MISOGNY AND VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACK LESBIANS:
DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF “CORRECTIVE RAPE”
IN SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract

“Corrective rape,” an act characterized as a man raping a lesbian in an effort to turn her straight, is a growing problem in South Africa. Despite being hailed as the rainbow nation, South Africa has neglected to address incidents of discrimination and hate crimes perpetrated against lesbians. In this thesis, I use an intersectional frame to examine accounts of “corrective rape” in 95 articles published between 2009 and 2013 in 13 different South African newspapers. I begin by tracing the production and construction of “corrective rape,” in particular how the media discourse constructs the attacks and how it marginalizes the women who survive these attacks. Then, drawing from poststructural discourse analysis, I demonstrate how South African-ness is constituted around discourses of lesbianism and “corrective rape,” in particular how the media discourse constructs how views on lesbians and “corrective rape” are either antithetical to being truly South African or are key in establishing oneself a part of democratic South African culture. Finally, I offer some thoughts on the implications these findings have for the global discourse on lesbians.
I want to begin with several caveats regarding the usage of certain terms within this thesis. The first is the use of the word lesbian. I use lesbian frequently, and I often use it in place of the common acronym for the queer community (LGBTQ) as I am making a point. Too often in the discourse of queer individuals there is a focus on gayness as representing the entire community, and while “gay” does often serve as an umbrella term, it has understood properties of masculinity and of maleness. Similar to the universal discourse of “mankind” or the generic pronoun use being male (he, his, him), the androcentric use of the word “gay” to represent the entire community needs to be fragmented and disaggregated. While I do mention gay men and the gay community at large, my analysis is not concerned with these populations; this thesis is primarily concerned with South African lesbians and public discourses about them.

The use of “lesbian” is, I will admit, problematic as well. As many women who have sex with women (or would like to have sex with women or who are attracted to women) may not identify as lesbian, the use of this word to represent them has the possibility of erasing their identities or of asserting an identity they may not claim. However, without being able to talk to these women directly to get at how they identify, this problem could manifest itself in any term I use. While queer may be a more inclusive term to use, I purposely use “lesbian” both because it is the discourse in my sample and because I want to draw attention to the homophobia and heterosexism present in the global discourse of women with same sex desires.

Also present in this discussion is the word “lesbianism,” which I freely admit makes me slightly uncomfortable and is awkward at times. Lesbianism is often used by the Right to refer to the erotic relationships that women have with other women. In other words, lesbianism often

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1 I offer these options to give room for the recognition that sexual behavior, sexual desire, and sexual orientation may not align or mean the same thing for everyone.
refers to the act of being a lesbian—the act of having sex with other women. And while the usage of lesbianism can and has been reclaimed in certain discourses, it remains an awkward phrase that relates to the act of being a lesbian, which can be dangerous in its use and application.\(^2\) However, in this thesis, I use lesbianism to refer to the state of being a lesbian not necessarily acting on being a lesbian. I do this to give, as much as I can in this textual analysis, the power of identification back to the subjects of the discourse.

The second caveat regards my use of “South African.” I use “South Africa” throughout this thesis to refer to the country, but it should be noted that I understand that South Africa is a vast country that has very different cultures and attitudes that constitute it, not unlike the United States. My data and many of my resources speak about South Africa as a whole, but these materials primarily come from the Western Cape or from Gauteng provinces. Cape Town and Johannesburg are the two major metropolitan areas that are often under discussion here and the townships mentioned are outside of one of these two cities. While “corrective rape” is not limited to these provinces, many of the newspapers and academic articles focus on the Western Cape despite there being reports of attacks all across the nation.

\(^2\) For example, if you are not actively sleeping with women, can you be a lesbian? Lesbianism refers to an act instead of a label that refers to an identity.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“They tell me that they will kill me, they will rape me and after raping me I will become a girl. I will become a straight girl” (Zakhe as cited in Martin et al. 2009:5).

I begin with a quote from ActionAid’s report on “corrective rape” by Zakhe who has lost two friends to and has survived “corrective rape” herself; the quote demonstrates the purported goal of “corrective rape”, an assault in which a straight man rapes a woman in an effort to punish and “cure” her lesbian sexual orientation. The growing phenomenon of “corrective rape” in South Africa is part of a culture of rape and violence against women (Martin et al. 2009). The Triangle Project, a South African activist non-profit organization is working toward a non-discriminatory society by “educating, lobbying and advocating against harmful stereotypes, attitudes and behaviours towards Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) people” (Triangle Project 2010). Although an estimated 80% of “corrective rapes” go unreported (Triangle Project 2010), South Africa is now receiving international Human Rights attention in the form of news media and international bodies of aid regarding “corrective rape” and the lack of police and political response (Rich 2006). In response to this spotlight on South Africa, there has been an increase in the coverage of “corrective rape” in local South African newspapers.

In this thesis, I examine the cultural production of “corrective rape” through a qualitative analysis of news accounts from South African papers. In particular, my analysis regards how discursive practices in news reporting normalize “corrective rape.” The primary visibility that LGBT people receive inside the country in terms of hate crimes and “corrective rape” comes from media rather than interpersonal contact since the stigma associated with LGBT people
remains high.\textsuperscript{3} In fact, there have been numerous news reports of women losing their jobs, custody of their children, and being thrown out of their homes after their sexual orientation became public (Kavuma 2005). Consequently, news stories are optimal sites for analysis in understanding popular knowledge of “corrective rape”. Being located in general news sections, the ways that “corrective rape” is discussed commits it to collective memory, which then shapes further discussion of the topic. With limited resources to compare facts and details about “corrective rape,” the collective memory or knowledge of “corrective rape” becomes even more important as it reveals common cultural understandings and certain “truths”.\textsuperscript{4} Moreover, since “corrective rape” is a recent discursive development, I have the opportunity to examine the ways in which it has developed.

This study also will illustrate that because of the intersectional connections between sexuality and other identity markers that the discursive practices of hate crimes are not distinct from the normalization structures. I begin with the understanding that “corrective rape” needs to be through the lens of not only sexuality but also through other marginalizing identity markers such as race. Looking at the ways that gender-based violence (GBV) is depicted in news stories is crucial in moving the conversation forward from blame to accountability (Martin et al. 2009). Instead of blaming individuals, we can hold government and society accountable for failing to take any stance on this particular issue and on the broader question of violence against women. This would hope to achieve a greater response and attention to the social influences and

\textsuperscript{3} “Corrective rape” was adopted as a term to describe these hate crimes after the stoning of Zoliswa Nkonyana (2006), the double homicide and raping of Sizakele Sigasa and Salome Massooa (2007), and the rape and murder of Eudy Simelane (2008). The term came from the men who were accused of the crimes who claimed that they were “correcting” these women (Martin et al. 2009).

\textsuperscript{4} I use “truth” in quotations not to question the validity of the information presented but as part of my poststructural frame, which I will discuss in the following pages.
circumstances that promote and fail to suppress GBV. While the concept of “corrective rape” is discursively rooted in South Africa, the logic of this violence is not foreign to the United States. While the term “corrective rape” has not been used extensively in the United States, the concept remains as important here as it is in South Africa. In 2010, Judge Joe Rehyansky made the following statement in response to Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell saying that lesbians should be allowed to serve in order to “get the distaff part of our homosexual population off our collective ‘Broke Back,’ thus giving straight male GIs a fair shot at converting lesbians and bringing them into the mainstream” (Tencer 2010). While he did not use the term “corrective rape,” he is implying the same concept: a straight man can turn a lesbian heterosexual through sex. Cultural ignorance of human sexuality is cross-cultural in this sense.

Since few studies have attempted to examine the discursive formations of “corrective rape” and very few within sociology, I will examine this form of GBV through a sociological lens adding to the fields of intersectionality, poststructural studies, and South African studies. This examination will yield that Sociology’s current knowledge on this form of South African GBV is lacking. I will also examine how normative sexuality is constituted and represented through a cross-cultural lens. I attempt to explain the divide in the cultural (local) and racialization of sexuality and hate crimes by examining how they are interconnected when examining “corrective rape” in South Africa.

Laurine Platzky and Cherryl Walker (1985) argue in their book, *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa*, that the division and fragmentation that exists in South Africa is due to a number of different challenges that comes from South Africa’s integration of apartheid policies into actual law. They argue that the people, in cases of ethnic conflict and resistance to discriminatory policies, need to regain control over their own lives by not only resisting governmental influence but the conditions in which the government places them in. They conclude by suggesting that “genuine change requires that they become central actors in the fundamentally political process of planning their own futures in post-apartheid South Africa” (Muzar 1988:148). This argument is similar to the one I am suggesting in that it suggests revolutionary thinking of framing GBV beyond who to blame but requiring accountability for the crimes, lack of action, and future response.
Cultural Context

Historically, South African law has recognized rape as “a man having unlawful, intentional sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent;” however, this law changed to a gender neutral definition in 2007 with the adoption of the “Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act, No. 32 of 2007” (Mahomed 1999:50). South Africa has the highest reported statistics of rape in the world with 40% of reported cases involving children under 18 years of age (Hirschowitz, Worku, and Orkin 2000). Relatives of the women carry out one third of all rapes and comprise twenty-one percent of all sexual offenders (Naidoo 2013). Of all reported rapes and attempted rapes, 47.3% occur in the home of the women, and 8.9% report that they were raped more than once (Hirschowitz et al 2000). With one in three girls having experienced rape, often as their first sexual encounter, experts estimate that a woman is raped every thirty-five seconds in South Africa; twenty-seven cases of rape are reported to the South African Police Services (SAPS) on average every day in the Western Cape alone (Nadioo 2013; RapeCrisis 2014). Despite former South African Minister of Justice Penuell Maduna’s denial of such a problem, South Africa remains plagued with high instances of rape and violence against women (Anderson 2000).

With homes and schools (33% of rapes involving a minor are done by schoolteachers) being the most common places for rape (by family, friends, or teachers), women report not feeling safe anywhere, which is critical since women cannot even trust law enforcement (Naidoo 2013). Since, November 2012, six police officers have been arrested for raping women who have reported domestic violence and/or rape (Foul 2013). Nationwide, 25% of men report that they have forced themselves sexually on a woman (37% in the Gauteng Province), and yet politicians remain silent, which leaves the country short on rape kits and policies that would help victims/survivors (Foul 2013).

For the purposes of this thesis, “girls” is defined in the manner that Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga, and Bradshaw (2002) do. They consider women under the age of 15 to be girls due to the fact that after the age of 15 they found substantial differences in the ways that women discussed rape; to differentiate and acknowledge this, they break rape victims into four categories, infant (under the age of three), girls (between the age of three and 15), adult women (15-49) and elderly women (50+) (Jewkes et al 2002).

Maduna made this comment on the CBS broadcast of 60 Minutes: Every 26 Seconds: South Africa is Becoming the Rape Capital of the World in February 2000. This is not very different from when former President
Many attribute South Africa’s current rape crisis to the brutal history of Apartheid and the atrocious methods used to control black and colored populations, especially women (Posel 2005; Moffett 2006; Jewkes and Abrahams 2002; Walker 2005). One of Apartheid’s lasting legacies is the isolation and repressive nature of townships. Due to the lack of privacy and the rampant poverty within the townships, the vulnerability of these women is extremely high as they have little or no social status. Rape is more prominent in the townships as is evidenced by the fact that women of color are almost 5 times more likely to be raped than white women (Anderson 2000; Mkhize et al 2010; DiSilvio 2011). In fact, 86% of Black women live in fear of sexual assault compared to 44% of white women according to gay rights activist group, the Triangle Project (Rich 2006).

Post-Apartheid South Africa promised protections for women and LGBT individuals in its constitution and bill of rights. It was the first country in the world to include sexual orientation in its protections and was the first African country to legalize same-sex marriages. Despite protections in law and policies, the translation into actual reform has been minimal (Reddy, Sandfort, and Rispel 2009; Dirsuweit 2006; Cock 2003). In fact, the legal recognition of Thabo Mbeki and Deputy President Zuma made disparaging remarks about HIV/AIDS or the case of the baby rapists (for more see Posel 2005).

9 South Africa traditionally recognizes four different races: Black African, Colored, Indian/Asian, and White. For the purposes of the Census, individuals are allowed to self-identify. There are no definitions located on the form for them to use (Statistics South Africa 2007). Traditionally, however, Black African is known to be “Native” or Bantu, “Coloured” refers to having mixed heritage usually aligning with the European ancestry, Indian/Asian typically refers to those from the Middle East or Asia, and white refers to those who have “pure” European ancestry (Moultrie and Dorrington 2011). However, with the adoption of the new constitution, South Africa is refraining from institutionalizing race instead trying to push for a race-oblivious society so that everyone can be considered equal, which is why Statistics South Africa has moved to a self-identification process in its census and surveys (Stone and Erasmus 2008).

10 In the foreword for The Country we want to Live in: Hate Crimes and Homophobia in the Lives of Black Lesbian South Africans, Beverly Ditise writes about the cultural transformations in South Africa after Apartheid was abolished and when Nelson Mandela took the office of President. She mentions that the image of having a black president emboldened Black men to treat women as they saw fit. She makes this connection in response to what her rapists told her (Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy, and Moletsane 2010).
the rights of women and sexual minorities seems to have painted them as targets for violence (Anguita 2012; Reid and Dirisuweit 2002; Mkhize et al 2010; Outwater, Abrahams, and Campbell 2005). Sexual minorities find themselves marginalized by their communities and families despite governmental recognition as they are often thought of as un-African, and this is especially true for black lesbians (Morrissey 2013; Reddy, Potgieter, and Mkhize 2007; Swarr 2012). The fear of lesbianism or homosexuality on top of an already xenophobic atmosphere leads family members to sanction “therapeutic rape,” “curative” or “corrective rape” in an effort to try to make their daughters more African and/or heterosexual (Moffett 2006; Underhill 2011).

The visibility of LGBT populations is minimal in South Africa due to the heavily heterosexual and conservative nature of the State and other policing institutions (Reddy et al 2009). This historical lack in visibility has led to an attitude within the country of anger and fear, which translates into a desire to punish and discipline that has spiked due to the “sudden emergence” of sexual minorities (Anderson 2000; DiSilvio 2001; Morrissey 2013). Machismo combines with heterosexism and stigma to show the ways in which violence is saturated and normalized in society. The social justification for “corrective rape” is that the rape will turn lesbians back onto the ‘right’ path and make them straight. The fear and anger is compounded when examined along with race. As mentioned earlier, black lesbians are the most common targets of these attempts to “cure” as fellow community members, black men, see their sexuality as ‘abnormal’ and a part of the white culture brought through colonialism (Morrissey 2013; Morgan and Wieringa 2007; Mkhize et al. 2010). There is belief that white individuals can be queer in South Africa as it is believed to be a product of whiteness, but black women cannot be, and therefore, are imitating these white women. In fact, many women who have been “correctively raped” have reported that their rapists made statements during their attacks
concerning their inability to be lesbians. Some reported that their attackers said they were trying to help them by proving that they were actually women and not men (Kavuma 2005). As the epigraph at the beginning of this thesis shows, there is a belief that raping a lesbian will show that she is a woman, which is understood to mean a straight woman. The heteropatriarchal contexts of South Africa inform this behavior and do nothing to discourage it leading to insistences of violence, death, and high HIV transmission rates (Brown 2012; Cloete, Sanger, and Simbayi 2011; Morrissey 2013; Reddy et al 2009).
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Violence against women is not an understudied area in academia especially when the subject is sexual violence. While violence against women in South Africa is not new, international attention to it (relatively) is. From colonialism to the Cold War to Apartheid, violence against women, sexual crimes in particular, were surpassed and overlooked as the spotlight was on the more heinous crimes of these periods. Even with the establishment of democracy in South Africa, violence against women (especially violence against LGBTQ peoples) receives less attention than it should considering the saturation of violence against female-bodied individuals due to overlapping systems of oppression women face (Britton 2006).

South Africa placed protections for women and girls in its constitution and has shown some dedication to reducing violence against women with its participation in the international 16 Days of Activism campaign to end violence against women and with the establishments of various working groups whose purpose is to examine the systematic challenges in regards to violence against women (Mkhize et al. 2010; Britton 2006; Hassim 2006). Despite these steps forward, women in South Africa have found little relief despite the success of the women’s movement due to the cultural backlash that has addressed women as targets of social control and as a means to reaffirm masculinity (Borer 2012; Swarr 2012; Mkhize et al. 2010; Hassim 2006; Brownmiller 1975).

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11 Outside of official state movements to end violence against women, there are any number of NGOs, non-profits and CSOs that have made movements and efforts to end GBV. For example, GAPA (Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS) found that 16 days wasn’t long enough and did a 365 days of activism.

12 The women’s movement in South Africa is considered a very successful social movement when one considers changes it was able to achieve. With constitutional protections, a great number of legal battles and new legislative bills and protections as well as a great number of women in the government, it seems like South Africa would be a great place to be a woman. In fact, in the 2013 Gender gap report South Africa is ranked 17th mainly due to these accomplishments; however, culturally women feel little of these successes (Hausmann and Tyson 2013).
Therefore, the ways that scholars approach the topic of sexual violence in South Africa needs to take those realities into consideration especially when the topic of study is compounded with other areas that have historically been overlooked such as sexuality. As this study deals with sexual violence against lesbians, this is paramount. Few studies have examined “corrective rape,” let alone the discursive use of “corrective rape.” For that reason, I will examine the ways that rape, in general, has been constructed in South Africa, the ways that South African Lesbians have been discussed in academic literature, then I examine the few studies that have discussed “corrective rape,” and finally, I conclude with the relevance of this study in particular to South African studies, rape studies, and LGBTQ studies.

**Rape in South Africa**

Discussion of rape in South Africa takes on many different contours in the literature; however, the ones important to this study elucidate historical gender oppressions, social control, and assertions of masculinity. Anderson (2000) claims that South Africa’s history has a direct impact on the current ‘rape crisis’ that it is facing. Many claim that the use of rape as a weapon of war is not new and was used freely during colonial South Africa, the proxy wars\(^{13}\), and apartheid (Borer 2012; Baaz and Stern 2009; Card 1996). Anderson (2000) contributes the brutal militarized culture of violence as well as a lack of legal structure that was present in South Africa for generations to the current paradigms of sexual violence while others contribute the high rate to myths and concerns over HIV/AIDS (Richter 2003; Jewkes et al. 2012).

Richter (2003) argues that one reason so many young women are raped has less to do with violent pasts but with the current HIV/AIDS epidemic and men’s attempts to cure

\(^{13}\) This is in reference to the Cold War not to any ethnic conflicts in South Africa.
themselves. Many have claimed that it was a common belief in South Africa that having sex with a virgin could cure HIV, (Jewkes, Martin, and Penn-Kekana 2002; Pitcher and Bowley 2002), and many attribute this myth to the reason why South Africa now has infant rape epidemic as well as a general rape crisis (Richer 2003). While Richer also discusses environmental concerns (such as the lack safety and protections for youth in South Africa), her focus leans toward lack of enforcement as to why the rates of these crimes remain steady. Similarly, Anderson (2000) also makes note of the lack of legal enforcement of sexual crimes, and both discuss the cultural implications (such as apathy) when crimes like these can go unenforced.

Most scholars believe that many of South Africa’s rapes go unreported due to the lack of law enforcement, conviction rates, and safety concerns (Jewkes et al. 2012; Anderson 2000; Richer 2003; Reddy, Sandfort, and Rispel 2009; Mkhize, et al. 2010). Richer (2003) points out that less than 50% of infant rape cases went to court and only 10% of those were found guilty and that one in twenty rapes are reported to the police and of those cases only 48% went to court of which 45% were thrown out (Anderson 2000; Statistics South Africa 2000). As said, many attribute these low numbers to lack of security and the failings of the criminal justice system, which cyclically works to secure an environment where rape and crime is normalized.

Rape is constructed as a normal part of everyday life in South Africa; in fact, many use the normalcy of rape to their advantage. Jewkes et al. (2012) found that in cases of group rape, there were three common reasons men gave for the crime which included 1) entertainment, 2) punishment for a friend’s girlfriend or wife (usually for cheating), and 3) to take advantage (in

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14 Here, infant refers to a child under the age of three.
cases where women were not sober, drugs or alcohol). While punishing was the reason for
33% of the gang rapes in Gauteng Province, the greater majority was to keep the men from
boredom (Jewkes et al. 2012). Gang rape is often the form that “corrective rape” takes. As
young men roam the townships, they come across a single lesbian or a couple and use the sheer
force of their numbers to rape these women often because the women threaten their own
masculinity (Swarr 2012).

Dosekun (2013) examines the way that rape has been stabilized in the culture of the
Western Cape and in the discourse of its inhabitants. Dosekun analyzes the discourse of rape
from a critical feminist lens and focuses her discussion on the othered nature of attackers and the
metaphorical separation of victims from women who have not experienced rape. Through semi-
structured interviews with women who had not been raped, she came to find out that the
discourse of rape has four distinct “repertoires:” statistics (the reporting of “objective” numbers),
crime, race (“the racial Other as the rapists”) and gender (normal gender roles influence rape)
(Dosekun 2013:522). Dosekun’s examination of everyday language surrounding women’s fears
of rape found that rape and sexual violence was not only considered normal but expected in
heterosexual relationships. She also found that the women in her sample identified the victims of
rape to be poor black women who lived out in the townships—the other while the threat of rape
always comes from “black/coloured/poor/violent/criminal men” (Dosekun 2013:532). Dosekun
argues that women in Cape Town (she generalizes to speak about South Africa as a whole) are
left as vulnerable and weak as they didn’t understand the patriarchal norms and structures that
influence rape, which also left them without the “adequate imaginaries of where they could

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15 Jewkes et al (2012) refer to it as multiple perpetrator rape and state that while 37% of men admitted to
raping women, 9% admitted to gang raping. While this number may seem small, it is 16 times higher than the next
highest country with a high prevalence of gang rape.
possibly be at risk” of rape (2013:522). However, Dosekun’s (2013) findings and therefore understanding on the everyday discourse of rape in South Africa are limited as they come from a primarily white, heterosexual, urban, and highly educated sample (all students at University of Cape Town except one who was a staff member).

Moffett (2006), on the other hand, looks at rape through the theoretical frame of social control. In fact, she argues against framing narratives of rape through race as it others black men and reinforces racial stereotypes and barriers. Moffett looks at how rape has been justified within South African culture through practices and narratives stemming from apartheid, and she does this through understanding sexual violence as a gender civil war (2006). By framing rape as a patriarchal tool to maintain gendered order, divisions, and behavior, she claims that rape serves as a method of control and to other women intimately, and while Moffett admits that this is generally true of rape globally, it has special significance in South Africa as much of these behaviors are influenced by Apartheid. Moffett claims that rape should be understood through discourses of gender rather than race as this framework can more readily be addressed through educational outreach, elucidate intimate oppressions, and it acknowledges that men from all races rape not just black men (2006).

**Vulnerabilities of Lesbian Identities**

Swarr explores South African butch lesbian masculinities and claims that the ‘crisis of masculinity’ that black men are experiencing in post-apartheid townships comes from feeling threatened (2012). Swarr’s exploration of lesbian culture is qualified to women who identify as lesbian in South Africa and who are generally on the far left of the gender presentation scale.16

16 On a typical gender presentation scale, femininity is located on the far right and masculinity is on the far left with androgyny or genderqueer in the middle.
She argues that their presentation and representation of masculinity places lesbian women at a place of contestation and perceived competition with men. Swarr’s examination of butch lesbian identity finds contention with lesbian relationship dynamics and presentation. She states, “relationships shape how butches see themselves,” but that “it is also crucial to address violence in this context because violence shapes both the parameters of relationships and contestations over masculinities” (Swarr 2012:972). Swarr is referring to the common practice of lesbian women dating Women who have Sex with Women (WSW) but who also identify as heterosexual and engage in heterosexual sex at the same time as dating these women, which she claims isn’t altogether an uncommon practice due to the strict butch-femme subculture in South Africa (2012; Reddy, Sandfort, and Rispel 2009; Nkabinde and Morgan 2007; Kheswa and Wieringa 2007). While Swarr’s examination of butch identity in South Africa is incredibly insightful, it fails to consider the devastating consequences of unilaterally categorizing butch identity and fails to address situations where butch identity is not met with conflict or contention.

There are many scholars that claim that within the lesbian community in South Africa, one has to identify as butch or femme as many understandings of gender roles remain deeply heteropatriarchal (Swarr 2012; Swarr and Nagar 2003; Kheswa and Wieringa 2007). However, there are others who negate that contention as it limits gay and lesbian self-expression (Salo, Ribas, Lopes, Zamboni 2010; Gunkel 2009). According to the former argument, the roles that a lesbian takes on in her relationship often dictate how they present themselves to the public (Swarr 2012; Kheswa and Wieringa 2007). These negotiations of binary identities within the LGBTQ community are not unique to South Africa as Swarr and Nagar (2003) explore. They look at how poor women of color who have same-sex relationships with other women in the Global South experience different struggles around empowerment, intimacy, identity,
community, infrastructure, and resources due to the restrictions of identity they feel their communities place on them. The relationships that Swarr and Nagar examine show strict boundaries and contours around butch identity that places lesbian women in vulnerable positions. Their findings indicated that butch lesbians were required to be the breadwinners of the family, as well as protectors and that they behaved, dressed, and adhered to cultural hegemonic masculine norms (Swarr and Nagar 2003; Swarr 2012; Kheswa and Wieringa 2007).

While Gunkel (2009) does not directly engage with Swarr, she references the commonly held idea that there is a strict division between the identities of butch and femme lesbians. She does concede that a majority of activist lesbian relationships in the Johannesburg area seem to fit this ideal, however, she claims that it cannot be concluded that all do. In fact, Gunkel (2009) makes the point of addressing the need for women to understand and researchers to acknowledge the diversity in gender expression. Similarly, Salo et. al (2010) point out that, in fact, there are many different gendered expressions among lesbians, especially in the Cape Town townships. They argue that the researchers who claim that queer relationships emulate heterosexual ones due to the hegemonic sexual orientation of the country purport a compulsory heterosexuality that limits the agency and freedom of sexual expression of lesbian women. They further claim that doing so proves extremely problematic as the common contention (of strict butch-femme divisions) becomes embodied in blackness meaning the examination of these women is racially linked to reproduction of heterosexuality (Salo et. al 2010). As the discussion of the butch-femme division is always centered around black lesbians (never white lesbians), these discussions are therefore racially structured as well as reproduces the institution of heterosexuality. These studies address a greater diversity in gender expression and sexual identities, unlike Swarr and Nagar (2003) and Swarr (2012), while taking into consideration the
threat of hate crimes against masculine identified women as a way to subvert heterosexual claims on masculinity.

Many scholars attribute the contestation of butch and lesbian identity to a general lack of understanding of same-sex practices and desires. Nkunzi Zandile Nkabinde (2008:145) claims, “[Being lesbian] is not about wanting to sleep with men or not wanting to sleep with men. Maybe that is what is so threatening to men. Some men just don’t understand that women prefer women. It is ignorance.” Many claim that this ignorance comes from a popular understanding that same-sex attraction is ‘un-African’ and the lack of proper recognition in the media (Morrissey 2013; Morgan and Wieringa 2007; Mkhize et al. 2010; Livermon 2012). The blatant homophobia present in South African communities creates a veil of silence that condones actions to correct the perceived abnormality and to take back or (re)claim contested identities.

Scott (2013) examines this framing of lesbian sexuality as un-African through her discussion of same-sex marriage in South Africa as a way of citizenship and finds it as a disservice to the discourses that surround black lesbians. Her discussion touches on the natural form of homophobia and how it relies on stereotypes of black lesbian sexuality. For example, she discusses how townships are represented as imbibed with culture which is synonymous with homophobia so that discourses surrounding black lesbians represent them as “simply as raped victims with HIV, unable to walk down their own streets” (Scott 2013:546). She goes on to claim that representing and limiting discussions of community perception of sexuality to simply “its un-African” does a disservice to South Africans as a whole as attitudes regarding sexuality are varied and to masculinity as discussions of “un-African” tend to center around masculinity painting it as primitive and homophobic. However, Scott’s (2013) discussion of lesbian
citizenship (as linked with marriage) in South Africa is incredibly insightful and useful for this thesis as many questions revolve around lesbian’s positionality within South African culture.

The Struggles of “Corrective Rape”

Anguita (2011) shows that while the term “corrective rape” is known and used, survivors and advocates preferred referring to the crime as a hate crime, gender based violence, or simply as rape. While this allows for a wider and greater positioning of the phenomenon, it also lessens the severity to just another crime, or as a small part in a larger "framework of hate crimes against ‘others’" (491). Anguita’s examination of “corrective rape” focuses more on the policy and intervention side of the crime by examining Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs) and the role that they take (2011). Anguita’s examination of the broader impact of “corrective rape” is useful in showing the ways that organizations are interacting or not interacting with the topic at hand and in the examination of the continued production of “corrective rape” due to a lack of intervention (2011).

The frustration that Anguita displays in her examination of the lack of intervention of CSOs and NHRIs is articulated clearly in Zanele Muholi’s essay on Lesbian Rape (2011). While Muholi is not an academic, she is well known to those who study “corrective rape” as she is an internationally renowned visual activist whose work focuses on the sexual victimization of Black Lesbians in South Africa. Her discussion of “corrective rape” focuses on the stories that she has heard from her friends and her neighbors. While using the phrase “curative rape” only once in her essay, Muholi captures women’s stories and experiences of “lesbian rape” viscerally. Muholi’s discussion of “corrective rape” focuses on the ways that the women she spoke to relate their struggles with identity and empowerment after experiencing “corrective rape.” She
condemns LGBT CSOs for their lack of activism on this issue and the South African government for not recognizing the “lesbian rape” as a hate crime (2011).

Studies that mention “corrective rape” are rare, but studies that focus on “corrective rape” are even more rare. Morrissey’s (2013) examination of the discursive use and consequences of being a Black lesbian in South Africa is one example of this.\textsuperscript{17} Morrissey analyzed “corrective rape” as a consequence of being a Black lesbian. She triangulated three forms of data and examined newspapers, film and human rights reports as a way to gain a broader cultural understanding of the issue. Morrissey ran a search through Lexis Nexus and found 11 newspaper articles that mentioned lesbian identity and “corrective rape.”\textsuperscript{18} The articles spanned a 21-month period from 2007 to 2009. To supplement her data, which she recognized was too small, Morrissey included a short documentary on “corrective rape” as well as human rights reports that mention “corrective rape.” Her reasoning for including the documentary was to get common discourses of the public into her sample. She included the human rights reports to “further detail the nature of, and the circumstances surrounding” “corrective rape” (Morrissey 2013:78).

In her findings, she discusses the need for an authentic identity, the discursive victimization of black lesbians, and the disciplining of the sexual abject. While her study looks at the discursive use of “corrective rape,” Morrissey does so through the lens of punishment and victimization. Her discussion focuses on claim that lesbians are seen as “un-African” for a considerable time by examining the various ways that nationality is asserted in various aspects of

\textsuperscript{17} Morrissey frames “corrective rape” as a consequence of being a Black lesbian. She claims that they are rendered to discipline due to their unique positionality in South African culture. Framing “corrective rape” a “disciplining” act due to their “sexual deviance” is an odd choice. Despite this being claimed as the motivation by those who rape these women, it implies that the women were the cause of their own rape for choosing to be a “sexual deviant” instead of placing the accountability on the male violence.

\textsuperscript{18} I find it important to note that these articles included some from international news sources. Two of the articles used for examination were from European sources, which would have vastly different discursive structures.
identity and behavior. Morrissey discusses this othering of Black lesbians as a form of discursive victimization. She identifies the assumed victimization of black women through the positioning of the language used to describe lesbians and the ways that authors titled their works. She criticizes the news sources and human rights reports for describing Black lesbians in a passive sense instead of active agents (2013). Her final thematic claim was that the othering and discursive victimization placed Black lesbians in a position to be disciplined by their community.

Morrissey claims that by pushing Black lesbians to the outside of South African culture, perpetrators claim a legitimacy for their actions, which further disempowers the already victimized population (2013). Her findings, while insightful, are limited due to the small sample size and limited scope of her study.

Too few studies of South African lesbian identity focuses on Black or colored women as representatives of lesbian identity, and even fewer examine the dynamics of this identity in the townships. As many note, lesbian and gay studies and places in South Africa are whitewashed often leaving women of color without places of refuge within and outside of the academy (Gunkel 2009; Visser 2010). Moreover, despite the over-prevalence of rape cases, far too few studies have focused on Black Africans and/or lesbian women. While some studies may mention the growing prevalence of “corrective rape” in passing, it is far too common to see “holistic” rape studies not even mention the brutal crimes. While some of this might be explained by a lack of quantitative data on the subject (and general lack of qualitative rape studies in South Africa), there is still a large lapse that needs attention.\footnote{I should also note that there is a lack of insider research done on this topic as well. The lack of African, especially South African, scholars on this subject leaves a gaping hole in this field, and this is due to a wide array of reasons outside of the scope of this thesis.} While there are a few studies that do
specifically examine “corrective rape” (Anguita 2011; Morrissey 2013), no one does so in the manner that this study does and none with data from the last few years.
CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Intersectionality

At the heart of this study is the various ways that identities shift, overlap, and come to a unique nexus that places individuals in positions of vulnerability, danger, and/or inequality. While the unit of analysis for this study is newspaper articles; these articles all discuss the possible event of “corrective rape” in South Africa. Generally, the victims/survivors of “corrective rape” are Black/African, women, (often) butch lesbians, poor, and South African.20

The intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, gender presentation, sexual behavior/sexual orientation, class, and nationality places these women at a unique juncture in South African society that cannot be overlooked.21

Kimberlé Crenshaw is credited with pioneering the field of intersectionality studies and with coining the term “intersectional”.22 Crenshaw defines intersectionality as the “ways in which the location of women of color at the intersections of race and gender makes our actual

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20 With the rise of education about rape culture, there has been a shift in the vernacular that we use when we talk about domestic violence, rape, and sexual assault. We use the word survivor “to resist feelings of helplessness, vulnerability, and weakness associated with being a victim” (Ristock 2002:81). However, as “corrective rape” often results in the murder or death of the woman, I will be using “victim” simultaneously with “survivor” to actually represent the women who did not survive as well as the women who did.

21 While sexual orientation and sexual behavior are different categories and can encompass different identities, I will be using sexual orientation to represent both in this study. As I presented in the previous section, South African lesbian identity is complex and varied (as it is everywhere), and as I cannot speak to the women and have them self-identify to get the nuances of their identity, I will be assuming that sexual behavior and sexual orientation align.

22 While Crenshaw was the first to use the term “intersectionality,” it needs to be noted that she wasn’t the first to use the concept. As Patricia Hill Collins outlines in Black Feminist Thought, Black women had been calling for new ways to analyze, approach, and explain Black women’s experiences (2000). This call can be traced back to Sojourner Truth (1851), Anna Julia Cooper (1892; 1945) and found in the plethora of scholarship from the 1980s. Angela Davis (1981), the Combahee River Collective (1982), and Audre Lorde (2007) all called for a multidimensional approach to Black women’s lived experiences; Crenshaw was the first scholar to coin the term “intersectional.”
experiences…qualitatively different from that of white women;” in addition to race and class, Crenshaw also includes how black women’s experiences are shaped and molded by their class locations (Crenshaw 1995:358). She discusses this topic in the frame of rape and domestic violence, but the concept of different experiences based on intersecting oppressions due to race and gender is important when examining Black lesbian experiences in South Africa because it allows for a medium to examine the unique vulnerability that comes with the intersection of these identities.

Crenshaw elaborated on previous Black Studies scholars’ conceptualization of feminism and described black feminism in a way that sought to enfranchise blackness and the intersection of sex (Crenshaw 1989). She examined court cases and the treatment of black women and found similarities that spoke to an institutional framework that looked at either gender, race, or class but never in conjunction. She traced this finding back to the white feminist movement and noted that it is still present within contemporary white feminist thought. In this article, she makes the point that

Feminists thus ignore how their own race functions to mitigate some aspects of sexism and, moreover, how it often privileges them over and contributes to the domination of other women. Consequently, feminist theory remains white, and its potential to broaden and deepen its analysis by addressing non-privileged women remains unrealized. (Crenshaw 1989)

The court cases that Crenshaw examined delineate this privilege and dichotomy and sought to create a framework that encompassed a complex and inclusive critique on how black women have been treated by the dominate white power structure. She argues that black women simply cannot be added to the existing structure of feminism because it does not account for intersectionality between race and gender and therefore, needs to be rethought along the lines of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989).
Crenshaw makes the argument that intersectionality in black communities and in black feminist discussions is important in understanding the difference of black experience and consciousness from white consciousness. Black feminism cannot take the same formation as white feminism; it must consider race, class, and gender together. Crenshaw states, “foregoing [the] critique of the single-issue framework renders problematic the claim that the struggle against racism is distinguishable from, much less prioritized over, the struggle against sexism” (1989:70). The racial otherness that black women and men face is just as important in understanding and discussing as the sexual oppression that black women (and men) face from the white community, and therefore, they have to be discussed with an intersectional approach (Crenshaw 1989).

Crenshaw’s call to address the racism in feminism and feminist theory through intersectionality is considered a classic in intersectionality studies just as is Collin’s Black Feminist Thought (2000); however, there were many other scholars trying to address the need for anti-racism in their scholarship that are overlooked when examining the beginning of intersectionality studies (Grzankia 2014). For example, Haraway (1988) questioned science’s role in the establishment of racist ideology and established a framework that was anti-racist, anticolonial, and Marxist when thinking about objectivity and feminism. However, despite being published in the same time, Haraway was often overlooked with regards to intersectionality as she didn’t directly engage with the black feminist agenda of “intersectionality” (Grzankia 2014).

Initial intersectionality studies concerned themselves on the “social and economic conditions” on which race, class, and gender are premised; consequently, the power relations that are often examined within this framework tend to be done through conversations of labor and citizenship (Pascale 2009). Collins outlines the matrix of domination (2000) as a way of
understanding the political, economic and social oppressions that black women face due to the subordinated and interlocking oppressions of race, class, and gender in society. However done, this lens of intersectionality often overlooks the relationship of other marginalizing factors. For example, without examining sexuality, intersectionality conflates gender with sexuality and reproduces heterosexism (Pascale 2009). While Crenshaw sought to include Black women and men into discussion about sex and class, intersectionality has expanded to apply to many different intersections beyond the initial three. The concept is now an essential platform of the social sciences (Anthias 2012) and women’s studies (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2010) and sociology (Witt 2011) more specifically. Generally, intersectionality applies to race, class, and gender (as it has been canonized in the social sciences), but it has come to include ability, sexuality, and nationality along with many other marginalizing markers (Pascale 2011; Taylor, Hines, and Casey 2011; Meekosha and Shuttleworth 2009; Collins 2000). However, it is important to note that while intersectionality theory commonly refers back to race, class, and gender black feminist thought included a much earlier focus on these other social categories or identities. For example, the Combahee River Collective’s statement (1982) brought sexuality into focus along with race, class, and gender. Audre Lorde (2007) also brought sexuality into focus along with age in her discussion of redefining difference. bell hooks (1990), as I discuss below, brought physical and metaphorical location into the discussion as well.

Intersectionality has had significant traction as a theoretical concept due in part to third wave feminist politics and the growing perception of accepting and acknowledging difference, but that is not the only way that intersectionality has been used; it has also been understood as approach to methodology. McCall (2005) and Anthias (2012) both discuss the different levels or types of analysis that intersectionality can have. For example, McCall identifies three types:
anticategorical complexity, intercategorical complexity, and intracategorical complexity. Most research on intersectionality fall into these categories and they describe the ways that the research looks at the boundaries of “categories,” i.e. so fluid and loose that the boundaries don’t really exist, so solid and unyielding that the boundaries are clear cut or a happy medium between those extremes (McCall 2005). Anthias (2012), on the other hand, claims there should be more focus and attention on what levels of analysis intersectionality approaches and uses instead of on what is being done. She argues that intersectionality should be framed as a way to understand social categories, but also societal arenas of investigation as well as historicity, i.e. the processes and outcomes. Anthias (2012) suggests that when examining what is being said, there should be three levels of analysis through abstraction: social ontologies, discursive practices of social categories, and concrete social relations. Anthias’s proposed framing of intersectionality examines the way individuals embody their location as well as the knowledge that can be gained from the categories and boundaries they place on themselves and by what they choose to privilege (2012).

Intersectionality’s understandability is such that it has now gained mass appeal outside of feminist circles; it has now expounded into new areas, even finding traction in politics and policies. However, due to this, many claim that intersectionality has lost its potency as it is now used simply as a catchword to legitimate studies within current academic frames (Knapp 2005; Davis 2008; Anthias 2012). This greater net of analysis, the inclusion of more social categories to be analyzed, allows scholars to understand the shifting and multiple oppressions individuals or group might face that might be eclipsed or escape entirely if only focusing on one to two identity markers; however, it also can be seen as a never ending list of cross-cutting markers. The question is raised of what differences get included in analysis or in the theoretical framing of the
question. At what point does the list become too large or too narrow to actually examine? The concern is that this expansion has created an individualization of differences that has diluted what intersectionality can actually do (Anthias 2012).

The Margin

bell hooks’ intersectional approach to understand marginalization and empowerment is also crucial to this study as the racialized context of post-apartheid South Africa attaches stigma to skin color and sexuality in a way that influences the understanding of normativity and acceptability. As many scholars have pointed out, South Africa has traditionally been homophobic and heteropatriarchal (Mkhize 2010; Reid and Dirisuweit 2002; Anderson 2000). Under apartheid, South Africa was premised on white racism and so-called racial purity that existed to protect white heterosexual families (Morrisey 2013). This framework racialized normative sexuality as white, and othered not only other sexual identities, but also those of other racial identities.23

Despite the Constitution’s aim at decentering race, the country’s xenophobic history has translated into very racialized attitudes that place Black Africans at the margin of their own country.24 As bell hooks explains, the margin can be a place of oppression, but it can also be a place of radical openness (hooks 1990). hooks’ physical representation of the margin was the train tracks that separated her community from the rest of the town that she grew up in. These tracks segregated the African-Americans from the white residents. Similarly, the townships in

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23 The treatment of same sex desire under apartheid is displayed quite well in the film The World Unseen (2007). The film depicts the relationship of two Indian women who find love despite the racialized confines of apartheid and heterosexual constraints (Sarif 2007). While the film does not depict Black lesbians, the film’s discussion of these topics is still relevant to understanding the ways in which sexuality was policed, institutionalized, and feared.

24 See footnote 9 for this discussion.
South Africa serve as the metaphorical railroad tracks, since the townships have historically been racialized ghettos where black Africans and coloreds have lived. hooks’ argument is that the margin, the place forced upon those who are marginalized, should be a place of grassroots organizing, a place of resistance. By defining the location as a place of power/of resistance, it challenges the dominant hegemonic thinking and domination. This is crucial in claiming individual agency and empowering Black individuals who have continually been marginalized by imperialists’ white supremacists (hooks 1990).

While hooks’ discussion of the margin focuses on African-Americans, she notes that the concept can be applied to all oppressed, exploited, and colonized peoples (hooks 1990). However, she makes it clear that the “experience of space and location” is not the same for all “black folks” (hooks 1990:155). However, the concept of the margin, while looking different for black Africans, is still a useful subject in thinking about empowerment and locating where structures reinscribe “normal” identities and behaviors. hooks’ From Margin to Center covers the areas in which individuals can theorize and take into consideration their own race, gender, class, and sexuality. This intersectional approach is crucial in understanding how black lesbians are marginalized discursively and physically in South Africa. Understanding that race, class, gender, and sexuality all work to place black lesbians at a cultural disadvantage is important in understanding the use of “corrective rape.”

Understanding the margin as a space to claim individual and collective agency is paramount in countering the discourse that black lesbians are victims and helpless, which has surfaced with this discourse on “corrective rape.” It is also important to recognize that Black lesbians are marginalized and placed on the margin not just because of their race, but also because of the intersections with their gender and sexuality. Since heterosexuality was tied with
whiteness during apartheid, it also became ingrained in South African identity (Morgan and Wieringa 2007). Positing heterosexuality as central to South African identity, places same-sex desires as un-natural and un-African; therefore, it is something brought to South Africa by the white colonizers. This framing of queerness erases Black Africans who are gay or lesbian thereby, institutionalizing heterosexuality as normative and the only acceptable performative category of sexual desire (Barnard 2003; Reid and Dirsuweit 2002).

Poststructural Theory

Similar to intersectionality, poststructural theory and poststructural discourse analysis are crucial to my study. Poststructural theory proceeds from the premise that meaning is fluid and meanings change with different readers, time, and cultures (Grbich 2013). Poststructural theorists look at subjects not as autonomous beings, but as subjects located in a complex system of power relations (Foucault 1972). Poststructural thought is balanced on the challenge of universal truths and one of those is that gender is essential to the self; it relies on the inquiry of natural/unnatural in relation to the changing strictures of truth and knowledge; it is a theory intended to break reifications (Foucault 1978).

As Gannon and Davies point out, poststructural thought “seeks to transcend the individual or social divide and to find the ways in which the social worlds we inhabit, and the possibilities for existence within them, are actively spoken into existence” (2007:82). The focus of poststructural thought is not on the social itself, but instead on the ways that society constructs the identity and subjectivity through relations of power. In other words, it is concerned with the

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25 While this may seem to contradict or directly oppose intersectionality, which I just presented, I use the two together purposively. The intersectional approach to gender is understood to be one that is fixed or at least stable. Poststructural thought doesn’t contradict the fact that gender exists and has meaning but instead focuses on the inequalities that would interact with other identity markers. Intersectionality speaks to social locations, and my use of poststructural theory speaks to the meanings those social locations have.
ways that language is a source of power. Foucault uses discourse to refer to “a regulated set of statements which combine with others in particular ways...[and] is regulated by a set of rules which lead to the distribution and circulation of certain utterances and statements” (Mills 2003:54). Poststructural theory has a method called poststructuralist discourse analysis, which looks at the ways that discourse structures and limits “us from seeing the genesis and development of ideas as the power-lade discourse that they really are” (Grbich 2013:174). Scholars who take up poststructural analyses tend to focus on language and the power of discourse. Discourse tends to be a primary site for analysis showing how cultural life is produced and deconstructed (Gannon and Davies 2007).

Foucault’s theory of discourse concerns what is left out unsaid as well as what may be part of an authorized discourse in any given context. For something to be established in the discourse or as a matter of fact, other things have to be left out or discredited (Foucault 1981). The authorized discourse is reliant on the unsaid said discourse in that one cannot understand the manifest discourse without knowing what Foucault calls the “already-said” and the “never-said” discourse. For example, the visible presence and focus on black lesbians in “corrective rape” is dependent on the invisible presence of white lesbians and their non-marginalized status; otherwise, there would be no way to understand the discourse on the marginalization of black lesbians. This becomes important in examining knowledge and the ways that knowledge has been/is institutionalized. Foucault elaborated on the evolution of knowledge in *Power/Knowledge* where he examined knowledge as “a conjunction of power relations and information-seeking” (Mills 2003:69). He states that “the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power...Knowledge and power are integrated with one another...It is not possible for power to be exercised without
knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power” (Foucault 1980:52). This framing emphasizes the integral part that knowledge has to play in power struggles and locates the production of knowledge as an effect of power. This can be seen clearly in academic disciplines prior to the 1960s. Being that academia was a predominately heterosexual, white, middle class institution, many research studies focused on those who were not in those social locations: queer, racial or ethnic minorities, working class/poor or those impoverished. The examination of those in power remains relatively new (see the emergence of whiteness studies, and examinations of heterosexuality, and the “culture” of the middle class).

However, after the 1960s, there was a flux of women and men of color and other individuals from varying backgrounds that has changed the focus of studies.

Important to this study is Foucault’s application of power/knowledge to the body and the way the body has been constituted. Foucault has acknowledged that control or exertion of power (as rape should be considered at least an attempt of such) should be expected as political struggles are often explored through the problem of the body (1977; 1980). In fact, he has stated that “it is always the body that is at issue—the body and its forces, their utility and their docility, their distribution and their submission” (Foucault 1977:25). Foucault speaks about doing body work, becoming aware of one’s body as a pathway of desire, which is a production of power; however, he notes, after this is realized, the body can be seen as a threat to power specifically to the “pleasure against the moral norms of sexuality, marriage, [and] decency” (1980:56). This becomes extremely important for lesbians and queer individuals, as the process of coming out and living authentically can be seen as the body work and the cultural reaction/backlash can be

26 This is one reason why my reflexive statement is so important (see methodology chapter). Being in a position of power, the white academic, any production of knowledge concerning the subjects of my study (black South African lesbians) is an exertion of my power. I wish to problematize this but it cannot be denied that there is a power imbalance.
seen as the power counterattack. Foucault describes this through the problem of child
masturbation. For Foucault, the body is a site of struggle for political power. For example, in
*Discipline & Punish*, Foucault talks about the controlling interest the public has in the body,
specifically in the punishment of the body. The move from public to private discipline, as
evidenced with the birth of the prison, has changed the way we respond to the body (1977).
Foucault asserts that part of the act of privatizing the disciplining the body is the mandate that we
rarely touch the body directly. This is evidence that the move for punishment has gone beyond
the body to the mind. Crucial to Foucault in this discussion is the role of surveillance and the
Panopticon as this move internalizes possibility of being caught for any wrong. The role of
punishment then, is no longer the body, but the mind (1977). This is important in discussions of
“corrective rape” as while the body is the medium in which the punishment is carried out, it is
the broader belief that lesbianism is accepted that is being punished.

Foucault’s use of discourse and Poststructural theory has a strong relationship with power
and the ways that power is used, as I discussed (1977). Foucault’s use of poststructural discourse
analysis is often used as a resource to analyze and understand race, class, and gender as it regards
language that we use to construct those concepts as a constitutive force (Pascale 2007; Hall
1997; Hall 2001; Taylor 2013). It is for this reason why Poststructural theory is often used in
queer theory as it questions the very nature of everyday practices and knowledge that structures
life (Gannon and Davies 2007). It is Poststructural theory’s attention to queer bodies and queer
theory that this thesis is most concerned with. As Foucault developed his own analysis through
discussion of sexuality (see Foucault 1978; 1980; 1985; 1986), it is fitting for this study to do so
as well.
Vivian K. Namaste explains that Poststructural thought claims that people are not autonomous creators of their world or reality rather that they are positioned in a reality that has a plethora of networks and connections within the social. The focus on the individual needs to be studied, problematized, and deconstructed in order to understand how subjectivity is framed within the individual’s reality (Namaste 1994; Mills 2003). Namaste argues that the ways that subjectivities are framed, conceived of, and made sense of is what poststructural thought is concerned with in retroaction to structuralism’s preoccupation with positing agents as knowledge.27 Foucault examines the production of social identities/categories and the multiplicities that exist for examination or interpretation. Foucault studied the production of the Other or “homosexual” in comparison to heterosexual. He makes the claim that with the rise of discourse on sexuality, the category of Other was created in which to describe experiences or knowledge counter to the dominant. Derrida28, another poststructural theorist that Namaste uses, examines the ways in which these categories are complimentary or supplementary since one cannot exist in definition without the other (similar to how masculinity defines itself by what is not-femininity) (Namaste 1994). The interpretation of binaries and the ways that the meanings are reinforced in language is supplementarity, which is crucial in understanding the connections in discourse on sexuality—especially in examining the discursive creation of “corrective rape” (Namaste 1994; Royle 2003).

27 Social identities are effects of situational knowledge, specific to social and cultural logics. Since knowledge shifts from one representational context to another, it is important to locate where the discursive practices are taking place (Foucault 1972). In discussing the sexual identity of Black lesbians, it is important to recognize that the discourse of same-sex attraction, practices, and relations are significantly different in South African than in America or elsewhere. The identities of South African Black lesbians are constructed in a discourse that is unique to African contexts (Morgan and Wieringa 2007).

28 Derrida’s work on poststructural theory while informed by Foucault, as he was his student, differs considerably. While I recognize that his work is important in the study and understanding of poststructural theory, I will not be drawing from his work extensively. I will be calling on and referring to his use of text, the author, and the supplement at various points throughout this thesis, but Derrida’s theory as a whole only has tangential application to this thesis as the aims of Derrida’s scholarship is substantially different than Foucault’s.
Derrida’s supplementarity is instrumental in the inside/outside paradigm that queer theory uses to understand the positionality of queer people. The inside/outside describes “the various ways in which heterosexuality and homosexuality are mutually dependent, yet antagonistic” (Namaste 1994:224). Foucault’s work on the naming or production of queer identity allowed for a greater legal discourse on civil rights and protections as well as a greater medicalized notion of sexuality and the creation of the “closet.” This development relies on the normalized nature of heterosexuality and the othering of gay identified peoples (those still inside of the closet). Because queer individuals cannot operate outside of the current conceptualizations of sexuality but are not included within heterosexuality, the inside/outside paradigm seeks to voice this contradiction as well as give room for contesting the borders and negotiate personal locations (Namaste 1994).

Judith Butler also decries the closet, the queer/heterosexual binary, and the heteronormative ways in examining sexuality. In “Imitation and Gender Insubordination,” Butler argues against the categorization of “lesbian.” She claims that “identity categories tend to be instruments of regulatory regimes,” and therefore, by extension, asserting a queer identity is part of a homophobic discourse in a Foucauldian sense (Butler 2001:166). Since identity categories are used as a method of control, to place oneself within the category would be turning away from the true nature of the category. For example, placing oneself within the ‘lesbian’ category, places oneself within a place of trying to reach legitimacy instead of liberation as “lesbian” as a term is the consequence of a heterosexist discourse. Butler goes on to discuss the discourse of coming out and how that reproduces homophobia, otherness, the centrality of heterosexuality while noting that this discourse has been needed as a way of affirming resistance, but the risks of this discourse need to be realized as well (Butler 2001).
Recognizing that coming ‘out’ does not place oneself outside of the oppression caused by heterosexuality as well as recognizing that being ‘out’ and claiming an identity category does little in creating transparency of sexuality is important in being able to understand how coming ‘out’ creates a new binary of in/out that targets the individual as much as others within the same identity category. For the individual, being ‘out’ means having to continually assert oneself as ‘out’ and not ‘in’ making the process infinite in the same ways that asserting masculinity or femininity are infinite processes by continually defining themselves by what they are not. Failing to continue in this assertion can lead to a confusion of being perceived as ‘in,’ thereby transforming the perceived transparency gained by being ‘out’ into the opaque nature of being “in” feared by those who want or need the disclosure (fear of erasure) (Butler 2001). In other words, Butler is describing a never-ending process of coming out. By failing to actively assert being out, the individual could lose their status of being considered out, which for those who have gone through the coming out process would mean losing so much of themselves-erasing the hard identity work that the individual had accomplished. In this vein, there are certain perceptions of ‘outness’ and aspects of an identity that are accepted in the face of broader public erasures. Only a limited range of lesbian and queer identities are widely visible and acknowledged. Butler cautions against heterosexist privileging of some forms of queerness since it creates violent exclusions (Butler 2001). In this process of creating a visible sign of what is accepted, which does have a political necessity however contested, there needs to be an understanding “that oppression works not merely through acts of over prohibition, but covertly, through the constitution of viable subjects and through the corollary constitution of a domain of unviable (un)subjects…who are neither names nor prohibited within the economy of law” (Butler 2001:171). Understanding that oppression can also take on the form of acceptance is
critical in understanding the marginal position that lesbians have in the current sweeping global “tolerance” era the world seems to find itself in.

Butler’s theory is expansive and often classified as feminist, queer, gendered and has grown over the course of her career. Like Foucault, her work is often critical and “it is in the nature of critical thinking that there will be elements which are seen to be contradictions by future thinkers these contradictions form the basis on which to ground new directions in theoretical work” (Mills 2003). Her work is often described as a process and hasn’t progressed in a linear structure, but instead more resembles “a series of Mobius strips, exemplifying how her theories curve or circle around issues without attempting to resolve them” (Salih 2002:3). The body of Butler’s work is a process, not unlike the dialectic that Hegel and Marx used. I bring this up, to address the common critique that many have of Butler in that she contradicted herself at times as much of her work revolved around the process of antithesis and synthesis. For example, in the new preface to Gender Trouble, Butler explains that she felt compelled to edit and revise her claims on universality as her understanding and position regarding the concept had shifted from negative and exclusionary to performative (Butler 2006). Similarly, also in this preface, Butler makes the claim that while gaining recognition for being a sexual minority is difficult and has its pitfalls, she still considers it necessary for survival, which seems to slightly contradict the above statements regarding the need to reject dominant frames of sexuality and gender; however, central to this idea is the need to understand the problems of language and discourse so that we can strategically construct paths of resistance (Butler 2006; 2001).

While Butler’s treatment of lesbians and queerness is saturated in Western cultural norms and values (as are all the other theorists and theories I have presented thus far), it (and they) remains important for this study as it looks at the ways that queer identity is constituted as not
heterosexual.\textsuperscript{29} While South African lesbians have a distinct discourse on queerness and coming out, this application of Butler does not shadow that discourse (Morgan and Wieringa 2007). Butler’s argument on having to continually assert one’s identity remains important for South African Black lesbians because in these news stories, they are not speaking for themselves, and thereby, they lose the power to assert their identity. While Butler’s primary concern was making oneself visible and not necessarily the complexities of identity, this becomes a part of a larger debate on being able to authentically represent oneself in society. NGO reports on “corrective rape” are written on behalf of Black lesbians and the news articles are written about Black lesbians. The ability to assert their outness is lost and is evidenced by the language that the authors use to describe them. The visibility of their identity finds itself under question thus victimizing this population. Therefore, the discourse on being out becomes critical for Black lesbians in South Africa as it has been for lesbians globally.

Butler’s work often is concerned with the production of the subject through the ways that identities and subjectivity are presented/constructed. Of primary interest to Butler is the way that racial, gendered, sexed, and sexual identities are constructed for the subject (2006; 2001; 1997). This running theme through Butler’s work, is incredibly important when considering the politics of vulnerability as part of the politics of being out. As I discussed previously, Butler discusses

\textsuperscript{29} Butler’s examination of lesbian theory, drag, and the politics of coming out are never situated one way or another as being part of a larger conversation regarding the universality of her claims. However, her discussion of how she came to the article and her own situatedness as a queer individual is without a doubt part of a larger discussion of American queer politics (Butler 2001). Butler’s larger social theory, however, has a greater attention to universalism meaning that it is not situated overly in American culture or norms. Rather, her works tends to focus on Western notions of “queer” and gender while discussing other forms of gender expression from the East on occasion (Butler 2006).

Despite the focus on Western or American notions of queer/lesbian, these theories are applicable to the discussion of “corrective rape” as they elucidate the global structures of queer identity/theory. While this thesis looks at South Africa and “corrective rape” specifically, it is part of a larger body of scholarship on the global oppression of lesbians and of women, more generally. The Western focus on theory as presented above, obviously comes from my positionality as I have been trained in this thought. For future works/research on this topic, as I hope to continue this research in the future, there should be a greater integration of African thinkers and feminisms.
coming out as a form of resistance defined by the terms of oppression, which creates clear problems and necessitates strategic identifications. Part of this, beyond the explicit binary system brought up, is the linguistic trouble of identifying the self as other, of placing the self outside of the existing frame of heterosexuality (2001). This concern over language and its ability to wound or oppress represents itself throughout many of Butler’s more popular works. In *Excitable Speech*, Butler examines censorship and the properties of language that can wound. Butler asks, “is our vulnerability to language a consequence of our being constituted within its terms? If we are formed in language, then that formative power precedes and conditions any decision we might make about it, insulting us from the start, as it were, by its prior power” (1997:2). Her examination of the ways that language can cause injury is prefaced by the fact that not all wounding language has to be spoken directly. She explains that mode of frame in which language is used can also wound. Therefore, it would stand to reason, the discourse of coming out would be considered violent and injurious, as it “interpellates and constitutes a subject” because the process is constituted through a heterosexist discourse (Butler 1997:2). Framing and constituting a queer subject represents oppressive language (i.e other, marginal, queer, dyke, fairy, and the many other words that have come to be considered slurs and parts of hate speech), which Butler identifies as not just representing violence but doing violence as well.

Being out allows others to name the individual (as the queer subject or as lesbian, etc), which takes the identity process out of the hands of the individual; however, Butler states, “the subject

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30 It is important to note that coming out, in Butler’s frame, is the performative act, not the fact that the subject is queer. However, it is important to note as well that this can be mediated if the individual is in control of their coming out process, yet the effects cannot be completely erased as the frame of the discourse is set and placing the self within the frame accepts the subject status.

31 Butler and other authors use the word “homosexual” here, and while I admit that the use of the word does have more meaning when talking about how the “homosexual” subject has been framed and made, I refuse to use the word and instead will be referring to the “queer” subject. This, of course, comes from my own politics and refusing to legitimate any discourse surrounding a “homosexual” subject.
is called a name, but ‘who’ the subject is depends as much on the names that he or she is never called: the possibilities for linguistic life are both inaugurated and foreclosed through the name” (1997:41). This goes back to Butler’s questions on individuals being vulnerable to language because we rely on language to identify with. Language then is given exorbitant and undeniable power over the individual. Those who control the naming, control language, have the rest of us firmly within their grasp as they are the ones who “constitute” us, which, of course, in the case of the lesbian subject, is heterosexuals (as they dictate the frame). The frames under which we operate as a society are predetermined for us as they come to us through pre-existing language. This becomes extremely problematic for those of us located in marginalized communities as the language and modes of thought, concerning ourselves or others, are not designed for our best interest; in fact they work against us.

Butler also discusses the ways in which the queer/heterosexual represents itself within the Other. For example, since heterosexuality is seen as normal or compulsory, to be anything but heterosexual, such as lesbian, is seen as imitation since heterosexual is the real sexuality. This aspect of imitation and performativity is seen in drag, according to Butler (2001), since drag is an impersonation of gender. She goes on to claim that all gendering is an impersonation without an original to copy since there are no “secondary consequences, which retrospectively confirm the originality of [the] origin” (Butler 2001:172). From this discussion of gender, she moves on to discuss norms stating, “it is important to recognize the ways in which heterosexual norms reappear within gay and lesbian identities, to affirm that gay and lesbian identities are not only structured in part by dominant heterosexual frames, but that they are not for that reason determined by them” (Butler 2001:173). In this light, Butler argues that queer representations of co-constituted with straight representations of queerness. Here, she draws from Derrida’s idea of
the supplement claiming that heterosexuality constitutes queer identities in order to define itself.

Queerness is needed as heterosexism defines citizenship; therefore, it has to react within the spaces that straightness has left open. Therefore, performativity of an identity does not encapsulate the entire identity nor does a performance define what the identity may be as they operate within constrained spaces.

This discussion is crucial in framing the articles that discuss “corrective rape,” as this lens is lost entirely. The news articles represent the identities of lesbians as fixed and as representative. A woman could have sex with another woman and not be a lesbian as simply as a woman could have sex with men and be a lesbian. However, the simplification of identity in the news sources is to be expected as they are not concerned with understanding this identity or the ways that it is represented might (re)produce inequalities. Yet, the (re)production of “corrective rape” requires the interrogation of this simplification as it could easily be assumed that the writers of these news articles are not black lesbians, and therefore, any discussion of “corrective rape” is the heterosexual representing the queer.

Poststructural thought, as I have outlined, is exceedingly important to this study as I am examining the production of “corrective rape” and the ways that it is constructed. Poststructural theory gives attention to the ways that power/knowledge and meaning are given power in a certain construct. My work addresses the multiplicities of different social realities, and directly examines the ways that “corrective rape” is employed to describe aspects of those realities. Poststructural theory informs my analysis and my understanding of how power is attributed to discourse and will help me elucidate that in discussion of “corrective rape”.
CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Epistemology

My epistemological approach to this study is interpretive; it relies on the belief that all “reality is a constructed reality” and that it is shared through a “subjective meaning-making process” (Daly 2007:31-32). Interpretive epistemologies understand and take into account that there are meanings understood by all within a society through common symbols such as language by emphasizing contextual understanding of the research data.  Since those who use interpretative epistemologies often examine talk and discourse, it makes the most sense that I would employ this form of qualitative research to understand my data. I am seeking to understand the ways in which meanings are constructed and how newspaper articles make sense of “corrective rape” (Daly 2007).

Using this form of research means that I will be looking for the ways meaning is made and made sense of. I will also have to keep in mind my own role in this process. I will treat my data in a way that recognizes that reality is “fluid and changing” (Grbich 2013:7). As many scholars have noted, “knowledge is never produced by an individual—knowledge is necessarily the product of a cultural community” (emphasis original) (Pascale 2011:16). Using interpretivism, I am recognizing that I am searching for the meaning or knowledge that comes from the ways in which my data interact since this meaning is constructed intersubjectively (Holstein and Miller 1993). From the patterns that exist across all my data, I will attempt to theorize about the ways South Africa makes sense of “corrective rape” in the news.

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32 Interpretive epistemology is not to be conflated with qualitative inquiry. Qualitative research has the underpinning belief or ideology that subjectivity has value and seeks to answer what, how, when, where and/or why aspects of a topic (Grbich 2013). It seeks to understand experiences of the living, and it does this though a variety of means. One of those is Interpretivism/constructionism and it is the mutual recognition that the use of symbols and signs in reality are constructed. Interpretivism is a lens in which to do qualitative inquiry (Daly 2007).
Analytic Induction

For the purposes of this study, I am using constructivist analytic induction meaning that the way that I approach my data will take into consideration the “assumption that there are multiple social realities. Also, that there is a shared construction of knowledge that occurs between the researcher” and the data. In addition, I understand and approach my data with the awareness that there is a particular shaping to the texts that I am examining (Daly 2007:48). Analytic Induction began to be popular as a method in the early twentieth century when Znaniecki (1934) tried to explain universal patterns and causal laws. He claimed that analytic induction was the true method of the natural sciences and should be for the social sciences as well (Pascale 2011). This was because, according to Znaniecki, analytic induction “gives us exhaustive knowledge of the situation under study, so that further study will not and cannot reveal anything new” (Robinson 1951:812).

However, as many scholars have noted, Znaniecki’s analytic induction had several failings such as not providing a clear methodological procedure (Pascale 2011; Turner 1953; Robinson 1951). As Robinson (1951) and Pascale (2011) point out, Znaniecki provides a logic of inquiry rather than a method. Since he did not present a clear idea of what analytic induction is and since it has been used in a variety of ways for different results, the meaning and critique of analytic induction remained somewhat unclear for many years. As Goldenberg (1993) points out, if researchers use different techniques and yet claim the same method, how can we as a discipline evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of it?

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33 Qualitative work relies on inductive analysis whereas quantitative work uses deductive analysis (Pascale 2013a). Deduction relies on evidence “in an effort to either support or refute the theoretical idea” where induction relies on the “principle that theoretical explanation is developed on the basis of observation of the world as it exists” (Daly 2007:44-45). Induction tries to understand through observation and examination and to build theory only after repeated observation of the same reality. Qualitative work seeks to give rich and detailed descriptions of lives, and induction allows the building of those details through analysis (Thomas 2006).
Analytic induction has undergone many shifts since first made famous by Znaniecki in the early 1930s. Today, it is the most used method in qualitative inquiry. It is used to 1) take large amounts of raw data and condense into small easily handled patterns, 2) show clear links between those patterns and research questions so as to be easily defended to others and 3) to provide a theory or clear explanation for the data/situation (Thomas 2006). Used as a method, analytic induction requires a building of theoretical explanations from observation of a repeated or numerous phenomenon (Pascale 2011). Analytic induction uses snippets of data as a logical warrant for analysis and interpretation and does this through multiple layers of coding and systematic examination of similarities and the variations.

Researchers who use analytic induction gather data in the repeated phenomenon, in this case news stories using the term “corrective rape,” until they reach the end of their self-contained sample or until they reach saturation. Saturation is reached when the same themes continue to emerge meaning that no new information is discovered (Grbich 2013). Reaching saturation allows the researcher to claim a deep and complex understanding of the issue through claims or warrants of the data. Analytic induction requires an explanation of 100% of the variation meaning that cases that support the purported pattern and cases that are exceptions to the pattern have to be included in the analysis (Pascale 2011).

Before the analysis and use of warrants to support a claim, the researcher must code the data. Analytic induction makes use of open coding, which is a multi-step process that does not approach the data looking for patterns but instead allows the patterns to emerge (Pascale 2013b). Open coding orientsthe researcher to the data through an “open” reading of the data, an initial reading. During this time, the researcher makes notes of initial noticings, patterns or details of the data that stick out. Only after the initial orientation to the data does the researcher move into
coding. During the second read over the corpus of data, the researcher places their codes, “a grouping and labelling process or identification of themes via a labelling process,” through their “line-by-line” examination of the data (Grbich 2013:261,83). After the initial codes, the researcher moves to conceptual codes to discuss categories, which allows a greater discussion of analytic concepts. From the conceptual coding, the researcher finds common themes to discuss emerging theory. This shift allows a move from description to a critical analysis of the data and the phenomenon under examination (Grbich 2013).

Credibility

The audit trail is one way of maintaining credibility in qualitative methods (Daly 2007).34 Being able to clearly articulate the rationale behind all decisions shows reflexivity and a harkening back to traditional scientific methods. The aim of the audit trail is to make the researcher visible in the work produced and efforts in the production of knowledge. While the audit trail is important, it is somewhat lacking when applied to qualitative methods since not all decisions and processes are objective. For example, coding and analyzing data is a subjective experience (Daly 2007) making it hard to include in the audit trail. However, researchers keep memos documenting their decisions and their thought process during the data gathering and coding process to minimize this (Daly 2007). For this study, I kept memos that helped organize my thoughts during the coding process and made the process as transparent as possible. In addition, I also kept a reflexive journal so as to remain critical of my own decisions and the

34 The use of the common phrase the “audit trail” is another way of discussing the ways that researcher keep track of and document decisions they have made in the process of researching. It can take on many different forms. As I say, I kept memos as one part of my audit trail.
assumptions I made regarding the data. As an outsider studying “corrective rape,” this was extremely important to me.  

As this study is interpretivist, credibility and validity are “concerned with the ways knowledge is interactively constructed, rather than unidirectionally represented” (Daly 2007:255). As I pointed out earlier, interpretivism is concerned with the reality that is constructed; therefore, whether what is presented is actually true is of little relevance. What is relevant then is the integrity of researcher and the methods used to gather the data. Below is a detailed section on how and why I chose the subject of this thesis as well as the way I conducted my data search.

**Self-reflexivity**

Paula Saukko points out that self-reflexivity has to remain critical of itself and ways in which scholars come to their research or it just serves to validate the preconceptions that can harm qualitative work (2003). In fact, Saukko draws from Donna Haraway in this regard outlining Haraway’s concern that self-reflexivity places the researcher still higher by signaling that they have “truer knowledge”(2003:64). With this in mind, it is my intent to outline how I am critically aware of my situated knowledge, worldview, and positionality so as not to claim absolute knowledge on this phenomenon.

I have always been very conscious about how I approach my research and how others might perceive it or my analysis. This is because, more often than not, my research concerns the intersections of multiple identities (that I may or may not share) and the inequalities or vulnerabilities that might be present because of this. For example, this thesis concerns itself with the inequalities and vulnerabilities that Black South African women who are or who are

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35 For more on this, please refer to the self-reflexivity section below.
perceived to be lesbian experience in the face of “corrective rape”, and I am a white American woman who self identifies as gay but would be easily comfortable with the label “lesbian.” However, while I may share an aspect of identity (being queer), I am not naïve enough to assume that connects me to these women or that these identities mean the same thing.36

While this research focuses on the intersections of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, there is also an implicit understanding that it deals with nationality. As a white American, I want to be careful not to exploit, commodify or romanticize the experiences of the women who are the focus of my research. My goal is to examine the intricacies of the cultural production of “corrective rape” not to privilege colonial discussions of black men as sex hungry rapists, black women as sexually promiscuous or of white women/white men as symbols of purity (Woollacott 2006; Davis 1981; Said 1979). As a scholar trained in the West, it is important that I not force hegemonic feminist forms or assert Western or American notions of truth or knowledge. As Sandoval explains, oppositional consciousness “depends upon the ability to read the current situation of power and of self-consciously choosing and adopting the ideological form best suited to push against its configurations” (2004:204). I draw on Sandoval as a way of situating my use of post-structural feminism37 in this project and as one source of import on feminisms of color and feminism from the Global South (2004).38

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36 Being queer in South Africa means something different than it does in the United States. Women who have sex with Women (WSW) may or may not identify as queer in South Africa and may often consider themselves heterosexual. The use of “lesbian” in South Africa constitutes a complete different identity that often has strict strictures of masculinity (Swarr 2012; Morgan and Wieringa 2005). While I choose to self-identify as “gay” instead of “lesbian” (I do not like the constraints that “lesbian” places on my sexuality), I have the relative privilege of having that fluidity, and I understand that my identity as a queer women has more differences than similarities to lesbian women in South Africa. It is important that I clarify that I do not intend to diminish the agency and freedom that women have in self-identifying, but seek to outline some of the cultural influences that shape queer identities in South Africa as well as to point out some differences in the ways that the West/United States and South Africa each conceptualize the presence and meaning of lesbians.

37 Poststructural feminism “rejects the very possibility of a truth about reality” (Hawkesworth 2007:485). It also emphasizes the situatedness of every individual so as to reject universal understandings of the social, cultural, and political perspectives in their lives. Poststructural feminism is also concerned with the “integral relations
Along with being an outsider with regard to nationality, I am also on the outside of this population as I am a white woman. This difference is incredibly important to delineate, and it’s important to mitigate the possible power imbalances that it implies. As many feminists caution (Grande 2008; Sandoval 2004; Yamada 2003; Collins 2000; Davis 1981), the production of knowledge concerning a racial or ethnic minority from a white researcher is dangerous and has caused serious power imbalances along with many inaccuracies in the past. While this is a textual analysis, it is important to address how I as a white woman am representing knowledge about a black population in an African country. The power imbalances are different as I am not directly interacting with the population, but it still exists as I am still producing knowledge about a population to which I do not belong. This concern is heightened as I am studying a topic that is globally surrounded by silence (and is surrounded by specific cultural silences in South Africa as well), and a population that has traditionally faced extreme marginalization by being both black

between power and knowledge and the means by which particular power/knowledge constellations constitute us as subjects in a determinate order of things” (Hawkesworth 2007:486). Poststructural feminism informs the ways that I approach academic research and while Sandoval is not the informing text on it, her approach to oppositional consciousness and U.S. Third World Feminisms was one of the first texts that introduced me to domineering nature of “hegemonic feminism.”

While the term “third world” has fallen out of usage because it is marginalizing, it has historical relevance in the production of feminisms of color and it is a term heavily contested as it was used purposively originally used to draw attention to the difference in the lives of women from the Third World. Similar to the birth of the “third World” during the Cold War, the term denotes a historical separation from dominate powers, but has come to only identify the marginalized facets of this population.

Sandoval defines U.S. Third World Feminism as a “form of historical consciousness whose very structure lies outside the condition of possibility which regulate the oppositional expressions of dominant feminism” (2004:195). She places this feminism as a praxis with oppositional consciousness that studies and focuses on social justice aims in regards to race, ethnicity, and marginality that intersect with “postmodern theories of culture” (Sandoval 2004:205). It is important to note that Sandoval is critical of white researchers using “third world feminism” as a catechism to reinforce “hegemonic feminism.” This critique is also one that Collins offers in response to Black Feminist Thought (2000). It is one that I am familiar with as a white woman whose research often has a focal point on race, but as someone who employs a praxis of oppositional knowledge in everyday life, it is also a critique that I hold close so as not to romanticize, commodify, or exploit the knowledge or experiences of women of color.

Just trying to switch up the vernacular and not frame this discussion with white being the normative or as the unmarked category.
and lesbian in a country that has deep racist underpinnings (Apartheid) and deep homophobic roots (Christian missionaries). One way in which I attempt to address these concerns by acknowledging, and keeping in mind, my own limitations. I am not speaking as an insider, nor am I attempting to assert knowledge about this topic over someone who would have insider knowledge (i.e. South African). I am not claiming an expert status on this subject or topic (especially as this textual analysis is limited due to the framing). I am trying to understand a phenomena that it understudied and that has consequences for the global lesbian community as well as for the lesbians of South Africa. In addition to this acknowledgement, I have qualified and explained thoroughly any claim that I have made in this thesis. I also provide ample support and evidence for these claims to make the process as transparent as possible.

Despite these differences (being a white American studying South African Black women), examining “corrective rape” is still an important research topic especially since it has been understudied in academia. I have been following this subject since the rape and murder of Eudy Simelane in early 2008. I stumbled across a very detailed description of the brutal attack on Simelane one afternoon while I was doing research on South Africa for a paper. I did further research into the topic and have stayed up to date with it since. Simelane’s murder resonated me despite not knowing her or even anyone who knew her. At the time that I came across Simelane’s murder, I was in the process of coming out to myself, and I was struggling with messages of hate and inauthenticity. The way that Simelane and other lesbians are attacked in South Africa resonated with my own experiences with hate.

I was raised to believe that gay people were mentally ill, unnatural, and deserving correction (either through mental hospitals or through prison); therefore, it was easy for me to believe that I needed to be helped/fixed when I began displaying non-heteronormative behaviors
and desires. Once I began expressing these differences, I found myself at the mercy of a loved one who was convinced they were “fixing” my “abnormality” by instructing me “how a real woman behaves” and “the proper desires” for a woman. While my life was never in danger and my experience with sexual assault was nowhere near as violent as the survivors and victims of “corrective rape” experience, I find myself drawn to the stories of “corrective rape” as a way of continued examination of the issues and inequalities that combine to create cultural instances of systematic oppression for women, especially in regards to sexual violence.

As an American scholar in a position of relative privilege, there is a fine line in examining power/knowledge in this context without commodifying or fetishizing this vulnerable population. However, as this reflexive statement makes clear, I am aware of this risk and will remain critical not only on my own positionality with regard to this research but also remain critical of the theory or knowledge that comes away from this project. Simply stated, there are several factors that get in the way of a clean and objective research project in this case, but then, as a feminist scholar, I find the notion of objectivity just as problematic.

Another issue that I have to contend with due to my status as an American woman is the fact that the unit of analysis in this study is news articles from South African newspapers. I have never been to South Africa, and therefore, it would follow that I have never been immersed or even experienced the distinct cultures of South Africa. While I am decently aware of South African literature and cinema, there is still a large part of the cultural contexts that these articles were written under that I could miss. My studies have touched upon the HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa, the legal culture regarding women and LGBTQI individuals, and the social movements in regards to Apartheid. Through these topics, I have researched and examined unique parts of South African culture, but I am still vastly unaware of common or everyday
knowledge that South Africans have or understand, which these articles would take for granted. While this is a serious concern, especially since my work is interpretive, I do have many resources (such as fellow scholars who have long standing research projects in South Africa, friends who have studied abroad there, and I have contacts in the Western Cape that I could ask) that I can call on in a situation where I feel like I might be missing something or if there is something I do not understand. While this is not opportune, it does assuage some concerns regarding this potential issue.

Part of my self-reflexivity is to be clear regarding my aims and goals with this research. This thesis will not change the lives and situations of the women in South Africa experiencing “corrective rape.” It is also not my goal to articulate the agenda of the human rights agencies and the current LGBTQI social movement in South Africa in regards to “corrective rape.” While I personally agree that it should be recognized as a hate crime and that there needs to be a greater governmental role in enforcing legislation and laws regarding violence against women in South Africa, this research will not speak to the need of having “corrective rape” recognized as a hate crime. I choose to do a textual analysis of “corrective rape” because it outlines the cultural production of “corrective rape” and demonstrates how the connection between discursive practices and the normalization of “corrective rape” occurs; it also allows me to examine “corrective rape” from the distance that separates me from South Africa. While a textual analysis lessens the appearance inequality that women of color face with white researchers (visible power dynamics, see above), it also has the risk of unfairly representing this population. In an effort to combat that, I have read numerous anecdotes from lesbian identified women in

40 There is a heavy critique on police involvement with cases regarding violence against women, especially cases of sexual violence (for more information regards the struggles of South African policing see Shaw 2002; Mathews, Heymann, and Mathews 1993).
South Africa, extensively researched and read the scholarship on rape, lesbian identity, and violence against women in South Africa, as well as talked to numerous scholars who have worked in the field. It is my intent to present the research as it appears and this population as accurately as I am able. In addition, while this research will further my career (help gain my Master’s degree), it is done with the intent to deconstruct and educate others on “corrective rape;” few outside of the communities directly affected by “corrective rape” even know that this is an issue. As someone who sees violence against women and violence against the queer community as a global fight, it is my opinion that the more people who know about the issue, the better.
CHAPTER 5

METHOD

I conducted a Boolean search on LexisNexis using the term “corrective rape” from April of 2009 through April of 2013 making the inclusive period of interest five years searching for news articles from South African papers. I chose April 2009 since the last study of the discursive use of “corrective rape” left off at this point. This keyword search produced 476 articles located only in news sources (I eliminated popular culture and popular magazine sources). From this corpus, I eliminated all editorials and opinion pieces because there are substantive ontological differences between general news articles and those that are located in the opinion section. Along that line of reasoning, I also eliminated articles appearing in the entertainment, human interest or similar sections. In addition, I eliminated articles that referred to incidences of “corrective rape” that happened in countries other than South Africa and articles that did not come from South African newspapers because “corrective rape” is a widely recognized phenomenon in South Africa whereas it might not be in other areas. In trying to examine the discursive development of “corrective rape” in South Africa, I needed to examine “corrective rape” in the context in which it was started and continues to be widely used. The search was limited to publications in English since I do not speak or read Afrikaans or Xhosa (or the other 11 languages commonly spoken in South Africa); importantly, most major publications in South Africa print in English. This gave me a total of 95 articles that spanned 13 newspapers, which I examined in this study. These 13 newspapers are the Cape Times, Cape Argus/Argus Weekend, The Star, The Sunday Independent, The Independent on Sunday, Daily News, The
Times (South Africa), Pretoria News, The Herald, Mail & Guardian, Sowetan, Sunday Tribune, and The Mercury.41

I coded using initial noticings and a thematic analysis of the ways that articles talk about “corrective rape.” In particular, as I coded I kept in mind broader issues such as the general construction of identity around sexuality and race.42 From initial noticings, I proceeded to coding by searching across the entire corpus of data to find segments that had meanings similar to one another. These segments were marked with the same code to easily reference them later. From my codes, I then condensed into categories that identified patterns across the data including exceptions to the general pattern. From these categories, I moved into theorizing that covered 100% of the variation in the data (Please see Appendix A for the breakdown of the coding structure and the different changes that occurred in the coding process). Through this framework several important narratives emerged: the construction of nationhood through lesbian’s bodies, the construction of community through human rights injustices, and the construction of freedom as it applied to being free of fear.

41 It is important to note that many of these newspapers are tied to certain provinces and cater to different ethnic groups. This sample also does not include any sources from The Daily Sun, which is the largest daily newspaper in South Africa. Most of these sources are clustered around the Cape Town and Johannesburg areas leaving large parts of the country not represented. This is, of course, was not done on purpose. The sources that showed up in the search and met the above listed criteria are included in this study.

42 The initial reading of the data was extremely important as it allowed me to become sensitized to the different topics mentioned (Daly 2007). Being an outsider studying this area, it was important to me to allow the data to speak and for me not to apply American values or norms to the texts.

Just as Gavey and Schmidt (2011), I used the texts to analyze the ways that the discourse around trauma, rape in particular, was formed within the context of a growing anti-rape discourse. Despite Gavey and Schmidt’s use of focus groups and dinner parties, the ways in which they analyze how discourse becomes dominant is relevant to this study. Dominant discourses “are those patterns of meaning that appear natural in a particular time and place, and which are both shaped by and inform shared commonsense” (Gavey and Schmidt 2011:438). With analyzing news stories around rape, the dominant discourse is what is going to be represented especially since the news story is edited and created to represent such. Recognizing how this hinders a holistic understanding of discourse is important since I am analyzing one side of the conversation without the everyday understandings of discourse (Gavey and Schmidt 2011).
From my analysis of South African newspaper articles, I found three themes represented across the corpus of data. The two most prominent themes were the construction of nationhood through lesbian’s bodies and the construction of nationalism through inclusivity, which represents two sides on an ongoing shift in the discourse surrounding “corrective rape.” There is a loud public discourse that supports the violence against women and a counter hegemonic discourse that decries the crime and any support of it. These discourses construct South African-ness in different ways and are very distinct in their depiction of women, especially lesbian women. In addition to the two discourses on South African identity represented in the first two themes, there was also a clear discourse on freedom and justice that is represented through enveloping theme of safety or freedom from fear, especially when compounded with issues of bodily integrity; however, this discourse will not be discussed in this thesis due to time constraints. Exploring the discourses around these themes is important and elucidates a pervasive and global power imbalance concerning lesbians. In the following chapters I systematically examine the first two themes and the variations within them.
CHAPTER 6
CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONHOOD THROUGH
LESBIAN BODIES

After careful examination of 95 articles from 13 newspapers about “corrective rape”, I located three dominant themes of regarding the production of “corrective rape:” the construction of nationhood through lesbian bodies, construction of nationalism through inclusivity, and the construction of freedom through bodily integrity. In this chapter, I examine the first theme and news articles that reported on “corrected rape” in a way that centered a discourse on the visible presence of lesbians as a challenge to the myth of a heterosexual Africa. In news articles, the logic went that this challenge must then be “corrected” with violence purported to convert lesbians to heterosexuality. My analysis explores the presence of meaning of this discourse and its variations, as well as their significance. I look at the ways that social meaning of nation is produced through discourses of “corrective rape” that are raced and gendered. I conclude by examining the broader cultural implications for lesbians in South Africa.

South African-ness and Lesbianism

Across all the articles that were concerned with presenting “corrective rape” through the lens of sexuality, the reporters constructed lesbianism as antithetical to being South African, which served to reinforce heterosexuality as the normative and acceptable presentation of sexuality. For example, articles referred to lesbians as others, presented lesbians as objects that people are fearful of, and equated tradition with heterosexuality. This can be seen in the excerpt below:

Some religious and "traditional" authorities, with access to the present political leadership, keep alive the notion of non-heterosexual rights being aberrations. Little protection or support is provided after attacks in communities. Research indicates that the police are unsympathetic and that a range of social services, including sections of the
medical profession, are not only hostile but have sometimes endangered lives by "outing" victimised individuals. In some communities, attacks on allegedly deviant sexualities and identities are approved. The ANC, its allies and government have said nothing.

The assault on these rights is partly based on the myth of African heterosexuality - or that of there being no gay or lesbian Africans...Patriarchy polices heterosexuality, both proscribing any "alternative" sexualities and limiting women to restricted roles. Patriarchy informs the "corrective rape" of lesbians, expressing the "traditional" patriarchal right of access for men to women's bodies. Patriarchy also links attacks on "alternative" sexualities to notions of masculinity: "real men" don't "do" non-heterosexual sexualities. (Suttner 2010)

The article characterizes that the only reason why “corrective rape” occurs is due to differing opinions about sexuality. It doesn’t mention race, class, tribal affiliations, or any other compounding factors that could be influencing the rape of lesbians in South Africa. Presenting sexuality as the only factor in the rape of lesbians shapes the discourse of “corrective rape” to a singular point: lesbian sexuality is not accepted. The excerpt reinforces this through its emphasis on heterosexuality as the norm by referring to lesbians as “non-heterosexual” and “alternative” (Suttner 2010). The use of these phrases to describe lesbianism does two things in addition to reinforcing heterosexuality. By referring to lesbian relationships as “alternative” or “deviant” it Others lesbians and creates a clear us/them (heterosexuals/“non-heterosexuals”) paradigm, which only serves to demean and dehumanize lesbians. The second effect of referring to lesbians in this manner is that it elides the humanity or the personality of the individuals rendering them objects. The excerpt establishes women as the objects of male desire by stating that “patriarchy polices heterosexuality, both proscribing any "alternative" sexualities and limiting women to restricted roles. Patriarchy informs the "corrective rape" of lesbians, expressing the "traditional" patriarchal right of access for men to women's bodies” (Suttner 2010). Lesbians, are stripped of all sexual agency, desire, and choice as their bodies are subject to masculine desire. Objectifying lesbians down to the capability of receiving male sexual desire establishes heterosexual men as the only dignified actors and as the only people who can have full dynamic “roles,” which serves
to reinforce a paradigm of male power and male authority. Lesbians, who are culturally seen as “deviant” and unwelcome, are discursively rendered as the victims.

When lesbianism and lesbians are categorized as unacceptable expressions of identity or sexuality, they are excluded from ordinary society. The excerpt attributes the attacks on sexual minorities to the myth of heterosexual Africa. This, in relation to the marginalization of lesbians socially and the sexual policing, establishes heterosexual desire as the single acceptable expression of South African-ness as it is equated with tradition. This excerpt constructs traditional expressions of sexuality as heterosexual desire by casting lesbians as “aberrations” and “deviant” in “traditional” communities. The article frames violent heterosexism within a traditional context but not a contemporary one—as if heterosexism and the violence of these rapes are confined to a small segment of society. Yet, it is also clear from the article that the contemporary institutions have not intervened; therefore, while heterosexuality may be seen as the traditional expression of desire, discontent is not limited to those who adhere to a strict “traditional” South Africa.

In addition, the excerpt establishes policing as a mechanism of masculinity and as an act against women. As the excerpt states,

Patriarchy polices heterosexuality, both proscribing any "alternative" sexualities and limiting women to restricted roles. Patriarchy informs the "corrective rape" of lesbians, expressing the "traditional" patriarchal right of access for men to women's bodies. Patriarchy also links attacks on "alternative" sexualities to notions of masculinity: "real men" don't "do" non-heterosexual sexualities.” (Suttner 2010)

As masculinity is discursively equated with heterosexuality, as it is excluded from the possibility of engaging in “alternative sexualities” as “real men” do not engage in acts outside of the heterosexual norm, it becomes the only “safe” and true expression of gender, and therefore, it can be the only one trusted to make sure all others adhere to its standard. Women, then, are established as possible threats to heterosexuality and as subordinate to male power as men have
the unquestioned “right of access” to their bodies. Further, attacks—“corrective rape”—on lesbian women, then, are expressions of misogyny as well as expressions of the inherent power in the privileged positionality of being both male and heterosexual as men are not limited or have any “restricted roles”. With patriarchal heterosexuality being accepted as the dominant and privileged sexuality, the binary opposite, lesbianism, is again constructed as other and unacceptable, which serves to marginalize the entire population. This marginalization, as the excerpt shows, is experienced through multiple platforms: “unsympathetic” police, “hostile” medical professionals, community approval of the attacks, cultural leaders as spokespersons against their constitutional rights, and the inaction of their government to address the attacks (Suttner 2010). The multiplicity of this marginalization articulates a loud public condemnation of lesbianism and expresses the desire to remain with what is seen as traditional, heterosexual.

The construction of nationhood through heterosexual desire is expressed further in the above excerpt with the discussion of the ANC. The ANC (African National Congress) is responsible for upholding the constitution and the rights of all South African citizens, as it is the governing political party in South Africa, and the refusal to act or comment on the violation of these women’s bodies says much about the position of the government on the rights of the sexual minorities. The silent approval of these crimes only serves to marginalize lesbians further and with lesbians being unworthy of government intervention or community protection, the ANC and the people are constructing what it means to have one’s person valued and protected for which lesbians do not qualify.

Another example of the construction of lesbianism as antithetical to being South African is seen in an article describing an attack and the community responses to the incident. The excerpt discusses Luleki Sizwe, which is a Cape Town based activist/charity organization that
“fights against “corrective rape” in South Africa” (Fundu 2014). Luleki Sizwe is responsible for much of the push for hate crime legislation. Similar discourses of inauthenticity and exclusion that were introduced above are illustrated as well by this exemplar.

The Luleki Sizwe group wants the government to declare “corrective rape” - so called because the perpetrators claim that they want to "correct" their victim's sexual preference - a hate crime. It also wants harsher sentencing. Marlow Newman-Valentine, deputy director of rights group Triangle Project, said gender-based violence has “increased dramatically” but the government's programmes often excluded lesbian and gay issues.

He said the rape of black lesbians was not new. “The reality is that many women are still dependent on men and will gravitate towards a heterosexual relationship for security, safety and survival, often denying who they are in terms of their sexual and gender identity. They often receive secondary discrimination from service providers such as the police and healthcare facilities because many believe that it is un-African or unnatural to be gay.” (Gules 2011)

As was the case with the previous excerpt, this article also examines “corrective rape” through the lens of sexuality. The only other mention of a marginalizing identity marker comes from a quote from third party, and it is not in an attempt to discuss “corrective rape” through race but to give distinctions to who specifically is being attacked. This article shapes the discourse of “corrective rape” through its discussion of sexuality as a preference. Instead of defining “corrective rape” as an attack against a person to cure their sexual orientation, the article presents it as an attack for the “sexual preference”. Using the word “preference” implies at the very least that the individual has a comfort regarding sex with both men and women but prefers sex with women. This erases the social visibility of lesbians by regarding all women as desiring men.

Erasing lesbianism allows the discourse of being able to “correct” or “cure” to be applicable, or rather, plausible.

In addition, this article, like the previous one, goes further in questioning lesbians as a possible sexual orientation and strips lesbian women of full and complex identities. The reporter manages to do this in two ways. The first is through stripping lesbian women of their personhood. In the statement that “the government's programs often exclude[s] lesbian and gay
issues,” she frames the discussion to be about issues instead of people (Gules 2011). Therefore, instead of these programs’ inability to include and address the needs of lesbian women, they are framed unable to address to “gay issues” as if that is more onerous. By addressing presenting “gay issues” as an added burden, the reporter and the speaker take the individuals out of the discussion. It isn’t about people any more, it’s about the issues; the people are rendered invisible. The second way the reporter strips lesbians of a complex identity is seen in its (re)production of the notion that lesbians are “unnatural.” This article constructs lesbianism as something secondary and easily pushed aside with the conception that lesbians “gravitate” to men and relationships with men. By claiming that lesbians need security and safety and that this is only remedied through relationships with men, the speaker constructs lesbians as vulnerable and weak. This discussion of women’s survival does not, however, problematize male violence or the act that supposedly causes lesbians to enter into heterosexual relationships. The article establishes these practices of lesbians hiding (because they are perceived to be “un-African” and “unnatural”) as ordinary. This reinforces heterosexuality as the norm and only acceptable sexual expression as that is the manner in which achieves security and safety. With heterosexuality being acceptable and lesbianism not, heterosexuality is again posited as being equitable to being truly African. To be un-African is to be raped or forced into a relationship that denies the sexual and gender identity of the woman. This over-simplification of gender identity and sexuality strips nuance and complexity from the identity that these women struggle to visibly achieve and maintain in safety.

The excerpt also addresses the justification behind the name “corrective rape” in a way that questions the veracity of the name without questioning the actions behind it. The use of the phrase “so called” commonly precedes or follows the phrase “corrective rape” in articles
questioning not just the actual name, but the legitimacy of the name as well. This excerpt shows how the name was constructed, which was from perpetrators accounts’ of their motives, and by doing so, the narrative of the attack and aftermath of the incident is set and controlled entirely by the perpetrator. While using the phrase “so called” questions the legitimacy of the name and opens the topic for debate among the public, it needs to be noted that it has already been granted legitimacy as a public discourse meaning victims of attacks have little room in negotiating how they are perceived. As a reported victim of "corrective rape," the survivor loses control of her own story, the choice to be “out” (as victims of “corrective rape” are understood to be lesbians), and is publically rendered as a “victim.”

There is also an irony in the reporter placing “corrective rape” in quotes while placing “so called” right after it. While the use of quotes and the phrase “so called” independently would question the veracity of the name/attack and would imply varying opinions on the matter, it still forces people to read “corrective rape” in a way that gives credence to the public discourse. It reinscribes the discourse it purports to challenge. The double use of the quotes actually achieves little as it doesn’t adequately challenge the public discourse that has already legitimated the term. Similarly, using the phrase “so called” questions the act of raping lesbians, but “corrective rape” isn’t going to stop by reading or writing it in that manner.

This pattern of connecting lesbianism and South African-ness is illustrated again by an exemplar from an article about the trial of men accused of the murder of Eudy Simelane, out national football star.

An outstanding footballer, she had captained her country and was hoping to be the first female to referee at a World Cup. But her brutal death, and the apparent motive for it, is all too ordinary here. For Eudy Simelane was a lesbian, and this, say campaigners, was

43 By this I mean: the woman loses the chance to identify as a survivor. The agency and power that comes from moving past victimhood is publically and discursively lost.
why she was raped and savagely murdered. This is the land of "corrective rape". Despite South Africa having one of the most enlightened constitutions in the world, traditional views about sexuality still run deep. In many quarters, especially male ones, lesbians are resented, perhaps even feared. And to some young men the remedy is simple: rape. Each year, ActionAid estimates, 500,000 women are raped in South Africa, with lesbians a particular target. The warped logic is that the assault will "cure" them. As a result, says ActionAid, 86 per cent of black lesbians live in fear of rape. Their anxiety is understandable: only a minority of rapes are reported to the police and, of these, only one in five ends up in court, with a meagre 4 per cent of them ending in a conviction. (Braun 2009:48)

Similar to the excerpt above, this article also normalizes the rape and attacks against lesbians. By calling the motive behind the attacks, and especially the murder, of lesbians “ordinary,” the excerpt implies nothing extraordinary about the “brutal” nature informing this hate. In addition to accepting the hate behind murder and rape as normal, the article also accepts “corrective rape” as part of South Africa. Claiming that South Africa is the “land of ‘corrective rape,’” fails to acknowledge the many working to destabilize the acceptance of “corrective rape” and sets the public discourse about “corrective rape” as one rooted to nationality. Tying “corrective rape” to the physical and metaphorical land equates the attacks to nature and symbolizes the interconnectivity of the attacks to the continued survival of the South African peoples. Therefore, the (re)production of “corrective rape” here makes it impossible to separate “corrective rape” from South African-ness.

This connection between aspects of South African-ness and “corrective rape” continues when discussing the constitution and the cultural reactions to lesbianism. The line of thought presented in this excerpt draws the connections between tradition and rape, albeit through an over simplified formula. The article gives one response or action for male South Africans to deal with their fear and/or resentment of lesbians—rape. This establishes lesbian bodies to be accessed by men to express or control their feelings as well as legitimates the resentment of sexual minorities as it is presented in direct contrast to the constitution. This continued sexual
objectification of lesbian bodies, as seen in the previous excerpts (the first one discursively gave men the right to women’s bodies, and the second one reduced sexual orientation down to options that included the desire of men), presents a dangerous discourse around the body. Lesbian women are reduced to their bodies and its openness to male attention, as is seen in this excerpt with the continued reference to rape of lesbians (which appears 8 times in this short excerpt). This reduction attaches specific importance to the body as it is the continued subject of investigation and/or discussion excluding the plethora of other ways the subject could be broached and discussed. Constructing the discourse of “corrective rape” to revolve solely around the body focuses the conversation on the victims and on the women instead on the crime itself or on the perpetrators.

As this excerpt demonstrates, the discourse of “corrective rape,” while framed from the perspective of the attacker, does not focus on the rapists. This is true throughout all of the articles I examined. Articles narrated stories in such a way that they focused on the victims of the attacks instead of on the men doing the violence, which creates a cyclical system of victimization. Framing the discourse in this manner also precludes any discussion of justice or of male violence; therefore, this leaves the lesbians stuck in an endless conversation about their bodies. This discourse elucidates just what kind of social value South Africa places on women and on men, for that matter. The reduction of “corrective rape” as a discourse of lesbian bodies and the framing of it to revolve solely around the victims, places men on a hierarchal scale above women showing just how patriarchal and misogynist parts of South Africa can be.

The lack of attention to the rapists in the discourse and the discussion surrounding police and court inaction brings to light government inaction. As all three exemplars have demonstrated, in various ways, that the government has had a standard practice of non-response.
However, the manner in which this is presented in this excerpt differs significantly from the first two in that it does not directly mention the government or the ruling party. For example, the first excerpt notes, “the ANC, its allies and government have said nothing,” while the second one declares, “the government's programmes often excluded lesbian and gay issues” (Suttner 2010; Gules 2011). The first article directly calls out the current political leadership while the second article mentions government inaction as an oversight. The third excerpt, however, explains that “only a minority of rapes are reported to the police and, of these, only one in five ends up in court, with a meagre 4 per cent of them ending in a conviction” the level of (Braun 2009:48). While this hints at government oversight or a flaw in the system, it places blame and the responsibility back on the victimized woman. Framing the lack of convictions in these rape cases due to the sheer lack of cases that are reported structures the discourse away from legislation that might be needed, tougher law enforcement, or greater judicial oversight; instead, it revolves back around to women who are raped, i.e. the cyclical system of victimization I mentioned earlier. This takes not only the focus away from the male violence and the lack of action by the men (and women) in the government, but it privileges them. It places them above scrutiny; it is the fault of the victims for not reporting the crimes and, therefore, it is their fault that so few ended up in court instead of the corruption of the police force or any other issue. The article places accountability for the lack of convictions on victims showing again the value that South African cultures give women.

Blackness and “Corrective Rape”

The construction of nationhood through lesbian bodies is a raced discourse. Across all articles that constructed lesbianism as antithetical to South African-ness, the articles constructed “corrective rape” as being synonymous with Blackness. In fact, this discussion is as discursively
linked to blackness and the black community in South Africa as it is to lesbians. Race is either implied with textual clues or it is marked as a way to connect the crime to the black community in South Africa, which serves to reinforce whiteness as the normative and safe while constructing blackness as vulnerable and marginal. In this discussion of nationhood and lesbianism, race exists as a mechanism to discursively ensure white safety, or rather the appearance of white safety. For example, articles referred to black lesbians in a manner that reinforces their othered status, presented “corrective rape” as “their” problem, and equated townships as crime ridden. This is illustrated very clearly in the same article from which I selected the second exemplar above:

He said the rape of black lesbians was not new. “The reality is that many women are still dependent on men and will gravitate towards a heterosexual relationship for security, safety and survival, often denying who they are in terms of their sexual and gender identity. They often receive secondary discrimination from service providers such as the police and healthcare facilities because many believe that it is un-African or unnatural to be gay.” (Gules 2011)

This excerpt clearly marks this case and the phenomenon of “corrective rape” to be directed towards black lesbians. Marking race in this discussion separates the experiences of black lesbians from other lesbians as they are now a marked, separate category—no longer ubiquitous. With addressing the fact that the rape of black lesbians is not new, the speaker does two things: the first establishes that black lesbians have been suffering these attacks for a while, and the second is that it raises questions of attacks against lesbians of other races. More often than not, race is marked through contextual and cultural clues in the descriptions of “corrective rape” as most of these crimes are reported in the townships of South Africa, which are understood to be areas where black individuals live. Therefore, the speaker’s direct use of race serves to draw attention to the townships and the common held view that black lesbians are victims (see above discussion). It also hints to the growing attacks against lesbians from other races. However,
without expounding further, the speaker leaves black lesbians as the only publicly recognized
victims of “corrective rape” shaping the discourse to refer only to this already marginalized
community within South Africa. This serves to exclude black lesbians once again as they are
placed on the margin in their communities as well as in the lesbian community, as they are
targets--victims. While marginalizing black lesbians, it also serves to normalize the attacks
against them. This acknowledgement that “corrective rape” has been around without any
apparent problematization makes these attacks ordinary; it moves the crisis of “corrective rape”
from acute to a chronic problem lessening the perceived severity of the crimes. The perceived
normalized nature of these attacks and the nonchalant nature of the comment about the treatment
of black lesbians again places heterosexuality as the normative and acceptable expression as it is
free from harm.

I return now to an earlier article once again to provide an example of how “corrective
rape” is lined to black lesbians and the black community/. In many quarters, especially male ones, lesbians are resented, perhaps even feared. And to some young men the remedy is simple: rape. Each year, ActionAid estimates, 500,000 women are raped in South Africa, with lesbians a particular target. The warped logic is that the assault will "cure" them. As a result, says ActionAid, 86 per cent of black lesbians live in fear of rape. Their anxiety is understandable: only a minority of rapes are reported to the police and, of these, only one in five ends up in court, with a meagre 4 per cent of them ending in a conviction. (Braun 2009:48)

Similar to way that this article shaped the discourse of “corrective rape” as being about lesbian
bodies, it also makes it clear that they mean black lesbians although the article refrains from
mentioning how race might have been a contributing factor to the attacks. This excerpt, like the
second one, marks race with the distinction highlighting the experience (or rather the public
conception of the experiences) of black lesbians. The article quotes a study by a non-profit that
would have surveyed lesbians from multiple races, but the article chooses to only report the
findings regarding black lesbians by saying that “as a result, says ActionAid, 86 per cent of black
lesbians live in fear of rape. Their anxiety is understandable” (Braun 2009:48). This again raises questions of other racial groups as well as highlights the separation of black lesbians. Excluding lesbians of other races achieves two outcomes. The first suggests that lesbians of other races do not live in fear of rape, and the second is the implication that rape is a singular concern of black lesbians as they are the perceived targets. The article then proceeds to use exclusionary language separating the concerns of black lesbians (as the referent to “their anxiety”) from others. Discursively placing “corrective rape” under the purview of black lesbians, a group that has historically been subjugated to many inequalities and continues to be due to the lasting legacy of Apartheid, ghettoizes the crime and limits the chances that it might be addressed with enough resources to actually combat it. It also publically limits those who can be victims of “corrective rape.” If the public discourse is that “corrective rape” happens to black lesbians, a white or colored lesbian who experiences the hate crime may find their experiences lost.

The racial marking of “corrective rape” is seen again in an article that described the dangers of coming out. In particular, the article focused on the psychological trauma that remaining closeted could have as opposed to the threats of physical violence that coming out could have.

And coming out to homophobic family or friends can be traumatic, leading to isolation, depression and even suicide. The stakes are even higher in South Africa, especially in the black community. Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender/transsexual (GLBT) people have been assaulted and killed. The term corrective rape has been coined for the practice of men raping lesbians to "cure" them of their sexual orientation. (A petition to have it declared a hate crime went viral and has attracted more than 65 000 supporters around the world, but so far has not moved the Justice Ministry.) Neo, a black lesbian activist, said she had been attracted to females since the age of seven, but did not disclose this because she feared people would get "ideas”. (Grange 2011)

Aligned with the articles that constructed lesbianism as antithetical to South African-ness through “corrective rape,” this article constructs South Africa to be a place that is unfriendly to
lesbians and even more so to black lesbians. The article signals South Africa to be a dangerous place for queer people by saying that “the stakes are even higher in South Africa” (Grange 2011). Establishing South Africa as a place that is unsafe for lesbians creates an atmosphere and replicates the discourse of isolation and violence against lesbians. However, the article then goes on to then qualify this claim by associating this violence with the black community. While this article does not limit the violence against lesbians to the black community (as the first does indirectly and the other two exemplars do directly), it does link the violence to the black community. Using the word “especially” singles out one group over the others, and without mentioning that this violence exists in other communities, it gives the impression that the only community where this violence is significant or poses any real threat is within the black community. This is further indicated with the profile of Neo. The article highlights the dangers of being a black lesbian in South Africa without mentioning that these dangers and struggles exist for white and colored lesbians as well. This connects “corrective rape” and homophobia, more generally, to black women, as they are the subjects under investigation. The visibility of “corrective rape” is limited to discussions that either have blackness inherently linked (i.e. discussions of townships) or it is directly marked as is the case with these excerpts.

This exemplar is directly marking race to separate this phenomenon from the public as it is a concern “especially” for “the black community” (Grange 2011). This presentation of “corrective rape” and violence against lesbians does not integrate race as an aggravating factor but simply sets the boundaries for what kind of lesbians are seen as potential victims of “corrective rape”. The lack of discussion concerning other racial groups (be that white, colored, or Indian/Asian populations) renders the experiences of these women invisible as the discussed victims are black. Tying the violence to the black community is an extension of this.
Townships, black communities, are discussed as sites of violence, the places where lesbians are assaulted and killed. This discussion, representing townships as crime-laden and dangerous, is part of a large discourse on the racial other (similar to how “ghettos” are discussed in the United States). It also reinforces the notion that black lesbians need to worry over their safety as people could “get ideas”. The article doesn’t mention or profile any lesbians from other races, therefore, showing that black lesbians need to be worried about “corrective rape” and related issues where other lesbians need not. This only serves to highlight the racial tensions still present in South Africa and to establish a discursive safety around being non-black-as only black women are these victims.

Therefore, while this discourse is raced, it is raced in very particular ways. This shapes the discussion of “corrective rape” to be one that surrounds black women. There is no mention of colored women and the dominant pattern excludes white women. Presenting “corrective rape” in this manner renders black lesbians as the universal victims. They have been attacked or they could be attacked as they live in the area that these crimes happen and are the “targets” of these attacks.

Gendered Dimensions of “Corrective Rape”

The construction of nationhood through discourses of “corrective rape” is also gendered discourse. Across all the articles that constructed nationhood through lesbian bodies, the articles established and constructed “corrective rape” to be concern for women, misogynistic act. In fact, “corrective rape,” as it has been structured by these articles, is inseparable from a gendered discourse. As “corrective rape” is repeatedly defined in a gendered manner and as women are the inherent victims of “corrective rape,” it then becomes part of a greater discourse about women and about gender identity. For example, articles present gender within certain confines
and is presented from the speaker’s point of view—with no comment from the victims or the women in question regarding how they might identify. This can be seen clearly in the ways that the following three exemplars define and discuss “corrective rape”:

In an article that discussed Noxolo Nogwaza's murder and the rise of homophobic violence, “corrective rape” was defined as:

South African lesbians say they are particularly vulnerable in a society where conservative attitudes have a strong influence on how women are seen and treated. The assaults on lesbians have been called corrective rapes, and are meant to humiliate and punish women who don't fit the norm. Some attackers have reportedly said they believed they could "cure" women of being lesbians by raping them…” (Bryson 2011)

Here, the article sets the framework for “corrective rape” to be concerned with women. It clearly sets lesbians to be victims and presumably straight men to be the attackers. In the next exemplar, the article is discussing the recent attack of a thirteen year old when it says,

“according to activists, lesbians are often victims of corrective rape, which is forced sex with a man to "cure" their sexuality” (SAPA 2012).

This article, yet again, clearly limits victims to be lesbians by directly qualifying who the victims are. The last new exemplar discusses the establishment of a queer safe house in Cape Town when it defines “corrective rape” as:

The shelter, the first of its kind in South Africa, opened in April to cater for people who might not be accepted at some faith-based shelters because of their sexuality. It also accommodates lesbian victims of "corrective rape" - supposedly to "cure" them of their sexual orientation. (Bamford 2011:8).

The use of the gay shelter clearly sets the following definition of “corrective rape” to be within a certain framework. The article, while implying that there is a specific kind of attacker, doesn’t mention who the perpetrators of the attacks are, which is similar to my previous discussion on the lack of focus on the rapists. In addition to these exemplars, the first four I presented above also define “corrective rape” in an exclusionary manner.
In all of these examples, the articles assume two things: the first is an assumption that these women identify as lesbians, the second is the assumption that the men attacking these women are heterosexual men (if they are mentioned at all). Through these assumptions they produce the meaning of “corrective rape” as something that only happens to women. None of these articles gives room for the victims of the crimes to self-identify; instead, the articles are assuming either an identity based off the fact that they were attacked or from accounts of others. However it is done, it creates a power imbalance and removes the agency of controlling one’s own identity and the labels one chooses to use. Therefore, while the inclusion of Eudy Simelane (as is seen in the third exemplar in the first section), a national soccer star and a publically out lesbian, seems like allowing the victim to control the identification process, the nuance of Simelane’s gender identity, something she discussed publically a couple of times, is lost entirely. The complexities of lesbianism and the ways that gender identity is expressed in South Africa (as discussed in previous chapters) is socially lost in this reporting as gender is limited to male and female, as defined by biological sex, and sexual orientation is limited to sexual behavior, which limits the discourse on sexuality to a very narrow range erasing many individual’s experiences.

The assumption that the one’s attackers are heterosexual men seems like a safe one considering the attack requires penetration and the motivation behind it is to cure homosexuality. However, this assumption does not take in the complexity of social and cultural pressures that men may feel to assert their masculinity through whatever means. The presence of a marked sexual orientation for the victims and the lack of marking for the attacks, leads to the assumption that these men are heterosexual, which only serves to reinforce the othered status of lesbianism. Coupled with assumptions regarding masculinity and the continued prompting of heterosexuality
as normative, this discourse places lesbians and sexuality, more generally, into a very narrow box.

This linear fashion of constructing “corrective rape,” attackers are heterosexual men and victims are lesbian women, on top of limiting expressions of gender and sexual orientation also limits the construction of who can be victims. Similar to the assumed blackness of the victims, it is also assumed that they are women. This construction of “corrective rape” erases the fact that some lesbians in South Africa do not identify as women, as well as excludes how other sexual minorities, such as gay men or trans* individuals, can be victims of “corrective rape.”

Therefore, while some of these articles give gender neutral definitions of the crime, they limit their discussions to women giving the public appearance that only women can be victims of these crimes. Limiting discussions of “corrective rape” to women sets the discourse to be concerned only with lesbians placing them in a very public place of vulnerability.

**Summary of Theme**

The marginalization of lesbians is presented in many different ways in the above exemplars and in the pattern of constructing nationhood, but the marginalization is always connected to a public or cultural disapproval of lesbianism. While not always presented in tandem, there is an implied understanding of the contrast to the governmental and legal protections that these sexualities now receive in a democratic South Africa (as can be seen in the third exemplar). In news articles, lesbians are discursively constructed as the opposite of or in

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44 For a greater examination of this, please see Morgan and Wieringa 2005. Their volume speaks to the multiplicity of lesbian identities and the ways that gender represents itself in lesbian relationships in Africa, i.e. tommy boys, lesbian men, etc. As to my data, this claim is supported only in one article, as it was the only article where lesbians were allowed to share an identity. One woman is quoted as saying concerning her friend Noxolo who was murdered, “to some members of the Nogwaza family, she was simply their daughter: a single mother of two small kids, always ready to help with household chores. Definitely "not a lesbian." But most people remember how confident she was about her sexuality: how she would laughingly declare ‘I love being a boy!’” (Nkosi 2011).
contradiction to traditional ways of life. News sources equate tradition with the heterosexual, therefore, placing lesbians as non-traditional, new, and part of the new, “modern,” global South Africa. This juxtaposition serves to draw a parallel to South Africa pre-colonialism as pure (the heterosexual Africa) and the South Africa post-colonialism as sickened with “aberrations” identified as lesbians, in this case anyway. With the claim that lesbianism did not exist before European intervention, authentic African-ness is constructed through tradition and heterosexuality. While the desire to remain traditional is cited as the leading cause of “corrective rapes,” it is often painted as being primitive or bigoted in that it is presented as a minority school of thought despite the widespread prevalence of “corrective rapes” and the current government’s silent approval. However framed, as lesbians are discursively established as adversaries to heterosexuality, they are targeted as subjects of violence as a way of social control. By exerting violence against this population, heterosexual men control not just their own stories and experiences but also, the experiences of these women. “Corrective rape” is believed to “cure” women who display “alternative” sexualities, and thereby positions men as dominant and as the mechanism to rid South Africa of threats to the idea of a heterosexual Africa.

The pattern in this discourse has newspaper articles (re)producing what it means to be South African and how lesbianism is antithetical to authentic nationhood through the focus on lesbian bodies. By equating various aspects of South African identity with violence against lesbians or the marginalization of lesbians, the articles constructs what it means to be South African and what it means to not be considered such. Legitimatizing the discourse of “corrective rape” from the perpetrators’ accounts and limiting the discourse to the bodies of lesbian women is another form of marginalization as the voices and agency these women might have had are erased in favor of an account that privileges the men and tells the story from the perspective of
the attackers. Lesbian bodies are used by male rapists to assert what an authentic identity might look like. Being a real man, being a real woman, and being a real South African are all constructed though the actual attack and aftermath of “corrective rape.” As real South Africans are heterosexual, as real men don’t engage in sexualities outside of heterosexual desire, and as real women are proven through the act of heterosexual penetrative sex, the construction of South African identity is achieved through a sexual relationship of a man. As South African heterosexuality is also constructed as one that is exclusionary, heterosexual men are charged with policing it to maintain its purity (as is seen with the first exemplar). This serves to exclude lesbians from South African identity in two ways: lack of a sexual relationship with a man and as targets of violence as they fall outside of heterosexuality. Therefore, the articles present violent heterosexism as an assertion of a single acceptable expression of South African-ness, which establishes the construction nationhood through rape at the expense or through lesbians’ bodies.

The government’s lack of comment on these attacks also serves to reinforce the public discourse on what it means to be South African. If the government doesn’t enforce the legal protections lesbians have they become meaningless, relegating lesbians to the mercy of their community. The meaning of being lesbian, therefore, is constructed as that of being a devalued and worthless individual not fit to be protected by South Africa, and thereby constructing what it really means to be South African. As it is understood that South Africa would protect and provide safety for its citizens, its silence (as is noted throughout the pattern of this theme) becomes shockingly loud. The lack of comment from the government solidifies the silent approval of the ruling party to the mistreatment of lesbians, almost as a silent nod of approval.
Variations on the Construction of South African-ness and Lesbianism

The dominate pattern constructed the meaning of nationhood through the discourse of “corrective rape.” However, there were instances across the data where the articles approached this differently, and thus, constructed nationhood differently while still using the discourse of “corrective rape” and lesbians. These variations happened rarely and took on different forms. The only time that the news articles did not construct the meaning of South African-ness through the discourse of “corrective rape,” as is the general pattern, is when they reported on white women or gay men. In these articles, “corrective rape” was constructed as an acute problem and one of growing importance. The following excerpt is an example how the construction of “corrective rape” differs from what is considered the norm (rape of a black lesbian) in that it discusses the growing presence of white female victims. This small change shifts the meaning and the production of “corrective rape.”

Often referred to as "corrective or curative rape", these hate crimes are spiralling out of control, are happening in the suburbs, and the justice system was failing victims, they said…. Organisers called for justice for Nkonyana and other "faceless and nameless lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people who have been raped, assaulted and killed for choosing to live their lives authentically and out"…Deputy director of the Triangle Project, Marlow Valentine, said: "More white people are becoming victims of these crimes too. We first saw it happening in the townships but now we get calls from victims in white suburbs and small rural towns."

In December four lesbians were assaulted in Malmesbury by a bartender and his friend after the women ignored their advances. Another couple were assaulted in Sedgefield, Knysna, and the perpetrator got off with a fine. Valentine said there were other reports across the country, including of the rape and murder last year of female soccer player Eudy Simelane, a lesbian. Cherith Sanger, from the Women's Legal Centre, said they were seeing more white lesbians and gays coming forward to report that they had been raped or assaulted, many from the Afrikaans communities. (Peters 2010:8)

The construction of rape happens differently in this excerpt as it places attention on white women. This is markedly different from the news coverage regarding the rape of black lesbians
as can be seen in the exemplars I examined previously. In the dominant pattern race may go unmentioned (due to the assumed nature of the racial makeup of townships) or mentioned as a way to distinguish that black lesbian experiences are more severe than any other group. Here, however, whiteness is a marked category. Race is marked three times directly and one indirectly for white women and in vastly different ways than the ways race has been marked previously. For example, the first mention of race in this except does not refer to lesbians despite the fact that they are discussing hate crimes and a particular emphasis on “corrective rape.” The article says “white people,” which was a distinction that black lesbians were never granted in the above articles. The excerpt goes on to discuss the attacks “in townships,” which references black lesbians implicitly, but also raises explicit concern over the new attacks against white lesbians. The concern over the attacks against white lesbians without expressing concern over the “ordinary” attacks against black lesbians structures the attacks against white lesbians as more meaningful than the attacks against black lesbians; as this crime spreads and grows to encompass the white community, it becomes acute, severe, and more worrisome as is seen in the way that the emergence of white victims is phrased. For example, the speaker places the attacks against black lesbians as old, but now that the attacks are happening in the suburbs, they are “spiraling out of control” (Peters 2010:8). It also devalues the experiences of black lesbians as this excerpt constructs their experiences as worth less than white lesbians. This variation from the norm of “corrective rape,” (black men raping black lesbians), and the meanings attached to it highlights the racial tensions that still run deep in South Africa.

This shift in what “corrective rape” could be considered—or rather what this variation means for the public discourse on “corrective rape”—alters the profile and meaning behind “corrective rape”. If “corrective rape” serves to cure women of an inauthentic identity,
lesbianism, which never existed in Africa before white settlement, why then are white lesbians being targeted? These attacks could hardly be considered “corrective” in the same ways that the rapes of black lesbians are since same gender attraction has been noted to be more acceptable for white communities and is so implied in the very nature of the myth of heterosexual Africa or that lesbianism is “un-African”. Including white lesbians in the discourse surrounding “corrective rape” changes the way it is reproduced as it could not be ghettoized as an incident that happens to poor black women (as is seen with exemplar two). However, this variation remains small as it showed up in only two of the 95 articles in this study.

Similar to the inclusion of white women is the inclusion of gay men in the discussion of “corrective rape.” This, again, is a small variation on the general pattern only appearing in two articles, but the recognition that “corrective rape” is not just a black lesbian or a lesbian problem is a shift in the very meaning of “corrective rape.” In an article about an update on the murder investigation of Noxolo Nogwaza, we can see this inclusion.

Residents gathered on Tuesday evening at the KwaThema Central Methodist Church to honour Nogwaza and other victims of LGBTI hate crime. They sang and swayed, sporting matching purple shirts that read "Struggle continues" and "In memory of Noxolo Nogwaza, Eudy Simelane, Girly Nkosi, Xolani Dlomo". The four names represent victims of rape and murder in KwaThema.

Simelane, a Banyana Banyana player, was murdered in 2008; Nkosi was killed in 2009; and Dlomo, who is rarely mentioned in connection with "corrective rape", was a gay man murdered in 2004. Nogwaza's murder sparked international online petitions against "corrective rape" and drew worldwide attention. (Chin 2012:2)

This excerpt does not seek to redefine “corrective rape,” but does offer inclusivity that has been missing in the definition previously. Many articles come out and define “corrective rape” as the rape of a lesbian to cure her sexuality (as I discussed previously), and the inclusion of a gay man not only does not fit with that definition but it also challenges the patriarchal masculinity that informs “corrective rape.” As was discussed earlier, heterosexuality is positioned as the authentic sexual orientation of South Africa and authentic masculinity, as is tied to
heterosexuality, is the dominant form of that sexuality. The rape of a gay man would serve as a form of punishment for not conforming to the accepted notions of sexuality and of masculinity, but it would also question the masculinity of the rapist, which is what is enacted with male violence against lesbians; however, that is not discussed or brought up in any of the articles in my sample.

The article acknowledges that Dlomo is not mentioned in connection to “corrective rape” as he was a gay man, but the article does not expound further. There are numerous discussions on what “corrective rape” looks like for lesbians, but the same cannot be said for the “corrective rape” of gay men. While this silence and exclusion in the general pattern erases or ignores the experiences of gay men, it highlights “corrective rape” as a misogynistic experience. Including gay men within the definition of “corrective rape” would shift the placement of “corrective rape” within the public discourse, as it would become more than an issue affecting a small minority group (black lesbians). It would be seen outside of the scope of women’s issues, as it would now be affecting the privileged and dominant male group, which is similar to the inclusion of white women. It becomes harder to overlook, as it is no longer an issue affecting the traditionally marginalized and oppressed group of black township women.

The third kind of variation found in my sample occurred when news articles were discussing the various kinds of hate crimes that exist within the South African community and in Africa, as a whole. In the articles with this variation in how “corrective rape” is discussed in relation to lesbianism and South African-ness, “corrective rape” was constructed as a narrow way of looking at the rapes of gay women as is seen in the discussion of how the use of Lesbian bodies is named. Previous examples of the variation have discussed groups to include in “corrective rape,” but this variation challenges the very way that “corrective rape” is discursively
used, which shapes the discourse of using lesbian bodies to authenticate a national identity. In an article discussing the growing “epidemic” of “corrective rape,” a journalist provided another way of talking about the mistreatment of lesbians. She said:

‘Corrective rape is particularly prevalent in South Africa, but more and more cases are being exposed in Uganda and many other countries in Africa. It is horrific, but corrective rape certainly looks like it is on the rise in South Africa,’ she said. "Punitive rape is another hate crime emerging in Africa -- when family members are involved in organising the punishment of a lesbian."

Many organisations such as Cal [Coalition of African Lesbians], which raises awareness and assists rape survivors, do not have access to statistics on corrective rape and official awareness about this hate crime is only now starting to grow. Cape Town NGO Luleki Sizwe estimates that more than 10 lesbians are raped or gang-raped each week in the city of Cape Town alone, while in the past decade more than 31 lesbians have been murdered because of their sexuality. The group says around 510 women report being the survivors of corrective rape in South Africa each year. (Underhill 2011)

Here, “corrective rape” is mentioned a couple times, but the article also introduces to a new phrase “punitive rape.” There is a substantial difference between using the phrase “corrective rape” and “punitive rape” as the former is informed by a belief that lesbianism can be “cured” and the latter simply implies punishment and not the ability to cure. In a “punitive rape” situation, the only motive is to punish a woman for being a lesbian and is condoned by the family of the woman. While “corrective rape” is a form of punishment it has the ultimate goal of trying to re-integrate lesbian women into the heterosexual fold by getting rid of their “ailment.”

However, while motives differ, the end result of constructing nationhood remains the same; what changes is the discursive use of lesbian bodies. “Corrective rape” expresses the belief that non-heterosexual sexualities cannot exist, that they are inauthentic and individuals who do “alternative sexualities” just need to be shown the right path. “Punitive rape,” on the other hand, expresses a disagreement with lesbianism, but not the idea that it can be corrected or that the sexuality is inherently inauthentic. Therefore, the act of raping lesbians, using lesbian bodies, is discursively different in the goal of constructing an authentic South African identity. If
lesbianism is not inauthentic, then the act of constructing an authentic identity relies on the community ideal of acceptable expression with lesbianism still being unaccepted.

The inclusion of “punitive rape” in the discourse of “corrective rape” recognizes not only the broader community disapproval of same gender attraction but it also shows the danger that many lesbians have to face when coming out to their family. Many articles mention the trouble with the crimes not being reported, and recognizing the tangle that would come with “punitive rape” serves as an explanation as to why that might be (“punitive rape” as a named occurrence only appears the once in my data). The tangled mess of family sanctioned rape could prove difficult to report as the many different tensions and pressures on a survivor. In addition, recognizing that many family members approve the punishment of lesbians shows how ingrained the belief that heterosexuality as the desirable sexuality is. While “punitive rape” does not express the desire to cure, it still expresses the need to punish the non-conformity to the myth of heterosexual Africa.

**Summary of Variations in Relation to the Theme**

The variations construct the act of raping a lesbian or of raping an individual, as may be more apt considering, differently than the general pattern in the theme. These variations take on many forms, but the resulting discourse on the raping of gay and lesbian individuals has the same effect of bringing attention to the crime and the politics of the body in the role of shaping South African identity. The inclusion of white women and gay men challenges the common definition of “corrective rape” and the preconceived notions that inform it. The inclusion of these two different groups shows the phenomenon is much more widespread or threatens a broader range of people than has been commonly reported. The theme’s exclusion of these groups could be
due to prevalence or occurrence of attacks against these groups or it could represent a greater social problem. As most articles about “corrective rape” have to deal with attacks that result in the murder of a black lesbian, the exclusion of cases that don’t have multiple deaths attached to it may have smaller probative journalistic value. Whichever reason, the theme’s focus on the rape of black lesbians (as any discourse on “corrective rape” is inherently a discourse on black women as I discussed above) represents the normative description of “corrective rape,” and the discursive formation of “corrective rape” is centered on this conception of attacks. The variations, in this case of white women and a gay man, serve as exceptions to the general rule, but when included provide a fuller picture of homophobia in South Africa.

Similar to the variation in victims of “corrective rape,” the inclusion on the different ways that lesbian bodies might be violated constructs the ways that lesbian bodies are used, but does not shift the entire discourse. “Punitive rape” provides a fuller picture as to how the rape of lesbians is sanctioned, which the theme takes into account only in the ways that it acknowledges community support for the policing of sexuality. The act of punishing a lesbian for choosing to live out and authentically is not directly part of the discourse of the theme and “corrective rape,” but it is implied in the acts of male violence. The representation of violence in “punitive rape” is threefold: first there is the rape itself, second is the family sanctions of the rape, and third is the punishment for an identity outside of choice. Neither the variation or the theme discusses the extent or even focus on the consequences of male violence (outside of the possible event of death), but the variation does provide menace that is missing in the theme. Neither the recognition of punishment as motive nor the family’s role in the rape changes the ways that heterosexuality is constructed thereby it fails to substantially alter the ways that an authentic South African identity is constructed through lesbian bodies.
Discussion

Throughout this analysis I have been concerned with examining the cultural (re)production of “corrective rape” through a qualitative analysis of news accounts from South African newspapers and the ways that “corrective rape” was normalized with the intent in arguing that the conversation around GBV needs to move beyond blame and move to accountability. Through this analysis I found “corrective rape” was used to represent a national identity; this was done through the positing of lesbianism as antithetical to “true” South African-ness. This discussion was raced and gendered but done primarily through the lens of sexuality.

From 95 articles I examined (the 65 in which this theme is present in ) articles that I examined for this theme, it became clear that while South Africa exports an image of pride on being foremost in the world in terms of liberal constitutions, there is a large internal struggle of achieving that pride, and in fact, those who are able to exercise that pride is highly contested. What it means to be South African culturally is quite different from what the law has begun to recognize. The transition from an Apartheid state to a democratic South Africa changed not only the political landscape of the country but also the social, which saw a “sudden emergence” of sexual minorities. Due to this transition, South Africa saw an “emergence of a new (or renewed) collective national identity” (Norris et al 2008:52). This identity, as examined through discourses surrounding “corrective rape,” shows a clear attachment to the hegemonic heterosexual model and the perceived threat of lesbianism to this system.

As “corrective rape” is a man’s attempt to exert social control over a body and expression that defies the hegemonic heterosexual or patriarchal system that the male national power is premised under, the message of punishment and of “lesson learning” presented to the presumed lesbian being raped indicates the very fragile state of the posited norm, heterosexual Africa. The constant need for defense of heterosexuality in the face of lesbianism sets up a sexual hierarchy
that consolidates gender and sexuality and serves to reinforce compulsory heterosexuality. This framing posits woman-ness to be acted out only through heterosexual desire/sex, which erases the possibility of acting out womanhood in any other manner. The contention is then that with gender and sexuality being constructed/conflated together, not only is lesbianism no longer considered, but also expressions of femininity are intricately, intimately, linked to masculinity as it cannot be expressed without the desire for heterosexual penetrative sex. Erasing other avenues of expressing woman-ness has devastating consequences for lesbians, in South Africa as this reifies patriarchal notions (and access) of the female body.

In addition, this discussion and framing of “corrective rape” as a response to lesbianism as a perceived direct threat to heterosexuality implies and constitutes lesbians as dangerous, criminal (or more accurate might be ‘delinquent’\(^\text{45}\)) for violating the sexual hierarchy. This positions lesbians in a state of docility, as their non-conformity to the sexual hierarchy indicates to the community their need for discipline, which in turn places them under a system of surveillance.\(^\text{46}\) “Corrective rape” is act of discipline within this frame; in other words, “corrective rape” isn’t simply an act of forced sex, but a method used in teaching lesbians how their bodies should behave and act; the idea is to reintegrate lesbians into the correct and proper behavior in society. Male rapists are, therefore, using the body and rape to make a point about social and cultural politics. The private and personal nature of rape, is therefore, made public as it is part of a larger political struggle in maintaining the ‘traditional’ and ‘normal’ status quo.

Having rape be a public act, then, without the social condemnation or proper governmental

\(^{45}\) Foucault distinguishes between criminal and delinquent by stating, “the delinquent is to be distinguished from the offender by the fact that it is not so much his act as his life that is relevant in characterizing him” (1977:251).

\(^{46}\) Foucault defines the docile body as one “that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (Foucault 1977:136).
response sets the body to be a proper and an acceptable place to work out political differences, and implies acceptability for the reason behind “corrective rape”.

Using lesbian bodies in the assertion of South African-ness changes the dynamic of sexual identity from a personal, individual experience to one that belongs to a community. The establishment of the ideology that sexuality is ‘curable’ and that male rapists have the right to enter lesbian bodies sets sexuality to be a facet of identity to be controlled by the community. This construction of sexuality not only perpetrates rape culture, but it also constructs lesbianism to be useless for community purposes; what I mean here is that heterosexuality has a clear function that serves the community (reproduction), whereas lesbianism does not have that community interest, it is seen as self-interested. Using lesbian bodies in the assertion of South African-ness changes the dynamic of sexual identity from a personal, individual experience to one that belongs to a community. The establishment of the ideology that sexuality is ‘curable’ and that male rapists have the right to enter lesbian bodies sets sexuality to be a facet of identity to be controlled by the community. This construction of sexuality not only perpetrates rape culture, but it also constructs lesbianism to be useless for community purposes; what I mean here is that heterosexuality has a clear function that serves the community (reproduction), whereas lesbianism does not have that community interest, it is seen as self-interested.47 Constructing lesbian identity in this manner reduces individual agency in self-expression, as well as individual agency in general, and sets up a collective community identity48 that establishes heterosexuality as the only acceptable expression of sexuality.

Thus, the ability to authenticate oneself as South African or truly African is limited to those who can claim they contribute to the collective community and South African identity, which has been established to exclude lesbians when framing this discourse around “corrective rape.” This distances Black lesbians from other Black Africans by aligning them with whites as whiteness is synonymous with “gay” or at least lesbianism has been constructed to be other, different than normal black South Africans. Fragmenting society and communities in this manner emphasizes a clear us/them paradigm that takes the form of lesbians versus everyone else. As I showed, lesbians were referred to as a separate, marked group, which is contrary to

47 I see this being similar to the arguments that the advocates of Proposition 8 had in Hollingsworth vs. Perry. The state had a vested interest in marriage for a number of reasons, which was why it was opposed to allowing same-sex marriage.

48 For more of this discussion, please see the next chapter.
what the constitution and the messages that democratic South Africa says they are striving to do—making all citizens equal.

Through the discourse of “corrective rape” it became clear that central to South African constructions of identity and nationality was the patriarchal construction of sexuality and gender, which used lesbian’s bodies as a medium of expression. The patriarchal system of South Africa, as I established previously, constructs women’s bodies to be at the disposal for male power/desire. Enacting patriarchal masculinity is this manner is one way of expressing nationality as it policies not only other men, but also women who have expressed no desire for men, as that defiance threatens the fabric of masculinity. This patriarchal power, then, is expressed through violent heterosexism and establishes a culture of violence that discursively place lesbians as the victims. If lesbians are always at the crux of the discourse and discussion about “corrective rape” and violence, then what room is left for them to move from victim to survivor?49

My results challenge the common framing of rape as response to Apartheid or simply as carried over weapon of war during peacetime (Moffett 2006; Anderson 2000; Borer 2012; Baaz and Stern 2009; Card 1996). While locating rape as a response to historical influences is crucial, limiting this to Apartheid era or to war/peace time excludes vital messages or beliefs that have been ingrained into popular knowledge/collective memory. My analysis centers around the discourse that frames lesbianism as un-South African, which can be found in the foundations of the belief in heterosexual Africa, which preceded Apartheid.

My results also challenge the framing of rape as normal in South Africa (Jewkes et al 2012; Dosekun 2012). My analysis showed how “corrective rape” was perceived as normal or as

49 By which I mean the healing process that comes from moving on from the crisis response of trauma.
a chronic problem only when it was framed as attacks against black women. “Corrective rape” was constructed to be a normal part of life for black lesbians, not any other population. While many studies of rape focus on race (Jewkes et al 2012; Dosekun 2012; Swar 2012; Anderson 2000), there are few studies that analyze it through gender (Moffett 2006) or sexuality (Swarr 2012), let alone all three, which this study does. In fact, I argue that any understanding of the discourse of “corrective rape” has to be through all three of these factors: race, gender, and sexuality. To look at the production of “corrective rape” without all three factors would to be loose a vital element in the ways that “corrective rape” is constructed and the various impacts it can have for lesbians in South Africa.

While McClintock and other studies of nationalism fall outside of the body of literature that are obviously relevant to this study, as I was specifically looking at lesbian rape in South Africa, she does help to address the gap in the literature regarding the ways that rape can (re)produce national identity. McClintock’s discussion of violent gendered nationalism is extremely helpful in this study’s understanding of the discourse that surrounds “corrective rape”. McClintock examines how women are essential to the establishment of a national identity—at least in its body politic- but that they are almost always limited from any real interplay with nationalism or any agency in constructing their symbolic role (1977). This position of women (re)produces masculine interests in gender difference in presenting male national power. Therefore, any discussion of nationalism or any assertion of a national identity is a gendered discourse, which my examination of the discourse of “corrective rape” supported. Further, the discourse surrounding “corrective rape” sets women to be at the crux of establishing this national

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50 While my data and this study cannot speak to it, I would also suggest that understanding “corrective rape” as a social phenomenon needs to be through the understanding of the intersection of the following social identity markers: race, class, gender, physical location, sexuality, ethnicity, etc.
identity as it is done through the struggle of the lesbian body. McClintock’s assertion that nationality is constituted through acts of violence is particularly relevant to South Africa in wake of the homophobic violence of “corrective rapes.” In fact, this study expands upon McClintock’s claim that “all nationalisms are gendered, all are invented, and all are dangerous…,” and that “nationalism becomes, as a result, radically constitutive of people's identities, through social contests that are frequently violent and always gendered,” as this study postulates that these acts are not just violent and gendered, but raced and sexualized as well, at least in the case of South Africa (McClintock 1993:61).

Previous studies of “corrective rape” have focused on the lack of CSO and NHRI intervention (Anguita 2011), the process of empowerment after experiencing an attack (Muholi 2011), and on the consequences of black lesbian identity (Morrissey 2013). Therefore, while Morrissey does examine the construction of an authentic South African national identity in her examination of “corrective rape”, she does so around silence and the visible presence of black lesbian identity. My analysis of the discursive use of “corrective rape” adds to the gap in this literature by examining how “corrective rape” is used as a way to establish South African-ness and how this cannot be separated from discussions of race, gender, and sexuality.
In this chapter, I examine the news articles that reported on “corrective rape” in a way that centered a discourse on South African involvement in the move against “corrective rape” as inadequate to the realities the lesbian community faced, which was present in 34 of the 95 articles. This theme represents the counter hegemonic discourse on South African-ness in my data and was generally found in the more recent articles. In the news articles, the logic went that not enough of the community or country were stepping up to recognize that “corrective rape” was wrong, which hurt the image of a democratic South Africa. My analysis explores the presence of meaning of this discourse and its variations, as well as their significance. I look at the ways that social meaning of nationalism is produced through a discourse of “corrective rape” that is geographically situated. I conclude by examining the broader cultural implications for lesbians in South Africa.

**Accepting the Rainbow in the Nation**

Across all the articles that were concerned with presenting “corrective rape” as an act of hate, the articles constructed South Africa as a country that is inclusive. They reinforced both the sense of lesbians as part of the country and voiced complaints about the lack of support that lesbians have communally and legally as well as situated a central image of South Africa. For example, articles that referred to the democratic status of South Africa continually made the call for allies and addressed the failing standards of equality currently present in South Africa. This

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51 While codes represented itself across 74 news articles, the discourse reported on in this chapter was present in 34 articles. This means that while there calls for reforms to the ways that “corrective rape” was handled in the judicial system in the earliest articles (from 2009 and 2010), they were not part of a larger call to condemn “corrective rape.”
can be seen in the exemplar below from an article that describes an attack on a lesbian couple heading to a bar in their neighborhood.

In May, the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) and ANC Women's League (ANCWL) called for state and civil action to be taken to prevent "cowardly", homophobic sexual attacks on lesbians in South Africa. It is the responsibility of all South Africans to take action on violence against people because of their sexual orientation, the NYDA said on May 11, after further reports of what it said had become a "worrying trend" in South Africa. "In a country where the Constitution clearly stipulates that no person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone because of their sexual orientation, reports about lesbians being victims of corrective rape and murder have become a worrying trend," the NYDA said in a statement. "The NYDA calls upon all South Africans to take action against these ongoing violent attacks ... the South African police should act swiftly to ensure that the perpetrators are apprehended. "Community members also have a key role to play by reporting anyone who is suspected of intimidating or harming a person because of their sexual orientation." (SAPA 2012b)

The article presents “corrective rapes” as homophobic assaults on the freedoms of lesbian women and does so through framing the discussion to be around the constitution. Presenting “corrective rape” as wrong only because it violates the constitution ignores the many other reasons why “corrective rape” violates lesbians. Framing the discussion in this manner shapes the discourse of response to “corrective rape” to a singular narrative: upholding the constitution and the national image of South Africa as the rainbow nation. Framing the discussion of “corrective rape” as a “worrying trend” because the constitution protects individuals from discrimination based on their sexual orientation manages to convey two different messages (SAPA 2012b). The first message this conveys is that the violation of lesbians’ constitutional

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52 This term was first used by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in describing South Africa post-Apartheid. Despite contemporary connotations of “rainbow,” the Archbishop didn’t use it to initially describe acceptance of LGBT peoples, although he has been a huge advocate for the rights of LGBT peoples and spoke many times about how Apartheid marginalized and dehumanized the queer community (see Thoreson 2008). His primary reference was to the coming together of people from many different races and colors, a multicultural appreciation, which was in stark contrast to Apartheid South Africa with the stark contrast of Black and White. The term has come to imply the advances in LGBT inclusion in South Africa today.
rights is a minor concern.\textsuperscript{53} Using the phrase, “worrying trend” sets the discourse of “corrective rape” to be one that is temporary as the crime is regulated to a “trend,” not a phenomenon that has become a normal part of life for black lesbians. In addition, framing the murder of lesbians as something to “worry” over and not something to act upon suggests a nonchalant attitude toward “corrective rape”. The second message framing the discourse in this manner conveys is that the primary concern of the ANC is that the constitution isn’t being followed. Framing the conversation to be about legal documents instead of victimized women or male violence removes any discussion of people and consequences; this leaves no room to discuss the affects that “corrective rape” has in the community or for the survivors, nor does it leave room to discuss the prevalence of male violence or the rapists themselves. The conversation moves from the personal to the legal, which fails to recognize that while lesbians have legal rights and protections, they are still being raped and murdered.

By framing the discussion in this manner, the article sets up all further calls for action as responses to the lack of enforcement of constitutional protections. Indeed, the article suggests that action is needed only in response to the “worrying trend” of rape and murder. The exemplar states that “it is the responsibility of all South Africans to take action on violence against people because of their sexual orientation…after further reports of what [NYDA] said had become a "worrying trend" in South Africa” (SAPA 2012b). This call for South Africans to take action against the homophobic violence was only made after the recognition that these crimes worried the ANCWL and NYDA. Suggesting that the “‘cowardly’ homophobic sexual attacks” needed civil and state action only after they had received “further reports” of the rape and murder of lesbians hints at the inaction of the government in previous times and suggests that the only

\textsuperscript{53} By the time this article was published (2011), over 30 women had lost their lives due to “corrective rape,” which is not to mention the vast number of women who had suffered the rape and assault but didn’t lose their lives.
reason it needs to be addressed now is because the evidence can no longer be ignored or pushed aside.

The article calls for community action in a way that frames the discourse to be about the failing process of reconciliation of the attacks without acknowledging that the processes are failing. What I mean here is that the article asks for community members to report people who treat lesbians unfairly, but this call is framed around reporting to SAPS (South African Police Service). Similarly, the article calls on SAPS to “apprehend” perpetrators, and it neglects to recognize the failings of SAPS or that just because men are arrested doesn’t mean they will face any jail time or even see the inside of the courtroom. This suggests that the problem can be stopped if the community would step and trust the system; in fact, the article equates the community action as “key” in responding to “corrective rape.”

The article’s call for the community as well as the South African government to take responsibility and stand up for lesbians highlights not only the legal or executive failing in response to lesbian needs/protections but also suggests that the community has stood by and let these attacks happen. This assumption ignores the many community based organizations, such as Luleki Sizwe, have been reporting and fighting against “corrective rape” since the beginning of the attacks. This erases any perception of any safe spaces that lesbians might have as it constructs the social and the political as places where, up until now, have been unaccommodating to them.

The exemplar continually calls for “all South Africans” to unite and become allies against homophobic violence expanding the issue from the communities where it originated (a black lesbian problem) to one that affects the entire nation. By calling on all South Africans and referring to the constitution, the article is drawing on the imagery of a democratic South Africa
and the rainbow nation. Employing these images distances South Africa from the not so distant oppression and inequality that characterized Apartheid; therefore, referring to the constitution and the duty of South Africans to stand up for one another, reinforces the characteristics that the government and the constitution continually suggest: Ubuntu, unity, love, acceptance, equality, etc. Pushing for a united South Africa against “corrective rape” constructs community or a nation that is inclusive or accepting of sexual difference as it is done through a discourse of recognizing “corrective rape” as homophobic actions that violate the rights of lesbians.

The second way that nationalism is constructed in the data can be seen in the exemplar from an article that was discussing the political response to the rape and murder of a seventeen year old girl.

The rape, mutilation and subsequent death of a 17-year-old Bredasdorp girl has shocked everyone across the political spectrum. Many political organisations have expressed their outrage. "It is worrying that rape and abuse seems to have become a norm. This will not be allowed to continue," Government Communication and Information System acting chief executive Phumla Williams said. "Society needs to change their mindset about the dignity to life and respect for each other. Those who molest and abuse children have no place in a democratic South Africa."

Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] described the attack on the girl as "appalling", while the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) said the incident left it disgusted… Cosatu spokesman Patrick Craven said: "We must show that South Africa is no less angry at such crimes, and make an equally loud statement of disgust”…Troy Martens, on behalf of the ANCW L, said South Africans needed to declare that "enough is enough", adding: "The scourge of rape cannot be seen as a women's issue any longer. It is difficult to find reason behind the many different acts of gang rape, child rape, rape of the elderly, corrective rape and male rape." (Tswana 2013:5)

The article clearly characterizes “corrective rape” as a disgusting crime that violates personal freedoms. There is a clear call for South Africans to raise their voices against this act; however, this is done clearly through the motivation to create a prideful and inclusive image of South Africa, similar to what the first exemplar does. It doesn’t offer any alternative frames for why individuals need to band together to stop these crimes beyond it is bad for South Africa not to do so. Where the first exemplar framed its discussion about “corrective rape” from the point of
view of the constitution, this exemplar frames the conversation of rape and crimes against girls (as “corrective rape” isn’t mentioned until the last sentence) around the concept of nationalism, and does so as if it is the only reason for the outrage against the attacks, which highlights the image of a democratic South Africa as paramount. The exemplar reinforces this through its emphasis on the mobilization of the government against these crimes. The continued reference to South Africa as a whole, rather than specific provinces or areas, accomplishes two different messages. The first message is that it broadens the range of those who should be concerned from the victims and their immediate communities to the entire population of the country. This is made clear through the article’s continued utterances of unity and framing the government as a helpful force with its clear stance on trying to stop the sexual assault of girls, as seen with the lines, “‘this will not be allowed to continue,’” “society needs to change their mindset about the dignity to life and respect for each other,” “‘South Africans needed to declare that ‘enough is enough,’”” and “‘the scourge of rape cannot be seen as a women's issue any longer’” (Tswanya 2013:5). The article frames rape as a concern that affects the entire nation and it is one that is worthy of outrage. It constructs a community where the abuse of children and women isn’t acceptable, one where South African society stands up for what is right. Since the victim of this rape was never identified as a lesbian (indeed she identified her boyfriend as one of the attackers) the case and subsequent article are only tangentially related to “corrective rape.” Yet the inclusion of “corrective rape” in this article highlights the parallels between this case and cases of Eudy Simelane or Noxolo Nogwaza. The article also makes it clear that there is no reason acceptable to rape girls (the victim being 17) with the statement, “‘those who molest and abuse children have no place in a democratic South Africa,’” and “corrective rape” with the statement,
“it is difficult to find reason behind the many different acts of gang rape, child rape, rape of the elderly, corrective rape and male rape” (Tswanya 2013:5).

This article’s focus is different from the first that I presented as the main concern isn’t “corrective rape” and lesbians but rather on the rape and mutilation of a young (presumably heterosexual) girl. However, the construction or the call for an anti-discriminatory, anti-violence community remains the same. As this article frames South Africa to be a place where this kind of action should not be tolerated, it constructs a discourse of a community and of a nation, where women’s bodies are respected. In fact, the inclusion of “corrective rape,” “gogo rape” (the rape of grandmothers), and the rape of men shows a broadening focus of what is publically being recognized and what society needs to “change their mindset” about (Tswanya 2013:5). The article makes the case for de-stigmatizing rape with the comment “rape cannot be seen as a women’s issue any longer;” however, it gives no mediums in which to enact this change as the first exemplar did. The only suggestive point the article brings up is that society needs to change how they think about the issues. The exemplar makes a point of showing the disquiet that many individuals had regarding the case; this serves to voice support for those working against rape culture and the violation of women’s bodies, but doesn’t commit them to any action. This outrage is framed as a response to the normalized nature of rape and abuse and the fact that this has become a norm for South Africa is again presented as “worrying.” Continuing to present “corrective rape” and violence against women as worrying two years after the first acknowledgement that the trend was worrying (first exemplar), shows the lack of action and attention that these circumstances have actually received.

The juxtaposition of the acknowledgement that rape is seen as normal and the political spectrum expressing shock over these attacks should not be lost because it highlights the ways
that the government and other political organizations have been absent from this discourse in the past. This is highlighted again by stating that “this will not be allowed to continue;” framing the discussion in this manner suggests that now that they are involved, they will not allow these attacks to be considered normal (Tswanya 2013:5). The sudden concern that the political organizations show is in response to a similar attack in India; the article mentions the large amount of public outcry Indians expressed in response to the lack of political response. The political organizations in South Africa responded so as not to be outdone by India and to demonstrate a strong sense of South African pride. This can be seen when the article quotes the ANCWL stating, “we must show that South Africa is no less angry at such crimes, and make an equally loud statement of disgust” (Tswanya 2013:5). This places the image of a united and inclusive South Africa above the needs of victims as their plights were not recognized before the need for South Africa to appear as if it were doing something. Further, the needs of the victims still are not being addressed as the focus isn’t on them but on the image of South Africa. This moves the conversation from the micro, individual bodies, to the macro, the country of South Africa. Positing the image of unified South Africa as more important than the needs of victims constructs a discourse that is more about nationalism than anti-rape or anti-violence. Therefore, any discourse on “corrective rape” then becomes one about country and not about people, consequences, or reconciliation.

The construction of South Africa as a place of inclusion is seen again in an article that condemns an attack on a 13 year old girl. The way that this article constructs community is different than the first two exemplars, but it is still representative of the dominant pattern.

A 13-year-old girl has become the latest victim of so-called corrective rape, as the trend of violent attacks on lesbians shows no signs of letting up. Spokesman for the department of justice and constitutional development, Tlali Tlali, said the girl, who was
open about her sexuality, was raped in what seemed to be an act of corrective rape on Thursday in Pretoria.

"Government condemns this senseless and cowardly act of criminality," Tlali said. "Gay and lesbian rights are human and constitutional rights, which must be protected and respected at all times," Tlali added, promising a police investigation and assistance to the girl and her family...

The human rights group has urged the government to condemn such acts more strongly and move toward protecting gays and lesbians. "If the police and other state officials do not act swiftly, it will only be a matter of time before they have to account for their failure to the family and friends of the next lesbian who is beaten and killed," said Nath earlier this week. (SAPA 2011:8)

This article approaches the construction of an inclusive community in a slightly different manner than the first two exemplars in that it doesn’t directly discuss South Africa as a whole. However, like the first two exemplars, this article also calls “corrective rape” a trend. Calling “corrective rape” a trend defuses the normalized nature of rape in the communities of black lesbians by constructing it as something that cannot be normal—even if it is common, it is temporary. This ignores the many realities of black lesbians and the fact that “corrective rape” has been a problem in certain parts of South Africa since the late 1990s. Yet, this article acknowledges that “corrective rape” doesn’t seem to be temporary in that it “shows no sign of letting up” (SAPA 2011:8). The statement that “corrective rape” doesn’t seem likely to stop, while also referring to it as a trend, elides the reality that “corrective rape” has been a serious problem for decades.

The way this article discusses “corrective rape” is also different than previously presented. The spokesperson for the government calls “corrective rape” an “act of criminality,” which simply means misconduct or delinquency (SAPA 2011:8). Further, the spokesperson qualified this description of “corrective rape” with calling it “senseless” and “cowardly”. “Cowardly” is a word that often precedes “corrective rape” in this pattern that discursively renders two different social positions for lesbians at the same time. The first is that lesbians inspire fear since cowardly acts are done in response to an overwhelming amount of fear and from the lack of courage to act bravely. The second suggests that lesbians are weak and
defenseless as attacks against defenseless populations are condemned for being cowardly as they are unprincipled and despicably mean. In either case, lesbians are clearly positioned to need protection as they are the weak victims. The article reinforces that with concluding on the statement that if those protections don’t happen quickly, “it will only be a matter of time before they [the government] have to account for their failure to the family and friends of the next lesbian who is beaten and killed” (SAPA 2011:8). This not only reinforces the idea that lesbians are victims or will soon be victims since they are all targets but also reinforces the prevalence of “corrective rape.” By stating that it is only a matter of time before the next attack, the article creates an atmosphere of fear and worry for lesbians as they could be the next victim; in addition, it also states that “corrective rape” will happen again going back to showing “no signs of letting up” (SAPA 2011:8).

The exemplar makes the claim that lesbian rights are human rights and that they are protected by the constitution. This statement clearly calls on the uniting image of democratic South Africa as the mention of the constitution highlights the rights that lesbians and many others never had under Apartheid. Government recognition of this and the condemnation of “corrective rape” constructs the appearance of an accepting political structure that wants to address the failing standards of equality; however, the promise for reconciliation is done by promising a police investigation, which ignores the social power imbalances and struggles between SAPS and lesbians, and it ignores the ways that SAPS has continually failed to prove ineffective in cases of “corrective rape.” Therefore, by acknowledging that lesbian rights are human rights and need protecting, the government spokesperson is showing the ways that the social and political spheres have failed in protecting its lesbian citizens in a way that hides this failing as progress. By hiding the failures, the government gives off a perception of being an ally
and helping the situation without actually having to put in the effort or work to make the
situation better for lesbians.

The construction of nationalism through inclusivity is seen in a slightly different manner
in the exemplar below as well, which is from an article that describes the one person’s response
to a movie that had homophobic content.

Judge Cameron said the film contained references that were homophobic and
would condone violence against gays and lesbians… Judge Cameron praises the film for
its "fine acting, excellent cinematography, and sensitive direction", but said his
experience of it had been spoilt by "the casual denigration of gays - the amiable gay-hating
incidents - that occasionally spike up in the movie".

"They start with the John Cleese character denouncing Virginia Woolf and
another novelist as lesbians. He owns (of course) that he has nothing against lesbians - in
fact, he says, he would like to give them all a thorough 'rogering’"…He found it
"distressful" that a South African-made movie, with a South African producer, could
reflect this speech. "Its effect cannot be other than to condone that sort of violence
besetting lesbians in our country.

"Yet you must know, Ross, that it is exactly this impulse that is imperilling the
safety and the lives of lesbians in townships throughout the country, and appears to have
resulted in several brutal murders. Middle-class academics and discussants call it
'corrective rape'. But to township lesbians it is a constant and benighted horror - the need
butch men express to set their sexuality at rights, by giving them a thorough 'rogering','
he said.” (Khan 2011:1)

Instead of calling on the image of unified South Africa, this article disparages the acts that
disrupt that image. Judge Cameron makes it clear that any support of homophobic violence is
unacceptable as it violates the principles of a democratic South Africa. He does this by
expressing shock that a South African movie made by a South African could represent hate
speech and any support for that kind of mentality. Instead of directly calling on the image of a
united and inclusive South Africa, the judge uses his position and authority to frame his reaction
as not only a constitutional one (as he is a constitutional judge), but one that has personal appeal.

This article, unlike the first two exemplars, continually references back to the effects that
violating the unity and inclusivity can have. For example, he states, “its effect cannot be other
than to condone that sort of violence,” and “…contained references that were homophobic and
would condone violence against…lesbians” (Khan 2011:1). Cameron speaks on behalf of lesbians, also vastly different than the first two exemplars, to show how being exclusive and discriminatory has real consequences. By connecting the hate speech with “corrective rape,” the judge brings the issue back to constitutional grounds of which he is an expert and he highlights the various ways that violence is done towards lesbians (as hate speech is violent).

Instead of disparaging the actual acts of “corrective rape,” which the previous exemplars have done, the judge brings the issue back to motivation for the marginalization and violation of lesbians and classifies not just the actual rape as against nation building, but the thinking behind them as a violation of South African principles. He does this by stating that “it is exactly this impulse that is imperiling the safety and lives of lesbians in townships throughout the country,” and these messages ruined his enjoyment of the movie (Khan 2011:1). The judge draws the connection between excitable speech and action, which has been a lens that other articles have left unexamined; in addition, he places the fault of the movie’s messages not within the historic period in which the film was set, as many others had done (in response to this particular movie), but on the producer who should have recognized that this mindset has real consequences in his country. By attributing blame to the producer, the judge fails to hold accountable the men who rape, which highlights another way male violence gets overlooked in the discourse of “corrective rape.”

By condemning the mindset behind “corrective rape” the article discusses “corrective rape” in a way that sets it to be backward and unwelcome. By stating that it was upsetting that a South African movie could reflect this speech suggests South Africa to be a place where this is not the norm and where “corrective rape” or the discrimination against lesbians would be unwelcome. Without directly invoking a national image or the discourse around a democratic
South Africa, the article manages to construct South Africa as a place that denounces the mistreatment of lesbians.

Townships and “Corrective Rape”

The construction of nationalism through inclusivity is geographically situated. Across all articles that constructed South Africa as needing to respect the rights of lesbians and become more of a community in this respect, the articles constructed townships as being synonymous with homophobia and exclusion thereby positioning them as the places that needed to be more inclusive and accepting. In fact, “corrective rape,” as it has been structured by these articles, is inseparable from township communities. As “corrective rape” is repeatedly discussed as happening to township lesbians and as townships are represented as homophobic and culturally conservative, it then becomes a mechanism to discursively marginalize and other as well as to limit the presence of “corrective rape” as it is only visible in these social spaces. For example, articles referred to townships in a manner that reinforces the public perception of them and presents them as a distant other, meaning what happens out there doesn’t happen here. This can be seen in the following exemplars.

In an article that criticizes President Zuma for his attitude and stance against lesbians and women, townships were discussed in the following manner.

"It is our combined hope that this message will shift public perception to mutual acceptance and make it clear that hate crimes will no longer be tolerated," said Mjongile. "Gone are the days when we used culture to discriminate against others. "Culture evolves with society. Social stereotyping is against the ANC's norms."

Gay Flag chairman Eugene Brockman said it was encouraging that the ANC had condemned homophobia. Mjongile acknowledged that social conservatism in townships had fuelled attacks on lesbians and had led to corrective rape. "I think the rights of women must be respected equally. Women have got the right to say whether they want to bear children, whether they want to be single or whether they want get married, in the same way that men have," said Mjongile. Zuma controversially said during a television interview with Dali Tambo that it was not right for women to remain unmarried. (Mtyala 2012).
This article follows the same pattern as I described above in that it has government officials taking a stand against “corrective rape” and that represents the rights of women and lesbians as needing protecting; it also makes the statement that “hate crimes will no longer be tolerated” recognizing that “corrective rape” is an act of hate directed toward a lesbian because of her sexual orientation (Mtyala 2012). It calls for support in shifting the “public perception” so that everyone is accepted and hate crimes can be stopped. However, the article situates “corrective rape” as happening solely in the townships as they are the only marked location and directly states that the “social Conservatism in townships had fuelled attacks on lesbians” (Mtyala 2012). By marking townships, the article separates them from the rest of South African society, and posits urban developed portions of South Africa as the norm (as they are free from being marked, assumed). In addition, describing all townships as socially conservative is a sweeping generalization that does little to nothing in combating the image of townships as socially backward and traditionally primitive nor does it recognize that every township is different. From the standpoint of lesbian rights, social conservatism is often seen as synonymous with homophobia; therefore, saying that townships are socially conservative presents the image of townships being unsafe or unfriendly places for lesbians, which is problematic as black lesbians primarily reside in these areas. Further, this article suggests that “corrective rape” was born out of townships. This ignores that cities and metropolitan areas are often hubs of crime and that “corrective rape” can occur there as well.

This exemplar also discusses townships in a way clearly signals distance. The article discusses the local Cape Town ANC raising the gay flag of South Africa over its administration building as a way of criticizing Zuma’s statements, but it also discusses the social conservatism in the townships as a distant problem, not one that the speaker has to deal with in Cape Town,
which beyond being essentialist and not entirely true, creates here/there dynamic similar to us/them. Distancing the problems of townships allows the speaker to gain superiority and reinforces the social hierarchy of townships as marginal spaces as they are not as progressive.

The discourse that centers townships as locations for “corrective rape” is again established in the following exemplar from an article discussing the preparations in celebrating Mandela Day.

Members of the Democratic Left Front have thrown their weight behind the 67 Minutes of Shame campaign, which uses Mandela Day to raise awareness about "corrective rape" and other abuses suffered by members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered and inter-sex community.

"We can no longer keep silent about the alarming increase in the number of lesbian and gay people who are victimised daily in our townships, informal settlements, inner cities, rural villages and other parts of the country," the organisation said yesterday.

The group will be marching to the Library Gardens in Joburg from 11am and are expected to hand over a memorandum to ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe to "protest against the silence of the ANC and demand action against hate crimes and violence". (de Lange 2012:27)

This article also limits the attacks of “corrective rape” to certain areas. Where the first exemplar (in this section) attributed the attacks solely to townships, this article broadens the focus a bit to include other impoverished and marginal areas. However, while this fractionally broadens the discussion away from townships as the only place where “corrective rape” occurs, it still confines “corrective rape” to areas primarily inhabited by black Africans and places outside of the city proper. This discourse elides the instances of “corrective rape” that might happen to anyone other than a black lesbian. Moreover, framing townships, informal settlements and/or rural areas as places that are holistically places of violence for lesbians is not only an unfair generalization that erases the many efforts that black churches and leaders have made in getting their communities to accept lesbians but it also has distinct racial connotations, as I have discussed previously (see Chapter Six).
In addition, the article makes the claim that this issue has been treated with silence in the past with the statement, “we can no longer keep silent about the alarming increase in the number of lesbian and gay people who are victimized daily in out townships” (de Lange 2012:27). Framing the discussion in this manner suggest that conversations about assaults outside of these areas (if there have been any) have received attention and it suggests that it was a choice to remain silent on this matter for these people from that area. Stating that “we can no longer keep silent” suggests that they have been aware of this issue for a time now, but are only now standing up and saying something needs to be done about it.

Designating townships as dangerous places is seen again in the exemplar below from an article that describes the creation of a lesbian soccer team.

Such frustration is minor compared to the so-called "corrective" rape, murder, insults and beatings that South African lesbians have frequently suffered, despite the widely admired, post-apartheid constitution which was the first in the world to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation... In a shocking crime that exposed the amount of hatred suffered by lesbians in the black community, Simelane was raped and stabbed 25 times in a township on the edge of Johannesburg. The Chosen Few was launched in 2004 by the Forum for the Empowerment of Women (FEW) and the players say the team has become a refuge for them, in contrast to the danger and prejudice they suffer in their townships.

"In the townships we get discriminated, we get raped, we get beaten up. People swear at us ... FEW is my family. It is a space where I feel at home, I can be myself. We come from different backgrounds but when we come here we are one thing, we are a family," said Marumolwa. "At home we have to watch what we do, what we say. We don't go around at night. FEW is a good space for us." (Moody 2010)

This exemplar is different from the others that I have presented in that it contains a lesbian speaking about herself and her teammates; whereas, in the previous articles, lesbians were talked about or individuals talked on behalf of lesbians, this one directly engages with lesbians getting their opinions and views on the matter. In this case, instead of individuals from urban areas (Cape Town in the first exemplar and Johannesburg in the second), a lesbian speaks about her community being unsafe for her, and yet, she does this from the vantage point of being in an
urban area as the Chosen Few plays in Johannesburg proper (down the street from the courthouse). She characterizes the urban space as safe and townships as discriminatory, violent, and homophobic. Marumolwa connects the urban space to one of freedom and the townships to a repressive state where she needs to watch what she says and does. She gives no space or indication that there are areas in townships that could be friendly to lesbians nor does she give room for different experiences as she speaks on behalf of her whole team. The article reinforces this idea by stating that FEW is a refuge from townships and the discrimination and violence that they are at risk for at home. The article also connects “corrective rape” and townships by means of framing the conversation around the attack of Eudy Simelane attributing it to the “amount of hatred suffered by lesbians in the black community,” which it goes on to then clarify by stating she was attacked in a township outside of Johannesburg.

Framing townships as the only place where “corrective rape” occurs or where the motivations behind “corrective rape” came from makes it clear that then when articles call for all South Africans to unite and support lesbian rights that they are calling out the townships and their social conservatism. Bymitting or excluding cities from mention in the discussion of homophobia or violence against lesbians, the articles shape the discourse of “corrective rape” and prejudice to be one that surrounds townships; therefore, any need to be more inclusive and accepting is aimed there and not at the country as a whole despite the appearance of calling on all South Africans. There is no mention of cities being places where “corrective rape” occurs or as areas that are homophobic/exclusionary and the dominant pattern excludes any mention of white spaces. Presenting townships in this manner renders black communities as the universal sites of violence. They have been characterized as the birth place of “corrective rape” or they are the primary sites for social conservatismo and are the home of the “targets” of these attacks.
Summary of Theme

The acceptance and support of lesbians is presented in many different ways in the above exemplars and in the pattern of constructing nationalism, but the acceptance is always connected to a discourse of inclusivity that is only surface level. While not always presented in tandem, there is an implied understanding of the contrast between the governmental/legal protections that lesbians have in democratic South Africa and the social “acceptance” of lesbians. In news articles, lesbians are discursively constructed as needing protections and the support of the general heterosexual community as their legal rights are not socially recognized; it is rare to see lesbian voices in this discourse, and the dominant pattern has male heterosexual governmental officials speaking for them. News articles seem to equate progress in stopping “corrective rape” with governmental condemnation, therefore, placing actual intervention and action as periphery. This association serves to hide the failing standards of equality or of action that lesbians currently have in legal/executive sphere. In addition, news sources also reject the normalized nature of “corrective rape” calling it a worrying trend. With the claim that “corrective rape” is simply a trend, news sources construct an image of South Africa that is not beset by a culture of rape, violence, and homophobia. While the violation of lesbians’ constitutional and human rights are cited as reasons why “corrective rape” is wrong, these are often overshadowed by the desire to promote a national image of unity thereby seen as living up to the democratic ideals promised in the constitution. As community and unity are discursively established as synonymous with South Africa, they become mere shadows of the promises and guarantees that the South African government promised to lesbians. This represents the power imbalance and the continued social marginalization of lesbians in South Africa as they are being used to represent image that relies on them but that they are not really a part of as it is a façade.
The pattern in this discourse has newspaper articles (re)producing what it means to be a part of South Africa and what South Africa means by equating homophobia and discrimination as antithetical to South African nationalism through a focus on inclusivity and legal rights. By equating various parts of South African identity with support for lesbian rights or the respect of lesbian bodies, the articles are constructing what it means to be a part of South African society and what it means not to be considered such. For example, articles continually speak to how those who discriminate or violate women/girls’ bodies have no place in a democratic South Africa. Framing “corrective rape” as wrong as it violates this image of South Africa is another form of marginalization as the complexities and realities of “corrective rape” are lost in favor of simple narrative of nationalism. Lesbian experiences and threats to lesbian bodies are commandeered then by political and community leaders as a way to assert the picture of the rainbow nation. Being a part of democratic South Africa means recognizing that lesbian rights are human rights and women’s bodies should be respected; in essence, this rejects the patriarchal masculinity presented in the previous chapter. Being a real South African is constructed through support of these rights, therefore, it is constructed primarily around heterosexuals and their ability to be allies. As South African nationalism is also constructed as synonymous with progressive and socially liberal areas, townships and other areas of South Africa that are perceived to be conservative are situated as needing to modernize, to get on democratic South Africa’s level. This serves to marginalize black lesbians as they are rendered powerless and voiceless in this exchange. Therefore, the articles present South African nationalism as an assertion of inclusivity and acceptance, which establishes the construction of community through veiled inequality at the expense of lesbian bodies and lives.
The government’s considerable amount of input on these attacks in reference to the public perception of South Africa reinforces the importance of the public image despite the appearance otherwise. The lack of attention on the enforcement of the legal protections that lesbians have is noticeable in the government’s attention to “corrective rape,” which serves to allow the inadequate SAPS and the judicial system to continue on without reproach or comment. As it should be understood that South Africa would enforce its laws when it comes to protecting its citizens, its lack of attention to this reason for the prevalence of “corrective rape” becomes shockingly loud. The government’s presence cannot be underscored enough, especially with its absence in the previous chapter, but the way that the government chooses to become involved in this discourse is just as important as its presence. Attention to “corrective rape” as a social phenomenon is absent entirely shifting the discourse of “corrective rape” to be about heterosexual attention to the rainbow nation rather than the discrimination and mistreatment that lesbians face.

Variations on Community through Inclusion

The dominant pattern constructed the meaning of nationalism through the discourse of “corrective rape.” However, there were instances across the data where the articles approached nationalism differently and didn’t construct it though the discourse of “corrective rape” and lesbians. These variations happened rarely and took on different forms. The only time that the news articles did not construct the meaning of nationalism through positing a central image of South Africa, is when they reported on how the inclusion of lesbians went against building a community or nation-building. In these articles, “corrective rape” was constructed in different ways that suggested that lesbians either are cause of disjuncture in the nation or are barriers to building a solid national community.
The following exemplar questions the ability to create any kind of community. The article from which the exemplar is taken reports on a protest held at UWC (University of Western Cape) regarding the prevalence of sexual violence.

O'Connell said the escalating brutal violation of women and children in South Africa was worrying. "How does one, out of the destruction wrought by the colonial and apartheid past, which included slavery and many forms of oppression, construct a vibrant, caring and self-reliant community?"

"There is clear evidence everywhere of communities in turmoil and the need to build a strong sense of community has now clearly emerged as one of the most critical challenges facing our young democracy and the world at large." Students with placards toyi-toyied, and a short documentary about gang rape and corrective rape, made by students, was screened at the meeting. The UWC community was also encouraged to make a pledge by signing their support to speak out against gender-based violence. (Mposo 2013:5)

The construction of community as motivated around “corrective rape” happens differently in this exemplar in that the article challenges whether it is even possible. Community is clearly constructed as something that South Africa needs in this article, especially since the escalation of gender based violence is “worrying.” However, where the dominate pattern takes for granted that a united and inclusive community can be established, this article questions if South Africa can overcome its past to create a community that loves and cares about one another. In particular, this excerpt wonders if the lasting effects of Apartheid and colonialism can be overcome. These questions are framed in response to the end sexual violence campaign the students were organizing; therefore, the speaker is asking if in the wake of sexual violence against women and lesbians (as the campaign was directed specifically toward “corrective rape” and gang rape), South African communities can come together.

Like the dominant pattern, this exemplar acknowledges that in the new stages of democracy, community building is one of the more critical tasks that South Africa needs to accomplish. However, unlike the pattern, this article wonders if “corrective rape” and sexual violence are too destructive to create united communities that can trust one another. This
destabilizes the image of South Africa as the rainbow nation as it focuses on the fragmentation of society instead of the banding together.

Similar to presenting GBV as a barrier in creating community, is the second way the variations in this discourse take shape: directly presenting lesbians as one of the obstacles in nation-building. This is seen in the exemplar below from an article that discussed the various ways that black lesbians are continually victims of homophobic actions and speech despite constitutional protections.

President Zuma is on record as publicly stating: "When I was growing up, an ungingili (a derogatory term for a gay person) would not have stood in front of me. I would knock him out." This call to violence against gay people is alarming.

More recently, Minister of Arts and Culture Lulu Xingwana walked out of an art exhibition funded by her department in response to photographs of black lesbians. The reason she gave was that "our mandate is to promote social cohesion and nation-building. I left the exhibition because it expressed the very opposite of this. It was immoral, offensive and going against nation-building." This is an outright declaration that lesbians are non-South Africans, and suggests that prejudice is the basic premise of nation-building. (Judge 2010:8)

While this exemplar doesn’t use the phrase “corrective rape,” the art exhibition mentioned contained photos from Zanele Muholi’s *Only Half the Picture*, which has a large section dedicated to the presence of “corrective rape.” Where the general pattern establishes support for lesbians and minorities are critical in creating nationalism, this exemplar does the opposite. The President is quoted as not only condoning violence against the queer community, but as an instigator of that violence. The opinion of the President is crucial as it might be reflected in community views and values; his statements suggest not only that heterosexuals are in places of power over gay men but that they have the unquestioned right to enforce that position with violence. While his remarks should be understood as coming from a historical time, as he says “when I was growing up,” he fails to contrast this with his current views (if different) giving the
country the impression that he supports violence against gay individuals currently.\textsuperscript{54}

Further, the Minister of Arts and Culture directly states in this excerpt that photos of black lesbians goes against “social cohesion” (Judge 2010:8). Stating that photos of black lesbians are immoral and offensive condones prejudice against black lesbians and paints them as Others. While the article points out these statements are alarming, it cannot combat the effects that these remarks from these public people have. With these two individuals seen as central governmental figures, their opinions can be viewed as representing the unofficial official government stance on lesbians, which is in direct contrast to the condemnation of homophobia by the government seen in the dominant pattern. Nation-building then is achieved (in this article) through discrimination and is limited to heterosexuals. As a photo exhibit of black lesbians was considered opposite of the Minister’s mandate of nation-building, it can be understood that lesbians stand in the way of nationalism.

The last kind of variation in the pattern of constructing nationalism through inclusivity is the claim that lesbians are a burden to their communities and need to monitor themselves to avoid making everyone else uncomfortable. This is seen in the exemplar below, which is from an article that discusses the ways that lesbians should respond to violence and homophobia.

Lesbians living in the townships need to be vigilant at all times about where they socialise and how they portray themselves in their communities, cautioned Ndumie Funda, director and founder of Luleki Sizwe. “The reality is that the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex community is not yet free, especially in the townships. Until we know we are safe from homophobic attacks, we need to exercise caution,” said Funda.

Funda is one of a handful of activists who are at the forefront of raising awareness about corrective rape… Funda said that although not everyone was homophobic in the townships, some people - especially men - were angered by seeing women being openly affectionate towards each other. She said that she did not mean that gays should not display their love in public, but that to avoid being targeted they should take precautions by avoiding being "explicitly promiscuous" in public.

\textsuperscript{54} I say he fails to include any comment on his current views, but it could also be the reporter failing to include any further comments.
Funda urged gay people to be more active in their communities without "forcing their sexuality" on them. "It's a sensitive issue that needs to be approached sensibly. We need to 'think human' and stop sidelining ourselves. Getting involved in communities will give people an opportunity to know the person without the label 'I am gay'..."
"They need to take care of themselves and not advertise their sexuality to the community as we are still fighting homophobia. Being gay does not mean one has to be irresponsible. We are still under attack, therefore we have to be careful of where we socialise," said Funda. (Mposo 2012:8)

The exemplar is one of the rare occasions where lesbian voices are heard in this discourse. However, instead of empowering, Funda reiterates many homophobic sentiments. She recognizes the reality that many lesbians are unsafe, “especially in the townships,” but goes further than saying everyone needs to be careful due to the homophobia, and makes the claim that lesbians should police themselves in order to make their communities feel more comfortable. This is made clear in her statements regarding public displays of affection and being visible in the communities. Funda, like all other speakers and articles in this theme, recognize the need for community; however, she urges lesbians to allow heterosexuals to control that dynamic. She urges lesbians to “be more active in their communities without ‘forcing their sexuality’ on them”, to be vigilant on “how they portray themselves in their communities,” “not advertise their sexuality to the community,” and to “‘think human’ and stop sidelining themselves” by using the label “gay” (Mposo 2012:8). Not only does Funda reify homophobic depictions of lesbians (promiscuous), but she urges lesbians to hide their sexuality. This privileges heterosexuality and others lesbianism as well as legitimates “corrective rape.” By urging lesbians to hide their sexuality in response to this threat of violence, Funda acknowledges “corrective rape” in a way that helps it achieve its goal, a picturesque heterosexual South Africa.

This exemplar positions lesbians as barriers in their communities and to community building; they are discursively rendered to be sources of unease and trouble as well as Others. Funda’s statement that lesbians should allow their communities to get to know them as a person
instead of as a lesbian, essentializes identity and marks lesbianism as an identity that hinders social interaction. Placing lesbianism in direct contrast to community building defines community as heterosexual and exclusionary, which is the direct opposite construction of community as diverse and inclusive as is presented in the dominant pattern.

Summary of Variations

The variations construct the act of building community or nationalism different than the general pattern in the theme. These variations take on many forms, and the resulting discourse on the construction of nationhood has vastly different effects on lesbians in South Africa, the use of “corrective rape,” and the politics of the body in the role of shaping South African identity. The first kind of variation, the questioning whether a united community was really possible, serves to address the needs as why community is actually needed (coming together despite differences and historical oppressions), which challenges the notion of a central South African ideology/nationalism. The inclusion of this stance shows that although there is support for community and nation building there are still real issues that need to be worked out before it can be achieved; it doesn’t romanticize nationalism as it looks at the issue/problem realistically. The theme’s exclusion of this view on nationalism could be due to prevalence (it may not be a popular opinion) or it could represent a greater social problem. As most articles about “corrective rape” and nationalism present nationalism as simple and easy (just don’t be homophobic), the exclusion of cases that don’t reinforce the idea that nationalism is easy hides the real issues such as “corrective rape” still prevalent in South Africa; these problems are hidden or pushed to the side in favor of nation-building. The theme’s focus on the ease of nationalism and the image of a united South Africa represents the normative description of a united South Africa through the discourse of “corrective rape,” and the discursive use of
“corrective rape” is centered on this conception of inclusion. The variation, in this case of questioning nationalism, serves as an exception to the general rule, but when included provides a fuller picture of nationalism and discourse on “corrective rape” in South Africa.

Where the variation in the ease of constructing nationalism through inclusivity adds to the greater picture of the theme, the second and third variations are instances in which nationalism isn’t constructed through inclusivity but still locates itself within the discourse of “corrective rape.” These two variations, positioning lesbians as opposed to nation building and against community cohesion, constructs nationalism to be about the prejudice and discrimination of lesbians. Where the theme recognizes the need for all South Africans to have their rights respected, to what extent is debatable, these variations deny that assertion. The inclusion of these varying viewpoints constructs the different ways that lesbian bodies are used in establishing nationalism. For example, the theme uses lesbian bodies and “corrective rape” to assert the rainbow nation image, and these variations use “corrective rape” and lesbian bodies as way of asserting a heterosexual privilege and power. Neither the variations nor the theme discuss the extent or even focuses on the act/consequences of male violence/“corrective rape,” but the variations provide insight into the social conditions of equality that lesbians face in the townships. While few sources constructed South African nationalism as synonymous with discrimination, exclusion, and prejudice, it is important to denote as it shows the extent in which historic social inequalities are hard to overcome, which the theme ignores.

Discussion

Throughout this analysis, I have examined the cultural (re)production of South African identity as established through the discourse of “corrective rape.” I did this through a qualitative analysis of news accounts from South African newspapers and with the intent to argue that
conversations around “corrective rape” ignores the realities of lesbian identity and experiences in favor of privileging governmental and societal cohesion. Through that analysis I found that “corrective rape” was used to argue for certain kind of nationalism; this was done through the positing of “corrective rape” as a violation of lesbian rights established in the constitution, which placed “corrective rape” as antithetical to democratic South African values. This discussion was situated as having a primary focus directed toward townships but was discussed as being applicable for all South Africans.

After my careful examination of the 34 articles that this theme (construction of nationalism through inclusivity) represents itself across, it seemed that South African’s exportation of the rainbow nation image/ideal could have potential negative implications for Black lesbians as it is dependent on the claim of inclusivity and diversity while it continues to hide the very real failures of the South African government when it comes to “corrective rape.” What it means to be a part of democratic South Africa is dependent on support and acceptance of the constitutional rights afforded to others. Violating these rights or the bodies of these protected classes (women/girls and lesbians-as these are always differentiated in the articles despite the fact that lesbians are also women and girls) means being socially condemned and rejected as part of the new, modern, democratic South Africa. The meaning of the political transition from Apartheid to democracy is seen throughout these articles and represents a major source of pride, and any devolution to mindsets or practices from Apartheid era South Africa is rejected and discursively constructed as disgusting, appalling, barbaric, etc. This pride or nationalism, as examined through discourses surrounding “corrective rape,” shows a clear attachment to unity and inclusivity while still clinging to the hegemonic heterosexual patriarchy.
The national power, government, of South Africa is built from and on the hegemonic heterosexual system (like most other countries globally) and continually asserts that in this discourse. The public discourse purports equality and respect for all individuals while marginalizing lesbians. In this discourse, the government and other authority figures in this discourse who express outrage at the presence of “corrective rape,” are able to assert their status as allies who support the rights the constitution grants lesbians without ever having to do any ally work—work of social justice with the commitment towards social equity. Therefore, the kind of help and acceptance that lesbians actually receive in South Africa is the result of “diminishing” heterosexual “privilege” and guilt. The extent of the visible acceptance and inclusion of lesbians are also determined by the heterosexual male power in that it is clear that while lesbians are verbally considered to be a part of South Africa and should be respected, this acceptance and inclusion doesn’t extend into making sure they are actually safe in their country; the accountability isn’t present as of yet to make the government act beyond promoting the façade of the rainbow nation.

Despite claims of inclusion and equality, lesbians are continually subjected to heterosexual power and conceptions of what that means. The ability to authentically represent themselves and their needs are lost as the only voices and opinions readily present are those that belong to heterosexual men (except, of course, Judge Cameron who openly identifies as a gay man). In the establishment of nationalism and what it means to be included in South African society, lesbian needs are side-stepped in order to portray what the heterosexual power structure needs: the rainbow nation. This reinforces heterosexuality as the normative and dominant sexuality as its inclusion is never questioned and is allowed to speak on behalf all other

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55 The third theme that I found in the data speaks to this directly relying on lesbian voices to express these claims. However, due to limited time constraints, I won’t be able to discuss this in the detail it deserves.
sexualities. Lesbian identity, inclusion, and acceptance is determined and constituted entirely by heterosexual notions.

This theme shies away from any focus on the body except in the broad or abstract notion that violence is done on the body. It doesn’t focus on the act of “corrective rape” itself. There is also no mention of the male rapists and the consequences for these crimes except for the reported outrage at using lesbian bodies in this way. Framing and discussing an act of rape without discussing rape has horrible implications for discussions of GBV and sexual violence in general but especially for South Africa as sexual violence has become such an ingrained (read normal) part of everyday life. Failing to interrogate the act of rape disregards the conditions that made it possible and it severely limits any discussion of intervention or reconciliation as the discussion is limited to the abstract concept of rape and not the particularities. Therefore, the use of “corrective rape” in this discourse doesn’t serve to discuss criminality, male violence, or real violations of lesbian rights as the discourse never achieves this level of interrogation as it falls outside the need in establishing nationalism and the rainbow nation.

Using the discourse of “corrective rape” as a medium of establishing inclusivity as an assertion of South African nationalism changes the dynamic of examining lesbian bodies despite the lack of direct focus on the body. Using a crime that violates the body in an intimate and private way, that threatens sexual identity, and that is used to control female agency and expression to express solidarity in support of lesbian rights is not only slightly incongruous but it also allows the nation to commandeer what the agenda for “corrective rape” looks like. Instead of focusing on how “corrective rape” violates lesbian rights, there is simply the assertion that it does. The call for “corrective rape” to be recognized as a hate crime, to achieve harsher penalties for those who rape lesbians, keeping rapists in jail rather than letting them out back on

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56 By slightly incongruous I simply mean the contrast of the hate/acceptance.
the streets, having the police actually investigate “corrective rapes,” or any number of other concerns that the lesbian community has in regards to “corrective rape” are overlooked in this discourse as they are not as important to reify the image of South Africa as the rainbow nation. This use of “corrective rape” then uses lesbian bodies to the state’s advantage. They use “corrective rape” to push their own aims and goals not recognizing that “corrective rape” isn’t an abstract crime and that it happens to real women. This use of lesbian bodies then not only perpetrates rape culture (as it is left unexamined-as “corrective rape” is a trend or simply “worrying”), but it also constructs lesbians to be used for community needs. South Africa, in its young stages of democracy, needs to establish a strong sense of community or nationalism, and lesbian bodies are the medium in which they do this. Constructing a collective community identity in this manner reduces the ways that lesbians can navigate their own needs and bodies and establishes lesbian bodies as open to the patriarchal needs of society.

Thus, the ability to establish one’s position within democratic South African is linked to those who can contribute to this picturesque rainbow nation either through support of its values (allies to lesbians) or by being the platform on which these values are based (lesbian’s experiences with discrimination). This distances lesbians from other South Africans by requiring/using their incredibly traumatic and personal experiences of hate and discrimination for heterosexual purposes; in addition, this continues to subject lesbians to marginalization and continues to other them as individuals as their safety and security are still not guaranteed despite claims of support from the government. Fragmenting society and communities in this manner while maintaining this conception of a unified and inclusive South Africa emphasizes a clear power dynamic. While emphasizing equality and respect for lesbians, they are still referred to as
a separate, marked group and treated as different, which doesn’t truly embody the values of the constitution.

Through the discourse of “corrective rape” it became clear that central to South African constructions of nationalism and identity were the patriarchal constructions of acceptance and inclusion, which used lesbian experiences of rape as the medium of expression. The heterosexual power structure of South Africa, uses lesbian bodies to assert aspects of heterosexual identity. This expression of nationalism and use of “corrective rape” does not interrogate rape culture nor does it acknowledge that rape culture exits (again as rape of lesbians is a “worrying” trend). If pride and inclusivity are at the heart of this discourse of “corrective rape” instead of lesbian voices or male violence, then what space is left for conversations regarding GBV accountability?

This analysis challenges studies that frame South African perceptions of lesbians as un-African (Morrissey 2013; Morgan and Wieringa 2007; Mkhize et al. 2010; Livermon 2012) as the results from this theme shows that not only does the South African government accept lesbians as part of the country (if not in full capacity) but so do the people who want to embody the cultural norms of a democratic South Africa. While acknowledging that past perceptions of sexuality have included the stance that lesbianism was un-African is crucial in locating the influences of lesbian oppression and marginalization, limiting the discussion of South African perception of lesbians to this manner excludes vital messages progress and paints South Africa as culturally homophobic, which the recent discourse in the news articles in my sample implies that it no longer identifies as. My analysis in this chapter centers around the discourse that frames lesbianism as a crucial aspect in South African nationalism, which can be found in the foundations of a democratic South Africa that many of these studies overlooked.
In addition, my results of this chapter adds to the field of scholarship that examines lesbian citizenship in South Africa. Scott (2013) examined the ways that lesbians become citizens of South Africa through marriage although still largely determined by heteronormative constructions of citizenship. My findings support Scott’s (2013) claim that lesbian citizenship is still largely influenced and determined by heterosexual institutions. While my analysis cannot speak to same-sex marriage, this theme speaks to the ways that others claim lesbians are South African citizens with full rights as the constitution granted, which few studies have examined. Although, my results also challenge to what extent this citizenship is actually achieved as the national rhetoric of equality is never really backed up by meaningful inclusion.

Previous studies of “corrective rape” (Anguita 2011; Muholi 2011; Morrissey 2013) fail to acknowledge that discourses of “corrective rape” can be used to represent verbal condemnation for the acts of discrimination. They focus on the ways that the act of “corrective rape” marginalizes and discriminates against lesbians; while this study has done that as well (in this chapter as well as in the previous chapter), I also pay attention to the way that the discourse on “corrective rape” has shifted to represent support of lesbian identity (albeit limited as that support or acceptance may be). While I am not claiming that this discourse of support actually means inclusion, as I have shown that it doesn’t, I argue that failing to address the various forms that the discourse of “corrective rape” takes, which can be condemnation of the attacks as well as calling lesbians un-African, limits the understanding of “corrective rape.” Failing to show the complexities in the discourse of “corrective rape” leads to a one-dimensional analysis of the problem; one needs to understand that “corrective rape” can be used to assert lesbian exclusion in the overt discriminatory fashion of declaring lesbians un-African as well as through the covert method of declaring the act a violation of lesbian rights. My analysis of the discursive use of
“corrective rape” adds to the gap in this literature by examining how “corrective rape” is used as a way to establish South African-ness and nationalism (as the other studies did not look at “corrective rape” through this lens) as well as how this cannot be separated from discussions of place and sexuality.
CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION

Curious about the ways that (re)production of “corrective rape” could elucidate discourse on lesbians and sexual assault, I examined the discursive use of “corrective rape” in news articles from South African newspapers. Through my qualitative examination of 95 news articles, I found three major themes. For this thesis, I examined two of those three: the construction of nationhood through lesbian bodies and the construction of nationalism through inclusivity. I found that lesbianism and South African-ness were constructed as incongruous and simultaneously expressions of a modern South African nationalism are dependent on an inclusive discourse that requires the presences of lesbians. My analysis suggests that “corrective rape” has to be understood through race and gender as well as sexuality and that lesbian bodies are used as if they are communal property through which others can assert their own heterosexual identity. Ultimately, the discursive construction of lesbians in South Africa proved to be marginalizing and constraining at least as constructed through the discourse of “corrective rape.”

To recap, the construction of nationhood happens in two very distinct ways through the discourse of “corrective rape.” My first theme identified that lesbians are presented as existing outside of South African-ness, and as the target of violence used by men assert both heterosexuality and South African-ness. The second theme presented lesbians as unquestionably part of South Africa, the means on which to reinforce one’s support of the rainbow nation and the new South Africa. These oppositional discourses should not be understood as contrasting but, rather, complimentary. While we are socialized to think in terms of binary opposition and

57 Nationhood and nationalism are often used synonymously to distinguish the types of statehood. However, for this thesis, nationalism is looked at as an ideology that an individual uses to identity with the nation or state, and nationhood is looked at as sense of an identity that connects the individual, the nation, and the fellow people.
the presented messages of these themes seem to be in direct competition with each other, it is important to understand the ways that these are mutually informed and cannot be truly understood with understanding that what is missing in one is found in the other. These are two sides of a discourse concerned with acceptance, tolerance, identity, pride, fear, and discrimination; the lesbian body is used similarly, albeit different in physicality, in both themes to assert and identity or an ideology. While there is difference in the ways that that identity or ideology looks like on the outside, it shares some of the same structures and have similar goals: a prideful and unified South Africa.

“Corrective rape” informs these assertions of nationhood and nationalism. Therefore, while this thesis ended up examining how nationalism and nationhood are constituted, which I had not expected, it does so by focusing on the use of lesbian bodies and experiences. This discourse of “corrective rape” shows the extent to which the discrimination and violation of lesbians are present within political discourse in South Africa, and it elides the ways that violence and misogyny against black lesbians, in particular, are overlooked or ignored.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This study has to be understood and framed from my positionality. My analysis of the news articles cannot be separated from the fact that I am a white American woman with very little direct exposition exposure to South African culture. There could be a great deal that I missed as I am unaware of commonsense knowledge in South Africa. Moreover, while it was not my intention to, my readings of the data, and therefore, my themes, are influenced by the fact that I am a scholar trained in Western thought and Western feminisms and this study may well represent this.
In addition, while this study addresses the social locations of nation, race, gender, sex, sexuality, and location directly and class indirectly in discussions of “corrective rape”, it doesn’t engage with many other identity markers, especially of concern is the lack of attention to ethnicity; this is a particularly glaring omission when considering the ways that ethnicity influences social relations in South Africa. However, knowing that ethnicity is important and plays a part in the social hierarchy, my data did not speak to ethnic or tribal concerns, which of course means that I was limited with what I could do with it and due to the time constraints I discussed previously, I had to eliminate any plans for bringing ethnicity into discussion. Further studies should look to how ethnicity might shift or influence the discourse of “corrective rape” as this study could not.

This study was a textual analysis of newspaper articles located in the general news section; therefore, this study cannot speak to the everyday language that might shape the discourse of “corrective rape” nor can it speak to the ways that it is represented in everyday life (outside of the media). The studies on “corrective rape” cited in this study’s literature review also all use secondary data. Therefore, there is a huge gap in the literature of “corrective rape” in that lesbian voices are only heard through reproduced media sources or governmental documents. Qualitative interviews with “corrective rape” survivors or community members who know about “corrective rape” could account for popular knowledge that is missing from media sources, and allow the population to voice their experiences, perceptions, and opinions about this phenomenon directly.

This textual analysis also drew articles from established general newspapers and this eliminated the possibility of drawing articles from pop culture sources or specialty news sources, such as The Drum, which have wider circulation in townships areas. These sources would have
very different ontological approaches to the use of “corrective rape” as their audiences are more likely to have experienced “corrective rape” or personally know someone who has. Therefore, further research on the discursive constructions of “corrective rape” from sources such as these could elucidate very different results and should be examined in further studies.

My study looked at the discursive cultural (re)production of “corrective rape,” but other research on the rape and harassment of lesbians would also be pertinent and useful in examining the ways that sexual assault and violence are constructed in regards to lesbian bodies. In addition, looking at the ways that lesbians use “corrective rape” in their communities and in political discussions would help develop a more comprehensive view on the relationship of “corrective rape” and lesbian populations.

**Greater Applications**

Throughout my research on “corrective rape” my own understandings of, heterosexism and hate as well as the politicized nature of sexual violence came to be much deeper. Despite the vast cultural differences between the United States (the South, in particular) and South Africa I found that my own experiences with heterosexism, hate and sexual violence resonated with the language used in this articles to discuss, describe, and designate lesbians. This system represents gross power imbalances as it remains largely homophobic, sexist, racist and altogether androcentric. The ways that language, power, inequality, knowledge, and the body interact has been the focal point of poststructural thought and this study reinforced the knowledge that poststructural theorists, specifically Butler, have produced regarding this fact.

Butler (1997) speaks to the fact that we all exist in a system of language (as the body, the mode of existence, is interpellated in language) that may not serve the needs of individual, especially marginalized individuals. Her claim that the ways in which we are addressed, the
language used to define us, not only recognizes what someone is, lesbian in this case, but that it is also the way one is recognized as being (i.e. you are recognized for what you are but you are able to be recognized by what you are) was supported by my findings. Lesbians are not only discussed as “lesbians” but are recognized and targeted for “corrective rape” because they are “lesbians.” Further, being addressed as a lesbian, at least in the manner that this study has examined, constitutes the subject (lesbians) in a way that shows clearly the consequences of a heterosexist discourse. Lesbians in the discourse of “corrective rape” are constructed as victims, as dangerous, as something to be fearful of, as marginal, as weak, as promiscuous, as different.

While this study cannot speak directly to the global discourse on lesbians, as this is a study about a South African discourse on lesbians, I believe that the results of this study can offer insights that could be applied to other discursive contexts.

Lesbians have historically been situated in a variety of ways that has not prepared a lot of people and places for the sweeping “tolerance” and “acceptance” that is sweeping the globe. In the last ten years (although really the last 50 years), there have been huge strides made for LGBT rights. Same-sex marriage is the fastest growing form of acceptance of queer individuals; this movement has huge global traction as more and more countries are declaring that “love is love.” This movement has been framed as “gay rights” and the discourse of the queer community revolves around the “gay community” or the LGBT community. Rarely do we speak about lesbians, lesbian rights, and lesbian positionalities as distinct or separate from this ubiquitous “gay community.” This study shows that there is a distinct need to do that very thing.

“Corrective rape,” while having the possibility of happening to gay men, is an act of hate against lesbians; it is a social phenomenon that disproportionally affects the lives of lesbian women. It needs to be discussed on the terms and in reference to lesbian needs. There is no purpose in
trying to solve “corrective rape” as a problem of the “gay community” as it doesn’t affect the gay community, it affects lesbians. Moving away from essentializing the “gay community” is paramount; I understand the political ease that comes from speaking about the community as a whole, but it does a disservice to lesbians, especially when compounded with issues of sexual violence.
APPENDIX A

CODING STRUCTURE

Below is the evolution of the coding structure. Below each figure I will elaborate and explain the structure and why there was a need to revisit it.

Round One

This initial scheme captured three themes. I noticed that there was a lot of discourse surrounding stopping the attacks or the lack of attention to stopping the attacks in the most recent articles and significant othering happening in the oldest articles. Across the entire time span, there was also a distinct discussion surrounding identity and what it all meant. So my intial
reaction was to develop a coding scheme again with these three things represented. Hence the above diagram.

The problem with this initial coding scheme was that it wasn’t grounded enough. I had tried to jump right to topics instead of doing the thematic coding that I had intended. I needed to go back and be more precise in my codes. So I went back to read through my data again keeping in my mind the question: what is African-ness and what does it mean and to whom? It was clear from my initial notes and reactions that there was a shift in the discourse from one that supported the attacks to one that condemned it; inherent in this dichotomy was the question of who was South African and could lesbians be a part of the community?

**Round Two**

- **Discourse on South Africanness**
  - Authenticity
  - Sexuality+Gender
    - Pride
    - Respect for Women
    - Reconciliation
      - Inclusion+Exclusion
        - Police
          - Courts
            - Constitution
  - Counter Hegemonic Discourse of South Africanness
    - Discourse of Freedom and Justice
      - Social vs Legal
        - Cultural Backlash
          - Bodily Integrity
In this diagram, it is obvious that I made the move from copying the discourse into my codes to looking at the thematic content of the articles. I looked at what was being said and how it was being said and applied an open code that represented that topic. However, this coding while it worked for what I felt I had read didn’t seem to work when I went back to my data and tried to apply them. For example, after my first couple of reads, I was left with distinct impressions of individuals expressing national pride. However, when trying to apply the “pride” code to the data, I found that “pride” was really there in the way that I thought it was. There wasn’t a lot of discourse on proudly South African, but there did seem to be an overwhelming amount of shame regarding the inaction of government or the actions of individuals; outrage was expressed more often than pride. This realization, among others, lead me to the last scheme.

**Round Three**

This diagram represents my data the best and elucidated the most prominent discourses surrounding “corrective rape”.

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