established under the apartheid regime (Du Pisani, 2001; Moffett, 2006; Rudwick, 2011), contemporary SA masculinities are connected to gendered subject positions, but also to racial subject positions. Hence, the intersections of races, genders and sexualities in post-apartheid SA inform the potential for homosexual identities to be claimed and performed. Rudwick (2011) highlighted that because apartheid machineries treated black individuals as heterosexuals exclusively, the regime established social and institutional conditions that invisibilised black homosexuality. Under these historical conditions, white sexuality was not policed to the same degree. As such, 'whiteness' was (and is still) associated with hegemonic, or dominant masculinities. Contemporarily, the effects of these circumstances can be identified, still. Kulick (2013) explored possibilities for 'whiteness' to offer privileged positions when it intersects with hegemonic masculinities. Owing to their racial subject positions, white homosexual men can occupy non-heteronormative sexual subject positions in more normative, or mainstream ways. For example, Van Zyl (2011) noted that, in contemporary SA, the majority of the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality is white and male – echoing the ways in which gendered, racial and sexual imbalances have intertwined to inform peoples' current realities (Segalo, 2015). However, black homosexuality is still constructed as 'unAfrican' and/or 'white' because black subject positions do not afford the same privileges at the intersections of

¹⁶ "The configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women and other men [...] considered [...] weak" (Connell, 1995, p. 77).

race, gender and sexuality. Hence, the remains of apartheid strategies continue to silence discourses sanctioning black homosexuality as normal and acceptable (Kulick, 2013).

An interesting example, illustrating these issues, can be identified through consideration of SA's contemporary political sphere and its masculine figures. Homophobic discourses are perpetuated by some SA politicians, who hesitate to commit to a firm stance in the defense of homosexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation (Nel, 2014). Ratele (2006) explored political discourses around sex and sexuality in contemporary SA, with a focus on the masculinity embodied by former SA president, Jacob Zuma. The findings of Ratele's (2006) work affirmed that, in post-apartheid SA, sex and sexuality are intertwined with the political sphere. Further, male politicians have access to positions of power that 'ruling masculinities' (such as that performed by Zuma) provide (Ratele, 2006). Hence, the dominant heteronormative social order that characterises contemporary SA can be linked to the representation and performance of masculinity by politicians like Zuma (and his government) – a masculinity that is domineering, sexually assertive, aggressive and entitled to women's bodies. Hassim (2009) argued further, that Zuma's discourse around gender and sexuality is embedded in broader matrices of hegemonic masculinities in SA, and that it supports a heteronormative gendered order condoning the continued subordination and abuse of women. However, it should also be reiterated that even hegemonic or 'ruling' masculinities are not stable, static, universal or essential – like other identities, masculinities are fluid, plural and performed differently by men occupying different societal positions, that afford or deny specific resources (Clowes et al., 2010). For example, a study by Morrell et al. (2012) found that the fluidity of masculinities can be observed even in post-apartheid SA's political domain – for example, if one compares the masculinity embodied by Zuma's gendered performance, versus that expressed by Nelson Mandela. These examples provide further support for intersectionality's insistence that all identities are located socially (Crenshaw, 1991; Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Moreover, that seemingly-stable identities can be deconstructed and explained as culminations of different axes that intersect to produce a unique *identity* at their nexuses. The deconstruction of hegemonic masculinity, and the acknowledgement of *masculinities*, are essential shifts because they create possibilities for the disruption of heteronormative hierarchies between men and women. Significantly, the destabilization of masculinities establishes the possibility for transformation in SA's gendered social order, and for the inclusion of men in feminist work (Jewkes et al., 2014).

Other local studies have explored the intersections of race, gender and sexuality in post-apartheid SA. For example, Graziano (2004) researched the ways in which black homosexual men and women perceive themselves, in relation to white homosexual men and women in contemporary SA. The findings demonstrated that black LGBTQIA+ people continue to feel the effects of social inequality more severely than their white counterparts – including specific issues such as over-crowding, poverty, and lower socio-economic status. Moreover, black participants discussed the difference in treatment for black, versus white, homosexuals under the apartheid regime; communicating that these discrepancies still informed current understandings of sex and sexuality in their communities. For example, the existent research on LGBTQIA+ identities and issues in SA is often still biased towards white, middle-class individuals – perpetuating the notion of homosexuality as a ‘white’, and/or ‘unAfrican’ practice (Graziano, 2004).

Another local study, highlighting possible intersections between gender, sexuality, and race, was conducted at a SA university by Gibson and Macleod (2012). In this study, the participants emphasised the importance of these constructs in their daily realities, expressing that different axes of identities assumed salience only in specific social contexts. Whilst all the participants had experienced difficulties (such as expressing their lesbian identities in relation to challenging family dynamics), race was found to be more salient for black participants, than what it was for their white counterparts. Black participants conveyed that being ‘lesbian’ had to be navigated in various racial contexts – for example, in township versus university settings. For white participants, however, race constructs did not surface as especially relevant or significant. These findings suggest that, for LGBTQIA+ SAs, race constructs “still operate today as a proxy for culture and relative advantage” (Morrell et al., 2012, p. 20). Furthermore, racial identities facilitate the kinds of resistance that lesbian women perform against homophobia. For example, Judge (2017) found that being white, or mixed-race and/or middle-class, meant that participants had the privilege of depoliticising their ‘lesbian’ identities, whilst their black counterparts were constructed as ‘embodying’ both homophobic violence, and the resistance of it. Hence, whiteness continues to afford positions of privilege in SA society, intersecting with racialised discourses in ways that make it more possible for white individuals to identify with more marginalised social positions.

Judge (2017) foregrounded ‘blackwashing homophobia’ as a potentially-harmful example of the possible ways in which gender, sexuality and race intersect in contemporary SA.

‘Blackwashing’ homophobia denotes the perpetual association of black homosexuals with violence; the construction of ‘blackness’ as both the target, and the source, of violence. In the context of racial politics post-1994, ‘blackwashing’ takes its position from colonial strategies of ‘othering’ and is reflective of racialised power struggles that characterise present-day SA. For example, Judge (2017) reported that middle-class white, and mixed race lesbian participants engaged in ‘racial distancing’ – constructing ‘blackness’ and township spaces with discourses of risk and violence.

The tendency to ‘blackwash’ homophobia is also evident in SA media (Judge, 2017; Lake, 2014). Many news stories frame black lesbians as being linked, inextricably, to scenes of brutality, torture and punishment. Predominantly, this is accomplished through the construction of black, lesbian bodies as hypervisible, “sensationalised spectres of violence and victimhood”, and with an emphasis on macabre and grotesque imagery¹⁷ (Judge, 2017, p. 67). Equally problematic, is the perpetual construction of black lesbians as inevitable victims of ‘hate crime’ in township settings.

The term ‘hate crime’ is typically used to denote offenses of a particularly-violent nature; understood as “any behavioural expression that derives from homophobia, prejudice, discrimination, stigmatization or heterosexism and is expressed towards homosexual individuals” (Gontek, 2007, p. 9). Muholi (2004, p. 118, as cited in Moreau, 2015) stated that “the reality of being black and lesbian in South Africa is that we become ‘outsiders’ inside our townships or rural communities because there are those who have defined homosexuality in racial and ethnic terms as unAfrican”. This statement constructs the intersection of race and sexuality as informing the experiences of black lesbian women in township and/or rural spaces, which are framed in fixed, singular terms (*the reality*). However, whilst ‘hate crime’ and forms of violence (like ‘corrective rape’) constitute relevant and important parts of the struggle for equal rights in SA, these cannot be constructed (blackwashed) as inevitable and universal aspects of being black and lesbian in the country (Judge, 2017; Moreau, 2015). The problems with these associations can be identified through consideration of ‘corrective rape’ and its frequent association with black lesbians.

The term ‘corrective rape’ was originally used by activists aiming to raise awareness about criminal offences that were being committed against black lesbian women, based on their sexual identities (Mkhize et al., 2010). Today, the term is used widely and unproblematically in

¹⁷ For an example of this, see this article from Mail & Guardian: <https://mg.co.za/article/2013-07-15-00-violence-against-black-lesbians-is-a-struggle-for-power>.

constructions of black lesbian identities and/or bodies. However, for several reasons, ‘corrective rape’ is a problematic term (Judge, 2017)¹⁸. Firstly, by constructing a rape as *corrective*, the term pathologises non-heterosexual identities, implying that they can be ‘cured’. This pathologising bolsters discourses of homosexuality as ‘unnatural’ (Vincent & Howell, 2014) and privileges the perpetrator, whilst taking agency from the target of the crime (Matebeni, 2011). Moreover, ‘corrective rape’ constructs the rape of ‘black lesbian women’ as separate from the rape of ‘women’. This discourse entrenches the depiction of black lesbians as “special victims of widespread rape and torture” (Matebeni, 2013, p. 344), ignoring the possible intersections of ‘woman’ and ‘lesbian’ (Moreau, 2015). Further, the normalisation of ‘corrective rape’ as an inevitable part of being black and lesbian in a township community, blackwashes homophobia by reinforcing how “[b]lack women’s bodies have been made the bearers of the marks of sexual violence” (Baderoon, 2014, p. 88, as cited in Judge, 2017).

Furthermore, ‘black hegemonic masculinity’ is often identified as the primary source of ‘hate crime’ and ‘corrective rape’ (e.g. Gontek, 2007). Hence, blackwashing discourses function not only to stereotype black lesbian women in contemporary SA, but to essentialise black masculinities as violent and sexually aggressive. Blackwashing discourses stifle possibilities for complex, fluid and plural black masculinities to be constructed and performed. Instead, these discourses maintain subversive, historical discourses of gender, sexuality and race (Judge, 2017; Rudwick, 2011). For these reasons, recognising the fullness of black people’s identities in post-apartheid SA is essential, if stereotypical constructions are to be challenged and opportunities for counter-knowledge are to be established.

The above discussion of SA’s historical background has shown that colonial and apartheid praxis played central roles in entrenching current social inequalities (Segalo, 2015). Significantly, identity constructs (such as gender, sexuality and race) are “entangled in relations of power and fashioned in ways which bear the imprints of other vectors of inequality and difference” (Posel, 2005, p. 127). Hence, intersectional theorisation of identities is valuable, both to this study, and in the broader context of gender, sexuality and/or race research in SA. Historical reflection revealed some of the potential ways in which post-apartheid social ordering might disadvantage women (and black women, in particular). However, intersectionality also implies that black lesbian women

¹⁸ For this reason, the term ‘corrective rape’ (in inverted commas) is used throughout the thesis - to indicate that it has been problematized and contested.

are not ‘triplely oppressed’ because they are black *and* lesbian *and* women (see, e.g. Bowleg, 2008). In contemporary SA, people relate to social categories and positions in unique and complex ways (Bagnol et al., 2010). Importantly, this establishes other possibilities for the construction and performance of black identities in the country, and for blackwashing discourses to be subverted.

Gender and Sexuality: Definitional Tensions in Post-Apartheid SA.

Swarr (2009) conducted a study in the township of Soweto, in the south of Johannesburg, SA. There, she explored the notion of ‘*stabane*’ – a term employed in Zulu vernacular to denote an individual who is ‘intersex’¹⁹. This study highlighted the ‘slipperiness’ and tension implicated in applying strict definitions to genders and sexualities. Swarr (2009) commented on the ‘heterosexual matrix’ characterising many township spaces in post-apartheid SA, where gender is assumed to inform sexual orientation, and concurrence between ‘gender’ and ‘sex’ becomes the precondition for intelligible sexual relationships, and interactions. Thus, Swarr’s (2009) research participants expressed that, in order to be ‘lesbian’, a woman in a township setting needed to be masculine in her gender performance, and also to have a penis (she needed to be intersex):

The general understanding is that when you say, "I'm a lesbian," you're probably having a penis. When you say, "I'm a gay man," people kind of think maybe you have some pussy down there [...]. So now our people [lesbians and gays] experience things like people undressing them because they want to really see, is there a penis or a cunt. (p. 531)

Accusations of *stabane* (against lesbian-identified women) conflate ‘gender’ with ‘sexuality’, facilitating misunderstandings, in the community, about what it might mean to identify as *lesbian*. Hence, Swarr’s (2009) study evinced the reductionist and essentialist nature of these labels, and their potential to inflict harm. Labels, like *stabane*, constitute very public and violent representations of the potential consequences associated with breaking the rules of compulsory heterosexuality (Swarr, 2009):

¹⁹ “Sometimes, individuals are born with genital, genetic or hormonal characteristics” that cannot be classified as being one sex – ‘male’ or ‘female’. “However, for clinicians, an intersex diagnosis can refer also to attributes that are not apparent on the body’s surface, including XXY sex chromosomes or indifference to the hormones that produce effects connotative of masculinity [...] medical treatment of intersex is standard practice in the West. Treatment typically begins in childhood, even in infancy. It can extend over a lifetime in the case of hormonal interventions or repeated genital surgeries” (Morland, 2014, p. 111).

You know, in Soweto there is ... this word that they are calling us, stabane. . . The word stabane, it's so painful when someone is calling you like that because stabane is someone who has two things, you know, like penis and vagina, you know. So, we [lesbians] are not like that. We are women. (p. 533)

Critically, Swarr's (2009) study highlighted the falseness implied in making a sharp distinction between 'sex' and 'gender'. The female participants challenged the notion that, to experience attraction towards other women, and to take pleasure in same-sex relations, they needed to be 'lesbian' and have a penis. For example, some of the women in the study, who identified with the terms *butch*²⁰, and *lesbian*, constructed their genders and sexualities in plural and fluid terms. In some instances, they reported having enjoyed pleasurable, intimate and sexual relationships with women in the community who had identified themselves as heterosexual and moved on to marry men in the future. Thus, the evidence generated in Swarr's (2009) research demonstrated the value of understanding identities as socially-located, unstable and evolving (Shields, 2008).

Intersectional Research on Gendered and Sexual Identities

Intersectional research has become increasingly popular in post-apartheid SA (see, e.g. Whitehead, 2013). Researchers (e.g. Bagnol et al., 2010; Moreau, 2015) have foregrounded specific geographical locations, including the city of Johannesburg, as spaces that make for interesting and dynamic intersectional work. Johannesburg is a metropolis that combines the tough exterior typical of any large, industrial centre, and the legacy of the apartheid system (Bagnol et al., 2010). Further, its landscape is characterised by exceptional diversity, with people embodying a multitude of contrasting histories, cultures, ethnicities, genders, sexualities, races, ages, languages, religions and occupations. Moreover, in the post-apartheid era, the transition to democracy has caused a re-evaluation and 'crisis' of identities in the country – centred around the question of what it might mean to be a SA citizen at this historical juncture (Van Zyl, 2011). From an intersectional perspective, each of these strands of people's identities is reflective of the power and social relations operating to influence SA identities throughout the nation's history (Segalo, 2014; 2015).

²⁰ A term that, stereotypically, denotes a lesbian woman whose physical stylisation and/or behaviour appear 'masculine' (Matebeni, 2011).

The application of intersectional theories to research in SA (and elsewhere) has been questioned and critiqued. Collins (2015) suggested that, pioneered in America, intersectionality was first used to study American-based experiences – thus, it might not be suited to other contexts. However, Cho et al. (2013) argued that intersectional theories have been enriched through their application to research in varying contexts. Expanding the scope of intersectional theories has attested its research capacities, and “amplified its generative focus as an analytical tool to capture and engage contextual dynamics of power” (Cho et al., 2013, p. 788). As the following discussion will show, applying an intersectional lens to contemporary SA research can be of significant value in making sense of how identities are constructed and performed in the country. Importantly, intersectionality offers the opportunity to diverge from blackwashing discourses of black lesbian women’s identities and bodies (Judge, 2017).

The possible intersections implicated in ‘coming out’. Employing an intersectional approach, Smuts (2011) disrupted ‘stage’ theories (e.g. Cass, 1979) constructing homosexual identity development as universal and linear. Working with a group of lesbian-identified women in SA, Smuts (2011) explored constructions of ‘coming out’ processes. The findings of the research illustrated that:

Coming out should be understood in terms of a matrix of power, and [...] the extent to which lesbian women can tap into this power, and gain agency, is dependent on each woman’s intersecting multiple identities of class, race and religion. (p. 38)

The participants’ constructions of ‘coming out’ processes highlighted that, far from being linear or straightforward, their negotiations of gendered and sexual identities had been, and would continue to be, intricate and fluid. Smuts’ (2011) study emphasised the value of applying an intersectional framework in ‘gender’ and ‘sexuality’ research. It showed that the development, construction and performance of identities is a socially-located process, manifesting in unique ways for different people.

Interrogating butch/femme subculture: identities, sex and power. In early research about lesbian identities, relationships between ‘butch’ and ‘femme’²¹ lesbians were constructed as

²¹ Understood, stereotypically, to be the ‘feminine’ counterpart to a ‘butch’ woman, in a lesbian relationship. A lesbian woman whose physical stylisation and/or behaviour appear ‘feminine’ (Matebeni, 2011).

reproducing and maintaining heterosexual identities (Levitt & Hiestand, 2005). The perception was that butch/femme partnerships still adhered to numerous prescribed gender differences, with the ‘butch’ partner expressing more masculine traits, and the ‘femme’ counterpart occupying a traditional, ‘feminine’ and passive role (Page & Peacock, 2013). The reproduction of these heteronormative practices was understood to play out, not only in the expression of butch-femme roles through aesthetic appearance, but also in the domain of sexual interactions. For example, the idea that, in a lesbian relationship, the ‘butch’ should be the one to penetrate, or ‘top’²² the ‘femme’ partner, who would ‘bottom’ – mimicking what was recognised as legitimate sex, by following a heteronormative sexual script (Kiguwa, 2015).

These discourses construed lesbian identities, and lesbian sex, in rigid, reductionist and essentialising terms. They dismissed the possibility for plural ways of engaging in lesbian sex and performing lesbian sexual identities. Similarly, some existing studies of lesbian identities in post-apartheid SA have constructed black, ‘butch’ lesbians solely as victims of hate crime and ‘corrective’ rape (Judge, 2017; Mkhize et al., 2010; Swarr, 2009). Local research (e.g. Kheswa & Wieringa, 2005; Swarr, 2012) has shown the prevalence of ‘butch-femme’ subcultures in township spaces, and that black lesbians who claim ‘butch’ identities (or are perceived as ‘butch’) are frequent targets of hate crime. However, considering butch-femme subcultures through an intersectional lens enables a more inclusive, and fluid understanding of these gendered and/or sexual identities that lesbians can claim and/or subvert (Levitt & Hiestand, 2005).

Internationally and locally, traditional notions of ‘butch-femme’ dichotomies have been explored and disrupted, with the use of intersectional frameworks for LGBTQIA+ research. In an American study, Levitt and Hiestand (2005, p. 41) asked lesbian-identified female participants the question: “What does it mean for you to be butch or femme?”. The findings of their study showed that claiming and/or subverting ‘butch’ and/or ‘femme’ identities assisted the research participants in negotiating different interpersonal relationships, and in identifying and/or expressing their sense of attraction towards other women. More significantly, however, the participants’ accounts demonstrated that, even in the identification with ‘butch’ and/or ‘femme’ identities by a lesbian-

²² “Top/Bottom identities are usually attached to sexual practices amongst gay men (although not restricted to gay men only) that describe active roles such as an insertive sexual position during anal and/or oral intercourse (top) as well as so-called passive receptive roles (bottom identity). These labelling practices are not only restricted to sexual intercourse but may extend to other facets of subjectivity, behaviour, lifestyle and other interactions and performances” (Wegesin & Meyer-Bahlburg, 2000; Zheng & Zheng, 2011, as cited in Kiguwa, 2015, p. 117).

identified woman, there is considerable variability. For example, occupying ‘femme’ spaces in their relationships did not necessitate passivity, but allowed the women to experience their own sense of empowerment – both personally and sexually (Levitt & Hiestand, 2005).

Echoing these findings, SA studies of ‘butch-femme’ subcultures have foregrounded intersectional possibilities of gendered and sexual identities. For example, Kheswa and Wieringa (2005) demonstrated that ‘butch’ and ‘femme’ identities are open to contestation and change, with lesbian women having the agency to identify with, and/or reject them, at different points throughout their lives. Further, a study by Matebeni (2011) suggested that some lesbian women, identifying themselves as ‘masculine’ in the performance of their genders, refute the term ‘butch’. These findings alluded to the complexity and versatility of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ identities in lesbian women, and the agency that these women have in claiming, and/or rejecting, these terms. Moreover, findings from a study conducted by Swarr (2012) emphasised the fluidity and plurality of ‘butch-femme’ identities. For example, some lesbian-identified participants, occupying township spaces, rejected the idea that, to be recognised and legitimised as ‘woman’, they needed to adopt ‘femme’ identities. One participant even stated: “So, I've always been this butch woman. I'm not saying I'm a man, I'm not a man – I'm a woman, attracted to another woman” (Swarr, 2012, p. 534).

Finally, a more recent study by Kiguwa (2015) highlighted that, in using the labels ‘top’ and ‘bottom’ when constructing their sexual identities and preferences, gay-identified men in a focus group did not necessarily perceive these ‘roles’ as ‘butch’ or ‘feminine’, but as part of creating their own sexual scripts (different to traditional, ‘heteronormative’ scripts) and engaging in pleasure. For example, participants who engaged in ‘bottoming’ did not understand the position as reflecting a lack of power, or a sense of passivity in the relationship and/or sexual encounter. Contrastingly, some participants constructed ‘bottoming’ as giving them a greater sense of personal agency and power in the sexual interaction. These intersectional findings accomplished the disruption of normative notions of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ in the sexual spheres of desire and pleasure (Levitt & Hiestand, 2005).

Resistance against discrimination and violence. Shifting away from positioning black lesbians in a risk paradigm, more studies (e.g. Judge, 2017; Lake, 2014; Moreau, 2015; Willoughby-Herard, 2014) have focused on the kinds of resistance in which black lesbian women engage, against discrimination and violence, and towards self-empowerment. Moreau (2015)

conducted a study on ‘intersectional citizenship’, focusing on ‘Free Gender’ – a black lesbian and bisexual women’s organisation that was established in the township of Khayelitsha (Cape Town) in 2010. Moreau’s (2015) study found that the organisation’s predominant goal was to foreground the idea that ‘lesbians’ are also ‘women’ – allowing black lesbians to access the category of ‘African woman’ (which is defined by patriarchal discourse in heterosexist terms) (Moreau, 2015). For example, one of the participants suggested that, as a black lesbian woman, she would like to be afforded equal access to resources of humanness that the mark of ‘woman’ allows. Constructing the identities of ‘lesbian’ and ‘woman’ as commensurable, one of the participants also highlighted the issues inherent in classing ‘corrective rape’ as a separate crime from the rape of ‘women’, as this classification reinforces the notion that ‘lesbian’ and ‘woman’ cannot coincide (Judge, 2017; Moreau, 2015).

Further, Moreau’s (2015) research participants highlighted their desires for equal status as ‘lesbian’ *and* ‘community member’ – recognising lesbians as women, and as active participants in community life. Thus, Moreau’s (2015) study demonstrated the value of critical, intersectional approaches to research on genders, sexualities and races in SA. More importantly, it alluded to the importance of engaging in research with activist organisations like ‘Free Gender’, established by, and for black women. The women in Moreau’s (2015) study asserted, powerfully, that violence against black lesbian women is inseparable from the high rates of GBV in SA (Mkhize et al., 2010). This sentiment was reiterated by participants in Judge’s (2017, p. 79) study, where focus group participants rejected the idea of violence as integral to black lesbian lives, stating: “Since when do people get identified by their sexuality? Because there’s a lot of me in me”.

Zanele Muholi (2004, as cited in Lake, 2014) is a SA, visual activist who has also challenged essentialist representations of black lesbian bodies, through documentary photography. By focusing on the body, visual activism can play key roles in resisting gendered, sexual and racial norms; changing the “highly rigid, regulatory frame[s]” that inform corporeal performances (Butler, 1990, p. 33). The black lesbian bodies in Muholi’s (2004, as cited in Lake, 2014) photographs cannot be classified easily – and their titles (such as *What don’t you see when you look at me?*) invite the viewer to think differently about how black lesbian women are often represented. Further, her photographs confront and defy colonial representations of eroticized and/or fetishized black, female bodies, with the subjects refusing to ‘pose’ for the camera and choosing to look beyond it instead (Lake, 2014).

Conclusions

Reviewing the existing literature around black lesbian women's identities in post-apartheid SA, the above examples of resistance and activism emerge and stand out as remarkable and meaningful. Interestingly, there are many modes of resistance against homophobia and/or sexism that encourage the mobilization and collaboration of black women in the country. This resistance is of particular significance and relevance, considering the historical positioning of women in SA societies. As such, it follows that organisations like Free Gender should be explored and visibilised more profoundly. Predominantly, because such organisations provide important arenas in which black lesbian women organize a collective challenge against discourses of blackwashing homophobia, and in the face of considerable social and/or personal challenges. In the chapter that follows, an outline is provided that explains how the above review of the relevant, existing literature informed the methodological choices made in the current work.

Research Question

How do black lesbian women²³ construct and perform their identities in post-apartheid SA?

²³ The black lesbian women, referred to in this research question, have been and/or are involved in activism against GBV and have produced these discursive constructions in online material.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Research Design and Theoretical Framework

The focus of this thesis was black lesbian women's discursive constructions of their identities. Hence, the current study was located in a qualitative paradigm (see, e.g. Patton, 1999). In the chapter to follow, the methodological framework that was used in the current research is described, detailing the design and theoretical framework; corpus of texts; procedure and data analysis implemented. Thereafter, I discuss the ways in which reflexivity and ethical issues were negotiated in the current study.

Intersectional research and feminism. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the overarching framework, recruited in designing this study, can be identified as 'intersectional'. Intersectional approaches vary, having been enriched by their expansion and implementation across different research contexts (Cho et al., 2013). Thus, research that aims to use 'intersectionality' as its central analytic tool, need not assert itself as 'feminist' research, necessarily. For example, in the wider field of 'intersectional' research, intersectionality frameworks have been helpful in studies of human migration (e.g. Wimmer & Schiller, 2003); in HIV/AIDS research (e.g. Doyal, 2009) and in inclusive education interventions (e.g. Museus & Griffin, 2011).

However, a commitment to the original, 'feminist' focus of intersectionality was of significant value to the critical orientations of this study. As was discussed in chapter two, identifying precise definitions and/or frameworks in feminist research is challenging – given the plurality and/or (purposeful) opposition of some approaches, to others (Freedman, 2001; Gergen, 2008). Generally, however, feminist research is underpinned by the pursuit of “social justice, to enhance women's voice and influence in society, and to explore alternative ways of understanding the world through women's experiences” (Gergen, 2008, p. 280).

In this study, a political commitment to centralising black lesbian women was made, drawing on the fundamental concern of 'intersectionality' with the discursive realities of black women (Crenshaw, 1991). Further, gender was a primary focus of the analysis – a prerequisite for 'feminist' scholarship (Boonzaier & Schefer, 2006). Echoing my previous commentary on the possible 'traps' of prioritising one identity construct over another, it should be reiterated that the decision to adopt this analytic lens was not to imply that 'woman' is more significant, or relevant, than 'black' or 'lesbian'. Rather, it was to highlight that “lesbian rights are women's rights”

(Moreau, 2015, p. 504). Hence, alluding to the fact that black lesbian women in post-apartheid SA have not yet attained equal status as ‘full citizens’ in the country, and that part of the realisation of that status is contingent on their legitimization as ‘intersectional citizens’ (Moreau, 2015).

Additionally, feminist research has, as one of its fundamental tenets, the goal of politicizing and deconstructing power relations (especially those that are ‘gendered’). Therefore, situating the current study within a feminist framework facilitated understanding of gendered power dynamics and identity struggles in post-apartheid SA, focusing on historical, political and sociocultural contexts (Segalo, 2014; Weedon, 1987). Further, using a feminist, intersectional lens, insight was gained into how gendered power relations collide with other axes of identities, including sexuality and race constructs. Moreover, drawing on feminist epistemologies, the current study was especially invested in the significance of agency. Wanting to orientate the current research away from traditions of ‘blackwashing homophobia’ (Judge, 2017), I was concerned with allowing the textual data (and the participants constructing that textual data) to ‘speak for themselves’, instead of imposing ‘categories’ of identity (e.g. ‘victim of hate crime’) onto these constructions. The importance of using a gendered lens to understand black lesbian identities was echoed by the participants’ constructions of themselves as ‘woman’ and ‘lesbian’ – simultaneously, and equally. Having identified ‘agency’ as a construct of significance, it was also decided to centre the research around two forms of black women’s activism in post-apartheid SA (this will be elaborated on in the section to follow, which discusses the research data for the study). In doing so, the study focused on gender politics and their potential intersection(s) with racial and sexual identities. Further, the research foregrounded political and creative activities that create space for women’s discourses and trace women’s histories visually, foregrounding very important political activism – a hallmark of feminism (Freedman, 2001).

Incorporating an intersectional framework. In the domains of social and psychological research, critiques of ‘intersectionality’ have debated methodological tensions and confusion (Shields, 2008). Predominantly, ‘intersectionality’ has been foregrounded as offering useful theoretical frameworks but lacking in methodological rigour and consistency (e.g. Collins, 2015; Mann, 2013). However, Shields (2008) highlighted that, part of the *value* in undertaking ‘intersectional’ studies, exists in the fact that there is no ‘one-size-fits-all’ method for using intersectional theories. This value was identified as a potential source of methodological advantage and strength in the current study. Pragmatically, there was the need for a plural, methodological

framework – one that incorporated different modes of analysing identities, and that recognised possible, emergent relationships between them. Thus, the current study drew on the analytic work presented by Scharff (2011), that combined performative theory; discursive psychology and Ahmed's (2014) theorisation of affect, with the aim of generating a plural methodological framework.

Performativity theory. Butler's (1988) performativity theory offered potential value to the current study. Whilst considered very abstract (Scharff, 2011), performativity theory offers a sophisticated way of thinking about the possible relationships between gendered, sexual and racial axes of identities. Underpinned by feminist, post-structural principles, the theory emphasises the power of language, suggesting that 'identities' are merely social norms that naturalise, through their repeated 'performance'. Our iterated *doing* of social norms is key to the development and 'naturalisation' of our identities. Hence, gendered identities are defined as being articulated socially, through the governing capacities of social institutions, taboos and heteronormative discourses (Butler, 1988). Importantly, for performatives to produce taken-for-granted or 'naturalised' ways of being, they must be repeated by social subjects (Butler, 1988). Hence, there is space for agency in the daily navigation of social contexts, which lies in the potential for performatives to be repeated differently. This theory proved helpful, when thinking about identities in the current study, in that I was able to identify with the idea of 'gendered' identities as being habitualised through repeated compliance with dominant, heteronormative social conventions. Further, the approach's conceptualisation of 'agency' was appreciated – as it recognises the potential for gender self-determination, and for myriad expressions or 'performances' of identities (Shields, 2008).

The politics of emotion. Ahmed's (2014) 'Cultural Politics of Emotion' discussed affect as 'performative', building on feminist scholarship, including Butler's (1988) previous work on the performativity of gendered identities. When seen as an elaboration of Butler's (1988) performative theory, Ahmed's (2014) approach is useful in explaining how (and why) it is that people perform particular identities, and how these identities become affect-laden. Ahmed (2014) explored the politicisation of 'emotional' constructs, discussing how these become imbued with the politics of gendered social orders, 'sticking' to specific bodies, and defining the boundaries of social interaction. Her focus was on the function of heteronormativity as an organising mechanism in societies, functioning to shape the surfaces of bodies and to enforce the orientation of people to

some objects, but not others. Emotions, according to Ahmed (2014), are not psychological, but relational, social practices (they are performed). Reflecting Butler's (1988) performativity theory, Ahmed's (2014) argument for the relationality and sociality of emotions highlights a post-structural shift, diverging from thinking about 'identities' as essential. For the purpose of the current thesis, thinking about emotionality as being political proved valuable. I thought about the connotations and meanings that 'emotion' carry in society and recognised the gendered nature of emotional constructs. Providing an example of how emotionality is 'gendered', Ahmed (2014) highlighted that emotions have been, and are subordinated, in conjunction with the subordination of the 'feminine' and the body. Feminist philosophy (e.g. Jaggar, 1996; Spelman, 1989, as cited in Ahmed, 2014) emphasises that emotions become 'signs' of feminine prehistories, with 'women' constructed as 'overly emotional', 'closer' to the natural, governed by appetite, and with less capacity for rational and/or independent thought than their male counterparts. Echoing the feminist refrain of the 'personal' as inherently 'political' (Freedman, 2001), Ahmed (2014) politicised affect – something that is taken-for-granted as sanitised, private and innately feminine.

Paralleling performativity and critical accounts of 'gender', the argument proposed by Ahmed (2014) centralised gendered discourses, and discourses of heteronormativity, specifically. The politicisation of 'emotion' implies that affects are relational, social and circulating in relation to power. Emotions saturate particular bodies with affective 'signs' – this is what allows us to relate to other (gendered) bodies in the way that we do, and this is why we perform particular (gendered) subject positions repeatedly. In this sense, the theory is interested in the subtleties of power and language, also. Further, Ahmed (2014) suggested that compulsory heterosexuality enforces specific kinds of emotional sociality and relationships between people – designating that which is legitimate and constraining that which is not. Further, she argued that heterosexuality is connected to emotion in its capacity to unite people into family units, through sentimental milestones (weddings, births, etc) that become 'saturated' with affect. In this sense, performing heteronormativity implies a type of public comfort. 'Comfort', as an emotional construct, sticks to bodies that conform to heteronormative signs repeatedly – performing one's identities in heteronormative ways, produces conditions for social legitimisation and 'heteronormative comfort'. In turn, affect plays a central role in shaping social interaction, and in demarcating which spaces can be occupied by which bodies.

Further, Ahmed (2014) suggested that non-heterosexual identities (such as ‘lesbian’ identities) are ‘read’ as having failed to relate to other bodies in heterosexually-comfortable ways. This ‘failure’ produces an affect that becomes readable as the failure to reproduce (threatening the social stratification of life). The notion of bodies as ‘unreadable’ in terms of a heteronormative script, produces a feeling of discomfort (having failed to orientate one’s body according to social prescription). Such an account of ‘emotion’ was useful, in the current thesis, because it facilitated thinking through, understanding and moving beyond ‘blackwashing’ trends in the representation of black lesbian bodies (see, e.g. Judge, 2017). Moreover, Ahmed (2014) emphasised that feelings of social injury can be transformed into hate. Within discourses of heteronormativity, hate orientates itself towards, and sticks to, bodies that do not iterate its conventions consistently – which establishes ‘affective economies’. Heteronormative discourses stick to bodies performing these injuries and failures, so that the performance of non-heteronormative identities assumes constructions of common threat, danger and hate. In these emotional orderings, certain bodies are allocated space for ‘being through feeling’, whilst others are denied it (Ahmed, 2014). These theorisations of affect can be related to critical thinking around ‘hate crime’. For example, it was very interesting and helpful to think about the kinds of emotions that are constructed as ‘sticking’ to black lesbian women’s bodies; how these litter media articles and construct these individuals as existing outside of the comfort of heteronormativity (Judge, 2017).

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. Whilst offering a sophisticated account of identities and affect as performative, Butler’s (1988) and Ahmed’s (2014) approaches are difficult to apply practically. Scharff (2011) presented the argument that critical discursive psychology (e.g. Fairclough, Wodak, & Mulderrig, 2011) can facilitate the application of performative theories, to the analysis of talk-in-action. The term ‘discursive psychology’ does not denote a single method of investigation, but a constellation of different analytic approaches (Scharff, 2011; Fairclough et al., 2011). For the purposes of this study, I elected to include Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the multimodal analytic framework. Feminist CDA is underpinned by many of the same principles as CDA (e.g. Fairclough et al., 2011). For example, Feminist CDA is characterised by an interest in language, discourses, social institutions and power (Lazar, 2007). However, it claims the ‘feminist’ label. The claiming of this label serves to signify Feminist CDA’s political commitment towards adopting a critical conceptualisation of gendered hierarchies and interactions (Lazar, 2007). It is important to reiterate that, not all research taking ‘gender discourse’ as its

central focus is automatically and/or necessarily ‘feminist’. The current study, however, asserted an explicit, political stance towards thinking about genders, and was motivated by the need to move away from ‘victim’, ‘risk’ and ‘blackwashing’ discourses constraining possibilities for how black lesbian women construct, and negotiate their identities. Since the primary objective of Feminist CDA is to expose the ways in which naturalised power relations are (re)produced discursively (Lazar, 2007), it offered a valuable addition to the analytic framework. A major strength of Feminist CDA is that it is interdisciplinary – it adds value to critical discourse research, but it also highlights the utility of discourse analysis to the project of researching feminist issues (Weedon, 1987). Critically, in the context of the current study, Feminist CDA contributed towards the generation of an ‘intersectional framework’. By acknowledging that ‘woman’ does not represent a universal category of being, Feminist CDA recognises that people’s identities are constructed differently – across social contexts and/or interactions, but in relation to other axes of identity, also (Lazar, 2007). Thus, like performativity theories, Feminist CDA is interested in power. The interdisciplinary nature of Feminist CDA meant that it could be used in conjunction with Butler’s (1988) performativity theory, as it reinforces the notion of ‘identities’ as being produced and ‘performed’ through language and social interaction. Reflecting Butler’s (1988) performativity theory, discursive psychology maintains anti-essentialist conceptualisations of ‘identity’, highlighting its potential value in disrupting traditional gender hierarchies. The emphasis on language is a common feature of performativity and discursive psychology, entailing an analysis of the potential ways in which micro-level interaction (text and talk) reproduces macro-level social arrangements (institutions and norms) (Scharff, 2011). Thus, Feminist CDA complimented performativity theory in the current study’s analytic framework, because each theory focused on the ways in which people navigate social space. Moreover, Feminist CDA offered the analytic tools necessary to comment on what the textual participants were able to do (perform), and/or say (construct) from different subject positions, and with varying access to social resources (Lazar, 2007).

The above section provided a detailed account of the methodological framework that was used in developing the current thesis. The objective was to use an intersectional framework for an intersectional study. In applying a multimodal analytic lens, it was more likely that a well-rounded, ‘intersectional’ understanding of possible black lesbian identities, constructed in text, would emerge. Drawing on the approach advocated by Scharff (2011), the selection of methodological

approaches was tailored to match the theoretical and political underpinnings of this research, with the aim of answering the research question. This was achieved by placing three analytic lenses in conversation with one another – namely, Butler’s (1988) performativity theory; Feminist CDA (e.g. Fairclough et al., 2011; Lazar, 2007) and Ahmed’s (2014) performative theory of affect. In each of the three theories, emphasis is centred on the discursive and/or performative power, relationality and sociality of identities. In particular, Butler (1988) provided a sophisticated way of thinking about the performative constitution of identities, which was complimented by Ahmed’s (2014) theorisation of emotionality in society. Feminist CDA then provided the analytic tools (Fairclough et al., 2011) needed to be able to analyse textual data qualitatively, with a focus on discourse, power and subject positions through a gendered lens. In applying the above framework to the current research, the feminist project of critiquing the feminisation and privatisation of emotion (Ahmed, 2014) was centred. Furthermore, an account of possible intersections between gendered, sexual and racial identities in post-apartheid SA was offered.

Some authors (e.g. Mann, 2013) have argued that the combination of third-wave feminist approaches (like intersectionality) with post-structural theories is problematic. Mann (2013) suggested that research combining intersectionality with post-structural approaches tends to misuse and/or ignore intersectionality’s fundamental assumptions. However, while it is important to engage with these methodological debates, the combination of intersectional and post-structural approaches does not necessarily suggest an ‘anything goes’ stance towards intersectionality. Rather, as Cho et al. (2013) demonstrated, intersectional theories lend themselves to interdisciplinary research, so long as the central underpinnings of the theory (see, e.g. Crenshaw, 1991) are not treated as an invitation to include anything and/or everything therein. With these aspects in mind, an outline of the data that was analysed in this study is provided in the following section.

Corpus of Texts and Procedure

The qualitative data for this study consisted of six texts that were retrieved purposively online. The texts were all forms of naturally-occurring, secondary data. In her exploration of embroidery as narrative, Segalo (2014) emphasised the potential value of ‘hidden transcripts’ to the feminist project involved in challenging master narratives constructing ‘woman’. Drawing inspiration from her work, and the visual activism of Muholi (2004, as cited in Lake, 2014), the

analysis in the current study focused on SA creative projects that have been crafted and published in the public domain. Furthermore, the analysis aimed to centre the activism and/or resistance that has been established by and for black lesbian women in post-apartheid SA. Hence, the study focalized the work of Cape Town's Free Gender organisation and the Miss Lesbian beauty pageant.

Five of the six texts were taken from *Rainbow Girls* – a project featured on the professional website²⁴ of Netherlands-based photographer, Julia Gunther. The *Rainbow Girls* installation was exhibited online, in 2013, as part of Gunther's portfolio *Proud Women of Africa*. For *Rainbow Girls*, Gunther interviewed, and photographed black lesbian women who were involved in activism organized by the Miss Lesbian beauty pageant. This pageant is planned and held annually, in Cape Town. The *Rainbow Girls* project was of interest to the current study because of its attitude towards the representation of black SA women, and its focus on black women's activism. The artist's aim in designing *Rainbow Girls*, and *Proud Women of Africa*, was for the work to serve as a creative and visual platform for SA women to talk about their lives. In this sense, the project was a celebration of SA womanhood(s), with resilience and agency at the centre. Further, Gunther focused not on perpetuating negative representations of black bodies, but rather on engaging black women in conversation about their identities, their relationships and their thoughts on what it might mean to be a black woman in post-apartheid SA. This emphasis created important space for the visual and textual mapping of identities, without imposing gendered, sexual or racial constructs onto the discourses used by Gunther's subjects. In displaying the women's stories and interviews, Gunther began each vignette by stating the name of the subject, followed by 'in her own words', which resonated with the focus of the current research. Further, like Muholi (2004, as cited in Lake, 2014), Gunther invited her subjects to position themselves freely and expressively in the photographs that she captured, opening the possibility for the women to perform their identities in ways that they felt were appropriate. Owing to the powerful, performative implications that the participants' photographs engender, these images have been included alongside each of the texts in the relevant appendices. After locating the *Rainbow Girls* texts, each was saved in its original format, using the 'print-change-save as PDF' function online. This function prevented the loss of any features in the original layout of the data.

²⁴ Available at: <http://juliagunther.com/portfolio/proud-woman-of-africa/rainbow-girls>

The sixth, and final text, was transcribed²⁵ from season one of an online documentary program, filmed in 2012, and titled the *I am Woman* series²⁶. This documentary series was of interest to the current research because its primary aim was to honour the fullness and complexity of womanhood(s) in post-apartheid SA. In the second episode of its first season²⁷, the series featured Funeka Soldaat, who is a leader of the Free Gender organisation²⁸ (established in 2010, in Cape Town). Free Gender is an organisation aimed at the politicization of gender, and was established by, and for, black SA women. As such, like *Rainbow Girls*, the *I am Woman* project focalized activism and/or resistance performed by black women in SA. In the relevant episode, Funeka was interviewed by Lisa Chait, who invited her to talk about herself and her life. The choice of secondary data in this research did have some ethical implications, which are discussed in the ethics section to follow.

The above discussion introduced the qualitative data that was analysed in completing the current thesis. A rationale for the choice to analyse this data was provided, foregrounding the value of texts as embodiments of discursive constructions of identities (see, e.g. Fairclough et al., 2011) and as key platforms showcasing black women's activism and/or resistance in SA. In the section to follow, the analytic process is outlined, using the multipronged approach that was described above.

Data Analysis

The analytic process assumed several stages. In the first stage, I read each of the six texts, without commenting on them. Following, each text was read again, more closely, and I highlighted each identity construct that emerged. Identity constructs were highlighted in the texts because the current study was interested in analysing how the black lesbian women therein constructed and performed their gendered, sexual and racial identities. The list of identity constructs, as they emerged in the texts, was as follows: *woman; mother; age; community member; SA citizen; lesbian; activist/volunteer; feminine; butch; man; family member; friend; race and human being*.

Initially, it was challenging to know how to organise the analytic process. Predominantly, the difficulty arose because a pluralist methodological approach was being used, that had not been implemented before. Moreover, the list above shows that there were many identity constructs in

²⁵ According to Jeffersonian transcription conventions – see Jefferson (2004).

²⁶ Available at: <http://www.iamwomanseries.com/>.

²⁷ Watch this episode here: <http://www.iamwomanseries.com/our-stories/episodes-1-6/episode-2-funeka-soldaat/>.

²⁸ For more information about Free Gender, please see their blog, available at: <https://freegender.wordpress.com/>.

the texts. It was necessary to think about these identity constructs in terms of how they were constructed individually, in each text, but then also about the ways in which their construction(s) compared across all of the data. These comparisons of the constructs were necessary, in order to focus on the ways in which the textual participants orientated (or did not orientate) towards them and about the possible intersections between them (both within and across the six texts). For these purposes, creating an analytic table proved valuable in organising the process. The table was structured according to *Figure 1* below (owing to space constraints, the completed table has not been included, but the template that was used is shown, to facilitate the reader’s understanding of the analytic process):

	Text one	Text two	Text three	Text four	Text five	Text six
<i>Woman</i>						
<i>Mother</i>						
<i>Age</i>						
<i>Community member</i>						
<i>SA citizen</i>						
<i>Lesbian</i>						
<i>Activist/volunteer</i>						
<i>Feminine</i>						
<i>Butch</i>						
<i>Man</i>						
<i>Family member</i>						
<i>Race</i>						
<i>Human being</i>						

Figure 1. Table that was used to organise the analytic process.

In the table, each of the above identity constructs (one construct per row) was listed in the far-left column, and the name of each text (e.g. text one) was listed across the first row (one text per column). After constructing the table, each of the texts was analysed individually. In doing so, I

took ‘discourse’ as the primary focus, because the current study was interested in the discursive construction of textual identities.

Discourse is the fundamental analytic tool in Feminist CDA, which argues that discourses inhabit text and talk (Lazar, 2007). The current research’s multimodal analytic approach foregrounded the importance of sociohistorical context (Segalo, 2014; 2015). Hence, drawing on intersectionality theory, Feminist CDA and performativity theories, the approach emphasised that discourses are used in relation to the ways in which they have been established and maintained historically (Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 1988; Crenshaw, 1991; Fairclough et al., 2011; Lazar, 2007). Thus, a focus on the context(s) that the textual participants were constructing was central. However, contextual information was not imposed onto the data (see, e.g. Schegloff, 1997). Instead, the analysis focused only on the context(s) that the textual participants, themselves, were constructing. For example, where particular spaces (such as ‘township’ or ‘home’) were mentioned, the analysis focused on the historical connotations that those contexts held.

Further, ‘discourse’ is defined as being (re)created by language (Janks, 1997). Thus, to look at discourses is to consider how words are used together, in terms of connotation and syntax, and to think about the possible meanings that this language generates (Janks, 1997). Therefore, in the analysis of each text, I focused specifically on how the textual world was being constructed linguistically, with particular attention to the words and syntax used by the participants. The connotations of different words were explored, and I asked why those particular words had been used in specific places (‘why that word, and why now?’). For example, questions emerged as to possible implications if a participant had used the words ‘lesbian women’ and/or ‘black lesbian woman’ in constructing her identities, as opposed to ‘lesbian’. In completing this step, the focus centred on subject positions, and the ways in which these were constructed by the participants as oppressive and/or resourceful. I followed the intersectional claim that identities afford different social categories to people, and that these positions can constrain and/or facilitate the performance of identities in particular ways, and in different contexts (Shields, 2008).

Further, Feminist CDA contends that discourses are informed by social institutions and power relations (Lazar, 2007). For example, discourses function to shape people, societies and social interactions and/or relationships. However, the relationships between discourses and societies are dialectic in nature – discourses are constructed by institutions and social structures, but they create and sustain institutions and social structures, too (Fairclough et al., 2011). Thus, Feminist CDA

argues that discourses have social effects – they can maintain and (re)produce the status quo, but they are also capable of subverting and/or transforming it (Lazar, 2007). Because it is a socio-politically-committed paradigm, there is an explicit emphasis and focus on issues of power in Feminist CDA. In the analytic process, the power dynamics (ideological effects) that emergent discourses produced in the texts were focalised. For example, I asked how the construction and/or performance of gendered, racial and/or sexual identities maintained and/or challenged dominant, mainstream discourses. Moreover, the kinds of power dynamics that each of the discourses was generating were considered. Hence, focusing on the discursive ideologies in the texts facilitated thinking around constructions of identities, as ways of (re)presenting or subverting power dynamics (Lazar, 2007).

Finally, Feminist CDA proposes that discourses are forms of social action (Lazar, 2007). The word ‘action’ was important – the analysis focused on any performative (bodily and/or emotional) discourses in the texts. For example, when an emotive word emerged in a text, I asked about the possible ways (if any) in which that word functioned to politicise emotion. Thus, I questioned what the texts implied about the kinds of emotions that stick to different bodies (Ahmed, 2014). These discursive points of ‘sticking’ (Ahmed, 2014) were then related to the aspect of power, noting how different performances of bodily and/or affectual identities were implicated in the power dynamics between different identities.

In this chapter, the pluralist methodological approach that was implemented in the current research has been outlined. Each of the methodological ‘strands’ of the approach was explored, including performativity theories of body (Butler, 1988) and emotion (Ahmed, 2014) and Feminist CDA (e.g. Fairclough et al., 2011; Lazar, 2007). It was argued that a combination of the three theories, with Feminist CDA providing the analytic instruments needed to recognise and understand discourses, offered a unique way of doing intersectional research. Following, the choices that were made in terms of data selection were discussed, and each step of the analytic process was explained. In the next section, I discuss the ways in which reflexivity and ethical issues were negotiated in the current study.

Reflexivity and Ethical Considerations

In the section to follow, I discuss the ways in which methodological tensions and debates around the use of reflexivity in qualitative enquiry were negotiated. In doing so, significant

critiques that have been proposed by authors from different qualitative paradigms are discussed, with a view to explaining how reflexivity featured in the current thesis. Thereafter, some of the ethical implications of having selected naturally-occurring data for the current study are outlined, focusing specifically on the question of anonymity.

Negotiating Reflexivity

Previous research (e.g. Parker, 1994; Pillow, 2003) has critiqued the role of reflexivity in qualitative studies, leading to contestation about the ways in which it should and/or should not be incorporated in qualitative enquiry. Parker (1994), for example, highlighted that reflexivity is sometimes taken-for-granted as a necessary feature of qualitative studies, without consistent, thorough and careful execution. Further, Pillow (2003) noted that reflexivity can feature as a kind of narcissistic endeavour, with qualitative researchers placing themselves at the centre of the work and using it as a platform to divulge unnecessary personal detail, finding catharsis and/or cure. Especially in the current study, it was important to consider tensions and contestation in feminist scholarship around issues of representation (e.g. Mohanty, 1993, as cited in Palmary, 2006). As was highlighted in chapter two, psychological research should assume an active role in challenging colonial and/or apartheid strategies of representing ‘the other’ (see, e.g. Judge, 2017; Matebeni, 2011; Nel, 2014; Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004). Hence, it is necessary and important to give consideration to these issues.

In writing the current thesis, it was challenging to think through issues around reflexivity. In fact, I considered whether I should include it at all. I felt, at the outset, that I did not want to incorporate a ‘reflexivity section’ in the project simply for the sake of doing so, but also I did not want to misuse the underlying intersectional project of centring black women, either. For example, in the research proposal, I had disclosed personal information about my views on ‘gender’ and ‘sexuality’. However, I recognise now that this placed ‘whiteness’ and heterosexuality at the centre of the writing, when the focus of the project intended to move away from colonial and/or apartheid research praxis. For example, I did not want to imply in the project that I (a white woman) was ‘giving’ black lesbian women a chance to have their voices heard, as I felt that this would be reproducing the very power dynamic that I aimed to critique. I felt that these issues required careful deliberation, considering the context in which the study was being conducted – for example, with recent political movements towards the decolonisation of knowledge and education, and with

respect to colonial fetishization and eroticisation of black women's bodies (Matebeni, 2011). Again, I grappled with the notion of 'feminism' and reflexivity in critical feminist research. For example, I did not want the feminist (and/or intersectional) label to serve as a 'cure' for neglectful or inconsistent practice of reflexivity in the study (Pillow, 2003). However, I had to negotiate these doubts in the context of feminisms' objectives of challenging traditional authorial neutrality and power (Boonzaier & Schefer, 2006).

Therefore, the negotiation of reflexivity proved challenging. I knew that, in a study with 'identity' and critical, feminist underpinnings at its centre, I could not pretend neutrality and claim to have absolved the research and/or researcher of bias (Lazar, 2007). Thus, I chose to thread some personal inflections and reflections throughout the writing but tried to avoid presenting a narcissistic account of my own position. I resisted 'tacking on' a brief reflexivity section at the end of the project, focusing instead on making the writing style slightly more open and nuanced. In the data analysis, the choice to foreground the leader(s) and work of Free Gender (and the Miss Lesbian beauty pageant) as a starting point was important. It centred the analysis on activism established by, and for black women in SA. Hence, instead of 'giving' black women a 'voice' in the study, I focused on ways in which they create spaces for *themselves* and the performance of their identities. Further, the critical, feminist (intersectional) framing of the project assisted my thought process. For example, it foregrounded the importance of recognising one's biases, instead of trying to neutralise them, and alerted me to the idea that trying to understand intersectionality constitutes an effort to understand the unique positions of others (Lazar, 2005; Shields, 2008). Further, intersectionality proved valuable in negotiating the challenges with reflexivity, in that it acknowledged (and embraced) plural identities and positioning. For example, reflecting on 'whiteness' and/or 'heterosexuality' did not have to mean that I was centring hegemonic discourses around race and/or sexuality, because these constructs are not universal or static. As Judge (2017) observed – the research became more about exploring possible (often contradicting) positions and constructions of 'identity', and less about focusing on essential and stable sites of discursive power.

Critiques of intersectionality: reflecting on the writing process. In a study that placed intersectionality at its core, tension surrounded the question of how to foreground 'gender', 'sexuality' and 'race' as constructs of interest in this work, without constructing black lesbian women as 'triple oppressed' (Bowleg, 2008). This challenge affected decisions pertaining to

seemingly-small details, including settling on a title for the project. Throughout the thesis, wherever possible, the plural forms of the words ‘gender’, ‘sexuality’ and ‘race’ have been used, to communicate the heterogeneity and instability that these words represent.

In the analysis, I tried not to impose these constructs onto the data, letting the texts speak for themselves, and care was taken to notice how the participants constructed their identities. There is a risk, in intersectional studies, of falling into the ‘etcetera’ trap when discussing identities (Cho et al., 2013). However, when analyzing the data, the etcetera problem was mitigated by focusing on the identity constructs that were salient for the participants themselves – this provided insight into how each nexus of identity constructs came together to generate a different reality for each woman. Further, careful consideration was devoted to the problems that might have arisen because of the decision to refer to subjects as ‘black lesbian women’ in this study – this choice of syntax could be interpreted as meaning that one axis of identity assumes priority over the other(s). However, the analysis clarified that the participants, themselves, claimed these terms, and this syntax, in constructing their identities. Thus, placing ‘black’, next to ‘lesbian’, next to ‘women’ symbolises the interplay between these constructs, without foregrounding one, as more important in its relation to the other(s).

Ethical Considerations

The data that was selected for analysis in the current study was a secondary type of ‘naturally-occurring’ data. It comprised social interactions that would have taken place even if they were not going to be selected as data for this study. Further, the data is available freely to any individual in possession of the technology required to access YouTube and/or photography portfolio websites. Therefore, both the *Rainbow Girls* and *I am Woman* projects facilitated analysis of social interactions that happened in contexts that had not been established for research purposes specifically (Jowett, 2015). The choice to analyse naturally-occurring data does not absolve research of ethical issues automatically (see, e.g. Jowett, 2015). For example, some may question whether using this type of data for research purposes constitutes a failure to gain informed consent from the women therein. However, my use of this naturally-occurring data is in accordance with current ethical guidelines, with respect to the issue of informed consent. For example, the guidelines stipulated by the British Psychological Society (2013) advise that:

Where it is reasonable to argue that there is likely no perception and/or expectation of privacy (or where scientific/social value and/or research validity considerations are deemed to justify undisclosed observation), use of research data without gaining valid consent may be justifiable. (p. 7)

Therefore, because of the public nature of the data that was used, and the intended purposes of both the *Rainbow Girls* and *I am Woman* projects (public, visual activism), it is likely that the participants had no reasonable expectations of privacy²⁹. Further, any potential risk of harm to which the participants may be exposed as a consequence of having had these projects used in the current study, was no more significant than the potential risks associated with participating in the projects in the first place. Further, the constructions of identities emerging in the textual data selected for analysis are not reflective of, or generalisable to, all black lesbian women's identities in SA. Instead, the analysis shows *some* of the *possibilities* for the construction and performance of black lesbian women's identities in post-apartheid SA.

Owing to the secondary nature of the data sources in the current study, some other ethical issues require discussion. For example, the initial creation of each of the online projects involved interview situations – therefore, it is necessary to reflect on the original data creators. Gunther is a white, German photographer from the Netherlands, and Chait is a white SA woman, based in middle-class Cape Town. Hence, the fact that these creators each interviewed black subjects may have had some important implications for the final projects that were published. For example, post-structural approaches (e.g. Fairclough et al., 2011) have emphasised that identities are constructed, discursively, in the contexts of social interactions, and that their construction is affected by the subject position(s) that can, and cannot, be performed in those contexts. Thus, whilst acknowledging that the texts were likely to provide discursive constructions of identities to be analysed, these identity constructions were happening in the context of interview situations. Hence, considering the implications of interview contexts for intersectional research (e.g. Bowleg, 2008), I also focused (wherever possible) on the ways in which the interviewer posed her questions to Funeka (asking if these interview questions constructed Funeka's identities as additive, for example – see, e.g. Bowleg, 2008). Further, an important implication for the analysis of the data was to remain aware of the subject positions occupied by these interviewers and their participants,

²⁹ For these reasons, the names of the participants, as they appeared in the *Rainbow Girls* and *I am Woman* projects, were used throughout the data analysis, and the discussion of findings.

because (as the discussion of existing literature demonstrated) ‘whiteness’ and ‘blackness’ intersect with genders and sexualities in different ways in post-apartheid SA. With these aspects in mind, the findings and discussion are presented.

Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion

In the following chapter, the findings of the current research are presented and discussed. The chapter is organised by writing about the analysis of each text individually. As the discussion will show, the intersectional nature of the identities in the texts meant that one construction could not be discussed without drawing on another. Therefore, it was decided that presenting the qualitative analysis of each text individually would be more appropriate than organising the discussion into main themes and sub-themes. In presenting each textual analysis, the discussion shows how I implemented the intersectional methodological framework that was outlined in chapter three. Further, after presenting each textual analysis, a summative discussion is provided, highlighting the main findings of the current study. In summarising the analysis, the texts are compared, and the findings of the analysis are related to the review of existing literature that was discussed in chapter two.

I reiterate, at the outset of this chapter, that reference to ‘black lesbian women’ does not assume the constructions and performances of these textual identities to be generalizable to, or reflective of, those of all black lesbian women in post-apartheid SA. Thus, in the discussion of the current study’s main findings, the term ‘black lesbian women’ is used to refer to the constructions and performances asserted by the textual participants, acknowledging that no social group is homogenous (Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Further, these identity constructs were not imposed onto the textual data, but are the terms that the participants, themselves, used in the texts when constructing their identities. With these aspects in mind, the discussion of each textual analysis follows.

Analysis of Text one³⁰

In text one, Siya constructs gendered and sexual identities as intersecting and inseparable. Throughout the text, “*lesbian*” identities are not constructed as being divisible from “*girl*” and later, “*women*” identities. For example, Siya constructs the Miss Lesbian beauty pageant contestants as “*girls*”, whose self-esteem she is supporting. In using the term “*girls*” to describe the contestants, Siya draws on intersectional discourse. She constructs “*girl*” and “*lesbian*” identities as being constituted mutually, because she does not talk about them as being separate, or as if one axis of identity is of greater significance than the other. The effect of this discursive

³⁰ Please refer to Appendix A to read text one.

construction is to suggest that genders and sexualities are not separate or additive, but performed mutually and reinforcingly (Shields, 2008).

Further, the mutual constitution of gendered and sexual identities is echoed later in the text, when Siya constructs people “*living a butch lesbian life*” as “*women*”. In constructing butch lesbians as women, Siya suggests that the performance of one’s sexual identity is not a direct consequence of one’s gender identification. The construction implies that it is possible for a woman to identify as “*woman*”, but to perform her gender and/or sexuality in ways that are not ‘feminine’ in the traditional sense (see, e.g. Diamond & Butterworth, 2008; Levitt & Hiestand, 2005). It is interesting to note that Siya does not construct anger against butch lesbian women in terms of sexualities, but rather as a gendered issue: “*men will immediately spot the butch and get angry because in their eyes these women want to take the place of a man*”. In this construction of anger against butch lesbian women, Siya continues to draw on intersectional discourse. She constructs that lesbian women anger some men in their communities – not because they are lesbian, but because they are women who are perceived as trying to disrupt heteronormative gendered hierarchies in performing their gendered and/or sexual identities differently. These constructions reflect studies (e.g. Swarr, 2012) suggesting that butch lesbian women are not well-tolerated in certain spaces because they are perceived as threatening male dominance and competing with some heterosexually-identified males for the attention of other women.

The effects of these discursive constructions are powerful. In drawing on intersectional discourse to construct gendered and sexual identities, Siya disrupts heteronormative constructions of ‘gender’ and ‘sexuality’. Using intersectional discourse, Siya suggests that gender does not determine sexuality, and that women have agency and power in choosing how to perform their gendered and/or sexual identities (see, e.g. Diamond & Butterworth, 2008; Levitt & Hiestand, 2005). Implicitly, Siya’s constructions show that women can access and perform their identities in ways that are usually confined to traditionally ‘masculine’ spaces and bodies. Further, Siya’s construction of GBV serves to expose the consequences entailed when women disobey the rules of compulsory heteronormativity (Swarr, 2009). Moreover, her construction of violence critiques popular notions of lesbians as victims of gruesome hate crimes like ‘corrective rape’. She implies that there is no separate ‘lesbian’ crime – only crimes against women (Moreau, 2015). By constructing gendered and sexual identities intersectionally, Siya rejects binary and stable constructions of identities, dismantles gendered power relations, and makes room for the plural

and fluid performance of identities. These constructions of gendered and sexual identities as intersectional reflect intersectional research (see, e.g. Bagnol et al., 2010; Gibson & Macleod, 2012; Smuts, 2011) into LGBTQIA+ identities in post-apartheid SA, which has demonstrated the multiplicity and complexity of these identities.

One such performance of ‘woman’ and ‘lesbian’ identities is constructed in the text when Siya describes the Miss Lesbian beauty competition. Constructing the contestants of the competition, Siya states that the “*girls*” (contestants) need her support in their self-esteem, “*because they get scared and don’t want to participate all of a sudden no more*”. Using the word “*scared*”, Siya constructs the lesbian women in the competition with discourses of fear and reluctance. This construction has the effect of positioning the women as hesitant and less powerful – reflecting dominant discourses of lesbian women as at-risk for discrimination and violence (Gontek, 2007; Mkhize et al., 2010; Swarr, 2012). However, Siya then constructs the competition contestants with discourses of power, agency and resilience. She states that “*the Miss Lesbian beauty pageant is our way of having fun, being happy and expressing ourselves*”. The use of the pronoun “*our*” is significant, because Siya uses it to claim space and collective agency, constructing herself as being included in the group of lesbian women. Moreover, “*our*” is used in the construction of the pageant to foreground that lesbian women do not always occupy victimised subject positions (Judge, 2017; Moreau, 2015). Making space for the plural performance of identities, Siya implies that lesbian women negotiate their identities in ways that she constructs with discourses of pleasure, joy and freedom. The effect of Siya’s discourse is powerful, because it challenges (very subtly) the repeated construction of lesbian women within risk paradigms (Judge, 2017). Drawing on discourses of agency and resilience, Siya’s construction calls for the recognition of lesbian women as people who are capable of claiming and occupying space in society (Moreau, 2015).

It is interesting that Siya orders her constructions of the lesbian women in this way. By beginning with the construction of the lesbian women in the competition as fearful and following this with the construction of these same women as powerful and agentic, Siya allows for the former construction to be rejected (almost shattered) by the latter. These constructions are echoed at the very end of the text, where Siya addresses lesbian women directly, telling them (and herself): “*You can’t be scared all the time, you cannot stay scared*”. “*Scared*” is an emotive word, and Siya is politicizing emotion in this instance (Ahmed, 2014). She constructs that fear is an emotion that

sticks to women's bodies; that women are often constructed by dominant discourses of victimization, violence, subservience and weakness. However, she challenges these discourses, highlighting that women are not perpetually scared – emotions like joy, pleasure and happiness can stick to women's bodies, too (Matebeni, 2011).

Intersectionality theory suggests that axes of identities can be oppressive, and/or resourceful (Stewart & McDermott, 2004). In constructing gendered and sexual identities as intersecting, Siya deviates from dominant discourses that separate gendered and sexual identities, by including lesbians in the category 'women' (see, e.g. Vincent & Howell, 2014). In the text, "*women*" is the last category that Siya mentions, before going on to highlight the "*collective*" resistance of women in the community. By constructing lesbians as women, Siya draws on the social resources that the category "*women*" affords, and constructs lesbian women as engaging in women's collective resistance. As Moreau (2015) suggested – if crimes against lesbians are crimes against women, then organisations (such as Free Gender) advocating for lesbian rights should collaborate with those fighting for women's rights. Drawing on Moreau's (2015) discourses of intersectional citizenship, Siya highlights the importance of resisting violence as a group of women. In this instance, Siya ends the text by drawing on feminist discourse, constructing lesbian women with explicit connotations of power, agency, resilience and courage: "*We are a collective, a lot of us together, standing up*". Using the words "*collective*" and "*together*" is significant in this construction of women's activism. These are words that have been associated with feminisms for decades (Freedman, 2001), and serve to construct women as being united powerfully in their resistance. Siya foregrounds women's power even further, with her use of the collective pronouns "*we*" and "*us*" when constructing women's resistance. Further, by constructing the collective of women as "*a lot*", Siya is referring to the number of women who are resisting GBV and advocating for equal rights. This construction, and her explicit reference to the size of the group, allude to the power that women exert in activist groups like Free Gender, and at the Miss Lesbian beauty event. Finally, Siya draws on performative discourses of the body (see, e.g. Butler, 1988), constructing a physical marker of resistance that can be asserted when people "*stand up*". In this sense, Siya shows that lesbian resistance is women's resistance, and that being part of women's resistance is empowering. Explicitly, she draws on the resistive resources that the category "*women*" allocates, and constructs lesbian women as powerful, resilient, agentic, strong and united (Moreau, 2015; Shields, 2008).

Furthermore, intersectionality holds that identities are constructed and performed in relation to space and power. In intersectional theorisation, people are located socially, and identities are reflective of power operations, privilege, oppression and social stratification (Crenshaw, 1991; Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Siya constructs the performance of her gendered and sexual identities as intersecting with space. The second axis of identity that she constructs is that of her status as a community member. She was “*born and raised in Khayelitsha township of Cape Town*”. The intersectional methodological framework that was outlined in chapter three emphasised the importance of locating individuals socially. In this instance, Siya constructs the township of Khayelitsha as significant for her. Khayelitsha township was established in Western Cape Province in 1983, as part of the apartheid government’s Separate Development policy (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). By 1995, the population of Khayelitsha had reached half a million. Since then, the population has continued to grow, making Khayelitsha the second-largest township in SA, after Soweto township in Johannesburg (“Khayelitsha Township”, 2013). In talking about space, Siya’s use of the phrase “*born and raised*” is significant. “*Born and raised*” reflects discourses of human rights, as when one is born in a place, then this should necessitate their acceptance and access to equal human rights (and full citizenship) in that place. Subtly, Siya draws on this human rights discourse, constructing lesbian women as deserving equal human rights in the township community, not only because they were “*born*” there, but because “*Khayelitsha is [their] home, too [and they] grew up [there]*”. The collective pronouns “*our*” and “*we*” are used when Siya constructs the township space. The repeated use of these collective and possessive pronouns serves the important purpose of creating room for lesbian women to claim space on their own terms (see, e.g. Bagnol et al., 2015; Moreau, 2015).

Further, the word “*home*” is an emotive one. Siya politicizes emotion in her construction of Khayelitsha, stating that lesbian women (typically constructed as not having equal access to space and/or a “*home*” in society) can, and should, be allowed to claim homely spaces in their societies and/or communities. In this sense, Siya constructs lesbian women in Khayelitsha as wanting and being deserving of full citizenship – a discourse that she reiterates further when she states that she and other lesbian women are “*claiming [their] streets*”. Again, she uses the possessive pronoun “*our*”, and situates it next to a marker of space in the township – the street. The word “*claim*” is very important in this instance – it constructs space as political and interconnected with the performance of identities. The effect of Siya’s constructions of lesbian

women's identities in the spatial context of Khayelitsha is subtle, yet powerful. The discourses that she uses challenge the ways in which heteronormativity governs the demarcation and ordering of social space (Foucault, 1976). By constructing lesbian women as full citizens, born and raised in this township, Siya transgresses the boundaries that heteronormative discourses establish, advocating for more equal access to space (Moreau, 2015).

Moreover, Siya demonstrates that 'lesbian' does not represent a universal, singular or stable identity, but different ways of performing one's sexuality that intersect with space in numerous ways (Diamond & Butterworth, 2008; Levitt & Hiestand, 2005; Matebeni, 2011). Siya states that *"to be a feminine lesbian in Khayelitsha is a bit safer than living a butch lesbian life"*. In this construction of lesbian women's gendered and/or sexual identities, Siya shows that people perform their identities with immense variation, and emphasises the connection of these identity performances to spatial contexts. The implication is that by performing one's gendered and/or sexual identities as feminine, one's safety and protection in the community are more easily acquired. In this sense, performing femininity is constructed as resourceful and advantageous (see, e.g. Judge, 2017; Swarr, 2012). However, women performing their gendered and/or sexual identities in ways that are considered butch are constructed as pushing the boundaries of heterosexuality, and this is constructed as having difficult consequences (Swarr, 2012). In this sense, Siya shows that the construction and performance of identities intersect with space – that if one is a community member of Khayelitsha township, then different identity performances afford positions characterised by distinct kinds of power and/or oppression that can facilitate and/or constrain performativity (Shields, 2008).

A significant source of power, that intersects with space and lesbian women's identities as community members, is that of resistance. Interestingly, Siya's position as an activist and/or volunteer is the third axis of identity that she constructs in the text: *"I have been volunteering since 2010 at Free Gender – a black lesbian organisation based right here in Khayelitsha"*. Interestingly, this is the first, and only instance in the text where Siya mentions race as an axis of her identity. By placing *"black"* next to *"lesbian organisation"*, Siya constructs Free Gender as an organisation that was established by black women, for black women. The significance of this construction is particularly relevant in the context of debate around blackwashing violence and homophobia (see, e.g. Judge, 2017). Siya does not reproduce blackwashing discourses but shifts the thinking around 'blackness' towards discourses of power, agency and resistance. Siya's

identities as an active community member and activist/volunteer are constructed as intersecting, and as being important to her – things for which “[she makes] time ‘cause [she wants] to help”. The effect of this construction is to frame identities as intersecting (Crenshaw, 1991), rather than suggesting that one identity (for example, her sexuality) takes precedence over the other(s) (see, e.g. Bowleg, 2008).

In the text, Siya constructs her roles and responsibilities as an activist/volunteer – the fact that she works with young people, teaches primary school children and gives support to the lesbian women competing in the beauty pageant, “*like a big sister*”. It is interesting that Siya constructs her work in the community as being indivisible from her advocacy for women’s rights – again, she constructs lesbian women as full citizens, whose struggle for equal rights is a struggle that is embedded in their desires to be recognised and treated as equal citizens. In particular, the use of the expression “*big sister*” is important because it draws on familial and feminist discourses and has the effect of disrupting traditional notions of the heteronormative family unit. These discourses suggest that together, lesbian women in the community of Khayelitsha have been able to claim space, make homes for themselves, and establish a family there (see, e.g. Hayman, Wilkes, Halcomb, & Jackson, 2013). The familial discourse is echoed in Siya’s construction of volunteer work as something that needs to be done “*for the younger generations to come*”.

Analysis of Text two³¹

In text two, Terra constructs herself, and her life, with repeated emphasis on age and/or generational identities. She states that “[she] got kicked out of the house when [she] was 16 years old because [she is] a lesbian”. In this instance, youth is constructed by Terra as a time of struggle and a period during which she was negotiating her sexual identity in relation to social and/or familial challenges. This reflects the findings of research (e.g. Zway, 2015) showing that youth can be a difficult period for LGBTQIA+ individuals. The word “*kicked*” is significant in her construction of being expelled from the house, because it has connotations of forcefulness, and even violence, which implies the difficulties that Terra encountered as a young lesbian (see, e.g. Smuts, 2011; Zway, 2015).

However, Terra’s construction of older generations is interesting, especially in comparison to some of the other texts. Where some of the other participants construct older ages/generations

³¹ Please refer to Appendix B to read text two.

as having intolerant and/or negative attitudes towards non-heteronormative identities, Terra constructs the influence of her grandparents as positive:

I started then living with my grandparents who were very strict and taught me to be disciplined. Life was hard but you always have to remember – if I'm not gonna make it through this – who is going to make it for me?

In this construction, Terra frames her grandparents as a source of shelter and support after her expulsion from her previous place of residence. The grandparents are not constructed as having been intolerant or rejecting, but as having played a parental role in Terra's formative years – teaching her the values of self-discipline, resilience and perseverance. The effect of these discourses is to demonstrate some possible intersections between different generational identities and the performance of non-heteronormativity. Terra shows that identity constructs are not stable. She constructs her grandparents in ways that shift from typical constructions of older people's attitudes towards LGBTQIA+ individuals, which have been shown in some research (e.g. Van Zyl, 2011) to be traditional and more intolerant. Further, Terra's constructions suggest that generational identities are not homogenous or universal in their performance – older generations can serve as positive influences in the lives of LGBTQIA+ youth (see, e.g. Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004).

Moreover, age is constructed by Terra as something that intersects with the kinds of resistance in which one can engage in the community. At the end of the text, she asserts that “*we are gonna fight – new generations like us*”. This construction of age suggests that younger generations are capable of disrupting heteronormative social ordering, drawing on discourses of war by using the word “*fight*”. This construction of younger generations shows that performing one's identities in particular ways, and at different life stages, affords specific kinds of opportunities – in this case, for resistance against dominant social norms (see, e.g. Bagnol et al., 2010).

Terra makes interesting use of the term “*woman*”. She does not identify with the label ‘lesbian woman’ initially, constructing herself as “*lesbian*” and then as “*black lesbian*”. In these constructions of herself, Terra frames “*lesbian*” in constraining and negative terms. For example, she states that before being expelled from her first house because of her sexual identity, she had “*lived a secret lesbian life*” and that living this life was very difficult. Thus, she constructs

“lesbian” as something private and taboo. She draws on discourses of ‘coming out’ by using the word ‘secret’ – which can be identified as relating to the metaphor of the closet and the difficulty associated with concealing non-heterosexual identities (see, e.g. Smuts, 2011; Zway, 2015). This negative framing of *“lesbian”* is echoed when she states that *“[she is] living in fear”*. In these instances, discourses of shame and secrecy show that performing one’s identities as non-heteronormative, in particular contexts, can be very constraining. Later, Terra constructs the intersection of her racial and sexual identities as limiting: *“I’m not safe living in Gugulethu as a black lesbian”*. The township of Gugulethu was established in 1958, under the apartheid government’s ‘Group Areas Act’ (Seekings & Natrass, 2005). Located in the Western Cape Province, Gugulethu township was intended to facilitate racial segregation, with many black South Africans being relocated there forcibly (*“Gugulethu Township”*, 2013). Interestingly, this is the first instance in which a race construct emerges in text two. These constructions show that identities intersect with one another to produce unique subject positions, which are affected by people’s social locations and establish the kinds of power and agency that they can access. For Terra, the condition of being a *“black lesbian”* (not a black lesbian woman, or just lesbian) in the township is constraining, because performing these identities invites discrimination and violence in that specific space (see, e.g. Mkhize et al., 2010; Swarr, 2012). These discourses show that for some black women in township areas, identifying with more fluid gender and/or sexual subject positions can become oppressive because it intersects with race (Kulick, 2013; Rudwick, 2011).

Only when she begins constructing collective resistance against *“hate crime”* does Terra use the term *“lesbian women”*. Terra claims that *“[she is] making a documentary right now about hidden, untold and painful stories in the townships by lesbian women that need to be heard”*. This is the first time that Terra uses the term *“lesbian women”*. The syntax highlights that she recognises *“lesbian”* as also being *“woman”*, – drawing on intersectional discourse (Moreau, 2015). More importantly, however, Terra uses the term *“women”* in this construction because by doing so, she gains access to the collective resistance that women in the community are performing. Terra continues: *“we need to talk about it cause these women are ashamed, ashamed of themselves. They think that they must have done something wrong, but they didn’t do anything wrong! They got raped – they didn’t choose to get raped!”*. The construction of women as resisting silence and discrimination in the community, and Terra’s choice to include herself in this group only at this point in the text, shows that identities can be social resources (Shields, 2008; Stewart

& McDermott, 2004). Terra's use of visual activism, through the proposed documentary, is framed as something that allows lesbian women's hidden stories to be heard (e.g. Segalo, 2014). Drawing on feminist discourse, Terra disrupts traditional constructions of lesbians as perpetual victims of 'hate crime' and 'corrective rape', constructing these offenses as being embedded in gendered power relations (Matebeni, 2011; Moreau, 2015).

The effect of these discourses is powerful, because it suggests that people in the community are raped not because they are lesbian, but because they are women who are perceived as disobeying the rules of compulsory heterosexuality (Moreau, 2015; Swarr, 2009). Moreover, Terra's discourse subverts the closet metaphor, and the notion that lesbian women's identities are things that should be performed in policed, concealed, invisible and silent ways. She states, "*you have to come out and be yourself [...]*" and "*we all have to fight hate crime, otherwise [...]* we will always be the victim". Where, in her youth, Terra tried to perform a "*secret*" lesbian identity, she now advocates for the visibility and activism of lesbian women, including herself with the pronoun "*we*", in the community. She rejects the idea that lesbian women are always victims, framing these identities in resilient, empowered and agentic terms. This is echoed when she constructs lesbian women as "*[having their] own freedom*". The use of the possessive pronoun "*our*" before "*own freedom*" is significant, because it reiterates the notion of black lesbian women as wanting, and being deserving of, full citizenship and equal human rights (Moreau, 2015; Segalo, 2015).

Another 'category' that facilitates the performance of Terra's lesbian identity is that of 'butchness'. Terra claims butchness proudly and assertively. She associates it with her name – "*the name Terra is a butch name*" and frames it as something that has facilitated the performance of her sexual identity by giving "*[her] respect where [she] lives*". Further, Terra shows that when her lesbian identity is performed in a butch way, it is facilitating and resourceful, because it allows her to "*stay out of trouble*". Thus, butchness is not constructed as something oppressive or constraining, in this text. The effect of these discourses is to highlight that women express themselves and perform their identities in variable ways, with some women finding certain performances oppressive, and others finding those same performances resourceful (Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004).

Interestingly, the violence that Terra and the other women are constructed as resisting, comes from the community. Throughout the text, there is emphasis placed on the interplay between

space and people's identities. The very first axis of identity that Terra constructs is her status as a Capetonian: *"I was born in Cape Town"*. In this construction, the word *"born"* is significant, because it has connotations of necessitating human rights in a place. Cape Town is a city and is constructed in some of the other texts (see text six, for example) as being liberal and tolerant towards LGBTQIA+ identities. The effect of this construction is to show that people construct different places as affording variable performances of their identities (e.g. Bagnol et al., 2010). However, later in the text, Terra alludes to the ambivalence between city and rural spaces: *"[she is] not safe living in Gugulethu as a black lesbian [and that she is] not safe in [her] community"*. These words highlight that even in one city, identities are performed differently according to geographical location and/or variation.

Constructing the Gugulethu community, Terra uses emotive language: *"Community can break people's heart by being harsh with their presumptions [...] they hate us, rape us, kill us"*. She constructs the consequences of living in this community, as black lesbian women, in emotive terms: *"these women are ashamed"*. In these constructions, Terra politicizes and geographizes emotion – framing black lesbian women's bodies as objects to which negative emotions (heartbreak and shame) stick (Ahmed, 2014). However, Terra constructs homophobia as a national issue: *"I am not safe in South Africa [...] it's not the Apartheid from long time ago, it's Apartheid amongst ourselves in the black community"*. These discourses suggest that black lesbian women are threatened in the broader context of national attitudes towards non-heteronormative identities; that discrimination and violence are not restricted to township communities. Further, Terra's construction of *"apartheid"* serves a political and emotive function. By framing homophobia as something comparable to apartheid, Terra draws on violent sociohistorical events and discourses that function to shape post-apartheid SA's national consciousness. Further, she constructs some black people as performing the same kinds of violence towards black non-heteronormative identities as what white people did to black people, during apartheid. The effect of this discursive construction is to highlight the severity and extent of the violence that some black LGBTQIA+ people still face in post-apartheid spaces, despite the supposed legal sanctioning of such identity performances (Van Zyl, 2011; Vincent & Howell, 2014).

Interestingly, Terra defies the notion that she, and other lesbian women in the community, should perform their identities in concealed or constrained ways. She rejects the notion of women's bodies as perpetual sites of fear, shame, hatred and silence: *"We [...] shouldn't live in fear [...]"*

all we have is love [...] we are able to respect and love". In these constructions, Terra makes important use of human rights discourses to construct black lesbian women as 'normal' and 'human'. These discourses imply that black lesbian women are human beings and that they deserve full and equal citizenship in their communities, and in SA more broadly (Moreau, 2015; Segalo, 2015). "*Love*" is perhaps one of the most emotive words that Terra could have used in this instance, and she does so in direct opposition to the equally-emotive word "*hate*". Not only does this construction politicize emotion but it makes an assertive claim that situates black lesbian women inside the boundaries of humanity (see, e.g. Judge, 2017), calling for the recognition of their identities as those of full citizens (Moreau, 2015; Segalo, 2015).

Analysis of Text three³²

In text three, Bulelwa places significant emphasis on constructing her identity as 'family member'. For Bulelwa, 'family member' is constructed as an axis of identity that intersects with her sexual identity, with space and with age. She constructs the experience of having had to leave her home "*when [she] was young*", echoing Terra's discussion of having been "*kicked out*" at the age of sixteen. The reason for her expulsion from the family home is constructed by Bulelwa as involving her sexual identity – she left home "*to keep the peace between [her] parents and [her] because of [her] sexuality*". The word "*peace*" is important, as it signals the beginning of Bulelwa's reliance on discourses of war to construct her identities and relationships. Further, her construction of leaving home suggests that in the family home, she was not tolerated because she performed her sexual identity as a lesbian. In this sense, the family space is constructed as oppressive and discriminating, implying that her family space could have been peaceful, if only the rules of compulsory heterosexuality were followed (Swarr, 2009).

These familial discourses are echoed in the other texts, also – for example, in texts four and six. For Bulelwa, there is a repeated, explicit emphasis on age and space as intersecting with being a family member. For example, she states that "*[they] have an IAM centre in Gugulethu township and offer shelter to girls and boys that are being cast out by their families because of their sexual orientation*". This construction of youth suggests that being young and identifying as non-heteronormative in Gugulethu is challenging. The use of the words "*girls and boys*" is significant, because it alludes to the youth of the individuals – something that is typically

³² Please refer to Appendix C to read text three.

associated with connotations of vulnerability and innocence (Zway, 2015). Moreover, space is foregrounded (as it is in all the other texts) as important – with some members of the Gugulethu community being rejected if they do not perform their gendered and/or sexual identities ‘correctly’. Thus, Bulelwa’s construction of the need for an LGBTQIA+ shelter in this township setting illuminates the difficulties that can be experienced when people perform their identities in particular ways, and within certain spaces. Interestingly, Bulelwa highlights that these difficulties are exaggerated for some of the LGBTQIA+ community in Gugulethu, specifically in relation to being of a younger age demographic (Zway, 2015).

Further, Bulelwa constructs family as something that polices gendered and/or sexual identities. This construction reflects findings in existing studies (e.g. Bagnol et al., 2010; Gibson & Macleod, 2012; Zway, 2015) that familial spaces can present significant challenges for LGBTQIA+ youth. For example, Bulelwa explains that she was instructed to discontinue contact with her siblings and their children, for fear that “[she was] going to teach their children to be gay”. The text is underpinned by dominant discourses and myths of homosexuality as unAfrican, unnatural and evil, by constructing lesbianism as something that threatens the livelihood and wellbeing of the heteronormative family unit (Vincent & Howell, 2014). The construction that she was “told [she was] not welcome back” shows that Bulelwa’s sexual identity intersects heavily with space – it excluded her from the heteronormative familial space and set boundaries that would influence her social interactions. The most powerful construction, evoking the policing capacities of heteronormative families, is asserted by Bulelwa in the middle portion of the text, where she constructs herself as “[having] hope that one day [she] will be free from all the problems that [her] family is creating for [her]”. Bulelwa’s use of the word “free” is significant. It draws on human rights discourses about freedom, equality and justice, constructing the identity ‘family member’ as being imprisoned (excluded and/or expelled from ‘normal’ familial interaction). Thus, the simultaneous performance of her ‘lesbian woman’ and ‘family member’ axes of identities is constructed by Bulelwa as incompatible and constraining. This construction demonstrates that particular subject positions can be oppressive when their performance intersects with certain spaces (Bagnol et al., 2010).

However, Bulelwa’s text constructs identities in intersectional ways – particularly in terms of what it can mean to perform one’s identity as ‘family member’ differently. In the first lines of the text, Bulelwa constructs herself as a mother, and as having a partner: “I [...] live with my

partner and my son who is 4 years old this year". The word "*partner*" is significant in this construction, because it is a word that is frequently used (although not always) by lesbian women to describe their significant others (Diamond & Butterworth, 2008; Levitt & Hiestand, 2005). Thus, it alludes to the notion that a woman can perform her sexual identity as 'lesbian', but this does not imply that she cannot be part of a family. Further, it does not mean that she has failed to perform her womanhood 'correctly' – she is still able to identify with 'mother' and to raise a child. The effect of these discourses is powerful, because it highlights that women do not perform their genders and/or sexualities identically – reiterating intersectionality's recognition of fluidity, plurality and complexity in the performance of identities (Shields, 2008). Further, Bulelwa's discourse subverts traditional constructions of women as needing to raise children in a heteronormative context, with the support of a man. In this sense, the simultaneous performance of her 'lesbian woman' and 'family member' identities are constructed by Bulelwa as compatible. The intersection of her sexuality and status as a family member is a source of power. However, this power is afforded because it intersects with being in the context of her relationship with her partner, highlighting that the same subject positions can be oppressive in one context (i.e. in the parental home), but resourceful and freeing in others (Shields, 2008). The discourses around family and child rearing also reject dominant discourses about gendered power relations in families – reiterating that women are capable of engaging in effective child-rearing practices, even when these do not happen according to traditional familial and/or parenting scripts (see, e.g. Hayman et al., 2013).

Bulelwa constructs her 'activist/volunteer' identity as something that intersects with, and facilitates the performance of her gendered, sexual and/or familial identities. Bulelwa constructs her work with the Inclusive Arming Ministries (IAM) as advocating "*that faith communities in Africa become more welcoming, inclusive and arming towards LGBTI people*". This work is constructed as something that allows her to fight for her rights, and those of others, emphasizing the positive influence that activist work can generate. In her construction of this work, Bulelwa does not claim a religious identity, explicitly, but constructs faith communities in Africa as needing to be more tolerant of non-heteronormative individuals. The effect of this construction is a powerful one. Firstly, it implies the possibility for religious identities to intersect with non-heteronormative identities, in ways that prove constraining. These constructions allude to discourses of homosexuality as 'ungodly' (Van Zyl, 2011). However, the same construction of

faith communities and the IAM shows that it is possible for religion and homosexuality to be performed simultaneously – religious organisations are not always prejudiced and can perform active roles in the struggle for equality (Bagnol et al., 2010). Moreover, Bulelwa’s construction shows that discrimination against non-heteronormative people is not an issue that is limited to one space (i.e. township space), but an issue of national import. These words echo Terra’s construction of herself as someone who feels she will never be safe in SA, so long as she is a black lesbian woman.

However, it is activist work that facilitates Bulelwa’s fighting for her rights, and for the rights of other LGBTQIA+ people. The word “*fighting*” is interesting, in the context of her activist work, because it draws on the discourses of war that were called upon in the opening portion of the text with the word “*peace*”. Further, Bulelwa’s word choice shows that her sexual identity does not constrain her when it intersects with activist identities (see, e.g. Moreau, 2015) – she, a lesbian woman, is capable of resisting, of challenging the status quo and of rejecting traditional constructions of women as passive and submissive (Ahmed, 2014). Once again, space is important, as it intersects with Bulelwa’s activism. She states: “*At the moment I am fighting for my rights and I want to show them I belong in the same house as them*”. Drawing on human rights and familial discourses, Bulelwa challenges the notion of lesbian women as existing outside of the boundaries of humanity (Judge, 2017). Using the words “*belonging*” and “*house*”, she constructs herself as deserving of equal access to space. Moreover, the journey towards attaining full citizenship is facilitated by the performance of her own activist/volunteer identity (Moreau, 2015).

Analysis of Text four³³

In text four, Zelda constructs her gendered and sexual identities with intersectional discourse. She states: “*I’m a lesbian woman*”, which highlights that these axes of her identity co-exist and constitute each another mutually. Zelda foregrounds different spaces as significant in their connections to how she constructs and performs her identities. In particular, the “*home*” space is emphasised as important. Zelda constructs not being “*safe at home*”, and “*having problems at home because of [her] sexual orientation*”. These discourses suggest that the home environment intersects with the performance of Zelda’s identities in ways that jeopardize her personal safety. The reason for these “*problems*” is constructed by Zelda as being her sexual

³³ Please refer to Appendix D to read text four.

identity. She says that at home, “[she] has not been tolerated for [her] sexuality and [she has] never been accepted to live [her] life freely and [she’s] been told to change if [she wants] any support”. These constructions show that the home space is ordered heterosexually – in order for Zelda to gain familial support, she will be forced to perform her sexuality differently (not as a lesbian woman, but according to the rules of compulsory heterosexuality). These discourses are also evident in other texts, including texts two and six.

Heterosexual discourse is echoed explicitly in that Zelda’s parents draw on biological constructions of womanhood in order to police the gendered ordering of the home space: “My parents threw me out of the house and told me to never come back till I change or bring a child as a woman or bring a man of my own to them to witness that I have changed”. In order to be acceptable as a legitimate member of the family unit, Zelda must adhere to the rules of heterosexuality that rely on the biological performance of feminine identities (see, e.g. Hayman et al., 2013). As such, heteronormative discourses function to defeminise lesbian identities, invisibilising the possibilities of lesbian motherhood (Hayman et al., 2013). Further, in this instance, male identities are constructed with heterosexual discourse. For Zelda’s parents, the man will be the person to enforce and police the heterosexual gendered order of the family, and the ‘correct’ functioning of Zelda’s body. The word “witness” is used to construct the role that the family expects this “man” to play in their daughter’s life. The effect of this judicial discourse is to construct homosexual identities as separate from womanhood, and to relegate Zelda’s gendered and/or sexual identities to the peripheries of heterosexuality (see, e.g. Judge, 2017). The performance of her identities is thus constructed as criminal by her family (Van Zyl, 2011).

Further, the politicization of emotional performativity is evident in Zelda’s constructions. Zelda cannot be considered a legitimate family member, unless she performs her emotions as a woman *should* perform them. The condition for her acceptance is that she performs her emotionality by showing feelings of maternity, altruism and familial devotion (Ahmed, 2014). These discourses are echoed later in the text, when Zelda states: “when I report to my family [about discrimination from the community] they will just say change if you want to live free because I’m living a fake and evil life that’s why I’m coming across such bad things”. Thus, the heterosexually-governed family is constructed as oppressing and constraining the performance of non-heteronormative gendered and/or sexual identities. The family is constructed by Zelda as framing her sexual identity with religious discourses. For example, implying that it is a sin to perform her

identities in this way, and that it renders her deserving, cosmically and karmically, of violence (see, e.g. Van Zyl, 2011; Vincent & Howell, 2014).

The discrimination and violence that Zelda encounters in the home space intersects with the violence derived from the community. Zelda claims that “[*she is*] not safe at home, and outside where [*she lives*]”. Further, she states that “*people are telling [her] they are going to get [her] and rape [her] because [her] family members are talking bad about [her] to other community members [...]*”. These constructions show that one’s position in a family space can have unique and complex effects that might constrain the performance of one’s identities. Just as she is confronted by prejudice from her family members, she constructs encountering “*hate speeches and violence in the street*”. These words demonstrate that there is a strong interplay between space and identity performance (Bagnol et al., 2010; Shields, 2008). Further, these discourses construct lesbian women as not being able to occupy space in the same way that heterosexual people can and do (see, e.g. Judge, 2017; Moreau, 2015): “*I just don’t know where to go [...] I’m just praying that I can have a roof over my head for my safety*”.

Zelda politicizes emotion when she constructs her identities in relation to family life in the home space, and in relation to her identity as a member of the community. She states that “[*she has*] never been protected at home”; that she has “*never felt welcome by her biological parents*”; that “*this situation has been stressing [her] a lot*” and that she feels “*like taking [her] life because [she] can’t bare such pain in [her] family house*”. Hence, Zelda constructs the ramifications of her exclusion from the family space with very emotive language. Being a lesbian woman, in the family space, is associated with extreme pain and discomfort for her (Gibson & Macleod, 2012). Her invocation of suicidal discourse serves to illuminate the extent of the pain that she feels (Ahmed, 2014). These constructions highlight the emotional difficulties associated with performing her identities in non-heteronormative ways (see, e.g. Ahmed, 2014).

Analysis of Text five³⁴

In text five, Bulelwa constructs the identities of her friend, Lindelwa, suggesting that these intersect heavily with a township space (Bagnol et al., 2010). The first line of the text reads: “*Lindelwa was raped in the Nyanga East township, Cape Town, because she is a lesbian*”. Located in Western Cape Province, Cape Town, Nyanga township was established in 1946 as part of racial

³⁴ Please refer to Appendix E to read text five.

segregation during the apartheid era (“Nyanga Township”, 2013). In Bulelwa’s first construction of Lindelwa, the township space intersects with Lindelwa’s lesbian identity – making her more likely to encounter physical violence (Mkhize et al., 2010). Bulelwa situates the words “*raped*”, “*township*” and “*lesbian*” together, to show that the performance of Lindelwa’s sexual identity is constrained by the context of the township (Mkhize et al., 2010; Swarr, 2012). Further, Bulelwa foregrounds that the reason for Lindelwa’s rape was her lesbian identity, explaining that “*it was not the first time*”. The effect of these discourses highlights the interplay between identity performance and different spaces (Shields, 2008). In this instance, Nyanga township is constructed as one space that can constrain the performance of lesbian identities (Mkhize et al., 2010; Swarr, 2012).

In the text, Lindelwa’s performance of her lesbian identity is constructed as a “*threat to guys saying she should act like a woman*”. The effect of this discourse is to construct lesbian women as threatening to some men, with these men constructed as failing to accept and legitimise lesbian identities in the gendered hierarchy of the community. Hence, according to some men in the Nyanga township setting, Lindelwa is not a woman because she is a lesbian. This construction draws on discourses that separate gender and sexuality. The implication is that lesbians are not legitimate in the heteronormatively-gendered social order. Hence, they cannot be considered full citizens (Moreau, 2015). Further, the word “*act*” is important in “*she should act like a woman*”, because it draws on performative discourse (Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 1990). If Lindelwa performed her sexuality according to heterosexual rules, then she would be undeserving of rape (see, e.g. Swarr, 2009). These constructions suggest that following a heteronormative script can be a protective tool against GBV (Swarr, 2012).

However, where some men apparently try to divide ‘lesbian’ identities from ‘women’ identities, Bulelwa brings them together: “*she is a strong woman after all that happened to her*”. It is significant that this construction of Lindelwa follows directly after “*she should act like a woman*”. In this instance, it constitutes an explicit rejection of patriarchal discourses that try to split women’s identities into parts (Moreau, 2015). Moreover, it constructs Lindelwa as simultaneously, and indivisibly, “*lesbian*” and “*woman*”. The effect of this intersectional discourse is to show that the rape of lesbians is not a separate class of crime when compared to the rape of women – the two identities intersect and are not as easily separated as some men seem to suggest (see, e.g. Matebeni, 2011; Moreau, 2015; Zway, 2015). Further, these discourses shift and

challenge traditional gendered power dynamics, with Bulelwa's construction standing in direct and explicit contradiction to those expressed by patriarchal discourses. By performing her gendered identity in this way – being assertive and delivering her opinion boldly, Bulelwa enters a space that is reserved, in heteronormative power matrices, for patriarchal masculinities (Ratele, 2006).

Interestingly, despite beginning the text with a construction of rape, Bulelwa constructs the remainder of the text in discourses of strength, resilience and power. In fact, she shifts from discourses of victimhood and blackwashing homophobia (Judge, 2017). For example, she constructs Lindelwa's exposure to violence and discrimination in vague and general terms: "*all what happened to her*". In this instance, there is no graphic and/or grotesque construction of the actual process of rape, or the psychological and/or physical impact that the rape inflicted. These discourses contrast explicitly with those that are perpetuated by SA media when discussing LGTQIA+ matters³⁵ (Judge, 2017). Moreover, the word "*strong*" has been used to construct "*woman*", which shifts the focus of the text from discourses of victimhood to discourses of agency, resilience, fortitude and power. For example, Bulelwa constructs people who have been exposed to violence as undeserving of it – the violence "*is not their fault*", which implies that lesbian women are not deserving of violence, but also that they are not perpetual victims. These discourses shift from discourses that normalise violence against women, and that construct lesbian women as "sensationalised spectres of violence and victimhood" (Judge, 2017, p. 67). Further, these discourses are echoed when Lindelwa is constructed as "*moving forward despite all that happened to her*". The text is underpinned by feminist discourses of women as strong, resilient and powerful, and it does not focus on discourses that construct women as weak, passive and victimised (see, e.g. Ahmed, 2014; Lazar, 2007).

Bulelwa constructs Lindelwa's 'family member' and 'activist/volunteer' identities as axes of identity that are essential to her survival and wellbeing (see, e.g. Moreau, 2015). Further, 'friendship' identities are constructed implicitly in the text as sources of support, because Bulelwa discusses her friend, Lindelwa, in empowering terms. Further, the family is constructed as "*what keeps [Lindelwa] going in life*" and being able to "*share [her] story with other people who have encountered the same problem*" is constructed as a source of hope. Thus, Lindelwa's gendered, sexual, familial and/or activist identities intersect in resourceful and empowering ways (Moreau,

³⁵ For an example of this, see this article from Mail & Guardian: <https://mg.co.za/article/2013-07-15-00-violence-against-black-lesbians-is-a-struggle-for-power>.

2015). This intersection is something that facilitates her activism in the community, and her performance of these identities. Interestingly, the construction of family in this text contrasts significantly with those in other texts (for example, texts two, four and six), where the traditional, heteronormative family is constructed as a source of oppression and constraint. Ultimately, Bulelwa constructs lesbians as women, and as *“people who have encountered the same problem”*. The word *“people”* distances the categories ‘lesbian’ and/or ‘women’ from violence and rejects the possibility for lesbians to be constructed as separate or different from other human beings. This intersectional discourse has powerful effects, functioning as a direct rebuttal of the discourses perpetuated by patriarchal discourses that separate ‘lesbian’ from ‘women’ from ‘people’ to justify committing rape (Judge, 2017; Moreau, 2015; Zway, 2015).

Analysis of Text six³⁶

In text six, the performance of Funeka’s gendered identity as *“woman”* is constructed as intersecting with space. As a woman, it is *“hard [...] to find your space [...] because of our³⁷ culture with such clearly defined gender roles”*. In this instance, the discursive construction of *“gender”* foregrounds the interplay between space and identities (Shields, 2008). The use of the word *“hard”* is important in this construction, suggesting that the performance of ‘woman’ identities can have constraining effects in particular cultural spaces. The word draws on discourses of gendered power relations, evoking social hierarchies in which some men occupy positions of greater power than other men, women and children (see, e.g. Ahmed, 2014; Lazar, 2007). Moreover, this construction is significant, because even at the outset of the text, Funeka’s gendered and/or sexual identities are constructed as being indivisible (Moreau, 2015). She is not referred to as ‘lesbian’, but as *“woman”*. This construction highlights that lesbian identities intersect with ‘women’ identities, and that different axes of identities are inextricable (Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Further, it disrupts mainstream notions of ‘gender’ as separate from ‘sexuality’, rejecting binary classifications of people and arguing for a more intersectional understanding of identities (see, e.g. Anthias, 2014; Richardson, 2007).

Further, the text constructs identities as being performed in fluid and plural ways – depending on spatial variability (Bagnol et al., 2010). For example, Chait (Funeka’s interviewer)

³⁶ Please refer to Appendix F to read text six.

³⁷ In this construction, Chait is making a general reference to SA culture.

foregrounds the “*clear ambiguity between [Funeka’s] rural roots and city life on these streets*”. The word “*ambiguity*” has connotations of double meaning, creating the possibility for different spaces to influence the performance of identities in varying ways. Elaborating on the rural/urban divide, Funeka constructs her childhood as having unfolded in a rural “*little village*”. The rural space of her childhood, and the condition of living with her grandmother, are constructed with connotations of nostalgia and carefreeness – a “*very peaceful [...] environment*” in which Funeka was “*not scared of anything*”. In this rural environment, and with the positive influence of her grandmother, Funeka constructs having been able to perform her gendered identity in ways that were unconstrained, stating that her “*understanding of (.) gender=roles (.) was not an issue*”. These discourses echo those in all of the other texts, demonstrating that people’s meaning-making processes (especially the negotiation of identities) are located socially and spatially (Bagnol et al., 2010; Crenshaw, 1991; Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004).

Interestingly, Funeka constructs older generations positively, stating: “*for my gran that u:h she didn’t put me in in boxes like ‘yeah you a little girl you have to do this and this’ she just (.) always um leave me to live my own life (0.50)*”. In this construction, the image of the box is symbolic of intersectional discourse. Feminist discourses typically function to reject the idea that women should and/or can be ‘put into boxes’ and challenge the notion of ‘womanly’ roles in societies (e.g. Ahmed, 2014; Lazar, 2007). In evoking the image of the box, Funeka expresses that gendered identities are uncategorizable and unstable (Butler, 1990; Shields, 2008). In doing so, she disrupts the idea that people’s identities are universal, and/or that all LGBTQIA+ individuals experience the same ‘coming out’ process that stage models (e.g. Cass, 1979) predict. Further, she highlights the supportive and encouraging way in which her grandmother performed her identity as ‘grandmother’ – rejecting the idea that Funeka should be constrained by the performance of her identities. Further, the use of the possessive pronoun in “*live my own life*” is significant. In this instance, Funeka constructs herself as having had agency and autonomy in the context of growing up in the village with her grandmother.

By using these discourses, Funeka constructs her grandmother as a feminist and maternal figure in her early life. Her grandmother is constructed as “*the only person who’s making sure that (0.25) i’m i’m always safe*”. Interestingly, later in the same text, some members of older generations are constructed as needing to change their mindset about gendered and/or sexual identities. Funeka’s friend and fellow community member states: “*if you can change the mindset*

(.) of the old e:h (.) to this new generation then (.) it works”. This variation of constructions shows that identities do not represent fixed or easily-categorisable labels, but constructs that people claim and perform in very different ways (Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). It was interesting to find two contrasting constructions of age and/or generational identities in the same text – something that reflects the intersectional claim: ‘no social group is homogenous’ (Crenshaw, 1991; Stewart & McDermott, 2004).

Continuing to construct her childhood in relation to space, Funeka talks about her family (outside of her grandmother). She states that in the village, “[her] family we:re (.) so traditionalist”. Funeka constructs the emergence of her sexual identity as intersecting with this traditional cultural space in the village, and in the context of her immediate family. Moreover, she constructs having gained awareness of her sexual identity during the physical, psychological and emotional changes that happened during her adolescent years:

i think i started to be conscious (0.25) when i was little bit growing? (.) i have a sense that there was something that was different from me from other kids the feelings that i were having towards women .h (.) um those were things that we were very f=foreign to uh-me.

This construction foregrounds the confusion that many LGBTQIA+ people express in relation to their youths (see, e.g. Kowen & Davis, 2006; Smuts, 2011; Zway, 2015). Funeka uses the word “foreign” to describe the feelings that she was experiencing towards other women – a word which has connotations of confusion, alienation and unintelligibility. This word serves to foreground the idea that, for some LGBTQIA+ people, youth can be a particularly-difficult period of time, in which there is a struggle to understand and/or perform one’s identities openly (see, e.g. Kowen & Davis, 2006; Smuts, 2011; Zway, 2015). Moreover, this discursive construction of youth highlights that identities intersect with life stage, and with space, in differing ways (see, e.g. Bagnol et al., 2010).

For example, when constructing the influence of her mother during this confusing time, Funeka suggests that she became aware of gender roles, and of the expectations that her traditionalist family had of her as a girl child, because of the “foreign” nature of her feelings. It is interesting that Funeka only became aware of gender roles in the context of traditional family culture. This alludes to the influence of space, history and heteronormative discourses on the

construction and performance of identities (Bagnol et al., 2010). Living in a traditionalist, heteronormative family environment applied significant pressure to Funeka to conform to heteronormative discourses of womanhood and sexuality. Further, these constructions reveal the impact of social interactions and relationships on the meaning-making processes involved in negotiating and/or performing one's identities (e.g. Gibson & Macleod, 2012). In the presence of her grandmother, gender roles had not mattered for Funeka, but within the context of her traditionalist family, this changed.

Funeka constructs her mother as having expressed significant frustration towards her daughter's identity performance: "*i think? that was the worst thing that really really frustrated my mom*". The repetition of the word "*really*" in this discursive construction emphasises the frustration and/or disapproval that Funeka's mother expressed in response to the performance of her daughter's gendered and/or sexual identities. Funeka explains that this frustration was exacerbated by the fact that she had been her mother's only surviving child. The expectations that accompanied this are constructed as having exerted significant pressure for Funeka to follow heteronormative social scripts:

most of the (.) kids that my mom have they never (.) survived um i was the only (0.25) child of my mom=who survived with the hope that (.) in future, then we'll be having this little family, funeka having a boyfriend or whatever .h then i will have another kids.

In this discursive construction, there is evidence of the expectations (highlighted with the word "*hope*") that many families and societies have of young girls to perform their identities as women by becoming devoted wives and mothers (Ahmed, 2014). However, these social pressures are constructed as intersecting with Funeka's time in the presence of her traditionalist family, suggesting that particular spaces can have constraining effects on the performance of identities (Stewart & McDermott, 2004). The discourse in Funeka's construction conjures the image of the heteronormative, traditional family unit – almost with connotations of utopic and/or fantastical discourse.

Funeka constructs the difficulties associated with having failed to meet these traditionalist, heteronormative ideals in terms of both bodily and psychological/emotional discourses (Ahmed,

2014; Butler, 1990). In the extract below, she discusses an operation that doctors promised to perform to ‘fix’ what they had thought was her intersexuality:

physically when my whe-when my parents look at me it it was lo:ok like i was ambiguous genitals. .hh i couldn't (refer it) to anything. (.) like maybe saying that ohm? it's cool because (.) i've seen this before? but unfortunately (.) to me it was look like i'm the first person that was having that. (0.25) the doctors made my parent=my family to believe that uh i was intersex. (.) my mom? really couldn't understand uh (.) um at that time uh how she can handle (.) uhm me being=a being being ambiguous. (.) they didn't expla:in for her (.) exactly what was=happening the one thing that she knew is that (0.25) the doctors were going to make me uh (.) the girl that was hoping for, but=((breathy laugh))=unfortunately after the operation i mean things didn't=work .h the way she was expecting.

In this construction, Funeka explains that her mother could not cope with her daughter’s ambiguous genital and/or identity presentation. Again, Funeka’s description of youth is constructed in an emotive manner – with feelings of confusion, alienation and helplessness being foregrounded (Ahmed, 2014; Kowen & Davis, 2006; Smuts, 2011). Moreover, not being able to compare herself to anyone else, or to make sense of her ambiguity, shows how challenging it can be to negotiate non-heteronormativity in the context of heteronormative hegemony. At the physical, bodily level, the solution to Funeka’s ambiguity, intended to ease her mother’s discomfort, was for the doctors to make her into the girl child for which the family had hoped. The confusion and tension characterising this time is highlighted by the lack of explanation from the doctors as to what was happening – constructing the ambiguity of Funeka’s body as something unsettling and troublesome for her family, and for her mother, in particular. Funeka’s laughter indicates the absurdity with which she constructs the situation – she says that “*unfortunately after the operation [...] things didn't=work .h the way [her mother] was expecting*”. These utterances highlight the disconnect between biology and the performance of gendered and/or sexual identities (e.g. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Richardson, 2007). The operation did not work, because the doctors could not ‘fix’ Funeka at a biological level and expect to erase the unique way in which she identified with and performed *her* womanhood. The implication is that being biologically ‘woman’ does not necessitate or engender the performance of a stereotypically-female gender role in society (see, e.g. Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 1990; Judge, 2017; Lazar, 2007).

After the surgery did not ‘fix’ her gendered and/or sexual identities, Funeka describes having been presented with an ultimatum by her mother: “*i remember one day when she was saying i have=to ((clears throat)) either choose umm=be going=out with women and then (.) either not to be (.) her mother anymore*”. This construction suggests that the traditional family space was not an environment that facilitated the authentic identity performance that Funeka wished to live. This construction of familial spaces was also evident in texts two, three and four. At this point in the text, Funeka’s activist/volunteer identity emerges. After having received the ultimatum from her mother; threatened with expulsion from the family home and the mother-daughter relationship, Funeka resisted:

so i couldn't really choose or whatever i didn't say anything to her, but i mean i think from then she noticed that. hh uh i'm not going to=((breathy laugh))=i'm not going to (0.25) uh to to follow what she was saying and i think that was the end of my relationship with my mom.

Again, Funeka’s laughter conveys the absurdity of the situation – being forced to choose between the identities of ‘daughter’ and ‘lesbian woman’ is constructed as having baffled her (Ahmed, 2014). Funeka constructs having been unable to choose, and this highlights the intersectional notion of non-additivity regarding identities – no single axis of identity is more significant than the other, and one is not capable of splitting up the self into parts (see, e.g. Bowleg, 2008; Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Further, both globally and locally, many women still negotiate the pressure to “*choose*” which ‘roles’ they can afford to play, convinced that they cannot be more than (or simultaneously all of) the feminine archetypes such as ‘career woman’ or ‘stay-at-home-mom’. In resisting the anti-feminist notion of ‘having to choose’, Funeka shifts the power imbalances that she, and many other women, encounter daily (see, e.g. Ahmed, 2014; Lazar, 2007).

In response to the ultimatum from her mother, Funeka left home, ending the relationship with the family and traveling to Cape Town “*in search of (.) her own freedom*”. Once more, space is constructed as intersecting with the performance of Funeka’s identities (Bagnol et al., 2010):

cape town was=seen as a liberal (.) area and also it's a city, (.) so i was thinking maybe i mean people are (.) going to be open-minded. (.) the one thing that (.) I

was (.) hoping for, (.) was for me? just to be me: just to live my own life? (.) and and to free:ly love uh (who) love women the way i i feel? ”.

In this construction, the difference between rural and city living is highlighted by Funeka. She constructs Cape Town (the city) as a place where she expected to find relief from heteronormative pressures, because people living in cities are usually more “*open-minded*” and tolerant. Emotive language is used – the words “*hope*” and “*love*” associated with democratic SA and the chance for all people to live equally (shown by the emphasis that she uses when she says “*freely*”). These discourses demonstrate that identities connect with space and with historical discourses around gendered, racial and/or sexual identities (Bagnol et al, 2010; Matebeni, 2011). When she arrived in Cape Town, Funeka founded the Free Gender organisation in Khayelitsha township. The name ‘Free Gender’ is, in itself, an intersectional embodiment of the ways in which Funeka constructs her identities. The organisation’s name implies that it advocates for gender equality, and this suggests that lesbians in the community are not only “*lesbians*”, but women, too. Funeka does not construct her identities as extricable, claiming assertively: “*this is funeka and i’m i’m a gay woman so so wha:t? funeka it’s a lesbian=and funeka its a woman at the end of the day*”. In these constructions, Funeka echoes the notion of ‘free gender’, constructing her gendered and/or sexual identities as inseparable and connected, but emphasizing the importance of organisations like Free Gender in defending the legally-sanctioned right for women to perform their identities freely (see, e.g. Lake, 2014; Moreau, 2015).

However, during the initial years of being in Cape Town, Funeka’s identity as a member of the Khayelitsha community intersected with the performance of her gendered, sexual and racial identities in ways that proved constraining. Derek Fine, one of Funeka’s most significant sources of support, states that: “*there were comrades in the area who weren’t too happy? with this (you know) black woman being really open about (.) who she was and being an out=and=proud lesbian*”. The words “*comrades*” and “*black woman*” construct racial identities for the first time in the text. The word “*comrade*” has connotations of black (and specifically ANC) resistance during apartheid in SA. In this instance, it is used to show that it was black people in the community who had a problem with Funeka’s gendered and/or sexual identities – because of her status as a black woman. This discourse highlights that different axes of identities intersect in diverse ways, and across different spaces, to produce unique effects for people (Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Furthermore, the word ‘comrades’ has been used in opposition to ‘black

woman' (and in opposition to Funeka, specifically) in the text, despite the fact that both the comrades and Funeka are activists. This construction is significant, because it implies that identifying as a lesbian in the community seems to outrank 'blackness' and activism in public discourse. Hence, in the case of black lesbian women, negative discourses about sexuality seem to prevail and dominate, in relation to positive discourses around black activism and resistance.

It is very interesting that Fine constructs his identities (white, male) in ways that distance him, implicitly, from the kinds of violence that he discusses in relation to black women. For example, he states that he and Funeka *"live in very different spaces"* that he has *"lost people in the past who haven't been survivors [of violence]"* and that he knows *"the last few years have=been extremely painful uh for [funeka] and for (.) a whole community of (.) of black lesbians and and their friends .h and and families"*. In these utterances, Fine distances himself from the challenges that black lesbian women, like Funeka, encounter by highlighting that he occupies a *"different"* subject position in SA society. Further, he shows that he has not been targeted in the same way as black lesbian women, like Funeka, have been targeted. This suggests that his subject position affords him greater protection from discrimination and violence. Thus, whilst he does not mention it explicitly, it is noted that his performance of 'whiteness' and masculinity in these constructions seems to function as a resourceful distancing strategy (see, e.g. Gibson & Macleod, 2012; Judge, 2017; Kulick, 2013; Rudwick, 2011).

However, it is interesting that Fine does not attempt to divide Funeka's identities in the text. For example, in the above construction of comrades' attitudes, Fine implies that the issue was not that Funeka was 'lesbian', but that she was a woman performing her identities in ways that transgressed the rules of compulsory heteronormativity in black culture at the time (see, e.g. Swarr, 2012). These challenges are constructed as having intersected with Funeka's status as a member of Khayelitsha township community. Funeka explains that from this point, things increased in difficulty:

during the time that my mom was not=in my life (the) things (.) a lot of things were happening to me i mean my coming out (.) u:m things (.) didn't went well. (.) the issue from th- i mean from my communities was (.) like w:e homosexuality is unafrican (.) s:o to deal with me was the only way that they can silent me.

In this construction, Funeka draws on discourses of ‘coming out’, which can have connotations of difficulty and a struggle for acceptance (see, e.g. Kowen & Davis, 2006; Smuts, 2011; Zway, 2015). For Funeka, coming out is constructed as a time of negativity and personal challenges (see, e.g. Kowen & Davis, 2006; Smuts, 2011; Zway, 2015). Interestingly, she emphasises that these challenges happened at a time when her mother was absent from her life. These words might suggest that, had she had the support of her family, and of her mother in particular, then things may have been easier. The reason for her “*silencing*” was because people in the community could not recognise and/or tolerate black lesbian women as legitimate women in the gendered social order that characterised the township space (Mkhize et al., 2010). Similar constructions featured in all of the previous texts. Discourses of the legitimate social order are shown through Funeka’s construction of dominant discourse that pits ‘true’ African identities against ‘unAfrican’ identities to establish a heteronormative and traditional social order: ‘homosexuality is unAfrican’ (Van Zyl, 2011; Vincent & Howell, 2014).

Part of her silencing involved being “*dealt with*” by some of the men in her community. Funeka constructs having been stabbed and (on a separate occasion) raped in the township. The rape is foregrounded by Funeka as having comprised a significant “*turning point*” in her life:

i'm i'm a gay woman so so wha:t? and i really really paid heavily about that [...] when i was stAbbed and all that stuff i could i think i couldn't really couldn't really (.) it was just something like but i think when i was raped and i think that was the (0.25) i think that was a turning point [...] funeka was ra:ped long time ag:o? (0.25) but (.) every time i talk about it (0.25) it looks as i- as if it was [yesterday [...]] uh so it's a- it's a dail:y? its a daily struggle (0.25) ((clears throat)) [...] people really didn't at that time kno:ws uh know exactly (.) what wh- what a lesbian is .hh and (.) eh- for them raping lesbian was to (.) in a way to correct uh to correct them to be (.) in a way? of being straight? and and i think i was one of the people (.) that was needed to i mean to be corrected .hh um according to them.

In these discursive constructions, Funeka implies that performing her identities without censorship in Khayelitsha effected a personal cost for her – she “*paid heavily*” for the open expression of her identities as a black lesbian woman in the township space (Mkhize et al., 2010). Interestingly, she does not construct having paid a heavy price for being lesbian, but for having performed her identities as a “*gay woman*”. This construction suggests the intersectional nature of these identities for Funeka and alludes to the notion that lesbian women are targeted for violence not because they

are *lesbian*, but because they are women who are perceived as disobeying the prescriptions of heteronormative power (Moreau, 2015; Swarr, 2012; Zway, 2015).

Moreover, Funeka constructs the rape by using emotive words and phrasing to describe the event. For example, she pauses more often during these discussions, and the frequent utterances of “*uh*” can be read as a sign that she struggles to convey the details of the event. In particular, the words “*daily struggle*” and the fact that she refers to herself in third person when talking about the rape, show that rape entails significant physical and psychological ramifications for survivors (Mkhize et al., 2010). This is reflected when Funeka states that “*the rape really (.) (little bit) shake my i mean shake my world?*” and that during the rape, her body “*switched off*”. The performative discourse at play in this construction of her body suggests the powerful effect that trauma (such as rape) can entail (Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 1990). For example, the words “*switch off*” imply that something is being controlled and/or manipulated to function in a specific manner. This discursive construction relates to discourses of gendered power dynamics – the idea that rape can be an instrument to facilitate patriarchy’s control of women’s bodies (e.g. Moffett, 2006). When women’s bodies do not ‘behave’ or perform ‘correctly’ (according to the rules of heteronormativity and gendered power), then they can be, and very often are, “*switched off*” with the use of violence (see, e.g. Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 1988; Swarr, 2012).

Interestingly, Funeka says that people in the community did not know what lesbians were, and that the rape served “*corrective*” purposes. These discourses highlight the tension between hetero and homonormativities in Khayelitsha community. They foreground the idea of LGBTQIA+ bodies as unintelligible in heteronormative power matrices (see, e.g. Swarr, 2012). Funeka describes needing to be “*silenced*” so that the performance of her identities could be made compatible with heteronormative social scripts. These discourses echoed those that Funeka used earlier in the text, when discussing the situation in which doctors promised her parents that she could be ‘corrected’ or ‘fixed’ in order to fulfill the ‘right’ womanly role.

The only occasion that Funeka discusses masculinities in the text is when she refers to the people from the community who attacked and raped her whilst she was walking home. She says that her rapists told her: “*ja we i knew i am um i knew that ((all our)) we're going to get you one day*”. It is interesting that Funeka introduces gendered discourses in this instance, because it shows that she understands the rape in the context of gendered power relations characterising the community. Further, it draws on intersectional discourses – she implies that she was raped not

because she is *lesbian*, but because she is a *lesbian woman*, disobeying the dominance of heteronormative discourses in the community (Judge, 2017; Matebeni, 2011; Moreau, 2015).

Interviewing her about the rape, Chait constructs Funeka's identities as separable, stating that "*activist*" Funeka wants to talk about what happened, but "*private*" Funeka "*needs healing and is scared*". Later in the text, Chait asks if Funeka was not afraid of a repeat attack, stating that it was an "*extraordinary=move [...] deciding not to be coward and to go back out there (.) and to face the world as herself and as an activist [...] after what she'd been through personally*". These discourses serve to construct Funeka, and other black lesbian women who have been targets of GBV, as existing in perpetual victim positions (see, e.g. Judge, 2017). In particular, the word "*coward*" is associated with women who do not choose to "*go back out*" after they have been attacked. Further, these constructions present the idea that Funeka's personal identity is very different and/or separate from her identity as an activist/volunteer in the community. Interestingly, Chait reveals something about her own subject position in the way that she addresses Funeka in these instances. As a white woman, based in middle-class Cape Town, Chait shows how 'whiteness' can be used to privilege and distance herself from black lesbian women who have been violated. Her 'whiteness' and privilege are evident in this instance, because although she is attempting to provide sympathy to Funeka, she actually relies on discourses of shame and cowardice to construct other women who do not report rape. Hence, 'whiteness' can operate in ways that create positions of privilege – both in this discussion, and in contemporary SA more broadly (Judge, 2017; Kulick, 2013; Rudwick, 2011).

However, Funeka responds to Chait in a manner that challenges these discourses explicitly. For example, she states a repeat attack was "*the last thing that comes (to) [her] mind*" and that "*healing is to is to talk about=it*". In this instance, Funeka shows that her 'personal' identity is not extricable from her identity as an activist in her community and draws on feminist discourses advocating that 'the personal is the political' (Freedman, 2001). She questions the notion that survivors of rape need to conceal their trauma and defies the idea that women's emotions and/or 'talking about it' should remain private (see, e.g. Ahmed, 2014). These discourses culminate in Funeka's claim that the boxes into which people try to place her are "*not [her] boxes anyway*". In this very performative utterance, Funeka conjures the image of being able to break out of the boxes in which she has been placed throughout her life, resisting easy and fixed classification (Judge, 2017; Moreau, 2017).

For Funeka, part of being an activist is constructed as allowing *“lesbians themselves to mobilize themselves .h u:m as lesbians and also as women (.) and within their communities to (.) i mean to claim those spaces. (0.25)”*. In this construction, Funeka shows that ‘lesbian’, ‘woman’ and ‘activist’ are not separable but intersect to produce unique opportunities for her – and other lesbian women in her community – to claim space and work together towards the realisation of full citizenship (Moreau, 2015). In these constructions, it becomes clear that Funeka’s activism intersects with her status as a community member, in ways that make the community space more welcoming to the open performance of her – and other people’s – identities. She notes:

my lesbian activism (.) and and what i'm doing in the community (.) it's one thing to my community (.) it's its not a separate thing. .h and even if i i organize (.) something that's have something to do with lesbian=i involve my community .h (.) they go? it's its not that i we can't be part of it it (.) it's a safe here is the safest place for me i mean to be (.) i forgot really sometimes that funeka is a homosexual.

This construction of the community, and of Funeka’s identities in this community, is very interesting. Where the community was constructed as a space that constrained the performance of Funeka’s identities previously in the text, at this point in the same text, the community space is constructed as offering more tolerance and resources – to the extent that Funeka actually forgets that she is ‘different’ (homosexual). Further, she notes that:

for me free gender was the (0.25) was the vehicle (.) to make sure that people have to understand (.) homosexuality is not unafican (.) and homosexuality exists within our communities (.) especially in my country .h and also in africa as a who:le.

In this instance, Funeka challenges dominant discourses that construct homosexuality as unnatural and unAfrican, by claiming communal (and national) space with the words *“Africa as a whole”* (Van Zyl, 2011; Vincent & Howell, 2014). By stating this, Funeka implies that it is possible to be a black lesbian woman and still be deserving of full citizenship and equal human rights. These discourses are echoed in the final lines of the text, where she states: *“i regard myself as a human being”*. This statement is perhaps the strongest and clearest expression of intersectional discourse in the entire dataset. Refusing to separate herself into *“boxes”*, Funeka shows, ultimately, that it is possible for black lesbian women to claim space as human beings and intersectional citizens in post-apartheid SA (Moreau, 2015).

Discussion

In the following section, the findings of the qualitative data analysis are discussed. The main findings of the current study are summarised, and comparisons are made between the different texts in the corpus. Finally, the main findings of the current research are related to the review of existing literature that was provided in chapter two.

Intersectional Discourses of Identities: Complexity, Plurality and Fluidity

The deconstruction of ‘gender’. One of the prominent findings in the current study was that black lesbian women challenge dominant gendered hierarchies in post-apartheid SA. Specifically, the participants rejected essentialising constructions of femininity and questioned the pressure to fulfill societal expectations in order to be recognised as legitimate, full citizens. Several feminist authors (Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 1988; Kramer, 2015; Lazar, 2007; Segalo, 2015) have critiqued sociohistorical systems of gendered oppression that essentialize ‘women’ identities. In text four, dominant discourses prescribing ‘legitimate’ womanhood were evident. For example, Zelda constructed the pressure she experienced in the family space to perform her emotionality and physicality as a woman ‘should’ do. This necessitated bringing a child and a man into the family home, and demonstrating feelings of maternity, altruism and familial devotion. These discourses highlighted that, as a lesbian woman, Zelda was perceived by the family as having failed to perform her womanhood in socially-sanctioned ways, and at both biological and emotional levels (Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 1988).

However, throughout the corpus of texts, contestation against the essentialisation of ‘woman’ was achieved through feminist discourse. This contestation could be identified in the ways that the participants performed their gendered identities. For example, Bulelwa showed that it is possible for lesbian women to mother children effectively and to establish functional family spaces with a lesbian partner. This discourse of motherhood challenges archetypal constructions of the heteronormative ‘mother’ and highlights that womanhood can be performed in diverse ways that intersect with sexualities (Hayman et al., 2013). Further, Funeka disrupted stereotypical constructions of women as overly emotional and needing to conceal and/or privatise their feelings (Ahmed, 2014). She emphasised the importance of healing through talking and making the personal political (Freedman, 2001; Segalo, 2014; 2015). These discourses showed that there are many different possibilities for the ways in which gender identities can be performed – especially in terms of the constant interplay between gender and other axes of identities (Shields, 2008).

Further, analysis of the data showed that, whilst there remains significant progress to be made, it is possible for gendered power relations to shift in the post-apartheid context.

Interestingly, the analysis also pointed to the destabilization of ‘masculinity’ in the post-apartheid context. In particular, the findings suggested that masculinities are performed differently by various men (Langa & Kiguwa, 2013; Ratele, 2006), especially because masculine gender identities intersect with other axes of identity to create unique nexuses. For example, in text six, Fine performed his masculinity in ways that were connected, implicitly, to his subject position as a white SA man. Further, several participants (like Siya in text one, and Bulelwa in text five) showed that *some* men perform hegemonic, or ‘ruling’ masculinities that threaten the safety of other men, women and children (Ratele, 2006). However, other men can provide strong sources of support to women, performing their masculinities in ways that deviate from patriarchal discourses – as was evident, for example, in Terra’s constructions of her grandfather (refer to text two). The deconstruction of both ‘masculine’ *and* ‘feminine’ genders was significant in the current research, supporting the intersectional claim that ‘no social group is homogenous’ (Crenshaw, 1991; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Further, and very importantly, it also creates the possibility for men to be included in feminist conversations and/or projects (Connell, 1995; Jewkes et al., 2014).

Lesbian = woman = human being: black lesbian women as full citizens. Analysis of the data illuminated the intersectional discourses that black lesbian women use in constructing and performing their identities. Across each of the texts, the participants subverted dominant discourses that engender the separation of identity constructs (Havelock Ellis, 1928, as cited in Peplau & Garnets, 2000). For example, the participants rejected the idea that identifying as ‘lesbian’ renders people outside of the boundaries of womanhood and even humanity (Judge, 2017; Moreau, 2015). In the data, ‘lesbian’ identities were constructed as intersecting with ‘women’ identities, highlighting the co-existence, mutual constitution and reinforcement between gendered and sexual identity constructs (Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). In the texts, intersectional discourses indicated an explicit shift from early, mainstream discourses that constructed ‘sexuality’ as the mere extension of ‘gender’ (Richardson, 2007). For example, Siya’s constructions in text one showed that butch lesbian women are still women, despite the notion that they are performing their gendered and/or sexual identities in ways that are reserved, stereotypically, for people identifying as ‘male’. Similarly, in text five, Bulelwa demonstrated that

identifying as ‘lesbian’ *does* mean that one is still indivisibly, equally and simultaneously ‘woman’, despite some patriarchal tendencies to split women’s identities into parts (Ahmed, 2014).

Ultimately, the intersectional discourses in the texts constructed lesbians as women, and as *people*, rejecting the idea that identifying as ‘lesbian’ negates one’s womanhood and/or humanity (Judge, 2017). Perhaps the most explicit instance of this intersectional discourse was identified in text six, in which Funeka constructed herself as a human being because, “*at the end of the day*”, she is a lesbian *and* she is a woman. In this text, and across the other texts, intersectional discourse facilitated the subversion of societal norms constructing lesbian women as undeserving of full citizenship and equal human rights. These constructions culminated in the powerful image of Funeka’s assertion: “*not my boxes anyway*”³⁸. The effects of these discursive constructions disrupted heteronormative configurations of ‘gender’ and ‘sexuality’, showing that women have agency and power in choosing how to perform their gendered and/or sexual identities (Judge, 2017; Lazar, 2007). By constructing genders and sexualities intersectionally, the participants rejected binary and stable constructions of these identities, dismantled gendered power relations, and established space for black lesbian women to assert themselves as deserving of full citizenship (Segalo, 2014; 2015).

Furthermore, intersectional constructions of ‘lesbian’ and ‘woman’ identities were evident in the participants’ discourses of discrimination and violence. The discussion of relevant, existing literature showed that research (e.g. Mkhize et al., 2010) and media exploring non-heteronormative identities has tended to construct homophobia as a separate class of crime from GBV. Further, Judge (2017) and Moreau (2015) highlighted that these constructions of homophobic violence serve only to maintain the false distinction between gendered and sexual identities (Richardson, 2007), when in fact, intersectionality argues that they are interwoven and indivisible (Crenshaw, 1991). Not only do these heteronormative, mainstream constructions perpetuate the notion of lesbians as ‘special victims’, but they also mask the operations of gendered power dynamics in society by neglecting to consider that lesbian’s rights are women’s rights (Moreau, 2015).

The main findings in the current study foreground that black lesbian women do not construct homophobia as occurring because they are lesbians in township communities, but

³⁸ Having identified the significance and power of this quotation by Funeka, it was decided to focalise it in the title of the current research. This decision intended to visibilise and celebrate the stories shared by the research participants, and to emphasise their centrality to the study.

because lesbian women are perceived in these communities as breaking the rules of compulsory heterosexuality (Swarr, 2009). These discourses around violence are important in shifting the ways in which we think about constructs like ‘hate crime’ and ‘corrective rape’, establishing possibilities for counter-knowledge and the critiquing of GBV. Further, the intersectional constructions of homophobia reject the possibility for lesbians to be constructed as separate and/or different from other human beings. This intersectional discourse has powerful effects, because it functions as a direct rebuttal of the discourses perpetuated by individuals who separate ‘lesbian’ from ‘women’ from ‘people’ to justify committing acts of homophobic discrimination and violence (Shields, 2008).

Lesbian ≠ victim. A significant finding of the data analysis was that, contrary to the arguments presented in some existing studies (e.g. Gontek, 2007; Mkhize et al., 2010), black lesbian women in post-apartheid SA are not powerless, perpetual victims of ‘hate crime’ (Judge, 2017; Matebeni, 2011; Moreau, 2015). Across the texts, the participants constructed having encountered significant personal and/or social challenges. In some instances, these challenges were framed by the participants as being possible consequences of the intersections between their gendered, sexual and racial identities. For example, in text two, Terra constructed the intersection of her racial and sexual identities as limiting, in that she did not feel safe as a black lesbian in a township setting. For Terra, the condition of being a “*black lesbian*” (not a black lesbian woman, or just *lesbian*) in the township was constructed as constraining, because performing these identities invited discrimination and violence from the community. Further, in text five, Bulelwa constructed her friend, Lindelwa, as having been raped because of her sexual orientation. These discourses reflect the findings of previous studies (e.g. Gontek, 2007; Mkhize et al., 2010) showing that black lesbian women encounter significant levels of homophobia in specific (especially township) spaces.

Contrary to findings in some other existing SA studies (e.g. Gontek, 2007; Mkhize et al., 2010; Swarr, 2012) on ‘hate crime’ and ‘corrective rape’ in post-apartheid, hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy were not constructed as overwhelmingly-important by and/or for the participants. In some of the texts (for example, text 5), some men’s perceptions of women in the communities were constructed as contributing to GBV. However, analysis of the data showed that violence against black lesbian women is not perpetrated exclusively by men but can come from “*people*” in communal and familial spaces. Therefore, these findings echoed previous studies on SA

masculinities (e.g. Langa & Kiguwa, 2013; Macleod, 2007; Morrell et al., 2012; Ratele, 2006) that have cautioned against the construction of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy as the direct causes of GBV. Further, the current study showed that masculinities are plural and performed in relation to intersectional aspects of power and social stratification. For example, in text six, Fine performed his masculinity as something that facilitated and supported the authentic performance of Funeka's identities as a black lesbian woman in Khayelitsha. However, his masculinity also intersected with his racial identity as a white SA – a connection that allowed him to distance himself from the violence and discrimination that the community of black lesbian women had encountered (see, e.g. Judge, 2017; Kulick, 2013; Rudwick, 2011).

Moreover, the current study found that homophobia and other challenges arising in the lives of black lesbian women do not define or dictate what it might mean to be a black lesbian woman in post-apartheid SA. Contrastingly, the discourses used by all the participants constructed a collective refusal to be framed in risk paradigms repeatedly. A striking example of these discourses was identified in text one, in which Siya constructed the contestants of the Miss Lesbian beauty pageant with discourses of power, agency and resilience. Not only did these constructions claim space for black lesbian women to perform their identities as full citizens, but they foregrounded the possibility for discourses of pleasure, joy and freedom to be associated with performances of black lesbian women's identities in post-apartheid SA (see, e.g. Judge, 2017; Matebeni, 2011; Moreau, 2015). More broadly, these discourses encouraged shifts in societal power relations – constructing black lesbian women as full SA citizens who can claim and occupy space in society. Similarly, in text two, Terra challenged the construction of black lesbian women's bodies as perpetual sites of fear, shame, victimization, hatred and silence (see, e.g. Lake, 2014; Muholi, 2004). Using human rights discourse, Terra constructed possibilities for black lesbian women to be recognised as full citizens in post-apartheid SA, and refuted stereotypical discourses that frame black lesbian women in terms of victimization. Finally, the participants shifted dominant power relations by constructing violence in ways that did not rely on blackwashing homophobia. For example, the language used in the texts to construct violence was not graphic and/or grotesque, but quite general and vague – for example, Bulelwa's construction of Lindelwa's rape as "*all what happened to her*" (text five). Moreover, there was far more emphasis on framing black lesbian women identities in terms of agency, resilience and power throughout the texts.

These constructions contrast the ways in which most existing research (and SA media publications) construct black lesbian women (Judge, 2017).

Resistance and power: lesbian rights are women's rights. A significant finding in the current study was that activism and resistance are very important features of what it can mean to be a black lesbian woman in post-apartheid SA. More research is needed that focalises black women's resistance, as very few existing studies have explored it (see, e.g. Judge, 2017; Lake, 2014; Moreau, 2015). Across the data, resistance was framed by discourses of intersectional citizenship (Moreau, 2015). Just as homophobia was constructed by the participants as being embedded in GBV, lesbian resistance was constructed as inseparable from women's collective resistance against patriarchal power relations. Ultimately, lesbian's rights were framed as women's rights (Moreau, 2015): "*lesbians themselves [...] to mobilize themselves .h u:m as lesbians and also as women (.) and within their communities to (.) i mean to claim those spaces*" (text six).

Interestingly, being part of Free Gender was constructed by Siya as intersecting explicitly with her racial identity, which highlighted that activism can serve an important function in challenging blackwashing discourses, shifting conversation and thinking around 'blackness' towards discourses of power, agency, resilience and resistance (Matebeni, 2011). Moreover, feminist discourse was prominent in the constructions of resistance, associating black lesbian women with explicit connotations of power, agency, resilience and courage: "*We are a collective, a lot of us together, standing up*" (text one). Further, the participants also showed that community identities are not separable from activist identities. For example, Siya and Funeka highlighted that the work of Free Gender is something involving collaboration from the entire community. Moreover, this work benefits the community as a collective, because it works to change the way that people in these spaces understand and discuss identities and engage in social interactions. These findings reflect those of previous studies (e.g. Moreau, 2015), suggesting that Free Gender has played an integral role in shifting community relationships towards a sense of full, intersectional citizenship. The findings of the current study also foregrounded the importance of creative activism as platforms for black women to share hidden transcripts in post-apartheid SA (Segalo, 2014). By making hidden transcripts public, possibilities are created for counter-knowledge to be formed in relation to the ways in which black lesbian women are constructed in contemporary SA. Predominantly, the establishment of such possibilities can be achieved when master narratives of black lesbian women (blackwashing discourses) are challenged and dispelled

(Judge, 2017). Hence, the current study found that projects like *Rainbow Girls* and *I am Woman* make significant contributions in the journey towards social cohesion in post-apartheid societies.

(Un)dividing butch/femme dichotomies. In the current study, a key example of the complexity and instability of gendered and/or sexual identities manifested in discourses constructing ‘butch’ and ‘femme’. In dominant discourses concerning butch-femme subcultures in post-apartheid SA, butchness has been constructed in terms of victimization. In particular, adopting and performing a ‘butch’ lesbian identity has been constructed as inviting ‘hate-crime’ such as ‘corrective rape’ (Kheswa & Wieringa, 2005; Mkhize et al., 2010; Swarr, 2012). In text one, Siya used these dominant discourses to construct the performance of ‘butch’ lesbian identities as intersecting with township spaces in ways that prove constraining for women. However, intersectional research (e.g. Kiguwa, 2015; Levitt & Hiestand, 2005) has shown that binary constructions of butch-femme subculture are not as stable and/or dichotomous as other research (e.g. Kheswa & Wieringa, 2005; Swarr, 2012) have suggested. For example, in text two, Terra constructed butchness in ways that contrasted directly with Siya’s discourses in the previous text. Terra not only claimed a butch label assertively, but constructed butchness as something that facilitates and empowers the performance of her gendered and/or sexual identities in township spaces. Thus, in the same dataset, two very different constructions of butch-femme subculture emerged, foregrounding possibilities for plural and unstable performances of these identities in relation to different subject positions (Kiguwa, 2015; Levitt & Hiestand, 2005). These contrasting constructions of butchness highlighted the intersectional claim that identities are social categories. Moreover, that these categories can be resourceful and/or constraining in different spaces and in relation to other axes of identities (Crenshaw, 1991; Shields, 2008; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). The effect of these intersectional discourses highlighted that women express themselves and perform their identities in variable ways, with some women finding certain performances oppressive, and others finding those same performances resourceful (Shields, 2008).

Age and/or generational identities. In the data analysis, another example of intersectional discourses emerged through the participants’ constructions of age and/or generational identities in post-apartheid spaces. Early research (such as stage models – e.g. Cass, 1979) suggested that all homosexual individuals navigate a universal and fixed series of stages in ‘coming out’ as non-heteronormative. However, the analysis in the current study highlighted that age and/or generational identities should be understood as intersecting with other axes of identities, power

relations and spatial contexts (Smuts, 2011). In texts one, two, three, four and six, youth was constructed as a time of struggle and a period during which identities were negotiated in relation to significant social and/or familial challenges. For example, Terra and Zelda constructed having been expelled from their respective family homes early in their lives. Similarly, Bulelwa discussed the fact that LGBTQIA+ youth in Gugulethu township can and do rely on shelters because they have often been discriminated against by their families at very young ages.

However, the participants showed that youth (when it intersected with different contexts) could also be a time of agency and activism. In text two, for example, Terra constructed younger generations as being able to disrupt heteronormative social ordering. This construction of younger generations highlighted that performing one's identities in particular ways, and at different life stages, affords specific kinds of opportunities for resistance against social norms. Further, Funeka framed her childhood (when she lived with her grandmother) as a time during which she was unaware of gender roles altogether. These constructions evidenced that youth identities are constructed and performed in unique ways, depending largely on social context (Bagnol et al., 2010; Zway, 2015).

Further, older ages and/or generational identities were also constructed in plural and fluid ways by the participants. For example, in text six, Funeka's friend constructed older generations as needing to shift their mindset to become more tolerant of non-heteronormative individuals in the Khayelitsha community. However, other participants constructed older generations in more positive terms, evincing that age and/or generational identities are not stable, but contested and multiple (Zway, 2015). For example, in text two Terra showed that the influence of her grandparents was positive during her formative years. Moreover, in text six Funeka constructed her grandmother as a maternal figure who facilitated the uncensored and unconstrained performance of her granddaughter's gendered and/or sexual identities. Therefore, the current study found that identity constructs are not stable, homogenous or universal, but claimed and performed differently by people, depending on the ways in which they intersect with space and other axes of identities. Few studies have been conducted to explore the possible ways in which identities are constructed and negotiated by black lesbian women of different ages (Kowen & Davis, 2006). However, a participatory Photovoice study conducted by Zway (2015) at the University of Cape Town found that young black lesbian women in post-apartheid SA construct and negotiate their identities in plural and fluid ways.

Intersectionality, Performativity and Space(s)

Township spaces. Township spaces were foregrounded by the participants as having considerable influence in shaping the ways in which identities are constructed and performed. Township spaces have been constructed in previous studies (e.g. Gontek, 2007; Mkhize et al., 2010; Swarr, 2012) as geographical locations in which black lesbian women encounter increased exposure to discrimination and violence. Discourses of violence were used by some of the participants to describe life in township settings. In particular, Terra and Funeka constructed strong interplays between township spaces and their identities as black lesbian women. Both participants discussed the violence that they had encountered in Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, respectively. For example, Terra constructed having had her heart broken by the discrimination and “*hate*” that she had received in the community. Interestingly, racial constructs were talked about in relation to this discrimination and “*hate*”, with Terra’s association of being a black lesbian in Gugulethu with a lack of safety. Funeka echoed the potential for violence in townships when constructing incidents in which she had been stabbed and raped, framing these incidents as manifestations of racialised and gendered power struggles. Overall, township spaces emerged as being reflective of sociohistorical gendered and racial forms of oppression (Segalo, 2014; 2015). Significantly, the explicit association of ‘blackness’ with violence and a lack of security in township spaces suggested that, for these participants, historical power relations still operate in contemporary SA (Morrell et al., 2012; Segalo, 2014; 2015).

However, discourses of violence were not the only discourses used in the texts to construct township spaces. For example, Siya constructed Khayelitsha as “*home*” – a location in which she, and other black lesbian women in the community, had been claiming space and fighting for their human rights collectively. However, she also showed that even in one space, there is variability in terms of the extent to which different identities can be performed openly. For example, she highlighted the difference between “*living a butch lesbian life*” versus performing one’s sexual identity in more stereotypically-feminine ways. In constructing this distinction, Siya’s discourses demonstrated that identities are constructed and performed in relation to space and power, meaning that certain performances are more easily sanctioned in some communities (Swarr, 2009; 2012). Further, for Terra and Funeka, township spaces were also constructed very differently in comparison to some of the other texts – in much more resourceful and positive terms. For example,

both Terra and Funeka described the potential for black lesbian women to mobilise themselves in collective resistance against violence in township spaces (Moreau, 2015). Specifically, Funeka's discursive constructions of Free Gender demonstrated that space can intersect with identities in ways that produce unique effects at various times. The general implication in the data was that the ways in which people perform their identities in relation to spaces are not static or universal, but contingent on social relations and the ways in which the axes of these identities intersect uniquely. These findings reflect those of other studies (e.g. Bagnol et al., 2010; Gibson & Macleod, 2012; Judge, 2017) which have suggested that LGBTQIA+ individuals relate to space in varying ways, in relation to sociohistorical factors. Importantly, the construction of township spaces with positive discourse establishes resistance against historical power relations prevailing in SA – dispelling stereotypical associations of townships and 'blackness' with violence and negativity (Moreau, 2015).

Familial spaces. Furthermore, familial spaces emerged as significant in their interconnections with the construction and performance of the participants' identities. Previous studies (see, e.g. Bagnol et al., 2010; Gibson & Macleod, 2012; Smuts, 2011; Zway, 2015) have shown that family spaces can be particularly-difficult locations for LGBTQIA+ people (and youth, especially) to navigate. In SA, research (e.g. Van Zyl, 2011) has demonstrated that in many families, traditional ideologies are still dominant, meaning that the performance of heteronormative identities is still favoured.

Bulelwa, Zelda and Funeka constructed family spaces as constraining the performance of their identities as black lesbian women. For example, Bulelwa discussed having been "*told [she was] not welcome back*" into the family unit for fear that she would teach the children in this space to be gay. Further, Zelda constructed not being "*safe at home*" and that her "*parents threw [her] out of the house and told [her] to never come back till [she] changes or bring a child as a woman or bring a man of [her] own to them to witness that [she has] changed*". Finally, Funeka discussed the difficulty associated with having been served an ultimatum by her mother – forced to choose between the 'role' of 'daughter', or 'lesbian' if she wanted to secure her place within the boundaries of the traditionalist, heteronormative family space. These constructions highlighted that familial spaces can be very difficult for black lesbian women to negotiate. Further, familial spaces can be characterised by discourses of homosexuality as unnatural and criminal, maintaining the dominance of heterosexual discursive power. Overall, the current study found that in order to

be intelligible as legitimate family members, many of the participants described being forced to comply with the rules of heterosexuality or risk potential expulsion from these spaces. This discourse highlighted that in some cases, familial spaces can constrain the performance of non-heteronormative gendered and/or sexual identities (see, e.g. Bagnol et al., 2010; Gibson & Macleod, 2012; Smuts, 2011; Zway, 2015).

However, familial spaces were also constructed as having the potential to be resourceful in some instances. For example, Bulelwa constructed Lindelwa's family as one of the strongest sources of support in her life. Further, Bulelwa emphasised that performing one's identity as 'family member' need not be limited to universal and/or fixed prescriptions that are sometimes maintained by traditionalist, heteronormative familial ideologies. For example, she constructed being able to perform her identity as a mother to her son, in the context of living with her partner – a discourse that subverted traditional constructions of women as needing to raise children in a heteronormative context, with the support of a man. Importantly, these feminist discourses highlighted that lesbianism does not defeminise women, and that lesbianism is compatible with traditional discursive markers of womanhood, like 'mother' (Ahmed, 2014). Hence, the intersection of Bulelwa's sexuality and status as a family member was constructed as a source of power. However, the possibility of this power was established at the intersection of being a lesbian woman and living with a partner - highlighting that the same subject positions that can be oppressive in one context (i.e. in the parental home), can be resourceful and freeing in others (Shields, 2008).

Post-apartheid SA. Analysis of the data showed that violence against black lesbian women is not restricted to communal and/or familial domains, but rather that it is an issue of national import. For example, Terra stated "*I am not safe in South Africa [...] it's not the Apartheid from long time ago, it's Apartheid amongst ourselves in the black community*". These discourses suggest that black lesbian women are threatened in the broader context of national attitudes towards non-heteronormative identities and that discrimination and violence are not restricted to township communities. The effect of this discursive construction is to highlight the severity and the extent of the violence that LGTBQIA+ people still face in post-apartheid spaces, despite the supposed legal sanctioning of such identity performances (Van Zyl, 2011; Vincent & Howell, 2014). A significant finding in the current study pointed to the residual operations of apartheid race relations in contemporary SA (Morrell et al., 2012). For example, Terra's explicit reference

to the apartheid regime in the above construction showed that the discrimination and/or violence encountered by some black lesbian women in post-apartheid spaces can be traced back and connected to apartheid machineries that policed and oppressed black sexualities (Kulick, 2013; Posel, 2005; Rudwick, 2011). Hence, for some black lesbian women in post-apartheid SA, occupying more fluid gender and/or sexual subject positions can be experienced as oppressive because of their ‘blackness’. Contrastingly, the distancing strategies used by Chait and Fine (text six) highlighted that the same difficulties are not necessarily applicable in some instances of ‘whiteness’ and socioeconomic privilege (Judge, 2017; Kulick, 2013; Rudwick, 2011).

However, the current study also found that activism amongst black women constitutes a direct questioning and challenging of the fact that these discourses prevail in SA today. For example, Funeka explained that “*for me free gender was the (0.25) was the vehicle (.) to make sure that people have to understand (.) homosexuality is not unaffrican*”. In this construction, Funeka established and defended the possibility for black lesbian women to be deserving of full citizenship and equal human rights. Her reference to the myth of homosexuality as ‘unAfrican’, and her explicit negation of this discourse, constituted a powerful reclamation of black homosexualities as *African*. Hence, Funeka’s words constituted a forceful challenge to colonial and/or apartheid residues operating in contemporary SA, in that she associated ‘blackness’ with homosexuality and, further, with resistance. Ultimately, the analysis in the current study foregrounded the centrality, and future potential, for organisations like Free Gender and the Miss Lesbian beauty event to catalyse the realisation of full, intersectional citizenship for black lesbian women in post-apartheid SA (Moreau, 2015; Segalo, 2015).

Chapter Five: Conclusions

In this chapter, a summary of the current research is presented. Specifically, conclusions are drawn in relation to the research question that was established at the outset of the study. Further, final comments are made with reference to the relevant existing literature, possible limitations of the current study and potentially-promising directions for future intersectional research around identities in post-apartheid SA.

Summary and Recommendations

In the current thesis, possible intersections between gendered, sexual and racial identities in post-apartheid SA were explored. The study identified a critical need for further research centring LGBTQIA+ identities and issues in the SA context. Drawing on the work of seminal authors (e.g. Potgieter, 2003), it was found that sparse research had been aimed at exploring black lesbian women's identities in post-apartheid SA. Specifically, much of the existing literature (e.g. Gontek, 2007; Hayman et al., 2013; Mkhize et al., 2010) had situated black lesbian women in risk paradigms. In these risk paradigms, black lesbian women had been constructed as perpetual victims encountering special classes of crime, including 'hate crime' and 'corrective rape' (Judge, 2017; Matebeni, 2011). As more contemporary, critical research (e.g. Judge, 2017; Moreau, 2015; Zway, 2015) has suggested, the repeated situation of black lesbian women in risk paradigms is problematic for several reasons. Fundamentally, these risk frameworks neglect to consider possible variations and intricacies that might characterise the ways in which black lesbian women construct and perform their identities discursively. Further, discourses attempting to split these women's identities into parts are detrimental. Primarily, because they perpetuate the idea that 'blackness' and 'homosexuality' are incompatible, bolstering colonial and/or apartheid residues prevailing in contemporary SA (Kulick, 2013; Rudwick, 2011). Importantly, additive discourses (see, e.g. Bowleg, 2008) also invisibilise and defeminise black women who choose to identify as 'lesbian' (Judge, 2017; Moreau, 2015). Hence, the current study called for a more intersectional, critical approach to thinking about these issues.

Aiming to address the need for research that acknowledges the complexity, plurality and fullness of black lesbian women's identities, this research acknowledged that discrimination and violence do pose significant challenges to some black lesbian women in post-apartheid SA (Gontek, 2007; Mkhize et al., 2010). However, it placed greater emphasis on challenging the

legitimacy of pathologizing discourses, showing how they construct ‘hate crime’ and ‘corrective rape’ as essential and/or definitive features of black lesbian women’s identities and lives (Judge, 2017).

Framing the current research with an approach underpinned by feminist intersectionality theory, the discursive constructions of black lesbian women were focalised (Crenshaw, 1991). Specifically, the activism that some black lesbian women perform in township communities in post-apartheid SA was centred. The choice to place black women’s activism at the core of this research was motivated by the need for hidden transcripts to be made public (Segalo, 2014), in order to challenge dominant narratives about black lesbian women as victims. Further, the data selected for analysis showcased the potential for creative, visual projects to establish platforms where these objectives can be accomplished (Lake, 2014; Muholi, 2004).

Following, the current work drew on the methodological tools advocated by Scharff (2011), in developing a unique, intersectional framework with which to analyse the data. Using a multi-pronged methodological framework, performativity theories (Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 1988) were used in conjunction with Feminist CDA (Fairclough et al., 2011; Lazar, 2007). This combination produced a sophisticated way of analysing the discursive construction and/or performance of identities in texts. The pluralist methodological framework proved valuable in focusing on the interplay within and between different identity constructs, showing that it is almost impossible (especially in post-apartheid SA) to talk about identities in extricable and/or additive terms (Bowleg, 2008; Judge, 2017). Further, the methodological approach used in the current study was useful in critiquing the notion of black lesbian women as ‘triple oppressed’ (Bowleg, 2008). For example, the findings of the current thesis suggested instead that seemingly-independent oppressions (such as racism, sexism and homophobia), are in fact coexistent, mutually constituting and reinforcing. Hence, black lesbian women are not more oppressed because they are black *and* lesbian *and* women, but racism, sexism and homophobia interconnect to establish particular subject positions when they intersect with specific spaces (Segalo, 2015).

However, this is not to suggest that black lesbian women cannot and/or do not resist intersectional forms of oppression. Instead, the findings of the current study demonstrated that identities can be resourceful and advantageous (Shields, 2008). Importantly, part of the usefulness of researching identities is to show that these are always open to contestation and change (Crenshaw, 1991; Matebeni, 2011). Oppression is not something that predominates in the

construction and performance of black lesbian women's identities. Further, it does not prevent them from fighting for their rights and recognition as full citizens in post-apartheid SA. As the findings of the current research suggest – black lesbian women make meaning of their identities in plural and dynamic ways, in relation to the spaces in which they find themselves (Gibson & Macleod, 2012; Judge, 2017; Smuts, 2011). Their discourses dismantle assumptions that essentialise identities, advocating for the acknowledgment of black lesbians as women, and most importantly, as human beings (Moreau, 2015).

Strengths, Limitations and Potentially-Promising Directions for Future Research

The current research offered a valuable, unique and intersectional methodological approach that had not been used previously to explore possible constructions and performances of LGBTQIA+ identities. This intersectional methodological approach enriched the current research because it facilitated an exploration of identities in the discursive dimensions of body (see, e.g. Butler, 1988) and emotion (see, e.g. Ahmed, 2014). The pluralist framework in the current study combined three challenging approaches to qualitative analysis that generated rich qualitative analyses. The methodological strength of the current study has potentially-useful implications for future research into black lesbian women's identities, in that it can facilitate further critical analysis and the production of counter-knowledge. Rather than maintaining the status quo and centring discourses of 'whiteness' and heterosexuality, the current study made careful use of Crenshaw's (1991) original, feminist work with black women, foregrounding the power of organisations like Free Gender and Miss Lesbian beauty.

However, there were some limitations to the current study. For example, the choice to focus on black lesbian women who were already involved in activist/collective resistance projects meant that the identities of other women in the country were not explored. However, it was reiterated throughout this paper that the findings were not assumed to be applicable to, or representative of, all black lesbian women's identities in post-apartheid SA. Further, as was discussed in chapter one, the current study did not include an exploration of identities constructed and performed by women in same-sex relationships who do not necessarily identify with the term *lesbian*. Thus, a potentially-promising direction for future research in the area of non-heteronormative identities might be to focus on people who identify with other identities (like transgender, or bisexual). The current study found that age and/or generational identities seem to be very significant in their

intersections with other axes of identities, like genders and sexualities, but an in-depth exploration of this topic was not within the scope of this paper. Hence, future studies could build on the existing, but small amount of literature on age and/or generational identities in relation to LGBTQIA+ identities and issues (Kowen & Davis, 2006; Zway, 2015). Further, in the context of Judge's (2017) critique of blackwashing homophobia trends in SA media, it might be interesting and valuable for future research endeavours to explore the ways in which identities are constructed and discussed in media more thoroughly and/or profoundly. Finally, future research (locally and internationally) could be enriched by making use of intersectionality theory in different contexts, and in the exploration of other social phenomena, so long as the core values of the theory are respected (Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1991).

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Appendix A (Text 1)

SIYA IN HER OWN WORDS

Cape Town, South Africa, 2013

I'm Siya, 28 years old, and I was born and raised in Khayelitsha township of Cape Town. I have been volunteering since 2010 at Free Gender - a black lesbian organization based right here in Khayelitsha. My job is to develop young peoples skills here in the community like painting & cooking and also teaching primary school kids. I have a full time job working at a phone company but I make time 'cause I want to help. During the Miss Lesbian beauty competitions I help organizing the event and prepping the presents. I'm supporting the girls in their self esteem because they get scared and don't want to participate all of a sudden no more. I'm like a big sister and counsel where needed. The work is rewarding and humbling but also heavy and you need to stay strong. The Miss Lesbian beauty pageant is our way of having fun, being happy and expressing ourselves. We are doing this for the younger generations to come.

To be a feminine lesbian in Khayelitsha is a bit safer than living a butch lesbian life - because men will immediately spot the butch and get angry because in their eyes these women want to take the place of a man.

Khayelitsha is our home, too. We grew up here and we are claiming our streets. You can't be scared all the time, you cannot stay scared. We are a collective, a lot of us together, standing up.



Appendix B (Text 2)

TERRA IN HER OWN WORDS

Cape Town, South Africa, 2013

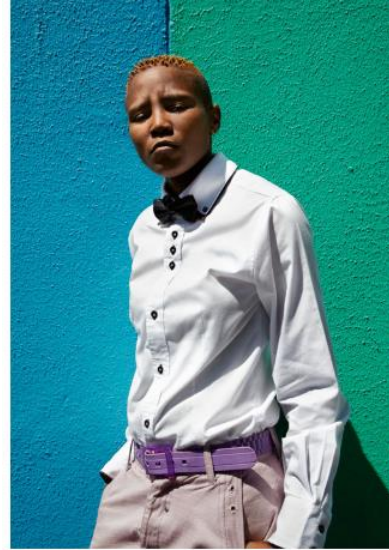
My name is Terra and I was born in Cape Town on 21st April 1989. I got kicked out of the house when I was 16 years old because I'm a lesbian. Up until then I lived a secret lesbian life and living a lie is very difficult; you have to come out and be yourself. I started then living with my grandparents who were very strict and taught me to be disciplined. Life was hard but you always have to remember - if I'm not gonna make it through this - who is going to make it for me?

The name Terra is a butch name and it gives me respect where I live. I'm not safe living in Gugulethu as a black lesbian. I'm not safe in my community. I'm not safe in South Africa and I will never be safe. I'm living in fear but with the respect I got I seem to be able to stay out of trouble. There are people who discriminate and criticize me when I walk down the street with my girlfriend. Community can break people's heart by being harsh with their presumptions but we all have to fight hate crime otherwise I think we will always be the victim. We have our own freedom and shouldn't live in fear. I'm making a documentary right now about hidden, untold & painful stories in the townships by lesbian women that need to be heard. We need to talk about it 'cause these women are ashamed, ashamed of themselves. They think they must have done something wrong but they didn't do anything wrong! They got raped - they didn't choose to be raped. Being a victim is very painful; living in fear is very painful.

Even though they hate us, rape us and kill us - all we have is love!

We love each other and they can't break us 'cause we are gonna fight - new generations like us. We are able to respect and love and people here in our community, in our townships need to know this.

It's not the Apartheid from long time ago, it's Apartheid amongst ourselves in the black community.



Appendix C (Text 3)

BULELWA IN HER OWN WORDS

Cape Town, South Africa, 2013

My name is Bulelwa and I am 36 years and live with my partner and my son who is 4 years old this year.

When I was young I had to leave my home to keep the peace between my parents and me because of my sexuality. After my parents passed away things changed. My siblings did not look at me the same way and told me I have to stay away from our house because I am going to teach their child to be gay. To me it was a surprise because I used to keep their children for the weekend. I was told that I am not welcome back.

At the moment I am fighting for my rights and I want to show them I belong in the same house as them. I have hope that one day I will be free from all the problems that my family is creating for me .

Now I work for Inclusive and Arming Ministries (IAM) and we advocate that faith communities in Africa become more welcoming, inclusive and arming towards Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) people. We have an IAM centre in Gugulethu township and offer shelter to girls and boys that are being cast out by their families because of their sexual orientation.



Appendix D (Text 4)

ZELDA IN HER OWN WORDS

Cape Town, South Africa, 2013

My Name is Zelda and I am 28 years old and I'm a lesbian woman. I'm having problems at home because of my sexual orientation. I've not been tolerated for my sexuality and I have never been accepted to live my life freely and I've been told to change if I want any support. My parents threw me out of the house and told me to never come back till I change or bring a child as a woman or bring a man of my own to them to witness that I have changed.

This situation has been stressing me a lot and it has been going on for a long time. I feel like taking my life because I can't bare such pain in my family house. It made me loose focus and interests in life. I just don't know what to do. I need help to feel welcomed and wanted since I've never felt wanted by my own biological parents and I don't know where to go, I'm just praying that I can have a roof over my head for my safety because I have never been protected at home and at times I would encounter hate speeches and violence in the street and when I report to my family they will just say change if you want to live free because I'm living a fake and evil life that's why I'm coming across such bad things. For me it's of no use to stay at home because I'm not safe at home, and outside where I live.

People are telling me they are going to get me and rape me because my family members are talking bad about me to other community members while they don't want me at home.



Appendix E (Text 5)

LINDELWA IN BULELWA'S WORDS

Cape Town, South Africa, 2013

Lindelwa was raped in the Nyanga East township, Cape Town, because she is a Lesbian. It was not the first time. She is still a counting threat to guys saying she should act like a woman. She is a strong woman after all what happened to her. The support she has from her family is what keeps her going in life. Her family accepts who she is and she is moving forward despite all that happened to her. She is sharing her story with other people who have encountered the same problem to give them hope and that it is not their fault.



Appendix F (Text 6)

ACTL - [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6MQUus90BW0>]

1 Int: driving through khayelitsha to meet funeka solda:at=a loud and proud lesbian activist
2 in this township .hh there's such a clear ambiguity between her rural roots and city
3 life on these streets .hh it makes me wonder about her experience growing up=in our
4 culture with such clearly defined gender roles .hh and how hard it must be to find
5 your space even here in the city (.) whatever the consequences.
6 Fun: where we grew up was like (.) little village uh my grandmother and was most of the
7 time my mom (0.25) was away=working we used just to look after (.) um ugh cattles and
8 and ((breathy laugh)) .hh and and and and sheeps and everything (.) playing till=late
9 uuh not scared of anything it was a very peaceful uh (.) uh uh environment. (2.25) my
10 family were (.) so traditionalist (this) (.) i believe too much on my ancestors for
11 me i=can't (0.25) communicate directly to my ancestors=i believe that .hh um my granny
12 is the one who's (0.25) who's communicating with with my ancestors on behalf of
13 myself? .hh um=um (0.50) i believe she (.) she is the only person who's making sure
14 that (0.25) i'm i'm always safe. (1.5) the (.) understanding of (.) gender=roles (.)
15 was not an issue for me at=that=time i mean for my gran that uh she didn't put me in
16 in boxes like 'yeah you a little girl you have to do this and this' she just (.)
17 always um leave me to live my own life (0.50) i think i started to be conscious (0.25)
18 when i was little bit growing? (.) i have a sense that there was something that was
19 different from me from other kidsthe feelings that i were having towards women .h (.)
20 um those were things that we were very f=foreign to uh-me to my belief (.) i think?
21 that was the worst thing that really really frustrated my mom because most of the (.)
22 kids that my mom have they never (.) survived um i was the only (0.25) child of my
23 mom=who survived with the hope that (.) in future, then we'll be having this little
24 family, funeka having a boyfriend or whatever .h then i will have another kids ((music
25 and thunder)) physically when my when my parents look at me it it was look like i
26 was ambiguous genitals. .hh i couldn't (refer it) to anything. (.) like maybe saying
27 that ohm? it's cool because (.) i've seen this before? but unfortunately (.) to me it
28 was look like i'm the first person that was having that.(0.25) the doctors made my
29 parent=my family to believe that uh i was intersex. (.) my mom? really couldn't
30 understand uh (.) um at that time uh how she can handle (.) uhm me being=a being being
31 ambiguous. (.) they didn't explain for her (.) exactly what was=happening the one
32 thing that she knew is that (0.25) the doctors were going to make me uh (.) the girl
33 that was hoping for, but=((breathy laugh))=unfortunately after the operation i mean
34 things didn't=work .h the way she was expecting. (.) i remember one day when she was
35 saying i have=to ((clears throat)) either choose umm=be going=out with women and then
36 (.) either not to be (.) her mother anymore. (.) so i couldn't really choose or
37 whatever i didn't say anything to her, but i mean i think from then she noticed that
38 .hh uh i'm not going to=((breathy laugh))=i'm not going to (0.25) uh to to follow what
39 she was saying and i think that was the end of my relationship with my mom. ((music))
40 Int: it was in the early nineties during=an atmosphere=of national change and hope in south
41 africa, .hh that (.) funeka came to cape town in search of (.) her own freedom.
42 Fun: cape town was=seen as a liberal (.) area and also it's a city, (.) so i was thinking
43 maybe i mean people are (.) going to be open-minded. (.) the one thing that (.) I was
44 (.) hoping for, (.) was for me? just to be me: just to live my own life? (.) and and to
45 freely love uh (who) love women the way i i feel?
46 Int: arriving at a free gender event funeka organized, .h i imagine her in the space=as a
47 young woman. long? before public gatherings like these existed (.) ones that lobby for
48 dignity, (.) safety=and justice. ((music and chanting)) through the years, funeka's
49 greatest support=has come from derek fiene? (.) he's=a fellow activist and=her closest

50 friend.(0.50) tell us about meeting funeka for the first time=and=your (.) first
51 impressions of her? (.)
52 Der: it=was the time when street committees were, (.) very much um (.) prevalent=in cape
53 to:wn and in the area of khayelitsha where, (.) uh funeka was staying? funeka being who
54 she is? (0.25) out='n=proud and in=your=face but at the same time very warm .h funeka
55 was (.) just arrived in cape town and she was being=herself like she always is (.) and
56 (...) mentioned that (.) there were comrades in the area who weren't too happy? with this
57 (you know) black woman being really open about (.) who she was and being an
58 out=and=proud lesbian. and there was a major (.) interaction (.) episode=happening there
59 .h funeka wasn't gonna back down=she never does .h and (.) um ja that was my first (.)
60 introduction to funeka and i thought wow i'm going to meet this this strident (.)
61 activist ((AMA::NDLA AWE::THU)) our activism doesn't define us, and doesn't define our
62 relationship relationship's very much just of two human beings who've connected across
63 .h many boundaries=and (.) yet (.) we live in very different spaces=but we have a lot in
64 common.
65 Fun: i started really to (0.25) not=stop=there (.) to be reckless coming out like this is
66 funeka and i'm i'm a gay woman so so wha:t? and i really really paid heavily about that.

ACT II - [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K8aqsSY2H14]

67 Int: funeka soldaat's journey from her rural roots to being the founder of free gender in
68 khayelitsha, (.) has been filled with enormous personal challenges.
69 Fun: during the time that my mom was not=in my life (the) things (.) a lot of things were
70 happening to me i mean my coming out (.) u:m things (.) didn't went well. (.) the issue
71 from th- i mean from my communities was (.) like w:e homosexuality is unafrican (.) s:o
72 to deal with me was the only way that they can silent me (.) but when i was stAbbed and
73 all that stuff i could i think i couldn't really couldn't really (.) it was just
74 something like but i think when i was raped and i think that was the (0.25) i think that
75 was a turning point to myself like (0.25) i mean that=that it can't be ((music))

76 funeka was ra:ped long time ag:o? (0.25) but (.) every time i talk about it (0.25) it
77 looks as i- as if it was [yesterday
78 Int: [mmm
79 Fun: uh so it's a- it's a dail:y? its a daily struggle (0.25) ((clears throat))
80 Int: there's the activist you? (.) that wants to speak about this for all the good reasons?
81 (.) and then there's the private you who's been through the most horrific trauma? (0.25)
82 that needs healing and is small and is [scared?
83 Fun: [j:a
84 Int: how do those two come together?
85 Fun: healing is to is to talk about=it. (.) people really didn't at that time kno:ws uh know
86 exactly (.) what wh- what a lesbian is .hh and (.) eh- for them raping lesbian was to
87 (.) in a way to correct uh to correct them to be (.) in a way? of being straight? and
88 and i think i was one of the people (.) that was needed to i mean to be corrected .hh um
89 according to them. (neighbourhood noise) while i was walking at home? (0.50) um (0.25)
90 cr- crossing the (.) i mean=the=open field like this=one was i have to cross to go to my
91 place (.) um and then (.) a group of guys just [just
92 Int: [mmm?
93 Fun: came up n- from nowhere (0.25) um? One of them said tha-uhm (.) "ja we i knew i am um i
94 knew that ((all our)) we're going to get you one day". (0.25) i wAs aware really that
95 that's the target to myself? (.) i started really to (.) that they did they have to take
96 their hands off me. (0.25) and then i think it's when they take a gun? (.) when i've
97 (0.25) i've noticed=ja then that's that's that's going to be (0.50) something (.) ja and
98 then they (.) ((stumbles)) tripped me on ((clears throat)) on=the the on the on the
99 ground and then they started raping me. my body eh (0.25) i think it just switch off?
100 when they left (.) ehm and i left (.) my shoe. .h and i started walking (.) and i walked
101 to the police station. (0.50) but that day i didn't write a statement.
102 Int: why not?
103 Fun: ((clears throat)) .h listen the police u:h they' (m) they just make fun of myself (.) uh

104 instead of uh of taking my (.) of taking my statement. you see most of the stabbing the
105 everything th- that i think they were (0.50) there were really painful things but i- i
106 think the rape really (.) (little bit) shake my i mean shake my wOrld? uh and, (.) and
107 and i think it that that think it was from .hh from then when i realized that uh (0.50)
108 ja this eh- there's war that's happening there? and (0.25) and i re:ally have to be in
109 control?
110 Int: and=your attackers were never found?
111 Fun: .h they were never found=ja (.) they were never found. ((wind blowing))
112 Int: after the ra:pe (.) you went home for that weekend and you stayed there=and on the
113 sunday you decided that you would (.) get back out there .h and you would speak about it
114 .h but these guys were out there=they hadn't been apprehended.
115 Fun: hh. ((laughs)) j:a ((clears throat))
116 Int: weren't you afraid for? (.) a repeat attack? or for your own physical safety?
117 Fun: .hh=i? i for me i mean that's-um that's the last thing that comes (to) my mind .h um eh
118 because i always live in fear i mean even today (.) you eh- you don't know you go to
119 shop (.) uh anything can happen=i knew that i mean that's how people wanted to i mean
120 wanted to silence me .h and and and for me (.) that was like hh. ((breathy laugh)) (agh
121 no man) i=i this is not, what, really? um have to control my life i have to go (.) and i
122 have to go out there and enjoy myself (.) and be myself ((clears throat)) and continue
123 (.) uh with saying (.) that's not okay. i i choose to stay in in in where i'm staying
124 those things will continue happening=he:re (.) and and me hiding somewhere (.) i think i
125 couldn't .h i couldn't live my life like that (.) what has happened to me it makes me to
126 to be who i am uh i believe that (.) nobody have to go through what i've gone through.
127 Int: as a friend what goes through (.) your heart and your mind when you think of what's
128 happened to funeka?
129 Der: it's=it's very painful (.) i mean i-it's it just opens up (.) old wounds=you know i've
130 (.) i've=um .h i've lost people in the past who haven't been survivors. (.) she's (.)
131 been (.) stigmatized or marginalized and she .h she bounces bAck? (.) and and and here

132 she here she was able to bounce back from .h (.) the deepest form of personal invasion
133 and trauma and funeka is is a survivor and i i just you just wonder how many times
134 someone can .hh go through trauma (.) and still come out on the other side?
135 Int: sh:e took an amAzing leap=of=faith (0.25) by deciding not to be coward and to go back
136 out there (.) and to face the world as herself and as an activist (an)
137 extraordinary=move after what she'd been through personally.
138 Der: ja=i think funeka embodies for me: (.) the spirit of positive living .h as a very spi-
139 spiritual person (.) being conscious of the world around her=but also but believing
140 in=herself? i've never thought of her as (.) being a religious person? but someone who's
141 who's very deep and thinks about things and .h uh is in touch with (.) with herself and
142 people around her and she's (.) i think a role model for a lot of people in that way .h
143 uh she n- encourages people to (.) to find the positive=and to be positive
144 Fun: i always believe that there's something there's someone that's always (.) looking after
145 me .h (.) and if things are wrong (.) then i i always (.) look at that's my
146 responsibility to make sure .h that as we people i mean we have to correct that (.) and
147 i've become lucky also to (.) to have friends (.) that really (.) have that community
148 sense. ((friendly chatter))
149 Int: funeka seems to have this pAssion for community?
150 Fri: a lot. (.) a lot (0.25) she knows how to=engage (.) she knows the issues because before?
151 we know nOthing even i? (.) i know nothing about politics, (.) activist .h but=since (.)
152 i start chatting with funeka? i know a lot.
153 Int: but she brought out the activist in [you?
154 Fri: [YES
155 Int: you're the one who (0.25) stands for her in the community?
156 Fri: YES
157 Int: are you making headway? are people more accepting?
158 Fri: if you can change the mindset (.) of the old e:h (.) to this new generation then (.) it
159 works. the communication now bet- between the communities and eh funeka?

160 o:h its number one, sisi. they accept [funeka
161 Int: [mmm
162 Fri: but (.) i need the police i need the community because they are the one (.) who can make
163 a funeka safe wherEver uh=he goes. (.) so that's why i'm saying (.) the education is the
164 best (.) to educate the people about the lesbians. (.) that's why i said it will take
165 time to change other people's mi- es- mindset.
166 Fun: being a lesbian people they (.) they (.) they (it) tends to put you in a box? .h because
167 because i regard myself as a human being .h if there is a uh (.) the- there there's a
168 problem with the water in my community=here in my area (.) i have to call the community
169 members that guys this is a (.) this is an issue (.) we don't have water (.) and even if
170 it means i have to lead that campaign i have to do that. .hh um i mean that that's my
171 belief i so i become like (.) .h really involved of of=in=a lot of things (.) that
172 represent funeka (.) funeka it's a lesbian=and funeka its a woman at the end of the day.
173 Fri: that's why i have a courage to support (the) funeka in (.) other stuff.
174 Int: so meeting her (.) crossing paths with her in your life (.) transformed your life?
175 Fri: YES (0.50) YES (0.50) YES ((laughing))
176 Int: ((laughing)) yE:s
177 Fun: my lesbian activism (.) and and and what i'm doing in the community (.) it's one thing
178 to my community (.) it's its not a separate thing. .h and even if i i i organize (.)
179 something that's have something to do with lesbian=i involve my community .h (.) they
180 go? it's its not that i we can't be part of it it (.) it's a safe here is the safest
181 place for me i mean to be (.) i forgot really sometimes that funeka is a homosexual.

ACT III - [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vwLWvQfxHxo]

182 Int: (singing)) after journeying with funeka=it's become so clear to me that this is not
183 simply a story of (.) personal injustice and survival .hh it's a much bigger story about
184 countless women and girls fighting to live out their constitutional rights (.) to be
185 free (.) and to be safe.

186 Fun: people tried to i mean to fit me (.) in boxes (.) which (0.50) they were even not my
187 boxes anyway. u:m so it was important that really (0.25) free gender can be and then
188 that (0.25) someone like m:e within free gender (.) can live? her own life? not
189 according to someone else but according (.) to herself. ((free gender event))
190 Der: i think since setting up f- free gender? um (.) funeka's moved into another whole pha:se
191 of (.) very important activism .h and (.) i know the last few years have=been extremely
192 painful uh for her and for (.) a whole community of (.) of black lesbians and and their
193 friends .h and and families .h and (0.25) funeka's just often shared her (.) frustration
194 around (.) ja what does it all mean? about the criminal justice system and the way
195 things work and don't work and if she can make the path easier for others, (.) allow
196 people to be free to be themselves, to express themselves, to be who they are /h (.) i
197 think that's part of what what drives her.
198 Fun: (There's one message that I would like to get across to you being an activist in an
199 ongoing duty you shouldn't have to wait for Free Gender events being an activist is a
200 duty that you carry 365 days of the year). especially after Zoliswa's case .h u:m there
201 was a big need (.) that really (.) lesbians themselves have to mobilize themselves .h
202 u:m as lesbians and also as women (.) and within their communities to (.) i mean to
203 claim those spaces. (0.25) for me free gender was the (0.25) was the vehicle (.) to make
204 sure that people have to understand (.) homosexuality is not unafrican (.) and
205 homosexuality exists within our communities (.) especially in my country .h and also in
206 africa as a who:le ((free gender event)) having that (.) that relationship with my
207 community (.) and having that space for me that's safe (.) for myself (.) and then I (.)
208 I also (.) feel that i'm in the same space .h that can use for I mean for lesbians that
209 are struggling (.) to be to be out and and and and to enjoy it to be themselves. .hh
210 in the- in their areas ((singing)) JA I THINK ALSO ITS A (.) ITS A HEALING FOR ME ITS
211 ALSO HEALING (i would say) say to deal with my own issues.
212 Int: of your own memories?
213 Fun: j:a my own memories.

214 Int: but I mean if you look at the-the people and how many people have come
215 Fun: ja (..) its fantastic ja its beautiful
216 Fri: funeka's (0.50) got icourage, (.) idignity, (.) irespect, discipline. (.) if you want to
217 know (.) anything (.) then comes to funeka (.) then funeka will tell you. eh- i said to
218 these youngsters (.) i want you when there is a event you must bring your mom (.) or
219 your father with (.) then it's where the education will start. (.) you mustn't leave the
220 parents behind. i know? (.) it's difficult but (.) let's try?
221 Fun: my world will be like (.) how desmond tutu describe (.) the world (.) .h a world where
222 people are people? (.) u:h who don't define people (.) according to (.) sexual
223 orientation according to race according to anything .hh that people have to people and
224 people have to live together .h uh in harmony uh that that would=my world?