

South African LGBT(I) movement today: sexuality, health and migration (non)intersections

Internship Report

in frame of the ACMS project

“Urban health, HIV and migration in Southern Africa: developing pro-poor policy responses to urban vulnerabilities” (leader: Dr.Jo Vearey)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Anti-Apartheid Movement
ACMS	African Centre for Migration and Society
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AISA	Amnesty International South Africa
ANC	African National Congress
CAL	The Coalition of African Lesbians
COSAWR	Committee on South African War Resistance
DSM	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders
FedSAW	Federation of South African Women
FEW	Forum for the Empowerment of Women
FtM	Female to Male; transman
GALA	Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action
GASA	The Gay Association of South Africa
GLOW	Gay and Lesbian Organization of the Witwatersrand
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILGA	International Lesbian and Gay Association
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LAGO	Lesbian and Gays Against Oppression
LGBTIAQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Asexual, Queer
MSM	Men who have Sex with Men
MtF	Male to Female; transwoman
NCGLE	The National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality
OLGA	Organization for Lesbian and Gay Activists
ORAM	Organization for Refuge, Asylum & Migration
PASSOP	People Against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty
POWA	People Opposing Women Abuse
RGO	Rand Gay Organization
SHARISA	Sexual Health and Rights Initiative South Africa
STI	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TIA	Transgender and Intersex Africa
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHR	United Nations Human Rights
UWCO	United Women's Congress
WHO	World Health Organization
WSW	Women who have Sex with Women

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I. Internship: field work

1. Introduction. Becoming a researcher on LGBTI and migration in Johannesburg: contextualizing experience

In August 2012 I came to Johannesburg to join the African Centre for Migration and Society at the University of Witwatersrand as an intern and visiting research. I was going to undertake internship focusing on LGBTI NGOs in Johannesburg (not) dealing with issues of migration. This internship would form the basis for my further MA research within European Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations based at the University of Oldenburg in Germany. I have never been to Africa before. I had superficial knowledge about South African context regarding LGBTI issues: the progressive Constitutions with explicit prohibition against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation; the only country on the African continent that recognizes same-sex partnership. I knew almost nothing about actual state of LGBTI movement in South Africa. When I arrived there were several talks and events that made me aware about the context I would supposed to analyze and work within. These 'occasions' have shaped considerably my understanding of the field I was going to enter as a research in October-November 2012.

In early August one of my newly-made friends gave me a postcard made by Amnesty International South Africa (AISA) pertaining to campaign around the case of human rights defender Noxolo Nogwaza who was raped and murdered in KwaThema in April 2011. From our further conversation on this matter I've learnt that there has been a drastic spike in murders based on sexual orientation and gender non-conformity this year. During several winter months (in June-July 2012) eight LGBTI people were killed. It is well-known that such cases are usually postponed, delayed and ignored by the police. The situation would lead to mobilization of the black lesbian community around hate crimes and violence and it would resulted in the First National Conference "End Hate Crimes Against LGBT People" on 17 – 19th of September 2012 which I would attend being probably one out of three white persons among more than 60 participants.

In the middle of August GALA spread the call for the first Colloquium on challenging homophobia and transphobia in South African school which would take place on 6 – 7th of September and which I would also attend making first round of close contacts with those working in LGBTI-related field in Johannesburg. The Colloquium would also offer me a priceless opportunity to map out the challenges and themes of LGBTI activism in South Africa before my actual entrance to the field.

In August 16th 2012, the Marikana massacre erupted at the Marikana mine of the London-based company Lonmin – the world's third-largest producer of Platinum – located about 100 kilometers northwest of Johannesburg. I was in campus the day after the massacre when Tony from the International Communist League told me the aftermath of the massacre was the police killing at least 34 striking black workers and injuring 78 others. The Marikana massacre would be declared "the bloodiest crimes ever committed against the workers movement in South Africa"¹. The First National Conference on the hate crimes against LGBT people would be opened with commemoration of those died in Marikana and those continuing the fight. Being in Marikana on 29th of September for the march of women of Marikana after the South African government declared a state of emergency in Rustenberg and Marikana area I would find women solidarity march having been organized with the

¹ "Blood on the Hands of ANC/SACP/COSATU Government" In: Workers Vanguard, № 1007; 31 August, 2012, p. 1

support of the Forum of the Empowerment of Women (FEW) and 1in9 Campaign, lesbian and queer organizations (respectively) based in Johannesburg.

Finally, Joburg Pride 2012 took place in Johannesburg on 6th of October. This event has become known worldwide for its political and in fact physical clash between Pride's organizers and individual members of 1in9 Campaign (almost all black and working class) who attempted to disrupt Pride with a lie-down protest and demanded one minute of silence to remember those who had been killed because of their sexual orientation and gender expression. I had just started interviewing actors in the field of LGBTI activism in Johannesburg (two interviews with GALA's representatives were conducted). The protest taken place in Joburg Pride and debates around it have revealed and voiced concerns around South African LGBTI movement today.

Tanya Harford, the organizer of the Pride parade, called the protest 'absolutely inappropriate and illegal', she emphasized that "[i]f [1in9 Campaign] had bothered to contact the board we would have been very open to working with them"². To this accusation Carrie Shelper from 1in9 Campaign shortly responded: "People should be able to engage in civil disobedience, in activism... Why we have to consult with anyone to claim political space?"³. Tanya Harford argues that the best way to launch an event attractive to the majority of queer community is by leaving politics out of it: "None of [the board members] are activists. Our job is not to be political. We just put on an event which is a platform, so you can march with placards saying whatever you want. But join in, don't disrupt it"⁴.

Carrie Shelper describes the political claim made by the Direct Action initiative of 1in9 Campaign during Joburg Pride:

Direct Action thinks about claiming public space for protest, and it's a lot about claiming back that space from privatization, corporatization and commercialization... As we were talking about it activists were saying and talking about economic apartheid that was so clearly evident at Joburg Pride. And we were thinking about what do we do to talk about that, how do we talk about what it means when spaces become commercialized and depoliticized. What is the political response?... Consequently, they want to stop it for a minute and have one minute of silence... We didn't go into a naïve, we knew that it was likely to be some kind of negative response. We were not sure how negative that would be. But there was very much a sense that this is a crisis, that people are dying, and this crisis needs to be brought into the place which is otherwise consciously silence on that... Going into the march we were saying there is a problem how the space is conceptualized. One of the things the action does very powerfully is that it exposes the racism, the classism, the elitism... What is Pride? What we pride of? The thing about Pride being a way of talk about Identity visibility – that's okay, but it's intrinsically linked to issues of housing, issues of education, issues of government service delivery broadly. We are interested in conversations about how does your lack of access to safe and clean water and the privatization of water linked to the problem of Coca-Cola sponsoring the Pride. Because this link is surely there

(Interview with Carrie Shelper, 1in9 Campaign, 05 November, 2012)

The Joburg Pride clash made the South African LGBTI community aware "that queerness as identity cannot constitute a common political ground"⁵, that in fact there is no one (singular) LGBTI community, and LGBTI movement (whatever we can mean under this term) in South Africa after having got formal LGBTI rights has not managed to bridge racial and socioeconomic cleavages. The

² Branko Korica. Joburg Pride marred by clashes with gay lie-down protest. 8 October 2012. In: <http://www.gaystarnews.com/article/joburg-pride-marred-clashes-gay-lie-down-protest081012>

³ Author's interview with Carrie Shelper, 05 November, 2012

⁴ Rebecca Davis. Joburg Pride: The Tale of Two Cities. In: <http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-10-09-joburg-pride-a-tale-of-two-cities>

⁵ Dipika Nath. Gay Pride is political. 10 October, 2012, In: <http://www.thoughtleader.co.za/dipikanath/2012/10/10/gay-pride/>

South African LGBTI movement and community “are dissected along class, race and gender lines now more than ever”⁶.

2. South African LGBT(I) movement today: sexuality, health and migration (non)intersections (ACMS internship, Johannesburg, 2012)

This section represents the internship overview, key internship findings focusing on LGBTI NGOs in Johannesburg (not) dealing with issues of health and migration, and analysis of these findings. The internship findings are summarized around issues of health, migration and transgender and intersex individuals in Johannesburg which gives a solid empirical ground for the perspective MA research.

2.1. Internship Overview

My internship took place at the ACMS in frame of the project “Urban health, HIV and migration in Southern Africa: developing pro-poor policy responses to urban vulnerabilities” running by Dr. Jo Vearey. The internship aimed to explore the intersection between sexuality and migration (with focus on LGBTI migrants) at national, local and community levels in South African cities taking as an example Johannesburg. The internship intended to provide an insight into the forms of urban vulnerabilities experienced by LGBTI migrants in the city and consequently to ground the further MA research. The main outcome of the internship has been an inventory of the main actors working in the field of LGBTI activism in Johannesburg and analysis of the interviews conducted with these actors.

Therefore the following analysis based on my internship focuses on LGBT(I) organizations in Johannesburg (2012) and their (non)engagement with issues of migration and health. The analysis aims to highlight (1) how discourses around LGBTI issues are conceptualized and shaped by main Johannesburg LGBTI-oriented organizations; (2) how issues of health and migration are (not) addressed within LGBTI sector in Johannesburg; (3) what are the main facets of urban vulnerabilities for LGBTI migrants in Johannesburg.

The list of actors addressing LGBTI issues in Johannesburg includes 15 organizations (see Annex 1). I am aware that there are many more informal groups working in townships and social networks operating through Internet. Thus, taking into account the limitation to not reaching these groups, I believe that organizations and groups in the compiled list do represent the mainstream movement and therefore prevalent tendencies within the sector.

Most of the contacts were made through personal accounts in the first Colloquium on challenging homophobia and transphobia in South African schools, the First National Conference “End Hate Crimes against LGBTI people, and LGBTI Identification & Protection Training”⁷. Snowballing sampling

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The Colloquium “Challenging Homophobia and Transphobia in South African Schools and Promoting Good Practice” was organized by GALA and CERT at the University of Johannesburg on 6-7 Sept, 2012; the first National Conference “End Hate

strategy has been also used; it means I closed the list when I realised that actors were quoted and referring to each other during interviews. The list of questions for semi-structured interviews was developed in a way that reflected my interest in transgender and intersex issues with focus on internal migration and access to medical services (See Annex 2)⁸. The internship research was done with the ethical clearance under the project “Urban health, HIV and migration in Southern Africa: developing pro-poor policy responses to urban vulnerabilities” run by Dr. Jo Vearey (see Annex 3).

The data for the analysis comprises of 12 interviews conducted from 4th of October till 6th of November 2012 with 11 main actors in the field of LGBTI activism in Johannesburg: Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA) (2 interviews), Forum for the Empowerment of Women (FEW), Pan Africa International Lesbian and Gay Association (Pan Africa ILGA), Amnesty International South Africa, Sexual Health and Rights Initiative South Africa (SHARISA), SafeZones@Wits, 1in9 Campaign, People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), Activate at Wits, Pillars of Conscious (P.O.C.), Kaleidoscope. Additionally the interviews with Muzi Mthembu, researcher at GALA, and with TIA, the organization dealing with transgender and intersex issues in Pretoria, were conducted; they will contribute to the proposal and the list of the main facets of urban vulnerabilities for LGBTI migrants in Johannesburg though they will not be directly analyzed in this part. Along with interviews other data has been included: available information on 4 NGOs/groups from the list with whom interviews have not been conducted⁹; informal conversations with the main actors and members of the LGBTI community, and participant observation during LGBTI-related events and activities (Colloquium, Conference and Training mentioned above).

The main findings of the internship are outlined and summarized in the Table 1 according to the three thematic areas: (1) overview of LGBT(I) movement in Johannesburg; (2) LGBTI activism in Johannesburg and issues of health and migration; (3) main facets of urban vulnerabilities for LGBTI migrants in Johannesburg. The detailed analysis of the findings will be presented in the following subsection.

Table 1. Urban health, HIV and migration in Southern Africa: developing pro-poor policy responses to urban vulnerabilities: ACMS Internship Findings (focus on LGBTI migrants) (August – December 2012)

1. LGBT(I) movement on Johannesburg: overview
1.1.Target group(s)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Usage of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) acronym (other letters ‘I’ for intersex, ‘A’ for asexual, ‘Q’ for queer are rarely present) (2) Inclusion of men who have sex with men (MSM) and women who have sex with women (WSW) into target groups beyond LGBT(I) acronym

Crimes Against LGBTI People in South Africa” was organized in Johannesburg by FEW, HURISA and CAL on 17-19 September, 2012; LGBTI Identification & Protection Training was held by ORAM in Pretoria on 10th of October, 2012.

⁸ I reworked the list of the questions several times during first two weeks of interviews adjusting the questions to emerging themes and occurring gaps. I want to thank my supervisor Dr. Jo Vearey for a hint given to me on the preparatory stage to go deeper with regard to definition of ‘migration’ while making interviews and to scrutinize possible focus on ‘refugee/asylum seeker’ as an encompassing category of ‘the migrant’.

⁹ Interviews were not conducted with four organizations from the list: Men4Health, The Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL), Queer Vernaculars Visual Narratives, UJLiberati. Some of them will be included in the analysis based on the information gathered from their web-sites.

- (3) Strong emphasis on lesbian and woman's target groups
- (4) *Intention* to reach out to transgender and (rarely) intersex constituencies
- (5) Intersex people constitute the most invisible group in the sector

1.2.Areas of Activities/Interventions

- (1) LGBTI youth oriented activities
- (2) Hate crimes (gender-based violence) including murders and 'corrective rapes' based on sexual orientation and gender expression
- (3) Educational settings: homophobia and transphobia in schools and universities and interventions into education domains
- (4) Implementation of existing laws (mainly in domains of hate crimes and education), revealing and fighting discrimination from police and other authorized bodies
- (5) Fostering/training of new generation of LGBT(I) leaders and strengthening of LGBT(I) movement/network
- (6) Research-oriented activities

1.3.Challenges for organizations and LGBT(I) movement

- (1) Ambiguous (non)involvement of government and lack of relevant government response
- (2) The weakness and fragmented state of the LGBT(I) sector: the narrowing agendas
- (3) The lack of strong leaders
- (4) The lack of comprehensive and unified strategy within the sector
- (5) The lack of proper attention to research component in advocacy
- (6) The challenge to address bias and assumptions about LGBTI within the organizations
- (7) Rigid and traditional social context which causes stigma and discrimination; lack of 'a strong rights culture in the country'

2. LGBT(I) activism in Johannesburg and issues of health and migration

2.1 Health-related issues

- (1) Health issues are not seen as a priority
- (2) Health issues largely are narrowed to HIV/AIDS concerns

2.2. Migration-related issues

- (1) Migration widely understood as movement across the border
- (2) Rural-urban mobility within South African borders is articulated as a crucial factor for LGBTI community though is not framed in the migration discourse (i.e. internal migrants are not seen as 'proper' migrants)
- (3) Migration is recognized as relevant issues with regards to LGBTI in case of refugees/asylum seekers
- (4) Activities, projects and research recently emerged around LGBT(I) and migration issues in South African contexts target exclusively LGBT(I) refugees and asylum seekers. These activities have their challenges and limitations.

3. Main facets of urban vulnerabilities for LGBTI migrants in Johannesburg

3.1. Urban vulnerabilities: internal LGBTI migrants

- (1) Experience of mobility remains invisible and not addressed within broader LGBTI community/NG sector
- (2) The necessity to live double life (case of 'circular' migration)
- (3) Drop outs of schools and consequent risk of unemployment; therefore, risk of being engaged in informal sector of economy (i.e. sex work)
- (4) Transgender and intersex internal migrants: non-integration into local 'queer' community; implications of not acknowledged and addressed intersections of spatial and bodily dimensions of transition

3.2. Urban vulnerabilities: LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers

- (1) **During the process of claiming asylum:** conflict between self-identification and western terminology; reluctance to disclose identity due to biased attitudes of interviewers and/or translators from the communities; challenges to choose the 'right' queue for transgender asylum seekers.
- (2) **After the process of claiming asylum:** biased attitudes within shelters; difficulties to obtain/prolong the documents.
- (3) **Within the communities of origin in Johannesburg :** problems with an employment within the communities; homophobic and transphobic attitudes within the communities; dependency on the community; gender-based and domestic violence within the community; internalized homophobia and transphobia.
- (4) **Broader South African society:** lack of information on LGBTI issues; weak contacts with LGBTI NGOs; xenophobic violence; emphasis on HIV/AIDS concerns with less attention to other health related issues.

2.2. Analysis of Johannesburg-based LGBT(I) organizations: Internship Findings

2.2.1. LGBT(I) movement in Johannesburg: target groups, activities, challenges

2.2.1.1. Target group(s)

The majority of the organizations use **umbrella term LGBT** (and rarer adding 'I' – LGBTI) to describe their target groups. Therefore I am using LGBT(I) acronym most of the time to show conditional presence of the intersex community with contested debates around the possibility or need to include intersex constituencies in LGBT(I) movement. As Ella Kotze, program coordinator at SafeZones@Wits, notices, "intersex is a very invisible category and we could go into a debate whether they should form part of LGBTIA, whether they are actually asked to be part of it or whether we just claim them for ourselves" (Interview with Ella Kotze, SafeZones@Wits, 24 October, 2012). Only Kaleidoscope Youth Network and SafeZones@Wits use 'A' for asexuals and 'Q' for queers while describing their target groups. 'Queer' as possible term to refer to the community is used by GALA though with a great caution since 'queer' has negative connotations in communities in South African context (Interview with Anthony Manion, GALA, 05 October, 2012). Most of the organizations include MSM and WSW in their target groups beyond LGBT(I) acronym.

Overall, in current LGBT(I) scene in Johannesburg there is a firmly voiced **concern on women** (including lesbians) in POWA, 1in9 Campaign and SHARISA, **and on black lesbians** in FEW and CAL. There is only one explicitly men-oriented organization – Men4Health.

Seven out from eleven sample organizations mention transgender *and* intersex constituencies as desirable to reach out (GALA, PanAfrica ILGA, SHARISA, P.O.C., Kaleidoscope, Activate at Wits, SafeZones@Wits); two organizations mention only transgender people as possible target group (FEW, AISA) and the rest two organizations implicitly exclude transgender and intersex people focusing on women (1in9 Campaign and POWA). Only one organization has directly dealt with transgender constituencies (GALA), others claim transgender as potential group that "must exist" but

accept that as organizations they have never had opportunity to tackle them. Intersex people are considered by all sample organizations as the most invisible group.

Overall, there is a persistent understanding of the complexity of LGBT(I) identities in South African context and critical approach towards term 'LGBT(I)'.

"We are using it [LGBT umbrella term] largely as a placeholder term. We recognize that it's not a term that speaks to many people on sense of their identities. We also recognize that there are many people in South Africa who don't connect with any of those particular identities"

(Interview with Anthony Manion, GALA, 05 October, 2012)

"We are still in that narrow-minded... Ok, lesbian is somebody who has never been with a man and it doesn't matter what else you say. We try to show that there is a diverse lesbian identity"

(Interview with Zoleka Luswasi, FEW, 17 October, 2012)

Sometimes other descriptions would be used for target groups:

- "sexually diverse groups and gender diverse group" (Gabriel Khan, GALA);
- "anybody who is basically refer as being different as long as they are not heterosexual" (Moe Selepe, P.O.C.);
- "female born women-identified persons though we are highly critical about what women are" (Carries Shelver, 1in9 Campaign).

2.2.1.2. Main areas of interventions/activities

The main activities identified focus on following issues:

(1) LGBTI youth/students (mostly LGB youth are targeted/presented)

In fact, LGBTI youth oriented activities are mentioned by seven out of eleven sample organizations. GALA has a Youth Forum which the vast majority of other organizations would refer to. FEW tackles issues of *young* black lesbians in particular through sport activities, outreach programs, community and school interventions. All four student-run organizations deal with students and youth (SafeZones@Wits also addresses LGBTIAQ staff members and broader university policies).

(2) hate crimes (with focus on black lesbians; black trans persons are also included to a certain extent)

The area framed as 'hate crimes', 'corrective rape', 'gender-based violence' is seen as a pivotal area of intervention for eight out of fifteen organizations in the list - two women-oriented organizations (1in9 Campaign, POWA), two representatives of international organizations (AISA, PanAfrica ILGA), two lesbian organizations (FEW, CAL) and Queer Vernaculars Visual Narratives. Kaleidoscope as a youth network has also focused on this issue being included in the Hate Crime Working Group. The activities around hate crimes focus on documentation of experiences, monitoring the cases and pressing the government to address the issue.

(3) educational settings: homophobia and transphobia in schools and universities and interventions into education domains (sexual orientation along with gender identity and gender expression addressed)

Eight out of eleven sample organizations point out education as a crucial site of intervention. All student-run groups are directly working within educational settings through raising awareness events, workshops, lectures, and preventing and monitoring cases of homophobic and transphobic attacks on campuses. In September 2012 GALA launched the first Colloquium on challenging homophobia and transphobia in South African Schools brings together more than one hundred participants from NGOs, government and educational sectors. SHARISA sees workshops for teachers and health service providers as a core of its activity next year. 1in9 Campaign runs political education and consciousness raising classes called '1in9 University', teaching feminist critical theory and human rights. FEW has its School (Katlehong) project aiming to work with three high schools in Katlehong with a focus on Grade 10 Life Orientation learners and teachers to promote schools for all and to prevent homophobia in schools. Broadly homophobia and transphobia is seen as perpetuated, encouraged and reinforced by teachers and lectures.

"They [LGBT(I) students] feel different and at the end of the day most of them don't want even to come to campus anymore because they feel rejected by the people that are supposed to be keeping them safe... We had two cases of suicide, one previous and one this year because of sexual orientation..."

(Interview with Moe Selepe, P.O.C., 15 October, 2012)

"We have realized that there is a lot of homophobia in our schools. It is encouraged by teachers in some schools. Teachers don't discourage that at all. In fact they will tease children who are... who even look like they are LGBTI. They call them names - sissies, moffies¹⁰. Teachers will do that"

(Interview with Zoleka Luswazi, FEW, 17 October, 2012)

(4) implementation of existing laws (mainly in domains of hate crimes and education), revealing and fighting discrimination exercised by the police and other authorized bodies

In the activities aiming to engage with the South African government and authorized bodies (usually South African Police Stations) mostly women and lesbian oriented organizations as well as representatives of international networks are involved. Other NGOs and networks are also taking stance in these activities (probably excluding the majority of students run organizations). Thus, FEW and CAL are trying to engage government into the dialogue (the first National Conference on hate crimes and the brief which followed are the examples). There is a wider range of tools to press the government deployed by organizations: through wider international campaigns (AISA's campaign in Noxolo's case); meetings with government representatives and participation in the commissions like the National Gender Based Violence Council and the Hate Crime Working Group (FEW, CAL, POWA, Kaleidoscope); direct actions and solidarity in action (1in9 Campaign and FEW); petitioning (AISA, FEW, CAL, Pan Africa ILGA); monitoring the cases (POWA, 1in9 Campaign, AISA, FEW); documentation and media advocacy (1in9 Campaign, Queer Vernaculars Visual Narratives, GALA, FEW Tech Voices Project).

(5) fostering/training of a new generation of LGBT(I) leaders and strengthening of the LGBT(I) movement/network

One of the main concerns around the LGBT(I) sector expressed by many organizations is a lack of sustainable and educated leadership in the sector and a great need to have young strong leaders in the future who would devote themselves to LGBT(I) activism. Student run organizations (P.O.C., Kaleidoscope, ACTIVATE) are working to attract people to organizations and networks and to create an environment for them to stay within the broader LGBT(I) movement even after their graduation. GALA, FEW, 1in9 Campaign are tackling young leaders through workshops, publication and outreach

¹⁰ 'Moffie' is a Xhosa/Zulu pejorative word to denote homosexuality.

programs. FEW and POWA support emerging women and lesbian oriented groups in the communities and townships.

(6) research-oriented activities

Only four out of the eleven sampled organizations indicate research (and associated publications) as a crucial site of current work. 1in9 Campaign has strong focus on feminist knowledge production and research. One of the recent research process completed and published is "We were never meant to survive" Violence in the Lives of HIV Positive Women in South Africa (2012). In 2012, AISA has been involved in research exploring challenges LGBTI communities face in South Africa in particularly regarding government responses to hate crimes, safety and security issues, and attitudes of the police. SafeZones@Wits has strong research component in collaboration with MA students (pilot study on homophobic attitudes at Wits) and university staff (critical investigation into the SafeZones@Wits programme by Prof. Tomasso Milani). Research is indispensably linked to advocacy.

"We don't see research is being divorced from mobilizing community, from building a strong social justice movement... we see research as being a critical first step...because we need create evidence base that we can use create effective programs effective advocacy campaigns

(Interview with Anthony Manion, GALA, 05 October, 2012)

It is very important to mention the challenge that has been indicated as one of the main facets of vulnerabilities among LGBT(I) people in Johannesburg though having remained largely not addressed by organizations - **unemployment and discrimination on the workplace**. Only FEW "trying to work with the trade union to have policies in place" (Interview with Zoleka Luswasi, 17 October, 2012). Partly unemployment is tackled through attempts to intervene into school settings and prevent drop offs of gender non-conforming youth from schools. Otherwise this area has remained under researched and overlooked.

Other areas sidelined by most of the organizations interviewed are **concerns around sex work and negotiation of religion and sexuality**. Both areas are mentioned only by GALA's representatives.

Overall, South Africa is pictured as a quite tough and complex place to live in for LGBT(I) people:

"I think the first thing we have to know about South African society is that we have huge problem when it comes to gender, and class, and race in South Africa. And inequalities linked when it comes to any people regardless of sexuality, gender, class and race... LGBT people experience the racialized and class topography of this city as well... even though the law is protecting them it's quite hard to access those rights"

(Interview with Gabriel Hoosain Khan, GALA, 04 October, 2012)

2.2.1.3. Challenges for organizations and LGBT(I) movement

Along with challenges around funding after the main donor, The Atlantic Philanthropy, has withdrawn from the sector, several other pivotal structural challenges were mentioned. There are challenges attributed to external factors and those rooted within organizations themselves. Very few organizations are actually engaged into self-critical re-evaluation of structural limitations of their own work.

(1) Among the main organisational challenges is the ambiguous (non)involvement of government and the lack of relevant government response.

"I think another challenge is that it's quite hard for LGBT NGOs to meaningfully engage with government institutions like local and national departments... like the Johannesburg Development Agency they don't really take LGBT heritage too seriously"

(Interview with Gabriel Hoosain Khan, GALA, 04 October, 2012)

"There is a hate crime task team that was put in place but really it hasn't done anything. It was put in place 2011 May – until now they don't have a single policy down. So we just feel like they sometimes put these policies in place just to shut us up. Not policies I mean there is these task teams, these councils, these committees, you know it's like ... just to shove in your mouth so you can be quiet for the next two years until you realize that this is not doing anything. We feel that they are not taking us seriously"

(Interview with Zoleka Luswasi, FEW, 17 October, 2012)

Going even further, Carrie Shelver from 1in9 Campaign states that the government - by offering different ways of 'engagement' - does 'predetermine certain activism' which Carrie refers to as '**sanitize activism**' which implies the agreement between the state and the organizations that the latter will not criticize, tackle and/or reveal structural injustice. So there is a challenge to work and be conscious about this polarity when the state which grants the LGBTI people the rights is the very same state which is "homophobic, patriarchal, classist, racist" (Interview with Carrie Shelver, 05 November, 2012).

(2) Some of the interviewees point out the challenge posed by the current state of LGBTI sector being fragmented and weak partly due to **narrowing agendas to particular areas** like hate crimes and HIV/AIDS in health-related issues. Mostly this critique is voiced by those who have been in the movement more than ten years and can compare the current situation to that a decade ago (Antony Manion from GALA, Carrie Shelver from 1in9 Campaign, Betsi Pedry from SHARISA).

"Now the sector is weak. In the past there was a variety of organizations which would tackle different angles of the problems... And now some organizations were closed like 'Behind the Mask' or 'Equality Project' and others narrowed their focus..."

(Interview with Anthony Manion, GALA, 05 October, 2012)

"I remember 5-10 years ago it was always that these broad coalitions would be brought together and they would expand different sectors or different issue. You don't see that happening to much anymore. And those that do happen already state initiated... They'll be linked to law reform or a particular thing. And because we don't do that work, we don't really find the spaces anymore"

(Interview with Carrie Shelver, 1in9 Campaign, 05 November, 2012)

(3) The lack of strong leaders is seen as one of the major challenges by a set of organizations (Kaleidoscope, 1in9 Campaign, GALA). Many programs within the LGBT(I) sector intend to foster the further generation of leader as it was described above. Though the problem of "capacities development" remains relevant (Interview with Tish White, Kaleidoscope, 09 October, 2012). Anthony Manion, the Director at GALA, conveys anxiety about the LGBT(I) movement in South Africa regarding a new generation of leaders:

"If the LGBT movement is going to be successful in South Africa we need a thick layer of strong black lesbian, gay, transgender and intersex leaders who are able to be visible, to have strong groundings in social justice and who have had the opportunity to develop the technical skills. We need these leaders in roles of board members, director, deputy directors. Between 2000 and 2008 the period that had happened because there was the layer of visible black lesbian leaders. And as this layer has moved away, there's not being a secondary layer to take this place"

(Interview with Anthony Manion, GALA, 05 October, 2012)

(4) The lack of a comprehensive and unified strategy within the sector is seen as a challenge, though by only very few actors (GALA and 1in9 Campaign). It occurs in the context of attempts to address hate crimes. The (self) critique points out the need “to move away from hate crimes and corrective rape definitions” to more neutral “gender and sexual orientation based violence” and the necessity to address hate crimes within broader frame of intersections with xenophobia and women’s violence. At the same time there is an urgent need to move beyond just planning and “expressing pain and anger to each other” toward actions and strategies that are “needed to capacitate organizations and mobilize communities in effective way” (Interview with Anthony Manion, GALA, 05 October, 2012)

(5) The lack of proper attention to the research component in advocacy is voiced as one of the challenges and limitation in some organizations when they “rush to do work without first having done the research to get the evidence” which can “hurt campaign” and “harm advocacy effort” (Interview with Anthony Manion, GALA, 05 October, 2012)

(6) The challenge to address bias and assumptions about LGBTI within the organizations (Interview with Jacqueline Khumalo, AISA, 17 October, 2012) remains largely ignored by the majority of organizations though some of them acknowledge the need to admit and work on “our own stereotypes and perceptions about the rest of the spectrum which may not necessarily be true” (Interview with Dumi Msibi, ACTIVATE@Wits, 27 October, 2012)

(7) A rigid and traditional social context is seen as an inevitable cause of stigma and discrimination and therefore one of the crucial challenges to be addressed. At the same time there is a despair of the **lack of ‘a strong rights culture in the country’** (Interview with Betsi Pedry, SHARISA, 23 October, 2012)

“...access to services is obviously very important but often time access to services is after the fact, so if you’ve been raped, yes, it’s great to do an access to services but you would hope that you wouldn’t be raped at the first place. If you are a teenager who needs to access an abortion, that’s fine you need to access that, but it would be better if you could have accessed contraception. If you want to have services for lesbian and gay community – you only hear about it when it hasn’t been delivered, and a lot of that is dealing with issues of stigma and discrimination. How come health care aren’t fulfilling what is mandated to them to do? <...> Social vision for SA right now is lacking, it’s an economic vision which is failing. But there isn’t a social vision. People don’t know how to get excited about something because most people aren’t getting richer which is what we are supposed getting excited about. Most people aren’t. So there is a lot of ill will around building the society that is more just, more dignified society. I think people are like “why bother, I wanna raise, I don’t care about that stuff, give me a raise”... I think that the social justice aspect of anti-apartheid movement has been lost. The constitution is obviously very strong I don’t think there is a strong rights culture in the country right now”

(Interview with Betsi Pendry, SHARISA, 23 October, 2012)

2.2.2. LGBT(I) activism in Johannesburg and issues of health and migration

(1) The majority of organizations **do not see health issues as a priority area** for intervention or research. There are only SHARISA and Men4Health addressing health issues directly. SHARISA deals with a broader scope of constituencies and issues while Men4Health addresses primarily gay and MSM community regarding HIV. The rest of organizations mostly refer their constituencies to safe sex packs (all student run groups, GALA). Women’s health issues (lesbian, bisexual women, WSW) are overshadowed by men’s health related activities (gay, bisexual men, MSM), though some organizations address health-related concerns around rape cases and (domestic) violence focusing predominantly on HIV/AIDS (FEW, 1in9 Campaign, POWA).

Overall, **health issues usually are narrowed to HIV/AIDS concerns**. As Betsi Pendry from SHARISA describes the situation around sexual health, “that profile [sexual health profile] has been overshadowed by HIV and AIDS and gender-based violence” (Interview with Betsi Pendry, SHARISA, 23 October, 2012). Nhlanhla Mokwena from POWA echoes that “for a while now other organizations that were doing violence against women are moving towards HIV sector because of funding” (Interview with Nhlanhla Mowena, POWA, 06 November, 2012). Being asked about other health related issues beyond the discourse on HIV/AIDS and STIs interviewees draw attention to transgender people as a particular group with particular health needs (SHARIS, FEW, Kaleidoscope) othering them from LGB community. Interestingly enough, intersex people are not seen as those who do access health care and might experience problems during this process.

Issues related to consent, sex positive behavior and sexual education are seen as relevant only by GALA and SHARISA. Therefore, health needs are formulated predominantly in a framework of diseases and physical health without consideration of other health related issues such as mental health (there is an exception when dealing with rape cases or gender-based and/or domestic violence). Very few respondents would refer to broader discrimination while accessing health care providers (SHARISA, ACTIVATE).

(2) Though some of the interviewees admit the history of South African labor migration within South African borders (GALA, SHARISA) and describe migration in broader sense as movement “from one place to another” (FEW), **migration is widely understood as movement across the border**. Thus, a migrant is seen as a foreigner who has moved from another country to South Africa voluntarily (motivated by livelihood seeking) or forcibly (refugee, asylum seeker)¹¹.

“Migrants – somebody who has come from another country into South Africa often because facing danger and discrimination in country where they come from”

(Interview with Tish White, Kaleidoscope, 09 October, 2012)

“It’s about... running away from situation back home, try to find a safe heaven in another country. Or it could also be going to better your life somewhere else to other country”

(Interview with Moe Sepele, P.O.C., 15 October, 2012)

“Migration... moving from your country to another country because of circumstances whatever circumstances it might be”

(Interview with Apinda Mpako, ILGA, 17 October, 2012)

“Migrants... people coming from other countries who are here either for asylum seeking or for economic reasons”

(Interview with Jacqueline Khumalo, AISA, 17 October, 2012)

It is uncommon to find understandings of migration beyond the spatial cross-border mobility. The more exciting I found metaphoric description of the *experience* of migration provided by Gabriel Hoosain Khan, an archivist at GALA:

“I think if I had to compare to another word or another term, a synonym in my opinion, it will be a journey of some kind or a movement. And it often implies a move... a far... a movement far away. But it can also be a movement within yourself, so an emotional development. And I think when I think of LGBT youth I think coming out to coming to terms with your sexualities is a migration of some kind”

(interview with Gabriel Hoosain Khan, GALA, 04 October, 2012)

¹¹ Regarding the terminology see Table 3 p.30 of this proposal.

(3) Rural-urban mobility within South African borders is articulated as a crucial factor for LGBTI community (especially for youth and students) though most of the interviewees experience problem to frame it in the migration discourse. Having received a direct question pertaining to internal mobility the interviewees would reframe migrations as moving out of your comfort zone or experiencing drastic shift while moving from rural areas to the city.

“... it’s about a difference in background. You come from a small town to this big city. This world of difference it’s like crossing the border”

(Interview with Moe Selepe, P.O.C., 15 October, 2012)

“...may be it has more to do with comfort zone in a way, more to do with moving out from what is familiar into what is not familiar”...

(Interview with Ella Kotze, SafeZones@Wits, 24 October, 2012)

However it is important to notice that none of the respondents recognised such individuals as ‘proper’ migrants facing particular challenges due to their place of origin.

(4) Migration is recognized as a relevant issue with regards to LGBTI in case of refugees/asylum seekers by GALA, SHARISA, AISA, PanAfrica ILGA. ‘LGBTI migrant’ is used as an umbrella term implying LGBTI refugees and LGBTI asylum seekers. LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers’ concerns are broadly framed within the legal framework of support needed in proceeding and following the cases (GALA).

Overall, most of the interviewees admit that they have not thought about migration issues within their activities though they would agree that these issues might be relevant. **With internal migration respondents have many more problems to articulate relevance and importance of the issue** since they acknowledge that they have never considered this intersection (internal migration and sexuality). Even in the GALA archive internal migration “is a strong theme thinking about minors, sangomas, traditional healers, but it’s not been a theme that we’ve explored” (interview with Anthony Manion, GALA, 06 October, 2012).

(5) A range of activities, projects and research recently emerged around LGBT(I) and migration issues in South African contexts target very particular social groups – **LGBT(I) refugees and asylum seekers**.

Among these activities and projects:

- PASSOP’s investigation and report “A Dream Deferred: Is the Equality Clause in the South African Constitution’s Bill of Rights (1996) just a far-off hope for LGBTI Asylum Seekers and Refugees?” (June 2012);
- ORAM’s LGBTI Identification & Protection Trainings done in Cape Town and Pretoria (September-October 2012);
- LGBTI Refugee Support Group running at Holy Trinity Catholic Church (Johannesburg);
- GALA’s project “Opening the Door: Supporting the integration of LGBTI refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants in South African society” (November-December 2012);
- Ongoing one-year research project on HIV/MSM refugees running by Muzi Mthembu, Wits/GALA researcher, HSRC MAC AIDS Fellow (2012-2013);
- PhD research project “Homosexuality in South Africa: A (Un)Safe Haven for Queer Refugees” by Libby Johnston (2012-2015);
- ORAM office addressing needs of LGBTI refugees is to be opened in Johannesburg in 2013

Nevertheless, all these project share similar **challenges and limitations**:

- Focus on refugees/asylum seekers (with no attention to other types of LGBTI migrants);
- Most of the participants are MSM, gay men, sometimes transwomen (male-to-female trans persons); there is lack of lesbians, bisexual women, diverse transgender and intersex persons;
- Most of the participants are Zimbabweans (lack of informants from different countries, places of origin, ethnical background).

2.2.3. Main facets of urban vulnerabilities for LGBTI migrants in Johannesburg

The following list of urban vulnerabilities for LGBTI migrants in Johannesburg is compiled based on findings of the internship research (described above). Important insights have been gained from (1) interviews and informal conversations with Nthabiseng Mokoera, Tebogo Nkoana and Revelation Xakosne from Transgender and Intersex Africa (Pretoria based NGO); (2) an interview and talks with Muzi Mthembu, who is running one-year research project with MSM refugees focusing on HIV/AIDS issues; (3) an interview with Anthony Manion, the director at GALA; (4) the report made by Liesl Theron from GenderDynamix (Cape Town based NGO) at ORAM's LGBTI Identification and Protection Training; (5) LGBTI migrant and refugee art for activism workshop held by GALA from 29th of November till 2nd of December 2012 which I attended as a researcher and made participant observation.

I would like to clarify that the following list of urban vulnerabilities address a particular cluster of migrants - non-white and working class. Therefore, for example, white middle-class cross-border economic migrants will probably not perfectly fit to this scheme. In this respect I follow the data I have got which predominantly implies refugees/asylum seekers under the term of 'cross-border migrants' and indicates 'internal LGBTI migrants' as unrecognized group by LGBTI NGOs. In most cases 'LGBTI migrants' whom NGOs would take into consideration are non-white and poor (refugees/asylums seekers) or non-white and working class (students, youth, internal migrants). I will now highlight the vulnerabilities faced by internal and cross-border LGBTI migrants in Johannesburg. The list does not pretend to be exhaustive; it rather provides preliminary findings for further investigations.

2.2.3.1. Urban vulnerabilities: internal LGBTI migrants

The list of the main facets of urban vulnerabilities that **internal** LGBTI migrants face in Johannesburg:

- (1) LGBTI community/NGOs do not recognize them as migrants; therefore, part of their experience linked to mobility remains invisible, not addressed and underresearched.
- (2) The mobility experiences of LGBTI internal migrants may include 'circular' movements between Johannesburg and home (case of students). These movements may trigger the necessity to live a double life: gender conforming and heteronormative back home in more conservative areas and considerably more open and self-relevant back to Johannesburg. This need to move not only between places but between identities can cause a set of particular psychosocial challenges.

- (3) The mobility experiences for transgender and intersex internal migrants usually includes not only spatial transition to the city but also medical transition on a bodily level. The intersection of both transitions and the implications caused by this intersection remain under researched and not addressed.
- (4) Transgender and intersex internal migrants are less integrated into local 'queer' community and social networks than LGB internal migrants.
- (5) Dropping out of school (common challenge for LGBTI constituencies) leads to higher risk of being unemployed or/and to end up in sex work or other informal sector of economy.
- (6) The implications of intersected transitions along with invisibility within LGB(TI) community might contribute to the occasions of entering sex work by transgender internal migrants (whatever we may imply under the 'sex work'). The involvement in sex work is mentioned as quite frequent coping strategy deployed by male to female transgender individuals. Although further investigation into complexity of motivation for transgender internal migrants to engage into sex work is needed.

2.2.3.2. Urban vulnerabilities: cross-border LGBTI migrants (refugees/asylum seekers)

The list of the main facets of urban vulnerabilities that **cross-border (focus on refugees and asylum seekers)** LGBTI migrants face in Johannesburg:

- (1) Difficulties during the process of claiming asylum pertaining to negotiation between western terminology and self-identification.
- (2) Difficulties during the process of claiming asylum being forced to expose their identities using services of translator(s) from the same country/community (fear to spread information into the community that is seen as a source of support).
- (3) Particular challenges for transgender claimants to choose the queue to a Refugee Reception Office relevant to their gender: the risk to be excluded, molested, ridiculed, and abused by people in both (female and male) queues due to gender non-conforming appearance; the fear to disclose transgender identity.
- (4) Biased attitudes of the interviewer in a Refugee Status Determination Office which can lead to avoidance to make gender-based claims and rejection due to regardless of the basis of the claim (Middleton, 2008).
- (5) Biased attitudes within shelters when gender non-conforming persons might be rejected to be taken in due their gender non-conforming appearance/behavior.
- (6) The difficulties with obtaining/extending the visas. This concern is common for all refugees/asylum seekers but is usually worsened due to gender non-conforming appearance/behaviors of LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers
- (7) Refugees and asylum seekers tend to stay in the community of origin in Johannesburg (there is no refugee camp system in South Africa) and rely heavily on the support and social networks provided by the community. Therefore LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers would avoid

disclosing their identity in order to ensure help and support gained from the community. They would most probably be reluctant to turn to LGBTI organizations to address issues related to their identity/sexuality. This situation indicates particular vulnerability being not fully integrated both in South African society and within the community of origin.

- (8) Refugees and asylum seekers tend to find employment in the community of origin in Johannesburg, but LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers would avoid it or would experience discrimination and stigma due to their gender non-confirming appearance/behavior. It might contribute to the occasions of engagement into sex work (see the same concern with internal LGBTI migrants).
- (9) LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers experience lack of information about and networks on LGBTI-related issues (the only one possible exception is Zimbabwean refugees/asylum seekers who seem to have well-developed networks)¹².
- (10) Internalized homophobia and transphobia experienced by LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers may make the process of addressing the issues related to their gender and sexual identities more difficult and challenging for LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers themselves and by service providers, researchers and LGBTI activists as well.
- (11) The reality of being LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers increases fear of becoming a target of xenophobic and gender-based violence. It has to be mentioned that gender-based and domestic violence can occur in the community of origin in Johannesburg. Usually such cases would not be reported to the police because of lack of documentation and/or the need to be supported by perpetrator (this facet of vulnerability is a distinctive for migrant women as well)
- (12) Regarding health issues the emphasis made by LGBTI NGOs on HIV/AIDS with less attention to other health issues may reinforce gaps in information on health and well-being issues and influence the way how LGBTI refugees/asylum seekers represent themselves and conceptualize their concerns.
- (13)

2.3. Conclusion

In sum, **the internship findings provide a solid background for the future MA research** on challenges experienced by transgender and intersex internal migrants while seeking access to medical services in Johannesburg. The key internship findings with regard to this group of migrants can be outlined as such:

- (1) **Transgender and intersex individuals are barely included in target groups and activities by current LGBTI organizations in Johannesburg.** While transgender issues are present to some extent, intersex concerns are invisible and ignored.
- (2) **Issues of internal migration are not considered and not recognized as relevant to LGBTI experiences by the main LGBTI actors in Johannesburg.** The fact is that the majority of transgender

¹² Based on research done by Muzi Mthembu, who is running one-year research project with MSM refugees focusing on HIV/AIDS issues.

and intersex individuals do move within South African borders to access medical treatment due to location of such facilities in few cities. This fact remains overlooked by the main Johannesburg-based LGBTI organizations. Thus, experience of mobility in case of transgender and intersex internal migrants is not seen as a site of intersection with the bodily transition and therefore as a facet of possible vulnerability.

(3) Health needs within the LGBTI community and the LGBTI sector are narrowed to HIV/AIDS concerns with less attention to other health-related issues. In the case of transgender individuals, these needs are voiced as the need to access ‘particular’ medical services, paradoxically, without attention to HIV/AIDS. Intersex individuals are broadly excluded from the discourse on access to medical treatment/services.

Importantly, **the internship findings have already contributed to the policy dialogue** co-hosted by the ACMS, University of the Witwatersrand and City of Johannesburg on 22nd of November 2012. The policy dialogue “aimed to explore urban health, HIV and migration in Johannesburg, and aimed to provide pro-poor policy recommendations for addressing the urban vulnerabilities expressed by migrant groups in the city”¹³.

¹³ Report on the Policy Dialogue written by Elsa Oliveira, p. 1. (For further information contact Jo Vearey, ACMS).

II. Literature review

The chapter “Literature Review” is divided into three sections. First two sections focus on the South African context tracing LGBT(I) movement in South Africa and exploring gender, sexuality, health and migration (non) intersections in sexuality and migration studies. The third section of the literature review is devoted to the analysis of ‘gender mainstreaming’ happening globally in domain of migration studies, asylum policies and western medical discourse. At the end, local South African and global perspectives are brought together to summarize the key issues discovered while reviewing literature for the research proposal. Outcomes of the literature review are linked to the internship findings which provide justification for the MA research.

3. Tracing LGBT(I) movement in South Africa: a brief history

3.1. Legal and social restrictions around sexuality in South Africa 1920s-1980s: historical framework

South African apartheid history has been gradually marked by the criminalization of sexual conduct which went along racial, class and sexual divisions. The 1927 Immorality Act criminalized sexual activity between whites (“Europeans”) and Africans (“natives”). The new National Party government coming to power in 1948 among the first legislative acts, enacted the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 which criminalized sexual conduct outside of marriage as well as sex between whites and non-whites, including coloreds and Asians. This sexual segregation along a racial line was fixed in the Mixed Marriages Act of 1950 which banned marriages between members of different racial classifications. These laws implied and indicated that “the state imagined sexual control as central to the effective implementation and sustaining of apartheid policies” (Hoad, 2005: 16).

Nevertheless, with time the restrictive legislation on sexual matters extended beyond racial concerns to other forms of ‘inappropriate’ sexual behaviors when the amended Immorality Act of 1957 explicitly criminalized prostitution, “unlawful carnal intercourse and other acts in relation thereto” (Hoad, 2005:16) Following the 1969 amendment to the Immortality Act targeted male homosexuality by criminalizing “any act by a male person... with another male person at a party... which is calculated to stimulate sexual passion or to give sexual gratification”, where ‘a party’ was defined as “any occasion where more than two persons are present”. The amendment also prohibited “the manufacture or distribution of any article intended to be used to perform an unnatural sexual act” (Hoad, 2005: 17).

Therefore by the beginning of the 1980s when the Gay Association of South Africa (GASA), the first - and at that time the only organization voicing gay and lesbian concerns - was founded, the apartheid legislation had already provided sufficient ground for South African white gay men to shape the common cause with non-white South African’s majority in sexual struggle. Though for gay and lesbian organizations in South Africa it would take until the end of 1980s to affiliate with the liberation anti-apartheid struggle and to start reconsidering and overcoming racial divisions from within organizations.

3.2. Gay rights movement and the South African national liberation struggle: 1980s – 1996

"This is what I say to my comrades in the struggle who ask me why I waste time fighting for moffies and this is what I say to white gay men or women who ask me why I spend so much time talking about apartheid when I should be fighting for gay rights. I am black and I am gay. I cannot separate the two parts of me into secondary or primary struggle. They will be all one struggle"

Simon Nkoli [1990] in "Simon and I" (2000) quoted in Oswin, 2007: 549

3.2.1. (Homo)sexuality within anti-apartheid movement

As Mikki van Zyl states in her analysis on political organizations in Cape Town in the 1980s, the main focus of political struggle and primary political discourse was one of anti-racism. Even women-oriented organizations like the Federation of South African Women (FedSAW) and the United Women's Congress (UWCO) did not take explicit feminist rhetoric: they adhered to the 'two-stage' theory of revolution, when the anti-apartheid struggle should come first followed by women's emancipation. Moreover, women's organizations saw lesbianism as a challenge and possible threat for their organizations and would prefer to address the oppression of women, thus silencing sexuality issues. There was also a generational division within the women's movement when, for example, older women in the United Democratic Front (UDF) expressed negative attitudes toward feminism and homosexuality. The cleavages were growing along racial and gender lines as well. Thus the feminist organization Rape Crisis founded in 1978 was run by white educated middle-class woman confronting black male political activists who blamed rape on colonialism or simply claimed violence as a part of black culture (van Zyl, 2005: 98-102).

Overall, in anti-apartheid organizations, homophobia persisted. Homosexuality was perceived as "disruptive political positioning, for individuals and organizations alike" (Ibid.: 107) and it was constantly hidden not only from authorities but also from comrades in fear to be oppressed or marginalized (Kraak, 2005: 118). "The schizophrenia of gay anti-apartheid activists" was embedded in the torn position between black implicit homophobic comrades and white racist gay scene in that time. As Gerald Kraak stated: "I had this sense of needing to split my gay identity from my work against racism" (Ibid.: 122).

3.2.2. Anti-apartheid politics within the gay and lesbian movements: Simon Nkoli's Case

Regarding the gay rights movement as being represented by gay and lesbian organizations prior 1994 it "was never a cohesive phenomenon with a strong, collective voice", the movement was fragmented and played out in the complex intersections of race, class, gender and sexual identity (Cock, 2005: 189).

The Gay Association of South Africa (GASA) was founded in 1982 and for that historical moment it represented the only organization speaking for South African gays and lesbians. GASA was largely white, middle-class and male. Lesbians did not feel welcome there. GASA adhered to an 'apolitical stance' what meant non-alignment in Broader South African politics (Cock, 2005: 191-192).

In 1983 Simon Tseko Nkoli joined the predominantly white GASA and formed the Saturday Group in Soweto, the first black gay group in Africa. The same year GASA applied for membership of the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) and in 1984 GASA signed an anti-apartheid

statement which was required to obtain ILGA's membership. These words on paper turned out a political position to be proved when Simon Nkoli was arrested in 1984 after speaking in the Vaal township in support of rent boycotters. His arrest and consequent sentence of death for treason with 21 other political activists raised indispensable questions not only for GASA within South African context but for gay and lesbian movement worldwide – to what extent gay politics can be separated from other kind of politics?; how one oppression can be isolated from another?; is it possible to make alliance around one specific issues disregarding other aspects of human rights? (Rydstrom, 2005: 34-39; 45). As Graeme Reid claimed, "Simon Nkoli's detention was a watershed in gay politics here. He represented that engagement between the gay movement and the broader liberation struggle" (Graeme Reid interview, 2000 quoted in Cock, 2005: 191).

GASA tried to take passive and apolitical stand toward Nkoli's case. Nkoli's case triggered the rise of other gay and lesbian organizations in South Africa. The Rand Gay Organization (RGO) founded in 1986 by Alfred Sipiwe Machela replaced GASA in the 1987 ILGA's conference and declared that "in South Africa it was impossible for a gay group to be apolitical" (Rydstrom, 2005: 39). At the end, GASA collapsed in 1987 making way for new wave of gay and lesbians groups to take up on sexual struggle: Lesbian and Gays Against Oppression (LAGO) founded in 1986 and changed its name to Organization for Lesbian and Gay Activists (OLGA) and the Gay and Lesbian Organization of the Witwatersrand (GLOW) founded in 1988 by then-released Simon Nkoli. These two organizations drew up the brief on sexual orientation which was integrated into the Equality Clause in the Constitution (van Zyl, 2005: 101).

3.2.3. Gay rights and the African National Congress

In the 1980s, South African exile politics in the United Kingdom were shaped by the London structures of the African National Congress (ANC). As Kraak notes within the ANC, similarly to anti-apartheid groups in South Africa, "the notion of oppressed groups other than blacks expressing themselves, or organizing separately, somehow constituted a betrayal of the imperative of national liberation" (Kraak, 2005: 124). This position shaped rejection of feminist and pro-gay claims within the ANC. Both concepts – feminism and homosexuality - were perceived as 'western', 'capitalist' and 'unAfrican', though Kraak states that "at least a third of the executive membership of COSAWR were gay, as was much larger proportion of the broader was resistance community" (Kraak, 2005: 128).

Simon Nkoli's case brought together issues around homosexuality in the liberation movement. Nkoli challenged the assumption that homosexuality was unAfrican. He was evidence that there were gay men and lesbians within anti-apartheid movement. On the one hand, Nkoli's case attracted attention of the West and caused support of the anti-apartheid movement worldwide. On the other hand, support from the West came with the issues of gay and lesbian identity (Kraak, 2005:130).

In 1987 Peter Tatchell made an interview with an executive member of the ANC, Ruth Mompoti, and exposed homophobia at high levels of ANC. Mompoti represented the ANC's point of view:

"I cannot even begin to understand why people want gay and lesbian rights. The gays have no problems. They have nice houses and plenty to eat. I don't see the suffering. No one is persecuting them. We haven't heard about this problem in South Africa until recently. It seems to be fashionable in the West... They are not doing the liberation struggle a favour by organizing separately and campaigning for their rights. The [gay] issue is being brought up to take attention away from the main struggle against apartheid... They are red herrings. We don't have a policy on gays and lesbians. We don't have a policy on flower sellers either"

After the letter dated 12 October 1987 addressed by Peter Tatchell to Thabo Mbeki, then the ANC Director of Information, the ANC officially, for the first time, committed itself to support lesbian and gay human rights (Tatchell, 2005: 143). OLGA, GLOW and other gay organizations used the ANC's endorsement of lesbian and gay equality to lobby the United Democratic Front and other anti-apartheid groups in South Africa (Tatchell, 2005: 146-147). In September 1990, when the ANC was working on the draft version of the Constitution, OLGA made an extensive submission to the ANC's Constitutional Committee, with the constitutional proposals to include a ban on discrimination based on sexual orientation.

South African activism around sexual issues in the 1980s resulted in the Equality Clause of the Bill of Rights being enshrined in the South African Constitution in 1996 with explicit prohibition against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. It was a world-historical event that made South Africa the first country in the world with the constitution which explicitly outlawed discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

While acknowledging and appreciating the importance of gay rights being anchored in the South African institution, one has to take critical distance to the very process of obtaining these rights. As Cock notices, "the inclusion of the gay rights clause in the final post-apartheid Constitution was largely due to the ability of a male-dominated gay right movement to form strategic alliances with the anti-apartheid struggle, to mobilize the master narrative of equality and non-discrimination, and to lobby effectively during the constitution-making process" (Cock, 2005: 188-189).

3.3. Life after 1996: Building the Movement, Exercising the Rights

"Leaving the precincts of parliament, I was struck by the enormity of the work that lies ahead. Rights that cannot be exercised are dead rights. The challenge is not the passing of a constitution. The real challenge lies in changing public perceptions, empowering our own community to exercise those rights, and safeguarding the democratic principles that allow freedom and equality to flourish. That is the challenge to every gay man and lesbian woman in South Africa. We're going to need a strong gay movement after all"

Botha, 1996, quoted in Oswin, 2007: 654

If prior to 1994 the movement was male-dominated, after 1994 lesbian leaders went on to engage with the broader gay rights clause – related agenda. Ten years after the gay rights clause was included in the Bill of Rights, the South African LGBT(I) movement was concerned to establish wider equality on the basis of the gay rights clause. Thus LGBT(I) movement has been involved in "legal efforts to recognize the validity of homosexual family relationships, and to secure the recognition of gay relationships in the courts on domestic issues such as the parental rights of same-sex partners and their access to benefits" (Cock, 2005:195).

The outcomes of this common effort to build the movement around the claims on strengthening and exercising the (same-sex) rights are structured in the following table¹⁴.

¹⁴ The table is reproduced from Reddy, 2009: 343-344.

Table 2. Chronological overview of judgments on same-sex issues (Reddy, 2009: 343-344)

Date	Case	Judgment
4 February 1998	Capt.Langemaat v Dep.of Correctional Services, Safety and Security	The high court rules that medical aid regulations that do not recognize same-sex relationships are unconstitutional.
9 October 1998	National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality and others v Minister of Justice	The Constitutional Court abolished the crime of sodomy
2 December 1999	National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality and others v Minister of Home Affairs	The Constitutional Court rules that the long-term same-sex partners of South African citizens or permanent residents should be treated as spouses when it comes to immigration regulations
13 May 2002	Muir v Mutual and Federal Pension Fund	The Pensions Fund Adjudicator awards full pension benefits to the surviving same-sex partner of a deceased Mutual and Federal employee
25 July 2002	Satchwell v President of Republic of South Africa and another	The constitutional Court rules that the long-term same-sex partner of a judge should be entitled to the same pension payout as a judge's spouse
10 Sept. 2002	Du Tois and another v the Minister of Welfare and Population Development	The constitutional Court rules that same-sex couples should be allowed to adopt children
October 2002	J and B v Home Affairs	The constitutional Court rules that same-sex couples should be allowed to be registered as the parents of children born to one of them
19 Sept. 2003	Du Plessis v Road Accident Fund	The Supreme Court of Appeal determines that the heir in a same-sex life relationships has a right to recover funeral expenses expended by him
30 Nov. 2004	Fourie v Minister of Home Affairs	The Supreme Court of Appeal declares the common law of marriage unconstitutional, following an appeal by Marie Fourie and her partner Cecilia Bonthuys
8 Dec. 2005	Minister of Home Affairs and another v Fourie and another	The Constitutional Court endorses the Supreme Court of Appeal decision (30/11/04) that confirms the unconstitutionality of (1) common law definition of marriage; (2) current marriage formula. Such declarations are deemed invalid and suspended for 12 months from date of judgment, allowing Parliament to correct the defects.
30 Nov. 2006	Civic Union Act 17 of 2006	The Civic Union Act is signed into law by the Deputy President of South Africa, providing for the legal recognition of same-sex couples partnerships.

4. South Africa: contextualizing gender, sexuality, health and migration intersections

4.1. Studying sexualities after the 1990s: LGBTI issues and sexualities studies in (South) African context

It is recognized that the LGBT(I) sector in South Africa after the democratization of the 1990s and consequent dissolving the right-based rhetoric was deeply affected by the mobilization process against the HIV/AIDS pandemic which has been followed by “identity-based politics but also

incorporates rights struggle based on the Constitution” (Parker, Barbosa and Aggleton, 2000 quoted in van Zyl, 2005: 114). The discourse on HIV/AIDS has pushed forward some groups within the movement (MSM in particular) and has inevitably narrowed the approach towards health issues to STIs and HIV prevention.

Overall, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has forced a political, medical, and academic focus on sexuality in (South) Africa and has “brought sexuality into the limelight and into the international human rights framework through the door of ‘health’” (van Zyl, 2009: 376), “disrupting African cultural assumptions about the secrecy and privacy of sexual discourse” (Kraak, 1998 quoted in van Zyl, 2005:114). Moreover, as Sylvia Tamale re-configures the field of sexuality studies in Africa in light of the colonizing project, “with the global onslaught of HIV/AIDS and Africa as its epicenter, more researchers from the North flocked to the continent in a bid to find ways of curbing its spread, and in the process engendered a profound re-medicalisation of African sexualities” (Tamale, 2011: 17).

Sylvia Tamale (2011) maps out the areas of prevailing research on African sexualities including sexual violence, rape, reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, women’s rights driven topics around cultural practices related to polygyny, female circumcision, and female genital mutilation (Tamale, 2011: 16-22). She largely attributes this list to global North colonizing discourses and intentions. Nevertheless, if we look through the themes and areas of investigation in readers and volumes devoted to sexualities in (South) Africa in the course of last seven years (van Zyl and Steyn, 2005; Reddy, Sandfort and Rispel, 2009; Steyn and van Zyl, 2009; Obono, 2010; Tamale, 2011; Diesel, 2011) we would find that the discourse around African sexualities produced by African researchers is mostly embedded in Western categories and Western theories even while critiquing or re-configuring the latter.

These areas encompass:

- (1) analysis of policies around (same-sex) sexualities in (post)apartheid South Africa (Gardner, 2009; Reddy, 2009; van Zyl, 2009; Ratele, 2009; Sembler, 2009; Posel, 2011) with focus on HIV (Geffen et al., 2009; Rispel and Metcalf, 2009; Mkhize, 2009);
- (2) (re)construction of sexual identity politics (predominantly same-sex identities) and sexual behavioral attitudes (Diesel, 2011; Muthien, 2005; Potgieter, 2005; Leatt and Hendricks, 2005; Lane, 2009) with focus on HIV/AIDS agenda (Crawhall, 2005; Matebeni, 2009; de Swardt, 2009; Lane, 2009);
- (3) masculinities (Phillips, 2005; Rankhotha, 2005; Ratele, 2011; Ampofo and Boateng, 2011; Meiu, 2011; Niehaus, 2009);
- (4) gender-based and sexual violence (focus on women) (Artz, 2009; Akinwale, 2010; Nchogu, 2010; Njoroge, 2010);
- (5) sexuality, disabilities and ageing (Popplestone, 2009; Sait et al., 2011; Sait et al., 2009; Okiria, 2011; Thorton et al., 2009);
- (6) (re)configuring, (re)inventing and (re)defining methods within studies of African sexualities (Tamale, 2011; Gune and Manuel, 2011; Nyanzi, 2011) including educational space (Prah, 2011; Gqola, 2011; Aken’ova, 2011).

In general, I would suggest that over the last several years, the modus of sexualities studies in the (South) African context was marked by the critique of a Western knowledge paradigm (Tamale, 2011) and the search for new areas (as sexuality and spirituality, see for, example Part 8 in Tamale, 2011

and “Black Bull, Ancestors and Me. My Life as a Lesbian Sangoma” by Nkunzi Zandile Nkabinde). Educational spaces in South Africa have started being considered as crucial spaces for intervention pertaining to sexual politics and prevention of gender-based violence (see Part 9 in Tamale, 2011 and ACMS internship findings described previously). Gender-based violence reconfigured considerably over the last years by LGBT activists as ‘hate crimes’ against black lesbians and transgender men (Human Rights Watch, 2011) channeled discourse around sexuality in the domain of human rights, identity politics and to certain extent back to HIV/AIDS concerns.

Transgender and intersex communities have been left outside of mainstream publications on African sexualities, except for a brief introduction to the complexity of LGBT term in Theron’s article on accessibility of shelters for LGBT people in Cape Town (2010) and scarce mention in three articles (two on intersex and one on transgender issues) in “African Sexualities. A Reader” (2011) limited to three personal stories without any theoretical framework (Kaggwa, 2011; Gross, 2011; Mbugua, 2011). These three articles occupy 16 out of 656 pages in the volume. Two works on transgender and intersex issues in South Africa has to be mentioned, MA thesis defended in Durban by Dhai (2000) on gender reassignment surgery, medical procedures and its legal consequences, and Klein’s (2009) article on transgender and intersex activism in South Africa. Although none of these works address migrations issues and none of them is published in volumes represented current state of African sexuality studies.

4.2. Mapping migration patterns and migration studies’ priorities in South Africa

South Africa has been associated with particular historical and contemporary patterns. Before I outline a specific South African context pertaining to migration movement, I would like to summarize briefly definitions of mobile groups (Table 3). It has to be noticed that the categorization offered below can be re-configured based on other categories (voluntarily vs. forced migrants, for examples). Moreover, mobile groups are not closed and rigid: the categories might be interlinked and overlapped in particular cases, and a migrant can move among the categories. Thus, for example, a cross-border migrant can be at the same time a trafficked person; later she/he can become an asylum seekers and obtain a status of refugee.

Table 3. Definitions for mobile groups (based on Zimmerman et al., 2011: 3)

Migrant Category	Definition
Cross border migrants	Individuals who have crossed the border during the migration process and are now present within a country other than her/his place of birth
Internal migrants	Individuals who move within the borders of a country, usually measured across regional, district, or municipal boundaries, resulting in a change of usual place of residence
Irregular migrants (or undocumented/illegal migrants)	Individuals who enter a country, often in search of employment, without the required documents or permits, or who overstay the authorized length of stay in the country
Trafficked persons	Individuals who are coerced, tricked, or forced into situations in which their bodies or labor are exploited, which may occurred across international border or within their own country
Cross border labor migrants	Individuals engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national, including persons legally admitted as a migrant

	for employment
Internally displaced persons	Individuals who have been forced to leave their homes or place of habitual residence, in particular, as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violation of human rights, or natural or man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an international borders
Refugees	Individuals who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, are outside the country of their nationality, and are unable to, or owing to such fear, are unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country or return because of fear of persecution
Asylum-seekers	Individuals who have sought international protection and whose claims for refugee status have not been determined
Stateless persons	Individuals not considered as citizens of any state under national law. Covers de jure and de facto stateless persons, including persons who are unable establish their nationality. Stateless persons may or may not be migrants
Tourists	Individuals travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year and whose main purpose of visit is other than work
International students	Individuals admitted by a country other than their own, usually under special permits or visas, for the specific purpose of following a particular course of study in an accredited institution of the receiving country

South Africa has a very specific context and history of “racially based government interventions in the movement and settlement patterns of its own people and those from other countries in the region” (Wentzel and Tlabela, 2004, quoted in Kok and Collinson, 2006: 1). The Natives Land Act 1913 regulated the acquisition of land by "natives", i.e. black people, by limiting land ownership by them to 7% of the land area of South Africa. The Native Trust and Land Act in 1936 enlarged this number to approximately 13.6%, the black population at this time comprised about 61%. The black people had the right to be tenant farmers restricted to white owners which meant their right allowed them to live on farms owned by whites and work for the latter as (the black) employees. The Act forced many black people to look for salaried employment outside of their families at the farms of the whites and the industrial urban centers. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act in 1946 (known as the Ghetto Act) confined Asian ownership and occupation of land to certain clearly defined areas of towns. The Act had enormous impact on Indian commercial and economic life and finally forced Asians to live in over-crowded slums and locations.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 formed the core of apartheid policy and made residential racial separation compulsory curbing the movements of the non-Whites, in particular Blacks, from rural areas into the cities and Whites-only areas. The Act assigned racial groups to the specific areas where these population groups could own property, reside and work. The government established semi-urban townships for Black, Indian and Coloured population groups. It caused many non-Whites to cover large distances from their homes in order to work. The Population Registration Act of 1950 racially classified South African population in three categories: White, Black or Coloured. As a result of this Act Blacks were forced to carry pass books (“dompas”), which had their fingerprints, photo

and information to enter the 'white' areas. In 1991 The Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act repealed many of the apartheid laws that imposed race-based restrictions on land ownership, land use and mobility.

Taking into account this very specific history and context of migration patterns in apartheid South Africa, the focus of migration research in the 1970s and 1980s was around the system of migrant labour which traced to the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 (Posel, 2003: 1).

The end of apartheid was marked by the opening of cities to non-white South Africans. There was an assumption that circular internal migration associated with restrictive legislation would cease in 1990s and people in a post-apartheid South Africa would migrate permanently and settle rather than continue circular labour migration patterns of previous decades. Nevertheless, during the 1990s circular labor migration did not end and did not even decline (Posel, 2003). Moreover, in 2000s 'circular' or 'oscillating' migration is still the predominant mode of movement in southern Africa (Lurie, 2010: 650).

Despite the actual migration patterns, the attention of researchers in post-apartheid South Africa has shifted from issues of labour migration to concerns around immigration driven by pressing political agenda. This shift occurs in the rise of research done on cross-border migrants rather than internal movers (Posel, 2003: 4-6). Investigation of internal migrants during last two decades has been channeled into two strands. First approach looks at (non-)settlement patterns of internal migrants with concomitant link to the urbanization taking place in South Africa (Vaughan, 1997; Todes, 2001; Kok and Collinson, 2006; Landau et al., 2011). Second – more current trend – explores internal mobility in the context of HIV transmission and prevention (Lurie, 2010; Vearey et al., 2010; Nunez et al., 2010).

The statistics show that there many more internal migrants than cross border ones in South Africa. Thus, according to the South African Census 2011 only 7.4 per cent of people in Gauteng province were not born in South African (cross-border migrants) while 44 per cent of Gauteng population was moved from other provinces (internal migrants). The general attitude during the last decade has been to include internal migrants while categorizing the types of migrants and/or discussing (local) government responses and policies (Jolly and Reeves, 2005; Vearey, Wheeler, and Jurgen-Bleeker, 2010; Vearey and Nunez, 2010; Landau et al., 2011), but keep strong focus on cross-border mobility and related urgent issues. As a result in popular discourse migration in South African context continues to be incorrectly associated with cross-border movement, the assumption which is also presented in ACMS internship findings described above.

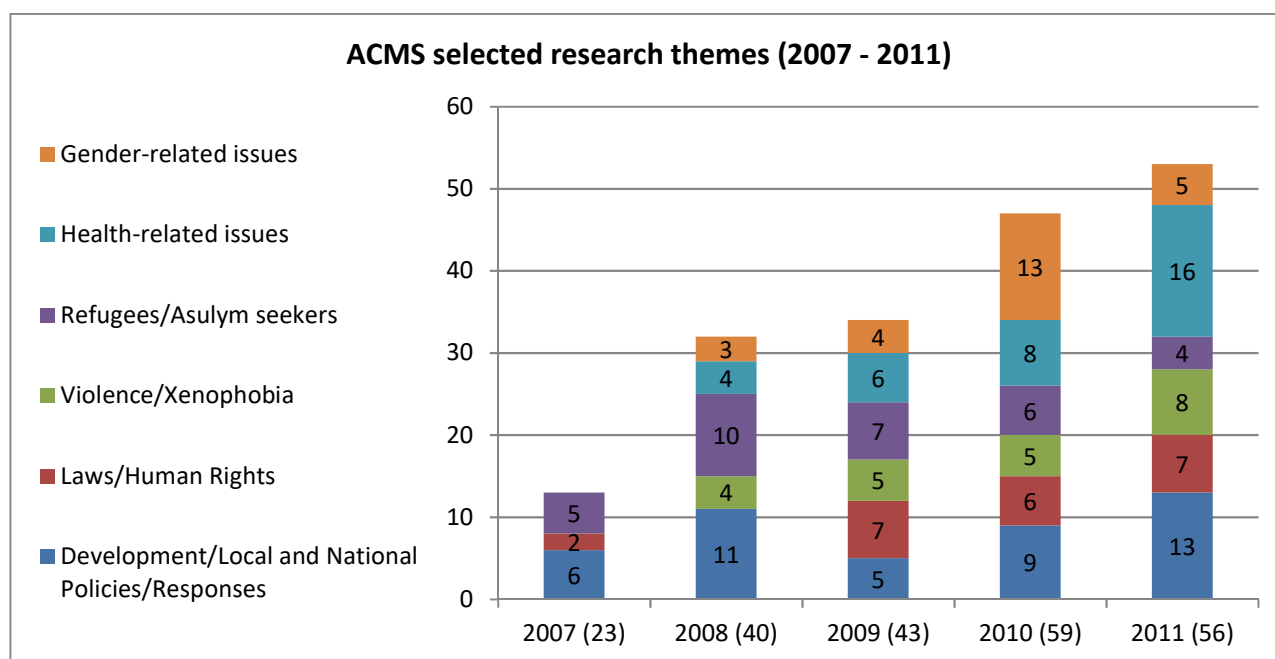
4.2.1. Dynamic of research areas in migration studies in post-apartheid South Africa: case of ACMS, Johannesburg (2007-2011)

The following analysis of the list of publications of the African Centre for Migration & Society (former Forced Migration Studies Program) at the University of Witwatersrand traces the dynamic of research areas over the last five years, and - more importantly - on the way areas of research have been discursively shaped¹⁵. The limitations of the analysis have to be acknowledged: (1) analysis is

¹⁵ For the analysis only scholarly articles and reports written on South African-related issues and presented in English were taken into account. Therefore, radio podcasts and articles in non-academic journals were excluded, though they

restricted to particular institution and its dynamic that might be influenced by universities policies and other factors; (2) in most cases every research area is represented by set of researchers who are focused on the area, therefore the analysis might lack diversity of authors; finally, (3) some areas are actually intersect (HIV and policies; women and refugees) and therefore to locate certain publications under one particular theme implies amount of simplification and might result in slight miscalculation. Nevertheless, taking into account all 'aberrations' the ACMS publication list does represent landscape of migration studies within ACMS and does reflect a set of tendencies within this field in South African context.

Table 4. ACMS (selected) research themes (2007 – 2010)¹⁶



The majority of publications focus on **cross-border migrants**. Particular attention has been drawn on **refugees and asylum seekers** in broader context of scrutinizing procedures and laws and on Zimbabweans as a group of migrants which requires a special policy response. Publications directly tackling refugee/asylum-related issues make up 21 per cent of overall publications in 2007 (5 out of 23) and 25 per cent in 2008 (10/40). During following years explicitly refugee/asylum-oriented themes has been dropped to 16 per cent in 2009 (7/43), 10 per cent in 2010 (6/59) and 7 per cent in 2011 (4/56) (see Table 3).

After the xenophobic attacks in May 2008¹⁷, the themes of **violence and xenophobia** have occupied part of the rhetoric around migration issues. In 2004 there is only one publication on 'inhospitality'

usually replicated mainstream tendencies in the academic works. The list of publications from 2007 till 2011 was analysed characterized by a gradual increase in publications: 23 in 2007, 39 in 2008, 42 in 2009, and 59 and 56 in 2010 and 2011 respectively. Period from 2000 till 2006 was not included as there were less than 20 publications per year. The list of publications for 2012 is still not completed.

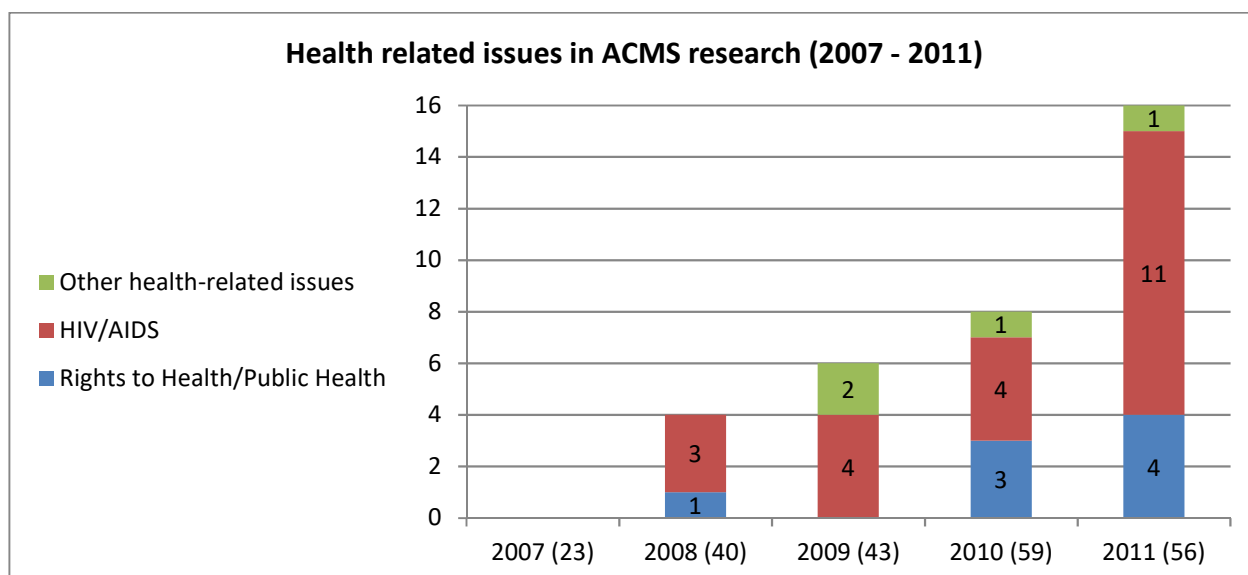
¹⁶ In all table regarding ACMS research theme number near the year of publication (horizontal axis) refers to the total amount of publications for the year; numbers in columns indicate actual number (not per cents) of articles devoted to each of the themes.

¹⁷ On 12 May 2008 a series of xenophobic attacks started in the township of Alexandra, the north-eastern part of Johannesburg, when locals attacked migrants from Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe. The violence then spread to other areas in and around Johannesburg, including Cleveland, Diepsloot, Hillbrow, Tembisa, Primrose, Ivory Park and Thokoza. The attacks in KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and Cape Town followed. The xenophobic violence erupted in May 2008 left more than 60 people died and tens of thousands people displaced.

(Landau, 2004) and no articles voicing concerns around ‘violence and xenophobia’ till 2008 when this theme started strengthening from 10 per cent of all publications in 2008 and 2010 and 12 and 14 per cent in 2009 and 2011 respectively (see Table 3).

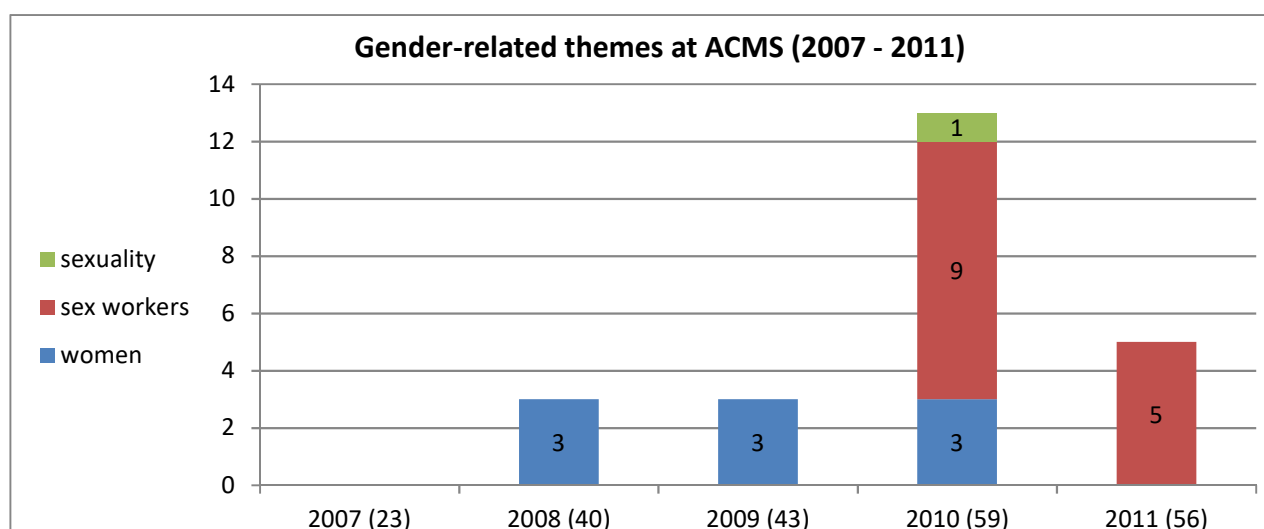
One of the mainstream strands in ACMS publications has been devoted to those discursively framed as **development issues and local/national policies and responses**. These framework encompass usually broader scope of themes around HIV, sex workers and refugees, but even if we exclude those themes and take into account only articles devoted to general analysis of ‘migration management’, the latter comprise 26 per cent (6/23) and 27 per cent (11/40) in 2007 and 2008 respectively with marked drop in 2009 (12 per cents or 5/43) and gradual rise in following years from 15 per cent (9/59) in 2010 to 23 per cent (13/56) in 2011 (see Table 3). Publications tackling migration through perspective of law and human rights might be considered as closely related to the area of local/national policies; as it is shown in the Table 3 law- and human rights-related topics are persistently present.

Table 5. Health-related issues in ACMS research (2007 – 2011)



There has been a gradual rise of publications related to **health issues** with concomitant emerging and strengthening theme of HIV/AIDS *program responses* which in fact connects health-oriented research with those focused on development and local/national policies discussed above. In 2008 health-related concerns emerged among the ACMS publications counting 4 out of 40 (10 per cent), rising in 2009 and 2010 up to 14 per cent (6/43 and 8/59 respectively), and picked in 2011 up to 28,5 per cent (16/56). Interestingly, 22 out of these 34 articles have been devoted strictly to HIV/AIDS (65 per cent) and 12 to other health-related issues mostly with focus on psychosocial and health rights, public health issues (where HIV/AIDS is always present concern) and mental health (see Table 4).

Table 6. Gender-related issues in ACMS research (2007 – 2011)



Finally, gender-related topics are absent in 2007 and scarcely presented in 2008 and 2009 years by 3 articles or 7 per cent for each year. In 2010 there is general increase of publications around gender concerns with 13 articles out of 59 (22 per cent) (see Table 3), though it has to be mentioned that this increase is due nine publications on sex work(ers) (see Table 5). In 2011 five articles out of 56 (9 per cent) which may fall under category of gender-related all deal with sex work(ers). There is only one article (Palmary, 2010) focus on (female) sexuality. Therefore, gender is represented predominantly as woman-oriented approach with gradually emerging area of research on sex workers (see Table 5).

In general, over last five years the main research strands at ACMS show the tendency to be largely shaped by drastic urbanization, challenges posed by HIV/AIDS in South Africa, and policy development and policy responses to cross-border migration in its different forms and implications. The ACMS follows the general trend as it was mentioned above to include internal migrants while categorizing the types of migrants and/or discussing (local) government responses and policies (Jolly and Reeves, 2005; Vearey, Wheeler, and Jurgen-Bleeker, 2010; Vearey and Nunez, 2010; Landau et al., 2011), but keep strong focus on cross-border mobility and related urgent issues.

4.3. Health, sexuality and migration in post-apartheid South African context: discourse around HIV/AIDS

If one asks to pinpoint the area that coherently encompasses and ties together health, sexuality and migration in the South African context it would undoubtedly be the discourse around HIV/AIDS.

HIV/AIDS discourse linked to migration and broader national concerns is prevalent over other health-related issues in South Africa (for example, Vearey, 2008, 2011(a), 2011(b); Vearey et al., 2009; McCarthy et al., 2009; Bateman, 2010; Richter et al., 2010; Nunez et al., 2011; Vearey et al., 2011; Tomas et al., 2011). As Deane et al. claim, public health literature with a social epidemiological approach tends to picture migration as linked to risky sexual practices making therefore migration a key driver of HIV/AIDS epidemic (Deane et al., 2010: 1458). Popular discourse in the South African context assumes that migrants – especially cross-border ones – spread diseases and moving to seek

access to medical services, including search to access antiretroviral therapy for HIV/AIDS (Vearey, 2011: 123; Vearey and Nunez, 2010: 6-7).

These assumptions overlook (a) the complex nature of migration and heterogeneity of the processes seen as 'mobility' (Deane et al., 2010: 1459); (b) the socioeconomic and political context of migration which increases health risk of migrants rather than migration per se (Vearey, 2011: 122); (c) prevalent attitude among migrants to return home should they become too sick to work (Vearey et al., 2009; Vearey, 2011); and (d) implications that migration has on attitudes and life strategies of those who stay at home (Lurie, 2006). Internal migrants as a reference group are included in the debates around health and migration in the South African context, characterized by diverse patterns of migration when in fact, "internal migration is taking place at higher levels than cross-border migration" (Vearey and Nunez, 2010: 17). Internal migration draws attention of researchers pertaining to HIV transmission in the frame of return migration, urban-rural linkages and bi-directionality of HIV transmission (Lurie, 2006; Nunez et al., 2010; Vearey et al., 2011). Nevertheless, the general approach to internal (as well as cross-border) migration regarding health issues remains predominantly in the domain of investigation around "bureaucratic and planning mechanisms", "development issues", public health rhetoric and policy responses (Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2009; Vearey, 2010; Vearey and Nunez, 2010).

Research exploring how migration and health are intertwined and interrelated (with focus on HIV/AIDS) are implicitly based on heteronormative assumptions around notions of 'sexual behaviors', 'home' and 'family' when, for example, 'partner' is considered of one of opposite sex (Lurie, 2006). On the other hand, new trends in the research areas pertaining to health and migration has brought to attention trafficking framework and sex workers as target group (Oliveira, 2011; Richter and Monson, 2010; Richter and Massawe, 2010) which has a potential in future to widen investigation into terrains beyond heteronormative matrix with focus on transgender and male sex workers. Though the danger of pathologization and victimization while addressing 'special' needs of 'vulnerable' groups are always there and has to be taken into critical consideration in research interlinking health, sexuality and migration.

Thus, Desmond Tutu HIV foundation's report (2011) with regard to HIV in South Africa and the National Plan for HIV/AIDS, STIs and TB (2012-2016) mentioned six categories of 'key populations' (i.e. vulnerable groups) – men who have sex with men, sex workers, injecting drug users, prisoners, migrant populations, transgender people (Scheibe et al., 2010). On the one hand, the discourse on 'key population' opens the door for the groups who experience lack of sociopolitical mechanisms to exercise their rights and fulfill their needs. A 'key population' framework allows building up strategies for advocacy and access to medical services, in particular in a broader perspective of the National Plan for HIV/AIDS, STIs and TB (2012-2016). On the other hand, even if we acknowledge the positive affect of this discourse on agency of six categorized groups, there are at least three troubling moments in this sort of approach. First of all, the very mechanism of categorization and putting together in one slot 'problematic' populations is based on the logic of medicalization and pathologization. This mechanism does also produce and reinforce certain subjects and subsequently does fuel identity politics making individuals which are considered to be protected visible and manageable (Foucault, 1998). Secondly, one-focus approach working along the line of health and key populations risks ignoring more complex intersections among the categories. Does it address particular needs of transgender people being internal migrants, or male migrant ending up selling sex and identifying as MSM, or migrant female sex worker starting drug use as a coping strategy and identifying as lesbian? Finally, Desmond Tutu HIV foundation's report (as in fact any kind of report with focus on policies and responses and financed by (inter)national bodies) represents a

governmental practice by constituting specific individuals and groups 'as a problem in need of a particular policy response' (Gray 2006: 121). Interestingly, that the report reveals inherent hierarchy within these 'vulnerable' groups when transgender people receive the least attention ostensibly due to lack of statistics and research having been done.

5. Global Trends, or What Does Gender Mainstreaming Mean?

This section aims to put the South African local context regarding (non)intersections of discourses around LGBTI, sexuality, health and migration in global perspective. The analysis of 'gender mainstreaming' happening globally in the domain of migration studies, asylum policies and western medical discourses will help to summarize the key issues discovered while reviewing literature for the research proposal in more solid and coherent way.

5.1. Gender in Migration studies

Since the mid-1990s gender as an analytical category within the field of migration studies has been gradually deployed. Starting from the mid-1980s but mostly from the 1990s feminization of migration as a phenomena became a part of academic discourse and migration research with scholars having begun to focus their studies on migrant women. Female migrants appeared mostly as workers occupied with domestic work (caregivers and housekeepers), informal work in a low-skilled sectors and services (maids, waitresses, packers), and criminalized sectors, including the sex industry (Piper, 2003; Satterthwaite, 2005; Oishi, 2005; Harzig and Dirk, 2009; De Regt, 2010).

The Social Science Research Council's Working Group on Gender and Migration (Donato et al, 2006) claims that "gender analysis is no longer exclusively limited to the analysis of families, households, or women's lives <...> the entire migration process is perceived as a gendered phenomenon <when scholars> analyze gender in the lives of both female and male migrants, in the politics and governance of migration, in the workplaces of immigrants, in neoliberal or welfare state policies toward migration or foreign-born populations, in diasporas, and even in the capitalist world system" (Donato et al, 2006: 6). It is true that gender as an analytical lens is taking its place among other theoretical frameworks within migration studies. Although the way gender is interpreted in this process of gender mainstreaming does not leave room for complacency. Gender analysis in migration studies tends to be largely reduced to women-centered approach mirroring second wave feminist's stand to 'add' women within male-dominant disciplines and institutions. Thus, the BRIDGE¹⁸ report on gender and migration is based on woman-man dichotomy while analyzing gendered causes and impacts of migration and reviewing international rights framework with focus on rights of migrants, women, refugees and displaced persons and trafficking framework (Jolly and Reeves, 2005).

For being precise in defining 'female migrants' who have appeared as an analytical category of the migration research two coexisting discursive practices around sex workers in the field of migration studies have to be mentioned: (a) the discursive exclusion of sex workers from the broader field of migration studies (Agustin, 2006) and (b) the discursive inclusion of sex workers in the trafficking framework (Human Rights Council, 2010; Ascola, 2009). These discursive shifts have had their

¹⁸ BRIDGE is a specialised gender and development research and information service within the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), UK, set up in 1992.

negative consequences for sex workers including the impact on the right on health (Agustin, 2006; Human Rights Council, 2010; Stadler and Delany, 2006). The *protective* “trafficking framework” has been severely criticized by some researcher, for example, Heli Askola in her article “‘Awkward Aliens’: Female Migrants, Exploitation and the Trafficking Framework” argues that “it seems clear that trafficking has become a storage place for many contemporary anxieties which have little to do with the welfare of migrant women per se. Measures against ‘trafficking’ have such political purchase in part because the concept itself is in many ways an empty vessel” (Askola, H., 2009: 167).

A special issue of the International Migration Review (Vol.40, No.1, Spring 2006) called Gender and Migration Revised provides an overview of the role gender has played in migration (studies) across wide range of disciplines: ethnography, historiography, law, psychology, political science, sociology. Most of the articles draw on feminist perspective within respective areas and therefore in vast majority cases equate gender analysis with women-centered approach. Thus, Nicola Piper (2006) claiming the relevance of gender analysis to ‘politics of migration’ states that “men and women in sending countries may be differently affected by political change or policies, resulting in gender patterns of migration, <...> and policies that affect the integration of migrants into receiving societies may also affect men and women differently” (Piper, 2010: 133-134). Gender in historiography is also represented through women’s history services and rising attention towards feminization of migration, trafficking framework, woman’s vulnerability and familial relationships (Sinke, 2006).

Nevertheless, within this feminist-driven approach there are several striking moments in this volume opening new perspective on the potential powerful use of gender within migration studies.

Firstly, self-reflective position of scholars pertaining to acknowledgment of the limitation posed by their disciplinary fields to operationalize gender within oversimplified binary opposition. This is the case in Calavita’s critical investigation into gender, migration, and law (Calavita, 2006): “their implicit adoption of the male/female binary (with the exception of the postmodernists), at a time when many social scientists had begun to recognize gender as procession. <...> While subjective or performative gender identities may be fluid and contingent, those who study law usually focus on gender as a dichotomous sociolegal construction” (Calavita, 2006: 106). Secondly, there is a ‘queer’ potential in more nuanced understanding of the gendered nature of the migration process offered by feminist geographies with their insights into “the gender dimensions of the social construction of scale, the politics of interlinkages between place and identity, and the socio-spacial production of borders” (Silvey, 2006: 66). Finally, Manalansan voices the urgent need to ‘queer’ migration studies not only by adding sexuality and homosexuals in particular into the discipline, but rather deploy “a political and theoretical perspective that suggests that sexuality is disciplined by social institutions and practices that normalize and naturalize heterosexuality and heterosexual practices including marriage, family, and biological reproduction by marginalizing persons, institutions, or practices that deviate from these norms” (Manalasan, 2006: 225). Though it has to be mentioned that theoretical framework in the article is much promising than empirical examples; the latter use queer referring predominantly to gay and lesbian identities reinforcing the same binary dichotomy that the article meant to thwart with.

The collection “Gender and Migration. Feminist interventions” published in 2010 deserves a special attention by bringing together points of view of ex-colonial and ex-colonized subjects. Most of the articles in the volume are written by British and South African scholars and mostly focused on British and South African cases giving north-to-south perspective to the field of “gender and migration”

studies¹⁹. Although editors in the introduction put clearly that “rather than understanding gender as a synonym of ‘women’ [they] seek to analyze gendered positioning within normative discourses” (Palmary et al., 2010: 2) most articles are still devoted to women’s issues. ‘Gender’ remains predominantly the concept ‘occupied’ by women even taken into account seminal deconstruction of the meaning of ‘home’ and middle-class understanding of ‘marriage as love’ by Ingrid Palmary (Palmary, 2010) and revision of ‘personal vs. political’ binary by Julie Middleton (Middleton, 2010). There is still no place for broader understanding of sexuality and inclusion of ‘queer others’ in gender continuum which is reduced to ‘woman’ and sometimes to ‘man’ in ‘gender and migration’ intersection(s).

In the mid-2000s a set of research on the intersection of sexuality and migration started appearing. During the last decade the tendencies mentioned above got reflected in scholarly works addressing issues of sexuality and mobility. Therefore majority of the research have been devoted to:

(1) trafficking framework (with focus on women, children, and sex industry) (Elabor-Idemudia, 2003; Goodey, 2004; Samarasinghe and Burton, 2007; Askola, 2009; Palmary, 2010; Gould, 2010; Middleton, 2010; Jureidini, R. 2010; Richter and Monson, 2010)

(2) sexual orientation in refugee law and asylum claims (with focus on lesbian and gay refugees) (Goodman, 1995; Mullins, 2003; McGhee, 2003; Hanna, 2005; Marouf, 2008; Grower, 2011; Spijkerboer, 2012); and

(3) gay and lesbian cross-border migrants (Luiheid, 1998; Hazeldean and Betz, 2003; Pena, 2007; Acosta, 2008; McDevitt-Pugh, 2011).

The majority of the research has been based on US material. Little work has been done on transgender migration (Howe et al, 2008), sexual displacement (Martinez-San Migual, 2011); none of the research to my knowledge has been undertaken on intersex migrants.

Therefore, intersections between sexuality and migration remains under researched area with a variety of topics to be explored around the role that sexuality and desire play at all stages of the migration process (Manalansan, 2006), the fluidity of sexuality and desire which can be transformed by an individual’s movement (Donato et al., 2006: 18), implications, challenges, and forms of agency one’s sex, sexuality, gender identity as socially constructed, culturally situated and geographically relational phenomena can pose with regard to mobility. Transgender and intersex migrants have been left as the most invisible and marginalized group in the field of migration studies.

5.2. Gender and Refugee Law and Policy

Looking at gender and migration with regard to asylum and refugee laws and practices, a similar transition of ‘gender’ – from women toward sexuality and gender identity – can be pinpointed in the process of “gender mainstreaming” in refugee law and policy.

¹⁹ There are two articles devoted to Greek case study (Alezandra Zavos “Gender, migration and anti-racist politics in the continued project of the nation” (pp.15-30) and Stavros N. Psaroudakis “An arm hanging in mid-air: a discussion on immigrant men and impossible relationships in Greece” (pp.196-214)) and one article is analyzing massive displacement in Venezuela after massive floods in December 1999 (Isabel Rodriguez Mora “Re-housing trouble: post-disaster reconstruction and exclusionary strategies in Venezuela” (pp.180-195)), but all three articles have been written by scholars assigned at Manchester Metropolitan University.

Alice Edwards (2010) traces five historical periods of feminist engagement with international refugee law and policy: (1) complete exclusion of women (1950-1985); (2) focus on women as a specific group with special needs (1985 – present); (3) “gender mainstreaming” as “mainstreaming women” (1997 – 2004); (4) “age, gender and diversity mainstreaming” where diversity refers to racial, ethnic, and class diversity but not to sexual orientation or gender identity (2004 – present); and (5) mainstreaming refugee men and boys (2009 – present) (Edwards, 2010: 22, 39).

The shift toward sexual orientation and gender identity within the field of international human rights and refugee laws has occurred very recently, being manifested in UNHCR guidance note on refugee claims relating to sexual orientation and gender identity (2008), UN General Assembly Statement on Human Rights, Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (2008), UNHCR guidance on working with LGBTI persons in forced displacement (2011), UNHR’s report on sexual orientation and gender identity in international human rights law (UNHR, 2012).

Given the importance of attention to and recognition of sexual orientation and gender identity in refugee law and policy, it has to be emphasized that while ostensibly prioritizing LGBTI refugees and asylum seekers (though this priority looks more as a political rhetoric than actual practice on the ground) other types of LGBTI migrants, for example, internal LGBTI migrants remain overlooked.

5.3. Western Medical Discourse: LGBTI and the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)

A short note on the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) and “gender mainstreaming” within it has to be made.

Homosexuality was diagnosed in the DSM as an illness until 1973. The conditions pertaining to homosexuality were entirely removed in 1987 when depathologisation of gay/lesbian/bisexual (LGB) individuals finally happened. In 2012 the newest edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, DSM-5, replaced the diagnostic term “Gender Identity Disorder” with the term “Gender Dysphoria” for transgender individuals. This removed the stigma from transgender persons associated with the concept of disorder but left a recognized medical condition for them to access treatment. In the same addition of DSM-5 intersex individuals were included under the newly invented diagnosis of gender incongruence, labeling intersex children with stigmatized diagnosis of gender identity disorder (see DSM-5 Development: 302.6 Gender Identity Disorder in Children).

This development of the DSM shows particular dynamic of mainstreaming LGB components followed by the recent depathologization of T-people while marginalizing intersex conditions. This logic of ‘gender mainstreaming’ within medical knowledge production and health-related practices pertaining to LGBTI individuals reveals existing discrepancies within an ostensibly coherent and holistic LGBTI acronym. These tensions between “LGB” and “TI”, but also most importantly between “T” and “I” must be taken into account while conducting research in the field of LGBTI and migration.

III. Conclusion

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to highlight the key findings based on this review of the literature. The outcomes of the literature review are interlinked with the internship findings described above; they strengthen justification for the research on transgender and intersex internal migrants in Johannesburg to be undertaken.

(1) **Neither LGBTI activism nor sexuality studies in South Africa address migration as a crucial variable** which is influenced by and in turn affect sexualities and gender subjectivities. The main focus for LGBTI activism and sexuality studies remains on identity politics, gender-based violence, and analysis and implementation of existing laws and policies.

(2) In turn, **migration studies in the South African context failed to include sexuality and in particular LGBTI-related issues in the agenda**. Overall, migration studies in South Africa are shaped by policy development and policy responses to cross-border migration in its different forms and implications (including HIV/AIDS responses and urbanization). This situation replicates patterns which can be seen in global 'gender mainstreaming' when 'gender' remains being reduced to women-related issues being embedded in heteronormative matrix and addressed through trafficking framework and/or 'sensitive' gender approach in refugee laws and policies regarding 'women and children' and 'men and boys'.

(3) **Health needs within LGBTI activism, sexuality studies and migration studies are largely shaped by HIV/AIDS concerns which overshadows other health-related issues** and narrows 'health needs' to the anxiety about HIV/AIDS pandemic.

(4) **Internal migration is implicitly present in migration studies and explicitly excluded from sexuality studies and the scene of LGBTI activism in South Africa**. Migration studies ostensibly including internal migrants while discussing (local) government responses and policies keeps strong focus on cross-border mobility and related urgent issues.

(5) **In LGBTI activism, sexuality studies and migration studies in the South African context transgender and intersex issues receive little attention if any**. Therefore, transgender and intersex concerns remain deeply marginalized within broader discourses on migration and sexuality and within debates around LGB(TI) issues. This situation in fact mirrors the imbalance anchored in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) when 'gender mainstreaming' means gradual normalization homosexuality, partial de-pathologization of transgenderism and following pathologization of intersex issues.

In sum, in the research areas where migration studies are interlinked and interrelated with sexualities studies and health issues there is a need for broader understanding of all three components:

- Rethinking 'health needs' as concerns beyond the HIV/AIDS pandemic;
- Brining back mobility within the country i.e. internal migration as relevant to issues of migration studies, sexuality studies, LGBTI activism and health-related research;

- Re-considering sexuality and gender identity as issues beyond female/male binary and same-sex sexual acts and behaviors; focusing on underrepresented transgender and intersex issues to discover in migration studies, sexuality studies, health-related research and LGBTI activism areas potentially spreading beyond normative understanding of 'transition' and heteronormative binary matrix of orientation and identities.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1. List of Johannesburg-based LGBT(I) organizations compiled during the internship at ACMS (August – December 2012)²⁰

No	Name/year of founding	Aim(s)	Interviews
LGBTIQ Archives			
1	Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA) (1997)	GALA is the only LGBTI archive in the continent: “important centre for queer culture and education in Africa”. GALA aims to entrench human rights and mainstream LGBT narratives, to create and disseminate knowledge about LGBTI rights.	Gabriel Hoosain Khan, archivist; 04 October, 2012 Anthony Manion, director; 05 October, 2012
2	Iranti-Org: Queer Vernaculars Visual Narratives (2012)	Iranti-Org is a queer human rights visual media organization working within a human rights framework as its foundational platform for raising issues on Gender, Identities and Sexuality. Iranti-Org aims to use media as a key platform for lobbying, advocacy and educational interventions across Africa. Through the use of various visual mediums such as videos, photography, audio recording, among others, Iranti-Org sets itself as an archive of Queer memory in ways that destabilize numerous modes of discrimination based on gender, sexuality and sexual orientation.	not conducted
Lesbian organizations/networks			
3	Forum for the Empowerment of Women (FEW) (2002)	FEW aims to articulate, advance, protect rights of black lesbian women; to empower black lesbians and create a safe space for them.	Zoleka Luswazi, director; 17 October, 2012
4	The Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL) (2003)	CAL is a network of over 30 LGBTI organizations in 19 countries in Africa committed to advancing the rights of lesbian and bisexual women and transdiverse people. CAL is a feminist activist organization committed to working within a framework of movement building. CAL views itself as part of social movement, including the women's movement, the sexual and reproductive rights movement and the economic justice movement.	not conducted
Representatives of international organizations			
5	Amnesty International South Africa (AISA) (1991)	Amnesty International South Africa (AISA) as a part of Amnesty International worldwide movement aims to promote the respect of human rights, to report violations, to lobby and advocate where the violations have been identified, to hold the South African government accountable in making sure that the rights of all in South Africa are fulfilled without discrimination	Jacqueline Khumalo, Campaign Coordinator; 17 October, 2012
6	Pan Africa: International Gay and Lesbian Association (Pan Africa ILGA) (2007)	Pan Africa ILGA is a federation of 72 member LGBTI organizations in Africa aiming to assist these organizations with their work and agendas mainly through lobbying and advocating actions. One of the main aims currently is to lobby for change in African countries for decriminalization of homosexuality	Apinda Mpako, Coordinator; 17 October, 2012
Women-oriented organizations			
7	1in9 Campaign (2006)	One in Nine Campaign is a South African collective of organizations and individuals motivated by feminist principles and the desire to live in a society where	Carrie Shelper, Leading Activist; 05 November, 2012

²⁰ The detailed list (i.e. with address; phone/fax; e-mail; web-site; personal contacts; areas of activities; link to migration) is available at ACMS via Dr. Jo Vearey.

		women are the agents of their own life, including their sexual lives. The Campaign aims (1) to support survivors of sexual violence; (2) to apply pressure on various branches of the criminal justice system to ensure that officials comply with existing laws and policies; (3) to generate feminist analyses of social problems; (4) to target the South African government for its failure to protect the rights of women and other female-born people and force it to fulfil its mandates and responsibilities; (5) to develop innovative strategies for mobilisation and mass action.	
8	People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) (1979)	POWA aims to eradicate or reduce violence against women. [Violence is understood as rape, domestic violence; emotional, physical, financial and sexual abuse in the family but also broader in the community]	Nhlanhla Mokwena, Executive Director; 06 November, 2012
Health-oriented organizations			
9	Sexual Health and Rights Initiative South Africa (SHARISA) (2011)	SHARISA aims (1) to bring different sectors together and lead the development of young leaders in sexual health and rights issues; (2) to develop more coherent sector that could advocate and improve implementation; (3) to raise the profile of sexual health and rights within the sector; (4) to shift social norm and social understanding in the communities	Betsi Pendry, Director; 23 October, 2012
10	Health4Men (2008)	Health4Men is an innovative project addressing men's diverse sexual health needs through free medical and psychosocial services specifically designed for men. In particular, our services are aimed at vulnerable and marginalised groupings of men, including MSM (men who have sex with men, irrespective of whether they are gay or not), youth, commercial sex workers and men from disadvantaged communities.	not conducted
Student and university-based organizations			
11	Pillars of Conscious (P.O.C.) (2012)	Pillars of Conscious is a student organization at Johannesburg Central College that aims to promote, protect and advocate LGBTI rights at Campuses at Johannesburg Central College, and to bring awareness about LGBTI people.	Baatile Moe Selepe, President; 15 October, 2012
12	Kaleidoscope Youth Network (2009)	Kaleidoscope is a youth network of 17 student-run organizations/societies in South Africa envisioning world without LGBTIQ prejudice. [Youth: people 18 - 32 years old]	Tish White, Executive; 09 October, 2012
13	UJ Liberati	UJLiberati aims to promote awareness and equality, to offer education and understanding of sexuality in the student society and promote a non-hate environment for all students.	not conducted
14	ACTIVATE at Wits	ACTIVATE is a student organization at Wits aiming "to unify gay people at Wits and speak on behalf of gay people", to bring activism and raise awareness about LGBTI issues, to make LGBT community comfortable at Wits. Target group is LGBTI Wits students including post-graduate ones.	Dumi Msibi, President; 27 October, 2012
15	SafeZones@Wits (2011)	Program SafeZones@Wits aims to create safe spaces at Wits for LGBTIA staff and students. Program has been created within the Transformation Office at Wits.	Ella Kotze, Program Coordinator; 24 October, 2012

ANNEX 2. List of the questions for semi-structured interviews (internship at ACMS; August – December, 2012)

(1) Personal history of the interviewee (how did you come to the organization?)

(2) Overview of the organization:

- **Founding date/year**
- **Structure/staff/responsibilities**
- **Donors/supports**
- **Key aims**
- **Main activities to achieve these aims**

(3) Target groups

- What **particular groups** do you work with? *e.g. employment status, age, gender*
- **How do you engage** with these groups?

(4) LGBTI –related issues

- What do you understand by the **LGBTI category**? What definition you would give for an umbrella term "LGBTI people/communities"?
- Are there any **disruptions/inequities inside the LGBTI communities**? (LG-B-TI) Have you ever dealt with transgender and intersex individuals?
- How do you identify **the needs** of LGBTI community?
- What are the biggest **challenges** LGBTI community in Johannesburg face?
- Are you **a referral centre** or do you tackle problems directly? *Give examples*

(5) Health and mobility

- Do you tackle **health issues** while working with LGBTI communities? *HIV/AIDS, STDs, access to health care etc.*
- Do you think that **issues of migration and mobility are relevant** and have to be tackled while working with LGBTI communities?
- What **definition** you would give for a "migrant"/"migration"? Would you consider someone moved from rural area in KwaZulu Natal to Johannesburg a migrant?
- Do you think there **is a need to distinguish/ to target/to be engaged** with a particular distinct group as LGBTI migrants? If yes or no - why?
- Have you ever **worked/dealt with LGBTI migrants** (casual personal interaction, special designed projects)?
- Have you ever had/do you need **special trainings** on detailed relevant information on (a) mobility and migration (b) sexual orientation and gender identity being interlinked with migration?

(6) Other information:

- Does the organisation have any **networks or other organisations** you work closely with?
- What have been the main **achievements** of the organisation in relation to working on LGBTI issues?
- What are the **challenges and needs** you face on a daily basis? What are the challenges for/with specific groups?
- Is there **anything else** you would like to share?

ANNEX 3. Information Sheet and Consent Form (internship at ACMS; August – December, 2012)

Information Sheet

Urban health, HIV and migration in Southern Africa: developing pro-poor policy responses to urban vulnerabilities

Study Number: H120529
Principal Investigator: Dr. Jo Vearey, Wits University
Phone number: 011 717 4696; 072 392 7034
Email Address: jovearey@gmail.com
Sponsor/funder: Africa Initiative, CGI

Hello! My name is **Nadzeya Husakouskaya** and I am part of a research team conducting a research project that is exploring Urban health, HIV and migration in Southern Africa. Part of this research is to explore the intersection between sexuality and migration with focus on the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex community (LGBTI) at national, local and community levels in South African cities (focus on Johannesburg). I am working on compilation of an inventory of the main actors (NGOs and academics) dealing with LGBTI issues and on analysis their policies and responses. I would like to invite you to take part in this study as it will help us to learn more about the development of pro-poor policies to address urban vulnerabilities in Southern Africa.

What will the study entail?

What's involved:

Your participation in this study will include participation an interview or group discussion about LGBTI issues, urban vulnerabilities, health and migration, and associated programme and policy developments.

Risks:

There are very few risks in participating in this study. You may be identifiable in the final research report.

Benefits:

You may not receive any direct benefit from participating in this study. But, this research will help us to make recommendations for pro-poor policy development to address urban vulnerabilities in Southern African cities.

Costs:

There are no direct costs associated with this research project. It will, however take up to one hour of your time.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

If you give consent, you will be identified by name in the final reporting of results, otherwise you may remain anonymous. However, your position and institutional affiliation will be reported as these are key to analysing and presenting the data; this may make you identifiable.

If you give consent, we would like to include an overview of your organization and contact details on the Johannesburg Migrant Health Forum blog.

You may withdraw from this project at any stage; this will not affect you in any way.

- **Do you have any questions?**
- **Would you like to go ahead with being part of this research project?**

Consent Form

Title of research project: Urban health, HIV and migration in Southern Africa: developing pro-poor policy responses to urban vulnerabilities

Study Number: H120529

Principal Investigator: Dr. Jo Vearey, Wits University

Phone number: 011 717 4696; 072 392 7034

Email Address: jovearey@gmail.com

Sponsor/funder: Africa Initiative, CGI

➤ **RESEARCHER: please read through the consent form with the participant**

Nature of the research:

An interview or group discussion about the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex community (LGBTI), urban vulnerabilities, health and migration, and associated programme and policy developments.

What's involved:

Your participation in this study will include participation an interview or group discussion about LGBTI issues, urban vulnerabilities, health and migration, and associated programme and policy developments.

Risks:

There are very few risks in participating in this study. You may be identifiable in the final research report.

Benefits:

You may not receive any direct benefit from participating in this study. But, this research will help us to make recommendations for pro-poor policy development to address urban vulnerabilities in Southern African cities.

Costs:

There are no direct costs associated with this research project. It will, however take up to one hour of your time.

PARTICIPANT:

Printed Name of Participant

Date

➤ **RESEARCHER: please read through this carefully with the participant**

- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I have read/been read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for research and I am aware that I may be identifiable in the final research report.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.
- I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.
- ☐ I do/ ☐ I do not give consent for my name to be used in the final research report.*
- ☐ I do/ ☐ I do not give my consent to be audio taped during the interviews. The researcher has explained to me that the tapes will be typed up and used only for the purposes of this study.*
- ☐ I do/ ☐ I do not give my consent for the contact information and a brief description of the organization I represent to be included on the Johannesburg Migrant Health Forum blog.*

➤ **RESEARCHER:**

*I NADZEYA HUSAKOUSKAYA, herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature and conduct of the above study and has given ☐ verbal/ ☐ written consent to participate in the study.**

Printed Name

Signature

Date

➤ **FOR WRITTEN CONSENT ONLY - PARTICIPANT:**

Printed Name

Signature/Mark or Thumbprint Date

ANNEX 4. Maps: locating South Africa, Gauteng and Johannesburg

(a) South Africa



http://www.conservation.org/where/africa_madagascar/southafrica/pages/namaqualand.aspx

(b) South African Provinces



<http://towns.bookingsouthafrica.com/>

(c) Johannesburg (Gauteng province)



<http://www.south-africa-info.com/gauteng/main.htm>

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