



Name of Student: Nomzamo Mtuse

Student Number: 3332865

Supervisor : Prof Mohamed Saheed Bayat

Co-supervisor: Prof Abdulrazak Karriem

*The experiences of homophobia for lesbians who live in Cape Town townships*



*A mini thesis submitted at the Institute for Social Development, Faculty of EMS, and University of the Western Cape in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Master in Development Studies Degree.*



UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

<http://etd.uwc.ac.za/>

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the women who gave me their time and became participants in my research, this paper would not exist without your participation, I'm deeply grateful.

I would like to thank my supervisor Prof Mohamed Saheed Bayat for his unending support and understanding, he was always available when needed and always motivated me at times when I was doubtful. I could have not wished for a better supervisor.

My deepest gratitude to my parents Makaziwe and Noxolo Mtuse who always support me even when they do not understand exactly what I'm doing.



## Declaration

I know that plagiarism is wrong.

Plagiarism is to use another's work as your own. This submission is my own work. I have not allowed and will not allow anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his/her own work.

**Nomzamo Mtuse**

Signature:

November 2021



## Abstract

Democratic South Africa was based on a constitution that is meant to have democratic values that promote human dignity and non-discrimination. Such democratic values were put in place to ensure that the human rights violations that took place in apartheid South Africa would not take place again and that everyone, especially those previously oppressed are treated with respect and dignity. Despite the guaranteed human rights that are supposed to apply to everyone, lesbians and other members of the LGBT community still face discrimination because of their sexual orientation. Nell and Shaprito (2011, p12) point out that “in stark contrast with constitutional guarantees of freedom and human rights for all, research indicates that homophobic victimization is an endemic part of the South African landscape”.

Existing research shows that there is still a high prevalence of homophobic discrimination in South African townships. According to existing research, hate crimes such as corrective rape against lesbians is still prevalent in South African townships. There have not been enough of a legislative response to such hate crimes to stop them or to have them drop substantially. This paper focuses on the experiences of lesbians in Cape Town townships, specifically experiences that have to do with homophobia. The research will explore whether their sexuality influences how they exist within their communities.

## Keywords

LGBT : Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender

LGBTQ : Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender and Queer

GBV : Gender Based Violence

GAM : General Aggression Model

SLT : Social Learning Theory of aggression

Heteronormativity

Homosexuality

Homophobia

Sexuality

Gender

Religion

Culture

Butch

Fem

Studs



## Contents

Acknowledgements .....	i
Declaration.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Keywords .....	iv
LGBT.....	iv
LGBTQ +.....	iv
GBV.....	iv
GAM:.....	iv
SLT.....	iv
Heteronormativity .....	iv
Homosexuality .....	iv
Homophobia.....	iv
Sexuality .....	iv
Gender .....	iv
Religion.....	iv
Culture .....	iv
Butch.....	iv
Fem.....	iv
Studs .....	iv
<b>Chapter 1 .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Back ground.....	2
1.3. Problem Statement.....	2
1.4. Black Lesbians in South Africa .....	3
1.5. The purpose of the research .....	4
1.6. Research objectives .....	4
1.7. Research questions.....	4
1.8. Tentative Chapter Outline.....	5
1.9. Conclusion .....	5
<b>Chapter 2 .....</b>	<b>6</b>
2. Literature Review.....	6
2.1. Introduction.....	6
2.2. Definition of terms.....	6



2.3. Prevalence of homophobia globally .....	7
2.4. Prevalence of homophobia in South Africa .....	8
2.5. The paths taken by existing LGBT activism .....	9
2.5.1 <i>The popular Human rights activism path</i> .....	9
2.5.2 <i>Access to information (the path that still needs to be explored)</i> .....	10
2.6. Gender and sexuality in the South African Social Construct .....	10
2.7. Heteronormativity in South African townships .....	15
2.8. The History of Homosexuality in South Africa .....	16
2.9. Being black and lesbian in South Africa .....	18
2.10. Violence against women in South Africa .....	19
2.11. The impact of homophobia on gender and sexuality .....	22
2.12. Corrective rape .....	27
2.13. Murders of Lesbians in Cape Town .....	29
2.14. The influence of religion in homophobia .....	30
2.15. The influence of culture on homophobia in South Africa .....	32
2.16. The inclusion of lesbians within the broader activism against women abuse .....	34
2.17. The role of South Africa's legal framework in protecting black lesbians. ....	35
2.18. The Need for Hate Crime Legislation in South Africa .....	38
2.19. Conclusion .....	39
Chapter 3 .....	40
3. Theoretical Framework/ The General aggression model .....	40
3.1. Introduction .....	40
3.2. The General aggression model .....	40
3.3. Situation Factors .....	43
3.4. How normative beliefs affect aggression and violent behaviour. ....	44
3.5. The processes of the General Aggression Model .....	45
3.6 How the processes of GAM influence aggression .....	45
3.7. Why the model was chosen. ....	47
3.8. Criticism of the GAM Model .....	49
3.9. Conclusion .....	49
Chapter 4 .....	51
4. Research Methodology and design .....	51
4.1 Introduction .....	51
4.2. Research methods and methodology .....	51

4.2.1. Qualitative Method.....	51
4.3. Qualitative data collection methods.....	52
4.3.1 Phone calls semi-structured interviews.....	52
4.3.2. Focus Groups.....	53
4.4.3 WhatsApp phone calls.....	53
4.4. Sampling techniques.....	53
4.4.1 Qualitative Sampling.....	53
4.4.2 Purposive Sampling.....	54
4.5. Data analysis.....	55
4.5.1 Overview.....	55
4.5.3 Coding.....	56
4.6. Ethical consideration.....	56
4.7. Sample.....	58
4.8. Conclusion.....	58
Chapter 5.....	60
5. Data analysis and Finding.....	60
5.1. Introduction.....	60
5.2. Implementation of the laws that protect the LGBTQI community and the safety of the participants.....	60
5.2.2 Rapes and murders of black lesbians in Cape Town townships.....	63
5.2.3. Do the participants of the study feel safe in their township.....	64
5.3. Heteronormativity and misconceptions about gender and sexuality.....	66
5.3.2. Misconceptions homophobic people have about gender and sexuality.....	69
5.4. Ways in which social structures such as religion affect homophobia.....	70
5.4.2 Impact of culture.....	74
5.5. The disconnect between black lesbians and their communities.....	76
5.6. Conclusion.....	77
Chapter 6.....	78
6. Conclusions and recommendations.....	78
6.1. Introduction.....	78
6.2. Overview of the study.....	78
6.3. Recommendations.....	79
6.3.1. Recommendation 1.....	79
6.3.2. Recommendation 2.....	79

6.3.3. Recommendation 3..... 80  
6.3.4. Recommendation 4..... 81  
6.4. Limitations of the study ..... 81  
6.5. Conclusion ..... 82



UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

## Chapter 1

### 1.1. Introduction.

According to Banks (2001, p15), homophobia is “any system that supports negative myths and stereotypes about homosexual people, or any of the varieties of negative attitudes that arise from fear or dislike of homosexuality.” In simpler terms, homophobia is often described as an irrational fear of same-sex relationships. However, there is more to it than just that definition. Different factors can influence one to dislike or hate homosexual people. This fear is often caused by misinformation, societal, cultural and religious beliefs. The initial fear of same-sex relationships has been caused by the fact that it was seen as an unfamiliar concept, because of cultural, religious and societal beliefs and expectations. Authors have previously broken homophobia down into different types. These generally include institutional, interpersonal, personal, and societal (Raja and Stokes 1998).

Factors such as patriarchal masculinities, apartheid, colonialism, culture, and religion have all shaped how homophobia is demonstrated in South Africa, especially in poor communities such as townships. This study will focus on the work that has been done on the experiences of homophobia from South African lesbians and how different factors had an influence. The LGBT community has experienced an extensive amount of homophobia in South Africa. Even though the constitution is in support of the protection of the rights of homosexuals, they still have experienced a lot of discrimination. This has caused a focus in the community and more scholars and activists have participated in bringing forward the extent to which homophobia is prevalent in South Africa, despite it being a democratic country that is inclusive of LGBT rights. Some of this focus has gone to lesbians and it has highlighted not only the discrimination that lesbians experience but the violence that has been directed at them such as corrective rape and murders. There has also been a focus on how all of this has been influenced by culture and religion, institutional homophobia, heterosexism and the patriarchal history of South Africa.

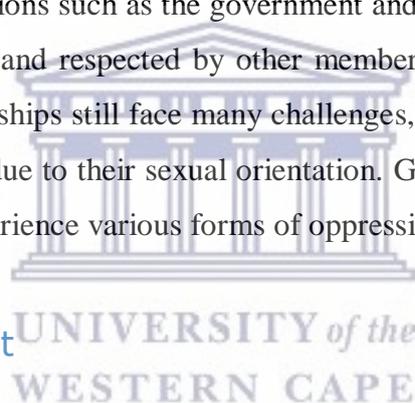
Chapter 1 will present an overview of what the entire study is about. The chapter entails a background, problem statement, an overview of black lesbians in South Africa, the purpose of the research, research objectives, research questions and the tentative chapter outline.

## 1.2. Back ground

Lesbians and other members of the LGBT community have been treated with discrimination over history. They have experienced prejudice, rejection, and exclusion. Their lives have always been seen as challenging the norm which is heterosexism, and their nonconformity to the status quo has resulted in their marginalization in most of history. The rejection and victimization faced by the LGBT community have not only been prevalent in developing countries like South Africa but exist in more developed countries as well. Even though South Africa has an inclusive constitution, it has not been successful in keeping its obligation when it comes to protecting members of the LGBT community such as lesbians who still experience hate crimes like corrective rape. The reality does not reflect the legislative image, as lesbians and other LGBT members continue to face discrimination in South African townships, without enough assistance from institutions such as the government and the police to ensure that their rights are truly acknowledged and respected by other members of their communities. Most lesbians in South African townships still face many challenges, such as struggling with being accepted in their communities due to their sexual orientation. Gay and lesbian people are still considered 'other' and still experience various forms of oppression daily.

## 1.3. Problem Statement

South Africa already has the most progressive legislative framework that includes protecting people in same-sex relationships and marriages in Africa. It's one that other African countries' LGBT organisations reference and aspire to have. Even though that is the case it has not been very successful in implementing the laws that are supposed to protect the LGBT community. This is proven by the amount of discrimination and hate crimes that LGBT people experience in South Africa. South Africa's constitution has created laws that are supposed to allow homosexual people to live freely like the rest of South African without discrimination. Such laws include the 2006 Civil Union Act, which recognised same-sex marriages. This act does not only recognise marriage between homosexual people but also gives them the choice to choose whether to have their marriage recognised as a civil partnership or a marriage (South African History Online, 2018). Another law that is inclusive to the LGBT community is section 9 part titled Equality, which declares that the state is not supposed to discriminate against



anyone because of their sex, gender, sexual orientation, race and more (South African History Online, 2018).

Although the legislative framework has created laws that allow homosexuals to be able to date and marry who they want without any retribution from the law, structures such as the government have not done much to ensure that people of the LGBT community are tolerated in their communities. An examination of the literature suggests that the approach that has been used to protect the LGBT community has been the human rights approach. The human rights method that has been used by LGBT organization have been influential in ensuring the creation of laws that protect the LGBT community. However, with the laws in place, people in same-sex relationships still face discrimination in their communities, especially poor communities. According to Breshears and Beer (2016), there has not been much done in teaching communities, especially traditional communities, the importance of tolerance, accepting and protecting the LGBT community as part of their community. The negative experiences of LGBT members have been caused mostly by the intolerant behaviour of people in their communities. Even though they have rights, but those rights are not respected by community members either way (Breshears & Beer, 2016).

The core problem of this research focuses on the experiences of lesbians in Cape Town townships, specifically experiences that have to do with homophobia.

#### 1.4. Black Lesbians in South Africa

Even though there is a considerable number of black lesbians in South Africa there is not enough research done on them. This is not a South African phenomenon but an African phenomenon as a whole. Currier & Migraine-George (2017) highlight how same-sex relationships between African women have not received much attention in feminist and queer academia, even amongst important discussions such as homophobia, same-sex relationships between women are still not largely represented. Reasons for the underrepresentation of African lesbians in academic writing is caused by several things. African women often exist within contexts influenced by patriarchy and oppression, and South Africa is no different. Even though the country has progressed when it comes to laws that protect women, women still experience oppression and the problem of femicide and violence against women in South

Africa is testimony to this.



UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

## 1.5. The purpose of the research

The purpose of this research is to find the prevalence of homophobic behaviour and violence experienced by lesbians in Cape Town township regardless of the laws that are put in place to make the LGBT community feel safer. The research seeks to discover the experiences of lesbians who live in townships, how they have experienced homophobia in the past, how they experience it now, how much progress they think has been made and to ask them to identify methods that can be used to help their communities become more educated and tolerant of LGBT members. The main aim is to find out how the respondents interact with their communities and how their sexuality affects that interaction if it does at all.

The research seeks to understand factors that contribute to homophobia in township settings as well as the processes that affect aggression against lesbians or LGBT people. It also seeks to understand in what ways do social structures such as religion and culture affect homophobia. The findings from this study will be relevant in LGBT related contexts, such as the failures of the government and NGO's when it comes to protecting members of the LGBT community from intolerant homophobic behaviour that takes place in their communities.

## 1.6. Research objectives

The research focusses around the following objectives, namely to:

- ❖ Find out what the respondents think **about** homophobia.
- ❖ Find out whether the respondents have experienced homophobia if so the extent of the homophobia they experienced.
- ❖ Find out whether the respondents generally feel safe in townships, compared to other places.
- ❖ Find out how the respondents interact with their communities
- ❖ Identify disadvantages experienced by lesbians living in homophobic townships
- ❖ Ask the respondents to identify methods that can be used to help communities become more educated and tolerant of LGBT members.

## 1.7. Research questions

The research focusses on the following research questions, namely:

- ❖ What are the factors that contribute to homophobia in township settings?

❖ Do the participants of the study feel safe in their township?



UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

- ❖ What are the processes that affect aggression against lesbians or LGBT people?
- ❖ Is there a need to move away from the human rights approach that has been used by NGOs to an approach that focuses on educating the communities that lesbians and other LGBT people live in?
- ❖ In what ways do social structures such as religion and culture affect homophobia?

## 1.8. Tentative Chapter Outline

**Chapter One:** Introduction. In this chapter, the context of the research will be given. A brief history of South Africa's history with homophobia and the factors that influence it in South Africa. The chapter will also point out what the study aims to investigate as well its significance.

**Chapter Two:** This chapter will review the literature that has been written on the topic. It will look at the prevalence of homophobia on a global, continental and national scale.

**Chapter Three:** The chapter presents the Theoretical Framework used for the study.

**Chapter Four:** This chapter indicates the research methods utilized in the research

**Chapter Five:** This chapter explores the findings and their analysis while using the theoretical framework and research questions.

**Chapter Six:** The concluding chapter will summarise information found by the study while giving policy recommendations and recommendations for future research.

## 1.9. Conclusion

The chapter provided the background and problem statement for the research. The chapter presented the reasons for the research by declaring the purpose for the study, as well as the objectives and research questions for the study. The chapter also presented a tentative chapter outline to give an idea of how the entire study will be structured.

## Chapter 2

### 2. Literature Review

#### 2.1. Introduction

This section presents an overview of the studies that have been done about homophobia and the struggles that black lesbians and the rest of the LGBT community face in the South African context. The literature will, however, be reviewed through the remainder of the research project. Below is a preliminary literature review.

#### 2.2. Definition of terms

*2.2.1 Personal (internalized):* Raja and Stokes (1998) refer to internalized homophobia as the beliefs that people have against intolerant homosexuals. Internalised homophobia does not only occur in people who are homosexuals but can also occur in heterosexual people. Misinformation is the major cause of this type of homophobia. Similar to racism and sexism, people are taught to be homophobic. Because of the expectation of society when it comes to conventional relationships, children are often given biased misinformation when it comes to sexuality, adults continue to pass stereotypes about lesbians and gays that they got from their parents to their children who then, in turn, internalize them as true.

*2.2.3. Interpersonal homophobia:* This type of homophobia occurs when homosexual people have not accepted their sexuality thus being hostile towards other people in same-sex relationships. Such people may want to enforce their own homophobic beliefs that they grew up believing towards people who express their sexuality freely (Ormsby, 2015).

*2.2.4. Institutional homophobia:* According to Raja and Stokes (1998), Institutional homophobia occurs when homosexuals are systemically excluded and discriminated against through the actions of the state. Institutional homophobia can encompass a wider viewpoint of society as it may include actions by the government such as sponsoring and allowing violence against lesbian and gay people (Ormsby, 2015). It may include structures such as governments taking action that is prejudiced against the LGBT community. Those would be laws against LGBT members or even structural violence such as not providing them with basic needs like

housing, health care, employment, and taking part in physically assaulting them or condoning similar actions. This type of homophobia is seen as a state strategy that is validated in the disguise of nation-building (Ormsby, 2015).

According to Burack (2014), at times society creates situations for people to be wrongfully blamed for the shortcomings of society to conserve the existing structure of their society, as well as the existing structure of leadership within that society. Burack (2014) explains how particular groups such as black people and females have been used as scapegoats to explain some of the problems that took place in a certain society. An example of this would be how it is still prevalent all over the world to blame black people for crime. When this is done, those in power do not take responsibility for their mistakes, however, they use people who are most likely persecuted by society. When they do this successfully, groups such as the LGBT community are blamed for society's shortcomings, which in turn strengthens the hate of misinformed people about the community. This shows the strategy implemented by the state, to portray a process of unity within a society, by allowing minority groups such as the LGBT community to be discriminated against in the process, and as part of the legitimation of political and economic power (Burack (2014).

### 2.3. Prevalence of homophobia globally.

Burack (2014), points out that discrimination against gays and lesbians is prevalent globally. Same-sex activity is still illegal in 78 countries (Frey 2014). Many studies show that lesbians, as well as other LGBT people, still experience homophobia whether it is verbal or physical abuse, harassment at work or by neighbours, or refusal of goods and services by businesses (Burack, 2014). Homophobia has been linked with the decline of the economy globally. Excluding people from participating fully in society because of their sexual orientation may negatively affect the economy, development, and progress of a country. According to studies, the analysis of a smaller scale revealed an obvious interconnection between GDP and the rights of the LGBT community in different countries (Badgett et al, 2014). These studies have shown that in countries that are more tolerant towards LGBT people, people's wellbeing is more likely to be higher. The connection between HDI and LGBT rights shows that tolerance towards the LGBT community does not only benefit the economy but as well as the wellbeing of the individuals themselves (Banks, 2001).

## 2.4. Prevalence of homophobia in South Africa.

When we think of South Africa and homophobia, it starts showing its existence as early as colonial times and seems to be strengthened during the apartheid era in the form of institutional homophobia. One of the characteristics that defined the colonial and apartheid system was a clear predilection for Christianity (Van der Vyver, 1999). There was a clear link between some of the laws that would be implemented from the multiple immorality acts with what is seen as immoral in Christianity such as homosexuality and promiscuity. This religious bias was clearly an essential ingredient in the apartheid government's authoritarian formula (Van der Vyver, 1999). This type of totalitarian dictatorship, in which the church and the state are one and the same was shown by the law that prohibited sexual contact between males which is the Immorality Act 5 of 1927 (Van der Vyver, 1999).

The strict monitoring of homosexual relationships between minors during the early years mining in South Africa as well as the progression to the 1927 immorality act were the early steps of South African regimes being against homosexuality and trying to maintain heterosexuality. The Immorality Act was repealed and replaced by the Sexual Offences Act 23 of 1957 during apartheid. Any act between males at a party that was meant to encourage sexual desire or deliver sexual gratification was criminalized under Section 20A of the Sexual Offences Act. such an act, the maximum penalty was a fine of R 4000 or two years in prison or both (Van der Vyver, 1999). The Act also made it illegal for men and boys under the age of nineteen to engage in "immoral or indecent" behaviours with each other. The immorality act of 1967 called for both male and female sexuality a crime that should carry a compulsory sentence of up to 3 years (Sloss, 2019). Even though the laws did not only focus on homosexuality but other offences such as prostitution, it is reasonable to conclude that gay men and lesbians faced a cruel fate during the apartheid era, having been labelled criminals and despised by society as misfits and perverts. Exclusion and marginalization were felt more acutely by those South Africans who were already oppressed by apartheid because of their colour, sex, or economic background. (Van der Vyver, 1999).

Actions of homophobia have been prevalent in South Africa, since the 1990s, and are still going on presently. South Africa is the first country in the African continent to allow same-sex marriage and is seen as the most progressive in the continent (Moffet, 2006). Despite the country's progressive laws when it comes to protecting the rights of those who belong in the

LGBT community, many people have found it hard to respect the rights of those who belong in the community (Moffet, 2006).

The harassment that members of the LGBT community have experienced has not only been verbal, but physical as well. There have been many reports of violent occurrences such as corrective rape targeting lesbians highlighted by activists as well as the media. According to Reid and Dirisuweit (2002), the increase of violence after the apartheid state has been caused by the predominant marginalization combined with unemployment and poverty of racial minorities. Reid and Dirisuweit (2002) suggest one explanation for homophobia may relate to women empowerment being misunderstood as a threat against the masculinity of men, particularly in patriarchal societies such as South Africa. Lesbians can also challenge gender norms which results in homophobic behaviour because of the notion that lesbians jeopardize masculinity. Lesbians, therefore, become targets by default (Reid and Dirisuweit, 2002).

## 2.5. The paths taken by existing LGBT activism

### 2.5.1 *The popular Human rights activism path*

One of the paths that have been taken by LGBT activism is the traditional human rights approach. This route involves developing human rights that apply on an international basis for the LGBT community, such as the right to practice their sexuality (Mertus, 2007). Activists usually try to get people in same-sex relationships the same rights as other people, for example, the right to be protected from discrimination (Mertus, 2007). This form of activism has been largely practised and been useful especially in contexts of trying to get homosexuality and same-sex relationships legalized. It is still largely used in the struggle to get same-sex relationships legalized in the countries in which it is still outlawed.

At the forefront of the activism has been scholars, activists who are members of the LGBT community, human rights activists and NGOs. Mertus (2007) explains how many movements turn to human rights strategies because such strategies enable them to advance their plight in their own country as well as internationally. Human rights strategies are very useful when one wants to bring light to a wrong, abuse of a particular group. It brings to light the people being affected by the wrong, as well as those perpetrating such wrongs on them, as well as strategies that can be used to stop those human rights violations. The human rights route is very effective

in creating conversation on an international level when it comes to human rights abuses, hence it is perfect when you want to highlight and condemn human rights abuses against particular groups of people such as the LGBT community.

### *2.5.2. Access to information (the path that still needs to be explored).*

Even though the paths that LGBT activism has taken have done a lot of work in terms of changing laws that are oppressive against members of the LGBT community, a few scholars have been suggesting that other routes could be taken to deal with the issue of homophobia. Murdie & Udi Sommer (2017), suggest that the advocacy should not only focus on big structures such as governments but also on general people as they are the ones who get to live with people of the LGBT community every day. The path that has been taken so far, includes trying to speed up the process of legalizing homosexuality to prevent the violation of human rights, by mostly involving international organizations to pressure structures such as governments to legalize homosexuality in their countries. Even though that has been effective, the idea for NGOs to start working with communities closely to try to end homophobia could be fruitful, as the issue of misinformation that is often one of the root causes of homophobia could be dealt with that way. Intergovernmental organizations and third-party states can also work together to help stop the harassment experienced by members of the LGBT community (Murdie and Davis 2012).

## 2.6. Gender and sexuality in the South African Social Construct

According to Jewkes and Morell (2010), Gender and sexuality both play an important role in preserving power relations in societies. Sexuality and gender are both heavily influenced by culture and society as they both are closely associated. Sexuality and gender go hand in hand; both are creatures of culture and society, and both play a crucial role in maintaining power relations in our societies. They give each other shape and any scientific inquiry of the former immediately invokes the latter. Sexuality is usually rooted in the meanings and understandings of gender systems. Things such as race, ethnicity, class, culture and disability impact the sexual lives of both men and women and also affect gender relations. Jewkes and Morell (2002), highlight how many researchers still see sexuality within the bounds of the narrow spectrum of the sex act without inspecting other factors that may affect the variety of sexualities that exist.

According to the normal accepted social construct, only two genders are recognised in society, namely men and women. In most societies that follow this accepted social construct, each of the genders has to follow their assigned roles according to their gender. For example, women may be expected to get married, bear children and look after the children while the man is expected to provide for the family. People who do not follow their assigned gender roles or rather challenge them are thus seen as threatening the social order. However, each society is different, hence how society is constructed is rooted in socialization and enculturation (Mpuka, 2017). The rules assigned to your gender are the consequences of your setting as well as the values and morals that your society is rooted in (Myers, 2013).

The South African context is a bit complex as it is quite progressive when it comes to legislation that protects people such as the LGBT community, however, the implementation of those laws has not been that effective. The lack of implementation of such laws is also influenced by how the country is socially constructed. South Africa also still largely recognizes two genders and anything that challenges the social construct is frowned upon. Lesbians form part of what is seen as a challenging normal social construct, as most South Africans believe that females are only supposed to have sexual relationships with men, and anything else is unnatural.

Unfortunately, gender inequality and strict gender roles are nothing new in the South African context. The phenomenon of gender arrangements goes back as far as colonial times, continued through the apartheid era and are still being enforced currently. The colonial and apartheid eras were intensely racial and gender-segregated, which meant that black and white South Africans were living different lives, and their gender order, even though similar at times could not escape the influence of the racial human rights violations that took place at the time (Mailula, 2018).

Because of this, even the masculinity of South African men is mainly based on the colonial construct. Because of the injustices that black men faced, while their white counterparts enjoyed certain resources and benefits, the relationship between the two was that of envy or disdain because of the position that their skin colour put them on depending on their race (Mailula, 2018). The pattern of undermining men that seen as feminine or not masculine enough was also solidified during such times. Men were seen as the main providers and protectors not only in their households but for their nations as well. In the time of wars, men were seen as necessary as they would be expected to fight for their country, and that's one of the reasons why masculinity was appreciated, and men that were seen as feminine were looked down on as they would be seen as not good enough to perform such duties because of their

supposed femininity (Mailula, 2018). The shaping of gender forms in the South African context was made to benefit mostly the systems in power, starting with colonialism and then apartheid. The construction of the nuclear family, the use of men as war entities and family providers did not only at times cause toxic masculinity but it was all part of the plan of the system that was in place at the time (Mailula, 2018).

The system of patriarchy and capitalism have been linked as a system that can benefit each other, meaning that sometimes societies perpetuate patriarchy because it also benefits their capitalist system (Jewkes and Morell, 2010). Unfortunately, such systems have suppressed women for centuries and continue to do so currently. Patriarchy has made it possible for men to dominate women in most structures of society, however it is important to note that Men and masculinity are not uniform around the world. There are big differences when it comes to culture, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender identity.. Such systems have perpetuated the gender roles that are considered as the norm in South Africa and other African countries, it is for such reasons that black lesbian has faced so much retaliation because they are seen as challenging systems that have been in place for a very long time. Women and their bodies have been policed by such systems that have been operating for centuries and were never created to benefit them.

There are currently still many black South Africans being largely influenced by inequality as white people previously dominated professional and business positions while black South Africans would take the less desirable jobs. Inequality resulted in black people living in impoverished areas that lacked basic human rights such as adequate shelter, water, sanitation and electricity while most white people lived in better areas and had better living conditions, which is an inequality that is still largely visible in South Africa. Such arrangements allowed for unique racialized gender arrangements to take place in each race (Jewkes and Morell, 2010). The fact that black people were not allowed into cities without work permits for a long time, leaving them confined in rural areas had an impact that is still relevant in how masculinity and femininity are constructed in the black community (Jewkes and Morell, 2010). For example, for a very long time, black women were not expected to live in cities and black men mostly worked in cities than women.

The jobs that black men had in the cities were often low-paying seasonal jobs and just not enough to provide a healthy livelihood for them and their families. Black women on the other side often had to depend on black men to be providers which promoted black femininity to be

obedient and passive. Because of the low paying jobs that black men were subjected to, the majority of black men could not invest properly to prove their masculinity in professional achievements like white men could which increased the chances of black men finding affirmations for their masculinity in other ways such as in being violent when it comes to their



relations with black women (Jewkes and Morell, 2010). This would include black men physically abusing their black women partners to compensate for their masculinity, which has to achieve success according to society's standards. When it comes to white people, white men were able to invest in professional success and public positioning as opportunities to do so were mostly handed to them (Jewkes and Morell, 2010). This is however not to suggest that white South African men do not have a history of abusing women because they were afforded opportunities that black men did not get.

Even though white women benefitted by getting some basic needs such as free education, also depended on men and were expected to look after their homes and children instead of exploring the working environment. Even though black and white people's experiences are similar in some instances, black people have however experienced way more material challenges that still affect them as a group to this day. Unfortunately, such challenges have influenced how gender and sexuality are socially constructed in the black community, mostly due to the need for affirmation for black masculinity. This largely contributed to the conception that black men were supposed to go to cities to look for jobs while black women were supposed to remain in the rural areas to look after their homesteads and the children. Even though it is important to highlight that many changes have taken place, such sentiments are still held by the black community to this day

According to Jewkes and Morell (2010), because of the country's history with colonialism and apartheid somehow all gender identities are influenced by violence. In South Africa, sexuality is often rooted in religion and culture. Even though South Africa has a history of gender identities being influenced by violence, the transition from 1994 came with the emergence of more fluidity when it comes to gender identities. Even though the LGBT movement is nothing new in South Africa, the protection of human rights that the constitution legally gave the community saw an emergence of a gay movement. There has also been an emergence of a women empowerment movement, that supported women getting more opportunities, as well as resources that will allow women to have more independence, especially in the black community. This woman empowerment movement does not only support economic independence but as well as sexual independence such as women being allowed to make their own decisions regarding their bodies instead of following misogynistic ideas that have been used to oppress women for a very long time. Although such movements have taken place,

racialised masculinity is still very much prevalent in different forms and these forms are still ruling how masculinity is viewed, the acceptable way to be a man.

Unfortunately, in South African desirable masculinity is somehow seen as having braveness, physical strength, authority as well as being dominant over women. Hegemonic masculinity illustrates how men, but not all men, are in a dominant position in global society in regard to women: men wield power over women because of their privileged positions in society in the economy, the job market, and the political arena. However This dominating style of masculinity, on the other hand, wields control over marginalized and subordinated men who do not fulfill the hegemonic masculinity standards (Van der Walt, 2007). Many males subscribe to hegemonic masculinity, and women and gay men who do not satisfy the criteria set out by hegemonic masculinity are misunderstood and can face ill treatment and violence (Van der Walt, 2007).

Jewkes and Morell (2010), highlight research that shows black African hegemonic masculinity such as how in the EasternCape, the success of African manhood is represented by heterosexual success, which is demonstrated by getting attractive women and keeping them from being pursued and won overby other men. This heterosexual success also promotes having relations with multiple women,as having multiple sexual relationships is also seen as a positive attribute for masculinity as themen are seen as proving their masculinity by having multiple sexual partners. This also bringsout the notion of isoka, which is still a key indicator amongst Zulu and Xhosa people, which supports the notion of idolized heterosexual masculinity, whereby a man is seen as attractive and desirable by women (Jewkes and Morell, 2010). Even though this power that men possessin such concepts is not necessarily acquired by force, however the cultural underpinning ideasbased in patriarchy are allowed to go on in such contexts, and at times some of these men see violence as acceptable to assert their dominance and masculinity depending on the limits theirsetting or context allows. Examples of this include how men at times resolve to violence to solve issues between one another as well as the widespread abuse of women in South Africa, which are both ways in which men use to assert their dominance and masculinity when they feel like it is being threatened in some way (Jewkes and Morell, 2010).

Because of such toxic masculinity sometimes men come into relationships with expectations such as the woman being submissive to them and feeling the need to assert their dominance through physical and sexual violence towards their partner. At times toxic masculinity is not

only asserted through severe violence but at times by using misogynistic mild signs of control over women, such as the use of materialistic possessions to use women for sex to prove their masculinity not only to themselves but to other men, women as well as their communities as a whole. Unfortunately, because of the consistent failure for black men to reach the standards of masculinity as a group due to mainly structural violence that has made it hard for black people to have access to resources, black men have resorted to other ways to assert their dominance such as femicide, physical abuse, using materialistic possessions in return for sex and normalising multiple sex partners (Jewkes and Morell, 2010).



## 2.7. Heteronormativity in South African townships

According to Warner (1999) heteronormativity occurs when the effective structures of society are made to not only privilege but also understand and accept heterosexuality as the norm. Society is structured in a manner that understands heterosexuality and considers anything else as out of the norm. Even though South Africa has proven to be a heteronormative society, lesbians, as well as the rest of the LGBT community, have constitutional rights that are meant to protect them from abuse and discrimination due to their sexuality. However, the existence of such laws has not stopped them from getting retaliation from men, such as corrective rape and murder perpetrated against them because of their sexuality. Because of the heteronormative state of South African society, the LGBT community has been able to assert their constitutional rights only to a certain extent.

One of the disadvantages of heteronormativity except for violence against LGBT bodies is the structure of society that is often set up to mostly accept heterosexuality. This allows the prejudice against homosexual and at times non-gender-conforming individuals to prosper within such structures. As much as people often associate homophobia with people's individual feelings against homosexual people, homophobia can exist within societal structures and places of power as well (Sanger, 2010). Such structures are at times set up to be discriminatory against non-confirmative sexual and gender identities. For such reasons non-confirmative sexual and gender identities at times do not get deserved opportunities because of the homophobic attitudes that some societal structures pose on them. In recent years, researchers have examined social structures and attitudes that establish privilege for certain individuals based on sexual orientation. The relationship between people and homophobia does not only exist on an individual level as people are active agents of societal structures, which influences how such structures operate. At times how powerful societal structures act against minorities can influence how ordinary people act against those targeted.

How people treat homosexual people can start at a young age. Society has put in place strict rules when it comes to gender rules and people who seem to not conform to such rules bring out an uncomfortableness which can result in retaliation as people feel that important societal rules have been broken. Sometimes children can be influenced to be hostile against LGBT people by not only their families but also the media and their peers. This type of socialisation

affects how children act when they come across children who are seen as either homosexual or non-gender conforming and can result in such children being bullied (Bickmore, 1999). It can also affect how they treat such people as adults also.

In heteronormative societies such as South Africa, lesbians face many obstacles as their existence alone can be seen as a threat to the existing heteronormative structure. South Africa is not only a heteronormative country but is also hugely influenced by religion, culture and traditions. Religion and culture have an impact on the existence of homophobia as homosexuality is at times described as un-African or unchristian, making it unacceptable to many people. Research done also discovered that homosexuality was still seen as unacceptable by a large portion of the respondents (Rule & Mncwango, 2006).

Black lesbians who live in townships face most of these obstacles as they are most likely to exist in their communities. The corrective rapes and murders of black lesbians fueled by hate because of their sexuality are proof of such obstacles and their continuity in townships. Such occurrences have and continue to make the lives of black lesbians who live in townships difficult. This proves that even though South Africa has one of the most progressive constitutions when it comes to recognizing the rights of homosexual individuals, the treatment of black lesbians shows that the country is still largely influenced by heteronormative. The heteronormative state of South Africa raises the question of whether the law is truly capable of fully transforming the society to accept homosexuals as well as respecting their rights considering that it has not succeeded to do so in the last 26 years.

## 2.8. The History of Homosexuality in South Africa

Contrary to popular belief, homosexuality is not a new phenomenon in South Africa but dates back as far as before the beginning of the mine compounds. Early recorded examples of homosexual encounters in South Africa took place in the mines and were acknowledged as mine marriages. Such relationships started by a senior mine worker helping a younger mine worker get used to their new lives in the mines, promising them protection from any threats. In such marriages, the senior minors were even known to pay a bride price to the miners they would marry, which is a known African practice where a man pays the woman's family a bride price before he can marry, which shows how their relationships were set up to mirror

heterosexual relationships. (Müller-Van der Westhuizen and Meyer, 2019). To return the favour the senior miners expected their miner wives to not only cook and clean but to perform sexual acts. In such mine marriages, senior miners would have newer miners as their partners and the newer miners would be referred to as mine wives. (Müller-Van der Westhuizen and Meyer, 2019).

As time went on same-sex relationships started making their way into townships, and homosexual people and same-sex relationships started being noticeable, even though at the time most of those visible homosexual people were men (Reid, 2013). The initial visibility of homosexual people can be seen as the beginning of people seeing gender and sexuality as interchangeable. When homosexual men who displayed feminine attributes, such as wearing women's clothes or hairstyles or even acting in ways that were seen as being feminine, gender and sexuality started being seen as interchangeable, men who were known to have relationships with men and had feminine attributes were seen as gay, thus wanting to be women, which is the same treatment lesbians would face down the line. An example of this is how Reid (2013) his respondents in the early 2000s used the title "gay" interchangeably with the term "lady". Both terms were used to refer to males who happened to perform their gender in a way that is seen as feminine, and such categorization of people's genders and sexualities go back as far as the 1970s (Reid, 2013).

However, the concept of seeing gender and sexuality as interchangeable was not far-fetched as early visible homosexual relationships often only mirrored heterosexual relationships. Homosexual relationships were mostly seen as having one partner performing as the opposite gender, whether when it came to their dress code or their mannerisms, which led to most people thinking that homosexual relationships were set up like heterosexual relationships and if two men were in a relationship one had to be the lady, act like a lady, thus should be referred to as a "lady". According to Reid (2013), gays or ladies as they were referred to were seen as women and they played women's roles such as wearing women's clothes and women's church uniforms, singing in women's choirs, organizing and performing in pageants, playing women's sports and even experienced vulnerabilities that women experienced such as violence from their partners who were referred to as the gents. All of this shows that gay people performed their relationships with their partners in ways that mirrored heterosexual relationships in an effort to fit in within an already existing sex/gender system (Reid, 2013).

## 2.9. Being black and lesbian in South Africa.

Even though South African lesbians face homophobia in different spaces, their struggles, as well as the structures that are put in place to assist them are different. Unfortunately, one of the realities of being a lesbian in South Africa is that one's race can determine your lesbian experience in the country. As previously mentioned, even though lesbians of all races experience homophobia, the experiences of black lesbians living in townships are on another level of marginalisation. Proof of this is how more safe spaces have been created in townships, and how besides the official Pride in Cape Town, black lesbians felt the need to create their own township pride called Khumbulani Pride as they felt that Cape Town pride is not the true representation of their experiences, but township pride is as it takes place in their own townships, despite the danger of retaliation that township pride faces.

Mkhize et al, (2010) highlight how the clubs in the Pink District are mostly attended by white people, as well as how academic spaces that focus on issues of the LGBT communities are also attended by mostly white people. Mkhize et al, (2010) go on to suggest that white lesbians as a group are more likely to feel safe with their sexuality than lesbians of other races. Black lesbians in South Africa do not only come from a previously disadvantaged background but are also part of the marginalised gender in their race. One of the key reasons for their abuse is how their sexuality is seen as not adhering to the rules that are put in place for women in the black community, hence the argument of 'culture' is one of the main ones used to excuse homophobia.

One of the main reasons for LGBT activism that focuses on black lesbians, especially those living in marginalised communities was the realization that existing structures that target working with lesbians do not have the necessary needed knowledge about their settings to come with decisions that will be truly helpful to their situation. Mkhize et al, (2010) point out how queer northern activism is usually led by white men and cannot be able to utterly understand the struggle that women have gone through to fight for their rights. Even though northern queer activism has been influential in advocating for LGBT rights not only in South Africa but other parts of the world, their type of activism cannot be entirely trusted to deal with issues faced by black lesbians living in a marginalized Cape Town or South African township.

All in all, there has been acknowledgement for the prioritization of black lesbians living in marginalised communities, as they don't only face homophobia at its worst but also struggle at times to get adequate resources to help make their situations easier. Mkhize et al (2010) explain how this prioritization may mean that lesbians will move from a narrative of being marginalised and invisible to being viewed as special victims. Being viewed as special victims is a dangerous narrative as at times, people viewed as special victims are seen as people with a sense of entitlement and not willing to work for what they need or want. Therefore, solutions targeting black lesbians, should not only be coming from them but also facilitated by those who are either familiar with their circumstances or have been through such circumstances themselves. This is a fair assessment as black people are already seen as entitled people by other people from other races.

## 2.10. Violence against women in South Africa.

Apart from being one of the most crime-infested countries in the world, South Africa is also notorious for violence against women. South African women have experienced violence in its different forms whether it be sexual, psychological, physical and even economic for a very long time. According to the South African government, these types of violence have long-lasting results for not only the women but as well as their communities (South African Government, 2017). For the last few years, there has been a highlight of the amount that South African women have been experiencing gender-based violence because of the growing number of women that continue to experience violence especially in the form of sexual violence, physical violence and murder.

GBV is broadly known as the violence committed against women because of the normalization of expectations that come with their gender as well as the unequal power relations between males and females, depending on the specific society. Different societies have different expectations for their women and their strictness differs. In some societies, women are expected to be homemakers, have no jobs, and in some cases are not even allowed to drive or be economically independent. The problem with such expectations is that in most cases women are not given a choice to choose not to conform to such expectations and when they do not, they may get retaliation from not only their communities but as well as their families. An example

of this is the widespread act of honor killing of middle eastern women because of actions that are seen as resulting in dishonoring their families or communities. Such actions can include refusing or leaving an arranged marriage, having sex before marriage, or doing anything that may be considered as compromising a female's chastity as that may be seen as dishonoring the female's family. Accusations of female adultery are the most popular reasons for honor killing (Knudsen,2004).

Even though such honor killings don't only target women but women are mostly affected. According to Knudsen (2004), about 5000 women are killed due to honor killing, even though the numbers are probably higher. Men are also most likely to take part in honor killings as their toxic masculinity are not only tolerated but also excused. According to Knudsen (2004), in Pakistan and other Middle-Eastern countries, such men are excused as they are seen as being taken over by a violent emotional response that they have no control over. Such gendered justifications show how tendencies of violence are sometimes seen as being a man, which shows their links to aggression and masculinity.

Gender-based violence is often perpetrated by someone known by the victim. Even though that is the case the violence can also be perpetrated by strangers. GBV has been to be prevalent in South Africa and is a phenomenon that women in the country are still facing. Between 25% and 40 % of South African women have experienced physical and or sexual violence in their lifetime (safer spaces, 2021). There is also a problem of many women who have never reported violence perpetrated against them, whether it be physical or sexual. The abuse of women in South Africa is so prevalent that knowing a man who has abused women whether sexually or physically, emotionally is not that unheard of. Victims of sexual and physical violence do not only face the violence committed against them but also the anxiety of having to report their abusers to the police.

The culture of humiliation when it comes to South African public services such as SAPS is part of the reasons that can make it hard for people to approach such structures. In South Africa even going to Home Affairs can be a humiliating process because of the mistreatment that people, especially the poor sometimes experience in such structures. SAPS is no different and has even been condemned for the way that police officers treat victims of sexual assault when they approach them for their help after a traumatic experience. In the years 2015/16 an average of 142.2 sexual offences were recorded in South Africa which was a decrease from the years 2014/15 which was noted to possibly have been caused by the widespread instances of

underreporting when it comes to sexual violence (UNODC, 2012). It is then no wonder that women still do not report abuse because of the fear that they will not receive the type of support that they need from the police.

According to existing research, violence against women is still prevalent and under-reported and women are still not adequately supported by public services to the point of making them fully comfortable in coming forward and trusting the system with their experiences. Because of the lack of sufficient support for victims as well as the lack of professionalism on the side of the police officers who deal with such victims, it is not that much of a surprise that women are not always comfortable with reporting their experiences of violence to the police as they are aware that they may get more traumatised or end up not getting the kind of help that they need.

Patriarchy is one of the main reasons for the expectations that people associate with different genders. Patriarchy can be a political or social system that holds men to a higher standard than women. In most patriarchal societies, there are structures put in place to normalise male leadership as the norm, which means men hold most of the power. Even in progressive societies, the effects of patriarchy are still visible in structures such as politics and the economy as women still hold fewer positions of power and are still paid less than males for performing the same duties as men. For example, in countries such as the USA, there are still fewer women in positions of power such as politics, with the country only having its first female vice-president in 2021. This shows that even with the progress that has been done by the country when it comes to equal rights as well as its extensive feminist endeavours, the effects of patriarchy are still visible.

Initiatives such as 16 days of activism on women and child abuse have been created to raise awareness of the growing violence that women and children continue to face in this country. Regardless of the activism that has been adopted after 1994, to promote women as equals to their men counterparts, the success of such initiatives has not been as successful as it should be. The change that has happened to include women as equals includes the inclusion of women in leadership positions, especially in government-related positions and other elite settings. (Mkhize et al, 2010). However, when it comes to ensuring that women can access resources to improve their quality of life especially when it comes to their security, not much success has been reached. Even with the growth of activism against women, the number of rapes and murders against women in South Africa has increased instead of going down (Mkhize et al,

2010). There have also been reports that regardless of the high numbers that are already reported of women who experience physical and sexual abuse, there are also many women in South Africa who do not report their abuse to authorities because of several reasons (Mkhize et al, 2010).

### 2.11. The impact of homophobia on gender and sexuality.

Gender and sexuality is a complex concept for people, especially homophobes who view them as interchangeable, the lack of distinction at times affects how people are treated. People choose not to make the distinction between non-conformant gender identities and sexuality. As much as it can seem like they are the same, the two can be very different. For example, just because a woman does not dress how she is expected to according to society's standards, does not necessarily define their sexuality or make them homosexual. Also just because a man does not dress or act how a man is expected to according to societal standards, does not necessarily mean he is homosexual.

Seeing gender and sexuality as interchangeable cannot only be homophobic but it also puts pressure on different gender identities, as it puts pressure on people to conform in terms of how they look or act, to avoid being discriminated against because of an alleged sexuality, based on how they look or act, as it may put their lives in danger. This suppresses not only homosexual people but other people viewed as different as they are forced to suppress their real identities in order to adhere to society's standards and avoid backlash.

The use of gender and sexuality as interchangeable is quite problematic as the two mean different things to different people. Gender is a societal construct and involves rules on how men and women should act or do things. This has motivated people to gatekeep how people act, hence sometimes people are retaliated against because they act in a way that is seen as not normal to their gender. Gender identity is seen as how one sees their gender and wants others to see their gender as well. (National Sexual Violence Resource Center and Pennsylvania

Coalition Against Rape, 2012). In simpler terms, it is how a person identifies themselves, for example as one can identify as a boy or a girl. Unfortunately, most South Africans have been



raised to accept gender as binary, but there's more to gender identities. Some people may identify as gender-fluid identities or non-binary (identifying as both or in between male and female), transgender and even agender (not conforming to any gender).

People who do not conform to the traditional male/female gender categories, such as those who identify as gender-neutral are an example that gender is not black and white, and people can identify as a different gender than what is seen as normal not only in the south African context but in other societies as well. In many societies as well as South African society most cisgender people's gender identities are seen as the standard. Even though that is the case there is more to gender identities than he/she hence other pronouns such as they and them are already getting accepted in other societies to accommodate minority gender identity.

However sexual orientation has nothing to do with one's gender identity in most cases. Even though the two may overlap but they are entirely different and do not mean the same thing. Sexual orientation refers to whom you find attractive or romantically desirable. Sexuality has to do with one's sexual feelings. The feelings that straight, homosexual or bisexuals feel for romantic partners or potential partners are based on their sexual orientation. A person of any gender identity can be heterosexual or part of the LGBT community.

People have argued that sexuality is a biological phenomenon to support the view that only heterosexuality should be seen as natural (Esplen, 2007). What is seen as the norm is different from one society to the other but currently homosexuality is seen as out of the norm in most societies in the world even the most progressive, but how these societies are dealing with the visibility of LGBT people is different. One's gender identities does not necessarily equal a specific sexual orientation. Unfortunately for many, it's still hard to accept that there are other sexualities besides heterosexuality, as well as the fact that there is more to gender than cisgender males and females. This is one of the reasons why the LGBT community has faced a lot of discrimination because of their sexuality. Unfortunately, because of homophobia different gender identities have faced the same discrimination because of the problematic use of gender and sexuality as interchangeable. All of the above shows that gender and sexuality are more complex than most people can appreciate. The path that our society should be taking is to respect that each individual should get to exist within their gender identity without society trying to police them with its rules based on intolerance for minority communities such as the LGBT community.

Gender discrimination reflects on how homophobia and sexism can be interconnected and can influence how people are treated because of their gender identification. Both can also affect how much people deal with their gender identification because of how they have been treated by the society around them. The strict gender roles that are often enforced in countries like South Africa do not only affect those who are minority gender identities, they also influence ordinary people as people's way of thinking is affected by such rules and hence impacts how they treat different gender identities they may come across. Unfortunately, because of the hierarchy that has been established when it comes to gender categorisation within that and male and female categorisation, there are also strict rules that both genders have to adhere to, such as one being masculine and the other being feminine. When one does not fit into these rules, they can face discrimination, rejection and even ridicule because they failed to be masculine or feminine enough, as that is what is expected of them. This results in gender discrimination as such people are sometimes targeted because they do not follow the norms that are associated with their gender.

Expressing yourself in a way that is outside gender norms such as dressing a certain way, acting in a masculine or feminine manner can result in one being discriminated against. People can go as far as assuming their sexuality, for example, if a man acts feminine or dresses in a feminine manner can result in them being discriminated against and accused of being homosexual even if they are heterosexual. Phenomenon such as male peer pressure can take place in such situations, whereby boys will actively police and scrutinize other boys' masculinities, and do so through homophobic actions such as bullying boys who are seen as not masculine enough. (Lapointe, 2012.) This is based on the stereotypes made on gay and lesbian individuals which can cause people who are deemed to be different to be accused of being homosexual even if they do not belong to that group. Viewing sexuality and gender as interchangeable is also a cause for this as many people view masculine women as lesbians and feminine men as gay, even though that is not always the case.

Gender beliefs system continue to maintain gender roles that are not only sexist but also reinforce certain stereotypes about the LGBT community. Regardless of the variety of the LGBT community in the South African context, heterosexuality is still dominant in many of the society's structures. Such gender beliefs do not only restrict and discriminate LGBT people, but heterosexual people are at times falsely categorised as LGBT because of their gender identities. Such rigid gender beliefs can add up to the phenomena of compulsory heterosexuality. Compulsory heterosexuality is linked to heteronormativity and occurs

when those in heterosexual relationships control and influence culture and the socialisation process that expects people that heterosexuality as the standard and other sexualities as abnormal.

Compulsory heterosexuality attempts to suppress other sexualities that are deemed as deviant and expect everyone to conform to its societal expectations, those who do not conform are discriminated against or even expected to keep their sexualities a secret or discreet (Seidman, 2009). When rules in society are so rigid that coming out as homosexual puts one at risk of retaliation, at times they will conform to heterosexuality while in secret they may be engaging in homosexual acts. Mailula (2018), makes an example of how in Zimbabwe the pressure to fulfil societal expectations is so big that queer men feel like they have to live as heterosexual people in public while living their homosexual truth in private.

Children learn the rules of how the two accepted genders are supposed to act through socialisation from home, school, the media and other social structures they come across as they grow. Children learn from a young age what clothes, toys and even colours are acceptable for each gender, for example, pink is seen as appropriate for girls while guns and cars are seen as the more appropriate toys for boys (Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, 1999). Through this socialisation, most things are created with the assumption that children will follow the traditional gender. Such creations can include gender-specific toys for children, such as dolls for girls or cars and guns for boys and these are part of compulsory heterosexuality (West & Zimmerman, 1987). These are seen as part of compulsory heterosexuality because these are part of the socialisation that a specific gender has specific roles, such as women are supposed to have children and keep households and men are supposed to have cars and display their masculinity through tools such as firearms. There have also been studies that look at how mothers' parent their children in a heteronormative context with the assumption that their children are heterosexual and with the belief that heterosexuality is what is normal which makes other sexualities invisible to those children, which can create issues for them when they are introduced to other sexualities. (Martin, 2009).

Even structures as hospitals take part in the normalisation of heteronormativity, for example, many hospitals provide pink caps for girl babies and blue caps for boy babies as an indicator for the sex assigned to the newborn, while this may appear natural to society's members, in reality, the colour coding identifies no differences that have any influence on the newborns'

medical treatment (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999). Such acts even though they seem normal are part of the socialisation and can even be used as part of the argument on the failures of structures such as hospitals for the way they have dealt with intersex babies in the past and present.

Even education sectors take part in compulsory heterosexuality, as subjects such as sex education are taught with the assumption that all the learners are heterosexual by teaching only about heterosexual sex and relationships, or only methods to safe sex for heterosexual people. According to Robinson (2002), in some settings, educators and parents who exist in heterosexual and homophobic discourses are more likely to resist dealing with LGBT issues in an educational context that has to do with young children. The main argument used against teaching children about LGBT issues is that they are too young to learn about same-sex relationships or homosexual people which demonises homosexuality as inappropriate and too sexual to be exposed to children which contributes to the hypersexualisation of LGBT bodies. However, this discourse of childhood innocence is used to maintain heteronormativity that is already existent instead of admitting fault in the system. The excuse is also not substantial as children are aware of children displays of heterosexualisation tactics such as boyfriend/girlfriend games, which children are not only aware of but participate in too (Robinson, 2002). Other societal structures such as churches often also take a similar route of operating with the assumption that all members are heterosexual or heterosexuality is the only norm and anything else should be condemned or ignored

Because of the way that society is structured compulsory heterosexuality is taking place and most people do participate in it, even though they may not see it that way. The prohibition of same-sex marriages, the limited portrayal of gay and lesbian characters on TV, movies, and advertisements, the prohibition of same-sex couples at school dances, formals, and other social events, and churches being forced to exclude gay men and lesbians from their congregations are all examples of institutionalized homophobia. Homonegativity is so omnipresent in our society that it is almost impossible to avoid internalizing homophobic attitudes (Pitman, 1999). Compulsory heterosexuality further contributes to homophobia and transphobia as heterosexuality of only cis-gendered men and women is seen as the main and superior sexuality in which life and relationship should be modelled after. This further contributes to negative stereotypes that hurt the LGBTQ+ community as their existence is not seen as something that ordinary life can be modelled after. This further

reinforces stereotypes about LGBT people, as it paints them as undesirable individuals who deserve to be excluded from society's social organisation. All this shows that despite the constitutional rights of the LGBT community and efforts to create a more inclusive environment, black lesbians and the rest of the LGBT community continue to find it hard to exist and express their identities without finding retaliation, that is based on hate for the LGBT community.

## 2.12. Corrective rape

Corrective rape is a form of sexual violence used by homophobic men to cure lesbians of their attraction towards other women. The woman is raped to get them to conform to the accepted form of femineity which is associated with only dating the opposite sex. However, the term 'corrective rape' is problematic on its own. According to Thomas, (2013)., the term insinuates that being lesbian is wrong and if lesbians were straight, conformed to the correct sexuality as expected by patriarchal standards, they would not experience sexual violence. South Africa has one of the highest rates when it comes to sexual against women in the world. Corrective rape is a method used by men who rape lesbians to not only police them but to punish them when they are associated with not adhering to society's standards of femininity.

Unfortunately, the policing of women's bodies through sexual violence has not only started with the sexual violence against lesbians but is something that has been experienced by regular women even under the apartheid era. In her study Katherine Wood highlights, the phenomenon of 'gang rape' a practice whereby a group would kidnap and rape young women who were considered to be snobs and needed to be put in their place (Wood, 2005). Such practices such as group rape show how men attempt to police social order by using violent methods such as sexual violence against women who do not conform to their standards of femininity. Corrective rape is just another way that men have been using to police lesbians because they do not conform to society's standards of femininity and threaten the social order that most homophobic people are comfortable with.

It has been noted that in the South African context a lot of heterosexual men see lesbians in general as a threat to their masculinity and dominance. Corrective rape is a cruel form of violence used against lesbians in an attempt to "cure" them from their sexuality. Men who

commit such acts of violence do it under the stance that the rape will change the lesbian's sexual orientation and make them like men (Thomas, 2013). The impact of culture in the South African context is severe as it is one of the main reasons that perpetrators use to commit crimes such as corrective rape against lesbians. Morrissey, (2013) points out how black lesbians are in danger due to the colour of their skin, as homosexuality is still largely seen as something forbidden and something that does not originate in the South Africa culture.

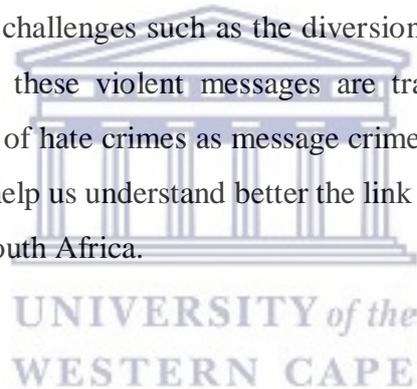
Such beliefs make lesbians who live in townships in more danger to be discriminated against, raped and killed because their sexuality is seen as opposing conventional traditional gender roles. (Breen and Nel) In the South African context, lesbians who live in black areas are more likely to be victims of this crime. The mere colour of black lesbians' skin puts them at more as homosexuality is largely associated with European origins, and not part of the South African culture. Black lesbians who live in townships do not only pose a threat to social order but to traditional gender norms as accepted by patriarchy. Black women exist within a reality in which women are open to attack to a different form of sexual violence, poor black women are at more risk of experiencing sexual violence than other women who have access to more resources. Black lesbians in such contexts are more vulnerable as sexual violence is the norm, which puts them at the most risk to be policed and rejected by their communities through physical and sexual violence. (Mkhize, 2010)

As mentioned above, corrective rape is usually corrected in the mindset of curing the homosexual woman, the fact that homosexuality is seen as so taboo that people see a need to brutally cure shows not only the amount of homophobia but also how much of a hate crime corrective rape is. The crime is committed due to a bias against the victim's sexuality as recorded in section 9 of the constitution. There is a variety of cases that can be regarded as hate crimes against black lesbians who live in townships, and some of them have never been solved, such cases include brutal rapes and murder including the abuse of a corpse by objects. One of the cases of corrective rape is the case of Lerato Moloji, whose body was found in Soweto, half-naked, stabbed and stoned with large rocks (Thomas, 2013). The case is one of the many horrific brutal hate crimes that have been perpetrated against lesbians in South African townships.

Fortunately, in the case of Moloji, her perpetrator was apprehended and sentenced to two life sentences in 2018. As the judge noted, "This will not bring back Lerato Moloji, however, it will teach a lesson to other people who abuse and discriminate against people based on their sexual

orientation and gender identity.” The LGBTQ+ community went on to commend the prosecution for acknowledging how her sexual orientation was a contributing factor to her rape and murder (Thomas, 2013). Unfortunately, there are many other cases of black lesbians who were brutally killed and are still not solved. Such cases would include people like Noxolo Ngwaza and Nokuthula Radebe, with one being stoned, gang-raped and stoned while the other was found exposed from the waist down, strangled with shoelaces and a plastic bag over her face (Thomas, 2013).

Harris (2004), highlights how hate crimes such as correction rape have been interpreted as ‘message crimes’ as intending to correct the social order instead of the individual experiencing the crime. Suggest therapists may not be necessarily using rape to send a message to other lesbians, instead of to other men to claim patriarchal power over women and validate their aggressive masculinity. The interpretation of such hate crimes as message crimes has its complexities as it may present challenges such as the diversion of attention from thoroughly examining the conditions that these violent messages are transmitted are made possible. Suggests that the interpretation of hate crimes as message crimes needs a careful examination of motive, effect and intent to help us understand better the link to the histories and structures of violence in post-apartheid South Africa.



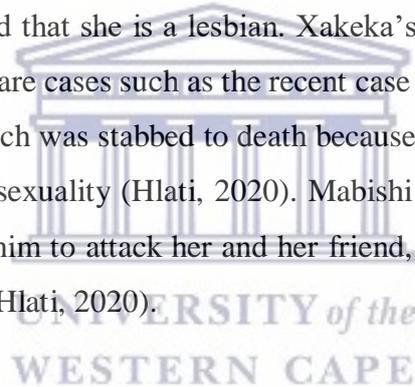
### 2.13. Murders of Lesbians in Cape Town

Without a doubt, lesbians are still having a huge problem when it comes to retaliation from some of their community members because of their sexuality. One of the most severe effects of homophobia is when the harassment turns into murder. In South Africa, lesbians have not only experienced, harassment and corrective rape, but also murder. The cases of lesbians being not only raped but murdered in South Africa have been prevalent since the 1990s.

Cape Town has also been not exempting from the prevalence of abuse and murder. The rise of LGBTQ+ NGOs and safe spaces in Cape Town and the country as a whole was meant to deal with the rise of the isolation of the LGBTQ+ community and help with the issues they deal with as well as have spaces that welcome them fully despite their sexuality. Safe space such as Khululekani in Cape town was open to deal with issues that affect black lesbians that live in

cape town townships, such as discrimination from family and community members, corrective rape and murders.

Murders of black lesbians are nothing new and have unfortunately remained common in South African townships. In an interview, Zanele Muholi claimed to have recorded about 50 cases of rapes of black lesbians dating 10 years back. (The New Humanitarian, 2006) Cape Town townships have not been left behind, as the killings of lesbians have also become common over the years in Cape Town Townships. Such murderers include murders of people such as the crime Noxolo Xakeka from Strand who was stabbed to death on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2018. The 23-year-old went out to celebrate and was harassed by a man who started touching her and making remarks about her sexuality, which resulted in a fight between her and the man. Noxolo ended up losing her life from the incident because she was brave enough to stand up for herself when a man started harassing her, because of the entitlement he felt he had over her body. After all, she is a woman, never mind that she is a lesbian. Xakeka's case is not an isolated one in Cape Town townships as there are cases such as the recent case of Liyabona Mabishi from the Nkanini township in Stellenbosch was stabbed to death because she was allegedly targeted by the perpetrator because of her sexuality (Hlati, 2020). Mabishi allegedly bumped into a man and apologised, which caused him to attack her and her friend, leaving Mabishi dead and the friend escaping with their life (Hlati, 2020).



#### 2.14. The influence of religion in homophobia

Africans are known to some of the most religious societies, with most of the continent being Christians or Muslims. The continent's dedication to religion and some of the views that some of these religious entities have played an important role in portraying homosexuality as abnormal and public exclaiming how they do not condone homosexuality at all. (Mbiti, 1970) One of the main arguments for homophobia in the Christian religion is how the bible does not condone homosexuality and even references how if a man lays with another man he should be killed. (Nkosi and Masson, 2017) Islam has also been noted to hold a similar view.

Nadeem (2013) asserts how there is an agreement between The Islam religion and others in seeing homosexuality as immoral and evil. South Africa like the rest of the continent is also influenced by both religions, especially Christianity. The dangerous sentiments that religions

such as Christianity hold such as condoning killing homosexuals because their sexuality is a sin have been used and continue to be used to condone the killings and rapes of lesbians in South Africa. Religion has had a huge influence on how South Africa is constructed, hence it has a huge influence on how most people see what is immoral or not. The huge influence of religion is to the extent that even those who are not active participants in Christianity still hold the same views as those who are when it comes to what is seen as immoral or not.

Religion has been one of the most influential structures that influences homophobic people. For obvious reasons most religious people who condemn homosexuality are influenced by their religious beliefs that are clearly against same-sex relationships. Most religious beliefs are based on morality, and obedience to those beliefs is very important as it could determine the fate of their afterlife. For example, some Christian people are against homosexuality as they see it as immoral and something that could land an individual in hell after they die. Morality in religion is quite a complex concept as some may bring out how it is associated with empathy and compassion, treating people with kindness as well as avoiding causing pain and suffering.

On the other side, while religions such as Christianity uphold such sentiments, there is also a very strict sector of the religion that largely relies on the bible. The strict side condemns things such as homosexuality and to some point excuses to harm them as they are seen as parts that are meant to be destroyed to preserve society's morality. The strict and unforgiving part of religion has been largely used to excuse the forms of violence that homosexual people have experienced because of their sexuality. This sort of ethical orientation at times overtakes their life and shadows their perception of groups whose lifestyles they do not agree and the LGBTQ+ community is at the forefront of such groups. Religion is a broad concept, and cannot be single-handedly blamed for homophobia.

In other parts of the world and South Africa as well, religion has shown signs of being more tolerant towards the LGBTQ+ community such as allowing LGBTQ+ people to join their religious groups without facing discrimination, promoting them to leadership roles, as well as publicly condemning homophobia as well as violence against the LGBTQ+ community. In South Africa, churches such as the Dutch Reformed Church allow their churches to have gay pastors as well as perform same-sex marriage ceremonies. However religious groups that have

publicly supported the LGBTQ+ community is still relatively small. It can also not be denied that religion has been largely used by homophobic people for their homophobia.

Religion has been used to excuse the violence that has been faced by the LGBTQ+ community, as religious texts such as the bible support violent acts against people who take part in same-sex relations. South Africa has been no different as religious groups such as Christianity and Islam are still used largely to excuse homophobia as well as violence against LGBTQ+ people. Most of the participants also brought up religion as one of the main reasons why they were not accepted fully by their families as well as their communities, which shows the strong influence that religion has when it comes to homophobia.

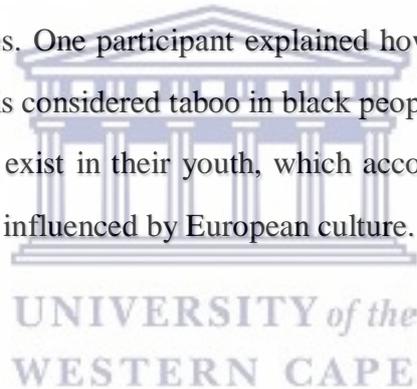
Religion is a complex institution as it is one of the most surviving structures in most societies. In most societies people are given the freedom to practice their religion freely, which regrettable at times has had a connection to abuse the privilege of practising their religion freely by influencing the condemnation of groups they do not agree with, which at times influences not their livelihood but their lives as a whole. Even though the protection of people's religious beliefs, but such freedom should not infringe other groups' human rights or even beliefs just because they are not the norm according to their beliefs. Minority groups who are at odds with the beliefs of religious structures can be negatively associated with the influence of religion as people who live in their communities and even family members are sometimes members of religious structures that harshly condemn homosexuality.

## 2.15. The influence of culture on homophobia in South Africa

The fact that gender and sexual minorities still experience prejudice shows the impact of using heteronormative and culture to not only discriminate against such minorities but also using violence to attempt to repress and get rid of their non-normative identities. In most cases when the issue of homophobia comes out in the South African context, culture always comes up as one of the reasons. LGBTQ+ members such as lesbians are seen to not only be challenging societal but cultural norms as well. South Africa is, unfortunately, part of a continent that has

shown to be extremely intolerant when it comes to homosexuality, hence same-sex marriages and acts are still illegal in more than two-thirds of the countries within the continent. Same-sex relationships are not only illegal in most African countries but, education surrounding the LGBT has been prohibited and LGBT people are often painted as being mentally ill or unstable in some African countries. (UNESCO, 2016)

Culture is one of the main reasons used when it comes to defending homophobia in the South African context. One of the main arguments of homophobic cultural people is that homophobia is not an African phenomenon, hence it goes against the African culture. Even though South Africa is one of the most progressive countries in the African continent, it is still heavily influenced by culture, especially in settings where cultural practices are still the norm. Some of the participants identified culture as one of the main reasons why they are not accepted especially by their own families. One participant explained how her parents have refused to accept her sexuality because it is considered taboo in black people's culture, highlighting how same-sex relationships did not exist in their youth, which according to them shows that the current generation is just easily influenced by European culture.



In the South African culture, children are raised with the expectation that they will grow up and get married to the opposite sex and have children. Masuku (2016), highlights the sentiment that in the Zulu culture unmarried people may face stigma and name-calling when they are not married at the expected period in their life. Even though there has been some type of improvements in some religious groups in terms of publicly accepting same-sex relationships, there has not been much improvement in the cultural sector. With the public denunciation of same-sex relationships by traditional leaders such as the Zulu King, there has not been much public support for LGBTQ+ rights by other traditional leaders.

Even though the LGBTQ+ community is more visible in South Africa, there is continuing to get rid of gender identities that are seen as not normative in the South African context. Unfortunately, part of this attempt to get rid of non-normative gender and sexual identities, violence is also being used, which is how hate crimes such as the corrective rapes and killing

of black lesbians have become prevalent in South Africa. Such hate crimes are committed in



UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

the belief that different sexual and gender identities pose a threat to the South African social structure and they need to be fixed or kept in line in order to maintain the accepted South African structure in which sexual identities such as lesbians are not ideal. However, such attempts have in turn exposed how the LGBTQ+ community, especially the black LGBTQ+ community is not protected, by the community, police enforcement and even by the state.

Even though people have used culture to defend their homophobia, same-sex relationships have taken place in cultural contexts. Same-sex marriages have taken place is between traditional healers or sangomas. Sangomas are people who are given the gift of healing by their ancestors to not only heal but to be able to tell events that may happen in the future in order to avoid harm. Since sangomas are understood to be controlled by an ancestor, or even be an incarnation of that ancestor, who might have been a different gender, that can lead to same-sex relationships and marriages. For example, if a sangoma is a woman and their ancestor is a man, they may be attracted to other women and only date or marry women because they are controlled by the spirit of their ancestor. (Nkabinde and Morgan, 2005). The ancestor may even order the sangoma to marry someone of the same sex on their behalf, and the sangoma will have to do so. Such relationships can be understood easily in some communities as traditional healers are normally well respected and ancestors are seen as their controllers.



## 2.16. The inclusion of lesbians within the broader activism against women abuse.

Lesbians that live in South Africa exist within a climate that is used to seeing the abuse of women and even children at times. The struggle of lesbians who have experienced violence is unique because at times the abuse they experience is solely based on their sexual orientation. Therefore, South Africa is a country that has been known to be violent against women, so the violence that lesbian women have experienced is not an isolated phenomenon when it comes to abuse against women in the country, however, is valid and worthy of getting as much recognition and action taken against. With the continuous violence against lesbians, there have been steps taken to involve the violence they face in the broader conversation of the pandemic of women abuse in the country. Such steps include the demand in 2006, to include homophobia

as one of the key elements in violence against women within the 16 days of the activism campaign. (Mkhize et al, 2010)

However, the inclusion of lesbians and the homophobia they face has not been included in the broader conversation about women in a satisfactory manner. LGBT activism has had to work hard to bring to light the severe violence faced by South African lesbians, especially lesbians in townships because of their sexuality. Because the country fails to acknowledge the link between homophobia and women abuse, there has been a divide in the country when it comes to advocating for women rights, with one side advocating for women in the LGBT community and the other advocating for women (Mkhize et al, 2010). Organizations such as the Forum for the Empowerment of women had to be formed to focus on issues concerning lesbians, such as the challenges of black lesbians in marginalised communities, had to be formed for public activism that includes homophobia as one of the factors for women abuse began to take place using targeted initiatives. (Mkhize et al, 2010)

### 2.17. The role of South Africa's legal framework in protecting black lesbians.

When it to the role of South Africa's legal framework in dealing with the challenges that South African lesbians face, such as corrective rape, its work success has been fairly underwhelming. Around 1997 South Africa became the first country in the world to state homophobia as unconstitutional and link its policymaking to when it comes to sexual orientation and gender to human rights, recognising the human rights of people in same-sex relationships or different gender identities in the constitution (Jones, 2019). Further in 2005 relationship law discrimination was recognised as unconstitutional which led to not only marriage equality but also cohabitation protections for people in same-sex relationships from the year 2006 (Smith and Robinson 2008).

The discrimination of homosexuals and the law not protecting homosexuals is nothing new but existed during colonial and apartheid eras. The hate for homosexuals has not only been based on religion and culture but has also been rooted in colonial and apartheid laws. Even under the apartheid regime, homosexuality was seen as immoral hence laws that prohibited homosexuality were put in place. Such laws include the Sodomy law which solidified homosexuality as not immoral but also illegal as it was also a crime. When people who were

suspected of homosexuality were arrested and even killed if they resisted. (Reid and Dirsuweit, 2002).

Even though transformative constitutional seeks to change the South African setting, from being divided to being united, the large number of hate crimes against lesbians show that the existing laws have not been adequate in protecting the rights of South African lesbians. Therefore, there is a need for the strengthening of laws that deal with hate crimes such as correctives, the laws, however, will not be enough hence there is a great need for the justice system that those laws will be implemented to the full extent of the law.

When South Africa gained independence in 1994 South Africa gave previously disadvantaged groups constitutional protection, the provision of constitutional protections included laws that protect same-sex relationships (Davis and Snyman, 2005). Some of the most common crimes that LGBTQ+ experience include harassment, intimidation and insults (Davies, 2013). Even with the provisions of such laws, there is evidence that homosexual people are not only discriminated against, but they also face violence committed against them because of their sexuality. (Mkhize, 2018)

Even with the provisions that were provided to protect homosexuals and same-sex relationships, they do only face discrimination from people in their communities, but also from those in law enforcement who are supposed to protect and preserve their rights. There have been reports of the South African Police Service discriminating against homosexuals, which may, in turn, compromise how their cases are handled (Pather, 2016). Mkhize (2010) shows the views of the participants when it comes to not reporting cases their cases to the police. Their reasons included fearing not being taken seriously by law enforcement, not trusting the police, being scared that their families would find out about their sexualities as well as blaming themselves for the crimes committed against them.

Even though South Africa has more progressive laws when it comes to the rights of the LGBTQ+ community, compared to other African countries. These rights have not been successful when it comes to their implementation especially when it comes to those who need them most, such as black lesbians that live in townships. These laws have failed when it comes to protecting black queer women who live in townships, as they have and continue to face violence that is aimed at erasing their existence because they are seen as challenging the societal rules. The fact that such violence is still boldly violated against black lesbians shows

the disregard for such laws, as their implementation has not been that successful to make a statement on what happens in the case that a black lesbian's rights are violated, whether sexually or murdered.

Phiri (2011), defines the term secondary victimisation as when the victim does not get an empathetic reception from the social agencies that are supposed to assist them such as law enforcement as well as the community. Such reception can be caused by the rejection of the particular group the victim falls under, such as homosexuality. Homosexual people are at risk of falling into secondary victimisation as at times they are not only rejected by their families and community members, but by law enforcement officials who are supposed to assist them as well (Davis and Snyman, 2005). In South Africa, victim-blaming by the community and even the police occur often, and such situations put off many homosexuals from reporting crimes committed against them.

Mkhize's informants also shared their experiences at times when they had decided to report their cases to the police. The informants shared that their experiences with the polices had not been pleasant at all, with one sharing how the police claimed she should have fought back the man who had beat her since she's also a man (Mkhize, 2010). The accounts of lesbians not being able to report the crimes committed against them is disheartening but accounts of law enforcement not handling their cases professionally when reported is alarming and can result in more people committing crimes against lesbians and more lesbians not reporting them because of their lack of faith in law enforcement. According to Mkhize (2010), existing literature suggests the decline of homosexuals reporting their cases to law enforcement because of the lack of trust in the South African justice system. There is not only a need for law enforcement to handle such cases professionally, but they need to go through all the necessary steps of investigating criminal cases such as creating follow-ups to keep a case alive.

Even though there are questions regarding the role of the law when it comes to protecting LGBTQ+ people, there are existing legislative precautions that are there to deal with hate crimes such as corrective rape. Such provisions are in Criminal law, such as the sexual offences and related crimes law and the Criminal Procedure Act. Section 3 of The Sexual Offences Act defines rape, as when an individual intentionally and unlawfully penetrates a person sexually without their permission, in that case, the perpetrator is guilty of rape (South Africa, 2007). The CPA consequently allows enforcement of the court to sentence the perpetrator for their

crime. However, these laws are only effective when the sentencing of the perpetrator fits the crime committed.

According to the Criminal Law Amendment, a person found guilty of either rape or murder under the provisions of the CPA for the first time should receive a sentence of not less than 15 years. The Equality Act, passed in 2000, specifically outlaws so-called 'hate crimes, where people are targeted purely because of their identification as part of a group (Martin, Kelly, Turquet and Ross, 2009). Although in theory, this includes crimes based on sexual orientation, in practice the only cases that have been brought to trial are based on race and gender. This failure to implement the promises of the constitution in defence of lesbians and gays, and a legal and criminal justice system that is largely unresponsive to the problem, means that attackers are rarely brought to justice. (Martin, Kelly, Turquet and Ross, 2009.)

## 2.18. The Need for Hate Crime Legislation in South Africa

When it comes to the role of South Africa's legal framework in dealing with the challenges that South African lesbians face, such as corrective rape, its work success has been fairly underwhelming. Even though transformative constitutional seeks to change the South African setting, from being divided to being united, the large number of hate crimes against lesbians show that the existing laws have not been adequate in protecting the rights of South African lesbians. Therefore, there is a need for the strengthening of laws that deal with hate crimes such as correctives, the laws, however, will not be enough hence there is a great need for the justice system that those laws will be implemented to the full extent of the law. There is also a need for the South African

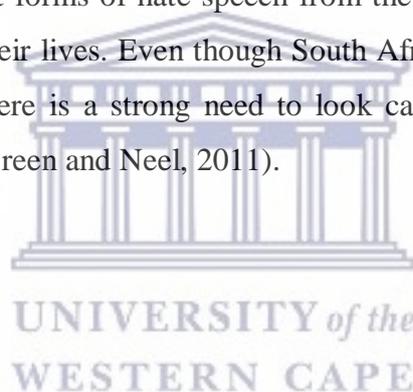
Hate crimes are crimes committed because of prejudice towards a victim because of a group they belong to (Davis & Snyman, 2005). People can be harassed, intimidated and harmed because of the minority group they belong to whether it is their race, religion or sexuality (Herek, Gillis and Cogan, 1999). Even though the country has laws that protect homosexual people, there is still a need for the creation and implementation of laws, there is a need for the section for hate crimes within the legislation. There have been concerns that the laws within the constitution are not enough within themselves to deal with issues presented by hate crimes and protecting the victims as there are no specific laws that deal solely with hate

crimes in South Africa. Having a section within the legislation that deals specifically with hate crimes would also assist in dealing with crimes that are fueled by homophobia. In legal terms hate crimes do require evidence of the perpetrator committing the crime based on their hostility or hatred for their victim of a particular group that the victim comes from. Such legislation would be appropriate in cases whereby a lesbian is attacked, assaulted or murdered because of their sexuality.

Opening a hate crimes section in the legislation would also assist the already saturated with cases of sexual assault CSJ, as it is already struggling with the increasing numbers of sexual assault cases (Hlongwane, 2016). Another offence that could fall perfectly under hate crime is hate speech. Hate speech is one of the crimes that lesbians experience as it includes harassment such as verbal abuse such as name-calling (Breen and Nel (2011). It is not unheard of for lesbians to experience different forms of hate speech from the community members who do agree with the way they live their lives. Even though South Africa has not created legislation solely targeting hate crime, there is a strong need to look carefully at hate crimes by law enforcement in South Africa (Breen and Neel, 2011).

## 2.19. Conclusion

This chapter provided clarity around homophobia and the structures that influence it including the failures of those structures as well as factors that fuel and motivate homophobia and homophobic behaviour. The chapter attempted to show the experiences of black lesbians within existing literature and brought up factors that may influence their experiences such as existing legislation heteronormativity and religion. There is still a need for more literature around the experiences of black lesbians, and that is one of the main reasons for the existence of this paper.

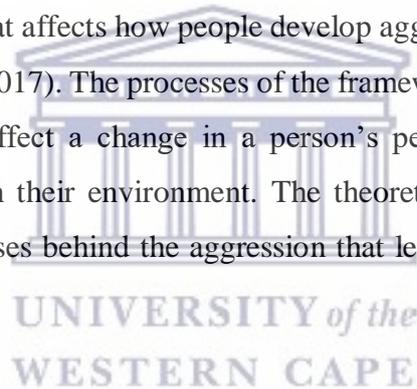


## Chapter 3.

### 3. Theoretical Framework/ The General aggression model

#### 3.1. Introduction

The main theoretical framework that will be used for the study is The General Aggression Model. The General Aggression Model (GAM) is an all-inclusive, way of looking at and understanding aggression. It examines different things such as the contributions from other factors such as social factors, developmental, and biological factors on aggression that may cause or contribute to homophobia. Processes of GAM attributes how person and situation factors can affect factors such as feelings and cognition which can affect people's decision processes that can have an impact on whether people behave aggressively or non-aggressively (Allen, Anderson & Bushman, 2017). The model is appropriate because its processes can serve as a learning evaluation tool that affects how people develop aggressive information structures (Allen, Anderson & Bushman, 2017). The processes of the framework show how biological and environmental elements can affect a change in a person's personality through knowledge structures as they interact with their environment. The theoretical frame work will help us understand some of the processes behind the aggression that lesbians face from homophobic people.

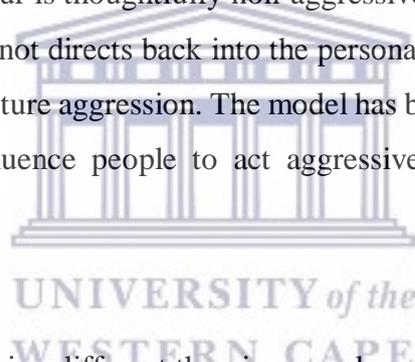


#### 3.2. The General aggression model

The GAM has been associated with being embedded in Bandura's (1978) theory, which is the social learning theory of aggression (SLT) (Elson, 2014). The SLT theory speculated that aggressive behaviour may be strengthened by having direct experience with them or by being exposed to seeing such aggressive behaviours being rewarded (Elson, 2014). According to this theory the more a person is exposed to such aggressive behaviour being repeatedly rewarded they may turn to imitate such behaviour as it may be coming across as the right thing to do, at least within their environment. According to the SLT theory observing aggressive behaviour being rewarded repeatedly not only causes the individual to be more likely to imitate it but may also make it seem as if such behaviour is not only acceptable but also appropriate (Elson, 2014). If we were to apply the theory to this research, we could make the example that if men in townships were constantly exposed to the abuse of lesbians, whether in the form of

verbal or physical aggression with no real consequences they may be more likely to imitate such aggressive behaviours. They may also think that it is an appropriate thing to do to be aggressive towards lesbians in their township as they have seen other men do it with no consequences, or rather being rewarded for such behaviour. It could then be used to explain the increase of aggression towards black lesbians living in townships such as corrective rape as well as the murders of black lesbians living in townships.

The GAM explains a temporal cycle of processes that clarify if a person will act in an aggressive manner or not at a given moment. According to the model person and situation for example the involvement of alcohol factors are inputs. Such inputs have an influence on the person's internal state such as their arousal and cognition states which supply the bottom-up inspiration for aggressive acts. The present state the results in top-down processes that are self-regulatory that regulate whether a person's subsequent aggressive behaviour is driven by impulse or whether the behaviour is thoughtfully non-aggressive. Whether a person decides to act in an aggressive manner or not directs back into the persona and situation input which has an impact on the likeliness of future aggression. The model has been mostly used to understand different factors that may influence people to act aggressively in particular situations or particular contexts.



The GAM tackles aggression using different theories namely, social cognitive, developmental and social learning theories. The model works through aggression by looking thoroughly at the influence of situational, individual and biological aggression. (DeWall & Anderson, 2011). Social behaviour is learned and assimilated over time and as a result, it varies from one person to another. Because social behaviour is learned and can thus be imitated, it still differs from person to person. Even though such differences exist from person to person, the GAM examines the person's current behaviour. It looks at how the person is interpreting the ongoing events, their personal feelings and beliefs about the event as well as expectations regarding the outcomes. (DeWall & Anderson, 2011). Such attributes concerning social behaviour are important to the GAM model as they show how a person may react in a setting that may be familiar or unfamiliar to them. (Anderson & Bushman, 2002).

According to the GAM how people experience their settings causes them to end up developing different knowledge structures and scripts. Knowledge structures include information that a

person uses to recognise physical components like tables and chairs, social events such as insults, compliments or personal views about other people. (DeWall & Anderson, 2011). On the other hand, scripts help the person organise information on how to behave in specific situations. DeWall and Anderson (2011), make an example of how actions such as going to the restaurant are part of a script, going to the restaurant will have a script that may include information on how to order your food, wait for the food as well as paying for the food after eating your food.

Knowledge structures and scripts play a crucial role in how a person sees the world. The person's traits, knowledge and scripts they have come across and environment can work together to affect how they behave currently. How a person chooses to respond to a current situation also depends on the current interaction as well as their subsequent internal state, their response may be considerate or otherwise impulsive. How an individual uses knowledge structures and scripts may be automatic because of the information that they have acquired over time, but how these knowledge structures and scripts are used can also depend on the person's mood. (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). For example, if a person is in a bad mood for a reason, they may act a bit insensitive or annoyed and not use their normal script when dealing with a server at a restaurant, depending on the event, which could be their food arriving late or receiving something they did not order and instead of acting reasonably as they may have done if they were not in a bad mood, their script may change because of their mood.

The GAM can also be used to understand and examine the impact of media aggression and violence on children and adolescents. If a child is always exposed to violent or aggressive media, they are more likely to integrate what they are constantly watching into their own knowledge scripts and knowledge structures which is likely to lead to them using this information in a real-life scenario and reacting aggressively. This is caused by the fact that as children grow up their knowledge structures and scripts also grow and evolve. (Anderson, Carnagey, & Eubanks, 2003). Gentile, Mathieson, & Crick, (2011), makes the example of how when children are constantly watching violent media content, they may start to develop knowledge structures and scripts associated with the types of objects that can be used as weapons, how such weapons are used, what results can be anticipated from the use of those weapons and what situations those weapons can be used in (Gentile, Mathieson, & Crick, 2011).

The exposure to aggressive media may create an internal state of anger within the child which may lead the child to react aggressively even when they are in no-threatening situations (Gentile, Mathieson, & Crick, 2011). Media aggression is an example of a situational input in the GAM theory. Bushman and Anderson (2001) found that being exposed to such aggression can have an impact on a person's current internal state which can be psychological or physiological and can have an impact on their reactions through cognitive and arousal outputs. Situational inputs are crucial in the GAM as they affect the person's internal state and as a result primes the person to display aggressiveness (Bushman & Anderson, 2001). After researching media violence using the GAM theory Gentile, Coyne, and Walsh (2011), the researchers concluded that children were more likely to show aggressive behaviours such as hitting and punching and being hostile after being exposed to or watching media violence (Gentile et al., 2011).

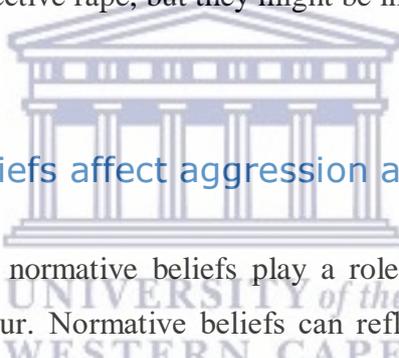
### 3.3. Situation Factors

The General Aggression Model like Bandura's SLT theory predicts that changes can take place in a person's knowledge structure. Such changes include perceptual and behavioural schemata. Though the exposure to aggressive behaviour, the aggressive behaviour may go hand in hand with a view of the world or the person's environment that may be increasingly hostile towards those at the receiving end of the violence as well as assumptions that other people are likely to have similar intentions. Whether or not a person will react aggressively or not to a specific event is decided by the GAM's tripartite process model. The GAM's tripartite process model can also include situational characteristics.

Within the input side, you find situational attributes such as aggressive cues and personality variables such as learned scripts and traits. How environmental inputs are interpreted depends on the state of cognitions internally such as hostile thoughts affect psychophysiological arousal and aspects such as an individual's mood. This can solely depend on impulse. All in all, if consistently reoccurring episodes of actions and reactions lead up to more permanent ways of seeing things and behavioural patterns (Elson, 2014). GAM has been successful in organising theoretical awareness obtained from various key theoretical perspectives. Proximate processes of GAM explain in-depth how situation and person factors affect aggressive thoughts, arousal levels and angry feelings which result in affecting appraisal and decision processes which in the end affect aggressive or non-aggressive behaviour. Each sequence of the proximate

processes provide a learning trial that can initiate aggressive knowledge structures after many reiterations adding to an aggressive personality (Elson, 2014).

Situation factors can at times decide whether a hostile situation will take place or not. Such situation factors may include social stress, social rejection, alcohol intoxication, ego depletion, and violent media (Parrot, 2008). Homophobic people have an irrational fear towards homosexual people, these homophobic people also have intense feelings like anger and disgust towards LGBT people (Herek, 2004). In the context of homophobia, the model can thus be used to explain the level of aggression lesbians have experienced in South African townships, especially from men. For example, the aggression that a man subjects to a lesbian during corrective rape may be influenced by social stress, social rejection, ego depletion, and violent media. Also, if the men have grown up in an environment that is very homophobic to the point of justifying violence or aggression against lesbians. This is not to suggest that such factors are influential in every case of corrective rape, but they might be in some cases.



### 3.4. How normative beliefs affect aggression and violent behaviour.

There is substantial proof that normative beliefs play a role in maintaining aggression in aggressive and violent behaviour. Normative beliefs can reflect people's beliefs regarding whether aggression is acceptable or not. Normative beliefs can be affected by perceived social norms, perhaps those of family members or peers, however, they mirror one's beliefs on whether aggression is fitting in a particular situation (Nisbett & Ross, 1980). GAM points out situational influence on such beliefs, whereby the appropriateness of aggressive behaviour in situations will presumably vary from one person to another (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). If a person comes from a background whereby violence is largely accepted, they are more likely to show aggressiveness in other situations (Gilbert et al, 2013). For example, if a person comes from a traditional and sexist background being exposed to a situation whereby women are perhaps dressed masculine and show affection to each other in public may trigger feelings of aggression. If that person comes from a background whereby women are physically abused when they are not conforming to societal rules, he might feel triggered to act aggressively to get his point across. However, reactions differ from one person to another.

Factors such as social rejection and ego depletion may also influence aggressiveness. As previously mentioned, in patriarchal societies such as South Africa where manhood is equated to money, jobs, ability to provide and women, when a man does not have some or any of these, he is more likely to feel less like a man, because of his failure to reach societal standards of what a man should look like. When he is in a situation whereby, he feels like a lesbian is more of a man or trying to be more of a man than him, feelings of aggression may be triggered.

### 3.5. The processes of the General Aggression Model

The General Aggression Model is made of paths, processed variables, and results. (Illustration 1) According to the model, to get a violent result, there needs to be an interaction between two variables (Parrot, 2008). The seriousness of the aggressive behaviour depends on the certain interaction between the variables. When put together such elements can increase hostile behaviour using effect, cognition, and arousal. When these are activated, aggressive thoughts and anger interconnected actions are enabled. When these are enabled, the person immediately evaluates the situation before a behaviour's response is activated. This is called immediate appraisal and can occur very quickly (Parrot, 2008). If there are no available resources such as cognitive resources to evaluate the situation immediately, the individual may end up making an impulsive decision that may be violent or aggressive. However, when the resources are available the person processes the outcomes of the main appraisal more attentively. That process is called reappraisal and is slower but can also result in either aggressive or non-violent outcomes.

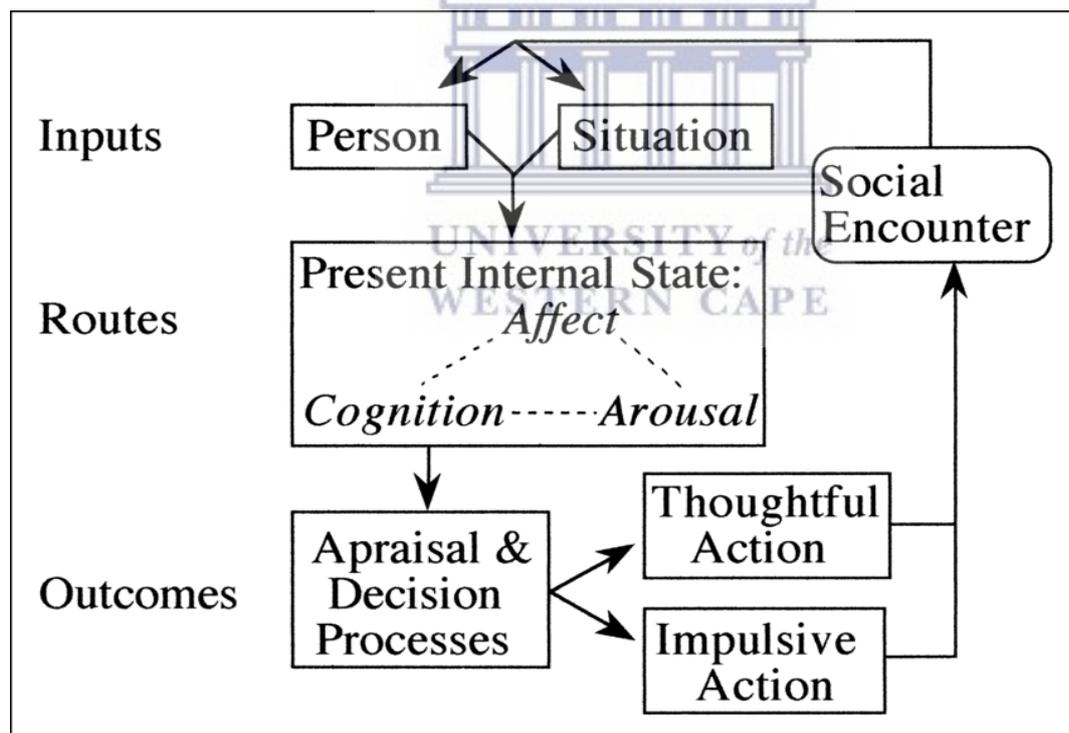
### 3.6 How the processes of GAM influence aggression

Eventually, these complicated procedures of appraisal influence the action a person may end up taking, which may be an aggressive action (DeWall, Anderson & Bushman, 2011). The ensuing social interchange affects how one acts in instant circumstantial components and long-term circumstantial components, which could be learned attitudes that are similar to certain ways to deal with disputes (DeWall, Anderson & Bushman, 2011). An example of this is how an aggressive reaction can evoke more provocation from the target that may result in the person acting even more aggressive. If a homophobic man acts aggressively towards lesbians and they respond in a way that he views as provoking him, that may result in him getting angrier and

showing more aggression. Similarly, if the target of the aggressive behaviour backs down, the culprit may end up feeling that aggression is a suitable response as it gets the desired result.

Literature indicates that aggression against LGBT members is encouraged primarily by factors such as gender norms or stereotypes, the thrill-seeking and reassertion of manliness (Weissman, 1992) These theories are however not interchangeably exclusive. For example, a lesbian may be attacked by a man just for the sake of thrill-seeking, while another lesbian may be attacked strictly because they want to illustrate their masculinity to their peers or male counterparts, which could fall under group dynamics and the need to reassert one's masculinity (Weissman, 1992). General Aggression model gives us a guiding framework that can help describe different ways homophobic behaviour and aggression can take place.

**Figure 1: General Aggression Model Illustration.**



Source: (C.A. Anderson and B.J. Bushman, 2002, p, 34)

### 3.7. Why the model was chosen.

The theoretical framework has been chosen because it is appropriate when trying to find out reasons for aggression. The framework can explain the causes of aggression on a deeper level, and how it can take place in a certain environment. The GAM is appropriate for the study as it can be used to understand the reasons behind the factors that can cause homophobia. The model has been used to understand and explain gender roles and antigay aggression, by scholars such as Parrot (2008). The GAM takes into account processes that may be operating in the background. Such processes can include factors such as biological modifiers for example low serotonin or impaired executive functioning can be some of those processes in the background that can affect an individual's behaviour. Some of the processes that may be operating in the background can also be persevering environment modifiers which can include cultural norms that support violence, which is associated with influencing knowledge structure and personality, which can result in affecting the imminent processes that result in aggression.

Even though there has not been that much consideration of how the GAM may or may not relate to older adults, especially when it comes to the proximate sources of aggression. This may be because there is a presumption that the causes of aggression between older adults are inherently different from that of aggression committed by adults. The GAM is however a general model and one of its crucial attributes is that it cautions assessors to proximate sources and processes by which the individual and situation factors interconnect and influence a person's inclination towards aggression. Rather than just explaining factors that have to do with aggression it also wants to truly understand the mechanism by which those factors lead up to aggressive behaviour. Appreciating the proximate causes of aggression and the circumstances that led up to aggression gives room to the development of measurement toolsthat can point out when a person's internal state is such that they are likely to forthcoming take part in aggressive behaviour. The GAM gives a useful framework for considering the different proximate causes and processes which are associated with influencing aggression in older adults and can integrate many aspects of the models (Barlett, 2019).

The GAM has been applied to understand aggression. It looks at conscious reasoning, growth and social agents on aggression. The model explains how factors on a personal and situational level can affect cognition, arousal, as well as feelings that could result in decision processes that may influence aggressive or non-aggressive behavioural results (Allan, Anderson, Bushman, 2013). The model has also been utilized to explain hostility in different environments such as aggression in media platforms and violence in domestic relationships. It has also been used to understand homophobia.

According to the GAM model, the arrangements of knowledge around us can affect the hostility we experience or even express (Huesmann,1998). These knowledge structures, such as perceptiveness and outlooks influence sensations such as how we interpret, make decisions as well as behave. For people with personal homophobia, who have intolerant beliefs when it comes to same-sex relationships, such beliefs can affect their social cognitive phenomena (Huesmann,1998). These beliefs affect their way of thinking when it comes to sexuality, if homophobia is such a norm in their context, they will dislike homosexual people and repress their own feelings even though they know that they are attracted to the same gender as well.

When using GAM there are three different stages to observe. The first stage concerns the situational and individual inputs. Some of these individual and situational factors can increase or decrease an individual's aggression at any time depending on the situation. (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). Gender, beliefs, values and personality traits are some of the examples of individual factors. (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). Drugs incentives, frustrations, aggression cues and provocations are some of the examples of situational factors. The second stage has to do with the person's internal state at the moment. This internal state depends on the person's cognition, arousal and affect. (Anderson & Bushman, 2002) The third stage involves outcomes, which has to do with the assessment of the event of the current situation as well as the person's decision-making processes. (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). The appraisal element can be divided into immediate or controlled. (Anderson & Bushman, 2002). Such processes revolve around the decision-making process which will result in how the person decides to react to whatever current situation they are dealing with. (Anderson & Bushman, 2002).

### 3.8. Criticism of the GAM Model

Even though the GAM theory is having been researched extensively and used as a tool to examine aggression, there has been some valid criticism against the theory. One of the main criticisms is its use in the prediction of cyberbullying. The GAM has been one of the main theories in the field of studying anti-social behaviour such as cyberbullying. The theory studies the learned mechanisms that look into how cyberbullying is committed to trying to explain the type of processes involved in such antisocial behaviour, all of this takes place because of how cyberbullying perpetration is studied and measured. The GAM theory highlights the importance of cyberbullying attitudes in the diagnosis of how cyberbullying is perpetrated. According to the GAM theory proposes that a person's attitude is one of the various learned knowledge structures that form and become broken down after learning aggression schemas that are part of forming an individual's aggressive personality that predicts aggression. The main criticism of applying the GAM theory to cyberbullying is that it cannot satisfactorily give predictions that are distinctive to the online world to add on step-by-step validity over and above just predicting traditional bullying perpetration (Barlett & Kowalewski, 2019).

According to Ferguson, Ivory, & Beaver (2013), genetic and biological factors are ignored even though they are quite important in projecting aggression and even crime in people. There is criticism on how it is unclear how these factors interact with the aggressive scripts that the GAM came up with. One of the other main criticisms against the GAM theory is how it has been used to associate aggression to violent video games, and the criticism is the insufficiency of specific variables that explain exemption to possible effects of violent games. One of the valid criticisms of the model is how even though it is popular in psychological media effects research, the GAM is not used when dealing with pathological types of aggression by clinicians (Ferguson & Dyck, 2012).

### 3.9. Conclusion

The distal process of GAM explains in-depth how environmental and biological factors can affect personality through interchanges in knowledge structures. Even though there is room for

improvement GAM has not only paved the way in studying aggression but is also being used to guide studies in many realms of aggression. New research is indeed needed to develop the model further as a more comprehensive model of human violence and aggression. There are more promising directions within the model such as more in-depth applications to the comprehension and treatment of perpetrators of intimate violence, violent crime and sexual aggression. The GAM theory can be used to help develop prevention programs associated with aggression at various levels such as the individual, family, community and societal level. The most important step when it comes to decreasing violence and aggression is comprehending the underlying processes and the GAM tries to look at these underlying processes at an in-depth level.



## Chapter 4

### 4. Research Methodology and design

#### 4.1 Introduction

The chapter will focus on how the research was done. The chapter goes into how the data will be generated, explaining the research methods that the study will use as its guideline to collect the data as well as their importance and relevancy in this particular study. The chapter will give a description of the ethics that will be followed in the data collection. The chapter will also look at how the data will be analysed as well as provide information on the sample that has been collected for the study.

#### 4.2. Research methods and methodology

##### 4.2.1. Qualitative Method

Qualitative research is naturalistic. When the researcher uses the qualitative research method, they usually try connecting with the setting they are researching. According to Merriam (2015), qualitative research is more interested in examining descriptions of particular social phenomena and tries to get us to understand why things occur the way they do in the real world. They use a more observational approach and might even try to connect with their informants or subjects more than a researcher using the. The research will use a qualitative method as it aims to get a deeper understanding of the issue, as well as connect with the informants and their setting. Silverman (2013) proposes that qualitative research topics can come from a curiosity about a particular phenomenon that takes place in the real world that one has been exposed to. This type of exposure may come as a result of having an interest in that social phenomenon or arousal or interest that came from being exposed to a particular phenomenon.

Interest in the topic was created by the exposure to some members of the LGBT community who live in Cape Town townships. The culture of corrective rape and murders of black lesbians in South African townships including Cape Town also raised interest in the topic as they have been publicly shown by the media in the form of news, newspapers as well as social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

Creswell (2013) points out how qualitative research seeks to find out “social aspects of these living spaces and seeks to answer questions about: why people behave the way they do? how opinions and attitudes are formed? how people are affected by the events that go on around them? how and why cultures have developed in the way they have? and the differences between social groups” (Creswell, 2013, p. 183). This is exactly what this study seeks to do, as it wants to find out the experiences of black lesbians living in townships, what challenges they come across in such townships as how those challenges are influenced by the culture and beliefs of those around them. Qualitative research allows the researcher to get an in-depth understanding of the topic they are researching and the data is collected in natural settings, which allows the researcher to understand the topic as well as the respondents in an in-depth manner, which is what this study seeks to do.

### 4.3. Qualitative data collection methods.

#### 4.3.1 Phone calls semi-structured interviews

An interview includes asking questions, listening to and recording answers from the person or group being interviewed. The question can be asked in a structured, semi-structured or unstructured fashion (Nigatu, 2009, p 18). In this type of interview, the researcher might have an interview guide and questions listed that the discussion will cover (Bernard & Ryan, 2010, p. 9). The planned guide will not be necessarily followed when asking the questions, the new question might appear during the interview and others might need to be left out. Semi-structured interviews are more flexible in such a way that the researcher can adjust the structure and features of how the topics are covered and will be appropriate for the study.

All interviews will be semi-structured interviews and will be done over the phone, due to the lockdown laws which require social distancing. Semi-structured interviews are utilised to get an in-depth picture of what the person truly thinks or believe when it comes to a specific topic. Semi structure interviews allow the use of open-ended questions allowing the participant to share and modify their information as they please, as they are the ones who get to deal with whatever phenomena are being researched. It is for such reasons semi-structured interviews will be used as they will allow the researcher to get the information at an in-depth level as well as allow the participants to be comfortable to share as much as they want with the researcher.

### *4.3.2. Focus Groups.*

In a focus group, a small group of people is grouped, and they get to participate in a research discussion regarding a specific topic (Guest et al, 2013, p. 173). For this research 6-8, people will be invited for a focus group discussion, to get their varying or similar experiences and ideas. The focus group will allow probing when asking questions. The advantage of this is that the probing will be directed to the group instead of an individual. A group will be created on WhatsApp where the participants will be members and participate in the meeting that will be created. The focus groups will be conducted in the form of a WhatsApp group phone call. The participants will be interviewed in their first language or a preferred language. A research assistant will be present in the interviews as they have more experience in interviewing people and will ensure that the interviews take place in an appropriate and ethical manner.

### *4.4.3 WhatsApp phone calls*

WhatsApp phone calls will be used in the study for the interviews and focus group discussions. The phone calls are more appropriate as most of the respondents are most likely to have access to WhatsApp than other forms of communication such as hangouts or skype. Data for WhatsApp is also cheaper and will be easier to provide to the responded if needed for the interviews to take place. During the WhatsApp phone calls the participants will be interviewed in their first language or a preferred language to make the informant more comfortable to express themselves in a language they prefer or use every day.

## **4.4. Sampling techniques**

### *4.4.1 Qualitative Sampling.*

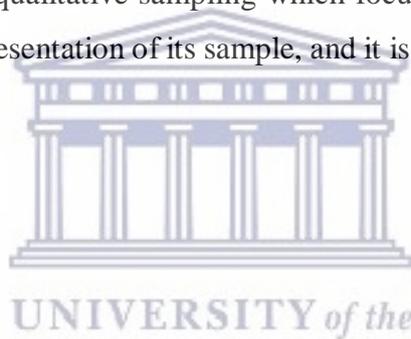
Qualitative sampling is a type of sampling that is used when a researcher wants to collect certain cases to create a deeper understanding of a particular event. It's vital because instead of focusing on detailing a technique that determines the probability, qualitative sampling focuses on a small selection that illustrates certain crucial characteristics of social life (Neuman 2007).

This type of sampling focuses on the event and its effect more than it focuses on the representation of its sample, and it is for this reason that it is mostly used by qualitative researchers. Qualitative sampling is more fitting in the study as it seeks a deeper understanding of issues and structures surrounding homophobia, and the structures that influence how homophobic people behave.

The research will use a qualitative method as it aims to get a deeper understanding of the issue, as well as connect with the informants and their setting. The qualitative method that this study will make use of is focus groups discussions on WhatsApp and semi-structured phone interviews. The data collection will all take place over the phone and online to avoid complications if the country reverts to stricter lockdown. The participants of the interviews and focus group discussions will be black lesbians older than the age of 18 who live in Cape Town townships. The study will use qualitative sampling which focuses on the event and its effect more than it focuses on the representation of its sample, and it is for this reason that it is mostly used by qualitative researchers.

#### 4.4.2 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling is used when the population that the study is intended for is probably small or a selected group of people (Green, CHIAN, and Frey, 2018). This method can also be used when the attributes that the researcher is looking for are not that easily accessible or widely available. Purposive sampling is also used when the goal of the researcher is to select a particular group of individuals that are suitable to try to answer or address the researcher's research question (Green, CHIAN, and Frey, 2018). In this research the participants will be found using purposive sampling as the research is focusing on a selected group of the population which is specifically black lesbians who live in townships. Purposive sampling is also appropriate as the selected group that will participate in it will be perfect to attempt to answer the research question. The researcher will also make use of the Triangle Project as they have safe spaces in some Cape Town townships and can make referrals for more participants. A popular social media page based in Cape Town that was made and is used as a safe space for black lesbians will also be used to recruit relevant participants for the study. Working with this NGO and social media site will enable the researcher to find the appropriate participants for the study.



## 4.5. Data analysis

### 4.5.1 Overview

After completing the above-mentioned data collection methods, the data will be analysed. Since qualitative methods were used to collect the data, qualitative data analysis will be used to analyse the collected data. Since the interviews that will be conducted will be in-depth, the information will be analysed by documentation, grouping and coding to better organise and categorise the data collected for the study. The GAM will be used to make sense of the analysis. Such as trying to understand the behaviour behind homophobic actions, such as the structures that influence it.

The study will present a detailed report of how the respondents dealt with the experiences they have gone through in their communities. Data analysis is very important for labelling the information in qualitative data, developing and thoroughly examining the information from the study. It helps the researcher to get a deeper understanding of the narratives shared by the participants. The General Aggression Model focuses on such as the contributions from other factors such as social factors, developmental, and biological factors on aggression may contribute to homophobia. Processes of GAM attributes how person and situation factors can affect factors feelings and cognition which are things that can affect people's decision processes that can influence whether people behave aggressively or non-aggressively (Allen, Anderson & Bushman, 2017).

The General Aggression Model can evaluate and interpret different factors that contribute to aggression. In the case of this research, the aim of employing the General aggression model is to elaborate how the processes of the General Aggression Model attributes can have an impact on factors feelings and cognition which can, in turn, affect a person's decision process which can result in them acting aggressively against an LGBT person. The model makes it possible to critically look at how homophobic people act towards black lesbians and how other social factors contribute to the aggression and violence they end up directing towards black lesbians who live in townships. The model is perfect in examining how such factors can affect a person's cognitive state which can result in them acting aggressively.

The study will only the qualitative method when it comes to analysing the collected data. Qualitative research can focus on different methods at the same time. In essence, qualitative

research takes an evaluative, realistic technique when dealing with a topic. The researcher tries to study whatever is the focus in its natural context to understand and interpret it according to how those it affects interpret it. This is why the respondents are very important in the study as they will help the researcher gain a deeper understanding of whatever they're trying to study. The in-depth interaction with the participants helps the researcher get away from preconceived stereotypes that are usually associated with impoverished and oppressed people (Cieurzo & Keite, 1999). When the subject matter involves minority groups, the researcher needs to pay close attention to the participant's experiences as that will determine whether they understood the data they interacted with within the end. In this study, qualitative methods will allow the student to evaluate the circumstances using the meanings and interpretation that the participants brought forward.

#### *4.5.2 Documentation.*

Documentation will be the first method to be used in the study. Documentation can be vital as the researcher takes down notes after talking to each respondent so that they can keep track and control the data. At times the researcher can feel submerged by all the information they have been able to gather. Documentation is thus important in such situations as it helps organize all the information that has already been gathered which will help the researcher not get overwhelmed. It can be extremely vital if one has to observe or interview a lot of people or has been able to collect a lot of information (Morris et al, 2000).

#### *4.5.3 Coding*

In coding different statements are connected by recurring patterns in a manner that shows particular examples together (Reynoso, 2000). The coding process is appropriate to use after the documentation procedure, as it allows one to label their information. In the study, the information will be documented and then labelled. This will help break down the information. Coding strategies may also be added to the classifications (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). After conducting interviews, the data will be coded by labelling the data that has comparable aspects, it will also be translated to make it easier to group and control.

### **4.6. Ethical consideration**

In social sciences, there is a need to protect the rights of the research participant to avoid exploiting the participant for the benefit of the study of the researcher. The research will follow such principles to respect the rights of the participants. The researcher will be thorough in making sure that the participants have a clear understanding of their role in the research, as well as what the interviews will entail. The researcher will also ensure that the participants understand their rights within their participation as well as that they are allowed to stop their participation anytime they feel the need to, as well as the right to instruct the interviewer to not use this information obtained from them. Proof of consent will also be provided to prove that the participants took part in the research willingly, and they were not exploited in any kind of way by the researcher. The interviewer will request permission from each participant to use the information collected from the interview or focus group discussion. The participants will also be informed about the note-taking that may take place during the interview or focus group discussion and why it is necessary.

The research will follow the ethical research standards of the University of the Western Cape. The prime ethics concerning preserving confidentiality and anonymity will be strictly adhered to when interacting with the participants during data collection. All collected information will be kept in a safe format in a password protected device that is only accessible to the researcher. Hard copies will also only be in a safe place accessible to the student. The researcher will also let the participants know that their identities and the data collected from them will be kept in a safe place to be forthcoming and assure the participants of the safety of the information provided in the study. The hard copies will remain in a safe place until the fifth year after the student has graduated, where they will be shredded.

For this study, all the participants will be over 18 years old, hence no parental consent will be needed. The researcher will ensure that the participants understand their rights and their role in the research. All the data will be collected online to avoid any complications that may come if the country is returned to stage 1 of lockdown. One of the key issues with the study is that it may deal with situations that are the realities for the participants. Such issues can be the actions that homophobes resort to, due to their failure to be accepting or at least tolerant of lesbians. The coping strategy will be to approach the questioning with empathy and being ethical when dealing with the participant's story.

Because the study deals with homophobia, which is a phenomenon that black lesbians know of or may have experienced, some of the participants may have experienced it at some point. For such participants, one or more of the questions may be upsetting or remind them of a past stressful situation. If that occurs the researcher will approach the questioning with empathy and being ethical when dealing with the participant's story. The researcher will stop the interview when necessary as well as provide contact information for free counselling services such as the UWC 24/7 free-call counselling helpline: 0800-222-333 to the participant if there is a need to do so. if there is a need to do so.

#### 4.7. Sample

The participants of the interviews and focus group discussions will be black lesbians older than the age of 18 who live in Cape Town townships. All the participants are from Cape Town townships. The research will use about 20 participants from these townships. The researcher will ensure that the participants understand their rights and their role in the research. All the data will be collected online to avoid any complications that may come if the country is returned to stage 1 of lockdown.

The study will use qualitative sampling which focuses on the event and its effect more than it focuses on the representation of its sample, and it is for this reason that it is mostly used by qualitative researchers. Most of the participants have been in Cape for more than 5 years, and some were born in these townships or around the Western Cape. All the chosen participants are relevant to the study as they all identify as lesbians and have been in Cape Town townships for long enough to have insight on how lesbians may be treated around their townships, as well as ways to navigate their townships. The research will follow the ethical research standards of the University of the Western Cape. The prime ethics concerning preserving confidentiality and anonymity will be strictly adhered to when interacting with the participants during data collection. All collected information will be kept in a safe format in a password protected device that is only accessible to the researcher. Hard copies will also only be in a safe place only accessible to the student.

#### 4.8. Conclusion

This chapter presented clearly the strategies that the researcher will take when it comes to data collection. It further went on the generation of data and presented clearly the methods that will be used to collect the data in an effective manner. The following chapter will go in-depth, give a data analysis, and present the findings of the study. Parts of the following chapter will exhibit some of the steps that were taken in chapter 4 to make sure that data collection goes in an appropriate manner for this research.



## Chapter5

### 5. Data analysis and Finding

#### 5.1. Introduction

In chapter 4 the methodologies used for this study were discussed and the analysis of data will be presented in this chapter. For this chapter after thoroughly reading and going through the transcript's multiple times, the findings were divided into themes that were influenced by discussions that frequently came up in the interviews and but were also directed by some research questions of the study. All the names presented in this chapter are fake names and not real names of the participants of the study.

The themes that informed the study are:

- ❖ Implementation of the laws that protect the LGBTQ+ community and the safety of the participants in their townships
- ❖ The impact of heteronormativity on homophobia
- ❖ Ways in which social structures such as religion affect homophobia.
- ❖ Misconceptions homophobic people have about gender and sexuality
- ❖ The disconnect between black lesbians and their communities

#### 5.2. Implementation of the laws that protect the LGBTQI community and the safety of the participants

##### 5.2.1. Implementation of the laws that protect the LGBTQI community

When it comes to the research findings, the informants seemed to understand that the promotion of the protection of their human rights when it comes to the constitution does exist. Some of the participants acknowledged and were happy about some of the rights that homosexual people have such as the right to marry. Vuyolwethu commented, *“When it comes to being allowed to get married it is good because in some countries same-sex couples are killed or are not allowed to or come out so they are forced to remain in the closet until when they get to South Africa*

*that's when they feel free to do anything they want, they can even marry if they wish and all that so yeah that part is fine”.*

While these are huge advances, black lesbians and other members of the LGBT community in South Africa continue to face aggression and viciousness. Social mentalities are still largely intolerant in both aggressive and not aggressive ways when it comes to dealing with members of the LGBT community. That still does not mean that there is no change at all in marginalised communities such as townships when it comes to the treatments of lesbians and other members of the LGBT community. Some of the informants also acknowledged seeing some change when it comes to how their communities now treat lesbians and LGBT people in their communities when compared to how they were treated in the past. Anathi commented, *“there is a lot of difference in how lesbians are treated now than when I came out in 2003, now I am not as scared of getting raped as then because people are better now where I stay”.* Even though that was the case, they expressed doubt when it comes to the implementation of the laws that are supposed to protect the rights of the LGBT community, especially when it comes to black lesbians that live particularly in their own communities. Lulu commented *“No, I don't think so because we as lesbians are getting raped and discriminated against every day where there's a law that you can't discriminate someone for their sexuality, so I don't think they're being implemented correctly, so they are out there but they're not being followed.”*

One of the main findings was the fact that most of the informants had little to no trust when it comes to their local police enforcement dealing with LGBT related matters. Even though they knew that according to the constitution, they should be protected by the law, they however did not trust the police to enforce such laws to the fullest extent. Most of the participants expressed that they thought that law enforcement does not take cases of hate crimes against black lesbians seriously, and some even suggested that the police themselves are at times homophobic. Vuvu explained *“they don't take them serious and they discriminate when you go to the police station and report that okay someone did something to you, they will tell you by dating girls, you did this to yourself. You should know that you can come across people that will attack you, you don't do that in public.? Yeah, they're also homophobic, they don't take them seriously. Yeah. They don't take homosexual cases serious.”*

The problem of gender-based violence in general also seems to have an effect when it comes to decreasing their trust in law enforcement. Khanya explained how she had lost faith in law enforcement due to the spread of gender-based violence, and felt like if the law fails to deal

with violence against straight women, she had little faith in its ability to deal with violence against black lesbians in South Africa. *“They take it very lightly, like very lightly. Like they don’t take you seriously. It’s like you are joking around or like it’s something that you deserve for being a lesbian, forgetting that you’re also human, they don’t take it seriously at all.”*

Some of the participants pointed out how their mistrust in police officers was caused by the colour of their skin and expressed that they thought that white lesbian’s experiences were different from theirs when it comes to the treatment they receive when they approach police officers to report hate crimes committed against them because of their sexuality. Vuvu expressed her frustration saying, *“I think there are disadvantages, especially if you are a black lesbian like even if something happens to you, you can’t like go to the police station and then report and then be taken seriously but if you’re a white person and you go report like things will work for you or you will be taken seriously and I feel like they don’t care what you do with your life, like if you’re white people don’t care what you do with your life but when it comes to black communities it’s so taboo, it’s so wrong, it’s like you’ve committed a murder or something”*

Most of the informants also expressed that they would not trust the police if they had to approach them especially if a hate crime was committed against them because of their sexuality. When asked if she would trust the police Lerato commented, *“not really because I could go there somehow, they wouldn’t do anything if they don’t want to. So, I don’t have so much confidence in them, I could go to them just to have something like documentation that says oh, okay, I’ve been there just in case I decide to do something on my own just to say that I did go to report and the case was taken lightly. I don’t have so much confidence in them.”*

The participants also had ideas on how their cases are handled by the police and not only expressed their dissatisfaction towards how police handle cases of black lesbians but also came up with suggestions on how the laws meant to protect LGBT people should be implemented. Thina suggested that the police should be reprimanded for their actions *“I could say that when it comes to the police, they should reprimand them so they take these laws seriously because I feel like they don’t take them seriously, put GBV aside I’m talking about homophobia because like in other police stations when people report these things, they don’t give them any attention or they don’t understand, they don’t take these cases serious enough. There are cases that they pay attention to but when it comes with cases that have to do with homophobia, I have never heard of them going successfully and everything being arrested or someone getting sentenced*

*or something, so I feel like in terms of the police they should make sure that these laws are being implemented in the right way so that we can also go to the police when something happens knowing that we feel safe there and stop feeling like we don't want to because we know they won't pay attention to it".*

### *5.2.2 Rapes and murders of black lesbians in Cape Town townships*

In South Africa, many people are victims of violent hate crimes due to their race, national origin, sexual orientation, or religion. For instance, lesbians and gays are often the targets of violent attacks because of their perceived sexual orientation (Msibi, 2012). Due to the rising visibility of lesbians, they have been the target of sexual violence and discrimination. This is also the reason why many lesbians experience corrective rape.

As stated in chapter two, Cape Town has also not been exempted from the prevalence of abuse and murder against black lesbians in South Africa. Unfortunately, this is a reality that black lesbians and other black LGBT bodies that exist within Cape Town townships are very aware of. Some of the participants were also very aware of this reality and it is a reality that seems to truly scare them. Some of the participants did not only fear for their lives for existing as black lesbians in their townships but they also knew of LGBT members who were murdered in their own townships or neighbouring townships. This is a sobering reality about their communities as they fear that they may end up having the same fate as those people they know of who were killed or abused.

Corrective rapes and murders of black lesbians are part of the attempts of homophobes to control these women and to scare them to stick to compulsory heterosexuality or else they might be killed or murdered. In Westman's (2019) comparison of war rape and lesbo-phobic rape or corrective rape, she suggests that lesbians are perceived as enemies of the community, and lesbian women's refusal to conform to heterosexual norms means they are not regarded as valuable symbolic repositories of the nation as heterosexual women are. Lesbians are perceived as a threat to the nation and its future, while straight women are seen as the bearers of the future and the cultural repositories of their communities (Westman, 2019). As a result, violence against them is tolerated. While the motives for rape may differ, women are assaulted in both circumstances because of the symbolic value attributed to the female body under a patriarchal gendered order (Westman, 2019).

Corrective rape is motivated by the belief that lesbians are not real women and that they should become heterosexual to prove that they are, some incidents of corrective rape end up in murder, and most of the participants were aware of the fact that one or both of these crimes because of their sexuality. Lerato commented *“I don’t know if this counts but like, you know, like, a lesbian well, that I know she was raped and killed, like she was that stud ‘ish’ looking. She was raped and killed just because apparently, they wanted to teach her a lesson that she’s a woman, she has a vagina, she mustn’t think she’s a man and a vagina is supposed to be penetrated by a penis not fingers, like they said they wanted to show her the real thing.* Due to the rise of the visibility of black lesbians in townships, there has been a resurgence of sexual violence against black lesbians. This is due to the patriarchal norms that heavily punish those who violate these laws. Patriarchy is a common concept in African cultures that enables violent and discriminatory attacks against black lesbians. There is already a problem of gender-based violence in South Africa which is also at times influenced by patriarchal norms.

The occurrences of rapes and murders of black lesbians is proof of the problem that South African men have with not only lesbians but also women as a whole. Vuvu expressed her frustration stating *“to be honest I don’t know what going on in men’s minds but maybe they have that thing, there are people who do things and feel like when they want something they are entitled to get it.* Some of the participants did not only know someone who was killed or assaulted because of their sexuality but they knew people who were close to them who were killed or assaulted because of their sexuality. Vuvu revealed, *“yeah Uhm, earlier this year my aunt was killed in Khayelitsha because she was a lesbian”.* This particular participant did not only know their family member as one of the people that lost their lives because of being part of the LGBT community, but she also knew someone else, *“and yeah there’s someone I knew from high school Yeah, he was also killed because he’s gay”.*

### *5.2.3. Do the participants of the study feel safe in their township?*

Homophobia is a prevalent trait in South Africa as a whole and it can be expressed through various expressions such as jokes, assumptions, and exclusions. This means that it is also a prevalent trait in South African townships and LGBTQI people who live in such townships at times get to deal with such attitudes and behaviours. The fact that black lesbians still experience homophobia not only in the sense of jokes, assumptions, and exclusions but also in the form of

corrective rape and murder show the lack of tolerance for LGBTQI people by people who live in their communities. Some of the participants noted that they experienced or knew someone who experienced various forms of homophobic harassment, including physical abuse, verbal abuse, and oppression.

Although black lesbians may experience homophobia in townships, a few lesbians expressed that they were able to exist within their townships without any fear of violence or retaliation that may be caused due to their sexuality. Zee noted *“It's been quite okay because I don't remember any day or any point in my life where I felt like they were homophobic I think I told my, my, my neighbor like she is more like a mother to me. So, I told and she was like, okay. I didn't notice that. I'm fine with that. As long as the other people are okay man...”* Thando also reported not worrying that much about her safety because of their sexuality. *“Where I stay people hate same-sex couples but it does not get to the point where you hear that a particular person has been raped because of their sexuality, I always hear it from places like Facebook that someone in a Cape Town township has been killed because of their sexuality and all that. But here it is safe, most people do understand these things and they do accept it, it's just the few people who are homophobic and they also don't get to the extent of punishing us but they make remarks but it ends there not that they beat us or something no.”*

Another interesting point that came out when it came to safety was the issue of labels within the lesbian community and how those could put you in more or less danger of being harassed. A few of the lesbians who identify as fem (feminine lesbians), reported feeling safer because of how they present themselves. Pretty felt like being a feminine lesbian put her in less danger *“Because I'm fem I do not feel that unsafe because people who do not know me in the township do not know that I'm a lesbian because I do not look like what most people expect a lesbian to look like so I have been able to live my life without having to worry that much about being harassed due to my sexuality.”* One of the fems (feminine presenting) also highlighted that being fem also allowed her to hide her sexuality to avoid any harassment from people in her community. *“I have heard of lesbians getting raped in my community which is why I have not come out yet, being fem allows me to hide my sexuality from my family and community and no one would ever suspect that I am a lesbian because I'm a feminine presenting lesbian, plus my girlfriend lives far from me and I always make sure to visit her instead of the other way around.”*

One thing that most of the participants had in common is feeling unsafe in their communities not only because of their sexuality but because of their gender. Liya commented *“no, no I don't feel really safe, first of all, I am a woman so I'm not safe, secondly I'm a lesbian, so it's double so I'm unsafe, because whenever like we walk on the street, especially if people know that you're a lesbian they want to try something, they can rape you and say they want you to experience what you're running away from, which is sex with a man. So yeah, it's not safe”*. Lethu explained how she felt unsafe and the harassment she goes through in her township, *“I don't feel safe shame at all, because there are guys that don't understand the way I am, and sometimes they threaten me and say “we will get you”, so I feel like that's why I don't like going out or going out at night if I go out at night I don't travel alone I go with someone because I feel like anything can happen, the way they talk I don't feel safe shame, I don't feel safe, I don't wanna lie I don't feel safe. Lethu continued, “I'm always paranoid I always look around and whenever I see a group of guys standing somewhere I panic because I know there are those who know and there are those who do not know, of which the ones who know have that thing of one day you will change we will show you or maybe if you get just one thing you will be alright and straight so comments like that make me feel unsafe”*. This participant's story shows how black lesbians are not only raped and killed but sometimes they are put in situations that remind them that they could be raped and killed solely because of their sexuality. Another participant explained being fearful of even being seen with other girls as that could put her in danger, *“I feel like whenever I'm standing with another girl in the township, like when we're talking, or we're close like we're just talking, people will think that she's, my girlfriend. Even the guys will say oh you don't want to date us you want to date girls, what are you afraid of, so yeah”*.

### 5.3. Heteronormativity and misconceptions about gender and sexuality

#### 5.3.1. The impact of heteronormativity on homophobia

Heteronormativity is the belief that normal sexual and romantic relationships can only occur between a man and a woman, heteronormativity only accepts heterosexuality as the norm, anything else is considered as not normal. The social structure of the South African society is unfortunately heteronormative, and heterosexuality is the only sexuality that is considered

acceptable. It is also one of the reasons why same-sex relationships are not accepted as they are not considered the norm in South African society. Heteronormativity also maintains and promotes gender roles, that men and women and men are expected to adhere to. Such gender norms are sometimes oppressive to women as well as pressurising and coercive towards men, Such roles include expectations such as women having to give birth and take care of the children while men are expected to achieve financial stability and support their households financially. Such gender norms and roles at times are unfair as one gender can be good at something that society does not associate with their assigned roles, for examples women with enormous financial success and do not wish to be homemakers or men who are nurturers and prefer being homemakers and looking after their children or being a stay at home fathers.

Female sexuality is quite a policed phenomenon in South African society. Female sexuality is mainly policed by heteronormativity and patriarchy. Some of the elements of heteronormativity and patriarchy used to police female sexuality include religion and culture. South African women are subjected to the dominance of heterosexuality because of the structure of our society. Lesbians are also expected to adhere to a form of legitimate femininity that is rooted in heterosexuality which erases lesbianism. In both the cultural and religious expectations of authentic femininity, women are expected to get married, have children at some point with the opposite sex. Such activities are also encouraged by family and other community structures as they go in line with accepted cultural norms and values. Unathi explained how her family expected her to follow the same rules, *“my parents were very ashamed when I came out because I was not going to have a husband and a family like other people, till this day my mother always asks me how I’m going to have children and even said to me fingers can’t make a child”*. This participant’s story shows how the pressure to adhere to societal norms can come not only from strangers and other people from their community but from one’s family as well.

One of the things that kept coming up is the rejection of masculinity in women as men whether intentionally or unintentionally recognize that masculinity has been taking advantage and oppressing women for a long time and homophobic men do not want women to get the authority to dominate and oppress women as they have been allowed to do for centuries in the name of respecting culture. Some of the privileges that men get using culture as their excuse is the ability for men to have multiple partners as that shows their manhood, while women who have

multiple partners are frowned upon. Unathi commented, “*men are afraid that studs will*



UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

*treat women the way they treat them, but sometimes it seems like they are afraid that studs will treat women better and they will not want to date them anymore. I think it is the reason why men always boast about their penises, and how we don't have penises even if we try to act like them and that the women, we date want to have sex with them or we also want to have sex with them”.*

Another point that came up is the fragile masculinity that black men who live in townships have, and how lesbians have to be aware of them as it might cost them their lives if they do not. Masculinity is often linked to the acquirement of wealth and the opposite sex, on the other hand, black lesbians are seen as wanting to be men and acquire the things men have or want to acquire. A participant brought up how sometimes men see being left by their girlfriends for a lesbian as a strike to their ego and can even turn violent to their girlfriend's new partner because they see being left for a woman as an embarrassment. Thando explained, *“you see sometimes guys don't understand if you leave a guy for a girl so maybe they will decide to rape the person who's dating their girlfriend or kill her just for them to cover what they see as an embarrassment.”*

Social scientists have highlighted how social institutes can play a role when it comes to reinforcing heteronormativity, or how sexuality and gender are expected to work. Institutions such as the military strengthen and support ruling norms about men and women which reinforce presiding concepts about gender. Such institutes uphold values of how men and women are expected to act, dress, and the types of positions they are expected to take part in the workplace, and even at home. Gender constructions in traditional South African society are inextricably linked to heteronormativity, and traditional, hegemonic gender understandings play out in same-sex partnerships (Kheswa & Wieringa, 2005).

The narratives given by the participant reflected a somewhat tolerant atmosphere about the townships they live in. However, most of the participants highlighted that despite the somewhat tolerant atmosphere they experience, they are aware of the danger that their sexuality presented to their lives. Even some of them have experienced covert homophobia, most have experienced overt homophobia, which some have accredited to the growing LGBT activism as some people are less likely to physically act out their homophobia. All of them are aware of the violence that black lesbians in townships have and continue to experience and know that they could suffer the same fate, because of their sexuality and the setting they live in. okay. Siya explained how even though she has seen some change, she is always aware of her surroundings, *“I'm*

*always careful, even if no lesbian has been killed in your location, you need to be careful because these people will use the smallest excuse to abuse you because you are gay and they are homophobic”.*

When asked about what they thought made people in their townships homophobic some of the respondents pointed out how people only thought heterosexuality was normal and anything else as something they should rebel against. *“I think okay. I think like they feel entitled to our bodies they think that by doing all of that they're able or they can fix us as they say and they are unteachable and people in the community they do not care about homosexual people, they can see that we don't have support. Oh, and when they don't get what they want they get aggressive because they feel like okay homosexual people do not deserve to live with other people and stuff. They only see straight people as normal so by killing and raping lesbians they think that they can make homosexual people normal”.*

### *5.3.2. Misconceptions homophobic people have about gender and sexuality*

Because of the country's history with colonialism and apartheid somehow all gender identities are influenced by violence. In South Africa, sexuality is often rooted in religion and African culture. Homosexual people as a whole are seen as a threat to systems such as the nuclear family which are part of the foundation of our society's ideas. Black lesbians are seen as a threat to such ideas because their relationships do not go in line with such ideas because they do not conform to traditional gender roles, even when they do, there is no man in the relationship and they cannot have children through sex and even though that is also the case for some heterosexual people or couples, it is one of the main reasons that makes homosexuality to be regarded as unnatural.

The participant also brought an interesting point, similarly to the act of misunderstanding sexuality and gender, there's also a misconception between lesbianism and bisexuality, black queer women are not given much opportunity to explore their sexuality fully, sometimes bisexual women are seen as lesbians and homophobes see their bisexuality as a way to disrespect other lesbians they come across and act entitled over bodies of lesbian and bisexual women. This is even more likely if the bisexual woman is masculine-presenting, as masculine women are always written off as being lesbian, again ignoring that a person's gender identity does not result in to a particular sexuality. Khanya explained how this happens in her township

*“some butch women where I stay from what I see they are able to go to entertainment places and leave with guys of which the guys have that thing that if this lesbian does it another one will do it because it’s something they do. So, when you tell them you don’t want to, they will never understand because they think that a particular person does it so why can’t you do it, there’s nothing wrong with being bisexual but I wish a person would not date women and men at the same time so these are things that add for people to want to rape and kill us because they think that you will not embarrass me and all that, so yeah its things like that.”* However, it is important to note that masculine-presenting bisexual women do not only face discrimination from straight men or people but at times they receive discrimination from other lesbian women as biphobia is also an issue in the LGBT community.

Even though homosexuality is present and LGBT members have human rights, unfortunately, like in most heteronormative societies heterosexual privilege is a reality as heterosexuality is a norm and heterosexual people are never condemned for their sexuality. Because Heteronormativity is associated with being with natural human sexuality, biologically gender and sexuality are comprehended as people can only identify as male or female. This way of understanding gender and sexuality as interchangeable, which is why it has been hard for some people to accept not only same-sex relationships but as well as no binary identifying individuals, as their sexuality and gender identities are seen as outside the norm, or challenging the accepted social order. *“When it comes to many people, they lack information, once people know she’s a lesbian, it seems like she wants to be a man. So is lack of information and ignorance, because information is available and people don’t want to teach themselves to actually understand that you don’t want to be a man, or you don’t want to take a man’s role”.*

## 5.4. Ways in which social structures such as religion affect homophobia.

### 5.4.1. Impact of religion

Religion has been one of the most influential structures that influences homophobic people. For obvious reasons most religious people who condemn homosexuality are influenced by their religious beliefs that are against same-sex relationships. Most religious beliefs are based on

morality, and obedience to those beliefs is very important as it could determine the fate of their afterlife. For example, some Christian people are against homosexuality as they see it as immoral and something that could land an individual in hell after they die. When asked if they thought social structures such as religion influence homophobic behaviour, Siya commented, *“Oh, they do, they do, like in churches, topics such as sexuality, they’re taboo, they don't talk about them. You’re told that God created men and women, so you can't be a female and then date another female, you can't be a male and date another male, who can be removed and did another me. So those things are considered to be like a sin, like unforgivable, the worst crime on earth you would ever commit”*.

Morality in religion is quite a complex concept as some may bring out how it is associated with empathy and compassion, treating people with kindness as well as avoiding causing pain and suffering. On the other side, while religions such as Christianity uphold such sentiments, there is also a very strict sector of the religion that largely relies on the bible. The strict side condemns things such as homosexuality and to some point excuse harm against homosexuals as they are seen as parts that are meant to be destroyed to preserve society's morality. The strict and unforgiving part of religion has been largely used to excuse the forms of violence that homosexual people have experienced because of their sexuality. Some of these rules include the enforcement of gender roles and how men and women are seen in religion which is one of the main reasons Christians become homophobic. Buhle explained how, *“Christians will tell you that God created a woman and a man so not for you to be with women, so they have that thing of why do you want to change yourself how you are, you want to change the way God created you for you to date other women whereby a man is supposed to date a woman, so the way Christians believe about the way we were created adds to how homophobic you are, that thing a man must be with a woman not a man with a man or something like that”*. This way of thinking is one of the reasons why homophobic at times willingly choose to misgender homosexual people because for some reason to them, dating the same gender automatically results in wanting to be a man. It is usually worse for lesbians who cross-dress or appear masculine according to society's standards, as to some people that means they want to be men just because they dress in a way that is usually acceptable for men to dress. This sort of ethical orientation at times overtakes their life and shadows their perception of groups whose lifestyles they do not agree and the LGBT community is at the forefront of such groups.

Religion has been used to excuse the violence that has been faced by the LGBT community, as religious texts such as the bible support violent acts against people who take part in same-sex relations. South Africa has been no different as religious groups such as Christianity and Islam are still used largely to excuse homophobia as well as violence against LGBT people.

Lerato stated how *“people will say God did not create a woman to date another woman. What is normal to them is for a girl to date a man and create a family. They don’t give themselves time to educate themselves about things that involve other people’s sexualities. I feel like they do not want to understand why one would have feelings for another girl, they see it as Satanism like it’s something wrong. It’s like ukubone, uziphethe kakubi (you do not know how to conduct yourself), why would you be aroused by another girl but there’s boys around of which not all of us will be attracted to boys and I wish people would give themselves a chance to educate themselves about other sexualities and lesbianism, educate themselves so that they can understand. I feel like they lack understanding shame that’s why they see it as wrong and become homophobic and do not like homosexuals”*.

Most of the respondents highlighted the impact of religion and culture when it comes to the amount of homophobia that seems to exist in South African townships. Lulu spoke about how in her experience even people that do not actively practice religion, they still use it as an excuse to practice their homophobia, *“In my own experience, I have encountered men that I have never seen attend a church tell me that dating other women is not natural and that even the Bible warns against homosexuality.”* This shows that Christianity is a widely accepted religion in townships to the point that even people who do actively participate in the religion still know its accepted teachings and norms and can decide to use them as an argument against specific things they do not agree with such as homosexuality.

Another factor that came up was the difficulty of growing up in a religious home while being a lesbian in the township. Lerato shared her difficult experience of growing up in a religious home, and how her family reacted to finding out she is a lesbian. *“And then they called a family meeting and asked if I had ever seen someone who is a Christian doing this, what happened, are you possessed, this is so unlike you. They thought there’s a third influence of something that has possessed me yeah”* The pressure to please not only their families but also their community seems to be higher for lesbians who come from religious homes as they are expected to follow the expected gender roles that most Christians believe in. Lerato continued *“, I was one of*

*those kids that parents made examples of because I was studying, I think I was in matric that year, people would say she's studying, she goes to church so when the lesbian thing came out all those people were disappointed, "people would say yhini sikuthembe kangakanontombi (why when we have so much faith in you?). This shows the shame that is associated with being a lesbian or homosexual as religious people are often very disappointed to find out that someone, they know is homosexual. Lerato explained how the disappointment even transitioned to accusing other lesbians who had joined the church, and in my church, there were also some lesbian girls who joined the church, so to the church people and the pastors it seemed like they are the ones who influenced me to become a lesbian, it's like since they are new and I am old, it's like when they arrived things started to change, they came with certain spirits that influenced me". This again links to Christianity seeing homosexuality as a sin and something that someone can be influenced to get in to. This shows the impact that religion can have not only on the actions of homophobic people but also the pressure and anxiety that homosexual people experience, especially religious ones or those who grew up in religious homes because of the fear of the backlash that they may experience from religious people or just homophobic people who do not mind using religion as part of their argument against homosexuality.*

Homosexual people do not only face exclusion and backlash but coming out can also cause them to face homelessness and losing their families. While some of the participants expressed that their relationships with their families were negatively affected by their sexuality Khanya revealed that her sexuality caused such a rift between her and her mother to the point that she faced homelessness after her mother found out about her sexuality "*earlier this year my mom found out and then she kicked me out and I left and went to live with my girlfriend probably for about a timeframe of six months and I came back home around July, so like things like that ever since she does not want to understand she keeps on sending me messages swearing at me talking about its Satanism and she doesn't know of such things.* This experience affected the participant emotionally as she had hoped that her mother would understand, and it still continues to affect her as hiding her relationship with her girlfriend is the only way she can remain at home. *So, you see that deeply affected me even now it still affects me because I don't know why she doesn't want to understand of which I don't want to sacrifice my happiness for me to be accepted at home and do something I don't want to do just to make other people happy, so like it's something like that, you see now I had to hide my relationship because they don't understand and then I also don't think there's anything I can do to make my mom*

*understand because even If you would educate her, I don't think she will learn, she's made it clear that she doesn't want to understand, to her this thing is Satanism blah blah blah so like yeah".* This participant's experience shows the difficulty that black lesbians who grew up in religious can face as even their own families can disown and kick them out because they "supposedly" take part in Satanism, which shows the strong hold religion can have on people to the point that they choose their religion over having relationships with their homosexual children.

Some of the participants also brought up how they knew that some churches in their communities preach against homosexuality which causes them to either feel isolated and having to leave those churches after coming out or stay away from religion as they know that joining a church could end up in them feeling discriminated against. Thuli attested to this as she also had left her church because of her sexuality, *"as someone who grew up in a church,I can attest that a lot of Christians preach against homosexuality. I knew that if I came out, I would face ex-communication as I went to a very strict church that was against homosexuality. Unfortunately, my relationship with a woman was outed and my church members asked for a meeting with me. At that moment I knew that they would either ask me to repent or leave the church and I chose to never come back and I have been living my life as a lesbian who's out and proud until this day."* Such stories show that sometimes people have to part with their religion even if they do not want to because they know they have to choose between their faith and their sexuality.

#### *5.4.2 Impact of culture*

Culture is one of the main reasons used when it comes to defending homophobia in the South African context. One of the main arguments of homophobic people is that homophobia is not an African phenomenon, hence it goes against the African culture. Even though South Africa is one of the most progressive countries in the African continent, it is still heavily influenced by culture, especially in settings where cultural practices are still the norm. Some of the participants identified culture as one of the main reasons why they are not accepted especially by their own families. Luvo explained how her parents have refused to accept her sexuality because it is considered taboo in black people's culture, highlighting how same-sex



UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

relationships did not exist in their youth, “ *my parents don’t want to accept that I am a lesbian, they say people like me don’t exist in our clan and people who do such things did not exist when they were young*”.

Culture also came up constantly as one of the reasons why people choose to be homophobic. Even though there is a recorded history of homosexuality within the African continent, the insistence of African people to ignore such facts continues as they still see homosexuality as something that is un-African and foreign to black people’s culture. The participants also highlighted how culture similar to religion also has gender roles that men and women are supposed to follow and homosexual people do not fit into those roles hence people find it hard to accept homosexual people in the name of culture. Unathi commented on how masculine black women intimidate black men, which shows their toxic masculinity and how they perform it. “*Most black men are intimidated by us masculine women, they think that we want to be men and that makes them angry because they think we want to replace them and claim that we can never be men no matter how hard we try, which is weird because if you think I want to be a man and will never be one, they why are you so upset?*”

Homophobic men who are used to seeing the women in their lives and communities play into the accepted gender roles such as having to respect their husbands or men in their families as they are seen as the heads of their families, struggle with the concept of masculinity within women and they see women who date other women as a direct threat to them as they see those women as getting out of the normal gender roles. According to Unathi “*some of these men struggle to accept lesbians especially studs as they are used to seeing women being considered being beneath men in their families and their villages and townships, so they see them as a direct competition to them as they think that they are dating women that should be dating them or their peers*”.

All of this shows that black lesbians are already in a culture that does not necessarily treat women the best and being different and not fitting into the norm can put their lives in danger. Corrective rape came up as one of the hate crimes that some of the participants thought were influenced by culture. Thando homophobic Xhosa men think raping women will turn them in to what is acceptable in their culture, “*sometimes Xhosa men think it’s not a Xhosa thing for women to be masculine so that’s why they rape lesbians because they want to make the acceptable version of a Xhosa woman*”. Even though people are becoming more aware of

lesbians even in township contexts, religion and culture still seem to continue to be one of the reasons people use to defend their homophobic behavior against homosexual people.

## 5.5. The disconnect between black lesbians and their communities

From the existing research and the data collected from this research, there is a clear indication of a disconnect between black lesbians/the LGBT community, and the townships they live in. The main issue that causes the disconnect is the way in which black lesbians are perceived in their communities. Most of the participants felt that they were isolated in their communities because of their sexuality, even the ones who did not encounter any retaliation because of their sexuality still expressed feeling like they were seen as different from other people within their community.

The main cause of being seen as different is because many black people see homosexuality as something that is not embedded in their culture, hence they sometimes claim homosexuality is an influence of the west. In the townships, it is no different as homosexual people are seen as different because of their sexuality that is thought to be not the norm in their communities. Siya suggested that *“black people always use the excuse that there were no lesbians and gays in the past and that this is something we see on tv and from white people”*.

Most of the participants did not only express disappointment in the way in which black lesbians are treated in their communities but some even expressed having no hope in homophobic people who live in townships being able to change and becoming more tolerant to the LGBT community. One participant expressed that *“I feel like we can do everything to educate people about these things but people will never understand no matter what we do, because you see there’s things like pride month, there’s other things, where I stay there are meeting for lesbians everyone is welcomed to come and get educated about things that have to do with sexuality, but even if you teach people about sexuality, a person will believe what they believe and they won’t want to hear anything else, so I feel like even if we do whatever to make people understand about these things sexualities and lesbians and stuff if they don’t want to understand they will never understand but if they want to they will understand by being educated”*. This frustration stems from the fact that LGBTQI people have been visible for a

while in their communities and there have been some initiatives to try to integrate LGBT people in their communities and to try to educate straight people such as the Khumbulani pride march but the homophobia and intolerance against black lesbians continue not only in Cape Town Townships but South African townships as a whole.

## 5.6. Conclusion

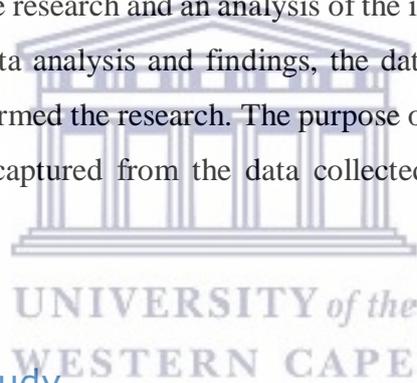
This chapter presented the analysis and findings of the study. The presentation of these findings was influenced by the methodologies used for the study as well as the theoretical framework. This chapter gave an in-depth presentation of the experiences of black lesbians who live in Cape Town townships, as well as the issues that they come across because of their sexualities. Some of these issues that they come across such as the influences of heteronormativity, religion and culture show that even though the LGBT community is more visible than ever before in South African townships, there is still a continuing effort to get rid of sexualities that are seen as not normal in South African townships. Unfortunately, as part of this attempt to get rid of non-normative gender and sexual identities, violence is also being used, which is how hate crimes such as corrective rape and killing of black lesbians have become prevalent in South Africa. Such hate crimes are committed in the belief that lesbians pose a threat to the South African social structure and they need to be fixed or kept in line in order to maintain the accepted South African structure in which heterosexuality is the ideal sexuality. However, such attempts have in turn exposed how the LGBT community, especially the black LGBT community is not protected, by the community, police enforcement, and even by the state. The findings in this chapter show that homophobia is an existing reality that black lesbians who live in Cape Town townships have to deal with daily.

## Chapter 6

### 6. Conclusions and recommendations

#### 6.1. Introduction

The first chapter put forth the research background, problem statement and the purpose of the research. Chapter 2 presented an in-depth literature review and brought a deeper understanding of the existing research relevant to the experiences of black lesbians who live in townships. Chapter 3 presented the Theoretical Framework, which was used to understand the actions of homophobes such as the amount of violence that black lesbians who live in townships have experienced because of their sexuality. Chapter 4 presented the Research Methodology, which gave an in-depth structure of the research and an analysis of the information about the research. Chapter 5 gave an in-depth data analysis and findings, the data collected was analysed and structured in a manner that informed the research. The purpose of Chapter 6 is to conclude and to propose recommendations captured from the data collected for the research as well as existing data on the topic.



#### 6.2. Overview of the study

Over the last decade, there has been an increase in acceptance of gays and lesbians. This has led to the establishment of more and more organizations that protect LGBTI rights and these include safe spaces that exist in townships to help members of the LGBTQI community. However, there is still a lot of discrimination against gays and lesbians in Africa. South is currently facing a femicide and black lesbians who live in Cape Town townships exist in a country that is already known to be one of the worst countries in the world for a woman to live in. Even though South Africa has laws that are more progressive when it comes to the rights of the LGBTQ+ community, compared to other African countries. These rights have not been successful when it comes to their implementation especially when it comes to those who need them most, such as black lesbians that live in townships. These laws have failed when it comes to protecting black queer women who live in townships, as they have and continue to face violence that is aimed at erasing their existence because they are seen as challenging the

societal rules.

The study sought to find out the experience of black Cape Town lesbians who live in townships, to assess their experiences as women who live in marginalised communities, in a country that has ideal laws to protect women and the LGBTQ+ community but still struggles with corrective rape, murders of lesbians and gender-based violence. The objectives of the study included finding out what the respondents think **about** homophobia, whether the respondents have experienced homophobia, whether the respondents generally feel safe in townships, compared to other places, finding out how the respondents interact with their communities, identifying disadvantages experienced by lesbians living in homophobic townships as well as asking the respondents to identify methods that can be used to help communities become more educated and tolerant of LGBT members. The study attempted to address such objectives by asking the respondents direct questions that not only spoke to the set objectives but also their experience as a whole in their communities.

### 6.3. Recommendations

#### 6.3.1. Recommendation 1



Despite the country's constitution, homosexuality is still regarded as a crime in many areas. Some of the participants suggested the need for the government to not only condemn violence against women but publicly condemn violence against black lesbians more in order to make a statement and make it clearer that such violence is unacceptable and has consequences. With the president recently announcing GBV as a pandemic in South Africa shows the government has been paying more attention to GBV, even though that is the case there is a need for the violence perpetrated against black lesbians because of homophobia to be taken more seriously. There is a need for the government to co-sign movements that condemn violence against members of the LGBTQ+, especially ones that condemn corrective rape and murders of black lesbians and other members of the LGBTQ+ community. The government needs to have a solid plan in place on how they plan to help black lesbians especially those who live in townships experience less violence such as corrective rape and murders of black lesbians.

### 6.3.2. Recommendation 2

When it comes to the role of South Africa's law when it comes to dealing with the challenges that South African lesbians face, such as corrective rape, its success has been fairly underwhelming. South Africa became one of the first countries in the world to state homophobia as unconstitutional and link its policymaking to sexual orientation, gender, and human rights, recognizing the human rights of people in same-sex relationships or different gender identities in the constitution (Jones, 2019). The country also recognized relationship



law discrimination as unconstitutional, which led to not only marriage equality but also cohabitation protections for people in same-sex relationships from the year (Smith and Robinson 2008).

Even though the idea of the government intervening strongly in the condemnation of homophobia and violence against black lesbians is a good idea but there would also be a need for the government to closely observe and assess key structures that deal with issues that LGBT people experience, especially those that most of the participants did not trust, such as the police. Such monitoring will ensure that such structures are held accountable if they do not perform their duties adequately. With the government assessing such structures, members of the LGBT community would have more trust in such structures when they know that the government is evaluating them, so the treatment they get will not be the same as it would have been before such evaluation took place.

Police stations in townships need to not only have trained officers that can handle GBV related issues, but they also need to be trained to deal with LGBT-related issues and LGBT people. The government also needs to make sure that police officers who have prejudices against LGBT people do not come in contact with them in any manner as such prejudices may influence how they assist LGBT victims. Police officers also need to document and keep track of LGBT-related cases so that they can keep track of their own progress and identify areas for improvement on how they tackle LGBT-related issues. The government needs to create a structure that tracks LGBT related cases and, in the country, and track the progress of how these cases are handled by structures such as police stations.

### 6.3.3. Recommendation 3

The South African government seems to have supported the popular human rights activism path that has focused more on changing laws that are oppressive against members of the LGBT community. This type of activism usually consists of trying to get people in same-sex relationships the same rights as other people, like the right to get married. This type of activism usually advocates for the passing of important laws that ensure that LGBTQ+ people get the same rights as everyone else. This type of activism however does not get in-depth and explore the experiences of those LGBTQ+ people in their communities, how they are treated and

whether those policies are being implemented correctly and whether they are making the difference they are meant to make in their lives. However, advocacy should not only focus on big structures such as governments but also on general people as they are the ones who get to live with people of the LGBT community every day (Murdie & Udi Sommer 2017).

In contexts such as South Africa, the government, organizations or programs that deal with lesbians or LGBT people living in townships need to have a top to bottom approach. This would mean making black lesbians who live in such townships lead or come up with the main ideas for solving their issues, instead of other structures implementing an already planned idea to their communities. This would be helpful as black lesbians who live in the township are already familiar with the setting as well as its challenges and can offer solutions that could be effective, hence they should be part of the problem-solving stage.

#### 6.3.4. Recommendation 4

There is a need to interfere more in Cape Town and the rest of South African townships to educate people not only about homosexuality but also about the rights of homosexual people and the seriousness of those rights so that there is a mutual understanding that these rights need to be respected. This can at least promote tolerance even when there is no understanding. Most of the participants spoke about how homophobic people in their townships are just uneducated and at times unwilling to learn about homosexuality. Only one of the participants expressed that in her township there are attempts to teach the community, mostly straight people about homosexual people and how they deserve to be accepted. There needs to be programmes that are dedicated to solely teaching and exposing straight people to the experiences of black lesbians in their communities so that even they don't accept them, they can treat them with respect and be less discriminatory against them.

#### 6.4. Limitations of the study

Qualitative research is beneficial because it allows the researcher to get an in-depth view of what the researcher is examining, and the researcher is able to get a deeper understanding of their topic. The types of interviews that qualitative research allows give respondents the chance

to express themselves fully and to share their experiences with the researcher as much as they want to. However, the downside of qualitative research is that the researcher is not able to reach as many people as they want to. Unfortunately, this research was not able to interview an extensive number of black lesbians who live in Cape Town townships, so the information from the data collected is not necessarily a true reflection of the experiences of every black lesbian who live in Cape Town townships.

## 6.5. Conclusion.

This research is an addition to the growing research around homophobia and the experiences of LGBTQ+ people in South Africa. The research looked at the experiences of black lesbians who live in Cape Town township, which is a specific group that can be identified to be one of the marginalised groups in South Africa. The research sought to understand these experiences and to see whether these women's sexuality shaped their experiences in their communities. The research confirmed that black lesbians who live in Cape Town townships still experience homophobia and that, the type of homophobia they experience also comes in the form of violence and murder, as a result, black lesbians who live in Cape Townships still experience fear of being raped and murdered in their own communities. The experience of lesbians who live not only in Cape Town but also in South African townships as a whole is an important discussion that has not been explored enough, hopefully more researchers explore this subject as there is more than enough space to do so.

## References

- Ashley Currier & Thérèse Migraine-George (2017) "Lesbian"/female same-sex sexualities in Africa, *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 21:2, 133-150, DOI: [10.1080/10894160.2016.1146031](https://doi.org/10.1080/10894160.2016.1146031)
- Anderson, C.A. and Bushman, B.J., 2002. Human aggression. *Annual review of psychology*, 53, 27–51.
- Asal, Victor, Amanda Murdie & Udi Sommer. 2017. "Rainbows for Rights: The Role of LGBT Activism in Gay Rights Promotion.' *Societies Without Borders* 12 (1). Available at: <https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/swb/vol12/iss1/13>
- Allen, Johnie & Anderson, Craig & Bushman, Brad. (2017). The General Aggression Model. *Current Opinion in Psychology*. 19. 10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.03.034.
- Badgett, M. et al. (2014). 'The Relationship between LGBT Inclusion and Economic Development: An Analysis of Emerging Economies.' *The Williams Institute*.
- Banks, C. (2001). 'The Cost of Homophobia: Literature Review of the Economic Impact of Homophobia on Canada' *Community-University Institute for Social Research*
- Barlett, C.P. and Kowalewski, D.A., 2019. Learning to cyberbully: An extension of the Barlett Gentile cyberbullying model. *Psychology of popular media culture*, 8(4), p.437.
- Bernard, H. Russel, & Ryan W. Gery.2010. *Analyzing Qualitative Data*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Bogdan, R. and Biklen, S.K, (1997). *Qualitative research for education*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Bickmore, K., (1999). Why discuss sexuality in elementary school. *Queering elementary education: Advancing the dialogue about sexualities and schooling*, pp.15-25
- Burack, C. (2014). *Global Homophobia: States, Movements, and the Politics of Oppression*. Ohio State University
- Breshears, D. and Beer, L.D., 2016. Creating supportive learning environments: Experiences of lesbian and gay-parented families in South African schools. *Education as Change*, 20(2), pp.86-105
- Breen, D. & Nel, J.A. 2011. South Africa: a home for all? The need for hate crime legislation. *South African Crime Quarterly*, 38:33-43.

Cieurzo, C. and Keitel, M.A. (1999). Ethics in qualitative research. In M. Kopala and L.A. Suzuki (Eds.) *Using Qualitative Methods in Psychology* (pp. 63 -75). London: Sage Publications

Creswell, J.W. (2013). Steps in conducting a scholarly mixed methods study. Department of Educational Psychology, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Curran, G., Chiarolli, S. and Pallotta-Chiarolli, M., 2009. 'The C Words': clitorises, childhood and challenging compulsory heterosexuality discourses with pre-service primary teachers. *Sex Education*, 9(2), pp.155-168.

Davis, L. and Snyman, R. (2005) *Victimology in south africa*. 1st edn. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Davies, C. 2013, 15 October. Most gay victims fail to report hate crimes to police, says report. *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/15/gay-victims-hate-crime-police> [Accessed 26 September 2017].

De Ru, H., 2013. A historical perspective on the recognition of same-sex unions in South Africa. *Fundamina: A Journal of Legal History*, 19(2), pp.221-250.

DeWall, C.N., Anderson, C.A. and Bushman, B.J., 2011. The general aggression model: Theoretical extensions to violence. *Psychology of Violence*, 1(3), p.245-258

Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S., 1999. New generalizations and explanations in language and gender research. *Language in society*, 28(2), pp.185-201.

Esplen, E., 2007. *Gender and sexuality: Supporting resources collection*. Bridge, Institute of Development Studies.

Ferguson, C.J., Ivory, J.D. and Beaver, K.M., 2013. Genetic, maternal, school, intelligence, and media use predictors of adult criminality: A longitudinal test of the catalyst model in adolescence through early adulthood. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 22(5), pp.447-460.

Ferguson, C.J. and Dyck, D., 2012. Paradigm change in aggression research: The time has come to retire the General Aggression Model. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 17(3), pp.220-228.

Gilbert, F., Daffern, M., Talevski, D., & Ogloff, J. R. P. O. (2013). 'The role of aggression-related cognition in the aggressive behavior of offenders: A general aggression model perspective.' *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 40, Pp 119–138

Gentile, D.A., Coyne, S. and Walsh, D.A., 2011. Media violence, physical aggression, and relational aggression in school-age children: A short-term longitudinal study. *Aggressive behavior*, 37(2), pp.193-206.

Guest, G., Namey, E., & Mitchell, M. (2013). *Collecting qualitative data: A field manual for applied research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Green, J.L., CHIAN, M. and Frey, B.B., 2018. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Measurement, and Evaluation*.

Harris, B., 2004. *Arranging prejudice: Exploring hate crime in post-apartheid South Africa*. Cape Town: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Huesmann, L. R. (1998). 'The role of social information processing and cognitive schema in the acquisition and maintenance of habitual aggressive behavior. In R. G. Geen & E. I. Donnerstein (Eds.)', *Human aggression: Theories, research, and implications for social policy* (pp. 73–110). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Herek, G.M., Gillis, J.R. & Cogan, J.C. 1999. Psychological sequelae of hate-crime victimization among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 67(6):945–951.

Hlongwane, N. 2016. *Corrective rape as an anti-lesbian hate crime in South African law: a critique of the legal approach*. Masters dissertation in Medical Law, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Jewkes, R., J. Levin, and L. Penn-Kekana, Risk factors for domestic violence: findings from a South African cross-sectional study. *Social science & medicine*, 2002. 55(9): p. 1603-17.

Jones, T, 2019. South African contributions to LGBTI education issues. *Sex Education*, 19(4), pp.455-471.

Knudsen, A., 2004. License to kill: Honour killings in Pakistan. Chr. Michelsen Institute.

Lapointe, A.A., 2012. Straight allies: Combating homophobia and interrogating heteronormativity's 'straight' on.

Marshall, C & Rossman, B. (2014). Designing Qualitative Research. *Thousands Oaks*: Sage Publication

Mailula, L., 2018. *Violent anxiety: The erasure of queer blackwomxn in post-apartheid South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).

Masuku, N. 2016. "FOLKLORE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON HOMOPHOBIC BEHAVIOUR IN THE ZULU CULTURE: A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF UMAMBA KAMAQUBA". *Southern African Journal for Folklore Studies* 25 (3). <https://doi.org/10.25159/1016-8427/71>

Martin, K.A., Luke, K.P. and Verduzco-Baker, L., 2007. The sexual socialization of young children: Setting the agenda for research. In *Social psychology of gender*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Martin, A., Kelly, A., Turquet, L. and Ross, S., 2009. Hate crimes: the rise of corrective rape in South Africa. *Action Aid*, 15, pp.1-20

Martin, K.A., 2009. Normalizing heterosexuality: Mothers' assumptions, talk, and strategies with young children. *American Sociological Review*, 74(2), pp.190-207.

Mbiti, J.S. 1970. African religions and philosophy. New York: Anchor Books

Mertus, J. (2007). 'The Rejection of Human Rights Framings: The Case of LGBTQIA Advocacy in the US.' *Human Rights Quarterly* 29(4): 1036-1064.

Müller-Van der Westhuizen, C. and Meyer, S.L., 2019. The (non-) recognition of same-sex marriage in the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act 120 of 1998. *Journal for Juridical Science*, 44(2), pp.44-67.

Merriam, S.B. and Tisdell, E.J., 2015. *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. John Wiley & Sons.

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

Mpuka, M.M. 2017. Attitudes of the Namibian police towards lesbian and gay groups in Katutura. LLM/MPhil, Multidisciplinary Human Rights, University of Pretoria

Myers, M.D. 2013. Qualitative research in Business and Management. London: SAGE.

Murdie, A and. Davis, D.R (2012). 'Shaming and Blaming: Using Events Data to Assess the Impact of Human Rights INGOs.' *International Studies Quarterly* 56(1): 1-16.

Mthembu, N.T. (2014). *An exploration of the experiences of gays and lesbians living in the Inanada area* (Doctoral dissertation).

Morril, (2000), Qualitative Data Analysis: Chapter 10. Accessed: [https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/43454\\_10.pdf](https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/43454_10.pdf)

Morrissey, M.E., 2013. Rape as a weapon of hate: Discursive constructions and material consequences of black lesbianism in South Africa. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 36(1), pp.72-91.

Murray, Stephen O. (1998) "Homosexuality in 'Traditional' Sub-Saharan Africa and Contemporary South Africa." Manuscript from Boy Wives and Female Husbands: *Studies in African Homosexualities*. St. Martins. October 1998.

Moffett, Helen. 2006. "'These Women, They Force Us to Rape Them': Rape as Narrative of Social Control in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32(1):129-44.

Nadeem, M. 2013. Beyond misfortune and fault: Islam, same-sex sexuality and liberation. Masters dissertation in Semitic Languages and Cultures, University of Johannesburg.

National Sexual Violence Resource Center and Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape (2012). *National Sexual Violence Resource Center's publication*, pp 1-12

Nkabinde, N. and Morgan, R., (2006). 'This has happened since ancient times... it's something that you are born with': ancestral wives among same-sex sangomas in South Africa. *Agenda*, 20(67), pp.9-19.

Nkosi, S. & Masson, F. 2017. Christianity and homosexuality: Contradictory or complimentary? A qualitative study of the experiences of Christian homosexual university students. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 31(4):72-93.

Nell M & Shapiro J (2011) 'Out of the box: Queer youth in South Africa today', Unpublished research report, The Atlantic Philanthropies, available

at:[http://hearusout.org/resources/out\\_of\\_the\\_box\\_queer\\_youth\\_in\\_south\\_africa\\_today.htm](http://hearusout.org/resources/out_of_the_box_queer_youth_in_south_africa_today.htm),  
site accessed May 28, 2019

Nisbett, R. E., & Ross, L. (1980). *Human inference: Strategies and shortcomings of social judgment*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Nueman. Lawrance.W. (2007). *Basics of Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. New York: Pearson.

Nigatu, T. (2009). 'Qualitative Data Analysis'. Available  
at:<https://www.slideshare.net/tilahunigatu/qualitative-data-analysis-11895136>. [Accessed 20  
April 2019]

Newcombe, D. (2002). *Homosexuality in Africa: The Myth of Western Decadence Exposed*.  
*The Pennsylvania State University*

Out Now Global (2013). *International LGBT2020 Homophobia Report*. Better LGBT.com.  
Available at: <http://www.outnowconsulting.com/lgbt2020>

Ormsby, A. (2015). *Institutional and Personal Homophobia in Sub Saharan Africa: A Post-Materialist Explanation*. *CU Scholar*. University of Colorado.

Parrott, D.J. (2008) . A theoretical framework for antigay aggression: Review of established and hypothesized effects within the context of the general aggression model. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 28(6), pp.933-951.

Pather, R. 2016, 23 November. Policing communities: How the SAPS is failing to uphold LGBTI rights. Mail & Guardian. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2016-11-23policing-communities-how-the-saps-is-failing-to-uphold-lgbti-rights> [Accessed 26 July 2018].

Phiri, W.B. 2011. *Crimes against sexual orientation: a critical study of 'corrective' rape within the South African context*. LLM General, University of Pretoria.

Pitman, G.E., 1999. Body image, compulsory heterosexuality, and internalized homophobia. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 3(4), pp.129-139.

Robinson, K.H., 2002. Making the invisible visible: Gay and lesbian issues in early childhood education. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 3(3), pp.415-434.

Ragonese, C., Shand, T. and Barker, G., 2019. *Masculine norms and men's health: making the connections* (p. 121). Washington, DC: Promundo-US.

Raja, S and Stokes, Joseph P. "Assessing attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: The modern homophobia scale." *International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies* 3, no. 2 (1998):

113-134.

Reid, G, and Dirsuweit, T. ( 2002). "Understanding Systemic Violence:



UNIVERSITY *of the*  
WESTERN CAPE

Homophobic Attacks in Johannesburg and Its Surrounds.” *Urban Forum* 13(3):99–126.

Reynoso, 2000. ‘Coding of Qualitative Data: Chapter 8.’ Accessed: <https://www.scribd.com/document/248100699/Chapter8-Coding>

Rule S and Mncwango B (2006) *Rights or wrongs? An exploration of moral values. South African Social Attitudes: Changing Times, Diverse Voices.* Cape Town: HSRC Press

Safer Spaces (2021). *Gender-Based Violence in South Africa.* Accessed: <https://www.saferpaces.org.za/understand/entry/gender-based-violence-in-south-africa>

Sanger, N., 2010. ‘The real problems need to be fixed first’: Public discourses on sexuality and gender in South Africa. *Agenda*, 24(83), pp.114-125.

Silverman, D., 2013. *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook.* Sage.

Sloss, T, (2019). *Danger, Deviancy, and Desire in Apartheid South Africa: Visualizing an Exchange of Transnational Homoerotic Commodities* (Doctoral dissertation, Carleton University).

Smith, B.S. and Robinson, J.A., 2008. The South African Civil Union Act 2006: Progressive Legislation with Regressive Implications?. *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family*, 22(3), pp.356-392.

South African History Online, (2018). Why protect rights of gays and lesbians?. Accessed: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/why-protect-rights-gays-and-lesbians>

South African Government, 2017. Violence against women and children:

<https://www.gov.za/issues/violence-against-women-and-children>

SOUTH AFRICA, 2007. Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007. *Government Gazette*

UNODC, 2012. South Africa: Are we doing enough to end violence against women?:

<https://www.unodc.org/southernafrica/en/vaw/index.html>

UNESCO, 2016. Out in the open: Education sector responses to violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity/expression.

Tangeni, Amupadhi, T (2002). “What Mugabe Does, Nujoma Can Do Better.” *Sunday Times*, 6(10).

Van der Vyver, J.D, (1999). Constitutional perspective of church-state relations in South Africa. *BYU L. Rev.*, p.635.

Van der Walt, M., 2007. South African men and their construction of masculinities in

relation to women and homosexual men: A thematic analysis. *Unpublished Master's dissertation*) University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

Warner, M., 1991. Introduction: Fear of a queer planet. *Social text*, pp.3-17.

Weissman, E., 1992. Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men.

Westmen, C. 2019. #AfricaMonth: The state of LGBT rights in Africa. Free State Centre for Human Rights, University of the Free State.



West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society*, 1(2), 125–151

Westman, C.S., 2019. *'There's no such thing as gay': Black lesbians and nationhood in post-apartheid South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University).

Wood, Katherine. “Contextualising group rape in post-apartheid South Africa”. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2005, 303–317.

