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Chiaroscuro:

The uses of 'Homophobia' and Homophobic Violence in Armed Conflicts and Political Transitions

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

This is to certify that:

I. this thesis comprises only my original work towards the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

II. due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used

III. the thesis does not exceed the word length for this degree.

IV. no part of this work has been used for the award of another degree.

V. this thesis meets the *University of Sydney's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) requirements for the conduct of research.*

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Abstract

This research connects studies of gender and sexualities with studies of political conflicts, conflict resolution and democratisation, using two in-depth case studies (Colombia and South Africa). It explores the hypothesis that homophobia, or the set of hatreds bundled under that term, plays a fundamental role in the dispute for hegemony between antagonists during political transitions. The study shows how homophobia, as a form of gender and sexual violence, has both a constructive and deconstructive character in political transitions. It contributes to the transformation of gender and sexual orders required by warfare and deployed by armed groups. It also reinforces the creation of consensus around the projects of change implemented by them. From the perspective of individuals and their organisations such hatreds are part of the embodied experience of violence caused by protracted conflicts and social inequalities. In their struggles for dignity, such violence becomes a reason to mobilise and to transform themselves into political activists.

This PhD research is important for theoretical, methodological and political reasons. Theoretically, it creates links between fields of study that have been developed separately from each other, reading concepts applied in one field with the lens of the other. Debates on 'non-normative' sexualities are useful in discussing normative concepts such as 'conflict resolution'. Methodologically, the research analyses issues of documentation, memory and case construction that are of relevance in the field of human rights and gender in post-conflict reconstruction. In terms of political significance, this research is developed at a time in which discrimination against individuals and collectives, because of their sexual orientation and gender identities, is being increasingly recognised in the international arena. This research provides information that has not yet been collected and provides a systematic analysis useful for NGOs and state institutions.

- Chapter One introduces the research problem and its transformation during the research process.

- Chapter Two discusses relevant literature, such as the concepts of 'homophobia' and 'political homophobia'. It also introduces discussions about transformation of gender and sexual orders during and after conflicts and presents core concepts for the research.

- Chapter Three describes the methodological perspective, data collection and data analysis used in the research. It also shows the ethical dilemmas presented by the research topics.

- Chapter Four offers a framework for the analysis of anti-homosexual violence. The framework is adopted from secondary literature, using information from Peru and the former Yugoslavia.

- Chapter Five and Six present the data produced for the research. Chapter Five presents the data collected in archives in South Africa and Colombia. Chapter Six presents personal narratives based on interviews carried out in the two countries. Both chapters offer a description of different practices of anti-homosexual violence in political transitions and how they are experienced by individuals.

- Chapter Seven and Eight contains the case studies of South Africa and Colombia. The case studies are constructed following the analytical frame introduced in Chapter Four and using the data presented in Chapters Five and Six. Both cases offer in-depth descriptions of experiences and uses of anti-homosexual violence during conflicts and in political transitions.

- Chapter Nine presents the research findings. Findings are discussed in relation with what is already known in the field with new perspectives that the present research opens.

- Chapter Ten reflects on the research results in order to offer some ideas relevant for policy work and activism, in particular with issues of social transformation in the context of protracted conflicts.

- Chapter Eleven considers the challenges that the research makes to the studies of sexualities and of political transitions. It revisits core concepts introduced at the beginning of the thesis and shows paths for new theoretical developments.

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And finally, to Sebastian Zagarella: *vita senza rimpianti…*

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List of Abbreviations

African National Congress	ANC
Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome	AIDS
African People Organisation	APO
Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging Afrikaner Resistance Movement	AWB
Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia	AUC
Bandas Criminales Emergentes	BACRIM
Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation	CSVR
Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular	CINEP
Civil Cooperation Bureau	CCB
Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación	CVR
Comisión Intercongregacional de Justicia y Paz	CIJP
Ejercito de Liberación Nacional	ELN
European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms	ECHR
Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia	FARC
Gay Association of South Africa	GASA
Human Immunodeficiency Virus	HIV
Inkhata Freedom Party	IFP
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	ICCPR
International Gay and Lesbian Organisation	ILGA
Lesbian and Gay Men Action Zagreb	LIGMA
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex	LGBTI
Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual de Lima	MOLH
Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru	MRTA
National Association of South African Students	NUSAS
National Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Equality	NCGLE
National Party	NP
Lesbians and Gays against Oppression	LAGO
Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists	OLGA
Partido Comunista del Peru Sendero Luminoso	PCP-SL
People against Gangsterism and Drugs	PAGAD
People Opposing Women Abuse	POWA
Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina	BiH
South African Police	SAP
South African Defence Forces	SADF
South West Africa People's Organization	SWAPO
Treatment Action Campaign	TAC
Truth and Reconciliation Commission	TRC
Umkhonto we Sizwe	MK

Chapter One: Introduction

'I should not live like this. Dignity is not negotiable, it should not be bought. In our case, dignity is in a very thin line, a chiaroscuro space in which, up to now, we have not crossed the line' (Lena, Colombia)

This research explores the ways in which conflicts, gender and sexualities interact in times of social suffering caused by violent political transitions to democracy. It connects the studies of gender and sexualities with the studies of political conflict and conflict resolution, building case studies from South Africa and Colombia. Both studies are well advanced areas of knowledge production but they have developed in isolation from each other. This study discusses the ways in which gender, sexuality and armed conflicts have been theorised, how concepts such as 'political homophobia' have been constructed, their uses and deployments in particular contexts and practices.

At the time of writing this thesis, the 'worldwide spreading of homophobia' is on the front pages of international news. On February 24, 2014, President of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni signed a law that broadens the criminalisation of homosexuality in the country. Early in the year, Nigeria approved similar laws. In 2003 Russia introduced laws banning 'homosexual propaganda'. The killing of the Ugandan activist, David Kato, in 2011 after his photo was shown in the national press, showed the impact that such a legal climate could create.

Advocates in the United States and United Kingdom have raised concerns on the issue and have called for international action. In December 2011, United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton gave a speech in Geneva declaring 'LGBT rights, human rights'. Restrictions on international aid have been used to put pressure on 'homophobic states'. Mainstream TV shows the difficulties of being gay 'Out There' in Brazil, India or Russia as recent documentaries broadcast in Australia (Fry, 2013); maps of 'global gay rights' circulate broadly (ILGA, 2014), creating landscapes of the 'worst places to be gay' and the 'gay friendly' places for tourism; social media calls for solidarity with 'LGBTI' communities in those countries. For representatives of international human rights organisations, homophobia is part of the 'moral panic' caused by States in crisis. 'LGBTI', as a new category of subjects, are often the scapegoats of such crises.

'Homophobia' and 'gay rights' have become a way to create new geographies of 'civilisation' and 'barbarism', to measure modernities and to define new exclusions. In Europe and the United States 'gay rights' and 'women rights' have been used to spread

stereotypes against Muslim cultures and to exclude some humans from the 'rights' given to others (Fassin, 2010). Under the war on terrorism led by the United States, terrorist bodies are described, contrasting them with 'properly queer subjects' (Puar, 2007). In the fight against discrimination and in the name of 'inclusion', neoliberalism has created regimes of value that reproduce global orders and justify violence (Agathangelou, 2010). The idea of 'LGBT' rights not only homogenises disparate life experiences, systems of oppression and reasons to struggle. The idea of 'rights' in a concept like 'transgender rights' is criticised for being imperialistic and imposing a particular world view as the only possible life (Namaste, 2012). Now that power and governance speak the language of rights, protection and diversity, those who are unable to be assimilated are exposed to the politics of death (Haritaworn, Kuntsman, & Posocco, 2014).

These critiques show the problems created by simplistic dichotomies between rights and laws or lawless violence, inclusion or exclusion, recognition or invisibility, war or peace. It has been by experiencing those logics that processes of change have been conducted. Individuals and collectives in warzones use those languages and the spaces they provide as mechanisms to transform protracted conflicts. They also challenge them in their struggles for dignity. Because of that, there is the need for empirical studies looking at specific configurations of practices in particular political, social and cultural contexts.

The reason for selecting two countries, South Africa and Colombia, for this analysis was not one of comparison. Instead, their diversity was seen as an essential in order to achieve knowledge from their particular histories. Both countries have experienced severe conflicts and sincere attempts at reconciliation. In each case, excessive violence has become normalised and incorporated in everyday life but has also been resisted and transformed.

The two countries are in different stages in relation to their respective socio-political conflicts. South Africa changed the apartheid legal system in the mid 90s and started a transition to democracy. In Colombia some armed groups began to demobilise in the 80s but others are still active in the twenty-tens. Both countries have experienced similar strategies for the resolution of socio-political conflicts, such as mechanisms to promote truth telling, collective memory and compensation of victims. However, there are important differences in the implementation of such mechanisms. Appendix One offers a description of the context of each country.

This research intends to produce knowledge that contributes to the process of advocacy. It uses perspectives that have shown how marginalised groups are excluded, under-represented, misrepresented or alienated in research (Truman, Humphries, & Mertens,

2000). It is also located in a critical political context. In the case of Colombia, there is currently a legal and political interest in the documentation of cases of homophobic violence in the context of political conflict. This is due to the implementation of legal frames such as the *Ley de Victimas* (Victims Law) (Law 1448, 2011), in which recognition as a 'victim' was extended to the partners in a same-sex relationship. In the case of South Africa the legacies of apartheid and rights of victims are topics of permanent debate. This research intends also to contribute to the dialogues created from personal experiences and to the sharing of lessons learned in political practices.

Talking about violence in political conflicts and reconstructing the memories of events that caused suffering in the affected individuals and communities, produce significant methodological ethical and political challenges. As authors in the field of social suffering have observed (Kleinman, Das, & Lock, 1997), violence is not a self-evident experience; our knowledge of it is the result of complex processes of narration, representation and subjectivity. Even more, there are gaps between the ways in which violence is experienced, understood and theorised, as Hume (2009, p. 110) concludes from her feminist-inspired research on gendered violence in El Salvador.

In terms of methodologies these challenges imply not only the reconstruction of events from different points of view but also the understanding of how violence impacted everyday life and the identities and life experiences of collectives and individuals. In ethical terms it implies considering the reasons for calling attention to some events and remaining silent about others. Describing experiences of victimisation that affect certain groups can be useful for advocacy but can also accentuate representations of vulnerability. The creation of memories based on violent events can contribute to the empowerment of victims but can also contribute to their disempowerment when they are defined only as victims. Making certain events visible can be useful for activists' agendas but can also create undesirable visibilities with different political implications.

I hope I have achieved a balance on these issues that respects participants while contributing to a deeper understanding of difficult and crucial issues.

The problem and its evolution

This research started with an interest in exploring the uses of homophobia in political transitions. Contributing to the documentation and analysis of such violence was its purpose, with a focus on lived experiences and their transformations. In developing the project, there have been several moments of inspiration and fracture caused by key contributions.

Those contributions came from diverse theoretical fields, though they have in common feminist perspectives. The sociology of gender provided by Raewyn Connell (1987, 2005, 2009, 2011) helped me to understand how social structures are gendered and sexualised. In terms of this research, this perspective implies an examination of the gendered and sexualised outcomes of political transitions.

The anthropology of violence in the perspective of Veena Das (Das, 1995, 2000, 2008; Kleinman, et al., 1997) showed the need to explore the way in which suffering is imposed on particular bodies and communities, and their consequent struggles for dignity. From that perspective, violence not only unmakes the social world but also remakes it. Violence as an enabling condition for vulnerabilities to be revealed also makes gendered subjectivities legible.

The work of Jane Bennett (2010) Kopano Ratele and Tamara Shefer (Ratele, 2009; Shefer & Ratele, 2011) showed that the connections between gender, sexuality and violence are not automatic. They are constituted in relation to social structures that also produce vulnerabilities, marginalities, exploitation and oppression.

These inspiring ideas created tensions between the initial definition of the problem and its implicit theorisation. The interest in documenting 'homophobic violence' in contexts of armed conflict and political transitions required descriptions of events. Making some events 'evidence' assumed some pre-existence of violence as a differentiated experience. The anthropology of violence has shown that violence is not a self-evident experience but its record depends on complex processes of narration, representation and subjectivity (Kleinman, et al., 1997). Events studied in this project are not just a collection of facts; they are experiences for the emergence of subjects.

That is an idea also expressed in sexuality studies. Extensive literature in Gay and Lesbian Studies or Queer Studies has explored how self-identified gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender men and women narrate their experiences of violence and use them as a reason for collective action. However, that exploration has had less attention when those subjects are in contexts of protracted conflict or transition to democracy.

There is a risk that in documenting some events under the idea of 'homophobic violence', events become normalised when isolated from other dimensions of political transitions and armed conflicts. The risk of normalising violence when making it a matter of academic discussion and policy has been raised in discussions around gender and violence, for example when dealing with violence *against* women (Haug, 1987) or when using violence as a connection between gender and sexuality (Bennett, 2010). In this project, such risks implied a permanent revision of ideas such as 'violence *because* of sexual orientation or gender identity' or 'sexual orientation based violence'.

The concept of 'Sexualisation', in the perspective of the Hamburg Socialist Women's Association (Haug, 1987), helped to move interest from describing processes of violence to understanding what they produce. The idea of 'sexualisation' as a simultaneous process of reduction, concentration, and (for women) subjection of bodies, suggested the need to explore the 'uses of homophobia' not as mere instrumental actions but as mechanisms of construction, destruction and reconstruction of social power relations through violence.

Increasingly, conceptualisations of 'homophobia' appeared problematic. The definition of homophobia as an incapacitating fear (Weinberg, 1972, p. 8) was based on the work on 'prejudice' conducted by the social psychologist Gordon Allport (Allport, 1954). Homophobia as an analytical concept was formed from post-war concerns about prejudice, seeing irrational and authoritarian personalities as the cause of hatred of homosexuality. As this thesis will argue, instead of arising from fears or irrational personalities, these examples of violence were systematic and responded to politically motivated interests. The political condition of homophobia will be a matter of reflection throughout this research.

Further critique of the conceptualisation underlying the concept of homophobia introduced the role of social structures and normative systems in prejudices against non-heterosexuality. With the idea of 'heterosexism' the emphasis was on systems of oppression. The debate on 'heteronormativity' uses a language of codes, norms and social orders based on gender and (hetero) sexuality. Heterosexism is a theory of causes, and implicit in the idea of heteronormativity a theory of the functioning of regulatory systems. 'Homophobia' as a leading concept was clearly now, even if it was misleading, a core concept. Since conceptualisations of this idea have been important in the development of knowledge, Chapter Two will offer a revision of relevant literature.

Instead of coining a new term or looking for an alternative theory of 'homophobia', the key contributions mentioned above direct the discussion toward rethinking the role of to violence in gender and sexual orders. In searching for 'homophobia *in* political transitions'

there was an assumption that some forms of violence are discrete, forming a clear realm of facts independent from others.

As reaction to such 'categorical thinking' (Connell, 2012a) this research was interested not only in producing 'situated knowledge' (Haraway, 1988) but also in examining the ways in which violent events are 'packed' into comprehensive categories. A heuristic 'unpacking' of concepts was attempted. This approach implied a critique of standardised transhistorical or transnational legal constructions of 'anti-homosexual' violence, and analyses that recognise 'global' comparisons. Instead, this research sought to locate events of violence in their historical contexts and moments.

These initial ideas suggested that instead of looking at a 'connection' between two forms of violence (anti-homosexual violence and political armed violence) it would be more productive to consider their mutual constitution. More than a connection between two separate things, the 'uses of homophobia in political transitions' is a crisscross of violence that creates something new, a new configuration of events. A process that implies, not only the creation of hierarchies and exclusions, but also of gains and losses, negative and positive results for some subjects and not for others.

An interest in framing the discussion in terms of continua and interactions is found in the work of sociologist and criminologist Stephen Tomsen (2009). In his analysis of anti-homosexual violence in Australia, Tomsen identifies a variety of events that act at the same time. 'Gay bashing', 'homosexual panic' anti-homosexual killings, or hate crimes are related situations of sexual prejudice but are not examples of the same event of 'homophobia'. What is seen as 'hatred' from the perspective of crimes motivated by hate can be a constitutive part of hegemonic masculinity or the policing of gender identity (Tomsen, 2009, pp. 79-82). For this research, Tomsen's situated analysis implies that the practices of violence bundled under the concept of 'homophobia' can be deployed differently in the course of conflicts to serve different functions and produce different effects for the actors involved.

At the end of this evaluation of ideas, the research question central to this thesis is about the constructive and deconstructive character of anti-homosexual violence in armed conflicts and political transitions.

The research project hypothesised that homophobia, or the set of hatreds and exclusions bundled under that term, plays a fundamental role in the dispute for hegemony between political actors during political transitions. Extending the already identified link between gender and sexual violence against women in nation-building processes (Das, 1995,

2008; Yuval-Davis, 1997); between hegemonic masculinities and nationalism (Connell, 2000; Enloe, 2008; Hinojosa, 2010; Messerschmidt, 2010); and between hegemonic masculinity and homophobia (Connell, 1987, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), it was suggested that homophobic violence allows the creation of inclusions, exclusions and hierarchies that constitute the dynamics of political conflicts.

Fieldwork created new challenges in the understanding of the research problem. Interaction with research participants deepened previous concerns about what was meant by saying the 'constructive and deconstructive' power of violence' while keeping in mind the knowledge offered by participants of their interactions between personal lives and social structures. Personal narratives, field work and the selection of archive material also required constant re-thinking of what was classified as 'sexual' and 'violent' and the ascription of particular events to these categories.

One of the challenges was the need to understand lived experiences without reducing them to determinisms or to voluntarisms. Here, guidance was found in other explorations of what is produced by 'homophobic' violence and sexual prejudices. Gail Mason (2002), for example, argues that violence is both a site of subjugation and a site of formation. For her, violence constitutes subordinated sexual subject positions, such as 'lesbians' or 'gays'. What violence cannot do is dictate how the ones in those positions inhabit and resist those positions. With that in mind she gave space for individual's agency and for considering creativity in the interaction with structures of oppression. Though this perspective still uses a language of 'norms' and 'regulation' that tends to reduce subjects to disciplined population and their agency to resistance - as if resistance were the only option. Lois McNay (2000) argues that the emphasis on subjectification in current analysis of gender, derived from Foucault and Lacan, overemphasises constraints and looks at agency just in terms of resistance or dislocation of norms. McNay argues instead for a 'generative theoretical framework', which would allow understanding the 'creative and imaginative substrate to action'.

How to refer to the subjects of this research was a continuing concern. The use of identity terms such as 'gay' to refer non-heterosexual subjectivities has been widely criticised. Use of identity categories has been seen as part of the homogenising processes of globalisation, cultural imposition and cultural hegemony. The assumption that gender and sexual diverse experiences construct particular collectives, such as 'minorities', is also problematic because of implicit assumptions of belonging and ascription.

However, some authors consider the globalisation of sexual identities as a factor of diversification and a space for promoting international dialogues (Altman, 2001). It is also the case that identity categories are becoming a language incorporated by international

human rights organisations, lobbying and activism. These situations make a sharp separation from identity politics difficult. Instead, what is required is a constant contextualisation and reflection on the practices that create a sense of collectivity and the ways in which naming affects subjectivity.

The same consideration applies to the terms used to describe violence. The current tendency to extend the notion of 'phobia' to forms of violence, discrimination and exclusion experienced by lesbian and transgender women and men assumes that the reasons for their experiences are similar to those explained under the idea of 'homophobia'. Lesbian feminism has criticised the concept of 'homophobia' and its derivative 'lesbophobia' for depoliticising the reaction of the patriarchal and heterosexual systems against lesbianism, and for assuming that social reactions against lesbians have the same nature as the ones against homosexual men (Kitzinger, 1987). The term 'transphobia' not only creates inadequate analogies but tends to render invisible specific forms of victimisation (Namaste, 2000; Stryker, 2008). The violence faced by transgender women is more than the result of prejudice. It is rooted in social structures of poverty, limited access to education or health services, and related factors that have recently come into focus in activism (Transgender-Europe, 2012, 2014).

For these reasons, collective terms such as 'LGBT communities' will not be used in this research. 'anti-homosexual' violence will be used only as a descriptive term, with specific forms of violence under discussion throughout the text.

Chapter Two: Background literature

Introduction

This chapter discusses core concepts of the present research. It argues that the concept of homophobia, its development, critiques and alternative conceptualisations, have been realised mainly in contexts of no-war, from psychosocial perspectives, and without making a connection between anti-homosexual violence, armed conflicts or political transitions. An emergent body of literature keeps the utility of the concept of homophobia and uses it to explore those interactions in transnational perspectives.

Conceptualising anti-homosexual violence

Anti-homosexual violence and the set of hatreds, prejudices or inequalities associated with same-sex sexualities have been considered with reference to a variety of theories. Explanations have moved from an emphasis on understanding the causes of such hatred to observing its interactions with other structures of oppression and its deployment in a variety of contexts.

Discussions on social attitudes toward homosexuality can be dated to the first homosexual movements in the late years of the Nineteenth Century and the early years of the Twentieth Century in Europe and in movements in the United States in the 1950s. Plummer (1975) mentions studies about social reactions to homosexuality and explanations of homosexual hostility done in the United Kingdom and in USA in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The term homophobia was created in the late 1960s by the United States psychotherapist and writer George Weinberg and is recognised as a milestone in reflection on social attitudes toward homosexuality (Herek, 2004, p. 8). Since it was coined, 'homophobia' gradually entered academia to explain fear and prejudice against homosexuality and homosexual people (Wickberg, 2000, p. 49). At the end of the 1970s the term was already translated and incorporated in other cultural contexts, for example, in Latin American reflections about the repression of homosexual behaviour (Botero, 1980). As a concept, 'homophobia' has been a political tool for activism, lobbying and inclusion of anti-homosexual violence in public agendas.

The concept of homophobia was political. It resulted from a search for a core problem to articulate social mobilisations and collective identities. It also resulted from a particular political context. Weinberg's definition of homophobia as an incapacitating fear (Weinberg, 1972, p. 8) was based on the work on prejudice conducted by the social psychologist Gordon Allport (Allport, 1954). Allport based his understanding of prejudice on ethnic antagonism, focusing on the negative stereotypes associated with Jews and 'negroes'. Fear about irrational personalities was part of the post-war context and oriented intellectual and academic discussions, such as Gordon Allport's book on prejudice and intergroup relations. Homophobia, as an analytical concept, became one of the hatreds associated with same-sex sexualities, post-war concerns about prejudices, irrational fears and group interactions. Because of that, homophobia offered a political agenda that supported identity politics and actions to change a 'homophobic' society.

The concept of homophobia was contested almost from the outset (Bhugra, 1987; Plummer, 1975). Critiques considered its psychosocial origin, theoretical status, political use and applicability in non-Western societies (Bryant & Vidal-Ortiz, 2008; Murray, 2009; Wickberg, 2000). The idea of homophobia as an irrational fear has been challenged for reducing the causes of discrimination, exclusion or violence based on the sexual orientation of an individual (Ahmad & Bhugra, 2010). The failure to recognise institutional and structural sources of power has been considered one of weakest points in the way that homophobia defines its object of analysis (Wickberg, 2000, p. 51).

Alternative conceptualisations located the cause of sexual prejudices in social structures. Black lesbian feminists coined the term "heterosexism" in the early 1970s to underline the connection between struggles against racial, sexual, heterosexual and class oppression, based in an interlocked analysis of those conditions of their lives (Combahee-River-Collective, 1979). While homophobia was defined in terms of personality profiles, disease and antagonistic group dynamics, heterosexism was the result of power relations in economy, society and culture. However, the concept of heterosexism did not become popularised as 'homophobia' did, and ended up as a way of talking about ideologies that support heterosexual privileges. The interest in race and class that was in the concept contributed to an ongoing debate about interactions between systems of oppression and hierarchies of difference, leading to the concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991).

Homophobia and heterosexism are oriented to explain causes of same-sex hatreds, exclusions and oppressions. 'Heteronormativity', a concept gaining space in Anglophone literature in recent decades, emphasises their functioning and the regulatory systems that support them. The word is associated with Warner (1993), though Jackson (2006) considers that the idea was already present in the work of early lesbian feminists such as

Gayle Rubin or Adrienne Reich who conceptualised 'compulsory heterosexuality' not only in terms of regulation of sexuality but also of gender relations.

Heteronormativity has been defined in different ways (Chambers, 2007; S. Jackson, 2006; Schneider & Ward, 2009); and there is no single definition of the norms, institutions or regulations that constitute heteronormativity. While some authors emphasise the institutional component of the concept (S. Jackson, 2006), others consider its regulatory elements (Chambers, 2007). Since the concept was also inspired by the influence of Derrida and Foucault in gender and sexuality studies, particularly in queer theory, it emphasises deconstruction and discourses and creates a connection between sexualities through the question of normative systems.

Heteronormativity is a challenge to the political agenda of identity politics that underlies the concept of homophobia. It is not a concept centred on negative attitudes against certain groups, or on discrimination, but looks at these as constitutive elements of the gender/sexual order of societies entrenched in institutions, norms and cultures. Because of that, heteronormativity not only affects non-heterosexual people but also heterosexuals, since that normative system regulates all subjects. This is a concept based on the separation homo/hetero, and phrased in terms of normative subjects. Even more, is a concept based on a 'negative understanding of subject formation' (McNay, 2000).

The analytical utility of the separation homo/hetero has been under question in the work of psychoanalysts and sociologists such as Nancy Chodorow (1994). The emphasis on non-heterosexual sexualities renders heterosexuality under-theorised or at least, unproblematic. Chodorow's analysis, without denying the existence of normative heterosexuality (1994, p. 56) or cultural gender ideals, is based on the comprehension of continuums and interactions between masculinities, femininities and sexualities. Her work not only mentions the importance of breaking the link between homosexuality and pathology but also of exploring diversity in heterosexuality. Instead of looking at norms and how they operate in the ones who deviate from or subvert them, Chodorow proposes the need to problematise all sexualities, far from binary divisions. In perspectives like this, anti-homosexual violence is not an isolated event but an integral part of gender and sexual orders, and particularly of the regulation of masculinities (Connell, 1987, 2005).

Political homophobia and politicised homophobia

Homophobia and anti-homosexual violence in political transitions have been explored in studies of liberation movements in Namibia (Currier, 2010) and Southern Africa (Epprecht, 2005); democratisation and Europeanisation trends in Poland (Graff, 2010);

and nation-building processes in Indonesia (Boellstorff, 2004) Serbia (Greenberg, 2006), Kosovo (Krasniqi, 2007) and Croatia (Zarkov, 2001).

Using the concept of 'political homophobia', these studies have moved from the analysis of single cases to more comprehensive and comparative analyses. Political homophobia has been identified as a key element in political struggles. Explored initially as an exceptional event contributing to broader nationalistic purposes (Boellstorff, 2004), 'political homophobia' was investigated later as a political strategy with its own characteristics and intentions (Currier, 2010). Recently, it has been considered a distinctive trend in global politics (Bosia & Weiss, 2013).

In that development, the concept has acquired particular emphases. The anthropologist Tom Boellstorf (2004) was one of the first authors using that concept to explore a series of violent acts against gay men and male-to-female Indonesians during 1999. The events were of particular interest for him since Indonesian society seems to be relatively tolerant towards gender diversity and male-to-male sexuality at the same time that it has a clear heterosexist order. For him, political homophobia links emotions, sexuality and political violence in the raising of nationalistic masculinities.

Ashley Currier, sociologist and researcher of gender and sexual diversity movements in Southern Africa, emphasises the gendered condition of political homophobia. She defines political homophobia as a strategy used by liberation movements to preserve and protect their masculinist control of the state (2010, p. 111). Since political homophobia generates political and material gains for some (masculine) groups through the exclusion of others (gender and sexual dissidents) it is a specific event in political struggles and not just a symptom of authoritarian control or failing democratisation.

Meredith Weiss and Michael Bosia (2013) created a theoretical synthesis of homophobia comparing empirical examples from countries as diverse as Ecuador, Iran or Uganda and past and present United States international relations. Their definition expands the concept of political homophobia to a 'State strategy, social movement and transnational phenomenon' (Bosia & Weiss, 2013, p. 2). Their approach to 'global homophobias' follows previous attempts to theorise homophobia in transnational and comparative perspectives, such as the work of David Murray (2009) and Dennis Altman (2001). They shared the view that nowadays it is homophobia rather than homosexuality that is being globalised. They added an understanding of the interactions between local and global forces that shape gender and sexual politics. Based on a comparative politics perspective, these authors offer four dimensions for the analysis of political homophobias: the purposive strategy of State and social actors; the transnational patterns that shape

them; their simultaneity with rights claims by LGBT organising or their anticipation of them; the colonial legacies that define local and global enactments of political homophobias (Bosia & Weiss, 2013, pp. 15-17).

While taking shape as an analytical tool, political homophobia has involved some issues that are still under debate. A common idea in this literature is that political homophobia is a strategy deployed in situations of political crisis to obtain a result useful for the interests of State officials and those competing for State power. This argument distances itself from popularised ideas of homophobia as an irrational fear, or as the intolerant attitudes of individuals in power. As Michael Bosia states, political homophobia is a 'choice to *do* something' (Bosia, 2013, p. 51), a strategic action deployed in political practices.

Authors also locate political homophobia in the gender and sexual orders and politics of masculinities. Currier (2010) for example, defined political homophobia as a 'gendered strategy'. Boellstorff uses the concept of 'political homophobia' to explain how a new masculinist caste reacted violently against male-male desire because it posed a threat to normative masculinity. Delinking homophobia from heterosexism, the author suggests an explanatory model in which heterosexuality is pervasive and fear and hatred of same sex sexualities occasional, as in Southeast Asia. The opposite case would be Latin American contexts where there is homophobia but little heterosexism (Boellstorff, 2004, p. 472).

Another common conclusion is the critique of reductive or essentialist approaches to political homophobia. Scholars studying homophobia in Africa resist the definition of homophobia as an intrinsic component of African cultures and rather explore how it is used in political transitions to reinforce the patriarchy, sexism or heteronormativity required for neoconservative nationalisms and religious fundamentalism. It is in a context of new nationalism and conservative agendas that homosexuality is constructed as un-African (Msibi, 2011). Epprecht (2005) actually suggests that what is un-African is homophobia. In a similar argumentation, Boellstorff avoids reducing political homophobia in Islam to religious thuggery and looks at the changes in masculine representations produced for a redefinition of the nation (Boellstorff, 2004, p. 473).

The role of historical legacies and long-term cultural patterns in the politicisation of homophobia is a matter of discussion. Currier agrees with Epprecht's analysis of historical continuities in political homophobia (Epprecht, 2004, 2005). She calls attention, however, to the lack of discussion on how homophobia is currently enacted with particular characteristics and consequences as defined targets (Currier, 2010, p. 111).

There are similar critiques of the use of 'tradition' as argument to explain political homophobia. Traditional institutions such as churches have had an important role in the creation of homophobic attitudes and practices, as examples in Africa and Latin America show (Freston, 1998; Msibi, 2011). However, Graff (2010) challenges the tendency to conclude a univocal association between homophobia and Catholicism, and explores how Polish nationalism revived after the country joined the European Union. In her analysis, it is that reaction that politicised homophobia.

Research also shows how political homophobia expressed in intra-state conflicts is related to transnational relations, including colonial pasts and globalisation trends. Anti-sodomy laws were exported within European colonial empires and remained in post-colonies, as examples from India and Africa show (Epprecht, 2005; Nandy, 2009). Those laws were part of the colonial process and intrinsic to structures of gender and sexuality required by the politics of colonisation.

Political uses of homophobia were applied in the reconstruction of the post-war United States, where a new generation of psychoanalysts stressed the pathological nature of homosexuality and acted as safeguards of morality and civilisation (Lewes, 1989). Mass culture producers made the need for national security not only desirable but pleasurable for American spectators by invoking homophobic categories of Cold War political discourse (Corber, 1993, p. 6). Lesbians and homosexual men were expelled from federal government agencies in the 1950s because their supposed emotional instability made them easy targets for Soviet blackmailing and therefore national security risks. These anti-homosexual policies were exported to the United States' Western allies and to international organisations such as the United Nations, World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (D. Johnson, 2013, p. 56).

This literature shows how homophobia is politicised under particular circumstances for different purposes. Understandings of how that process occurs vary. For Boellestorff, the shift from everyday heterosexism to political homophobia is caused by the new public presence of non-normative genders and sexualities (2004, p. 480). For Currier, political homophobia 'stifled' political dissent and 'enhanced' a masculinists as liberators at the same time that gender and sexual dissidents were being erased from historic accounts (Currier, 2012). For Graff, homophobia is politicised in a nationalistic way as reaction to international pressures created by the desire to join the European Union (Graff, 2010). For Weiss and Bosia (Bosia & Weiss, 2013), the politicisation of homophobia is not just a reaction but can anticipate the emergence of LGBT rights as a particular arena for struggles.

Gender and sexual outcomes of conflicts and political transitions

Ethnographies, case studies and comparisons between conflicts around the world show that women and men, as gendered groups, are differently involved in armed conflicts and in their transformation (Moser & Clark, 2001). Concerns about the silence surrounding women's experiences during transitions to democracy started to be raised in the early 1990s in South Africa (Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1996) and in Latin America (Franco, 1997). Research found that despite some initiatives for conflict resolution promoting changes in gender orders, those changes were not permanent or progressive. Backlashes were generated against women and the gains they had obtained during conflicts (Pankhurst, 2008b). The active participation of women in independence or revolutionary movements, often ignored in the recounting of conflicts (Mies, 1998), is also rendered invisible in the post-conflict moment as cases from Algeria (Lazreg, 1990) or Nicaragua (Cupples, 2004) show. Women are often excluded from peace negotiations; and after settlements there is a tendency to cast them in traditional gender roles (Caprioli, 2000; Karame & Tryggestad, 2000; Moser & Clark, 2001; Waylen, 2003). In terms of gender violence there seems to be a continuum between gender-based acts of violence that occurred during armed conflicts or political violence and those that occurred in non-war moments (Moser & McIlwaine, 2001).

There is also a debate about how men and masculinities change during and after conflicts. Some academics consider that conflicts increase gender differences and the use of violence by men (El-Bushra, 2007; Moser & Clark, 2001). Others consider that there is a continuation of male control before and after conflicts (Pankhurst, 2008a). Other scholars, looking not only at men but also at masculinities, mention changes, continuities and contradictions in the processes of change (Connell, 2000; Morrell & Stuart, 2005; Waetjen, 2004). What these researches show is that gender orders change at a different rhythm from political orders. Post-conflict contexts can reinforce or reshape hierarchical gender orders temporarily affected by wars, in order to sustain nation building projects. This can be seen in the cases of Sri Lanka (Tambiah, 2005) and South Africa (Hassim, 2009).

The need for a gender perspective in the analysis of conflicts and peace became a matter of concern from the late 1990s. Not only did a significant body of research result, but there were also calls for the mainstreaming of gender in the interventions of international organisations (Reimann, 1999, 2001; Woroniuk, 2001). Part of the scholarship mentioned above was inspired by a movement toward making gender a 'visible' category of analysis in conflicts and transitions to peace. However, most analyses of gender were inspired by a way of thinking that Connell (2012a) calls 'categorical thinking' about gender. In this

approach, common in policy documents, 'women' and 'men' are taken as unproblematic and fixed categories (Connell, 2012a, p. 1675).

Early approaches to the analysis of gender in conflicts suggested the problems in such a way of thinking. The compilation made by Moser and Clark (2001) for example, challenged common understandings of conflicts in which women were positioned on the side of 'victims' and men on the side of 'perpetrators', considering for example the potential of women to exercise violence. The introduction of the concept of agency challenges ideas of activity-passivity in activists involved in conflicts but does not itself challenge categorical thinking about gender in conflicts.

 'Making gender visible' contributed to the creation of bridges and to the expansion of fields of knowledge on gender, conflict and peace. The categorical use of gender in this body of research, and the political need to make gender differences between men and women visible, impede the understanding of the areas of gender structure on which conflicts act or where changes are produced. Here the difference between 'gender order' and 'gender regime', introduced by Connell (1987), is useful. The former refers to the structural inventory of gender in a whole society, the second refers to the gender arrangements present in a particular institution (Connell, 1987, pp. 91-99). Literature on the role of women in revolutionary groups or their participation in peace negotiations, for example, looks at the gender regime of institutions such as armies or conflict resolution organisations. It does not necessarily explain the gender orders in which those events happen nor how they change. Even more, categorical thinking about gender also kept other aspects of the gendering and sexualisation of conflicts 'invisible', such as the role of anti-homosexual violence in conflicts (Serrano-Amaya, 2004b).

On state and nation building

As the literature reviewed up to this point shows, there are multiple uses of anti-homosexual violence in conflicts, as conflicts change and restructure the gender and sexual orders that support anti-homosexual violence. In this sense, the connection between anti-homosexual violence, conflicts and political transitions is not one of cause and effect, but one of mutual constitution.

This mutual constitution was anticipated in the background of the coining of homophobia as an analytical concept. As noted above this had roots in discussions around prejudice, racial interactions and social conflict (Allport, 1954). This concern about race relations arose in post-war North America in relation to the changes in the situation of African-

American communities after World War II and the impact of the Jewish Holocaust. While the first issue was an experience of change in social structures in the United States, the second was an international post-conflict interpretation of the pain, displacement and consequences of atrocities during the war.

According to Katz (1991, p. 130) the most influential discussion of race relations in the 1950s was Adorno et al.'s *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), an attempt to theorise and measure the reasons for anti-Semitic and fascist ideas. This research made prejudice a matter of personality profiles nurtured by repressive families and ideologies. This definition had two implications: one, making prejudice a matter of individual personalities, it was not necessary to question social structures; second, if they were produced by punitive and repressive environments, the spread of democracy and liberal ideas would change the conditions that create such authoritarian personalities (Duckitt, 2010). In this way, prejudices would change with the state-making that follows a period of political crisis.

However, the concept of homophobia was developed missing this early connection with discussions around State building, democratisation and transformation of prejudices. It has been in feminist scholarship that a body of knowledge has been built about the gendering of the state and of nation-building processes (Cockburn, 2010; Pankhurst, 2008b; Yuval-Davis, 1997).

Using feminist and critical theory Veena Das argues that the process of giving life and of belonging to the Nation-State is a violent process that not only unmade the social but also remade it (2008, pp. 284-293). Such process is both gendered and sexualised. Das uses the image of the abducted women during the partition of India to make visible the pathology of the sexualisation of the social contract in times of disorder (2008, p. 290). Sexual and reproductive violence, though they can vary in forms, uses or intensity in different conflicts, are forms of the annihilation of the other as a collective (Das, 2008, p. 291).

If violence remakes and constitutes social and gender order, violence has a constructive character. In the gendering of the State and the State sanctioning of gender order, violence is fundamental. Based on a social theory of gender Raewyn Connell (1987) argues that violence is 'constitutive' of the gender order, as in the cases of dictatorship regimes supported on violent military masculinity, authoritative fatherhood and subordinated motherhood (2012b, p. 9).

This idea of unmaking and remaking of the social through sexual violence, as simultaneous processes, challenges the dichotomy of war and peace. It also questions concepts such as 'political transition' and the idea of transition that supports strategies for conflict transformation. In this research, a gender politics perspective will allow an understanding of the gender dynamics that permeate social change and the connections between the intimate and national-regional level of social transformations (Connell, 2009) in which anti-homosexual violence happens.

Synthesis

This review has shown the accumulation of knowledge in relation to anti-homosexual violence, and the challenges faced when exploring the topic in contexts of socio-political violence and transitions to democracy. The variety of cases mentioned should not lead us to suppose a universal presence of anti-homosexual violence or of mobilisations and practices to resist them in all conflicts. They illustrate the state of knowledge and the need to move to more sophisticated case studies and more comprehensive levels of theory building.

The types of violence that will be explored in this research can be located in existing research on sexual violence and gender violence in armed conflicts and transitions to democracy. However as Franke (2007) argues, legal and social classifications of certain behaviours as 'sexual' sometimes says too much or too little about the suffering imposed on victims, and may diminish other aspects of violence. The knowledge reviewed above faces this challenge. For example, locating the violence suffered by transsexual women and transgender persons in terms of the violence affecting self-identified gay men overemphasises sexuality and ignores the importance of social structures of injustice. Literature on sexual violence may be insufficient to explain threats against homosexual men and other social subjects marginalised because of their belonging to deviant collectives.

The review above deals with a significant part of the discussion on anti-homosexual violence in contexts of political conflict centres or the explanation of its causes. There is, therefore, an emphasis on defining who the perpetrators are and describing and classifying their actions. Looking at what violence produces and not just at its causes, the analyses change. Maria Mercedes Gómez (2007), for example, offers an analytical model of the results of violence and sexual prejudice considering their production of hierarchies and exclusions. It is this mutual relationship between forms of violence and

the gender and sexual orders that gives the issue of homophobic violence a significant role not only in warfare strategies or in the war industries but also in the transitions to democracy. It is, accordingly, a central theme in this thesis.

Chapter Three: Methods

Introduction

This chapter discussed the methodology and methods used in the present research. For the purposes of the research an in-depth analysis of two case studies (South Africa and Colombia) was undertaken. The chapter presents the techniques used for data collection and for data analysis. It also presents the ethical concerns faced because of the selected research topic.

Methodological perspective

Data collection for the in-depth case studies was done using two main techniques: research in archives and data bases, and personal narratives of experiences involving violence. Both required my travelling to the respective countries, which provided the opportunity to make other kinds of observations. The researcher was able to engage in many informal conversations and to witness events related to the particular histories and cultural contexts of both countries. 'Being there' provided the opportunity to understand aspects of everyday life that were important as background to the formal data collection.

Case studies can be defined as specific and integrated systems (Stake, 1995, 2000), as empirical units (Scholz & Tietje, 2002) or as theoretical constructions (Ragin & Becker, 1992). For this research an approach that looks at case studies as existing objects is inadequate because it will assume the pre-existence of the object as a discrete and closed unit. This would contradict the idea of anti-homosexual violence as involved in changing and located gender and sexual orders and relations, as argued in the Literature Review. Considering these problems, cases were defined here as a process of inquiry and the result of such a process (Stake, 2000, p. 436).

The selection of the two countries was instrumental (Stake, 1995): they are cases where it is possible to gain in-depth knowledge of interactions between the people involved, events and forms of homophobic violence in specific contexts and political conflicts. The in-depth knowledge that each case provides is useful for the theoretical purposes of this research. The selection was not done with the intention of a point–by–point comparison of one country with the other, but to build up knowledge by considering the specific details of each case, allowing each case to serve as a background and a way of thinking more deeply about the other.

Data collection: archives

Information for the two case studies was collected on two field trips. The first was to South Africa, from October 2012 until early January 2013. The second was to Colombia, from late January 2013 until early May 2013. In South Africa archival information was collected in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Bloemfontein. In Colombia, archival information was collected in Bogota. Personal narratives in South Africa were collected by interview in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town. In Colombia narratives were collected in four cities in the Caribbean region: Cartagena, Barranquilla, Santa Marta and Monteria.

In collecting information for the case studies the leading question was the gendered and sexualised condition of armed conflicts and political transitions, and their outcomes. Information was gathered to explore not only the way in which individuals and groups experience anti-homosexual violence or gender identity violence but also how conflicts and transitions to democracy are sexualised and gendered. The following issues were central in the search for information:

- The description of events and cases of anti-homosexual violence
- Experiences of mobilisations and organisation
- The reaction of national institutions or international institutions to such violent events
- Connections between anti-homosexual violence, the socio-political conflicts experienced in each country and the strategies implemented to transform them.

A variety of archives and data bases were consulted in both South Africa and Colombia in order to obtain information. Sources consulted in South Africa are noted in Table 1.

Material consulted in the South African archives was diverse and voluminous. *Exit* is a monthly tabloid. 153 issues were consulted. Collections often consist of several boxes with up to six files in each box. Each file contains a variety of documents, including letters, newspaper clippings and reports from organisations.

Table 1: South African archives and collections consulted

Archive	Collections	General description	Period
The Gay and Lesbian Archive (Johannesburg)	AM 2583 / A 166 Link/Skakel/*Exit*	*Exit* is the 'Gay newspaper of Southern Africa'. It started in 1982 as Link/Skakel. 153 issues were consulted.	1982 – 2000
	AM 2583 Gay Library Collection	106 newsletters from nineteen organisations were revised.	1984 – 1998
	AM 2615 National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE)/Lesbian and Gay Equality Project (LGEP) and Kevan Botha	The NCGLE was an association of more than seventy-four lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered organisations in South Africa. It focussed on law reform, lobbying and litigation. The collection contains forty-eight boxes. The folloing boxes were consulted: I F "Campaign other": File 5: information related to the bombing of Blah Bar in Cape town, 1999 File 6: Miscellaneous "Submission NCGLE to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) on homophobia in the Conduct and Defence of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela 1997" I C 9: South African Police Service I C 10: South African Human Rights Commission	
	AM 2802 Association of Bisexuals, Gays and Lesbians (ABIGALE)	ABIGALE was an organisation active in the transition period. The collection has four files with pamphlets, letters, flyers and internal communications of the organisation. All were reviewed.	1992 – 1995
	AM 2801 Papers of Lesbians and Gays Against Oppression and (LAGO) and Organization of Lesbian and Gay Activist (OLGA)	LAGO/OLGA was an organisation known for its involvement in gay and lesbian rights movements and anti-apartheid struggles. The collection has three boxes with five files. All were consulted.	1983 – 1990
	AM 2757 The aVersion (sic) Project	The aVersion Project reported on the use of aversion therapy by the South African Defence Forces. It contains the materials collected to compile the report, including the transcripts of the interviews and some materials relating to the TRC. Everything in the collection was consulted.	1997 – 1999
Historical Papers Archive	AG 1977 Anti - End of Conscription Campaign ECC materials	This collection contains several documents, bulletins and pamphlets produced by pro –apartheid organisations.	1981 – 1992
	AG 2887 Publications	This collection contained The Aida Parker Newsletter, a pro-apartheid government publication which was consulted.	1981-1992
	AD1912 Press cuttings about Right Wing groups	This collection contains press cuttings collected by the South African Institute of Race Relations.	1980 – 1986
	AD264.27 SA Institute of Race Relations, Press Cuttings about Violence	This is an extensive collection of press articles relating to vigilantes, attacks by police and soldiers and civil unrest. A sample from the early 1980s was consulted.	
	AD1912 SA Institute of Race Relations, Press Cuttings Immorality Act	A collection of press articles concerning mixed marriages.	1976 – 1985
	AG 2543 Independent Board of Investigation into Informal Repression - IBIIR	The IBIIR was created in 1989 to investigate the so called third forces and the alliances between the police and defence forces with paramilitaries, death squads and related forms of violence. Three sub-collections were explored: their bulletins, produced between 1990 and 1994; the reports on police misconduct and their reports on Right Wing organizations.	1989 - 1994
South African History Archive (Johannesburg)	AL 2878 The Freedom of Information Program Collection A01 Gays in the Apartheid Military	The collection contains nine boxes with documents relating to the management of homosexuality in the Military Forces.	1972 – 1984
	AL 3135 The Gertrude Fester Collection	This collection contains the document: 'Apartheid residue – women´s lives, struggles and testimonies; challenging patriarchal lenses'	2001

	AL 3137 The Mark Behr Collection	This collection contains the submission presented by Mark Behr in relation to his collaboration with the South African Police.	1997
Archive for Contemporary Affairs (Bloemfontein)	University of Pretoria, Institute for Strategic Studies Review	A publication relating to official South African strategic perceptions	1980 – 1986
	Different descriptors	Assorted documents relating to State propaganda and propaganda produced by the National Party	1980 – 1993
National Archives of South Africa (CT)	Objectionable Literature	This collection contains the rulings of the Publication Control Board on objectionable publications. The template for assessing such documents was considered for the analysis.	c. 1960s

In Colombia, the library, press archives and data bases of the *Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular* (CINEP) were consulted. CINEP has been producing human rights reports since the mid-80s using national press, testimony from victims and reports generated by grassroots organisations. Sources consulted in Colombia are recorded in Table 2. Compared to the material consulted in South Africa, the material consulted in Colombia was better organised and relatively condensed. Some of this material is also accessible in electronic version.

Table 2: Colombian archives, collections and data bases consulted

Collection	General description	Period
National Press: Digital	This is a digital archive of information from ten national and regional newspapers. Information under the codes D8 Género, Juventud e Infancia' and 'D8 4: Acciones y protestas gays, LGBTI' was consulted.	1994
National Press: Microfilm	Microfilms under the code *'Clase D Sociedad y Cultura'* and "03 *Situación de los sexos – Problemas (hombre, mujer, minorías sexuales)*' were consulted.	1979 – 1994
Noche y Niebla	Monthly report on human rights violations. It comes from information collected in several data bases produced by CINEP. The codes: '*Intolerancia Social* and '*violencia politica – intolerancia social*' were consulted in the digital version.	1996 -
Publicaciones de *Justicia y Paz*	*Justicia y Paz* was published by the Colombian Conference of Religious Communities. It started in 1988 and finished in 1996, when *Noche y Niebla* started to be published. Information under the code: 'Intolerancia social' was consulted in the nine volumes produced in that period.	1988 - 1996

Data collection: personal narratives of critical events

I interviewed a selected sample of activists, human rights advocates, public employees and leading academics in Colombia and South Africa. Interviews in South Africa were recorded in English and those in Colombia in Spanish. A total of fifty-six interviews were conducted, audio-recorded and used in the research.

My academic peers and personal contacts in South Africa helped me to compile a directory of key names and current academics and activists who have had a leading role in the anti-apartheid struggles. The result was a sample of participants with high levels of expertise in the topic, most of them familiar with research procedures, rights lobbying and with being interviewed. All the participants but two, were interviewed in capital cities in the country (Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town), giving the sample a mainly urban profile. Of the twenty-three participants, fourteen are currently working for national or international NGOs, while the others are distributed among academia and State institutions. Two do not have permanent jobs and live in KwaThema, a township in the East Rand, Gauteng region. Twenty-one of the participants can be considered middle class professionals. Twenty of the twenty-three participants are over fifty years old. Most were teenagers in the mid-1980s, when the anti-apartheid struggles was experiencing one of its most important peaks, and were young professionals during the transition to democracy, in the mid-1990s. Five of them were high school or university students in the 1970s.

All of the participants agreed that their real names should be used in the research.

Considering that in Colombia the socio-political conflict has important regional characteristics, the researcher decided to focus the case study in the Caribbean area. Using networks known to the researcher and with the collaboration of a local organisation, a list of participants was created and interviews were requested according to the ethics protocol authorised by the University of Sydney. The collection of personal narratives in Colombia followed the same sampling criteria used in South Africa. People connected with activism or academia who wished to participate were consulted, rather than direct victims of violence.

The result, as in the case of South Africa, was a collection of narratives of mainly urban activists and NGO workers, with a secondary representation of academics and public employees. Participants were from three of the main cities of the Colombian Caribbean region: Barranquilla, Cartagena and Santa Marta. Interviews were also realised in Monteria, a capital city in the Caribbean lowlands. Half of the participants are currently working as activists in local NGOs. The others are distributed between academic experts

and regional public employees. Two of them are university students. Most of the participants in Colombia are in their twenties and early thirties. Only five of the thirty-three are more than forty years old. The sample is made up from recent students and young professionals from working class families in low-paid freelance occupations. Only two of them are middle class full-time employees.

Because of the current violence in Colombia, the names of participants were changed for their protection.

The next table summarises the characteristics of the participants, according to the research purposes.

Table 3: Interviews by Region, Age and Occupation

Country	Number of participants and location	Average age	Number of participants for current area of expertise			
			NGO	GO	Academia	Other
South Africa	9 Cape Town	55.5	7	1	1	
	9 Johannesburg	47.5	7	2		
	3 Pretoria	47.5	1		2	
	2 KwaThema	45				2
	Subtotal: 23	48.8	15	3	3	2
Colombia	9 Barranquilla	35	8			1
	10 Monteria	37.5	5	3	3	
	11 Santa Marta	31.7	4	6		2
	3 Cartagena	25	2			
	Subtotal: 33	32.3	19	12	6	3
Totals			34	15	9	5

Of this sample, twelve cases were selected for further analysis with the objective of obtaining theoretical saturation and constructing illustrative cases. Those cases are presented in Chapter 6.

In the case of activists and advocates the interviews explored experiences of homophobic violence and how these events were incorporated in the memories of collective actors and in their processes of organisation and mobilisation. In the case of public employees the interviews considered how State institutions reacted to those events, what kind of public policy actions were developed or not and why. Interviews with leading academics focused on the accumulation of knowledge on the topic and on the participation of academics in bringing the situation to public attention and their lobbying and mobilisation against homophobic violence.

Questions were designed to assist in the reconstruction of memories of events related to homophobic violence. Respondents were not requested to narrate personal experiences of violence. The questions could, however, lead participants to revisit memories of painful events. The researcher was always attentive to this and protective measures were taken

to avoid revictimisation caused by the recall of personal experiences. The fact that most of the participants in South Africa had had experience of being interviewed facilitated such a process. In the case of Colombia, the sharing of the language, the recognition of the researcher as expert in the field because of his previous experiences, and the support of a local organisation, ameliorated the possible traumatic effect of the interviews. Even more, in Colombia the researcher was often asked by participants to share his impressions of previous experiences in other places, which facilitated the creation of a dialogue and confidence in the interview. The position of the researcher will be discussed later in this chapter.

The interview protocol, in Spanish and English, is presented in the Appendix 1.

Interviews were based on an oral history perspective instead of a question-answer structure. Participants in the research are involved in the creation of memories and in the collective histories of the groups they work for, or to which they are related. Most of the persons interviewed in South Africa have had roles in the documentation, analysis and transformation of apartheid violence. In the case of Colombia a number of the participants are currently working for the recognition of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people as victims of the socio-political conflict and are involved in rights lobbying activities.

Oral history narratives have been criticised because of the illusion of authenticity or transparency. Oral history narratives can perpetuate academic authority because of the connection between the speaker and the claim of authenticity of the narration. Feminist (Haug, 1987) or queer researchers (Epprecht, 2004) have used oral history not as a way to collect information but as process of engagement, expression, empowerment, reflexivity and collective organisation. Oral narratives also facilitate the expression of contradictions and dissident voices (Epprecht, 2004, p. 233), instead of unified or homogenised narratives.

In this study, participants are seen as expert producers of knowledge. Their involvement in the transformation of violence in their countries has given them specialised knowledge. The knowledge they have acquired can be seen in terms of 'practical knowledge', a knowledge drawn from experience (Maddison & Scalmer, 2006) that they use and transform in their work and activism. In this way, the oral histories they shared are narratives that involve complex interactions between research and practice, as has been considered in other approaches to oral history (Fals-Borda, 1991). How these multiple forms of knowledge are part of the global geopolitics of knowledge (Connell, 2007) will be considered in the final chapters.

Data management and analysis

Information from interviews and from the archives was processed in two ways.

In the research project, data management of personal narratives was planned using a methodology for the elicitation of open interviews. Interviews were expected to be coded using a codebook that followed the chosen theoretical perspective and the topics of interviews. If in the process of reading, marking and coding, new themes appear, the researcher creates new codes to identify units of information belonging to a similar cultural domain. This process of coding is called 'open coding' and 'in vivo coding' in software written for the analysis of qualitative information such as Atlas.Ti and Nvivo 9. Following that style of analysing interviews, after information is coded it is associated in order to create new aggregations useful for research purposes.

This procedure was followed at the beginning of this research but the results were unsatisfactory. The logic of categorical coding fractures the unity and fluidity that were at the core of the personal narratives. The method is useful as a way to index large amounts of information with standardised external categories; but impedes understanding of the silences, contradictions and several subtexts that constitute narratives such as the ones gathered here. The distinction made by Ryan and Bernard (2000) between the linguistic and sociological treatment of texts is useful here. For them a linguistic treatment of texts looks at them as objects in themselves, while a sociological treatment considers them as windows to human experience (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p. 769).

Accordingly a different strategy for data management was adopted during the analysis of data. Once transcribed, each personal narrative was read several times in order to create an index of the topics within that interview. Then, information was grouped by topic using a common template for all the interviewees. The template included four topics that were related to the themes of the research (Gender and sexual orders; Activism and mobilisation; Violence as a lived experience; Transition conflict/post-conflict) and four topics that were related to the interviewee and the interview (How the interview went; Life course; Residual information; Synthesis). Appendix 2 shows the template used.

In order to facilitate the visualisation, ordering and access to information, the software Mindjet MindManager Professional© was used. That software was selected for its easy access to the narrative as a unity and allowed the researcher to focus on specific aspects as required. It also facilitated the visualisation of the same unit of information in different topics in order to understand associations. For example, a certain event of the life course

could be also relevant as an experience of violence. The chance to visualise the same event in association with both topics facilitated an understanding of its importance in the narrative. Appendix 3 offers an example of the templates created.

Information collected in archives in South Africa was photographed and converted into PDF files. Permission by archives authorities was obtained before taking pictures. Files were organised in chronological order and according to the source. Information collected in Colombia was transcribed into tables organised chronologically. Chapter 5 explains in detail the procedure for the classification, ordering, selection and analysis of the archive material.

A multilevel analysis was used in this research. In spite of differences in definitions of multilevel analysis (Blau, 1993; Hox, 2010; Ringdal, 1992), the common ground is the call for an ecological and contextual analysis of data in multiple and hierarchical levels of complexity. Applications of multilevel analysis in several social areas and in quantitative and qualitative research inspired the analytical strategy used in this research. Grabe (2012) employs multilevel analysis to explore structural and individual components of women's empowerment in the context of globalization. Using a survey in which women were asked about structural, cultural, group, couple and individual aspects, the author was able to conclude that land ownership and organisational participation were related to a more progressive understanding of gender interactions, more control in interpersonal relationships and better levels of subjective well-being. Connell (2003) used multilevel analysis in educational research to understand how working-class families adapt to changes in the educational system in the context of a new labour market and neo-liberalism. She also used that perspective in her study of masculinities (Connell, 2005) to understand their changes, contradictions and continuities.

In this research multilevel analysis was realized at the following levels:

- Individuals: as presented in chapter Six, where personal narratives constitute examples of different ways in which subjects interact with gender orders, political violence and transitions to democracy
- Groups and organisations: as presented in Chapter Seven and Eight, where personal narratives are interconnected to illustrate collective experiences
- Public arenas: as in Chapters Eight and Nine, where archival material and personal narratives are connected to show how anti-homosexual violence becomes a matter of concern in activism and in the transitions to democracy
- State, country: as presented in Chapters Nine and Ten, where personal narratives, archival material and secondary information will allow the thesis to illustrate the

changes, continuities and new developments in anti-homosexual violence during and after conflicts.

Problems identified in multilevel analysis have been introduced in the literature review. While for authors such as Currier (2010) homophobic violence is a particular type of violence that requires to be analysed separately from other types of violence, for Bennett (2010) anti-homosexual violence is part of gender and sexual violence. In other words, while for the former such violence does not belong to a broader hierarchy of violence, for the later it is nested in the hierarchies of gender and sexual violence.

Multilevel analysis relies on the notion of levels that can be differentiated and on the ability of the researcher to do it. Kreft and Hox (1994) call attention to the problem of analysing data at one level and making inferences at a different level. That was a particular matter of concern when looking for the connections between anti-homosexual violence and the socio-political context in each country analysed. Another risk is in the type of aggregation created, because what is considered a level can be in itself the result of several other sub-levels. That problem was faced in the initial analysis of archival material. Information related to different events of anti-homosexual violence was classified in the archive as if the events were a similar type of violence. The research showed that some events could be treated at one or at multiple levels of analysis. Chapter Five will illustrate this in detail using archival material.

The analysis in levels can lead to a linear reading of data, which impedes the understanding of complexities, juxtapositions and assemblages of elements coming from unequal levels. This risk was faced in personal narratives where situations that could be unique to a particular person could not be associated with general tendencies. In order to deal with that problem, a continuing assessment of events and subjectivities in their specific cultural and historical context was adopted. Since the perspective of activists and organisations was a relevant matter here, a continuous reconsideration of how group definitions are created, negotiated and contested was used, following an approach that researchers in sexualities have discussed (Gamson, 2000).

Finally, there is a risk in the definition of the hierarchies of levels and the nesting of topics. That problem was encountered when describing what could be considered a 'gender order' or a 'gender regime' and the changes caused by conflicts. The final chapters will offer several examples of this issue.

On ethics and positionality

In this research methodology and ethics have been intimately linked. Though in this document I have been talking mostly in the third person, facing ethical aspects requires me to talk in the first person. The topic of this research results not only from academic interest but also from personal involvement. In Colombia I participated in activist and advocacy initiatives for the protection of rights of gays, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people. I am at the same time an 'insider' and an 'outsider' of these experiences since as part of my professional career I have been producing memories and theoretical documents to support the work of activist organisations and of public institutions.

This situation affected my fieldwork in Colombia in several ways. While it facilitated dialogue with some activists and advocates at the regional level, it also raised questions among others about the uses of the information collected or my alignment in current activist politics. Because some participants knew my academic and activist work in the field, some interviews transformed into a kind of dialogue in which I was also questioned. Those questions related to academic knowledge on the topic and not to my personal experiences. During the field work I was asked to participate in events organised by local organisations, to give comments on drafts of projects and to facilitate meetings between activists and public institutions. The fact that I was doing my PhD research in an international university facilitated access to some spaces, such as governmental institutions. This situation resulted from some perception of neutrality or externality in relation to the Colombian context. However, some participants restricted their narratives because of these same factors.

This research also looks from the present back to experiences of mine from years ago, making the idea of observation and presence more complex. Methodologically this is not an auto-ethnography but in the case of Colombia I was a witness of some the processes I intend to describe.

In the fieldwork in the Colombian Caribbean region the topic of the research raised questions from several participants about my sexual orientation. The way participants perceived my sexual orientation affected the data collection process in at least three modes. In one mode, when I was perceived as a gay man, activists acted in a kind of alliance with me, sharing information as with a peer. In another mode, participants who did not know whether I was a member of the *comunidad LGBT* (LGBT community*)* but assumed I were, interacted with me as a kind of advocate for the rights of such persons. That was evident in the conversation with some public employees working on the protection of human rights, who considered my research a contribution to advocacy. In one case, one of the first questions I was asked by a person in charge of human rights in a government office was if I was gay. What I felt was that her question was done with the

intention of knowing the reasons I was interested in the topic. In the third mode, other participants who apparently did not perceive me as a gay man, positioned me as an outsider to the 'LGBT community' and included me in a kind of heterosexual approach to homosexual life in the region. This perception of me as an outsider could have been facilitated by the fact that I was also perceived as someone born in the capital region and doing studies in a foreign country.

In this way, in both of the places where I did the fieldwork for this thesis, I had a certain position as 'outsider'. I am not South African, and was in the country just once before this fieldtrip, English is not my mother tongue, nor do I speak other South African languages. On the other hand, in Colombia a long history of internal colonialism, the application of centralist policies and the presence of important cultural differences have created significant distances between regions. There I was perceived as a *cachaco*, a term given to people born in the Andean lands and used to establish distances, differences and hierarchies among Colombians.

However, my status as an outsider was not the same in each country. The fact that English is not my mother tongue affected my fluency in the interviews. In South Africa, therefore, I was more restricted to the interview protocol designed previously. In Colombia, because I could interview participants in my mother tongue and with more cultural competence, I was able to reframe questions and to develop a more dialogical approach to the interviews. However, the same conditions sometimes reoriented the interviews to the situation in which I was the one being asked for concepts or comments on related topics and to provide interpretations about the topics I was exploring.

In a way, while doing research in a South African context, I had to construct a subject position for me and my research, whereas in the case of Colombia I needed to deconstruct some of the positions I had before and construct new ones. In my case being an outsider or insider are not fixed or static positions in research but fluid, permeable and ever-shifting social locations (Naples, 1997).

These shifts are also affected by contextual aspects. Before my fieldtrip to South Africa I was aware of the criticism raised by South African activists about the use and exploitation of their stories for research purposes. Because of the limitations of my fieldwork trip and the context of the research, I was not able to create a more reciprocal relationship with participants. In the early days in Cape Town I was informed also of discussions among lesbian activists about the effects that foreign representations of the violence they have been facing have created on their activism. What I experienced as the usual problems in fieldwork in obtaining rapport maybe also a resistance to the use of South Africa as a laboratory for doctoral students.

The current political context in each country produced several ethical dilemmas for this research. Describing experiences of victimisation that affect certain groups can be useful for advocacy but can also accentuate representations of vulnerability. The creation of memories based on violent events can contribute to the empowerment of victims but can also contribute to their disempowerment when they are defined only as victims. Making visible certain events can be useful for activists' agendas but can also create undesirable visibilities with different political implications. Despite the fact that description of direct experiences of victimisation was not part of the research protocol, some participants shared painful and dramatic events, breaking the separation between internality and externality that was implicit in the research design. Not including those narratives would have conflicted with their desire to share those testimonies with others.

Based on the work of African feminist theorists, Ashley Currier (2011) elaborates the concept of 'representational ethics'. She is referring to the permanent interrogation of the implications generated by the representations and interpretations done in qualitative research. The term expressed several principles that Currier applied in her field work in order to protect her participants and the organisations that facilitated her presence. In my research the idea of a revision of the implication of representation has been fundamental. It implies not only the application of some ethical principles in the moment of research design, but a permanent reflexivity all through the research process.

Finally, there are implications for the researcher in doing research on experiences of social suffering, violence and victimisation, which affect both methods and analysis. Emotions are not just produced by researchers on participants as often considered in methodological discussions. They also precede the space of the interview and frame the research process and the researcher's experiences. While reading data bases that covered many cases of abuse, torture and killings I developed a resistance to looking at such descriptions, in order to classify, create taxonomies or find patterns in such horrible ways to kill human beings and to violate their rights. I also became cautious about describing details of abuse, torture and humiliation. This situation pervaded the entire research project, and required a constant exercise of reflection on the writing process and the effects of its conclusions.

Chapter Four: Developing an analysis of anti-homosexual violence

Introduction

This chapter proceeds in two steps: first, discussion of two specific conflicts as represented in recent literature; second, building on this, an attempt to develop an analytic frame for the main case studies in the following chapters.

Anti-homosexual violence and violence against transgender persons has been studied mainly from psychosocial perspectives and in non-war contexts. In spite of significant media attention and activism by international human rights organisations, their study amid armed conflicts, political transitions or peace processes is only now emerging.

There is, nevertheless, historical and sociological information about the targeting of individuals and collectives because of their sexual orientation and gender identity during wars and in socio-political conflicts. Persecution of homosexuals by National Socialism during the Second World War has been a basis for theoretical debates on the creation and development of political identities (Grau, 1995; Hekma, 2003; Plant, 1988; Schoppmann, 1995). It is also resulted in some social dilemmas. After the Second World War homosexual victims were faced with the problems inherent in denouncing the violence they had suffered in concentration camps which could expose them to prosecution under surviving laws penalising homosexuality. The risk of this double victimisation sometimes resulted in suppression of the truth and caused the memories of victims to be edited and amended. Homosexuals were not recognised in post-war instruments of compensation and memorialisation. The post-war context created hierarchies of victims, giving voice to some and rendering others invisible.

Former Yugoslavia

Wars in the former Yugoslavia resulted from a combination of secessionist movements and the revival of ethnic tensions in the fragile unity of the former Yugoslavia. The particular place of the former Yugoslavia in the Communist Bloc and its ethnic diversity had an important role in how gender and sexual politics shaped nationalism before, during and after the wars. The state sanctioning of nationalist gender politics that promoted gender equality during socialism also impeded alternative non-nationalistic women's and feminist movements (Ramet, 1999). Multiracial, multi-faith and multicultural communities created by industries, education and cross-marriage (Bowman, 2003), were divided by nationalistic movements that started in the late 1980s. With the beginning of the Yugoslav wars, nationalism intensified, driven by ideas of revenge against other

social groups. The breakup caused a transition from state-socialism to state-nationalism in countries like Serbia (Baiocchi, 2009). Religious and cultural differences gave particular shape to those transitions. Pre-war gender and sexual orders traced specific trends in warfare and were changed with it.

In pre-war gender politics, homosexuality was in an uneven situation. In Croatia, psychiatrists trained in Soviet schools saw homosexuality in a medical context and, whenever possible, recommended re-education (Juras & Graan, 2010). Homosexuality, nevertheless, was decriminalised in Croatia in 1977, 'closeted homosexuality' was tolerated and lesbian women participating in feminist organisations that started to become visible in the late 80s (Juras & Graan, 2010). However, such visibility was partial and sequestered. On the other hand, in Slovenia, homosexuality was decriminalised in 1976, there was a vibrant 'gay' culture in the 1980s and one of the longest traditions of homosexual mobilisation in Eastern Europe (Kuhar, 2010).

Nationalistic wars based on ethnicity reshaped patriarchal masculinities into warrior masculinities (Magas, 1999; Munn, 2006; Simić, 1999). Nationalism resulted in more street violence against women, anti-abortion campaigns and representations of women as mothers of the nation in the case of Serbia (Todosijevic, 1996). In his political campaign and presidency, the first Croatian president Franjo Tudman promoted family values, a cult of masculinity, motherhood and national identity as part of the democratisation process (Juras & Graan, 2010; Pavlovic, 1999).

During the war in Croatia (1991-1995), with increasing nationalism and considerable Catholic influence in politics, lesbian activism declined (Juras & Graan, 2010). The Catholic Church led campaigns against abortion and homosexuality and religious right-wing sectors obtained more visibility (Perica, 2006). However, some alternative social spaces were created. in 1992 Lesbian and Gay Men Action Zagreb (LIGMA), the first lesbian and gay group, was founded (Juras & Graan, 2010) and contacted the Minister of Health to raise awareness of HIV (IGLHRC, c1995). Collaborations with the Radical Party, a non-violent and democratic organisation, facilitated international contacts and connected the 'freedom to express sexuality' with anti-militaristic and feminist topics (IGLHRC, c1995).

In war, gender politics represented homosexuality as being contrary to national ideas. Serbian 'gays' were represented as enemies of the State and 'being gay' became a 'luxury' (Boothe, 1999). Arkadia, the first gay and lesbian organisation was founded in 1990, a year before the wars started in Serbia (Mladjenovic, 2001). In 1991 the organisation was refused legal recognition (Hendriks, Veen, & Tielman, 1993). In 1994, homosexuality was decriminalised in Serbia. In the same year, members of Arkadia, who

shared an office with another organisation working with victims of war, were thrown out by their colleagues under accusations of giving them a bad reputation and because of their unsuitability to work with young rape survivors (Mladjenovic, 1994). Wars not only broke interethnic and intercultural relationships but also solidarities among those who had been allied in earlier social movements.

Lepa Mladjenovic (Mladjenovic, 1994, 2001), a lesbian activist in Serbia, describes how violence increased with the escalation of wars. Lesbian women were beaten in the streets in 1995 and cultural activities they promoted were ruptured by police. While some gays, lesbians and feminist organisations decided to join nationalist movements others worked with women victims of the war and joined anti-war and anti-militaristic movements. According to her, social conditions of war impeded the development of a lesbian identity. As she remembers, wars made hierarchies of victims' needs, including issues of identity and rights.

Sexual identities were also expressed in ethnic terms in wartime. During the wars, the refreshing of old myths about sodomy, invasions and rape facilitated the use of sexuality in general, and male homosexuality in particular, to define ethnic differences, and this, for example inspired violence against Bosnian men (Pavlovic, 1999). Faruk, a Bosnian man sexually abused by Serbian armed men, was called a 'Turk' during torture (Vranic, 1996). The use of sexual violence committed by men against men during the war in Bosnia was reported in the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, as in the case against Dusan Tadic (1994). Sexual abuse and torture of men occurred alongside other forms of abuse such as forced performing of sexual acts as a form of entertainment for paramilitaries (Vranic, 1996, p. 292).

With the ending of the wars and increasing international presence, gender politics transformed again. The countries that had been parts of the former Yugoslavia were reconstructed with international standards administered by NGOs and foreign agencies. For example, the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH), created by the Dayton Agreement (1995), incorporated sixteen human rights instruments into domestic law (Global-Rights, Organization-LOGOS, & Organization-Q, c2006). A year later homosexuality was decriminalised in BiH. 'Civil society' development was promoted as part of conflict resolution strategies supported by international organisations and cooperation agencies (Belloni, 2001). It led to changes in social mobilisations that were not possible before. In Serbia, 'civil society' development was seen as a chance for resistance, anti-nationalist and anti-war mobilisations, such as Women in Black (Baiocchi, 2009).

New forms of gay and lesbian mobilisation appeared in the post-conflict context. Gay and lesbian activists in Serbia participated in the protests that would lead to the fall of Milosevic in 2000 (Mladjenovic, 2001). Post-conflict initiatives around victims' centres facilitated a reorganisation of lesbian women in Croatia (Sagasta, 2001). There, gay and lesbian activists set up an emergency service for lesbian and gay Bosnians (Amnesty-International, 1997). The first 'Gay Pride' parade in Serbia occurred in 2001. In November 2004, the International Initiative for Visibility of Queer Muslims (IIVQM) was created by a group of young 'LGBTIQ' activists from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Lebanon as a space for faith-based dialogue (IGLHRC, 2005).

Ethnic nationalisms that supported the new states reclaimed traditional gender orders. In Kosovo, western political modernisation and peacebuilding discourses reinforced militarism and patriarchy (Krasniqi, 2007). There, infantilisation and mothering of the statebuilding by United Nations agencies joined pressures to recognise non-Islamic, modern, Western behaviour in public life and in institutions without making real changes in traditional gender roles (Krasniqi, 2007, p. 18). In Croatia, an obsession with homosexuality and a fear of appearing effeminate characterised masculinities and gender politics in the war period and the transition to peace (Pavlovic, 1999). During peace negotiations, Croatian president Tudjan and Serbian president Milosevic were depicted naked, holding hands or in the same bed. Serbian men were targets of homophobic representations in Croat ultranationalistic publications (Pavlovic, 1999, p. 134).

Post-conflict transition having the European Union as a model also reinforced internal differences. In Serbia, opposition to Milosevic promoted by Serbian intellectuals took the form of 'civil society' development and was presented as an alternative model to the 'Serbia of peasants' (Mikuš, 2011). There, by mid-2000 the political landscape was divided between some elites who identified with the incorporation of the new nation in the European Union, using discourses around human rights and international NGOs, and the popular masses' identification with tradition, nationalism and anti-elitism (Greenberg, 2006). While one side of the political landscape was represented as 'feminine' the other was seen as 'masculine' (Greenberg, 2006, p. 326).

Nationalisms and resistances to what have been perceived as homogenisation or cultural impositions created new forms of violence. The first 'Gay Pride' in Serbia was broken up by men described by international gay and lesbian organisations as 'soccer hooligans and nationalistic thugs' (IGLHRC, 2001). In 2008 during the Queer Sarajevo Festival at least ten people were injured as result of hate speeches and incitement to violence (IGLHRC & ILGA, 2009). 'Hate speech' increased in Slovenia after independence (Kuhar, 2010).

Pressure to join the European Union led to legal changes to adopt international standards all through the 2000s. Human rights, gender equity and 'gay rights' started to be used as the markers of proximity to, or distance from, the legal and economic order imposed by the European Union. Gender equality measures were incorporated in Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia in the early 2000s. Using the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR), countries such as Bosnia–Herzegovina started to be evaluated. As a result, the presence of 'substantive abuses' against homosexual and transgender individuals and groups was denounced (Global-Rights, et al., c2006). International gay and lesbian organisations also made visible resistances to incorporate issues of 'sexual orientation' or 'gender identity' in those legal changes (IGLHRC, 2007; IGLHRC & ILGA, 2009).

By the mid 2000s, legal protection of 'sexual minorities' was seen as part of the efforts of countries to harmonise their laws with those of the European Union. In Croatia, LGBT activists, supported by feminist and peace organisations, lobbied for changes (Jugović, Pikić, & Bokan, 2007). Activists presented the incorporation of such measures as part of the candidacy of countries to join the European Union and compared changes in different countries (IGLHRC & ILGA, 2009, p. 3). By the early 2010s State sponsorship of 'gay pride' started to appear in countries such as Serbia (Mikuš, 2011).

Peru

Peru had a military dictatorship between 1968 and 1980 that finished with democratic elections. As this transition was perceived as a bourgeois democracy, movements for change were developed in the 1980s. Political violence was preceded by a long history of colonial sequels, social, political and gender inequalities and lack of state action to deliver justice and equity. Inspired by Maoist ideology, *Partido Comunista del Peru Sendero Luminoso* (PCP-SL) initiated a *guerra popular* (popular war) in the early 1980s. *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru* (MRTA) was created in 1982 as an alliance between left organisations inspired by revolutionary movements in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia. Peruvian State-reinforced security declared states of emergency (1981), suspended Constitutional rights and created contra-guerrilla armies. Vigilantism was promoted by all the sectors involved. Between 1980 and 2000 there were at least 69.280 war victims and extensive gross violations of human rights (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003c).

Sexual violence against women was used by all those involved in the conflict (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003b). Gender and sexual violence affected mainly young women in the rural and impoverished high mountain areas in the South of the country where Quechua-speaking communities live although cruelty and merciless atrocities were carried out by all the armed forces involved. Guerrilla movements were organised with a model of militaristic masculinities that combined left and communist ideologies with gender barriers and demarcations characteristic of the various ethnic communities.

Violence against homosexual men, lesbian women and *travesti*s, was committed by all the military forces involved. Such events were denounced by activists in international spheres soon after they happened (Amnesty-International, 1997, p. 20). Gay and lesbian organisations started in the early 1980s but economic crisis and political violence affected their development (Montalvo, 2005). Limited space for participation, stigmatisation of alternative social projects and a climate of persecution may have affected organisations organised around sexual orientation and gender identities when the larger conflict was escalating.

Between 1985 and 1990 PCP-SL committed several actions of extrajudicial killings against people defined as *indeseables* (unwanted). A woman kidnapped by the PCP-SL in San Martin told the CVR about torture and sexual violence committed against women and homosexual men before they were killed (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003a). By 1986 PCP-SL had already consolidated and was extending its military operations. *Comites de Apoyo Popular Paralelo*, were organised. Their role was to provide information, collect taxes, support traders and kill *malos elementos* (bad member) (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003a, p. 261). In Ucayali, where PCP-SL was expanding its base of supporters and gaining control of drug dealing, a *Comite de Apoyo* imposed an extensive moral code. The code imposed political education, regulated the production of coca, the consumption of alcohol and forms of marriage and punished homosexuality, prostitution and robbery (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003e, p. 238). In August 6, 1986, ten '*homosexuales and prostitutas*' were assassinated in Aucayacu, a region that was one of the most affected by political violence in the 1980s (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003a, p. 261). As a result, an unspecified number of 'gays and *travesti*s' left the area (Montalvo, 2006, p. 10).

Events were made public and in some cases communities justified the actions. In September 12, 1988, journalists in Pucallpa were called to witness how members of the PCP-SL killed eight women and men accused of being *fumones, cabros y prostis* (drug users, faggots and prostitutes) (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003a, p. 292). Pucallpa was already a centre of protests and repressive measures by authorities. A

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sector of the community accepted the actions as necessary because they provided security and calm. Neighbour communities called for the presence of PCP-SL to perform similar *limpiezas* (cleansings) (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003a, p. 292).

MRTA also committed similar actions but under different circumstances. By the mid 1980s the MRTA had consolidated a military structure and had obtained gains in its actions against State authorities (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003d, p. 392) By the end of the 1980s, however, national and international contexts were not as favourable for the MRTA. Similar movements in Guatemala and El Salvador signed peace agreements and the country faced an economic, political and social crisis. The MRTA was facing destruction. A more militaristic faction took control and the more political members left the movement (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003d, p. 287). After that, the MRTA intended to control the people through the use of moral arguments. In areas such as Ucayali, where MRTA was disputing control with PCP-SL, a *Cruzada contra el Vicio* (Crusade against Vice) was launched (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003a, p. 236).

On May 31, 1989, six members of the MRTA killed eight *travestis* in a bar in Tarapoto, Department of San Martin. *Cambio*, the weekly journal of the MRTA, claimed the action with the headline *Hacen humo a delincuentes y soplones* (Delinquents and Snitchers Blown). The massacre was justified as response to the permissiveness and lack of action of the authorities in failing to punish those *lacras sociales* (social blights) who were corrupting youth. The following February, the MRTA condemned the activities of all *homosexuales*, thieves, drug users and *prostitutas* and warned them to *enmendar su vida* (amend their lives). A well known young homo was killed as a warning. The CVR received testimony that confirmed the crime. The victim was left with a banner saying *Asi mueren los maricones* (This is how faggots die). Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual de Lima (MOLH), announced that another three *travestis* were killed by the MRTA in 1990 (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003d, p. 288).

Not all communities affected by the actions of PCP-SL or MRTA supported the imposition of moral codes and the commission of extrajudicial killings. When PCP-SL arrived to the aboriginal province of Pedro Abad and proclaimed their 'laws', the community responded that they were monogamous, did not steal and did not have *malas costumbres* (bad customs) (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003e, p. 242). They also opposed the recruiting of youth. The CVR found that by the early 1990s the participation of the MRTA in drug dealing, the killing of peasants accused of supporting opposite groups and the assassination of *indeseables* (unwanted) persons such as homosexuals, prostitutes or drug users, caused a loss of regional support (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003a, p. 285).

Lesbian women, homosexual men and *travesti*s were also victims of detention and extrajudicial killings committed by State agents or armed groups associated with them. In 1987, when conflict was escalating and State use of force was stronger, a lesbian bar in Lima was raided by police (Dorf & Careaga, 1995). Television cameras were present in the raid and broadcast the operation in the news. Many of the women lost their jobs, some were beaten by their families and at least two were raped after leaving the police station (Dorf & Careaga, 1995, p. 327). Victor Rivas, a young man known for his 'homosexual tendencies' and for using female clothing, was detained in 1984 by a group of masked men (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003f). His mother found him detained in the Marine barracks the day after, and could hear him there. Later on he was found dead. Despite the fact that homosexuality was not illegal in the country, legal measures related to public space and 'decency' seem to have been used against *travesti*s and homosexuals. In 1991 police raided an HIV benefit meeting and in 1993 President Fujimori fired 117 civil servants because of presumed homosexuality (Hendriks, et al., 1993, p. 315).

Political violence ended with the dismantling of the guerrillas in the second part of the 1990s. In 2001 a *Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) was created. In 2002 the first Pride Parade took place in Lima. The final report of the CVR has a short chapter called *Actos de Terror contra Minorias Sexuales* (Terror Actions against Sexual Minorities) (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003d, pp. 287-288). It is one of few cases of inclusion of the topic of homosexuality and gender identity in truth commissions. Despite this, violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people continued in the post-conflict context. *Travesti*s, in particular, are still the main targets of violence in Peru.

Variations in uses of anti-homosexual violence

In the previous examples anti-homosexual violence varies in three ways: methods; results; and the identity of the victims. Such variations can also be identified in the current literature. Researchers of Latin American conflicts, for example, have found that militants can have negative attitudes toward homosexuality as in the case of Peru (Montalvo, 2006); but attitudes can also fluctuate between rejection and partial tolerance, as in Nicaragua where Sandinismo wanted to be perceived as a progressive movement and presented itself in international arenas as inclusive of homosexuality (Lancaster, 1992). Their attitudes changed, however, depending on whether the topic under discussion was male or female homosexuality (Babb, 2003). The use or not of violence can also change

according to the political trends of the perpetrators, as has been already suggested for the case of Colombia (Payne, 2007).

The examples introduced here help to explore these differences in detail. In relation to the way in which homophobic violence operates, while the case of Peru can be seen as explicit prosecution, in the former Yugoslavia there was State reinforcement of the spread of discrimination. The two examples also vary in intensity. Events in Peru, under the form of massacres, occurred in specific places and under particular circumstances of warfare, causing intensive suffering for a limited time. Events in the former Yugoslavia operated through public policies that imposed gender divisions and sexual orders in which direct violence was only one among several other strategies of control.

The difference between 'persecution' as an intentional act of targeting a vulnerable population and 'discrimination' as a cultural practice of intolerance and prejudice has been of relevance in the discernment of cases of gay, lesbian, transsexual and transgender persons who look for asylum (LaViolette, 2009). The nature of the 'persecution' suffered by 'asocial' women and homosexuals during WWII has been also a constant matter of debate. Some perspectives explain the persecution of Jews and homosexuals as part of the 'racial cleansing' policies imposed by the National Socialism (Plant, 1988). For others, homosexual men and women were persecuted in a similar way to religious and political dissenters (Jensen, 2002) while some locate the issue in the broad policies regarding sexuality, embodiment and gender relations that supported ideas of 'purity', 'sexual balance' and reproduction intrinsic to eugenic ideologies (Grau, 1995).

Changes in legal status of homosexuality in the former Yugoslavia offer interesting viewpoints from which to discuss interactions between law, sexuality and wars. Homosexuality was decriminalised in Slovenia and Croatia years before their wars ignited. While Slovenia had a vibrant gay culture, Croatia was conservative and accepted considerable influence from the Catholic Church in public policies. Decriminalisation of homosexuality happened in Serbia when the conflict was escalating and in BiH after it. Legal prosecution or legal protection does not seem to be in direct connection with pre- or post-war contexts.

Examples offer useful information when we consider how conflicts and homosexuality interact in terms of the objectives of armed groups struggling for power. Anti-homosexual violence can serve multiple purposes:

- Shaming, humiliation and dehumanisation: Homosexualisation or feminisation of the enemy has been identified in a variety of conflicts as a way to administer shame and subordination (Oosterhoff, Zwanikken, & Ketting, 2004; Sivakumaran, 2010).The use of sexual torture in the context of same-sex sexuality aimed at shaming and

dehumanising 'the other' was known during the Yugoslav wars, as evidenced in testimonies before the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (Oosterhoff, et al., 2004). In the case of Peru, armed militants committed anti-homosexual violence in public, even using television or printed media to publicise their actions.

- Reinforcing territorial control: in the case of Peru anti-homosexual violence happened at the peaks of political violence and when militants were expanding military control. In the Yugoslav wars, there was a peak of sexual violence in Serbian camps when they were expanding their control over Bosnian territories (Loncar, Henigsberg, & Hrabac, 2010).

- Obtaining community support: In the case of Peru, as militants explained, anti-homosexual violence was presented as a service offered to the community because of the lack of action by legal institutions. They intended to obtain support for their territorial control and expansion through homophobic activism.

- Re-educating and maximizing resources: While in the case of Peru militants used persecution to eliminate 'unwanted' groups, policies applied during WWII against homosexual men and 'asocial' women were intended to re-educate them to perform productive and reproductive gender roles. The parallelism between anti-homosexual violence and nationalist policies against abortion and pro-family and reproduction can be seen in a similar way.

- Impeding social mobilisations: the examples of the former Yugoslavia or Peru show how threats against gay and lesbian organisations by militant groups impeded their development and affected their chance of participating in broader resistance initiatives.

Variations can be seen also with reference to identifying the target of such violence. Under the discussion between 'persecution' and 'discrimination' there is the matter of how gender and sexual diverse subjects are perceived and will act as particular and differentiated groups in society. In the debate about persecution during WWII some scholars explain victimisation as the results of the characteristics of homosexuals as a collective differentiated by political or quasi-ethnic characteristics. However, examples also suggest that the perception of collectiveness because of sexual orientation or gender identity is not the only one used by militants. In the case of WWII the surveillance, prosecution and violence against lesbian women did not act just in the arena of sexual orientation but in gender and sexual orders in general. In the case of Peru anti-homosexual violence runs parallel to violence against sexual workers and drug users. Even more, in *strictu sensu*, the events in Peru mentioned violence against *travesti*es and non-normative gender subjects.

Examples from other conflicts confirm these differences. Violence against men perceived as effeminate can be justified for their threat to nationalist masculinity (Boellstorff, 2004) and their (supposed) un-productive role in the reproduction of the nation. The so called 'corrective rape' experienced by South African lesbians and women perceived as non-feminine would be the way to keep a nationalist, desexualised and feminised motherhood through a violent period of State building (Di Silvio, 2011). In a similar way, as in the case of the former Yugoslavia, violence against lesbian women in Serbia during the war occurred when reproduction was promoted by nationalist discourses. Transgender women in political transitions and collective violence can face a situation of partial acceptance and explicit discrimination. Armies can tolerate transgender women because of their incorporation in sex work economies, as in the case of Thailand (P. Jackson, 2011). Armies in situations of socio-political conflict can also promote and exercise violence against *travesti*s and transsexuals as has been extensively documented by human rights organisations in Latin America (Fernández, 2004; Kulick, 1998; Lewis, 2010; Montalvo, 2006).

Activism, mobilisations and struggles for dignity

Historical research has found that wars have been times for the development of bonding among same-sex individuals (Bourke, 1996; Fussell, 1975). Homosexual cultures in post-war America were facilitated by the mobilisation of same-sex groups required by patriarchal warfare. What happened during the Second War World in some cities of the United States and European capitals has been described as the great 'coming out' of homosexual networks and sociabilities (Bérubé, 1990). Warfare industries and armies required the mobilisation of populations toward ports and places of combat, enabling networks of socialisation for homosexuals. A discreet lesbian scene emerged in London during the Second World War as result of the access of women to independent jobs and changes in the attitudes toward the access of women to publics spaces and entertainment venues (Jennings, 2006). The need to provide entertainment to soldiers offered some men a refugee space for theatricality and drag performances (Halladay, 2004).

Actions to transform and resist wars have also been spaces for mobilisation and organisation, as the previous description of the former Yugoslavia illustrates. Early gay and lesbian organisations in the United States participated in the mobilisations against war in Vietnam (Adam, 1987). Lesbian women had led anti-nuclear actions (Roseneil, 2000), had participated in liberation movements in Namibia (Currier, 2010) or Nicaragua

(Babb, 2003; Irving, 1987) and in the attention to victims of war in former Yugoslavia (Sagasta, 2001).

However, the negative or ambiguous attitudes toward homosexuality in revolutionary and liberation movements can also impede the open participation of gay and lesbian men and women. Babb (2003) and Irving (1987) showed how despite their active participation in Sandismo, lesbian women could not be open about their sexuality. In the case of South Africa, attitudes toward 'gay rights' were a constant matter of debate in the ANC and changed from denial to inclusion during the transition to democracy (Hoad, Martin, & Reid, 2005).

The case of Yugoslavia suggests also how gay and lesbian individuals can support nationalistic movements. As the in-depth case study of South Africa will show later, sectors of the 'gay community' supported the apartheid regime both directly and indirectly (c.f. Chapter Seven).

Transition conflict/post-conflict

Transitions to democracy and peace can be also opportunities for the development of gay and lesbian rights and organisations as cases from Ireland (Lysaght & Kitchin, 2004), Colombia (Serrano-Amaya, 2013) and South Africa (Massoud, 2003) show. However the results of those opportunities and how they frame a post-conflict gender and sexual order vary. The case of former Yugoslavia show how the inclusion of 'gay rights' in the political orders of new nations was mainly result of pressures to adapt to international standards. In the case of Peru, the threatening of early gay and lesbian organisations impeded their development and therefore kept them alienated from the post-conflict process.

The participation of self-identified lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender activists in transitions to democracy or the granting of rights associated with sexual orientation does not imply that anti-homosexual violence would disappear after peace negotiations and in post-conflict reconstruction. Case studies show how post-conflict situations can exaggerate traditional representations of gender and sexuality (Tambiah, 2005) with direct effects on gender-based violence (Pankhurst, 2008b). Even with the promises of liberal democracy, anti-homosexual violence and violence against gender non-conformative subjects can be reshaped and redeployed in post war societies as has been experienced in South Africa (Croucher, 2002; Hassim, 2009). In spite of a certain visibility of LGBT movements in Northern Ireland, religion and nationalism reshaped gender, sexuality and citizenship after conflict settlement (Lysaght & Kitchin, 2004). In the case of

the former Yugoslavia, post-conflict nationalisms nurtured new forms of 'homophobic' violence.

Gender and sexual orders

The examples mentioned above suggest the importance of understanding anti-homosexual violence in the frame of the gender and sexual orders that predate, were concurrent with and were transformed after conflict. The example of the former Yugoslavia showed how during the Soviet Union influence on gender and sexual orders homogenised populations. During the emergence of new nations, gender and sexual orders exacerbated national differences. Anti-homosexual violence is not a single and stable phenomenon but is multiple and changes in the course of conflicts.

The de-structuring of certain components of gender and sexual orders occur as part of the needs of warfare and the economies of war. The creation of Women's Army Corps in the United States (1943), in spite of opening some spaces for women's access to education was basically a strategy to use women's workforce for the needs of war (Hampf, 2004, p. 15). As an extension of that interpretation, argues Hampf, lesbianism was canalised or sublimated toward military goals while male homosexuality was seen as a direct threat to the core of military masculinity (2004, p. 18). What started as a relative tolerance toward soldiers who were female impersonators changed toward suspicions of homosexuality at the end of the war (Halladay, 2004, p. 26). Anti-homosexual policies at the end of the Second World War forced homosexuals in the armies to take treatment and denounced their partners (Bérubé, 1990, pp. 149-174). While warfare required the use of all work forces, militarisation demands clear administrations of gender and sexual orders. The similarities between the apartheid regime and Nazism in that area, in particular strategies to re-educate white males to fulfil reproductive heterosexual roles, are striking.

In conclusion, current knowledge illustrates how anti-homosexual violence can exist before conflicts, be worsened during wars, transformed and reinforced after peace negotiations and nation building processes. History shows that anti-homosexual violence is not always deployed in the same way or with the same purposes. While in some conflicts gender and sexually diverse collectives are sometimes the targets of militant gangs, in others such persecution may not happen. Anti-homosexual violence does not operate as a consistent phenomenon and may serve a variety of purposes during conflicts. Individuals and their organisations affected by such violence have developed

multiple strategies to respond to them. Anti-homosexual violence is also processed in different ways in the post-conflict context.

Chapter Five: Archival exploration of anti-homosexual violence events

Introduction

As explained in the chapter on Methods, this research sought to combine the analysis of events of anti-homosexual violence during conflicts and in the transition to democracy in South Africa and Colombia with the creation of life narratives about the experience of such events. This chapter discusses the information collected for the first type of analysis, and for each country. Chapter Six will present a selection of life narratives based on the interviews realised in South Africa and Colombia.

On the archival material

The chapter on Methods offers a detailed description of the archives and types of documents consulted in Colombia and South Africa. The material collected covered a wide variety of sources: press archives, newsletters and internal documents produced by grassroots organisations, reports of cases of violence, among others.

This material was explored looking for descriptions of events of anti-homosexual violence. Those descriptions often used a narrative structure of 'someone did something to someone in certain circumstances'. That is the case of descriptions collected from press archives. However, such descriptions are not seen in this research as plain or neutral reports of events but as treated and interpreted in different ways, depending on what is considered relevant for the ones interested in documenting, collecting and creating archives.

In the cases that will be analysed in this chapter, the efforts for documenting cases of violence lay on the shoulders of a human rights organisation (Colombia); gay and lesbian organisations (South Africa). They produce a kind of information that supports their initiatives and their collective interests. That documentation uses the languages and logics of audiences that are targeted. In the case studied in Colombia, the language of human rights or international humanitarian law defines the logics of documentation and narration. In the case selected for South Africa it is the language of activism, identity and of the 'gay community' that frames descriptions.

The events that will be analysed here are documented and produced under particular politics of knowledge. In the case of Colombia, for example, the information that was consulted comes from a data base that was created based on violence resulting from 'social intolerance'. In the case of South Africa, the information analysed comes from a newspaper, *Exit* that defined itself as the 'voice of the South African gay community'. In

the first case it is the politics of social justice and the denouncing of human rights violations that framed the documentation of events. In the case of South Africa it is identity politics.

The politics of knowledge that produced the information analysed here are also in relation with the 'memory work' (Haug, 1987) realised by activists and organisations. The data base consulted in Colombia included the concept of 'social cleansing' as an explanatory concept of some of violence. 'Social cleansing' was a term popularised in the 1980s in Latin America to express a connection between the action of para-institutional agents and violence against those positioned at the margins of society. That concept was used by activists to raise awareness of their condition and to lobby at the level of international human rights' agencies (Ordoñez, 1996). Later on it was integrated into the record of memories that some 'LGBT' activists created around that time. On the other hand, *Exit* is more than a depository of memories. It not only contains debates, events, images that illustrate what some sectors of the 'South African gay community' lived. In its attempt to be the 'voice' of such sectors it created a language and narrated a story.

Chapter Three described the archival material collected for this research. Amid the different archives explored, two bodies of information offered the best basis for producing a description of events of anti-homosexual violence. In Colombia, the information selected was found in *Noche y Niebla*, a bulletin that published information on victims of political violence. In South Africa, the information selected was found in *Exit*, a gay newspaper. Detailed information on these sources and sampling will be provided later on in this chapter. Both sources have in common that they are periodic publications of public access. They also covered a wide time frame, giving the chance to explore events of anti-homosexual violence before and after crucial historic moments in both countries. The two sources also differ in other ways. *Noche y Niebla* offers a day-by-day description of events of political violence in Colombia. It uses other Colombian newspapers as information sources and is produced by a human rights NGO. *Exit* is a newspaper that published news of gay life in South Africa and is a privately owned publication.

Both sources were consulted from their earliest issues: July 1996 for *Noche y Niebla* and July 1985 for *Exit*. Two historic events were selected as ending points for the consultation of these publications: the launching of the new South African Constitution (1996) and the demobilisation of the last group of the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (AUC) (2005).

In both cases the research was extended some years before and some years after in order to identify changes and continuities during the selected periods of analysis. In Colombia the exploration included the bulletin *Justicia y Paz*, which preceded *Noche y Niebla* and was published from April 1988 until June 1996. All issues during that period

were consulted. In South Africa, exploration included *Link/Skakel*, a publication that preceded *Exit* and was published from May 1982 until May 1985. All issues during that period were consulted. In both countries the exploration was extended four years more: until 2010 in the case of Colombia and until 2000 in the case of South Africa.

Both publications were explored in search of events of anti-homosexual violence. This was understood to include cases of violence related to the sexual orientation or gender identity of the victim(s). As will be explained in each case, the publications offered different ways to define those events and these definitions were considered in the search. They also framed those events in the context of their particular political violence. In the case of *Noche y Niebla*, a specific definition of political violence and conflict has been used to classify the events that are presented. Therefore, the connection between an event of anti-homosexual violence and the political context was established by those creating the data base. *Exit* is a newspaper and offers information about a wide variety of forms of anti-homosexual violence. The connection between the anti-homosexual violence and the historical context is expressed in the way the event is presented.

Sample of archival material from South Africa

Events of anti-homosexual violence found in *Link/Skakel* (1982-1985) and *Exit* (1985-2000) were excerpted from each publication in order to create a data base. All the monthly issues of each publication in the covered period were consulted. Events registered were classified identifying the patterns of victimisation that were mentioned.

The creation of a corpus of information that was relevant for the objectives of this research using *Link/Skakel* and *Exit*, presented a challenge. In the Colombian case, *Justicia y Paz* and *Noche y Niebla* offered an explicit definition of political violence that framed the documentation of events. Therefore connections between socio-political conflicts and events of anti-homosexual violence were documented to suit the purposes of those who created the data base. The events of violence reported in *Link/Skakel* and *Exit*, however, are not described with direct reference to the apartheid regime. That situation is explained by considering the politics that influenced the reporting of events in Link/Skakel and *Exit*.

Link/Skakel was a monthly newsletter for the members of Gay Association of South Africa (GASA). GASA was created in the early 80s, mainly for and by white gay-identified men (Gevisser, 1995). The position of GASA in relation to the apartheid regime was a matter of vigorous discussion. GASA's lack of support for the movement that protested the incarceration of the anti-apartheid and gay activist Simon Nkoli caused serious criticism of its political position in relation to apartheid and gay rights. GASA was accused of turning a blind eye to racism and violence against black South Africans (Gevisser, 1995).

According to one of its founders, when GASA was falling apart in the mid 80s and the decision to stop its publication was made, some of its editors decided to make it an independent communication media called *Exit* (H. Botha, 2014). The name followed the idea of 'coming out of the closet' that was becoming 'a major worldwide movement' at the time and the paper 'aimed to give directions' (H. Botha, 2014). *Exit* was seen as a 'voice for South Africa's gay community' and a way to influence gay opinion in the country (H. Botha, 2014).

Exit was intended to be independent from GASA. However, its content was written for a readership that was seen as mainly white and male-dominant. That can be verified from the proliferation of male images, the publicity of male sites of socialisation and references to the gay male culture of the United States or the United Kingdom. Although the debate caused by the case of Simon Nkoli permeated the pages of *Exit*, information about activities related to gay groups in townships was offered and articles and publicity for

lesbian venues and events was presented, the politics that underlined *Exit* still reflected a mainstream white, middle-class gay male audience.

Packing and unpacking forms of victimisation

Link/Skakel and *Exit* offer a variety of examples of anti-homosexual violence. These are sometimes reported as specific criminal activities, for example, the robbery and killing of a (gay) man in his flat but at other times they describe what is seen as a broad pattern of victimisation, such as so-called 'gay bashing'. The description of 'gay bashing' could include forms of victimisation such as harassment in cruising places or assault that might be described without reference to the gay element in other cases. Frontiers between forms of victimisation were often blurred. References to 'police harassment' might be referred to in cases of police raids on gay venues or cruising places. But 'police harassment' could also be mixed with 'gay bashing' and assaults when perpetrators claimed, possibly falsely, to be police members. The next section does not use sharp delimitations of such events. Instead, it uses the information in certain categories as presented, looking for the presence of violent events. Those events are described using an attempt to maintain their original meaning. The description, however, also attempts to unpack them in order to understand what was perceived at the time.

The information presented in the next section does not follow a unified and permanent definition of violence. It changes with time and with broad political and legal changes. It reflects a sense of victimisation that was also changing according to the audiences that were targeted by the publication, the sense of 'community' that was created and the collective identities that were developing.

'Homosexual harassment', assault of 'campers' and other crimes

Almost since the first issue of *Link/Skakel* and through all the different issues of *Exit*, cases of robbery, mugging, extortion and assassination were recorded. At least sixteen stories between June 1982 and December 1998 reported crimes of these types. Cases occurred almost every year. The information provided does not allow quantification of events or identification of patterns by year or type of crime but it does allow us to understand how victims reacted and to explore the ways in which perpetrators were defined and explained.

'Mugging' is reported in the earliest articles, showing the prevalence of alarm on the issue. An early article in *Link/Skakel* (issue 0107 November 1982) calls attention to the presence of a 'mugger' in the cruising areas of Johannesburg; once the 'mugger' agrees to see his victims at their homes, he produces a gun and threats to shoot them. The article mentions the abundance of such criminals in the city secure in the knowledge that their victims won't report to the police. Even more, since criminals can plead 'homosexual advances' to justify their violent actions, resistance is futile, continues the note. A similar situation was described in another article in issue 76, May 1996 of *Exit*.

Sometimes, perpetrators showed a security badge in order to rob their victims. That was the case presented in an article in issue 44, May/June 1990 of *Exit*. The perpetrator is described as a 'homophobic extortionist' who entices 'campers' into his car, then claims to be a policeman and asks for money if the victim is to avoid criminal prosecution. The article explains that since 'most gays' are 'so deeply in the closet' they prefer to pay rather than testify in a court. The article concludes by calling the readers to 'be brave' and demands 'protection' as a right.

These articles suggest a feeling of fear and victimisation and of being a possible victim that permeates all the information collected. That feeling can be justified looking at the continuity of reporting of cases of assassination.

The first report of a killing was found in the issue 0102, June 1982, page 11 of *Link/Skakel*. It mentions the case of Joseph Francisco Paiva who was found stabbed in front of a house in Johannesburg, early in the morning of May 3. According to the story, the victim had a guest for dinner and the attack took place after he had taken the person home. Joseph's flat was found disturbed and unidentified persons were in possession of his keys and his car. Arrests were made and an investigation was in process. Similar pattern of victimisation was found all through the research into these sources.

Issue 15 of *Exit*, December 1986/January 1987, front page, reports the sentence to twenty years imprisonment of a man who killed a patron of the gay bar, *Skyline*. The victim was found tied and strangled in his flat and some of his possessions were found in the perpetrator's car. Issue 17, February/March 1987, page 10, reports that a 'young' policeman had to pay a fine for beating and kicking a man to death. The perpetrator declared that he retaliated when the victim made 'homosexual advances' to him, in a flat in centre of Port Elizabeth. Issue 28 of April/May 1988, front page, reports on the killing of the previous president of GASA, James Willet-Clarke. James (52 y/o) was found strangled in his flat in Pretoria. Three men of between twenty-one and twenty-two years in age were arrested after a few days. James's car and other belongings stolen from his flat were recovered. The same issue, page 3, reports another case. An eighteen-year-old

man kicked and strangled a Johannesburg attorney who 'wanted to force gay sex on him'. The perpetrator met the victim in a park, went with him for drinks and then to his place for something to eat. There, the victim 'grabbed' him and asked him for sex. The young man was also found guilty of robbery. Three similar cases were reported in issues of *Exit* in 1992, 1993 and 1998.

This pattern of victimisation has similarities with other studies of 'gay killings' such as that of Stephen Tomsen (2009) in Australia. Similarities are not only in the modus operandi but also in the justification of the act. They describe an interaction between a younger and an older man in which, after sex is asked for or provided, violence occurred, culminating in the murder. Sometimes robbery is involved. 'Homosexual advances' or the youth of the perpetrator (sometimes called 'the panic defence) are also used to condone the use of violence.

What is different in these cases is the way in which such events are framed as the racialisation of violence in South Africa. In the cases reported until the mid-90s the race of the victim or of the perpetrator is not mentioned. After the mid-90s the races of those involved in the killings start to appear. That is demonstrated in the reporting of an attack occurred that occurred in Durban. Issue 106, December 1998 page 2 of *Exit*, mentioned the case of a 'white guy (tourist) from Cape Town' who was 'brutalised and stabbed' by three 'African thugs' on a beach. The other reference seems to be indirect but also follows the racialisation of sexual interactions. Issue 66, 1994, has an article titled 'Love for sale'. The article claims to be motivated by the murders of 'gay men' in Cape Town and Johannesburg by 'rent boys'. In an attempt to understand what motivates them to do that, the interviewees are introduced not only in terms of their physical characteristics but also in terms of race. One, called Greg, defines himself as a 'white who only go with white guys – none of this new SA stuff'. The other interviewees are defined as white, coloured and black. One of the white guys describes himself as letting guys buy him drinks and then 'fuck them up'. The note concludes with a warning that 'street guys' are not always out 'for a good time'.

Another element that changes in the description of such killings after the mid-90s is their transformation into matters of activism. Cases before the mid-90s are reported in terms of alarm on the event or announcement of the sentence. The references that appear after the mid-90s refer to the collective action of organisations to 'halt the terror' that those events created. That is, for example, the case in an article published in issue 76, May 1996 of *Exit*, front page. After two 'gay murders' and several muggings on Durban beaches, 'gay organisations' and Durban police met to define prevention strategies. According to sources consulted, armed gangs regularly ranged over the area. A local gay organisation had been collaborating with police to help them to understand the 'gay life

styles' and to improve police actions. Attacks on 'gay men' are seen as a matter of concern for all 'homosexuals', continues the article. The case of women in rural areas who are raped and attacked by males who 'dislike' their 'sexual choices' is offered to support that idea. An activist was quoted as saying 'there was still a long way to go before the rights of homosexual men and women were equal to those of other South Africans'. The article concludes that although 'gay bashing' continues; the police are finally taking it seriously. In this article, 'gay bashing', killings and muggings are incorporated in the agendas of organisations and become a common ground for co-operative work with State institutions. They are no longer events that happen under suspicious circumstances' or because of 'unestablished' reasons. They demonstrate the lack of understanding of the 'rights of homosexual men and women' and therefore show the path that needs to be walked.

From 'Gay bashing' to 'hate crimes'

Gay bashing appears as a matter to be reported in *Link/Skakel* and *Exit* all through the period explored. Fourteen articles associated with gay bashing were found in issues of *Exit* in the early 80s and in the early 90s. Three articles were found for the years 1984, 1985, 1986 and eleven for the period 1990 - 1995. Most of them combine accounts of specific cases of 'gay bashing' with recommendations on how to deal with the issue and avoid its consequences.

Issue 0210, February 1984, reports on page 3, 'Station bashers hit gays and non-gays'. In the article, three incidents of men harassed in the vicinities of the railway station by men claiming to be police are recorded. In the first incident a 'gay man' was approach by a 'young man' who invited him to his car. After discussing where to go and what to do, the 'young man' mentioned that he was there for the money. The 'gay man' declined the offer and went to his car. After driving a short distance he was forced off the road by another car. Three men left the car, showed a card and ordered him out. The 'gay man' was hit and slapped several times. Then he was threatened with a gun and told not to be seen near the station again. The reference to those events happening in cruising places, to the perpetrators referring to as police members, and the use of physical violence permeates other references to 'gay bashing'.

Alarms about 'gay bashing' seem to increase with the years, as expressed in the reporting on *Exit*. An article published in the issue of September/October 1986, page 5, titled 'Bashing, a concern' called attention to the increase in cases of gay bashing 'in the

last months'. The mid 80s was known as a period in which violence increased in South Africa. It was also the time when the declaration of the State of Emergency facilitated stronger actions by security forces. Apart from mentioning the 'concern' for these incidents and the 'increase' in occurrence, the piece does not offer any evidence that could be used to measure that increase. However, in its role as the 'voice' of the 'gay community' *Exit* may have been echoing a sense of fear conveyed by its readers. An assumption that the situation is generally understood to exist seems to underpin this reporting.

After no reporting on the topic in the late 80s, 'gay bashing' reappeared as a concern in the early 90s. Articles call attention to the intensity of these events, denounce the lack of response by State authorities and warn 'cruisers' to be careful. The headline of issue 51, 1991, was 'Cruising turns to bruising… Death trap'. The note mentioned that in the last two years, just in Cape Town, at least seven 'gays' had been murdered by men they picked up from the streets. The note continues with the 'countless' cases that may be unknown because the victims do not report the violence. It tells the story of Tony, an 'ex-cruiser'. In the story, Tony reflects on the excitement of cruising and how he came to realise the dangers to which he was exposing himself. Interestingly, Tony mentions how the arrival of AIDS and the changed economic situation altered the patterns of cruising. With AIDS (gay) men tended to be more concerned about cruising. With inflation, 'guys' tended to have sex more for economic reasons, even to support their families, Tony explained. His article then quoted the opinion of a police member in charge of investigating 'the anatomy of gay killings' and the opinion of a psychologist on the personality of perpetrators. The issue 70, in 1995, again had 'gay bashing' as its headline. The increase in cases is mentioned and the reluctance of victims to report is referred to again. In this note, women, increasingly in townships, are also included as victims of 'gay bashing' and 'lesbian rape' in 'black areas' is mentioned.

Despite news in *Exit* that pointed out the 'increasing' cases of 'gay bashing', the information offered did not allow quantification with precision nor did it give the dates and characteristics of the events that caused such concerns. *Exit* is an opinion maker, not a register of cases of violence. Still, some well known areas of cruising in Cape Town or Johannesburg are mentioned. Reporting on crimes that occurred in Zoo Lake or Emmarentia Dam in Johannesburg in the early 90s gives an idea of areas of danger.

The reluctance of victims to denounce their attackers and the contradictions created by the legal status of homosexuality were known as factors that impeded a better understanding of the characteristics of such violence. The article published in the issue of September/October 1986 showed the contradictions faced by victims of those events. In it, GASA endorses the call by South African Police (SAP) to report on those events. The

article, however, also mentioned that, despite SAP offering protection to the victims, such protection could not be assured if criminal acts were being committed by the victims. Victims were advised to take the advice of a local GASA branch, before reporting to police. With this in mind, it is possible to understand why a significant number of cases of anti-homosexual violence were not reported.

'Gay bashing' appears in *Exit* not only as a matter of concern because of increasing frequency. It is also a way in which the victims in the 'gay community' reflected on the issue. Looking at themselves through the experience of violence seemed to change in three stages. In the first stage, the negative consequences of 'gay bashing' are used to create self-control of behaviour. In the second, the consequences of 'gay bashing' are a way to arouse awareness, preparation and organisation. In the third, 'gay bashing' is a topic to discuss with authorities with a view to working together on the problem. The first corresponds with the mid 80s, the fears of State authoritarianism and the early stages of broad activism; the second parallels the first Pride Parades and the sense of agency they created; the third is concerned with the transition to democracy, the inclusion of sexual orientation in the new Constitution and the idea of State protection of rights. These three stages will be further exemplified in the following section.

The consequences of cruising in public places appear as a matter of reporting in early articles of *Exit*. In issue 5, November 1985, there is a note called 'Station is dangerous'. This article recalled the cases of 'gay bashing' that occurred around Johannesburg railway station. In the article, the President of GASA discouraged cruising in public places. For him, there are other spaces to meet people avoiding the 'dangerous' and 'undignified' effects of 'camping' at public places. The article also quotes the opinion of a lawyer and a psychiatrist. For the lawyer, cruising in public places could lead to consequences such as arrest, fines or publishing of names in newspapers, 'something anyone protecting his image should consider', he argued. For the psychiatrist people who frequent those places are usually 'closeted' or 'lonely'. The article concludes mentioning how the 'organised gay community' can fulfil the 'desires' of 'friendship' and 'conversation' that lead people to go to cruising places. In this example, the advice that *Exit* offers a different attitude to the violent event. Instead of denouncing the violence, it focuses attention self-regulation that those who frequent such places should exercise. It also presents the 'organised gay community' as alternative spaces for interaction and the fulfilling of desires.

By the early 90s the approach to 'gay bashing' had changed. A note published in issue 47, November/December 1990, instead of looking at the consequences of 'gay bashing' in victims, explored its causes. The article, titled 'How to guard against gay/lesbian bashing' gives advice on self-defence strategies such as martial arts. It also advises on

'safety awareness' behaviours such as avoiding poorly lit areas, or keeping car windows closed. The note could be seen as an overt advertisement for a self-defence school. The justification given for turning the issue into a matter of self-defence provides an idea of the changes in South African society at the time. For Bomber Brown, the author of the note, the lives of South Africans are becoming more paranoid and concerned about violence and security. The note describes some of the technologies that people buy in order to provide them a sense of safety, including the paying of insurance the cost of which would drive people into a 'coma'. Therefore, why not make security a matter of self-defence?

A similar note was published in issue 53, December 1991, page 13. 'Don't get gay-bashed!' continues the idea of awareness and safety. The note intends to give the reader 'the power to solve a bad situation' instead of letting it become the cause of fear. No moral judgment on the 'favourite' activities of the reader is done. Instead, advice on how to 'avoid attacks' and 'reduce the chances of injuries' is provided. 'Hints' include being 'streetwise', 'trusting your instincts', looking for help, being prepared for the consequences of harassment, being an active witness of events or calling the police. The idea of acting as a member of a group characterised the 'hints'. For example, advice on behaviour in bars included introducing someone recently met to friends before leaving and always trying to leave places with a group of friends. If cruising was represented in earlier years as an isolated activity, aimed at sexual gratification and often occurring in dark and unsafe places, here the activities of the victim are seen as part of their socialisation and recreation.

Because of this, it is not coincidental that these articles are published in parallel with articles on the first and second Pride Parades in Johannesburg. They reflect the spirit of pride and presence in public space that such events created. They also show a change in the way in which the consequences of 'gay bashing' are seen. Instead of punishment for 'undignified' behaviour, they are effects that can be prevented or managed to reduce their negative impact.

There is a broader contextual element underlying these notes. They reflect a concern on violence and security that would become a significant matter in South African society after the end of apartheid and the transition to democracy and continuing up to the present time (Isima, 2009; Mandel, 2001). The editorial notes of *Exit* in issue 49, 1991, and issue 58, November/December 1992, discussed an increasing ambience of violence that affects South Africa. In the first article, 'Violence and danger', it is stated that violence is a 'cancer' that is destroying South African society. Heterosexual men and women, gays and lesbians, and children are assaulted daily. 'Although there is hope, we live in dangerous times', is one of the statements made. In a 'less restrictive' moral climate

homosexuals would not need to meet in dangerous places. Examples of that are the killings of homosexuals in cruising places such as Emmarentia Dam. Such situations can still arise, continues the article, so, it is better to 'be prepared to defend yourself'. The editorial on issue 58 follows the same line. 'Exercise your rights, be aware of what they are. But –be very, very careful' is the advice given to the readers.

The feeling of violence as a broad illness affecting all South African society goes parallel with the increase of private companies providing security services and the securitisation of the everyday life of some South Africans (Isima, 2009; Williams & Abrahamsen, 2007). These references are not rare. They anticipate the advertisement of private security services in further issues of *Exit*. Issue 64, in 1994, page 3, in a full page advertisement, publicises the services of a security company with the slogan 'The only thing you need to employ us is money'. Fully armed white men with different technologies promise the most professional security services. If it is professional the cost does not matter, explains the advertisement.

By the mid-90s the approach to 'gay bashing' changed. The promise of change announced in the early 90s was leading to real effects such as legal changes. The spirit of 'rights', the inclusion of sexual orientation in the new Constitution and the declaration of sodomy laws as unconstitutional were reflected in the way that *Exit* reported on 'gay bashing'. A cartoon published in issue 75, 1996, page 9, summarised that spirit. In it, a man wearing earrings, well groomed haircut, what looks like a white t-shirt and jeans, with his hand on his hips tell another man '…and the new constitution forbids you to bash me!'. The other man is taller, wears short hair, has a scar on his face, a tattoo on his legs, wears shirt, shorts and working boots. He is also holding a rough wooden bat with a nail through its top.

'Bashed', the headline on issue 70, 1995, pages offers a more articulated explanation of such change. As mentioned before, it starts with the reference to the increment of cases of gay bashing and the reluctance of victims to report. It also explains that despite government and legal changes and the promise of protection, 'homophobic violence' continues in South Africa. The article is important for another reason. It introduces a new type of relationship with the police: collaboration. The article mentions how activists are now training the police to deal with this kind of violence in a different way. Police appear also with a different voice. The note quotes the call of a police member to victims of violence to report their cases. It even mentions the experience of the New South Wales Police in Australia doing research on the topic during a Gay Pride Parade as a case to learn from. 'Gay bashing' continues to be in the mid 90s as a matter or alarm. But the alarm is no longer generated by the deviant behaviour of cruisers. It is now a matter for

study by academic experts, lobbying by professional activists and policy-making by State institutions.

This article of 1995 is significant because it is one of the first references to 'bashing' affecting women and to 'lesbian rape' in townships. It also explains racial and class differences. It quotes a white lesbian who considers that 'homophobic violence' is the action of 'frustrated, unemployed men', implying bashers as white. For her, if in the new South Africa 'they are not supposed to beat up kaffirs anymore, they'll beat up gays and lesbians instead' (p. 8). In that quote, gays and lesbians seem to be the new victims of the post-apartheid violence.

This article is also relevant because it calls for the opinions of a new generation of gay and lesbian activists leading national organisations. As was shown earlier, that is not a new development for *Exit*. The new leaders mentioned represent the kind of activism that was developed in the transition to democracy and in the post-apartheid South Africa. They initiate a legal language of rights, legal protection and equality. An article signed by Zackie Achmat published in the issue 84 of *Exit*, February 1997 exemplifies this change. In the article, the attack suffered by a couple of lesbian mothers and their children by a man who promised to 'wipe out the lesbians' from Carletonville is now framed in terms of bigotry and unlawful actions by the police. The author, a leader of the national Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality, describes the case as possibly the first to use the courts to 'fight hate crimes against lesbians and gays'. The lack of an adequate response by the police is seen to be based in 'homophobia'. 'Hate crime' emerged in the late 90s as a new way to explain violent actions that were no longer to be explained by the risks taken by gay men in 'camping' activities but rather the result of bigotry, the frustrations of impoverished men and the 'homophobia' of certain sectors of society.

The spirit of transformation inspired by legal changes seemed to affect other approaches to race and sexuality in *Exit*. In the same issue that published the cartoon in which the new Constitution is used as protective measure against bashing there is the photo of a black man. He is wearing the leather chaps that characterised fetish gay male culture. His penis is explicitly shown in frontal view. The photo is titled *'Affirmative action?'* The interrogation sign seems to challenge the limits of the spirit of equality extant at the time, asking the reader if such an image would be understood as part of the inclusion required in the new South Africa. The incorporation of a black male body in the symbols of international gay cultures suggests the logic in which such affirmative action was made. The fetishisation of black bodies is just a glance at a long history of the 'racialisation of sexuality and sexualisation of race' (Shefer & Ratele, 2011) reshaped in the context of transition to democracy.

Another element, announcing the start of a new era, calls the attention to that issue of *Exit* in March/April 1996. A cartoon titled 'Real estate tales' started to appear in *Exit* in that year. The cartoon promoted the services of a real estate agent telling the adventures of gay couples looking for housing. The couples were often young white men, apparently with enough income to buy or rent a property. Housing policies were intrinsic to the apartheid regime. With the transition to democracy a sector of gay white men became acceptable customers. The advertisement also announces the migration of white (gay) inhabitants of inner city Johannesburg to the northern suburbs and the consolidation of a new demographic composition in the city centre that emphasises division where there were formerly more interactions between diverse groups.

'Police harassment' and legal traps

Another body of information deals with events related to the actions of police. That information covers a variety of events. Eleven articles concerned with this issue were found, nine of them referring to events that occurred in the 80s.

Some of these events are related to raids and surveillance of gay venues. A letter from the readers published in issue 0104, August 1982 of *Link/Skakel* mention the 'needless visit' of a police squad to a gay travel agency. The note does not give details on the event but calls attention on the needless 'raiding' of a travel agency that is 'sending gays on holidays'. It seems the argument used for the action was the advertisement of a gay activity, something that may have come under the control of the censorship laws of the time. For the author, if the agency is advertising their services for a gay public, that should be their 'prerogative' in a country that promotes free enterprise.

Another article, published in issue 32, November/December 1988 of *Exit* referred to the raid of a gay club in Pretoria where seventeen participants on a 'wet scant' –a kind of underwear-competition were arrested. They were charged with being 'indecently dressed'. The owner was charged for contravening the liquour license and 'desecrating the Sabbath'. The men paid an 'admission of guilt fine'. A witness explained that the arrested men where 'straight (?) members of a rugby team' who entered the competition after 'finding no ladies in the ladies' bar and being bored'. Arrests in the same venue were repeated a few days later.

Another event involving the action of police is the 'entrapment of soliciting gays'. According to a piece published in the issue 0208, December 1983 of *Link/Skakel* arrests connected with undercover policemen had been increasing 'tremendously' especially in

cities such as Durban. The note recalls a meeting held in London between the Metropolitan Police and the Gay London Police Monitoring Group in which police were accused of using entrapment methods. The example of London is used not only to make evident what was happening in South Africa. It was used also as an example to learn from. The note concluded that even if 'gay liberation' in South Africa had not yet reached the 'stage of officially tackling the police force', progress in London was useful to plan future actions and gain knowledge.

A note published in issue 28, April/May 1988 of *Exit* confirms the presence and extension of such practice. It mentions cases in Johannesburg and Pretoria in which men were entrapped by police, arrested under the Immorality Act or asked to pay fines. Twenty-three men were arrested in a park in Pretoria in a week, accused of 'enticing passers-by and shoppers to commit indecent acts'. When police forces were asked by the Gay Alliance about the events, they replied that complaints could only investigated if charges were laid and the names of complainants and police were given. The advice provided by *Exit* is to avoid such places and to present complaints. They offered to receive them and treat them anonymously.

Another article published in issue 44, May/June 1990, page 3, mentions evidence of the increment of cases of police surveillance and harassment of gays in parks of Johannesburg. Incidents are seen as an expression of an 'antigay policy' on the part of the police. In other words, the author of the article argues, they are the 'discriminatory' application of public indecency laws, since no similar actions are used against 'straights'. The author finished by asking if it was time to bring the issue to Parliament and demonstrate in public against such 'fascist and Orwellian' police actions. The author went further, asking if it was not time to react as the 'American gays' did during the Stonewall riots.

These examples show the legal traps in which victims were caught. On the one hand, denouncing police actions would imply exposing themselves to the legal consequences of a system that criminalised homosexuality. On the other hand, without denouncing them the system would turn a blind eye to the issue. The result was the existence of a blurred area, a kind of chiaroscuro where legal, paralegal and illegal actors could exercise a repressive legal system in their own interest.

That seems to have been the case mentioned in another article in issue 31 of *Exit*, in the same year (1988). The article mentions the 'spate of arrests at camping places' in Johannesburg and presents its doubts as to whether those arrests are done by 'bona fide policemen'. It suggests that some of these arrests may be made by 'people posing as policemen' since victims were asked to pay a fine but no receipt was issued. However,

there had also been cases in which victims paid an 'admission of guilt fine' at a police station. The note concludes by giving advice to people about what to do in those cases.

Examples also show the way in which these kinds of events were understood in the local legal system and compared to international experiences of activism. The United States and United Kingdom are mentioned as examples to learn from and possessors of knowledge to incorporate. It is from their perspective and from the perspective of apartheid that the South Africans who acted as the audience and 'voice' of *Exit* looked at the violence they were experiencing.

News stories found in the second part of the 90s referred to a different kind of police violence. If the actions of police during the 80s were explained and justified by the existence of anti-homosexual laws, such claims were not valid in the post-apartheid South Africa. Instead, it is the over-reaction to gay events and the excessive use of force that became a matter of concern. The headline of issue 75, March 1996 of *Exit* was 'Police cover-up in Rosebank mini-Stonewall'. The note refers to an incident in which the patrons of a gay bar in Johannesburg were harassed by a police squad. The police were responding to complaints about excessive noise and the absence of permission for a street party. From the victims' point of view the police acted excessively and could not produce evidence for the charges laid. In a note published in issue 102, August 1998, page 12, a similar situation occurred in Cape Town. A queer party was 'snuffed out at 1.00 am by hordes of homophobic uniformed officials'. The reasons for asking the party to be stopped were 'spurious': no licence on one section of the place and risk of fire in the other.

Apart from the real reasons that motivated such actions, they offered a new moment in the understanding of victimisation. In post-apartheid South Africa the promise of change was fragile. The author of the second article referred to the closure of a party that was a fundraiser for homeless gay and lesbian Capetonians and raises 'serious questions about the security of our constitutional rights in the rainbow nation'.

This information, more than documenting the permanence or persistence of certain forms of violence, shows the battles and disputes around the understanding of victimisation and the ways to transform it. It reveals how knowledge is produced and challenged, and describes the participants involved and their interests.

New events appeared at the end of the 90s, however, showing that violence also transforms and reconfigures after transitions to democracy and during the uneasy process of reconciliation.

Bombing of gay venues and new geographical and cultural spaces

In November 11, 1995, the Stonewall Bar in Rockey Street in Yeoville, Johannesburg was petrol-bombed (*Exit*, Issue 73, Summer 1995/1996, p. 2). The owner of the venue refused to comment on speculation that a former employee from a rival bar from Hillbrow might have sent the perpetrator, continues the note. It concludes by quoting a client who calls attention to the irony that while all the 'hetty', heterosexual bars in the area are thriving, the only gay venue was bombed.

Criminal attacks on gay venues were reported in *Exit* years before. In March 1984, for example, the headlines of the issue 0211 of Link/Skakel reported on the attack on disco Res, possibly because of the action of a gang intending to seize control of the area. On July 17, 1998, a teargas canister was thrown into the Bull's Eye, a place that catered for the 'civil gay community' (*Exit*, Issue 102, August 1998, p. 2).

However, the event of November 1995 occurred just before the organisation People against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), achieved public recognition. PAGAD was an organisation active mainly in the Cape Town area as a form of vigilante group to act against the spread of crime in the area. PAGAD was associated with threats and actions against drug dealers, synagogues and tourist attractions. A website, www.pagad.co.za, promoting a 'gangster-free and drug-free society' and was still active at the time of this research. Its actions against moderate Muslims suggest that PAGAD represents a hard-line Islamic organisation.

Issue 81, October 1996, page 3 of *Exit* has an article titled 'Pagad targets gays'. The note mentions how 'homosexuals, gamblers, prostitutes and abortionists' are included in the 'criminal and immoral hit list' of PAGAD. In the note, Rashid Suleman, the leader of PAGAD is defined as a 'serious threat to the newly won Constitutional rights of gays and lesbians'. The note concludes by calling the 'gay and lesbian community' to take 'strong actions against religious fundamentalists who group together everyone they deem immoral'. For the reporter, it is one thing to oppose crime and another to target 'law abiding citizens'. That is an 'abuse of constitutional rights'. The article is followed with another note in the section Personal Stories. In it, Yusoof Addullah tells about growing up as a gay man in Port Elizabeth, being classified as a coloured man and having a brother in Pagad. Yusoof was part of the Pride Parade committee. After describing his experiences of discrimination during apartheid, both for being coloured and gay, he calls the readership to 'enshrine individual rights' and to 'unify as a community'.

On November 6, 1999, the Blah Bar in Cape Town was bombed. On August 19, 2000 a bomb was detonated in Somerset Road, close to the Bronx Bar. Both events were reported in *Exit* in different issues. Issue 118, December 1999, headlines 'The Blah Blast starts protests'. The article reports on the 'poorly attended' protests held in Cape Town and Johannesburg after the event. The protests were organised by the National Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Equality (NCGLE) and intended to create an action plan to deal with the incident. The piece continues by stating that the causes of the bombing are 'unclear' but 'gay activist organisations' have condemned the bombing as a 'hate crime'. The article concludes by raising questions about the convenience of considering the bombing an attack the 'gay community' with the risk of being labelled as 'alarmist, paranoid and reactionary' or whether it would be wiser to wait for the police verdict. The reporting on the 2000 bomb also appeared in headlines. 'Bombed again!' questioned the lack of attention by mainstream media to what was 'clearly a blatant hate crime' since there was just one victim. It also denounced the lack of actions by Cape Town authorities and the need for long term solutions, such as education. If people's attitudes do not change, 'homophobia and hate crimes will persist' even with Constitutional rights granted, concludes the article.

These articles are relevant in several ways. They show a new form of victimisation that appeared in the post-apartheid context. The fact the attacks occurred in Cape Town, where PAGAD was active, should not be ignored. At least eighteen bomb attacks occurred in Cape Town between June 1998 and August 2000, affecting police stations, tourist venues, branches of international bars and restaurants and shopping centres. A group that intended to bring institutional attention to a social issue and create social mobilisation against it, used a moral standard to create a perceived new danger. These events announced the arrival of new types of violence in a context that was still affected by apartheid legacies and lived the challenges of post-apartheid South Africa.

Synthesis

The content of *Exit* can be seen as an example of the concerns that a sector of the 'South African gay community' experienced and the topics they considered relevant. *Exit* intended to be the 'voice' of such a community and at the same time created it. *Exit* was not an anti-apartheid publication. It did not reflect the opinion of anti-apartheid organisations or of black gay and lesbian groups that were already acting at the time.

Apartheid and South African politics were the context in which *Exit* was reporting. The repressive politics of apartheid regime may not have been denounced in *Exit* but were recorded directly and indirectly in descriptions of these events. Anti-homosexual legislation and its application were debated. Relations with anti-apartheid politics and with black gay and lesbian South Africans and their organisations were discussed. The fact that events of anti-homosexual violence were not seen as directly caused by the apartheid regime in *Exit* does not mean that they were unaware of it.

The case of South Africa shows another way in which a connection between political conflicts, transitions to democracy and anti-homosexual violence was made. The creation of a sense of victimisation was the key point. Information published in *Exit* concerning violence reflected and gave form to a sense of victimisation that underlined all the issues explored. First issues of *Link/Skakel* published an essay called 'Homosexual harassment. A history of gays as victims'. In it, a history of 'horror and unbelievable cruelty' dating back to the early Judeo-Christian civilisations was made. That essay announces a conversation that *Exit* had explored through the years with its readers: how to understand the place of violence in the structure of the 'community' to which it intended to give voice.

As can be seen in the different events of violence that were described before, the 'gay and lesbian community' that acted as audience and voice in *Exit* reflected on them, identified what was changing and were called to action. In this process, forms of violence that happened before were seen in new contexts. As discussed before, 'hate crime' moved attention from the deviant and individual behaviour of the victim to the 'homophobic' intention of the perpetrator. The events that started to be packed in the notion of 'hate crime' in the early 2000s were seen as threats against the 'gay and lesbian community' and not just against particular individuals, such as the patrons of a venue. Even more the threat was not only against 'gays and lesbians' but against the rights that were gained with the new Constitution. If previous events of violence were the result of the risks taken by 'campers' in cruising places, cases of violence such as bomb attacks were attacks against the 'gay and lesbian community' as an entity. If previous concerns were about 'dignified' or 'decent' behaviour to prevent the effects of 'gay bashing' the new concerns were about protecting the rights granted by legislation. Victims of 'gay bashing' were vulnerable individuals exposing themselves. Victims of the bombs are now 'citizens' in need of protection from discrimination. Activism was the mechanism that made possible these transformations.

Sample of archival material from Colombia

Events of anti-homosexual violence found in *Justicia y Paz* (1988-1996) and *Noche y Niebla* (1996-2010) were excerpted from each publication in order to create a data base. All the issues of each publication in the covered period were consulted: four issues per year in nine volumes of *Justicia y Paz* and issues 1-42 of *Noche y Niebla*. One exception was issue 1 in volume 1 of *Justicia y Paz* which was not available at the moment of consulting.

Noche y Niebla follows seventeen national and regional newspapers in Colombia extracting accounts of violent events from their data bases. They also incorporate information provided first hand by witnesses, social movement organisations, churches and other grassroots organisations. Because of that, the sources of the events are not available for public access.

Classifications of events of violence used in these publications have changed through the years. The first volume of *Justicia y Paz* had three categories of events: 'Political Assassinations', 'Suspicious Assassinations', and 'Deaths in Combat'. No direct reference to anti-homosexual violence as a particular category of classification was made in the early volumes of *Justicia y Paz*. 'Forms of social euthanasia' was a concept included in issue 1 under the category of 'Suspicious Assassinations'. It was developed in further volumes. In the second volume of *Justicia y Paz* (1989), 'killings possibly motivated by social cleansing' was incorporated as a new category of classification. The issue number 3 included in the definition of *limpieza social* - 'social cleansing', its motivation for 'neo-Nazi ideologies'. These references suggest that for those in charge of creating the data base the existence of forms of violence associated with prejudice and marginality was an early preoccupation. In volume 1, issue 2, there is the first reference to the assassination of a *travesti* by unknown perpetrators in the city of Cali.

According to one interviewee in the first issue of *Noche y Niebla*, transfer of material from one bulletin to another was made in order to unify data bases that were being created in two separate organisations: Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (Cinep) and Comisión Intercongregacional de *Justicia y Paz* (CIJP). That transit implied also the use of language and categories related to international humanitarian law, he explained. *Noche y Niebla* started with a new classification of events of violence based in their own definition of political violence:

> It will be understood as political violence exercised as the means of socio-political struggles, whether with the purpose of maintaining, modifying, substituting or destroying a model of State or society, or also to destroy or repress a social group with a particular identity in society because of its social, political, unionist,

ethnic, racial, religious, cultural or ideological affinity, acting or not as an organised collective (Cinep & Justicia-y-Paz, 1996, p. 6)

This definition centred the attention in the actor of violence and not in abstract categories of crimes, as made before in *Justicia y Paz*. Accordingly, it typified events of violence according to three types of actors:

- When violence was exercised by state actors or by individuals that act with their support, those events were classified as 'human rights violations'.
- When violence was exercised by insurgency groups fighting the State, those events were classified as 'war acts' or 'violations of international humanitarian law'
- When violence was exercised by groups or individuals not connected with State or insurgencies but with political and ideological reasons, those events were classified as socio-political violence.

In according with these statements, *Noche y Niebla* created a category called 'human rights violations and actions of social intolerance', applied to cases:

> When the characteristics of the victims make it possible to infer that the reason for the violation of human rights is the elimination of people considered by the victimiser as dysfunctional or problematic for society, such as homeless people, drug users, beggars, prostitutes, homosexuals, delinquents. (Cinep & Justicia-y-Paz, 1996, p. 18)

This definition is of relevance for this research because it reveals a way in which the connection between anti-homosexual violence and political conflict was made in the case of Colombia. Since the concept of 'human rights violations' was associated with the actions of State agents, and the concept of 'violation of international humanitarian law' with insurgency, the concept of socio-political violence allowed the inclusion of events of violence committed by non-identified non-State agents. With that, the scope of events to be included was broad but keeping a socio-political horizon in mind. This can be seen in the definition of 'socio-political violence committed by non-State, non-identified actors':

> It is that is committed by individuals, organisations or groups, specified or non-specified, motivated by struggles around political power or by intolerance toward other ideologies, races, ethnic groups, religions, cultures or social sectors, organised or not. This category is different from the previous one (human rights violations) because in this case it is not possible to identify a State or para-State initiator. (Cinep & Justicia-y-Paz, 1996, p. 18)

It is under this definition that *Noche y Niebla* included a number of events of violence related with sexual orientation or gender identity. This definition was maintained throughout the period researched. The inclusion of events of anti-homosexual violence varied according to the way in which victims of events of violence were named in the sources that supported *Noche y Niebla* data bases. According to an interview with a person working in that data base, the inclusion of cases of violence is done maintaining a

careful attention to the names, language and categories used in the source. Because of that, it is possible to see even from the early issues of *Justicia y Paz* and *Noche y Niebla* the use of terms such as *travesti* or homosexual. *Noche y Niebla* did not used the distinction between sexual orientation and gender identity that is common in contemporarily trends of activism, such as LGBT activism or some HIV activism.

Toward 2009 and 2010, some cases registered in *Noche y Niebla* appear classified as 'activista gay', 'transsexual' or 'LGBT'. According to the interviewee the reason for that was because *Noche y Niebla* incorporates concepts and categories created by activism and organisations. For this research it shows the emergence of LGBT organisations, with their language and categories, as actors documenting cases of violence and circulating them in the broader context of human rights organisations.

In order to understand the historical and cultural context in which the events registered in *Noche y Niebla* occurred, the terms, categories and classifications used in each moment were maintained for this analysis.

The description of these events in *Noche y Niebla* varies. In some cases, the description mentions just the assassination of a person. That is the case of the first reference, from April 1988: *Travesti* asesinado a tiros por desconocidos – '*Travesti* shot dead by unknown'. In other cases, descriptions offer more detailed information, following a narrative structure of who did what to whom, when and where. The description sometimes suggests that the identification of the perpetrator revealed the probable cause for the act of violence. The information provided by *Noche y Niebla* concerns the event that occurred. It does not give information on any results from investigations. Causes of the events and perpetrators, therefore, are presumptions based on the information referred to by the sources.

Patterns of victimisation

Eighty-six events of anti-homosexual violence were identified in the period 1988-2010. In fifteen of these more than one person was victimised. The total number of victims identified in that period is 112. Looking at the number of cases per year (Graphic 1), it is possible to define three periods in the patterns of victimisation:

The first period runs from 1988 to 1993, when the number of cases was relatively stable around eight cases per year

The second period runs from 1994 to 1997, when cases were two to three per year.

The third period, from 2004 until 2010, when rates varied from year to year, from one case in 2006 to 10 cases in 2010.

There are two periods in which there is no information about cases of victimisation: from 1998 until 2000 and from 2002 until 2003.

In brief, the periodicity can be described from a peak in the early 90s to a low in the late 90s, basically around 1997, when two cases were described. Then, there is a peak in 2001 and a gradual increase after 2004.

These differences are relevant in terms of the numbers of victims. Fifty-three people were killed in the first period. They are 47% of the total sample. Forty-nine killings occurred between 2001 and 2010, representing almost 43% of the total sample.

Graphic 1: Number of victims per year recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010
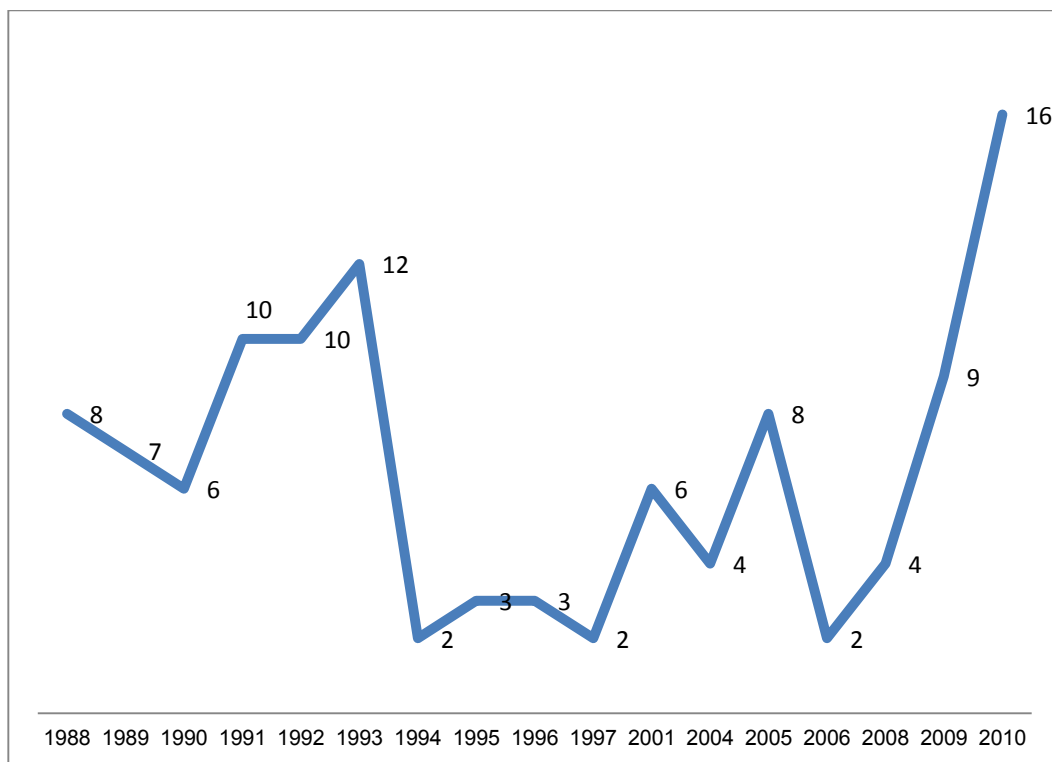
The next extract illustrates what was understood as an 'event' and how it was reported in *Noche y Niebla*. It also illustrated the most common pattern of violence identified, as will be explained after.

> 'Homosexual known as 'La Muñeca' (Dolly), killed on North Avenue and 16th Street. The victim was there with other homosexuals when around midnight unknown men in a car shot them randomly, warning them that "in they saw us again they would kill us as they did with that faggot, and our corpses would be thrown in the Cauca river". In less than forty-eight hours three homosexuals were killed in the city; two events were associated with milicias populares (people's

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armies) but in a phone call to a local newspaper a member of one such organisation said that "we don't kill innocent people", adding that those killings "were committed by an armed organisation that was using their name as concealment".'

In *Noche y Niebla*, *travesti*s are named with masculine nouns. It is just in the last years that *transgenerista* and *mujer trans* started to be used to identify some victims. Accordingly, a significant number of victims are categorises as men, as can be seen in Graphic 2. However, when reading in detail the description given about some victims, sixteen of the victims that were classified as homosexual and named with masculine nouns were known by a female name. Five non-identified victims were found wearing feminine clothing, including makeup and nail polish. All nineteen victims were found killed on the streets or in public spaces. Considering this, it is possible to suggest that some of those victims classified generically as *homosexuales* maybe be *travesti*s or transgender women. Adding those victims to the number of victims identified as *travesti*es, the relationship changes, bringing it closer to the number of victims identified as *homosexuales* and *travesti*s or trans women, as can be seen in Graphic 3.

Graphic 2: Victims recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010, by gender (first counting)
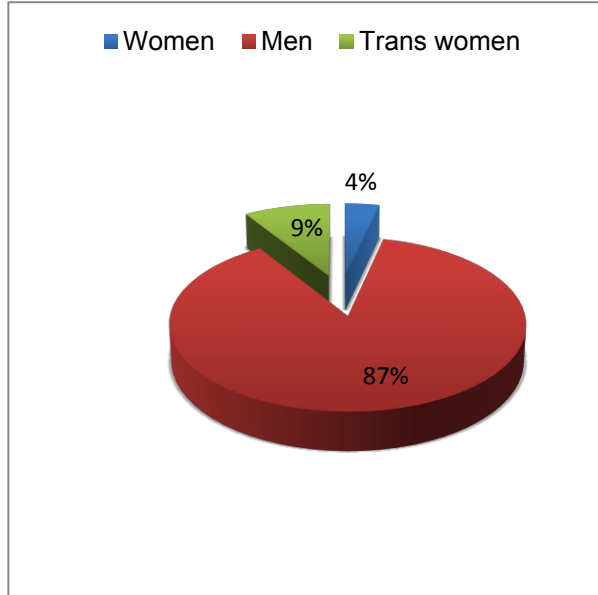
Graphic 3: Victims recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010, by gender (second counting)
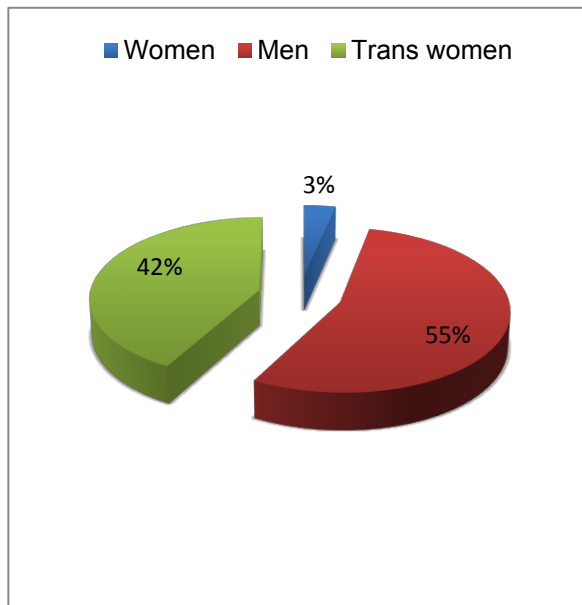
Another element that contributes to our understanding of who the victims of this violence were is age and occupation. However, that information is limited. There is information about age for twenty-five of the victims. The average age of victims is twenty-three years old. The youngest victim was fourteen years old and the oldest one was thirty-eight years old. Most of the victims are under thirty years old (twenty-one of twenty-five).

Table 4: Age of victims recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010

Age	Frecuency	%
14	1	4
15	3	12
16	2	8
17	3	12
18	1	4
20	2	8
22	1	4
24	1	4
25	3	12
27	2	8
28	1	4
30	1	4
34	1	4
35	2	8
38	1	4
Total	25	100

There is information about the occupation of twenty-five of the victims. Sex work is the most common occupation.

Table 5: Occupation of victims recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010

Occupation	Frequency	%
Activist	3	12.00
Singer	1	4.00
Trader	1	4.00
Bar owner	1	4.00
Hairdresser	5	20.00
Sex work	14	56.00
Total	25	100

Lack of information related to the age or occupation for a significant percentage of victims can be ascribed to the sources that support *Noche y Niebla*. Sometimes it is newspapers and other testimonies that may lack of extensive descriptive information. It can also, however, be related to the type of victimisation and the lack of adequate research that characterise these events. Information in *Noche y Niebla* does not mention which of those cases are investigated and prosecuted.

Table 6: Type of victimisation recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010

Type	Frequency
Threat	4
Attempt to kill	1
Forced disappearance	1
Illegal detention	2
Extrajudicial killing	96
Wounds	8
Torture	11
Displacement	3

As can be seen in Table 6, 86% of the victims were assassinated. Victims can experience more than one form of victimisation. Because of that the frequency of occurrence is greater than the total number of victims. In only fourteen cases, however, were victims reported as having suffered more than one kind of victimisation. This fact can probably be related to a tendency in news sources to report only lethal events. That tendency has been identified in the study of other human rights data bases in Colombia (González Ramírez, Masullo, Sánchez Meertens, & Restrepo Torres, 2012). At the same time, lack

of reporting by victims can be reinforced by multiple victimisation, lack of trust in the authorities and discrimination based on gender identity and sexual orientation as was identified in a report on violence against 'LGBT communities' in Colombia (Albarracín, 2011). It means that events with no lethal consequences could be major events but remain unreported.

Information related with the type of weapon used (Graphic 4), and the time and place of the crime (Graphic 5) suggests that most of the victims were killed late at night or early in the morning, in streets or public places and by firearms. In seventy-four cases it was possible to identify a modus operandi. In seventy of the cases, the victim was killed from a car or a motorbike in movement or by an armed group that killed them on the streets. When it was not the act of violence but the resulting corpses that was reported, the corpses were found in isolated areas surrounding cities or villages.

In fifty-eight of the cases there is no information about the perpetrator of the crime (See Graphic 6). When the perpetrators are known most of the cases are associated with 'social cleansing squads' and *paramilitares*. It is interesting that there are no cases in which the perpetrator is a guerrilla group. Still, the perpetrator is unknown in 52% of the cases.

Graphic 4: Type of weapon recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010
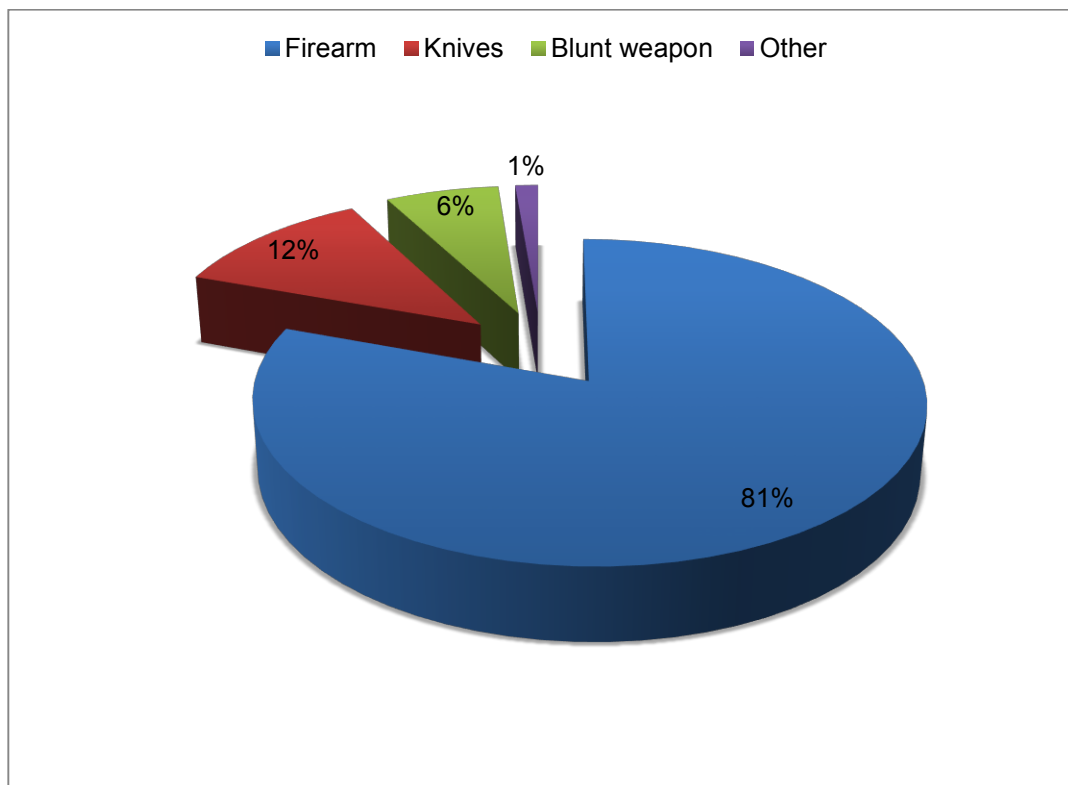
Graphic 5: Place of the event recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010

Private
11%

No information
28%

Public
61%
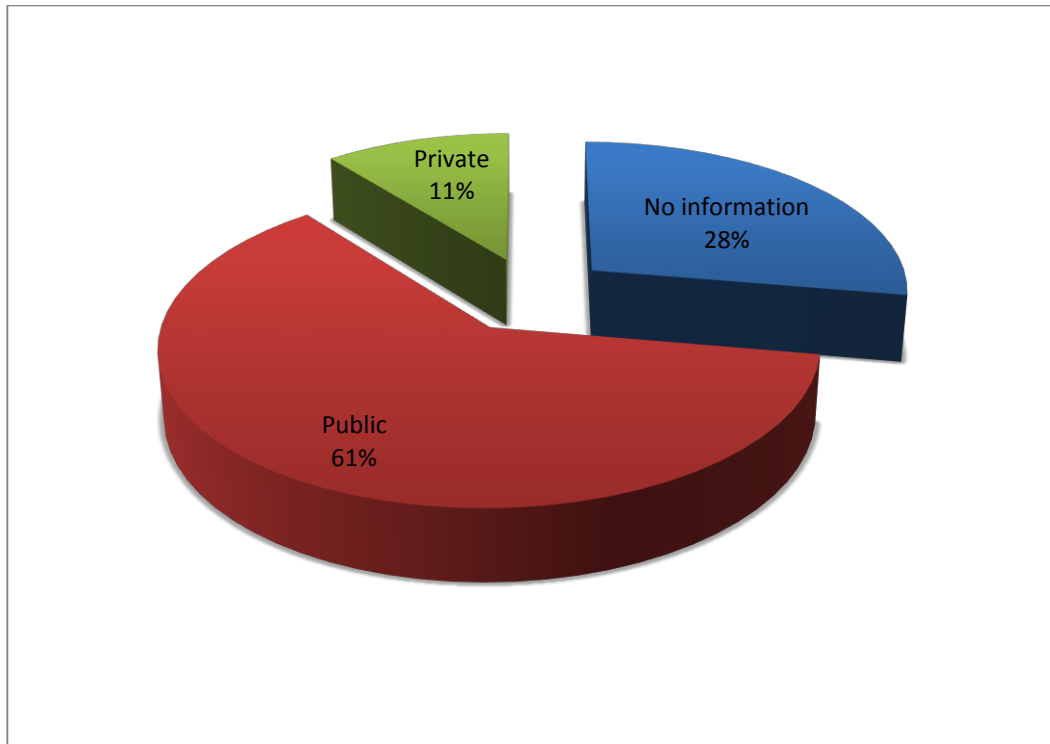
Graphic 6: Type of perpetrator recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010

No information Paramilitar Public force Social cleansing squad Unknown

23%

29%

21%

21%

6%
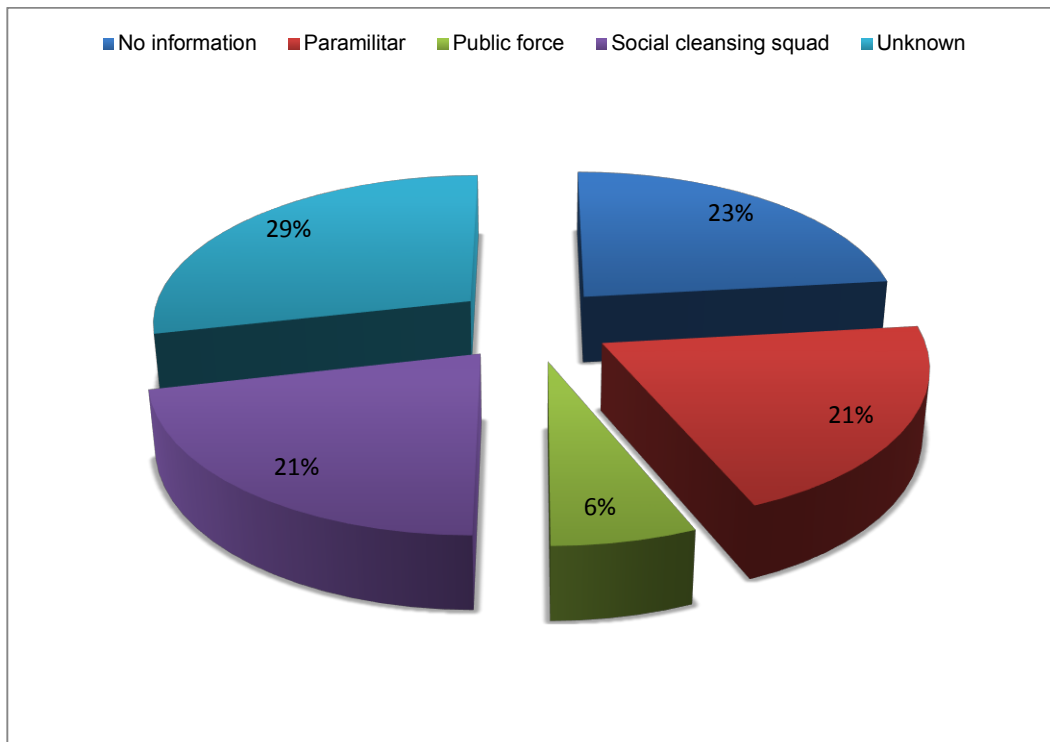
These general tendencies suggest a common pattern in the violent events identified in the period selected. In most cases, *travesti*s and *homosexuales* who were in the streets or public venues were killed by armed groups. These groups have human resources and infrastructure to commit the crimes, such as vehicles and guns. They acted, usually, in pairs: one, driving the vehicle, the other firing the gun. They also follow a modus operandi. Victims were approached on the streets, rather than in their houses, late at night, when they were by themselves or with only a few other people. Victims were young, possibly engaged in sex work. In some cases, the victim was forced to enter a car, after which the body was left in an isolated area or in an area known for the disposal of bodies.

This pattern resembles what has been described as the action of extrajudicial killing squads and the kind of violence described as social cleansing (Rojas, 1994). It shows the prevalence of a form of victimisation that targeted particularly marginalised *travesti*s and *homosexuales*. These were not isolated or random events. They show a pattern that results from the conscious and planned actions of some sectors of society that was prepared to hire criminals to annihilate a particular social sector.

There are also, however, chronological and regional differences that need to be considered in order to understand how different armed groups used such patterns of violence, in which circumstances and with which political purposes.

In the period 1988-1993, almost half of the victims identified in the sample were killed, and this occurred mainly in three capital cities: Cali, Barranquilla and Bogota (See Graphic 7). After that, the pattern of killings changed. More events occurred in medium to small cities and in the Caribbean region (See Graphic 8). Throughout this period, Valle Department, and the Cali was the city where most events occurred.

Graphic 7: Department where events occurred recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010
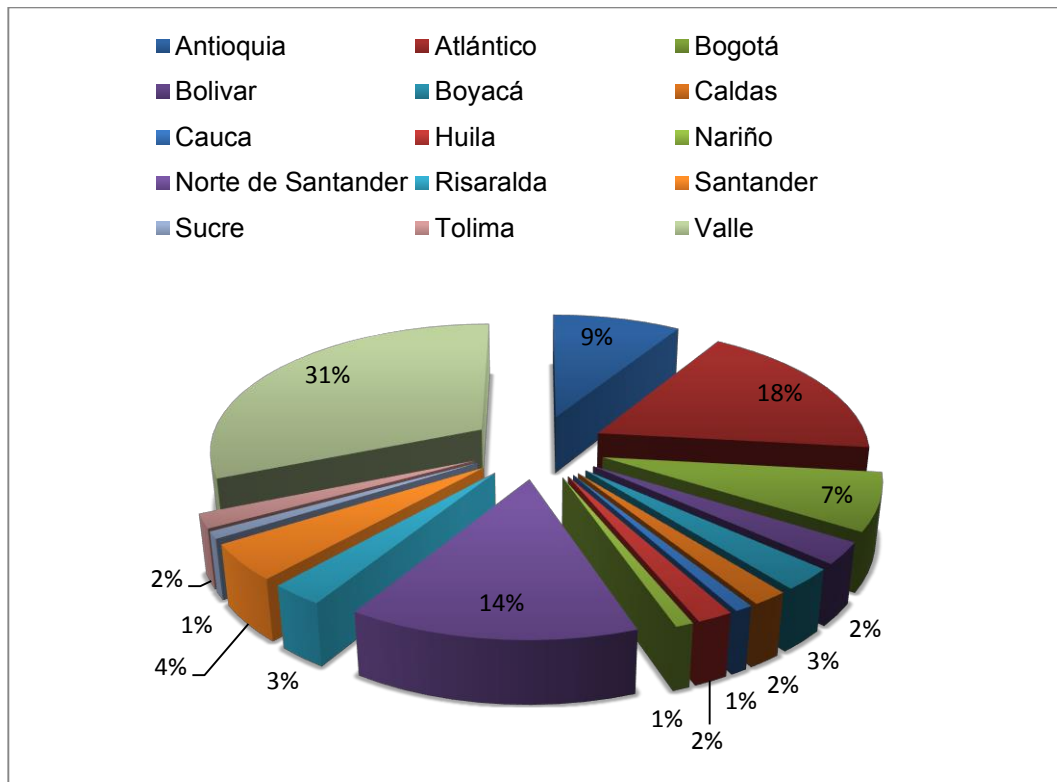
Graphic 8: Number of events per year recorded in *Noche y Niebla* 1988-2010
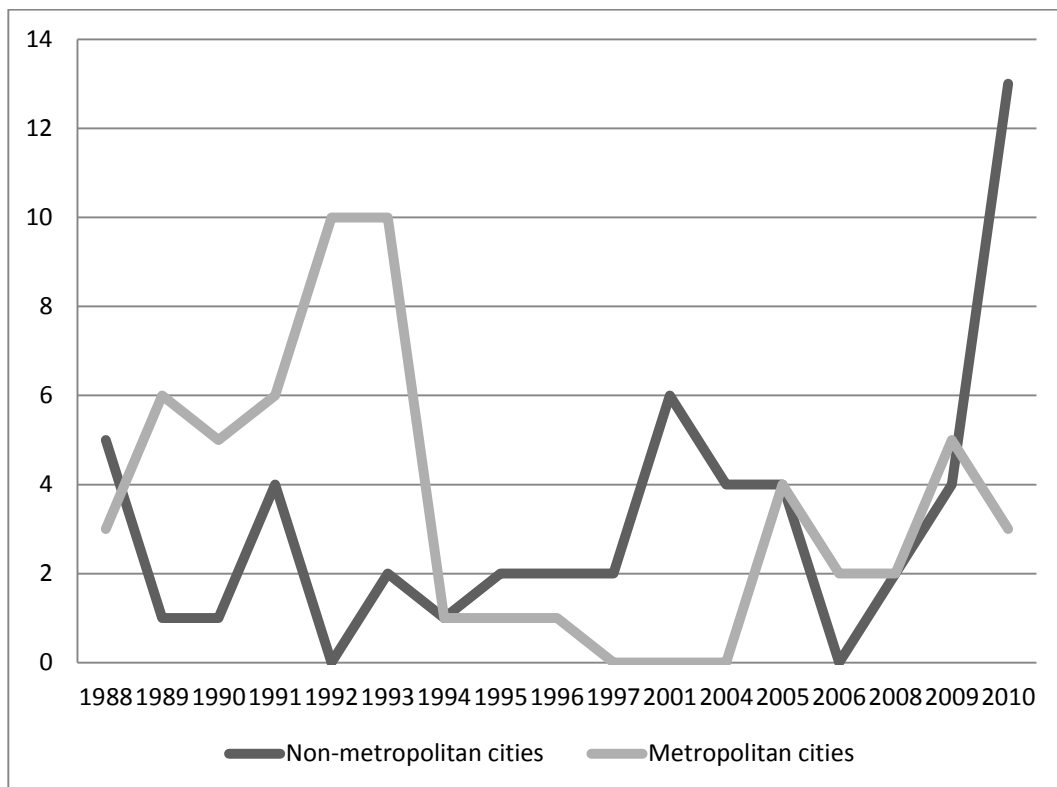
Collective threats, leaflets and ideologies behind violent actions

Threatening communities before, during and after military actions has been a common strategy of armed groups in Colombian conflict. Inhabitants of areas in dispute observe graffiti on their walls or receive leaflets announcing the arrival of armed groups. That strategy is often the cause of the displacement of communities. Violent groups sometimes try to give some explanation or justification for their actions. There are several references in *Justicia y Paz* and in *Noche y Niebla* about perpetrators of extrajudicial killings leaving a written or printed note with an idea of why the person was killed. For example, In July 29, 1999, a 'social cleansing squad' killed four persons and wounded two more in a marginalised area of Santander the Quilichao, Cauca. Close to the bodies there was a leaflet saying 'The cleansing of drug users, thieves and rapists will continue'. In this example, the reason for the killing was provided and more actions were announced.

Noche y Niebla shows several instances of guerrillas, *paramilitares* and squads committing extra-judicial killings who have threatened communities, groups and individuals not only for living in disputed territories but also because of their belonging to certain group. This is done by the perpetrators who send the threat. For example, on 20 August 1998, members of a social cleansing squad threatened the inhabitants of Puerto Tejada, a village in the southern department of Cauca. Most of the individuals threatened were young people and the threat was circulated with a list of their names.

This example shows a pattern that was continued all through the period explored in *Noche y Niebla*. In that pattern, a mechanism of communication was used to let the threatened victims know that they were under surveillance and to warn them of the consequences of their actions. Threatened victims are usually named, in order to let them know they have been identified. However, that identification can change. Sometimes threats target a social subject defined in general ways, such as youth, thieves or drug users. At other times, they give the names and nicknames of the ones threatened. Sometimes leaflets use slang and terms that are peculiar to specific cultural contexts.

Means used are often graffiti on walls or a piece of paper distributed on streets or glued to electricity poles. Sometimes it is handwritten and at other times it is computer typed. Some are written with standard grammar and others with spelling mistakes or using colloquial language. An example of a leaflet distributed in July 2014 is offered in the Appendix 5.

It is because of those characteristics that a detailed analysis of the references offered in *Noche y Niebla* is required. As mentioned above, information collected there comes from

newspapers and witnesses of events. It is often quoted as mentioned by the source. However, it is possible that in the process of documentation and transmission, local terms or slang could be translated into general terms or broader descriptive categories. For example, on 25 September 2005 a threatening pamphlet circulated in central areas of the city of Pereira. It was signed by a group called *Cazano, Grupo de Limpieza Social* – 'Social Cleansing Group'. *Noche y Niebla* knew of the case through a source that had access to the leaflet. The leaflet was sent to the owners of hotels around the main square of the city. The leaflet asked them to stop serving *maricas* y *prostitutas* – faggots and prostitutes who use those hotels. When describing the event, *Noche y Niebla* defined the targets of such threat as *trabajadoras y trabajadores sexuale*s – sexual workers and the *administradores* – administrators of the hotels. In the process of documenting the event, *maricas* and *prostitutas* was translated to a generic category of sexual workers and the sexual and gender content was suggested by the use of masculine and feminine words.

With this is mind I carried out a search of cases of threats in *Noche y Niebla*. A sample of 347 general threats was identified in the period 01/01/1998 12/12/2010. A further search looking for references to gender and sexual identity was undertaken. That search looked for terms or situations in which the sexual orientation or gender identity of the threatened populations was considered. That search found a sample of thirty-nine events of collective threats that mentioned groupings such as *homosexuales*, *maricas, lesbianas, bisexuales, gays*, *travesti*s, *comunidad LGBT*. Cases in which specific individuals were threatened were considered in the data base created for experiences of victimisation discussed above.

In the thirty-nine threats identified, the most common term used to mention the victims was *homosexuales* (twenty-five cases). Lesbianas were mentioned in eight cases, *maricas* in six, *travesti*s in five, *bisexuales* in four and *comunidad LGBT* in four. These references were not exclusive of each other. In the six cases that lesbianas are mentioned they are also referred in association with homosexuals and the same happened with the references to *bisexuales*. However, three of the references to *travesti*s seem to be restricted to them. As discussed above, it is possible that some references in which the subject targeted were *travesti*s, may have be included in the report as *homosexuales*. A detailed content analysis with the complete leaflets could bring clarity in this issue.

In only six of the thirty-nine threats were subjects defined because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. These six cases are connected to threats against *travesti*s and their organisations (two), an LGBT internet radio and members of the *comunidad LGBT* (three). In only one of these three cases was it possible to identify in the leaflet the

use of the acronym LGBT. In the other two it was the complainant who used that collective term.

In thirty-three cases *homosexuales*, *lesbianas, travestis, bisexuales, or comunidad LGBT* are mentioned in association with other social subjects. The most common association is with *prostitutas* (sex workers) that appears in twenty-three of the cases. The second association is with drugs. Drug users are mentioned in sixteen cases and drug dealers in eleven cases. *Ladrones* (thieves) are the next group. Thirteen references mentioned them. After that come youth and youth cultures. Ten cases include youth. Often, leaflets threaten more than two subjects. Gender identity and sexual orientation appeared associated with sex work and drugs use and drug dealing in thirteen cases. Sex work and theft were associated in eleven cases. Finally, sex work, theft and drugs appeared associated with gender identity and sexual orientation in twenty of the thirty-nine cases identified.

Most of the threats are associated with actions of *paramilitares* (77%) and occurred between 2009 and 2010 (61%). Five threats are associated in *Noche y Niebla* with groups de intolerancia – intolerance groups. One was connected with the police and another with the guerrilla of *Ejercito de Liberación Nacional* (ELN). In February 2 2009, police threatened a group of transwomen who were on a public space in the city of Cali. On January 25, 2009, members of the Frente Capitán Parmenio, of the ELN, circulated a leaflet with the names of demobilised *paramilitares* and *homosexuales* to be executed.

Six of the eight threats that circulated between 2002 and 2005 occurred in the Caribbean. Five of the threats associated with *paramilitares* occurred in 2002, before the demobilisation of the groups that belonged to the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (AUC). Four of them circulated in the Caribbean lowlands, in the departments of Atlántico, Sucre, Bolivar and Cordoba. One occurred in the department of Santander. As will be explained in that year, and in that area, important projects of expansion of the *paramilitares* were happening.

The first threat in which *homosexuales* were mentioned was in 2002. There were five threats in that year. After that, threats slightly decreased. Two were identified in each of the years 2005 and 2008. One case happened each year in 2003, 2006 and 2007. Most of the threats are recent. Twenty were identified in 2009 and eight in 2010. The threats identified between 2002 and 2007 were concentrated in the north of Colombia, but after 2008 they spread around most of the country.

In the first threat mentioned *paramilitares* members of the group *Héroes de los Montes de María* (Heroes of Mary's Mountains), threatened to kill fifteen inhabitants of the village of Ovejas, Department of Sucre, in the Caribbean lowlands. In the leaflet, the victims were

given three days to leave the village. The leaflet mentioned that the mission of the group was to 'execute thieves, hijackers, drug dealers, drug users, homosexuals and prostitutes since they gave a bad impression of such an important region' (*Noche y Niebla*, julio 2002: 23). On August 18 the same group threatened thirty people in Cienaga de Oro, another village in the same area. The source mentioned that homosexuals, lesbians, drugs users and *antisociales* (individuals against society) were the subjects of such threats. Similar threats were registered in other areas of the country, where other groups of *paramilitares* were acting. In July 29, 2002, a similar threat circulated in Barrancabermeja, the capital of oil production in the northwest Department of Santander. In that case, around ten *homosexuales* left the city because of the threats. In September *Paramilitares* of the Frente 14 Unido de Soledad, killed three *homosexuales* in Soledad, Atlantico (*Noche y Niebla*, septiembre, 2002: 122).

As can be seen in this description, events started with a warning, advanced to a threat and culminated in assassination. Although events did not happen in the same place and were not committed by the same group, they occurred in the same region where *paramilitares* were acting.

Similar leaflets threatening *homosexuales* and other marginalised subjects are registered in *Noche y Niebla* in the following years. They appeared in several cities and regions of the country: in Pereira, in the coffee-producing inland, in 2003 and 2005; in the tourist Caribbean coast cities of Cartagena, in 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2005; in capital cities and villages in the Caribbean cattle lowlands of Sucre and Cordoba in the same years.

These threats do not disappear with the demobilisation of the paramilitary groups belonging to the AUC between 2003 and 2005. The groups that emerged after that event, called generically *bandas criminales emergentes* (emerging criminal bands) continued the same pattern of threat. One of these bands, *Aguilas Negras* (Black Eagles), is associated with spreading these leaflets in seven different cities between 2005 and 2009. In 2005, *Grupo de Limpieza Urbano* – 'Urban Cleansing Group', acting in Pereira, threatened *maricas* y *prostitutas* working in the city centre.

In the creation of the data base that supported this analysis using information from *Justicia y Paz* and *Noche y Niebla* another body of cases started to emerge. Gender and sexuality were a core element of the logic of threats and were associated with social intolerance.

As explained initially, since the creation of *Justicia y Paz* there was an interest in what was called later social intolerance. Cases of killings of women in prostitution were extensive. For example, on 16 January 1994, a paramilitary group entered a brothel in a village in the department of Casanare, western Colombia. Women were forced to leave

their rooms. Three *paramilitares* tortured and raped one of them for more than eight hours. The women had to leave the town after that. Similar cases were found all through my research.

Other topics that could also be considered associated with gender and sexuality were found as part of direct victimisation and in threats. On April 17, 1997, twelve *paramilitares* penetrated a village in the rural area of Andes, Antioquia. They forced the community to gather in the main square and threatened to kill the ones who were seen as helpers of the guerrilla. They also cut the hair of men who had it long and warned drug users to rehabilitate, or they would be executed. Ways of dressing considered appropriate for men and for women were common in the so called *manuales de convivencia* (conduct handouts) imposed by *paramilitares*.

After the search for cases of threats in which gender identity and sexual orientation were mentioned was concluded, another search was commenced, intended to identify other aspects of gender and sexual behaviour that were included in the threats. At least sixty-three events of circulation of leaflets in which other topics of gender and sexual behaviour were mentioned were found. These threats cover a wide variety of situations. With the aforementioned direct violence against *prostitutas* there were cases of threat, kidnapping, sexual violence and displacement. For example, in September 12, 2002, guerrilla members of the ELN kidnapped two sexual workers. They were left in another Department with a note declaring prostitution, drinking and drug use forbidden in the areas of their influence.

Around 2002 the creation of norms that regulate social behaviours such as ways of dressing, time to be on the streets, use of alcohol or modes of interaction between men and women, started to be denounced by community organisations. For example, in July 2002, it was reported that *paramilitares* acting in the city of Barrancabermeja were killing those who did not follow a social norms handout. A leaflet that circulated in Soledad, a city close to Barranquilla, in September 25, 2002, warned parents to keep an eye on the behaviour of young people. *Si su hijo es sano, acuéstelo temprano, si es ladrón, cómprele un cajón* (If your son is good, send him to bed early. If he is a thief, buy him a coffin), it said. That leaflet circulated parallel to the killing of three *homosexuales* by *paramilitares* members of the Frente 14 Unido de Soledad. In a leaflet that circulated on March 6, 2004 in Cartagena threats targeted not only drug users and drug dealers but also misbehaving kids, unfaithful women and alcoholic men. A similar leaflet circulated in the same city almost a year after, on January 17, 2005.

It can be argued that most of the threats target both women and men. That is the case when threats target a generic group such as drug dealers, drug users, beggars or

homeless people. However, further research may show that even in those cases there are also clear patterns of gender differences. The first case that shows a particular pattern of gender differentiation in threats can be identified in a leaflet circulated in 2002. On May 2002 September 17 *paramilitares* killed a thirty-five-year-old man in an area of the city of Cucuta, in the border area with Venezuela. After that, houses appeared with graffiti saying 'heads will be cut', 'Drug users out', 'death to rats', '*Zorras* - Sluts out'. Another reference in *Noche y Niebla* mentions that three sex workers who were displaced because of threats from the city of Cucuta were killed in the close city of Bucaramanga, few months before.

The use of the category *zorras* (sluts) as a collective term of subjects to be threatened deserves a particular mention. In most of the cases analysed here collective subjects are defined in masculine or neutral terms. An exception would be the few cases that mention *lesbianas* as subjects of threats referred to above. *Zorras* is a terms with particular gender connotations and is applied only to women. Sometimes it replaces other terms associated with sex workers. Often it refers to women who exercise their sexuality, not necessarily bonded to heterosexual committed relationships. Other references to women in leaflets included labels such as *brujas* (witches), *chismosas* (gossipers) and *escandalosas* (scandalous).

Synthesis

The quantitative analysis of cases of violence related with gender orientation or sexual identity registered in *Noche y Niebla* and *Justicia y Paz* allows us to see how anti-homosexual violence occurs and how it changes with time. It suggests the permanence of one pattern of victimisation all through the period analysed and the appearance of another after 1994. The first pattern of victimisation is common in the period 1988-1993. It is the killing of *travesti*s and marginalised *homosexuales* in capital cities. The second pattern appeared after 1994, where victimisation occurred in medium to small cities in two areas of the country: the Caribbean coast and the northern departments, close to the border with Venezuela.

In the first pattern, the city of Cali is emblematic. It has most of the victims over the whole period of the sample: at least thirty-three people were killed in that city and its surrounding area in events associated with socio-political violence. They comprise a third of the whole sample. 37% of the victims in the period 1988-1993 and 34% of the victims in the period 2004-2010 died in the city of Cali.

In the second pattern the city of Barranquilla is of particular interest. It is city with the second highest number of cases in the period 1988-1993 and has almost as many cases as Cali in the period 2004-2010, if we include its surrounding area. It can be suggested that while that city experienced the first pattern of violence in the late 80s and through the 90s, the second pattern was established after the 2000s.

The first pattern of victimisation resembles what was said before about the action of death squads and the so called social cleansing acts. It is the killing of marginalised sectors in areas of the city where there are struggles for public space and where new trade projects demand the displacement of social sectors identified as problematic for such expansions. The second pattern coincides with the expansion of groups of *paramilitares* in the north of the country, particularly in the Caribbean coast, the Caribbean lowlands and the regions in the border with Venezuela.

Information about threatening leaflets can support the last conjecture. As mentioned above, there are no references to cases of victimisation in the period 2002-2003. However, that is the period where homosexuality started to be included as a particular topic in threatening leaflets. The first references to threats against *homosexuales* were made in areas where *paramilitares* were disputing territorial control (Barrancabermeja) or an expansion of their areas of influence (Montes de María). These included mainly small to medium size cities and capital cities in the coastal and lowland Caribbean region. Ovejas, Cienaga, Cerete, El Banco or Soledad, are examples of the first. Cartagena, Santa Marta y Barrancabermeja are examples of the second.

Experiences of victimisation related to gender identity or sexual orientation can act directly or indirectly, as the information presented has shown. In the first case, they affect the integrity of particular individuals. In the second, using collective threatening leaflets, they affect the collective groupings. Gender identity and sexual orientation as reasons of victimisation, however, do not act in an isolated way but as part of a gender and sexual order that include other elements.

If the information analysed here suggests the existence and interconnection between two patterns of violence in terms of time it also suggests the interconnection between different forms of violence. The associations presented in threatening leaflets between gender orientation and sexual identity suggests that in a few cases they work in isolation. In most of the cases they work in association with other social categories of exclusion, discrimination, poverty and marginality. To define those cases as homophobic or anti-homosexual violence would be reductive. Information suggests how forms of violence that may correspond to particular cases of victimisation are interconnected but may be assembled here in order to produce something different.

It is not possible to conclude from the information documented in *Noche y Niebla* that cases of direct victimisation did not occur in the period when *paramilitares* were expanding and disputing territorial control. The coincidence between the lack of cases of direct violence against individuals and circulation of threatening leaflets does not lead one to assume association between one phenomenon and another. Interviews provided data on cases of displacement caused by threats and in cases of direct violence and assassination of *travesti*s, *homosexuales* and other subjects. Using qualitative information provided in the interviews (c.f. Chapter Six) it can be suggested that because of the threatening power of such groups, opportunities to denounce these groups were limited and victims preferred to remain silent. This accounts for the lack of information on cases of direct violence.

Further research combining different data bases could allow examination of that situation in more detail. What this information shows is that violence related to gender identity and sexual orientation has been part of the strategies of armed groups acting in the socio-political conflict in Colombia. This pattern of victimisation is different from the one identified by LGBT human rights organisations that targets mainly middle class urban gay men robbed and killed in their houses (Colombia-Diversa, 2005, 2008). The information also shows that such violence is not targeting sexual orientation or gender identity in isolation but in its interactions with marginality, and social and class exclusion. Therefore the association between violence against *homosexuales* and *travesti*s and other socially excluded groups. It is against a particular kind of victims and in particular socio-political settings that such violence has been acting.

Chapter 6: Personal narratives of critical events

Introduction

This chapter presents six examples of the personal narratives constructed for the present research, as explained in the chapter of Methods (c.f. Chapter Three). Narratives were based in interviews conducted in Colombia and South Africa. The narratives follow a common template, adapted for each case. The first three narratives (Funeka, Carrie, Gerald) correspond to research participants interviewed in South Africa. The other three (Zoraya, Lena, Victor) to participants interviewed in Colombian. Six more narratives are included in the Appendix Four.

Funeka's Story

Introduction

Funeka Soldaat is a community and gender activist whose name appears in several records of interview cases of corrective rape. In 2012 she was recognised in the Mail & Guardian Book of South African Women for her role in Free Gender, an organisation working for the rights of lesbian and bisexual women. The search for dignity forms a common thread in her story from beginning to end, and describes how her experience of apartheid violence led her to become an activist to the activities in which she and her peers are involved now.

The interview

The interview was facilitated by Mikki Van Zyl, another long-term gender and rights activist in South Africa, and took ninety minutes. We met on December 24th, 2012 at Mikki's house in Cape Town where Funeka was taking a break from her work in Khayelitsha. I felt I was intruding on her privacy and felt nervous and shy at the beginning of the interview. For me the interview was charged with contradictory emotions.

This situation became more complex when, early in the interview, she talked, about her experiences of gender and sexual violence. Personal experiences of victimisation were not included in the interview protocol. I knew she had already disclosed those experiences in other public interviews. My first reaction to her references to sexual violence was not taking them into account and asking about another topic she had mentioned earlier. Though, that was an important part of her story and with more confidence from my side, I was able to revisit the topic. She approached the interview with kindness and generosity. The fact that she is used to being interviewed facilitated the conversation.

The interview started with a question about her initial involvement in gay and lesbian activism and ended with an interchange of comments about the current challenges that gay and lesbian people face in South Africa and Colombia. While the questions followed a life story chronological order, her answers followed an expansive pattern, deviating often to consider the racial, political, cultural and gendered dimensions of the fights for rights of black, gay and lesbian South Africans. Her response to my first question about introducing herself exemplifies the connections she made between her life story, the general context and the explanations she offered about social structures and social change:

My name is Funeka Soldatt, I am a lesbian activist in South Africa. I became involved in activism and politics before I became involved in gay and lesbian stuff because what we were facing before was the issue of not being accepted because of our colour. I think it was because of that, that the gay and lesbian stuff never comes to anyone's mind. There were just things that were happening. I become more involved when I was attacked. It was 1993. It was then that I started to see clearly that something was not right. We had not been focussing on sexual orientation […] When I was attacked because of my masculinity and because people started to notice that I was going out with women I started to become much more involved in fighting for the rights of gay and lesbian people. That was in the early 90s.

The narrative that Funeka offered challenges approaches to oral history in which participants are seen as narrators or witnesses of events that are later interpreted and connected by researchers. From her first answer, Funeka offered more than evidence or descriptions. She explained the causes and consequences of events and the functioning of social structures. In her narrative, she presented a political theory of social transformation and of the interactions between agency and structure. Such theory considers the interactions between race, gender, sexuality and class as social structures and how they mutually interact with and support each other. Her approach offers a different perspective on theories about intersectionality that look at social structures as predefined points of departure or as categorical conditions added to each other as a series of subjective experiences.

In her narrative what she remembered as happening at a specific moment of her activism is connected with events recalled from her current experiences. They are not separate aspects of her story. For example, when asked about her involvement as a young student in the anti-apartheid struggles, she answered with a reflection that was simultaneously a memory and a lesson learned from practice: if activism for gay and lesbian rights had started at that time, activists would have made a better a transition to democracy, when it came to dealing with sexual orientation, she said.

Life Story

Funeka was born in 1960 in Freudenberg, an area close to Cape Town. Her family was isiXhosa speaker. She remembered growing up in a conservative environment in which tradition, customs and Christianity were very important. Like many Black and Coloured South Africans, her family suffered the effects of the Group Areas Act, a body of laws enacted in 1950 and repealed in 1991 that regulated occupation and acquisition of land in accordance with apartheid racial classifications. When she was still young, her people

were removed from Cape Town to the so called homelands, in the Eastern Cape where she spent her childhood and adolescence.

Funeka was at school in the 70s, a vibrant time for youth mobilisations in South Africa. The Soweto Uprising (June 16, 1976) led by black students, was one of the pivotal moments in the anti-apartheid movement. She remembered how the violence experienced by black students made them realise that 'there was no way to run away' from the struggles. At that time, she joined a youth branch of the African National Congress (ANC) and was still actively involved with the ANC at the time of our interview.

Although Funeka has invested a significant part of her time in political activism, both within the ANC and in several gay and lesbian organisations at the local and national level, activism has not been her main source of income. She describes several jobs for different enterprises and organisations at the community level as her employment. As she said, the 'gay and lesbian stuff' is something she has done on her own time, sometimes creating problems for her with the 'straight' organizations where she has been working. Because of that, she does not brand herself as a gay and lesbian activist but more as a gender based activist.

 Funeka's work trajectory is the result of the complex relations between activism, funding and professionalisation, particularly in a context such as South Africa where international aid has been significant in the struggles for justice. When she refers to her work life she describes at least three situations: (i) a permanent movement between provisional formal jobs in the development industry and constant employment informality; (ii) a combination of activism as a transitory source of income and activism as a political commitment that permeates personal, public and social spheres; (iii) the ways in which trends in international cooperation aid have framed the professional life courses of activists at the local level.

Violence as a lived experience

Early in the interview Funeka explained her involvement in the anti-apartheid struggles as having resulted from the violent forces that the regime imposed among black communities. More than a voluntary decision to resist, her involvement was the result of a process of experiencing violence, researching its causes and looking for explanations. Activism was not an option taken among other possibilities, but the inevitable result of understanding who she was, as a black person.

> There was no way you would run away from that as a black person. I mean, the system just forced you in it. When you grow up in schools, when you were at schools in the 70s, you seen the dogs just coming in schools, the way the dogs just came in, we asked teachers 'why people were with dogs at schools?', without knowing exactly what was really happening. And sometimes you just have been beaten in the streets by white boys asking you something that you are not aware of. And then you ask why are these people hitting me, who's this person they are talking about, who's Mandela? And then you start to investigate. The system just forced you to become involved. It consciously didn't come to your mind 'ok I am going to fight apartheid'. It was the system that forced you to do it.

In this narrative Funeka not only refers to the everyday life experience of violence that she faced as a young student. She also expresses how making sense of such experience was a gradual process that began with confusion, continued with interrogation and concluded with the recognition of the inevitability of political activism. Being an activist was concomitant with recognising her racial condition and reflecting on it interactively with others.

When talking about her initial involvement in the struggles, Funeka remembered the fight against racism as the 'bigger picture' toward which all actions were supposed to be directed. In this process of making sense of her experience of racism, she described her participation in a collective consensus about racism, its causes and consequences. This collective consensus operated both as a comprehensive explanation of her position in society and as an organising principle underpinning her political development.

Political activism was the direct consequence of her reflections on her life experiences and became a departure point for new the new direction for her life course. She was already a committed member of the ANC in the 80s, when she heard Simon Nkoli talking about being gay and fighting against apartheid and realised that what he was said was resonant with her, not only as an anti-apartheid comrade, but also as a non-heterosexual black person. Her anti-apartheid comrades became involved in the construction of her identity, when they divided in favour of, and against, her coming out. Her knowledge of the ANC was fundamental in the early 90's when she joined gay and lesbian lobby organisations and helped to create bridges between both movements. The contradictory approaches toward homosexuality inside the ANC were still affecting her in recent years, when she experienced opposition from female comrades to her election as leader of a local women's party structure.

The consensus created by the idea of anti-apartheid struggles as the 'big picture', and the way it framed her life narrative, also has cracks that were evident from the beginning of the interview. That consensus created exclusions and limited what was considered relevant for activism and political action. As she said, remembering the early years of her

involvement in struggles, there was 'no space' to focus on other issues, such as sexual orientation. It does not mean that she was unaware of her sexuality nor of the existence of anti-homosexual violence. She remembers in the mid 80s feeling identified with the gay and black activist Simon Nkoli and knowing about police prosecution of white homosexuals or violence against effeminate men in Zulu or Xhosa cultures. As an organising principle, the focus on the 'big picture' defined not only what was relevant but also what should be forgotten.

> And we really forget about the other side of ourselves, like we are women and also we are lesbian, and I think, that is why Simon Nkoli in Johannesburg, when he, in 1985, when he told some of his comrades that he was gay and he struggled a lot because really there was not space for that at that time because people were focusing on ourselves from being free from the white people as black people.

Later in the interview, returning to this point, she explained that because of their commitment in the fight for equality they did not expect to be discriminated against for any other reasons. Even more, she did not imagine that as lesbians and as women they needed to create structures to protect themselves from their comrades. She challenged the idea that sexual orientation was unmentionable or unrecognised in the anti-apartheid struggles. Instead, she emphasised her agency in the fight against racism and racial inequality. She also recognised, however, that anti-apartheid movements created hierarchies among the excluded. She explained that, just as in Orwell's Animal Farm, some animals were more equal than others.

Activism and mobilisation

The consensus created by the 'big picture' was relevant for her recognition of racism as a political experience and anti-racism as an activist commitment. However, the consensus was fragile, because of the hierarchies of difference that it created and for the connections of racism with other forms of violence, such as gender-based violence.

In the early 90s Funeka moved from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town, as she said, 'looking for freedom', and trying to make sense of her experience of being lesbian and feeling attracted to other women. However, the city was not always welcoming. Between 1993 and 1995 she was the victim of two violent attacks. First she was stabbed and badly injured when dating a woman. Two years later, she was gang raped. Such experiences turned her life 'up and down', as she said. After that, she started a major involvement in gay and lesbian activism.

Thanks to her participation in the ANC since her adolescence, Funeka helped to create awareness among her comrades during the transition period that homosexuality was something to consider. From there, she contributed to the incorporation of the Equality

Clause in the new Constitution. Between 1995 and 2002 Funeka was a member of several of the leading organisations and projects that changed the legal situation of gay and lesbian people in South Africa, such as the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE) and the Triangle Project.

In 2005 another violent event would create new paths in her activism. With the visibility of violence against lesbian women and the emergence of 'corrective rape' as a social and political issue, she realised the many forms of victimisation that women suffered, the lack of attention by state institutions to these and the impunity and legitimacy of such violence. Considering the need to support the participation of lesbians in legal processes and the knowledge of their rights, she and other activists around 2007 created a safe space of encounter inside Treatment Action Campaign (TAC). Working first on access to HIV treatment, TAC has become a leading organisation in topics of social justice, human rights and the demand for better public policies for communities in vulnerable situations.

The vulnerability that women experienced was increased by double victimisation exercised by police, and the lack of legal support to take cases to court. At the same time that xenophobia became a matter of social concern and policy, homophobic violence and violence against lesbian women were still subjected to mockery, shame and a general refusal to take them seriously. Because of that, Funeka and other activists searched for alliances with social justice organisations and created forms of mobilisation against homophobia in the townships and violence targeting lesbian and masculine women. Working with the police was a way of reacting to their inadequate management of such cases of violence.

In this frame Free Gender, the organisation that Funeka currently leads, was created in 2008. Free Gender is currently a black lesbian organisation acting in Khayetlisha, a township close to Cape Town. They work on gender and sexual violence, human rights and community participation.

Transition conflict/post-conflict

Funeka's narrative shows the turmoil and contradictions that such transitions created both at personal and collective levels. It also illustrates changes in forms of gender and sexual violence, in terms of the reasons of perpetrators and the conversion of the topic into a matter of public and policy concern.

At the same time that some members of the ANC were released from jail Funeka moved to Cape Town to become part of a movement she described as a search of freedom and the space to explore the meanings of being a lesbian. It was in the transition to democracy that Funeka faced the experiences of gender and sexual violence described as milestones in her life course. Funeka mentioned how in the early 2000s the killings of women because of their sexuality become more usual. She explained that since women were leading the search for equality in the New South Africa, men feared to lose what they thought was theirs and resorted to violence in order to retain it.

Funeka's explanation of her work with the police considers both the need to work with institutions to develop legal changes such as the Equality Clause included in the Constitution, and the importance of providing support to victims. She also adds another element: that of dignity. She discusses the meaning of statehood in countries facing protracted violence and concentration of power, where citizenship is a victory resulting from social action, and not the exercise of a previously established entitlement. She says:

> We are trying hard to work with the police in order for them to take these cases very seriously, because that bestows dignity on us. That 'you know? You did this to lesbians, you mustn't think that you've done it to a dog or a devil, that's a human being, you have to go to jail if you have done this'. Because people, they always do these things and get away with the case, they get to disappear, investigating officers don't report back to the victims and victims become tired, they don't follow up cases.

Gender and sexual orders

Asked about her memories of cases of violence against gay and lesbian people, Funeka established two differences: her perception of her lesbianism as something different from her experience of racism, and what she knew was happening in white minorities in terms of anti-homosexual violence. She remembered examples of violence in both cases, but that reaction was different in each case.

> **JF**: At that time [early anti-apartheid activism], do you remember hearing about violence against gay and lesbian people?
>
> **F**: I think I didn't know myself that I was gay, that I was lesbian, at that time. Because of the pressure and the tension that was there at that time, there wasn't space to think about anything else. The pressure from the system was on black people, there was no way that you would have time to react like "Ok. Yes. I am a lesbian, so what?" There was no room for that. Among white people I understand there were some activities that were happening during that time and the police were busy trying to suppress them, because at least they had that privilege to be themselves, but yeah, that was something related to that privilege (laughs).

In this answer Funeka offered an explanation of how the intersections between gender, sexuality, race and violence created different vulnerabilities and were faced differently by different people. By doing this she offers an understanding of the functioning of the apartheid system in terms of sexuality, in particular the policing of white male sexualities by the regime and its consequences in terms of violence. In it, the privilege that whites have to make sexual orientation a particular topic of their subjectivities allowed them to create a particular activism based on sexual orientation but also exposed them to a specific form of violence. Meanwhile, since the pressure created by the apartheid system was of such magnitude on black people, the space to make sexual orientation as a separate sphere was very limited. Therefore, they had 'no room' for something like gay and lesbian activism at that time.

The use of the term 'privilege' to explain the possibilities that white homosexuals had to make their identities a separate sphere expresses Funeka's view of the different dimensions of advantage and disadvantage that race created and also how it defined certain sexualities. It also exemplifies her perception of the relations between black and white gay and lesbian communities. Later in the interview she discussed how some white gays and lesbians enjoyed apartheid, the lack of protest by the white gay organizations to the incarceration of Simon Nkoli, and their attempts to take control and depoliticise pride parades.

Funeka introduces another explanation in which the interactions between racial and cultural differences create different effects on violence and mobilisation. In her analysis of Xhosa and Zulu cultures, Funeka founds that despite differences between them, they are both very conservative and restrictive in terms of maintaining gender orders. She also remembered that in the 80s effeminate men were the targets of violence inside black communities because of not following such gender divisions and mentioned how from the 2000s masculine women were more the targets of violence. She did not deny the existence of anti-homosexual violence in black communities. However, as the excerpt suggests, she did establish a difference in terms of spaces for political participation and for the expression of sexual orientation or gender identities as differentiated spheres of subjectivities and collective identities.

When reflecting on the collective level she also reflected on her personal experiences. In the narrative of her early activism, Funeka remembered the different forms of violence she experienced. She was not in the closet or denying her identity, as an explanation inspired by Northern theories of sexual orientation would suggest. The non-existence, in the early stages of antiapartheid struggles of sexual orientation as a separate topic for

struggle, seems to be, in her experience, the result not only of racism but also of cultural differences in gender and sexual orders.

From her very first answer, Funeka stated that her activism in gay and lesbian rights was associated with the violence she suffered in the early 90s because of her masculinity and her dating of women. All through her narrative she described the unfolding of her identity as a masculine woman dating other women. That process ran parallel to her political activism in the anti-apartheid struggles but does not show the same characteristics. In this way, activism is not just something she has done but also something in which she has been a political, gendered and sexual subject.

When exploring discussions about sexual orientation in the antiapartheid struggles, Funeka represented the situation as a lack of 'space' or 'room' for such topics, since the main focus was the fight against racism. These references offer a contrast with narratives of sexual orientation common in the global North associated with the tension invisibility-visibility and the acceptance of a predefined identity inside the self that needs to 'come out', as is implicit in the 'out of the closet' model.

> **JF**: How was your first experience with a gay and lesbian organization?
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> **F**: In the 90s I become involved, but I also become involved in the 80s, 86, 85, when I saw Simon Nkoli on ITV, on radio, talking about gay and lesbian stuff and I think then I began to have a very, big conflict within myself, "maybe that is me". Then in the 90s I started to be more hands on and that has continued until now.
>
> **JF**: When you saw Simon it was…
>
> **F**: it was scary. I got scared again. I grow up in a very conservative family, culture, lot of Christianity. I grow up in a family that believes in customs, and religion, and the belief that a man has to be with a woman. And also I grew up knowing that there were people that were practising spells which were easily put other women, and using those spells as a way to sleep with women. Those were all the things that I knew, so when I learned more I was happy but again I was a little bit uncomfortable. How could something be wrong? There was no way that I could share this with my family. That put a lot of pressure on me.

 Above it was mentioned how Funeka established a difference between white and black gay and lesbian communities and their particular experiences of anti-homosexual violence. Here Funeka is introducing two elements: the place of cultural background in her understanding of her gender and sexuality and the role that the public presence of some activists played in the configuration of her difference. The reference that Funeka made to her cultural upbringing allows her to explore both the interactions between traditional gender and sexual orders, and their importance in the contemporary politics in South Africa. Funeka mentioned Simon Nkoli several times. Simon Nkoli (1957-1998) was an anti-apartheid activist recognised for his role in the connections between anti-apartheid struggles and gay and lesbian rights. Funeka mentioned his public

appearances in mass media and his discussions both of racism and of gay and lesbian rights. She remembered the contradictory sensations of looking at him and feeling happy and identified, but being in conflict with what he embodied since it challenged her personal and cultural background.

Once Funeka mentioned her contradictory feelings of happiness and confusion when realising the existence of the 'gay and lesbian stuff', she introduced her travelling to the city in search of freedom and meaning for her feelings.

> So I become familiar with this thing [the "gay and lesbian stuff"] from the 1990s and then I moved to Cape Town because everybody was looking at the city as the place where you can have a little freedom. This was my first experience of the city. When I arrived, because I was younger, there was no point in me trying to make sense of what it meant to me to be masculine, or what it meant to be a lesbian. For me, really it came with a lot of confusion. Does it mean I am a man? What does it mean? And you see, coming from the activist background, I told my family "I think I am a lesbian, so what?"

For Funeka the city was not a safe and welcoming space. It was there that she experienced the segregation inside gay and lesbian spaces and violence because of her desires and gender expression. In her first years in the city she was stabbed and gang raped by 'the boys'. I did not try and explore in the interview who those 'boys' were. They may have been the groups of young men that patrolled communities in the last years of apartheid and enacted with violence the tensions among political actors in the conflict.

That moment is described within a new process of relocation and development: her trip to the city in search of the meaning of being lesbian was also a moment of confrontation with her background as anti-apartheid activist. Once she came out as lesbian to her comrades they divided into two groups: those interested in her experience and those angered by it. The confrontation with her previous activism and her exploration of sexual orientation as a particular field of life were accompanied by new experiences of violence because of her gender and sexuality. Again, as in the case of her first experiences of racism, she describes that moment as the realisation that such violence indicated that something was wrong and needed to be changed.

> Then I think I started trying to see things differently and in 1995 there was something really blowing my heart, I was gang raped by the boys and it was a thing that really turned my life up and down. That was when I realised that something was wrong and there is a war that is happening all around and then, from then, there was no turning back.

Here it is important to go back to the methodological discussion and consider how to enter into dialogue with this kind of information. On the one hand, Funeka is recalling an intense experience of pain inflicted on her sense of self, her body, and her life course.

The 'blowing my heart' description speaks for itself. At the same time she connected it with activism and shared it openly in the space of the interview. The event was presented in the interview to support the idea of learning, overcoming and looking for transformation not only at a personal level, but also as a collective experience. In terms of ethics and method it presents a challenge to the balances between what is private and public in the interview. It also problematises what should be made evident in the research narrative and how much interviewers want to share. Most of all there is the question of the ethical implications of representing participants under certain referents and not others.

Synthesis

With the inclusion of her own experiences of violence, Funeka broke the separation between personal experience and general experience that was implicit in the research design. She broke the protocols created by the institutional frame of the research and the separations it imposed on people's experiences. She also positioned violence not only as an event but as a lived experience at the core of her narrative and as a connecting point of the different elements that composed her narrative.

Since activism both in the anti-apartheid struggles and in gay and lesbian organisations were the subject of leading questions in the interview, Funeka's narrative offered rich descriptions of her involvement and contribution to such initiatives. Her racial, sexual, gender and class condition defined her activism. At the same time, activism appears in her story as a collective experience that shaped and reshaped her condition as a black, masculine, lesbian woman. In that way, race, gender, sexuality or class appear in her narrative not just as a departure point or a standpoint but as something that is achieved constantly in processes of reflection, interaction and collective political participation. More than an aggregation of elements, what she describes is the unfolding and mutual constitution of different positions and political decisions. In the permanent unfolding she described, racial, gender and sexual violence are not only structural positions and events that inflicted suffering in her life course but also experiences that she transformed with her political activism. In such processes, she constitutes her subjectivities.

If activism were the thread leading the interview, the search for dignity was the underlying thread in the narrative that Funeka offered. At the end of the conversation I could only express my admiration for all the work activists do with limited resources and in difficult, dangerous contexts. Her answer to my sense of admiration was clear: the amount of work they do is related to the amount of pain they have been experiencing. Finally, as she said, most of them are survivors of violence, and activism has been an *Exit* from the

pain violence created. The story she shared is not just a narrative of survival but of transformation and the constant creation of dignity.

Carrie's story

Introduction

Carrie Shelver is a feminist and gender activist. She has developed her career working on violence against women and in gay and lesbian organisations. She is co-founder of the One in Nine Campaign, an organisation created in 2006.

The narrative she offered is a reflection on social change and how to create it from a feminist perspective. She is an implicit theorist and located the interview questions in a broad discussion of power dimensions. As she explained in the interview, the theories and ideas that are privileged in academia should not be confined there but applied in social transformation. Her story is the result of the interaction between a strong academic formation, a committed activism, the accumulated experience of work on several organisations and a permanent critique of the state. Those interactions are at the core of the interview.

The interview

I was introduced to Carrie through a colleague who facilitated my contacts in South Africa. Carrie is one of his best friends and I had the chance to first get to know her informally. This man had facilitated the interview. The interview was an opportunity for Carrie to recall memories of past experiences. Sometimes she answered with clear, direct answers and at other times in a more self-reflective approach, giving herself time to expand and contrast her ideas.

The interview took place at the One in Nine Campaign offices, located in a working class area of Johannesburg. Their offices are also used as a print workshop in which women of the organisation can generate some income.

The interview lasted an hour and forty minutes and included some off-the-record notes on several events of South African politics. I had the chance to meet Carrie again at social event. I decided not to mention anything to do with the interview. I felt a bit privacy and distance could be also part of the relationship motivated by the research.

Life course

Carrie was born in 1970 and grew up in the Eastern Cape. Politics was an issue of concern in her family life and her mother was also an active feminist. That context was the background for her education and created the grounds for her career. She studied adult education, politics and applied linguistics. Rhodes University, where she did her BA, was a combination of white students coming from the provinces and local white elites of the Eastern Cape. The university attracted "a particular kind of whites", she remembers. White liberals dominated the political landscape of the University. There were few black students. There she also experienced the gaps and limits in liberal white politics. Her girlfriend at that time was part of the students' organisation and was discriminated against because of her sexuality.

After finishing her education, in the mid 90s, Carrie travelled around the world. Abroad, she started a relationship with a woman who had a job offer in South Africa and decided to return to South Africa with her. Returning to settle in Johannesburg was a difficult situation after having grown up in the Eastern Cape. The size of the city was overwhelming and she felt disconnected. The discrimination that her partner experienced at her work place, however, seems to have changed her feeling of alienation.

Carrie's description of her life in the second part of the 90s was a powerful narrative. She and her partner involved themselves in several activities such as queer publications, coordination of pride events and advocacy. In that way, Carrie gradually developed a career in gay and lesbian organisations. By the end of the decade she was Director of the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE).

Talking about the organisations for whom she has worked, Carrie mentioned her criticism of organisational ethos, political commitments and her permanent search for a work environment where there were real possibilities to create change. In 2001 she resigned from the coordination of NCGLE and went to work as program coordinator for People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), a feminist organisation delivering services for women. Around the mid-2000 she left POWA, disillusioned by homophobic attitudes and tired of NGO work. She went to work at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), a high profile research institution. At the same time, she participated in the creation of the One in Nine Campaign. Working with the CSVR gave her a chance to do something more structured, with a defined schedule and agenda. The institution was, however, far from her interests. After a new disillusion with the CSVR and the organisational violence she experienced there, she left and started to work full time for the One in Nine Campaign. She has been the Coordinator of this campaign since 2011.

She does not imagine herself working in the state or the academia. She is mainly an activist but she likes to promote intellectual spaces for thinking at the same time to make theory available for people who are dispossessed. There is something quite revolutionary doing that, she concluded.

Violence as a lived experience

Violence as a lived experience appeared all through Carrie's narrative. Her early connections with feminism framed her understanding of violence as part of patriarchy, in particular as it is exercised on 'female born bodies', as she said. The need to act against the violence that women experience is what motivates not only her political commitment but also her professional career.

Her interest in women's rights was not only based on her background on feminism but also with her experience of violence in a same-sex relationship. The interview did not explore that personal experience.

Violence was considered in detail in two main moments of the interview. The first was when she was exploring the role of violence in the work of the NCGLE and the second when discussing the so called corrective rape of black lesbians.

Carrie remembers that there were cases of gay and lesbian people approaching NCGLE because of experiences of violence. Since it was the alliance that was leading relevant legal changes at national level, it makes sense that people approached them looking for help. However, in NCGLE there was not a 'political space' to deal with those issues. In her description, that lack of political space seems to be related to three different priorities in the understanding of violence, inequalities and change done by the NCGLE.

> There were cases of gays and lesbians approaching the Coalition because they were facing violence but there was not a political space to deal with that. There was a devaluation of individual requests for change and an emphasis on macro change. […]Coalition was focused on legal equality. This was the time of Cameron's "laundry list" of legal reforms. There was not a real recognition of the need to consider social-economic situations; that not all gays and lesbians were in the same situation. […]There was a moment in which people became single-issue-minded and missed all the other kinds of violence and interactions.

The first priority was on change at the macro level rather than at micro levels, or more precisely, change in society rather than in the lives of individuals. The NCLGE had an agenda around changes in the legal structure of the country and this involved a top-down approach to social change. When reflecting on that experience Carrie introduced another

perspective for change in which the situation of real and immediate problems was the starting point.

The second priority involved a focus on single issues rather than multiple agendas of change. Carrie mentioned that the NCGLE was focused on legal equality. The so called 'laundry list' of legal reforms elaborated by Edwin Cameron was the guide for action in the NCGLE. Material archives show that, for the NCGLE, keeping a focus on single issues was a way to keep an alliance between organisations with different profiles. In her critique of this approach, Carrie introduces another perspective in the creation of change, based on a multiple and complex understanding to social issues.

The third priority that affected the way in which violence, inequality and sexual orientation were framed at the time of transition and in the NCGLE, resulted from the prioritisation of a (gay) male approach to violence over women's experiences of apartheid and violence. Carrie mentioned that,

> In KwaThema there was a group mainly of lesbians and they described a lot of violence they experienced, maybe it was not described as homophobia, more from a women-violence view, but they were looking for a response, a non-legal answer. They wanted support to talk in their communities, how to do it, how to engage in a dialogue. One of them was an ex-MK soldier and carried a lot of anger because, after all the struggle, she didn't get anything and she was subjected to violence by other MK soldiers. She vacillated between seeing male soldiers as allies or as threats.

The emphasis on legal changes impeded the incorporation of such experiences and needs for change. This situation was more complicated since the agenda of the organisation was controlled by men, there was a middle class dominance and decision making processes were concentrated in a few minds. Though some women criticised that dominance, their support for a legal change approach facilitated its permanence. In raising this critique, Carrie called attention to the male perspective that dominated the notion of change provided by mainstream gay and lesbian organisations.

The raising of questions around corrective rape changed the tone of the interview. When asking about it, her tiredness with the discussion was evident.

> Corrective rape become crazy, is problematic. […] When we create exceptions in violence, like corrective rape, we removed it from daily experiences of violence, like being special from everyday life, we also disconnect from other violences that other women experience. In some sense, isn't it all violence corrective?

Carrie and the organisation in which she works have been critical of such a concept, not only because of its conceptual support but also of its uses and popularisation. For her the concept is reductive. What is classified under the crimes as corrective rape is not just sexual-orientation-based but gender-based violence and violence against women. The victims of such violence are not just gender non-confirmative women but also poor

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women. The separation impedes working in collaboration with other organisations. Her conclusion, 'isn't all violence corrective?' condensed the critique to the concept of her broader approach to the topic of violence.

She is unsure about how the concept became so prevalent but its media impact and the fact that it has been used in human rights reports seems to have contributed to its generalisation. Before the popularisation of the concept, she remembers that other terms were used. In a report in which she collaborated about the state's responsibility for violence because of sexual orientation (WRW & IGLHRC, 2003), 'homophobia' was the common term. 'Curative rape' was a previous concept and used more for a broad discussion about rape, not only in cases related to sexual orientation. On the other hand, 'hate crimes' creates the idea that LGBT people experience violence in the same way, an idea that the different feminist organisations in which she has been working would not share. Several reductive operations and misleading effects seem to be the reasons for her critique of corrective rape as an explanation of what is happening to black women in South Africa.

Activism and mobilisation

Activism is a core element in Carrie's life story. It started when she was a student at university and continued through the early stages of her career up to the present. When organising the information needed to construct the case it was not easy to separate the information about activism from the information about her life course or her experiences with violence and gender and sexual orders. All those categories seem to be connected in her narrative to a broader discussion about social change and about her feminist perspective on it.

As mentioned above, her family was very active politically and she studied in an environment led by white liberal politics. When in the University, she was part of the South African Communist Party. Her activism developed gradually and with different types of commitment. Being politically active and having a critical perspective on politics seems to be a key component of the different environments in which she was participating. However, it did not always imply memberships of, or structured participation in, organisations. 'I can't remember how critical I was at that time. I was connected with what was happening in a friendship base rather than in an institutional base'.

This statement allows exploration in depth of the meanings of political commitment and political activism expressed by the interviewees. She was part of a critical mass of liberal

white students coming from educated middle class white families and involved in political transformation. In it, she was not only interested in political change but also in feminist activism. She remembered that feminism was her early activism and therefore the background of later perceptions of how to create social transformations.

Queer activism, as she said, came later. It resulted from the discrimination experienced by her partner at work and their desire to do something about it. That event occurred in the mid 90s, at the time of the transition to democracy and the arrival of the Equality Clause. Because of that they felt that something could be done, since discrimination was now illegal. Such perception is relevant to understand how in the frame of the transition to democracy and with a background in political activism some people transform their understandings of inequality because of sexual orientation. Though Carrie and her partner did not take legal actions about the discrimination, their situation put them in touch with the NCLGE, an organisation that was leading relevant legal changes at the time.

Transition conflict/post-conflict

Carrie remembers that the early years of the 90's, when she was still at the University, were times of optimism and feeling of change, despite the fact that violence was still high. She recalled how there was a massive turnout at her university for a referendum that occurred at the time. People believed in those mechanisms for change.

Those memories of the early hope engendered by the transition to democracy, contrast with a more analytical discussion of what happened with mechanisms such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), referred to later in the interview. When talking about it, she argues that the TRC reflected a desire for silence and denial of women's experiences during apartheid. She echoes the analysis done by some female academics on the featuring of women just as grieving mothers and not as agents of the struggles or victims of the apartheid. Though there were women acting as commissioners they did not advance gender agendas. There was silence on the uses of sexual violence by the apartheid regime and just one case in which rape was considered.

Asked about connections between the TRC and gay and lesbian organisations, she remembered that while in the NCGLE, there was a discussion on deciding on a response to the Winnie Mandela case. In 1988 a member of her personal security guard abducted four young men from the house of the Methodist Reverend Paul Verryn. One of them, Stompie Moeketsi, was found dead days later. The abductors claimed they took the

young men because Verryn was sexually abusing them. The NCGLE presented a submission to the TRC raising its concerns about how homophobia was deployed in the management of the case. Carrie does not remember participating in another discussion on how gay and lesbian organisations should deal with the TRC and violence based on sexual orientation during the apartheid period. In this, Carrie shared the same understanding offered by other interviewees about the silence of mainstream gay and lesbian organisations about their participation in transition instruments such as the TRC.

Gender and sexual orders

As mentioned above, Carrie started the interview stating how her background in feminism made her consider violence as inherent in patriarchy. In this way, her analysis of gender and sexual orders was also in direct connection with her analysis of violence. What seems to facilitate that connection was her reference to the concept of 'gender non-conformity'. The term appeared in several moments of the interview, for example, when talking about corrective rape or when reflecting on the cases they manage in the organisation. In one of the cases they are handling there, a woman had been victimised because she represented a threat to traditional gender roles. The reality of several members of the organisation is that they are gender non-conformists and have experienced gender-based violence. However, she was cautious about making a direct connection between gender non-conformity and violence. Her suspicions about such linear explanations have been also motivated by hearing about people using those concepts to create hierarchies of violence or to standardise descriptions of cases of violence. She has noticed that there is certain narrative that has started to appear recently were rape is explained as result of the victim being a lesbian.

> The Campaign has really struggled with issues of who do we work with and how do we understand the members of the Campaign? The lesbians who have been targets are not always gender non-conformist but, what is going on in the head of the perpetrator? Whether the perpetrator is looking at that person they are attacking and saying 'this is because of these or that'. It is so difficult. I was in these meetings and I heard a woman saying 'as a lesbian woman the violence I experience is worst' and I think it is so difficult to say that. We are creating these hierarchies of violence saying 'this violence is worse than this violence'.

Gender and sexual orders and hierarchies have been expressed also in the activism and mobilisations for change in which she has participated. Carrie mentioned the difficult place that sexual orientation had in feminist and civil society organisations, also mentioned by other interviewees. She moved from a more mainstream gay and lesbian organisation to a feminist organisation because of her interest in working on prevention of

violence against women. However, that organisation was 'a bit homophobic' and several queer women who were part of its creation left it because of that. 'We work with women, not with lesbians', was what she was told there. In spite of that, her presence during eight years allowed the inclusion of some reflections in relation with lesbians' experiences of violence. When she left, queer issues lost relevance.

Relations with the state

Carrie was asked about her perception of the relation between the State and civil society organisations. The question was raised in the context of a reflection about the articulation between activism and academia and because of the discussion in the last part of the interview about the current situation in South Africa. Carrie defined the relationship with the State as 'tricky'. One in Nine Campaign, for example, is very critical of the State. The current South African State is patriarchal and its agencies are sexist, racist and classist. Interactions with the state restrict people's voices. As a feminist organisation, they do not share the same vision with the state on what is happening. At the same time, engagements with the state can allow the making of statements that other people cannot enunciate. Working with women means, for example, engaging with the State on the provision of health services. Because of this they find themselves interacting with the State and its machinery.

Synthesis

Carrie offered a detailed reflection based on her experience of the ways in which change is produced and the limits and possibilities in the search for social justice. She has seen the problems faced by strategies for change that act on single issues only or at macro levels. She also discussed how some strategies for change promoted by social organisations are also reproducing ideas of change that maintain male perspectives and privileges. Escaping from those tensions is not always possible, as she showed when considering the need to interact with the state to provide services. Finally, she showed how some mobilisations can create social change but can also limit its possibilities.

Carrie shares with other interviewees a feeling of disappointment with the transition to democracy and the changes that occurred in South Africa after the end of apartheid. The sense of having a common agenda for change seems to have been betrayed. Structures

in which she believed when at the University, such as the Communist Party, are now corrupted. In fact, looking back she realised that they were corrupted already at the time of transition but the need for change made it difficult to see that. In spite of the big difference between living under apartheid and now, the insignificance of the transformations in material matters produces a feeling of disillusion. The current situation in South Africa is a good mixture of anger and hope, she said. The hope given to parties and unions as deliverers of change has shifted to informal spaces. It is there that she finds possibilities of resistance that still give her hope.

Gerald's story

Introduction

Gerald Kraak was, at the time of the interview, the Head of Office of Atlantic Philanthropies (AP) in South Africa. That organisation has been one of the most significant funders of several initiatives to develop and promote the rights of LGBT communities in South Africa and other African countries. Gerald was active in the antiapartheid movements and left the country to avoid conscription. His narrative tells the story of some of those in exile and of several of the gay men who were part of anti-apartheid mobilisations. It is also the story of someone who returned to the country to work for the re-creation of the nation and particularly in the construction of what is now seen as their achievements in terms of sexual orientation rights.

The interview

I was introduced to Gerald by the South African colleague who helped me to establish initial contacts there. In our first informal conversation I asked Gerald about people he may have known as activists in the gay and lesbian movement in South Africa. During our conversation, however, I became aware of his experience and requested a formal interview. The interview contrasted with our first conversation. While initially we had a lively interchange of ideas, the interview was initially a session of questions and answers. At the end of the interview the conversation took a more fluid rhythm but he kept a position of expert describing an external situation. In the conversation he often used the acronym LGBTI as is now common among international donors working on the topic, even to describe past moments. However, it was also evident that he was talking mainly about gay men and having a gay man's perspective as departure point.

The interview was held in a restaurant in Rosebank, a wealthy area of Johannesburg where his organisation has its office and lasted eighty minutes. There were times when I was asked to turn off the recorder, basically when names and perceptions about particular events were given.

The interview took as reference a personal narrative written by Gerard, titled Homosexuality and the South African Left: the ambiguities of exile. It was published in a collection of essays and documents about sex and politics in South Africa (Hoad, Martin,

& Reid, 2005). The questions of the interview expanded topics that were presented in Gerald's essay and connected them with the purposes of the research.

Life course

Gerald was born in 1957 in Cape Town. He studied Comparative African Government and Law at the University of Cape Town and graduated in 1978. He has also published fiction and directed a documentary. In his novel Ice in the Lungs (2006) he tells the stories of a group of students in Cape Town during the 1976 uprisings and the experiences of the 'white left'. Interviewed about the novel (Mail & Guardian, n.d.), Gerald explained that he tried to subvert the traditional South African narrative centred in racial struggles by introducing the ambiguities of sexuality and Left politics at a time when homosexuality was illegal. He also wanted to challenge the mainstream gay narratives located in the gay scene of capital cities such as New York or London. The documentary Property of the State (2003) shows the experiences of gay conscripts in the apartheid army. These references are relevant as part of the life story of Gerald and to understand his perspective on the interactions between (male) homosexuality and Left politics at the time of apartheid.

Gerald left South Africa on finishing University, in the late 70s or early 80s. In exile, he joined the ANC. He returned to the country in 1993, working for a Scandinavian human rights organisation that was supporting the NCGLE. Most of his working life since returning to South Africa has been devoted to human rights and development cooperation agencies. He has been also part of the board of several organisations and alliances working on sexual orientation topics and in what now part of LGBTI advocacy.

Violence as a lived experience

When summarising the interview, Gerald was clear about his privilege as a middle class man and how because of that his sexual orientation was not a matter of concern. Direct exposure to violence did not appear in his narrative as a connecting point or as a milestone in his life course. Asking about direct exposure to violence was not part of the interview protocol. In spite of that, violence was a topic discussed several times in the

interview. His activism and his professional career directly and indirectly deal with his experience of violence.

In his perception of violence Gerald follows an argument seen in some literature in the field and in activism not only in South Africa but in other countries. For him, violence is the result of two related issues: visibility and backlashes against the gains in the rights of women and gay and lesbian people. What is implicit in this argument is the idea that when there was less visibility and when there was no granting of rights there was less violence, or at least it was less evident. What is problematic in this idea is the implicit notion of visibility, the pattern used to define what is visible and what is not, and the results of one or another action.

> I think that visibility provokes violence. If you are a masculine woman and you are on a township road, men would regard that as provocative. Back in the 70s people were very underground. They would go for effeminate men who were camp, obviously gay. […]Things are more dangerous now than back then. Constituencies have discovered they can use LGBT issues to advance their purposes.

Gerald remembered that in the 70s there were cases of gay bashing but they were isolated events. There were some murders of gay men, mainly because of money and robbery. He does not remember discussing connections between homophobia and apartheid at that time. Twice during the interview he offered a clear conclusion:

> There was not a deliberate plan of the regime to target LGBTI as part of their politics, except the moral order. Despite homosexuality being illegal, it was not actively prosecuted because of ambivalence in members of the establishment. There was never an organised campaign against homosexuals. Even in the case of police raiding gay bars or prosecuting people for sodomy […] This was different than the case of Uganda's state supported campaign, where homophobia serves political ends. […] I wouldn't see how homophobia would serve the political ends of the NP, nor of apartheid. They were not worried about homosexual people.

Gerald remembered that the 70s and 80s was a period in which the gay scene was mainly white middle class men. For him, lesbians were not visible in the 70s. If there were cases of violence it was against effeminate gay men who were more visible, not against lesbians. He did not know what was happening to gay and lesbian people in townships. When he started in activism, there were not many organised spaces to go to in the townships. This perception about racial and sexual segregation was shared with other gay men interviewed, such as Dawie (see below).

Following his argument about violence as a reaction to changes, Gerald affirms that with the transition to democracy there have been important transformations in women's rights and gay and lesbian rights. Nowadays there is more visibility of women and gay and

lesbian people. 'Black LGBTs', as he said, have gained visibility in the last fifteen years. Current violence is a deliberate action. He believes that it is not that there is more awareness now but that it is real that violence has been increasing. Part of the explanation is the 'emasculation' felt by men, particularly unemployed young men, who see in the gaining of rights by women and in the presence of migrants a threat to their position.

> Violence is linked to poverty, inequality, men feeling disempowered because there are no jobs, women have been empowered, and women and migrants have taken the jobs. The positions of men have changed in term of the rights that men and woman have. They feel challenged. They do not exercise power in communities anymore. It is a reaction to the very fabric of society. […] This phenomenon of homophobic violence dates from only about five years ago and extension of corrective rape is a recent phenomenon. […] [Violence] was there but this society has changed radically, including power relationship at every level. I think violence is a response to that. […] These forms of societal violence have increased. Crime has increased. It you look at societies like Russia, societies in transition show a crime increase. Authoritarian societies are stable. […] Under apartheid government did not care about protection in black areas. Now government have to protect everybody and so other areas are less protected.

The result, in relation to anti-homosexual violence, is that things are now more dangerous than back then. Only now have South African 'constituencies' discovered the possible uses of homophobia to advance their purposes.

Activism, mobilisation and the transition to democracy

Gerald was not involved in gay activism when he left South Africa. It was when he was abroad that he made contact with the anti-apartheid movement in exile and with European gay and lesbian organisations. Asked about the attitudes of the ANC in relation to homosexuality, Gerald remembered that,

They certainly never projected a homophobic position. It was just silence. Three things were going on: people would say, 'this thing of homosexuality is not part of African culture'. 'Living in the hostels was an opportunity for homosexuality'. Therefore, homosexuality was a consequence of the apartheid regime. And then, the ANC was heavily influenced by the Soviet Union, so 'it was a bourgeois decadence'. Change started to happen with the Scandinavians who also supported the ANC and have a quite strong LGBTI movement who also started to raise the issue of the treatment of LGBTIs within the ANC.

Thus Gerald made a distinction between what was happening in South Africa in terms of anti-apartheid mobilisations and gay and lesbian organisations, and the ways in which

ANC leaders in exile entered into contact with the topic of gay and lesbian rights. In his explanation, two processes connected in order to obtain the inclusion of the Equality Clause and the subsequent support of the ANC for legal reforms related to the granting of gay rights. One process was the work of activists in South Africa who were active in gay and lesbian groups and anti-apartheid mobilisations and argued that people could not be protected from racial exclusion but left to suffer others, like homophobia. Another consideration was what was happening abroad. That included lobbying done by South African activists asking leaders of the ANC in exile to present their position on gay issues. The other factor was the knowledge that some ANC leaders acquired of gay and lesbian rights mobilisations in Europe for friendship networks and for the presence of gay and lesbian activists among their supporters abroad.

Gerald shared with other interviewees the recognition of the importance of the change that the new Constitution and the Equality Clause brought to South Africans and the role played by activists and organisations in it. 'In the first Pride people were wearing paper bags as masks but things changed lots'. It was a kind of change expressed in the granting of individual rights. 'After the Constitution, other issues became relevant, like adoption, immigration; it was ten years of a classic American model of individual rights and legal advances. In that model marriage equality was seen as the most evident expression of the granting of rights, he concluded.

According to Gerald, violence, changes in social attitudes, stigma and homophobia have become the priorities in gay activism over the last ten years. That idea coincides with those of other interviewees who consider that anti-homosexual violence was incorporated in activist agendas recently. Such violence was not a departure point for activism but an element in the post-apartheid mobilisations.

Asked whether anti-homosexual violence was not a political strategy used by the apartheid regime or as an element of mobilisation, then why had it appeared at the time of the transition to democracy, Gerald commented that "activists made homophobia an issue. (For the organisations) If we are having a transition to democracy, then our rights need consideration. And the ANC say, 'oh, ok, these people exist'. It was an opportunity very cleverly, strategically, presented". A situation facilitated by the absence of strong opposition to exclude the topic from the discussions that led to the new Constitution.

Gay and lesbian organisations shared with other social movements their interest in participating in the drafting of the new Constitution. Gerald remembered that the TRC and the Constitutional process were relatively parallel events. Participating in the TRC as gay and lesbian organisations would have required work that organisations were not able to undertake. They had to establish priorities and the intervention in the Constitutional

process concentrated the attention of social mobilisations. In his perspective it was a matter of defining the focus of activist agendas.

> The National Coalition made a point that they were part of a broad human rights coalition. So, if there were a submission on women's rights, the National Coalition would bring its own perspective. […] They were saying "as LGBT our particular concern is the clause on sexual orientation. We invite the participation of other groups to support us just as we support action against discrimination in other bases'. There were sectarians that called for advancing a just LGBT and others for a broad human rights agenda.

In this, anti-homosexual violence as a separate matter had a relatively low importance. Gerald's explanation also suggested the decisions that were made in order to create alliances with other movements. An agenda restricted to just 'LGBT issues' or denouncing violence would impede connections. An agenda on a broad human rights frame would facilitate dialogues. This would explain why participation in mechanisms such as the TRC was not undertaken by gay and lesbian organisations, since it prioritised the retelling of experiences of violence.

Gender and sexual orders

Gerald discussed issues of gender and sexual orders when talking about students' mobilisations and homosexuality, conscription and in his discussion of aversion therapy by the South African Army. His comments provided from his personal experience and his work as researcher in the topic.

> […] the army was a very homophobic institution; they have a program to cure gays. They changed the policy that if you said you were homosexual you could not join the army. Under the new policy they had this lunatic psychiatrist who said he could cure homosexuality doing crazy things. […] because of the war they needed everybody. […] We are talking about a guy who used the army almost as a laboratory. It was not like a campaign to cure gays. Some of the people I interviewed said they were busted for drugs and in order to avoid detention barracks they would say "oh, the reason I am using drugs is because I am gay", so they would end up in psychiatric units. So, if they were gay, they just used that reason. [… Talking about the doctor applying aversion therapy] Apartheid allowed for that sort of individual action, it was more a personal action of a guy with power, allowed by the system. […] The system allowed him to do that like in death squads that emerged, maybe there was not a clear decision, but the systems let it happen.

Early in the interview Gerald mentioned how despite the apartheid regime being very homophobic (there was a time in which homosexuals were rejected from conscription) later, with the escalation of the war, attitudes changed and homosexuals were incorporated. However, they were offered treatment to cure their homosexuality. Finally, the war required all possible resources, as Gerald mentioned earlier in the interview.

Gerald also supplied information about how active and radical the students' movements were during apartheid. Because of that, the government investigated them frequently. Gerald concurred with other interviewees who referred to the constant surveillance on students' mobilisations. He remembered that in the leadership of the National Association of South African Students (NUSAS), there were at least three gay men. Despite the interest of the regime in containing the power of students' mobilisations and the persecution of homosexuality, homosexuality was not used as a reason to prosecute them legally. Some politicians in high positions had gay sons and this also affected the reluctance to prosecute.

Talking about the research done on aversion therapy (van Zyl, de Gruchy, Lapinsky, Lewin, & Reid, 1999) Gerard suggests that those treatments may have not been extensive or part of an explicit policy of the apartheid regime to deal with homosexuality. In his perception, it seems to have been the work of a particular individual given unprecedented power. He suggested that maybe fewer than a hundred individuals could have been subjects of those therapies. In this, he agrees with other interviewees, including one researcher of the mentioned investigation. What Gerald added was the idea that the apartheid regime may have allowed that psychiatrist to carry out his aversion therapy, comparing those actions with the development of death squads. His suggestion that maybe there was not a clear decision to create them but the regime let them appear introduces another aspect in the idea of the uses of anti-homosexual violence for political purposes.

Gerald also remembered that some young men could have used the rejection of homosexuality in the army to avoid conscription. That idea was expressed by other interviewees and mainly in informal conversations with South African men about their experiences of the army. However, if this was an exercise of resistance or a mechanism to navigate in the cracks of the regime the gains were partial. Being rejected by the army because of homosexuality could mean a stigma that affected the chances of professional development and social mobility. This was a risk that only a few could take.

The fact that the apartheid regime and the army were homophobic institutions was not contrary to the support that homosexual individuals and collectives offered to it:

> There were also pro-regime homosexuals; a lot of LGBT are racists. Among gay white communities the majority would support the regime even if it repressed them. […] There was a story about an election in an area of Johannesburg where Afrikaner gays lived that was contested by the NP and the opposition and they (NP) were supportive of gay rights.

Synthesis

Visibility was a narrative threat in Gerald's interview. Visibility was used as a motive to create a historical narrative and as a mechanism to measure the impact of violence in society and the strategies developed to deal with it. Visibility allowed Gerald to evaluate the place of violence in the apartheid and post-apartheid times. The result was a narrative of good old (ambiguous) times and bad new (visible) times.

The problems with visibility as a narrative motive were evident in some of his descriptions of the times of apartheid. Gerald's perception of what was happening in the townships or in lesbian organisations in the 70s and 80s contrasts with what other interviewees mentioned and with archive material and research in the topic. It is a good example of the importance of perspective as there was, effectively, a segregated perception of how and where violence or change was happening.

Finally, as with other interviewees, Gerald's narrative is a story of how change is produced. In his experience in exile, Gerald entered into contact with international social mobilisations, strategies and ideas of change. Meanwhile, in South Africa, mobilisations were exposed to local situations and were dealing with particular challenges. The fact that mobilisations inside and exiles outside the country were connected does not mean that they were acting with the same idea of change or having the same country in mind. Gerald's story concerns those anti-apartheid activists who fought for and planned a country in which they were not living. The result was not only a process of transition that gave emphasis to legal changes but also one that may have not been directly connected with what was happening at the grassroots level.

Zoraya's story

Introduction

Thirty-eight years old, Zoraya defines herself as a chica trans - a trans woman. She has been a long term fighter for the rights of transpeople in the Caribbean coast of Colombia, even before taking part in the so called LGBT activism. As she says, there is something in her personality that helps her to deal with the constant mockery, insults and aggressions that trans women face on the streets. However, this has not been always the case and several times she has reacted and fought back. The story that Zoraya shared is a story of survival, of her permanent struggle to make a liveable and dignified life for herself.

The interview

I was introduced to Zoraya by the coordinator of a HIV prevention program, in which she is in charge of outreach activities with the trans community. That program is coordinated by the organisation that facilitated my fieldwork in the area and the interview was negotiated as part of our mutual collaboration. An eighty-four-minute recorded interview was preceded by an informal conversation, at the beauty parlour where she works. In the time we spent together, she shared funny and naughty stories that made me blush several times. As a cachaco, someone from the interior of the country, I am not used to such conversations in public and less so with someone I had just met. It seems she relished sharing those details and enjoyed my embarrassment. When we were at her work place, as part of the interview, I could feel the inquisitive gaze of her colleagues, curious about why someone would be interviewing her. Zoraya knows she is a leader, someone with lots to say, and shared her story with voice and presence.

That first conversation we had was full of colourful metaphors, rich descriptions and a witty sense of humour. When talking about her friends and herself, she used sharp language. Later, that way of talking was described by the activist who introduced me to her as *darse palo* - beating each other. He said that it is a common practice among trans women to get together for this kind of linguistic contests in which the ability to respond quickly and with elaborate answers is tested. That conversational tone continued in the recorded interview. Her answers were almost like the script of a play. More than answering questions, she responded with step-by-step sequences of events and experiences. When other persons were included in her descriptions, she emphasised the

differences with changes in the tone of her voice or with the use of words that would fit with the person mentioned. A complex combination of masculine and feminine articles and words make more evident the constant gender play in her speech. For example, she would use feminine articles to refer to gay men who pretend to be *serios* - straight acting and masculine articles to emphasise masculinity in some trans women but then change to feminine articles to refer to the same person.

We started the recorded interview in an open coffee shop, close to Zoraya's work place. Once we took our seats, I noticed the suspicious gaze of the owner of the place. It was evident he did not want us sitting at his venue. The fact that I was a cachaco changed the situation, since once I asked for two sodas and they noticed my accent and we were served. In the hours I spent with Zoraya I felt several times the suspicious gaze men gave us. After forty-five minutes there, we moved to Zoraya's work place to finish the recorded interview. When I noticed we were using time that she could be spending on her paid work I finished the interview.

Life course

Zoraya was born in Santa Marta, a Caribbean coast city known for its factories, industries and commerce. Zoraya grew up with the family of her mother, in Mamatoco, an area of the city known for its cultural traditions and working class constituencies. Progress, overcoming poverty, solidarity and family networks were common topics in conversations during the fieldwork period of this research and sustain Zoraya's narrative about herself.

Being in the city was the best chance for her to have access to education. Her mother spent part of the year harvesting coffee in farms in the region. Zoraya mentioned her mother in two relevant moments of her story: when she almost dropped out of school because of her first steps in the world of *travesti*smo, and when she was living in an area under control of *paramilitares*. In the first example, Zoraya remembered how her mother wanted to 'sacrifice' for her again, paying for another year of school in another institution. Education was her last chance for being someone in life, her mother said. For a working class family, education is not something given as a matter of course nor a right to be exercised, but is the result of family efforts and investments. In the second example, the fact that Zoraya was in a place without any kind of family network to protect her was a matter of concern, and the reason she was asked to come back to Santa Marta. Despite the fact that those are brief experiences compared with the extent of her description of other networks of solidarity, her biological family remained a permanent point of reference in her narrative.

Soon after her first contact with *travesti*s, Zoraya left school. Several months in a farm and changing schools did not succeed in keeping her apart from the new world she discovered. She left school when she was around thirteen years old and started her career as a hairdresser. When describing her school years, Zoraya did not make the usual references to bullying for her gender behaviour although it may have happened. What she did describe in detail was how it was through her classmates that she knew about the hair salon close to school where there was a '*maricón*-faggot who dresses up as a woman, one who looks like a woman'. Richard was his/her name, the first trans woman she knew and who would became her first mentor. Her classmates were also the ones who pushed her to enter where Richard worked while all together sang: 'she has potential, she has potential!' Later on, the same classmates informed Zoraya's family that she was spending her school holidays at Richard's, instead of at her mother's house, as she said. Such a combination of partial or temporary acceptance and rejection was a common characteristic in Zoraya's description of the cultural attitudes towards her sexuality and gender identity she faced. As she said later in the interview, men have a double personality: they like gays, and go to bed with them and then beat them. Here, she used gay as a general term in which she, as a trans woman was also included.

Her first encounter with Richard is described was a mixture of curiosity, fear and astonishment. Curiosity, because Zoraya wanted to see someone showing how she felt about herself. Fear, because she did not know how it could be, being close to someone like that. Astonishment when she saw a big woman, almost seven feet tall, and realised that she was a real woman, even a proper lady. Richard's first impression of Zoraya was almost like an eye-opener for her: 'you are a girl camouflaged as a boy, with pink inside ready to flourish'. It was with Richard that she received her first female name and learned how to use makeup and wear skirts. It was as result of Richard's friendship, mentorship, education and protection that Zoraya emerged, she said. After Richard, Zoraya met Renata, the second trans woman who had a strong impact in her life. Renata was the opposite of Richard. She was masculine, with rough facial features and easier to identify as a *travesti*, as Zoraya said. Both Richard and Renata are at the core of Zoraya's growing up as a trans woman. All through her narrative Zoraya mentioned the importance of her peers as support group, as providers of care and part of the solidarity networks that she will protect and defend with all her resources.

After she left school and trained as a hairdresser, Zoraya began moving around in search of work opportunities. When she could no longer keep on working with Richard in the suburb of Santa Marta where she lived as a child, she moved downtown, to the city centre. Then she migrated to the banana production area, returned to Santa Marta, migrated again to the west of the country, returned home and travelled to Venezuela, all

the time working as a hairdresser. If there were periods of unemployment, she did not mention them. In the description of her work life she seems to be a confident and hard working person.

Some of these trips lasted three or more years. The route she described, from the Colombian Caribbean lowlands to Venezuela falls on an axis of economic development and legal and illegal extractive economies. The reasons to move from one place to another are associated with the perception of new opportunities and the balance of the risks she faced as a trans woman living in areas controlled by either legal or illegal armies.

That period of her life is described also a period of movements in her gender, collective and political identities. After starting the life of *travesti*smo, of being a full time woman as she said, she discovered the world of transformistas-female impersonators who perform in gay venues, their beauty pageants and role in the entertaining industry. However, she realised that transformismo was also a space for the commercial exploitation of trans women and distanced herself from it. Then, after being a transformista, she got to know the so called LGBT activism movement and become an outreach educator and leader of the transgender community in her city. It was through her access to activism and its language that she started to use such logic to define her as a trans woman. It is not accidental that she described those changes as entering into new worlds, as discovering new lives. More than identity labels, what she described is a combination of practices that include gender and sexual aspects but are not reduced to them. Those worlds, as she said, implied forms of interaction, codes of conducts, networks and alliances, senses of belonging in which she learned to move and that created her subjectivities.

Violence as a lived experience

Zoraya's story shows the convergence of social, institutional and extrajudicial violence - and other forms of violence experienced by a specific individual. Almost at the beginning of the interview, when describing her discovery of the world of *travesti*s and her first steps living as a young woman, she also mentioned her first experience of maltrato-abuse, as she defined it. Once her family discovered she was spending her school holidays with Richard, her uncle stormed into the beauty parlour, looked for her, ripped off her blouse, washed off her makeup and forced her to leave. Then she was sent to a farm, where her stepfather forced her to do manual work, such as carrying coffee packages and herding cattle, an experience she described as 'another abuse'. The next experience of violence

she mentioned happened when she was denied entrance to a public party; she reacted; and was physically attacked.

During her trips looking for work opportunities she faced the effects of the political violence affecting Colombia. Once in a town under the control of *paramilitares*, leaflets threatening 'whores, witches, wanderers, drunkards and faggots' circulated. Zoraya, being the only trans in the town, felt they were targeting her. In another town, when the *paramilitares* called the community to explain the social and moral codes they would impose, she was warned not to create scandals, not to be to open on the streets or to give reasons for people to complain about her behaviour. Back in the city, such violence did not stop and the conjunction between criminality and political violence made her feel that she was constantly at risk.

However, her narrative did not finish with describing the moments in which she felt threatened or when she experienced violence. After every description of violence there was a reference to what she learned or how she faced the situation. From her peers she learned to fight back as a way to overcome bullying and violence on the streets. Defending her friends, even with violence, was a solution she considered several times. In other cases she used her sense of humour to challenge the threatening power of illegally armed groups, in order to have a chance to express her voice and obtain some protection. When talking about the different cases in which she realised she was a target of political violence, she also mentioned her ability to identify the right moment to leave and how to do it. In each displacement and arrival she found the ways to create and recreate social networks in order to get some support and solidarity. When necessary she even looked for a strategy for talking with armed groups and landlords to make clear that she was not a threat or a cause of harm, challenging usual stereotypes about trans women.

There is a risk when considering in isolation the references to these strategies for facing violence. They could lead to the impression that she was a rebel, someone able to overcome the power of armed men and structural violence. At the same time, stressing just the victimisation she faced would render invisible the ways in which she positioned herself in relation to violence and her search for strategies to overcome such destructive power. Here, looking just at domination or at resistance as separate spheres is not enough. Even grading them in terms of little resistances against structural domination, seems insufficient.

What seems to be particular in her story is the constant reference to the learning she obtained from each experience of violence. That reference acted all through her narrative as a connecting line. Once she described the moment in which her uncle ripped off her

blouse and forced her to leave Richard's house she stated[1] 'those are the experiences that make you a better person, because you have already lived that'. Then, when describing her time with Renata, the second trans woman she met and the one who taught her how to defend herself from society, she said that 'today I have learnt to keep the good things and to reject the bad ones. However I also keep them, because they can be useful later'. When asked about other experiences of violence, she stated clearly that violence happens because people create the conditions for it to happen, for example exposing them or taking unnecessary risks. This idea of learning, and putting herself at the centre of the narration of violence, instead of denouncing the suffering she has faced or narrating herself as passive, acts as an attempt to give meaning to a series of disparate events she has been exposed to all through her life.

The description of her experiences of violence related to armed conflict took a very significant part of the interview. There was no need to ask questions, since she was fluent in providing details, describing events and explaining the roles of the different actors involved. The fact that she was talking about moments in which realised she could be close to death, did not prevent her to making jokes or remembering the contradictions in such events. Once, she approached the landlord of the town where she had just established her beauty parlour. There were threats against *maricas*-faggots and she knew it was better to talk with the one with most power in town. She felt that since she was not doing wrong, there was no need to leave. After that, she spent three years there and nothing happened against her. After describing the whole experience, she concluded "if you haven't done wrong, you don't need to feel fear"[2].

However, once having said that, she also stated that she preferred to return to the city, considering her mother's calls to be close to family and in an environment where she had networks of support. From the perspective of human rights and activism, this was an experience of displacement. From her perspective, this was just one, among other moments, in which she has undone and redone her work life and life course. The exercise of violence by armed groups was just one among other challenges she had faced before. Violence was not an overwhelming force but an experience in which she was able to find the cracks, navigate between them and create a temporary space for manoeuvre.

One of the experiences with political violence that Zoraya described in more detail was when she was living in a little village close to the frontier with Venezuela. A group she

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[1] "Pero esas son las cosas que lo hacen a uno más grande como persona, porque ya uno ya vivió eso. A mí me sirvió eso mucho como experiencia. Ya cuando yo veo a un niño cerca de donde he vivido, que lo veo con inclinación esa, yo busco la manera como de acercarme a ellos o alguno de los familiares que tienen más contacto con ellos para tratar de orientarlos, buscarle bien la orientación sexual. Es tenaz cuando uno no tiene quien lo ubique"

[2] "el que no la debe no la teme, yo no debía nada, yo no había hecho nada, yo no tenía por qué temerle miedo"

defined as part of the autodefensas – self defence paramilitary organization-, regulated what kind of people could, or could not, stay in the village, among many other aspects of everyday life. Once she arrived she was asked to go their camp with the owner of the beauty parlour where she was working. There, they instructed her about how to behave. She realised they already knew who she was. 'You are the girl from the coast! Come here, this guy wants to *casarse*-marry you!' Her answer dramatically changed her time there. Playing with the similar pronunciation of marriage - *casar* with hunting - *cazar*, she answered: 'Hunting? What are we going to hunt? Rabbits? Quails? Lizards?' Her answer caused collective laughter and the paramilitary commander decreed: 'We like you. You should stay'. She also laughed remembering the episode. What she thought was a sentence to death or exposure to sexual violence became an invitation to stay for dinner and drinks. After that, as she said, she become *la niña del pueblo* - the spoiled girl in town.

What followed this anecdote is a description of how she enjoyed a temporary period of protection and respect. Behind this description there is reference to how she ended up living amid several forms of violence. The fear or retaliation and the totalitarian control exercised by the armed group in town meant that men stopped insulting and bullying her. The homophobia associated with hegemonic masculinities seems to be not always attached to the power exercised by militarised masculinities. The only one who dared to challenge the relative protection that Zoraya experienced, faced the consequences. One day, without any reason, a man threw a bag of garbage at her. Zoraya reacted, spreading another bag of garbage in the middle of a party the man was attending. The man reacted violently and gave her seventy-two hours to leave town. The event became known to the *autodefensas* group that controlled the town. The reaction of the commander was clear: 'Does he think he has more authority than me here? If I want, you will stay here forever!' Immediately, a soldier was sent to ask the guy to go the camp. He was punished with two days of forced labour. After that, he avoided any contact with Zoraya.

Several elements are present in the previous description. First, what in another context could be considered a standard event of discrimination, aggression and anti-homosexual violence, in a context of political violence, becomes a dispute between authoritarian forces and civil versus military masculinities. The man who threatened Zoraya did not calculate that above the presumed legitimacy of his male control over (trans) women, was the violent control exercised by the armed force, a kind of control that determines who can live and who has to die, who can stay or has to leave. This kind of control can even subordinate the usual perception of trans women as a threat, reflecting the lack of power that civilians have against the authoritarian control of the armed group.

The second element is the confluence of several forms of violence. Though Zoraya obtained temporary protection from the paramilitary commander, such protection was an extension of his violent control of almost every aspect of the community under his regime. As he said, if he wanted, he could make her stay there forever, showing that he regulated not only who stays or leaves but also when and how it would happen. In that way, Zoraya is subject not only to the anti-homosexual violence exercised by some members of the community but also to the political violence exercised by the armed actor. Those forms of violence are not equivalent nor do they always act at the same time, as the case shows. The reasons that activate them and the consequences they cause are also different.

The third element is the continuity of forms of violence. In spite of the fragile protection that Zoraya received from the armed group, she decided to leave the town two months later. One day, Zoraya's friend and host, Lola, was attacked by a gay man and his gang of young toughs. Zoraya reacted, using everything available as a weapon, including her boots and sticks, to defend her friend. The dispute was ignited by the request for a cigarette but was rooted in the jealousy that the man felt for the important role that Lola had in the community, argued Zoraya. He was involved in drug dealing and sexual exploitation of minors and had been already warned by the paramilitary group to stop doing that. Once the event was known by them, the man was asked to go to their camp. He did not attend the request and days after disappeared from the town. His family blamed Zoraya for his disappearance and let her knew that they would take revenge. That was her reason to leave, despite the fact that the leader of the armed group stated his continuous support. He even explained to the family of the man his reasons for objecting to the man's behaviour. As said before, the paramilitary in the context that Zoraya described were also the administrators of justice.

In this account, several forms of violence are acting at the same time: political violence, criminality and anti-homosexual violence. They also intersect, as in the reference to the illegal armed group that at the same time represses criminality and administers punishments. The fact that a homosexual person was victim of the violence exercised by the paramilitary group is relevant in the description, but it seems in this case his sexual orientation was just one among other factors of his victimisation. Finally, it was the realisation that she was in danger that led Zoraya to leave. The reason for leaving was the result of a combination of factors and her analysis of the risks she was facing at the moment. The description of such a combination of factors is relevant to understanding the limitations of linear or one-sided explanations of violent events, such as the presence or absence of anti-homosexual violence in contexts of political conflict. In this case, it was a confluence of forms of violence activated in particular circumstances that caused Zoraya's victimisation.

Gender and sexual orders

When describing the first occasion she worked in an area under the control of a paramilitary group, the AUC, Zoraya concluded that it was then that she realised that *el que nada debe, nada teme* – 'who owes nothing, fears nothing'. As she told the landlord who controlled the area and who could provide her some protection, she was a well behaved girl, living alone as an independent self-employed hairdresser. If she was not doing any harm, why she was on a list naming the ones who should leave the town? It was that confidence which allowed her to stay there for several years and that helped her to face another armed group in a different town, years afterwards.

There are, at least, three elements behind this idea of being 'a well behaved girl'. The first is associated with the position of Zoraya in the gender and sexual orders. All through her narrative, Zoraya emphasises that since she entered the world of *travesti*s, she wanted to behave as a proper woman. For example, she compared her first ways of dressing with the current styles of transgirls, to show how she was more *recatada* – modest - while now girls like to show off their bodies. She also said that before, when leaving home, trans women tried to act as masculine as possible, but now transgirls go out with their makeup on and wearing their miniskirts. This self-regulation acted also at the level of her public presence. In the villages under control of armed groups, she spent most of her time between work and home, without making obvious use of public spaces, in accordance with their demands.

The second element is associated with social behaviour and interactions. She was a good citizen. She was productive, had a job, and was involved with other trans women in activities considered suitable for them, such as decorating religious festivities or organising beauty pageants. She even controlled her social and affective interactions carefully, like the men she flirted with, or did not flirt with. She exercised a clear control over her interactions in order to follow what she perceived was an acceptable gender, sexual and moral order. This gender and social self-surveillance has limits. As she said, she was not *una niñita boba*-an innocent girl, as in the several cases in which she fought against violence. She knew the consequences such transgressions could have, as in the case when she reacted to the man who threw garbage at her, and she told the paramilitary commander what she did and how, before the others could denounce her.

That constant self-surveillance resulted from a third element that underlined her story: she knows that she has been under the gaze of others all the time. In this way, her explanation of violence as something that results from your own actions, something that happens because "you make your own destiny" is not a passive acceptance of violence, an expression of shame or of internalised discrimination. It can be seen as the certainty of being permanently in the sight of others and acting accordingly. Because of that she was constantly calculating when there was a safe situation and when risks could be imminent, when there were resources that could support her and when they would be not enough to maintain a safe space.

Synthesis

Seeing from the perspective of how certain subjects live in contexts of protracted political violence, Zoraya's story shows the confluence of both experiences of victimisation and strategies of survival. These are experiences and strategies that are gendered according to the particular experiences and locations of gendered subjects such as trans women. Looking from the perspective of what this story can say about armed and political violence, Zoraya's story show the irregular layers of violence that are juxtaposed in protracted conflicts. The totalitarian power that armed forces try to impose, and often obtain at least locally, also has weaknesses, moments of fracture and failure. When armed groups have the power to decide who lives and who dies, social agents learn to identify such fractures and make the best of them in their search for dignity.

Lena's story

Introduction

Lena is a young anthropologist. She lives in Santa Marta with her girlfriend. The story she shares illustrates life in a society that struggles to keep its cultural identity and resist the impact of modernisation imposed by tourism and the opening of markets to international trade. Political violence, in particular the violence exercised by *paramilitares*, has been a key element connecting the permanence of values that support a classist and racist society with the changes required by the search for new markets. In that, the surveillance and constant regulation of gender and sexual orders has been pivotal. The result, as Lena expressed, is fear, a permanent surveillance on any subjective aspect that may look out of order and the feeling of being a potential victim of violence.

The interview

I was introduced to Lena by a colleague of mine who was her teacher at the University. We started the interview at a local coffee place, in a tourist area of the city. When the place became busier and noisier, I asked her to move somewhere else. We were reaching very personal details of her life and I realised that a more private place would be better to continue the interview. I also noticed that a group of older men in the next table had started to pay attention to our conversation.

Her conversation was rich in details and I did not need to ask many questions. As a trained anthropologist, she offered precise descriptions of events and provided possible explanations. She also located her personal experiences in broader social and cultural contexts, using references to the history and politics of the region where she lives. At the end of the interview the conversation turned to an interchange of conjectures related to the interactions between gender, sexuality and political violence in the region.

We spent almost a full day together. The recorded interview lasted two hours and thirty minutes. It was followed by a visit to her university. There, I was introduced to some of the members of the research centre where she works. The conversation provided information about the theoretical, methodological and political implications of doing research on violence in the region. After that, Lena introduced me to her girlfriend, who also agreed to be interviewed.

Life course

Lena was born in 1987 in Medellin. Her family migrated to Santa Marta, a major city on the Caribbean coast, when she was a child, intending to initiate a small commercial business. In spite of spending all her life in Santa Marta, she has been always perceived as cachaca, someone coming from the interior. Her light skin colour, her way of talking and dressing, the fact that her family has not extended connections in the region are often used to justify such perceptions.

She studied anthropology in the regional public university. When she decided to live with her girlfriend they had to postpone their studies. At the time of the interview she was trying to submit her dissertation. Work duties interfere with the time she would like to dedicate to writing. She has been working part-time as a waitress and part-time in occasional jobs related to social policies and academic research.

Early in the interview she defined herself as a bisexual person. Lena made clear that despite the fact that she is in a lesbian relationship, both she and her partner prefer to consider themselves as bisexuals. Currently they are thinking about having children and are trying to find the right male partner. As she said, they would like their kids to have a father. One reason is because Lena's girlfriend has a strong relationship with her father. The other reason is because Lena did not grow up with hers. The relationship between Lena and her partner was the connecting thread throughout the interview. It is presented as a life project with implications at personal, family and political levels. Lena often made a distinction between her experience and that of her partner, but also described some events from the shared   point of view of both.

Cultural background and political context

Lena offered a detailed description and analysis of the region, its cultural particularities and political situation. It is useful in order to understand not only her history but those of other interviewees. It also provides context for archival information and secondary sources relevant for this research.

> I don't have an extended family, social recognition here, but my girlfriend does. This is a city where what others say about you is definitive, your parents are

always worried about that. My family was not very concerned about that because they didn't have something to protect. I didn't have much to lose in terms of respect or reputation but that was important for her. Her mother was ashamed of what others would say once they realised her daughter is a lesbian. There are not many lesbians here and it is seen as a stage, something that will pass with time. Friends are also important in the area of what others say. Some of her close friends have been supportive of our relationship because they know the pain of breaking family liaisons. That is something she needs to bear by herself. In my case, my family name is not at risk but hers is. This city is controlled by a few families. There could be openness to tourism, and open mindedness, but traditional values are still operating and are connected with paramilitarismo, institutions, definitions about being Samario that are slow to change. Paramilitarismo used to say what was permitted and what was not. Now, with the economic crisis people miss that. That is why there is fear.

An element that structured all Lena's narrative was the reference to social control and the regulation of everyday life. Respect and recognition are key elements for such control. Lena's description of Santa Marta as a city where el que diran es determinante - 'what other's say about you is definitive' appeared several times during the interview. Her references remind us of the importance that ideas such as family honour, respect, recognition and tradition still have in the local cultures. The role of such ideas in relation with gender and sexuality was also expressed often by Lena, for example when mentioning how homosexuality is still seen as shame and stigma or when emphasising the importance of protection of family and personal reputation. Lena also mentioned how such ideas nurtured the *paramilitarismo* that controlled the area for years. Those values are still at the core of society, even when economic projects pretend to sell the city as open and attractive for national and international tourism. With the demobilisation of *paramilitarismo* and a wave of economic crises, the sense of order created by those ideas and installed by *paramilitares* is missing. Because of that some social sectors fear the return of those ideas of order supported by violence.

Social control expressed by the idea of caring about what others would say was parallel to knowing that all you do will be known by people even before you communicate it. That was the case, for example, when she and her partner started their relationship during a congress in Bogota, the capital of the country. When she returned home, her classmates and close friends not only knew about their being seen kissing each other but started to warn them about the consequences of such a situation. Some of their teachers advised them to wait until they had left the university to start their relationship.

Belonging to the regional culture and cultural identity were also expressed by Lena as important markers of the relationship between insiders and outsiders. It was mentioned early in the interview when she referred how, despite having grown up there, she is still seen as a foreigner. It was referred to again when she explained how easy for her to collect information when she was writing her BA dissertation about tourism because she was seen as a tourist. The other side of the importance of belonging, as she called it, is

the constant need for her to show that she knows the culture, that she has connections and belongs to the place.

How this cultural background interacts with violence and with the protection created by warfare logics is an element that needs to be explored later in the research. The next elements of her interview contribute to that exploration.

Violence as a lived experience

Lena grew up at a time when the city was living under the increasing power of *paramilitares*. She was still young when they used killing squads to strengthen their control. Now, despite the fact that the *paramilitares* have been officially demobilised, her sense of fear continues. Her experiences of violence are directly related to the transition between different forms of violence she has lived through in the region.

In October 2010, during a Halloween party, Lena and her girlfriend were asked to leave a bar because they kissed. The case created an outspoken discussion in Facebook in which supporters and antagonists expressed their opinions. The family of Lena's girlfriend used the public revelation of the event to try and stop their relationship. The description of that event and its effects were the starting point of the interview and was referred to several times during discussions around discrimination, gender and sexual orders and the current situation of the city in terms of violence and modernisation.

Several times during the interview Lena explained how that one event exemplifies the contradictions in which local society lives. The bar where the situation happened is known for youth cultures and is promoted as the place for tourists and trendy foreigners to visit. The owner of the place, whom they knew, called for 'the rights of heterosexuals' to be respected as much as *homosexuales* request respect. Even more, a close friend, gay and very critical of the way Samarian society handles homosexuality, wrote in the online debate that they went too far by kissing in public. It was this event that created a family crisis for Lena's girlfriend.

In spite of that, Lena did not associate that situation with a direct exposure to violence. Later in the interview she remembered that it was after that event, there was a new wave of threatening leaflets and she realised the risk of physical violence to which they were exposed.

That new wave of violence occurred after the demobilisation of the *paramilitarismo* in the mid-2000s and at a time when the city was struggling to realise its promise of becoming

the new tourist centre of the area. Lena mentioned that when the city was controlled by one of the paramilitary leaders, the economy was stable and apparently there were not many concerns in terms of criminality and security. That was a process that started in the early 1990s and lasted until the mid-2000s. The first period was the hardest, when lots of social cleansing squads operated, she remembered. She was young at that time and did not remember direct attacks against homosexuals. She did mention, however, that two of her friends died at that time for being *pelucones*, young men wearing long hair and associated with underground music and politics. *Paramilitares* exercised control over deviant behaviour. Men with long hair were forced to cut it, women could not wear miniskirts or tight blouses, homosexuals and petty criminals were forced to leave the city or killed. Once *paramilitares* were demobilised, after the mid-2000s, there was a time of uncertainty and struggles over the right to control, she continued. That is why some people now miss the times when they controlled the city, she concluded.

The previous description showed Lena's capacity to read the context in order to explain what was happening. That ability to read the context was also vital for her personal risk assessment. Reading one of leaflets that circulated a few months before the interview, Lena realised that out of a list of six possible threats, she and her girlfriend matched at least five. They included being politically active, being associated with youth cultures, being sexually diverse and having a non-judgmental attitude to drugs use.

When talking about the effect of those leaflets Lena emphasised that their power is partially symbolic. They call people to live by certain moral and ethical principles. They are sometimes anonymous or signed with a pen-name. Leaflets create some grey areas where you do not know what could happen if you ignore them. 'They don't have a face', she explained. It is not possible to identify who are sending the leaflets so they could be anyone.

Following Lena's narrative, there are at least three perceived results from this violent situation. One is the constant self-evaluation of personal behaviours in order to assess how much risk they involve. Being anthropologists gave them the opportunity to read the realities around them and make an adequate balance between the risks they take and the social situation around them, as mentioned above. That is why, for example, they are always concerned at home not to be seen as chirretiarse (going too far) because 'you never know who is looking at you', she explained. Especially in their situation as a lesbian couple, a context in which anything can be used to justify violent action, she continued. They lived in a constant balance between the admiration some people have for their relationship, 'it is so cool the relationship you have!', and the call to *estar pilas* (act with circumspection).

The second result is a constant feeling of fear. Lena mentioned the fear of being a victim of violence several times during the interview. Knowing that you are always under the gaze of others, when, for example you want to express love for your partner, is a reason to feel fear, she argues. Fear is often expressed by Lena's mother, who is always asking her to be careful about what she posts in Facebook or when they go out. Her knowledge of the city and its public spaces is also affected by fear. Motorbikes have often been used in cases of violence committed by hired killers. Lena mentioned that she feels scared when walking on the street and hears a motorbike approaching. There have been some cases in which people have insulted them on the streets for holding hands. As she said 'here people are killed for nothing and we are giving a bad example to youth, by showing them what it is possible to be'.

The third is a feeling that, even with all the precautions taken, if something happens, people would justify the action saying that 'they asked for it'. As she said 'I tell my girlfriend every day it is very sad that if I am shot people are going to say she asked for it because she asked the city for more than the city could offer'.

Activism and mobilisation

Lena's activism has been expressed in three ways: as student; in relation with LGBT organisations and at the level of her own lesbian relationship.

Lena started her activism in 2009, when studying at the university. She joined a research group exploring issues of conflict, social justice and community work. Her commitment increased as her studies advanced. As she said, "there was a moment in which I even asked what kind of shampoo I was using", to explain the dimension of her political commitment. In a context in which *paramilitarismo* had a strong social and political presence, the activists wanted to create opportunities for discussion in the university. As a result they gained some leadership status but also started to be seen as trouble makers.

In 2010, while doing a documentary in a town highly affected by paramilitary violence, they were threatened. It was not clear who did it. It was late at night and someone knocked at the door of the house where they were staying. 'We have a encomienda, for you', they said. That word could mean mail or a package but also is used when a threatening message is delivered. At 1.00am no mail service is in operation. Early in the morning, they went to the local office of the Human Rights Ombudsman to denounce the threat. The answer they got was that the city faces one of the highest rates of threats

against students and no alarm can be raised because it could affect tourism, Lena remembered. Two of their colleagues left the city because of that and other subsequent threats. After that they abandoned the community work they were doing in that municipality, reduced their public presence and turned to more accepted forms of activism, such as art workshops.

Lena and her partner do not take part in the so-called LGBT activism. They know about it and have had some contacts with LGBT organisations in Bogota and in the region but do not see the need to work in alliance with those organisations. After what happened following the incident in the bar and the conflict that resulted they have considered leading campaigns to promote tolerance but it is not their priority.

Lena considers that they give dignity to their personal relationship through the political work they do but they do not want to make it the focus of their activist commitment. It would draw extra attention to their lesbianism and they do not want that.

Gender and sexual orders

In the interview, Lena described at least two different gender and sexual orders: what her girlfriend experienced and her own. Lena made those differences clear early in the interview, when describing different challenges faced by their relationship and she further expanded them throughout the interview.

In her description of how the family of her girlfriend looked at their relationship, Lena mentioned the importance of tradition, family networks and the fact that they have achieved a social position after working hard for it. Her girlfriend's family arrived in Santa Marta years ago, displaced from where they lived because it was declared a national park. Now they live in an area of the city associated with cultural traditions, the presence of Afro-Colombians and working class settlements. Because of their background and the fact that her girlfriend is the only woman in the family, the fact that she is in a lesbian relationship brought shame to the family. Lena explained the difference between them when remembering one night in which her girlfriend's family argued with them in a park. For them, the lesbianism of their daughter was associated with the kind of life she was having, going out with classmates, joining political activities and even smoking. That was why the first reaction of her family was to restrict her activities after classes, controlling her money and her time out of home. Even now, despite her girlfriend keeping her family at a distance, they explain this by saying that it is because of the demands of her work.

Lena's description of how her family dealt with her relationship presents different gender and sexual arrangements. Her close family is composed mainly of women. When her relationship was made open, the first concern of her mother was about Lena's security. After Lena's girlfriend left her family home the two of them lived together with Lena's family.

In spite of those differences Lena was clear that the consequences of assuming their relationship were the same. They moved from being students supported by their families to becoming independent women looking to earn enough income to have a life together. At their respective jobs they have to keep the image of heterosexual women. Public expressions of love are still limited. Assuming their relationship affected their commitment with political activism and the timing of their studies. However, as she said, the other option would he accepting the conditions imposed by others and giving up their independence as women. Finally, now they are seen as two *peladas serias* – girls back on track, and their relationship is accepted.

This idea of being *peladas serias*, two girls who are behaving as expected and assuming their responsibilities has important meanings in terms of transitions to adulthood and gender relationships. Once their relationship was known and they decided to live together, it was clear that this change should be seen as progress and not as going backwards. Finding work, owning a house, showing that their lives were progressing satisfactorily was a way to show that the situation was under control, Lena explained. It was also the way to avoid situations that could be used by others to criticise them and increase the chances of their being identified as deviants. The strategy that saved them, Lena said, was being part of the everyday life of their neighbourhood and trying to avoid situations that could put them in marginalised situations.

In the political context that Lena is describing, being *peladas serias* has an additional meaning. When talking about how they are seen in their neighbourhood and when describing the control exercised by *paramilitares*, Lena explained that those behaviours could be seen as transgressive and would put someone at risk. In the case of their house, for example, she mentioned that they try to keep it clean and tidy, not only as might be expected of two women living together, but also to eliminate any sign of disorder. They are careful not to be seen smoking dope or drinking alcohol. As she said, they are always needed to be aware that they are not seen as people who can *chirretiarse* easily. *Chirretiarse* is a slang expression applied to the act of taking drugs in excess or for something restricted to life on the streets. Avoiding *chirretiarse* is avoiding any public expression of excess. You need to 'walk straight', she said later in the interview, talking about the constant effort to be seen as morally acceptable in their community.

When exploring with Lena the question of who else can be at risk of *chirretiarse*, she mentioned three other social categories of subjects: users of drugs who let it be known by others; those who organise political meetings and protests; and *pelucones*, the young men seen not only as less masculine for their long hair but also as *revolucionarios* – trouble makers, for their leftist ideas. These three categories are the ones most often listed in paramilitary threats. In the case of Lena and her partner, *chirretiarse* would also include publicly demonstrating their love. When I asked Lena to expand on this point she explained that despite their diversity, all these subjects have in common the factor that they overstep the bounds of what should not be done or should, at the least, be kept private. In other terms, if you use drugs but keep it private and continue a productive life, you are not at risk of *chirretiarse*.

Synthesis

In her description of the interactions between violence and gender and sexual orders, Lena made clear their public dimension. As in the previous example, behaviours prosecuted by armed paramilitary can be less risky if kept private. Lena remembered the concerns of other lesbian couples about Lena's and her girlfriend's public expressions of affection. It was when their relationship became public that the family of her girlfriend reacted. This public dimension runs parallel with the permanent surveillance of their behaviour because of the permanent public gaze on their actions. The result, as explained above, is the constant assessment of what can put them at risk and the avoidance of any excess.

However, suggesting that vulnerability to violence is to be ameliorated by a simple separation between public and private dimensions of gender and sexual orders would be reductive of what Lena shared in the interview. It would also be simplistic in relating the essential core of a complex set of social mores to the permanence of traditional values. The balance between excess and contention, between change and permanence, is also part of that vulnerability. As she described, there are some variations in the social orders that are accepted. The fact that the city is promoting itself as a tourist attraction implies the relaxation of certain restrictions. The demobilisation of *paramilitares* opened up space for the emergence of several social and cultural movements in the city. Opening the city to new markets implied a regulated acceptance of diversity and difference. In this way, sexual orientation as an isolated event would not be enough to explain the exposure to violence.

Finally, with her emphasis on social control, Lena also introduced the importance of emotions in the understanding of violences. All through her narrative she connected violence and gender and sexual orders with fear, shame, hate and desire. When describing the differences between discrimination against male and female homosexuality, Lena recognised the importance of shame and ridicule to diminish the self esteem of male homosexuals. Rejection of lesbianism, however, is a physical experience, expressed as repulsion and hate, she explained. Fear, on the other hand, results from the permanent threat of violence. Emotions mediate the embodiment of violence.

Victor's story

Introduction

Victor is an HIV activist. He is also a well known *transformista* in the Caribbean. The story that Victor shared, talks about the importance of understanding local gender and sexual orders in order to understand experiences of violence. He challenges direct associations between sexual orientation and victimisation, describing a rich variety of interactions between men. He does not deny injustices and vulnerabilities based on gender and sexual hierarchies but his story is not about victimisation but about the creativity used to transform those hierarchies and injustices.

The interview

I was introduced to Victor through the organisation that was supporting this research project in the Colombian Caribbean coast. We met in a coffee shop in the tourist area of Santa Marta. I contacted him to have a general idea of what was happening in the region and to be introduced to possible interviewees. However, when the conversation started I realised that his personal experience would be relevant for the research and changed the kind of questions I was asking. He was willing to talk about very personal aspects such as his life as an HIV positive person, a father and his relationships.

The recorded interview lasted 110 minutes. Afterwards, we walked through the areas where he carried out his work as activist. That information helped me to understand class, race and sexual divisions that define the life of that city. We met several times after the interview. He accompanied me when I conducted interviews in Cienaga, a municipality close to Santa Marta, where he coordinates a project on HIV prevention. During those conversations I had the chance to explore several aspects introduced in the interview. That information was collected in fieldwork diaries.

Life course

Victor was born in 1967 in Santa Marta. He started doing *transformismo* when he was a teenager. After studying Performance Arts in Barranquilla, he moved to Bogota. There,

he joined small theatre companies and worked on television. It was the mid-1990s, when Madonna, the United States singer, was a trendy icon in gay bars. Victor created a show with her songs that made him well known in Bogota. With that experience and knowing the gay night life, he returned to Santa Marta, to work in the same area.

Since the late 1990s Victor has been the owner of gay bars, a hairdresser, a makeup artist, a *transformista* and an HIV activist. He made some money from owning bars but lost it because of family issues. Nowadays, with five other friends, he runs a charity that provides HIV education and organises events such as beauty pageants. Currently his income comes from working in a project supported by the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. He also does occasional jobs as a hairdresser and makeup artist. At the time of the interview he was planning to study Health and Administration.

Victor cares for a twelve-year-old boy who is the son of a friend who was doing sex work. Victor is his godfather. One day she asked him to take care of the boy for a few days. She returned three years later and told Victor she could not continue to support her child. Victor registered him under his family name and they live together, in a house that Victor inherited from his mother. Victor's father has not talked with him since he realised that Victor is homosexual. His extended family cares for the boy when Victor needs to travel or has to work late. Now that his son is becoming a teenager Victor has reduced his work as a *transformista*. Victor also supports the education of a niece and a cousin.

Violence as a lived experience

All through the interview Victor described a variety of experiences of violence that have affected him directly and indirectly. Those forms of violence are associated with the gender and sexual orders that characterise regional culture, within the political context of the region and with his sexuality and sero-status. His proximity with *travesti*s has allowed him to observe the forms of violence they face.

As was the case with other interviewees, Victor agrees on the importance of jokes and insults as ways to regulate gender and sexual relationships in Caribbean cultures. Interactions based on mockery are a common element of those cultures. Because of that, he recognised their impact on issues of gender and sexuality. As he said, 'you know how *costeños* are', when talking about the way they use humour in public and private interactions. He remembered that once he went *vestido* – dressed up, to a close municipality known for is levels of violence. In spite of some comments on the way, nothing happened.

Victor did not deny situations of discrimination and vulnerability that gay men or *travesti*s face, in particular in their interactions with institutions and authorities. Several times during the interview he mentioned cases of discrimination by health service providers or by police that he and other close friends had witnessed. Early in the interview he mentioned a recent case in which a member of the police threatened a man who was dating a member of the police officer's family. The victim did not report the situation, fearing retaliation by the police or his co-workers. Victor also mentioned cases of gay men robbed and killed in their houses and the lack of proper investigation by the authorities. That information coincides with reports produced by national and regional human rights organisations that show high rates of anti-homosexual violence in the region and the lack of attention by authorities.

Victor confirmed the perception by other interviewees that a new wave of threatening leaflets was initiated a year ago. He also confirmed how those leaflets create an extended sense of fear and affect the use of public spaces. In his case, for example, this new wave of threats has changed forms of social interactions like going to the beach after partying in gay discos or being seen in certain areas at certain times. He made clear that this is a situation that not only affects gay men or *travesti*s but other social sectors, such as youth in working class neighbourhoods.

His situation as a person living with HIV and his activism in the topic has exposed him to particular forms of violence. He remembered that when he had a bar, he received an intimidating phone call calling him *sidoso* – living with AIDS, and threatening to burn his place. Something similar has happened to people he knew. Once, he met on the beach a couple who had to leave their inland hometown because people found out about their positive status. They left when a funeral wreath was left at their house. Victor gave them accommodation for several months and helped them to find a job. One of his friends was beaten on the street once his neighbours found out about his sero-status.

In his work, Victor has seen the different forms of violence that *travesti*s experience. Some of the *travesti*s he works with now come from other cities because they have been threatened and displaced. On the other hand some arrive because the city is becoming a tourist destination. Sometimes, threats are made because these people are involved in activities like stealing from their clients or drug dealing. The situation is more difficult for those who are HIV positive or are developing the syndrome. Victor has seen how they are rejected from health services. Because of that, when they get sick they prefer to stay at home, increasing risks for their health. In informal conversations later he mentioned several situations in which he has taken under his control the caring of *travesti*s in the latest stages of the illness.

Some of these experiences of violence were mentioned by other interviewees. One difference was the intensity and degree of recklessness in some of the people described by Victor. What was different was Victor's explanation for these events. Several times he concluded that this form of violence happened because people exposed themselves to it, because *se lo buscaron* – 'they ask for it', or because they did something to cause the violent reaction of others. Those three reasons are slightly different. One implies exposure, another risk taking and the last one responsibility. However, they have in common the idea that there a reason for the violence, even if there is no justification for it.

That explanation was used when reflecting on different cases of violence. He remembered how a *travesti* that was shot by a *paramilitar cachaco*, angered him because she touched his crotch when he was leaving a bar. *Uno se busca las cosas* – 'that one was looking for trouble', was his explanation. In another moment he mentioned the case of a trans woman was known for stealing from her clients and one day one of them stabbed her. He offered the same explanation for the cases of men who cruise for strangers and bring them home not knowing the risks: *se lo buscaron* - they are asking for it. Similar logic was expressed when describing violence against *travesti*s: *las amenazan porque roban mucho* – 'they get threatened because they steal a lot'. As he concluded, 'violence is a misfortune they have looked for themselves; one can avoid things like that'.

In this explanation Victor is questioning the idea that homophobic violence is caused simply because of sexual orientation. In another moment of the interview, Victor raised his concerns with the use of 'homophobia' as an argument that explains all and how that concept is being used by activists and organisations to call attention on certain issues:

> In Cienaga a trans was killed three months ago. She consumed and sold drugs, she was going out with a dealer. It is said that she was killed because she did not honour a business transaction. That case was reported as 'homophobia' but I am not sure…

He also remembered how some cases of violence are associated with problems inside groups. Nowadays, for example, there is a migration of *travesti*s sex workers from other Caribbean cities to Santa Marta. Because of that, there are fights for territories. In his current work, when distributing condoms to sex workers, he has seen how some *travesti*s ask others to pay them for working in the areas where sex work is more common. When he was the owner of a bar, one the threats he received was from a gay man who was associated with a criminal band.

However, his explanation also refers to another element that has been identified in studies of violence in Colombia. With violence becoming an element of everyday interactions, its causes and consequences are associated with conditions that belong to

subjects rather than social, political or economic structures. As other interviewees mentioned, that is the explanation often heard when someone suffers a violent attack: *por algo será, algo habran hecho* – there must be a reason, s/he must have done something.

Activism and mobilisation

Victor's return to Santa Marta in the mid 1990's was not only the result of his movement to the country looking for jobs. It also the result of knowing that he was HIV positive. While settled in Bogota, he moved temporarily to Medellin, teaching arts to children. One day, there was news on television about the discrimination suffered by the inhabitants of a house where HIV positive men were living and receiving treatment. Members of the community said that because they lived close to a river, they might pollute it. One of the interviewees was an ex-boyfriend. After that he went to the hospital and tested positive for HIV. His partner at that time finished the relationship few months later.

Once settled back in Santa Marta he noticed there was little attention given to the needs of HIV positive men. That was the time before anti-retroviral treatments were accessible for everybody in the country and persons living with HIV had to follow long and complex legal procedures in order to get basic health attention. With the help of his family and friends, he was able to offer care for HIV positive men. He looked for medicines and food for them and offered house care. He did this without being associated with any of the organisations that were emerging at that time. It was hard work and there was very little support. He abandoned this project later on.

He remembered how a well known *paramilitar* gave him food and a house where he could offer care for people who were suffering the latest stage of the syndrome. The *paramilitar* was known for his cruelty as well as for helping people in need. It was through a woman's humanitarian assistance organisation that Victor was introduced to him. Maybe he did that to 'clean his sins', Victor explained, laughing. Years later, he was extradited to the United States, Victor concluded.

In spite of lack of resources, Victor's activism has not stopped. For eleven years he has been the vice-president of the *Reinado Gay Nacional del Mar* – National Gay Maritime Beauty Contest. Contestants for all around the country come to the city for a week of activities such as parades on the beach, visits to organisations and community work. Victor remembered that at the beginning of the contest there was a lot of discrimination and jokes against it. Now the *Reinado* is an event of the city and has partial support by

local authorities. The importance of events like this as forms of mobilisation and organisation was supported by other interviewees.

These forms of activism are not mutually contradictory in Victor's work life and community involvement. At the time of the interview he was planning to install a beauty parlour where people could also receive rapid HIV testing, condoms and educational material. Through the project he is working for, he has been able to obtain some resources. According to him, combining both activities in the same space would reduce the stigma that some people experience going to a health clinic. It would be also attractive, since beauty parlours are important meeting points for gay men, *transformistas*, *travestis* and trans women.

Gender and sexual orders

Because of his work on HIV, Victor has a detailed knowledge of sexual cultures in the Caribbean region, in particular of male sexualities. It was a topic he raised several times in the interview and in our informal conversations. His descriptions refer to complex and rich networks of sexual and erotic interactions between varieties of men. When talking about the problems faced in the promotion of the use of condoms he said:

Men are reluctant to use condoms. There is lots of machismo. At the same time, there is a lot of sex among men. Married dudes of all types get drunk and start looking for gays. It is not just a matter of young men trying something. Now lads let other men fuck them just for fun, for money. Before, men were men. Nowadays you go to bed with a guy, thinking you are going to be the bottom and the guy ends up giving you his back. Now, you have to become a top or you will get nothing. In holiday season things are even worse. People come here looking for sex. In Pescaito (a working class area) dudes have their girlfriends and at the same time flirt with gays. The three of them go out. The gay guy pays for all and the three of them end up partying. I don't know how it is for the girlfriends. It is said that *Pescaito* is where there are more *cacorros*. Maybe is because there are lots of *morenos*, of fishermen.

He remembered several cases when he was dressed up as a woman and some men became *pasivos* – bottom. Some men do not let other masculine men penetrate them but they allow a *travesti* to do it.

Those interactions are not just in a sexual sphere. Victor remembered the story of a *travesti* from another part of the country who was doing sex work here and met a local guy. The guy fell in love with her and paid for her breast implants. He also supported her

financially to install a beauty parlour. He was her *marido* – husband and she become a dama – lady, emphasised Victor. The guy started a relationship with another woman and had two kids with her. In spite of that, he continued supporting his previous partner.

Victor gave those detailed descriptions based on his work and on his personal experience. He talked as an expert observer of his culture and with the emotions of someone who is sharing naughty stories. With this, he was also showing how common and extended homosexual and erotic practices are among men in his culture. Those interactions are regulated and change according to age, class, race and gender orders. They also change and adjust to new dynamics. The division *activo/pasivo*, for example, used as common logic to explain male gender and sexual order before, seems to be changing and adjusting in new generations. Social interactions around party culture and tourism are also blurring divisions that may have been stronger previously.

Some of Victor's descriptions, like the love story between the *travesti* and the masculine rich man, may be part of some common wisdom or they may be imaginary stories circulating among gay men and *travesti*s. However, even if they are not real they are relevant to understand the importance of those sexualities and gender identities among local masculinities.

Transition conflict/post-conflict

Topics such as displacement caused by political conflict or violence associated with guerrillas or *paramilitares* were not developed in the recorded interview. Victor did mention the topic when remembering the case of the couple displaced because of their sero-status or when talking about his work in HIV prevention in communities where displaced persons live. He was invited to participate on a discussion on peace building promoted by the organisation he works for, but, as he said, that is not a topic that interests him.

In his narrative, Victor emphasised his actions to help people and to promote change. Victimisation was not the common theme of his story, despite the fact that, as shown before, he was aware of experiences of violence.

Synthesis

Victor's history as an activist recalls those stories of people who struggle to transform injustices, using all the resources available, including their own income. It also recalls a common situation in countries like Colombia where, because of the lack of services provided by the State, people organise themselves to solve basic needs such as access to medicines or health care. His activism does not follow the pattern of building structured organisations as illustrated by other interviewees but was kept on a more personal level.

Victor's work in sexual education and HIV prevention showed him the effects that machismo and traditional gender and sexual orders cause in sexual behaviours. He described experiences of discrimination and prejudice based on sexual orientation. As with other interviewees in the Caribbean, he pointed to the importance that *paramilitares* gave to the prosecution of *travesti*s and openly identified homosexuals. However, following his arguments that suggest a direct connection between traditional gender and sexual groupings and different forms of violence could be simplistic.

Victor described a variety of male-to-male sexualities and regular interactions with *travesti*s in the Caribbean sexual cultures that challenge ideas of anti-homosexual violence based on the awkwardness of those sexualities and gender relationships. Victor's stories show how gender and sexual relationships are changing for the new generations and because of the increasing presence of tourists.

Victor's questions around sexual orientation as a reason for victimisation by itself divert attention to other conditions of vulnerability that may be the ones used by violent people in their determination to create conditions of victimisation. His stories suggest that *paramilitares* seem to have used threats and prejudice in specific conditions and situations. In one of his descriptions, Victor emphasised that one of the *paramilitares* that shot a *travesti* was *cachaco*. As research in the field has found, *paramilitares* acting in the Caribbean originated in the inlands, where there are different gender and sexual groupings. Despite the fact that gender and sexual relationships could be unchanged before and during the conflict, they can also change, according to the dynamics of war.

Chapter Seven: In-depth case study one (South Africa)

Introduction to Chapters Seven and Eight

Chapters Seven and Eight present the in-depth case studies of the two selected countries. The cases are organised following the analytical frame exposed in Chapter Four. They intend to offer a detailed description of the uses and transformations of anti-homosexual violence in each country.

The two case studies show different uses of anti-homosexual violence by political actors in conflict. They show how anti-homosexual violence changes according with the particularities of each country. Interviewees in Colombia and South Africa have in common the constant search for dignity. Personal narratives show the amount of work done to transform situations of injustice. But the transformations are incomplete, and the interviewees tread fine lines in the 'chiaroscuro' spaces they have to developed liveable lives. What keeps some people in the permitted areas and what makes others cross the line may be at the core of their exposure to violence. How conflicts create these strata, and armed forces, including the States, attempt to administer them, reveals the power of violence to unmake and remake society.

Uses of anti-homosexual violence by armed actors

The uses of anti-homosexual violence by the apartheid regime were explored in the section on interviews and in section on the archive materials. The interviews expressed the ways in which participants experienced violence and the ways in which they approached the making of some forms of violence as particular topics for attention. Information in the archives showed a variety of forms of criminality and anti-homosexual violence that occurred at the time of apartheid. Both bodies of information show that sexualities, anti-homosexual violence and apartheid were intrinsically connected. However, the way in which that connection was made, by whom and with what purposes, requires a detailed discussion.

Raising these questions during the interviews resulted in some reluctant answers. Most participants agreed that the apartheid regime did not have an explicit or structured policy to persecute homosexuals but at the same time, they were clear that the criminalisation of homosexuality was a key element of the sexual policies enforced by the apartheid

regime. In a regime that was patriarchal, militaristic and based on rigid gender and sexual orders it was not possible to take homophobia out of the analysis. Apartheid was a system that constantly imposed the idea that 'you must know your place', as Dawie said (c.f. Appendix 4). Violence, in its various forms, acted to keep in place the gender and sexual orders that apartheid required. That was, for example, the conclusion offered by Sheila and Carrie (c.f. Chapter Six, Appendix 4), supported by their work with women's organisations and by their feminist perspective.

Other participants in the research had no doubts about the connection between anti-homosexual violence and the apartheid regime. Funeka, Misa and Baliswe described an accumulation of violent events that were not considered as separate persecutions but were to be interpreted as falling within the frame of suffering imposed on them by the regime.

The tension between living in a homophobic situation and not identifying a precise strategy of persecution can be explained by noting that the apartheid regime had different attitudes in relation to three ways in which anti-homosexual violence was deployed: militarisation; prosecution of activists; and 'dirty trick' strategies. In these areas, apartheid regime attitudes concerning homosexuality were to some degree ambivalent although anti-homosexual violence was seen as productive for the regime.

The army was described by participants as a 'very homophobic institution', as Gerald remembered (c.f. Chapter Six). Conscription was universal for white South African men between 1967 and 1991. The use of 'aversion therapy' in the army was mentioned by several participants to prove how far the regime could go in its intention to control and police white young men's sexualities. Even in informal conversations with South African gay men in Australia during the course of this research, memories of hearing about 'aversion therapy' were mentioned.

The use of aversion therapy in the South African Defence Forces (SADF) was researched following some references made during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (van Zyl, de Gruchy, Lapinsky, Lewin, & Reid, 1999). According to that research, health personnel in the SADF committed human rights abuses against gays and lesbians. Those abuses were committed to 'cure' them of homosexuality and included the use of electroshocks, chemical substances and compulsory psychological therapy. The report quotes an anti-apartheid magazine describing the existence of a psychiatric ward in a military hospital where those treatments were administered. There, drug users, 'gays', soldiers with traumatic experiences, alcoholics, persons with 'clinical disorders' and others who resisted military actions were treated. Those abuses had physical and psychological effects. Patients were not given adequate information about

the consequences of their treatment, or were coerced into accepting treatment (van Zyl, et al., 1999, p. 75).

How extensive this was seems to be matter of debate. Talking about that report, and his own research on the same topic, Gerald suggested that those treatments may have not been numerous nor part of an explicit policy of the apartheid regime to deal with homosexuality. In his perception, the use of aversion therapy was more the work of a particular individual with specific powers. He suggested that maybe fewer than a hundred individuals could have been subject to those therapies. The report by Van Zyl, et. Al. (1999) does not establish a number.

However, documents quoted in the research on aversion therapy and found in this research in the Collection 'A01 Gays in the Apartheid Military' in the South African History Archive, show that there were official guidelines which saw homosexuality as a problem. Homosexuality was related to permissiveness in society and was seen as undermining military discipline, or as a factor that facilitated extortion (van Zyl, et al., 1999, p. 55). One of those documents was signed in 1982, before the declaration of the state of emergency and in a time of increasing violence. With increasing militarisation, norms relating to sexuality become more restrictive. It is notable that therapies to convert homosexuals to heterosexuality were used in the SADF years after homosexuality was not considered a mental disorder internationally. Though there are different opinions about the extent of such practices, it is generally agreed that the apartheid regime allowed them to happen.

The second issue concerning the attitudes of the apartheid regime was mentioned by the participants who had experiences with student mobilisations. They remembered the presence of gays and lesbians in student organisations and how anxious they were about the effects that homosexuality could have on their campaigns. In a situation in which student activism was under close surveillance by the regime, their concern with secrecy and security are understandable. Gerald remembered that in the leadership of the National Association of South African Students (NUSAS), there were at least three gay men. Despite the interest of the regime in containing the power of student mobilisations and the penalisation of homosexuality, homosexuality was not used as a reason to prosecute them. In Gerald's view, the fact that there were sons of politicians who were also gay would have created a problematic situation if homosexuality were used against student activists who came from privileged white families.

The third issue concerns how the disclosure of homosexuality was used by pro-apartheid supporters and the regime to affect anti-apartheid actions. Sheila mentioned how when Ivan Toms was on trial for refusing to go into the army, his homosexuality was made public on graffiti and leaflets. Homosexuality was a frequent matter of discussion on ECC,

since it could affect the intentions of the campaign. In particular, it could antagonise young men who were the target public.

Material in the archives shows that pro-apartheid propaganda used anti-homosexual accusations as a political strategy. A collection in the Historical Papers Archive named 'Anti-ECC and disinformation material (1985-1988)' offers extensive material in which gender and sexuality is used to stigmatise ECC. In leaflets and bulletins produced by an organisation named 'Veterans for Victory' to discredit the intentions of ECC, the homosexuality of their members and their 'gender confusion' is mentioned. The same bulletin shows pictures of a proud family sending its son to the army, heterosexual couples, and young men joining the army with titles like 'The boy becomes a man'. The use of sexuality, sexual violence and heterosexuality to frame the debate around conscription is remarkable. A pamphlet produced by the same organisation to justify action against anti-apartheid struggles was titled '*The Rape of Peace'*. Another anti-ECC leaflet said 'ECC does it from behind'. Institutional backing for pro-regime propaganda can be seen in the context of the 'dirty tricks' used by the apartheid regime as counter-insurgency strategy (Potgieter, 2012).

On this topic, Daniel Conway (2008) argues that stigmatisation of objectors' sexual identities was, for the State, an effective strategy to place strain on peace movements. The use of homophobia as stigmatisation discourse reveals the heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity of the state and the military. Objectors were stigmatised because of their opposition to conscription, not simply because they were gay or lesbian (Conway, 2008, p. 436). In this use, it is not sexual behavior or sexual identity in itself that was under discussion but the perception of possible fractures and internal contradictions in the apartheid regime. Homosexuality, as stigma, signaled the presence of an internal other, a naïve, susceptible and resistant-to-become-adult subject.

Apartheid concerns about young men's sexualities can be found in the application of laws. In a study about prosecutions and convictions for sodomy and 'unnatural sexual offences' Botha an Cameron (1993) show how laws were applied selectively according to racial divisions. Prosecutions increased gradually until the late 80s, at the same time that apartheid was crumbling. What Botha and Cameron did not mention in their study but can be deduced from their statistics is that a large number of the convictions were of individuals under twenty years old. In 1992 there were 283 convictions for sodomy, and 31% of them were of young persons. That percentage is more or less the same across the period they observed (1978-1992).

These concerns with male sexuality, in particular with 'white' and young male sexuality, would confirm an argument presented by Tamara Shefer and Kopano Ratele (2011). In a

study of narratives of the experience of apartheid they argue that, even though the main goal of apartheid was to make white males dominant, those men were troubled by the sex laws imposed by the regime and therefore the need for constant disciplining of their sexual desires. In a similar way, Glen Elder (1995) argues that while there was State scrutiny of middle-class white male homosexuality, black male homosexuality in mines was perceived as a necessary complement of the life conditions of the workforce. Moral panics around homosexuality as a threat to white youth can be dated to the moment in which homosexuality became a matter of specific policing, in the late 60s (Retief, 1995).

Material collected from *Exit* described in Chapter Five and from personal narratives can be read as part of these troubles in white male sexualities. News about gay bashing, extortion and assault by men claiming to be police suggests the presence of social spaces in which some men could take advantage, exploiting cracks in the system. This news also described the presence of police, their control of everyday life routines, and the opportunities they had to exercise power in the gaps of the system. They also show the acknowledgement by homosexual men of the legal risks of their behaviour, and the problematic balance between recognising their sexuality as subject to persecution and denouncing an illegal act to authorities who have a duty of protection. The legal trap mentioned in Chapter 5 reinforced this situation. Police required complaints in order to act but making a complaint would expose victims to legal action.

At the same time, divisions created by the apartheid regime normalised, and silenced discussion about, violence against same-sex sexualities in black communities. When this issue was mentioned in the white gay press it was to reinforce a sense of vulnerability and victimisation in a 'gay community' that was basically male and white. What was there was not just a differentiated impact of 'State repression of homosexuality' on all sectors of 'lesbian, gay and bisexual' community as Retief (1995, p. 109) argues. Instead what happened was the appropriation of violence against certain subjects to benefit the political agendas of others.

Examples from both the interviews and the archives show that attitudes toward homosexuality were not enacted in the same way under all regime circumstances. Descriptions of aversion therapy are related to the internal regulation of the armed forces and not to State violence against civilians. State concerns and therefore the mandate to practitioners were about the moral and mental state of white male constituencies. There were also limits in terms of facilities and numbers of professionals able to implement such a mandate, while psychiatrists had disparate approaches to treatment (T. Jones, 2008).

Homosexuality could be used to stigmatise or diminish anti-apartheid mobilisations. It seems to have been applied, however, in some cases and not in others, as suggested in interview with Gerald Kraak (See Chapter Six). The difference could be in the class privilege of those involved. It could also reflect how important the issue was seen to be. The use of homosexuality against ECC concerned a core issue for the regime, conscription and militarisation based on hegemonic masculinity. Using homosexuality to stigmatise student mobilisations was a much more marginal device.

Another example of the differential uses of homosexuality against social mobilisations can be identified in the narrative of Simon Nkoli about his detention (1995). Nkoli, an anti-apartheid and gay activist, was detained with twenty-one other members of the United Democratic Front (1984). During his interrogation his homosexuality was used by the police to discredit his claim to be part of the anti-apartheid struggles (Nkoli, 1995). *Moffies* could not be part of the ANC, said his interrogators. Later on, when his homosexuality was made public to the other detainees, ways in which it could be used against their cause was a matter of discussion among them, and with their legal team. Nkoli's openness about his homosexuality also caused division among his comrades in prison.

A common element in these descriptions is the ambivalence in the uses of homosexuality by the apartheid regime. Apartheid may have not a structured strategy of persecution of homosexuality, but the issue did have a role in apartheid policies. Sometimes those uses were strategic, for example in reinforcing a militarised masculinity. At other times, anti-homosexual violence was not intentional but rather the result of the legal, paralegal and illegal spaces created by the system.

Those ambivalent uses also changed in new contexts. At the end of apartheid they even moved in a kind of 'pro gay' direction, as suggested by information found in *Exit* in late 1987 (Issues 19, May/June and 20, June/July). Candidates for Parliamentary elections were asked about their position on 'gay rights'. *Exit* editorials called readers to vote for those who had responded positively to 'gay rights'. In Hillbrow a representative from the National Party won the elections. Hillbrow was at the time a cosmopolitan and racially mixed area, well known for its gay life. In describing this event Mark Gevisser (1995, p. 62) associated the victory to the 'much noise about gay rights' made by the NP candidate in comparison with the 'equivocation' on the topic by the candidate from the Progressive Federal Party. The support of *Exit* for the NP candidate can be seen in the extent of information about him presented in those issues. As Gevisser notes, that case showed the political power that the white gay South African could get as an organised minority. He also noted the increasing integration in Hillbrow by that time. The same event could be seen as result of the adjustment of sections of the NP to the loss of power, using 'gay

rights', a topic that was still perceived as a white concern, as a mechanism to look progressive.

To use homosexuality was productive for the apartheid regime in three ways. First, in relation to warfare, homophobia is a familiar way to create solidarity in armed forces and reinforce militarised masculinities in a militarised society, as South Africa was in the 80s. Yet, only selective homophobia was rational for the productive needs of warfare. During the period of universal conscription homosexuality was a cause of disqualification from the Permanent Forces but not from being National Servicemen (van Zyl, et al., 1999, p. 55). Rejecting white young men for being gay would be a waste of resources considering the pragmatic needs of a war conducted by a white minority.

Second, it improved privilege. The selective use of the accusation of homosexuality resulted from previous privileges of class and race. Permitting homosexual practices for some people that would be prosecuted in others reproduced those privileges.

Third, the actions of those doing the regime's dirty work were facilitated. Putting the responsibility for denouncing onto the victims, in a situation in which they could become offenders, not only facilitated impunity, it created a blurred space between legality and illegality that was used by criminality. Criminality returned the favour to the regime, contributing to the reinforcement of the current gender and sexual order.

Experiences of anti-homosexual violence

Participants in South Africa described different ways in which racial, gender, sexual and anti-homosexual violence affected them during the apartheid period and in the years after. They described those experiences with different levels of intensity and personal involvement. As one would expect from the history of apartheid, direct exposure to violence was distributed along the lines of the racial and gender orders.

Funeka and Baliswe described direct experiences of violence, including racial and sexual violence. Their memories of the apartheid times were about their everyday life experience of violence and the way in which racial violence occupied all spaces of their lives. They were also victims of violence because of the way their gender identity was perceived in their communities. Violence related to sexual orientation or gender identity did not have a separate existence from other forms of violence. As Funeka remembered, because of the 'pressure' of racism 'there was no room for that'.

The other side of this non-differentiation of violence is that violence did not separate some victims from others. Baliswe compared current acts of violence with those committed during apartheid to show how, in the earlier period, 'community' would protect victims because all shared the same racist violence. She mentioned her participation in the struggles as an example of how resisting apartheid, even by violent means, created a sense of belonging to the 'community'. Nowadays, it is the 'community' that exercises 'homophobic' violence against its own members.

The differentiation between direct and indirect victimisation is useful to help us understand how violence varies across social structures and how suffering was imposed on specific bodies. Such division does not, however, allow the exploration of other forms in which violence becomes a lived and embodied experience. Participation in mobilisations and in institutions also distributed experiences of violence and facilitated the creation of collective consciousness.

Sheila and Carrie had a long-term commitment to feminism and to the struggles of women against gender-based violence. Sheila, for example, participated in the first initiatives to deal with domestic violence in Cape Town. Carrie was part of feminist organisations years before joining 'queer' organisations. The organisations in which they participated were interracial. Violence became a lived experience through their sharing of a common gender situation with other women and their commitment to transform it. It can be suggested that because of that, their approach to violence because of sexual orientation was also different. They have participated in initiatives to transform violence that is based on broad discussions of power relations such as class and race, divisions that do not follow the logic of identity politics.

Student activism also exposed participants to violence and created a sense of vulnerability. Dawie mentioned how little he knew about violence because of sexual orientation or what happened with lesbians, transgender men and women or gays and lesbians in townships. Belonging to a 'community' connected by a shared experience of violence did not seem to be a common feeling. when he became involved in student organisations, however, he experienced the risks and fears of being implicated in something considered dangerous. He also faced negative attitudes toward homosexuality, the imposition of silence about sexuality and the demands for secrecy.

The gay men who were interviewed expressed a sense of collectivism created by shared memories of violence. They remembered hearing about cases of gay bashing during the apartheid period, or of under-cover police who were operating in cruising places. They were not affected but they knew friends and acquaintances who were. Interviewees mentioned cases of gay bashing in Durban, Cape Town or Kwa-thema. Gay bashing was

the form of violence most described in *Exit*, as noted in Chapter Five. Gay bashing as something 'known to all' seems to be a connecting point in the memories of gay men. It revealed a common sense of vulnerability. It was also a key element in creating an idea of 'community', and this was also found in the review of the gay press.

Conscription can be seen as another way in which gender and racial orders distributed experiences of violence. In the interviews and in informal conversations with South African men during the fieldtrip, the army was described as an intense and contradictory experience. The apartheid regime made it not only legal but mandatory for white men.. For some, it was their first exposure to violence and the power to kill. As described by male interviewees it was also an experience of male bonding and the homophobia that characterises armies.

Activism and mobilisations

South African participants are activists with a long history of involvement in anti-apartheid struggles, women's organisations, and gay and lesbian activism. Some of them are also expert interviewees. As discussed in the chapter on Methods, in the interviews they shared not only personal experiences but also implicit theories to explain events of violence. They belong, however, to different generations of activism and have been exposed to different resources. Some have developed professional careers in aid agencies and NGOs. Others do their activism in the free time left from other non-related jobs. Some have been able to travel abroad, exposing themselves to international trends of activism. Others stayed in South Africa, and do their work at grassroots levels. In their stories they described the making of sexual orientation as a particular reason for activism and the place of anti-homosexual violence in it.

Participants experienced the transformation of sexual orientation from being a matter of legal prosecution to becoming an extension of ideals of change implemented in the post-apartheid context. The making of sexual orientation and anti-homosexual violence as a distinct issue for activism were also transformed.

The older interviewees described the challenges they faced in combining their commitment to the anti-apartheid struggles and their sexual orientation. Funeka described her political activism as a need from which there was no chance to run away. She developed herself simultaneously as a political, gendered and sexual subject. She remembered that in the anti-apartheid struggles racism was the 'big picture' and therefore, 'there was no room for that', referring to sexual orientation as a specific issue

for mobilisation. Anti-apartheid struggles embraced all the struggles. Sheila was part of an organisation that worked to connect 'sexual liberation' and 'liberation' with anti-apartheid. Some participants had a commitment to gay liberation and others to anti-apartheid struggles. Some shared both causes, seeing the struggles as separate arenas that needed to be connected and transformed in parallel. They described the unfolding of sexual orientation as a specific area of intervention and as a matter of discussion in the agendas for change. Their perspective was to 'include' gay and lesbians rights in anti-apartheid struggles.

The ones who developed their activism in the transition period described it as a moment of hope in transformations. Sexual orientation was a matter of 'protection' in the New Constitution. Carrie and Dawie participated in initiatives to develop a legal system consistent with the ideal of inclusion presented in the Clause. They described a moment in which there were economic and organisational resources and political and legal spaces ready to make sexual orientation a specific topic of mobilisation. In mobilisations during the struggles anti-homosexual violence was 'known but not spoken' and racist violence was the main thing to transform. In the transition period ideals of equality led the mobilisations. 'Anti-homosexual' violence, understood for example under the concept of 'homophobia', was known but it was not the core of the mobilisations.

The politicisation of anti-homosexual violence not only changed from the anti-apartheid struggles to the post-apartheid moment. It also varied according to gender, race and location. Sheila mentioned how lesbians went into the struggles in a different way from gay men. She remembered that there were not many 'out' lesbians at the time of the struggles and some experienced discrimination from their male and female comrades. That difference was also found in archival information. In a letter to the Cape Town organisation OLGA-LAGO, a woman detained because of her participation in an anti-apartheid protest acknowledged the support she was receiving and expressed her preference for not revealing her sexuality during the trial. In another letter, Simon Nkoli, a gay and anti-apartheid activist, expressed his concern for the lack of support that the same woman was receiving and compared her situation with the attention that his case, or the cases of other gay men in the struggles weres receiving.

Funeka shared with lesbian women working in women's rights the fact that their sexual orientation was seen as secondary, not relevant, or even seen as divisive. Considering the racist violence she suffered, she mentioned her distance from other gays and lesbians who 'enjoyed' apartheid. With some irony, she suggested that gay bashing was the result of the white men's 'privilege', to make sexual orientation a matter of choice.

Gerald's story exemplifies how some anti-apartheid activists politicised their identities in interaction with international mobilisations. He joined the ANC in exile and contacted gay and lesbian activism in Europe during the 1980s. Gay and lesbian organisations in Scandinavia were also supporters of anti-apartheid struggles, he remembered. His work and perspective on violence has been developed in the frame of cooperation agencies and the international language of gay rights.

The politicisation of sexual identity and anti-homosexual violence was also part of the process of professionalisation of activism and the development of new social movement strategies. Sheila and Carrie, for example, referred to their formation in feminist consciousness raising groups. Funeka mentioned her education in the strategies of a liberation movement. Carrie, Dawie, and Gerald were members of student movements, in which academic discussions and single-issue interest groups were common. In the transition they were part of NGOs carrying out advocacy, lobbying and delivering services.

A common element in the stories of participants was their questioning of the division between the 'big pictures' proposed by left politics and liberation movements and the need to make sexual orientation a single-issue for activism. Women mentioned a tension over women's issues in the anti-apartheid struggles. They also experienced a division between the general and the specific in relation to lesbian topics in women's organisations. That tension was resolved by the creation of priorities and hierarchies in the struggles, a strategy that permeated the transition period. Carrie mentioned how the organisation where she was working emphasised legal changes as the broad agenda, so that problems at the micro level were not attended to and individual life experiences were not considered. Approaches to social transformation that were not oriented toward legal changes, the State, or denouncing experiences of violence, were not considered. Carrie illustrated that situation with a story. A group of women from a township asked for support in their situation. They also offered some alternatives about what could be done. Since, however, theirs was a single-issue organisation dealing with legal changes, it could not respond to the women's initiatives.

The changes in the politicisation of sexual orientation and anti-homosexual violence described here can be compared with the movement from 'gay liberation' agendas to 'gay rights' agendas often discussed in the literature on gay and lesbian mobilisations. However, the practices and ideas around what needed to be liberated and what kind of rights should be obtained had their own meanings in the South African context. What seems distinctive in this case is the way activists used the transition to democracy to make the demand for rights related to sexual orientation an issue of democratisation, and

to locate it in the socially dominant agenda for change. In doing that, they sexualised the transition to democracy.

Changes and continuities in anti-homosexual violence in transitions

Participants made evident the sense of hope brought by the end of apartheid. For some, it was the chance to be citizens for the first time. They also offered a critique of how much of the promises of change have been implemented in the post-apartheid context.

Gerald worked for one of the international donors that funded the NCGLE, the organisation that promoted several of the legal changes related to sexual orientation. From his perspective, activists made an important effort to make homophobia an issue of the transition and a priority in agendas for change. Legal changes such as the Equality Clause created spaces that were not there before.

One reason for the scepticism about changes in the post-apartheid era is the continuance and emergence of new forms of violence. Baliswe and Misa mentioned how since the early 2000s they have been experiencing more violence related to gender and sexuality than before. They have heard how churches promote homophobic speech and have witnessed the use of 'tradition' and 'culture' as arguments to impose heterosexist and patriarchal gender and sexual orders. They have also seen the emergence of gangs targeting homosexuals and lesbians. Baliswe was the friend of one women killed in a case of 'corrective rape'. It was in the post-apartheid context that Funeka was a victim of sexual violence. Misa said that before this time it was possible to go home with a man one had just met in a bar but now there is the risk of being killed after dating someone.

If the transition to democracy was characterised by a 'positive' language of rights and equality, it is in the post-apartheid state that a 'negative' language of violence becomes a particular matter of activism and state intervention. That seems to be the balance described by those with a more academic background. A variety of forms of violence starts to be connected under labels such as 'homophobia' or 'corrective rape'.

In the post-apartheid context anti-homosexual violence was named as a 'hate crime' or 'homophobia'. It became a matter of intervention by experts, and a reason to demand attention from the state. In a situation of weak institutional attention and continuing institutionalised homophobia, grassroot organisations acquire new roles. Funeka described the activities they have developed with the police in order to improve their capacity to deal with violence related to 'sexual orientation' and 'gender identity'. Dawie

described how homophobic violence has acquired prominence in the activities of the organisation he works for, for example, in denouncing the lack of attention to the cases of gay men murdered in their houses. Networks of organisations have been created to deal with the issue and to promote cooperation between the State and 'civil society'. In this process, 'homophobia' has become a marker of the failure of the State to provide the promised protection and to guarantee rights. At the same time, drawing attention to the issue has become a new responsibility for victims and their organisations.

Gender and sexual orders

Participants expressed their doubts on how much change in terms of gender and sexuality has been delivered in the transition to democracy, for whom and in which aspects. Gender and sexual violence was mentioned to prove there were continuing inequalities and to highlight the emergence of unexpected forms of violence. Funeka and Baliswe mentioned 'corrective rape' of lesbians as an example of how gender and sexual violence has not disappeared but increased in the post-apartheid. They mentioned how it is a real factor for women in their communities and connected it with increasing nationalistic and xenophobic discourses.

However, 'corrective rape' was also a contested term. Carrie and Funeka criticised the way in which the term has been popularised, reproducing stereotypes about black women and misrepresenting the causes of gender-based violence. From her feminist practice, Carrie also drew attention to the way in which the term creates divisions in the experience of violence. Reducing the issue to a matter of sexual orientation fragments the understanding of the power relations that support gender violence. As Funeka put it, it is a way to 'mess with people'. This argument would imply that the intention to denounce a 'new' form of violence actually weakens the possibilities for women's collective action. This argument accords with current debates about the language used to talk about violence against women, and how with the intention of 'creating awareness' or 'making it public' it reproduces dehumanising vocabularies (Hames, 2011).

The making of corrective rape as a new issue is also problematic. Baliswe described an experience of violence in her community in the 1980s in which perpetrators persecuted her for the way she was dressing. Funeka remembered that masculine women dating women was not a new issue, nor was the negative reaction to it. To associate corrective rape with post-apartheid South Africa made the gender and sexual violence under apartheid invisible, and through its association with black lesbians in townships,

reproduced sexual stereotypes about black communities. It created the idea that *all* black women are under constant fear, that rapists are black and that just one reason (sexual orientation) is the cause of rape (HRW, 2011).

The separation of lesbians' experiences of violence from the gender and sexual violence lived by other women risks the creation of oppositions. For example, Dawie argues that the current emphasis on corrective rape of lesbians ignores violence against effeminate black men. He mentioned research done that would prove the intensity of such violence. The problem here is a classificatory logic that, with the intention of making visible particularities, contributes to the fragmentation of the understanding of violence.

Parallel themes about masculinities can be identified in the narratives of participants. Misa's reference to feeling more at risk now when meeting a man in a bar than before, questions the idea of townships as always hostile places to same-sex attracted men. Dawie's reference to the lack of attention to the killing of gay men in their homes recalled earlier discussions of 'gay bashing', and implied the continuity of some patterns of violence. In both cases the existence of circuits for male sexual interaction were described. Archival material and interviews suggest the idea of gay bashing as a case of violence between men and involving masculinities. Early descriptions of those violent interactions mention physical characteristics of the perpetrators such as their attractiveness, masculine appearance or working class background. It was with the transition to democracy that the race of the perpetrators started to be mentioned. The fact that this situation is discussed nowadays in terms of 'young black men targeting older white men' recalls the importance of interracial circuits of desire.

Some participants mentioned the continuity of a kind of masculinity associated with the struggles and with fighting for the nation as a possible explanation of gender based violence in the post-apartheid context. The rape trial of Jacob Zuma (2005) was mentioned to show how extensive and legitimate gender violence is in South African society. Few references, however, to gender based violence in white communities or by white men were made by participants. Thokozani Xaba (2001) makes a polemic point arguing how the 'struggle heroes' of yesterday, produced to participate in the anti-apartheid activities are the 'villains' of today.

Synthesis

The case of South Africa suggests the problems in making temporal and categorical divisions between forms of violence. From the perspective of participants, the ones who

have been direct victims of violence described the continuity of vulnerabilities and sufferings. The ones who have taken a role as activists and promoters of social changes discussed the problems involved in creating divisions in types of violence and in dealing with them separately. Archival material showed different paths in the historical construction of anti-homosexual violence as a matter of concern in an emerging 'gay community' that gradually came to demand action by State institutions. During the transition, the logic of single issue actions was effective in obtaining results but not in understanding broad power relations. How much has changed remains a matter of debate. Sexuality, gender and violence are still closely connected in the post-apartheid regime, but the nature of the connection is not the same. In post-apartheid a common element is suspicion of the capacity of the State to deliver change. Still, it was to change the State that social movements worked.

Chapter Eight: In-depth case study two (Colombia)

Uses of anti-homosexual violence by armed actors

Two main forms of anti-homosexual violence associated with socio-political conflict in Colombia were found in this research. One is assassination and physical violence against *travestis* and homosexuals in situations of socio-economic vulnerability. The other is the use of threats against *homosexuales*, *travestis*, *maricas*, *lesbianas* and categories of persons defined by a non-hegemonic position in the gender and social orders. Those forms of violence can develop independently. More cases of direct violence were not necessarily found where there were more threats. Direct cases of violence targeted individuals in specific locations, such as zones for sex work, and most of the cases happened at night. Threats were mainly directed toward groups. Nevertheless these forms of violence can appear together. Threatening leaflets can be distributed before a person is victimised or after an event of direct violence occurs.

Analysis of *Noche y Niebla* showed that in the 1980s and 1990s most of the cases of direct violence occurred in capital cities (c.f. Chapter 5). By the early 2000s more cases of direct violence were occurring in medium to small cities and more cases were registered in the Caribbean region. According to the information collected in the Caribbean region, collective threats and the use of threatening leaflets by *paramilitares* became more common in the same period. The older type of anti-homosexual violence, however, registered since the early 1980s, concentrated in major capital cities, particularly in the south-west city of Cali, continued alongside the new pattern.

These findings coincide in several aspects with the research done by the sociologist María Catalina Gómez (2012). Using as her source a local newspaper, Gómez found that in the city of Cali, in the period 1980-2000, there were ninety-nine cases of 'social cleansing' squads murdering *homosexuales y travestis*. She found that some of the early cases were associated to a group called *Muerte a Homosexuales Peligrosos* (MAHOPI, Death to Dangerous Homosexuals). The pattern of murdering was the same found in this research. Travestis and homosexuals were killed using a firearm late at night in cruising areas or sex work areas. Peaks in the number of events were parallel to major events of extrajudicial killings against youth, petty criminals and homeless persons, possibly financed by drug barons, business owners and urban guerrillas (M. C. Gómez, 2012, p. 190). There was also evidence of participation in these acts or at least complicity of police members.

The older pattern was mainly associated with the action of death squads and socially intolerant groups. Death squads are a combination of State-sponsored violence and social violence in which State agents, often police and military, or semi-private groups organise to eliminate opponents or unwanted groups (Sluka, 2000). The new pattern appears to be mainly associated with the action of *paramilitares*, or right-wing armies organised to fight against guerrillas. Establishing those differences, however, is problematic. Studies of violence in Latin America and Colombia have showed the interchange between legal and illegal groups (A. Jones, 2004; López, 2010). There have been explicit alliances between perpetrators of different types. Legal armies have had alliances with illegal gangs, such as *paramilitares*. Police have had alliances with criminal groups and death squads. Urban *guerrillas* and urban *paramilitares* have made alliances with urban criminals. Urban gangs are hired by economic, political and social elites to commit extra-judicial killings. There have also been cases in which communities organise squads to provide private security for themselves. In the Colombian context any identification of a violent perpetrator should consider the scale of these interactions and alliances among legal, illegal and paralegal actors.

The second pattern of violence found coincides with what has been called *La Ruta del Terror* (CNRR, 2011)(The Terror Path) created by the expansion of *paramilitares* in the North of Colombia in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The first threats identified in this research mentioning *homosexuales* occurred in towns at the core of paramilitary expansion in the early 2000s (Ovejas, Sucre, and Ciénaga de Oro, Córdoba). These threats were issued by the paramilitary group *Héroes de Montes de María*, belonging to a broader structure, the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia*. That group has been identified as a main perpetrator of gender and sexual violence (CNRR, 2011, p. 58).

Interestingly, the areas where those threats occurred were the same areas where government created the first *Zona de Rehabilitación y Consolidación* (Consolidation and Rehabilitation Zone). Those zones were defined in 2002 as a strategy to regain State control of areas affected by 'criminality' using 'exceptional measures' and giving 'extraordinary powers' to public forces (Decree 2002, September 9, 2002; *Resolución* 129, 2002). In that period, lethal violence associated with the conflict started to decrease but non-lethal actions such as displacement increased (Granada, Restrepo, & Vargas, 2009). Simultaneously, LGBT organisations identified an increase in police harassment (Colombia-Diversa, 2013).

Considering this, a particular situation appears. In the early 2000s, anti-homosexual violence was lethal and committed by organised *paramilitares* in areas where the government policies mentioned were put in place. By the mid 2000s, fragmented paramilitary groups were competing for power and used strategies more associated with

fear and a close control of everyday interactions rather than high impact events such as massacres. That is the period in which the use of threatening leaflets increased.

Since sources in *Noche y Niebla* may tend to emphasise lethal events, it is not possible to measure exactly whether non-lethal events decreased or increased. However the information does suggest that the number of victims increased. This increase is partly accounted for by the improvement in mechanisms of documentation. In the second part of the 2010s LGBT activism in the Caribbean increased and produced systematic reports.

These conclusions agree with previous information on the topic. The targeting of homosexuals, lesbians and transgender men and women was part of the war strategies of *paramilitares*, as found by *Grupo de Memoria Historica*, in their reconstruction of violence in the Caribbean region (GMH, 2013). An example is the testimony of an event that occurred in San Onofre, in the rehabilitation zone mentioned above:

> It was a gruesome spectacle. It started early. Beer was sold, there was food, everything. They (*paramilitares*) forced people to start a boxing match. You know that making 'gays' box is like a parody for them; everybody was laughing, it was like a roman circus. They boxed, all laughed. They were forced to use those women's gowns and boxing gloves and looked like women slapping their faces. Men hit each other when boxing but they (gays) were just slapping. That was fun, people laughed. I saw like fourteen couples boxing but it lasted longer.

After this event, one of the participants was killed, others were displaced and some stayed in the area. For the authors of the report, this public spectacle was intended to denigrate the victims' dignity and subject their sexual orientation and lives to public shame and mockery (GMH, 2013, p. 322). Those actions reinforced discrimination, stigma and social rejection. They continue to this day, since there is silence both by victims and community, and violence against this 'population' is rendered invisible.

Results of the present research suggest a slightly different argument about this silence and invisibility. There is a certain visibility and audibility around these events. Some of the information about acts of 'social cleansing' comes from media reports. This makes violence visible under the classification of 'spectacle', reproducing social stereotypes around victims. In her study of 'social cleansing' in Cali, Carolina Gómez (2012) analyses headlines from the sensational press in which *travestis* are pictured in very stereotypical ways. That 'visible spectacle' reproduces social prejudices and justifies violence. The same can be argued for the event just described.

Armed actors committed anti-homosexual violence in clearly organised and regulated, visible and public, events. Even more, most of this violence was committed against *travestis* in public spaces. In this case, the difficulty of making 'visible' sexual orientation

or gender identity often claimed by activists as a reason for discrimination and for lack of documentation (Albarracín & Rincón, 2013; Colombia-Diversa, 2008) does not apply.

Information on 'social cleansing' has been collected, organised and published systematically and for a long period. The problem is not information but a policy of 'not-knowing' about those events. Carolyn Nordstrom (1999) called 'politics of not-knowing' those actions that make society to overlook many issues related to violence and war. Victims do talk about their experiences, but in spaces and channels that are not often recognised by mainstream activisms and State institutions.

The analysis suggested by GMH, echoing activist organisations, locates the roots of such violence in broad features of culture and society. Albarracin y Rincón (2013) argue that the invisibility and silence surrounding the violence against LGBTI people in the Colombian armed conflict is the continuation of a totalitarian social order, lack of acceptance, and homophobia in communities. They imply that such violence is not an isolated event but part of a social context. The problem with their argument is that making it the result of generalised features of culture or society blurs the uses of anti-homosexual violence by armed actors in specific circumstances. It makes it difficult to make them accountable for their actions. Even more, it impedes understanding of the interests behind violence, and further, looking at an event like the one just described only in its homophobic dimension impedes exploring how those uses of shame and ridicule may have a racist element. It is known that some paramilitary leaders come from other areas of the country where Afro-Caribbean people are fewer. The role of racial relationships in events of anti-homosexual violence in Colombia is in need of further study.

Though not all the participants in the study have been directly exposed to violence or have been victims of armed actors, all of them mentioned the actions of death squads, *paramilitares* and criminal gangs. Those actions are part of a collective memory based both on specific events and the sharing of a sense of vulnerability. The two types of violence identified above appear in their narratives as a continuum of vulnerabilities and proximity to victimisation. Being threatened, and knowing that someone has been victimised by armed gangs, are part of the embodiment of violence.

On the basis of the narratives it is possible to identify three uses of anti-homosexual violence. One is to stipulate why and how pain must be imparted on some gendered subjects. Another is to contribute to the administration of populations, a process which is part of warfare. The third is to blur the difference between excessive and normalised violence. The three were elements of the struggle to create an authoritarian and hierarchical gender and sexual order through a selective use of violence.

In relation to the first use, threatening leaflets are directed toward specific groups of victims, such as homosexuals, lesbians, sex workers or drug users. Even if their names are not mentioned, participants in the research mentioned that they felt they were included. Even more, as Lena mentioned in her interview, the result of the enumeration of those categories forces people to look at themselves, ticking the boxes for all the possible reasons they might be included in the threats.

Leaflets also warn about surveillance of the targets. The fact that in some cases a violent event follows shows the threats may become real. After the leaflets were distributed in 2002 in the Caribbean lowland, three homosexual men were killed in Soledad, Atlántico by a paramilitary group. Leaflets call for and actualise a condition of discrimination and violence. Followed by an event of violence, threats show their effectiveness, even if there is not a clearly identified connection. In this way, leaflets involve administration of pain.

In the second use of anti-homosexual violence, participants also mentioned cases of homosexual men, *travestis*, or lesbians who left their hometowns at the time of the increasing distribution of leaflets and the expansion of *paramilitares*. Forced migration because of the actions of armed gangs occurs in the life stories of other transwomen in Colombia (Prada, Galvis, Lozano, & Ortiz, 2012). Once leaflets and threats are distributed the ones who feel affected may change their use of public spaces. As Victor described, once a *limpieza* (social cleansing) was announced, gay men stopped going to places of socialisation and *travestis* in prostitution left the areas where they worked. Several participants mentioned how once leaflets are distributed, their movements in the city changed. In one sense, leaflets displace populations; in another, they impede their circulation.

In the third use of anti-homosexual violence, leaflets also prescribe a certain moral order. As Lena mentioned, they have a 'symbolic' aspect: they intend to create certain norms and ways of behaviour. The author of the leaflet is not always mentioned, creating the idea that the threat can come from many possible perpetrators. Participants also mentioned that leaflets are sometimes recycled, repeated and reproduced in different places. Because of that, the threat is always present. Such permanent presence is facilitated by their public circulation. Leaflets and threats seem to be like something that *todo el mundo sabe* (everybody knows).

These uses of anti-homosexual violence as a form of social control act in association with other forms of violence, such as criminality and gang violence. How they work to produce a new gender and sexual order is shown in detail by Lena's Story (Chapter 6). Her current situation is defined as becoming *dos peladas serias*, 'two settled girls'. By that

she implied leaving aside their political activism, assuming a common life as a couple, having a house and a job, and in general erasing any sign of disorder that could be associated with their sexual orientation. She had that idea of becoming settled as part of a pattern of transition to adulthood centred round a stable job, coupling and 'progress' or social mobility, as was to be found in other Colombian youth life stories (Serrano-Amaya, 2004a). On the other hand, becoming *peladas serias* is their reaction to living in a context where there is a permanent demand to adjust to social expectations and where, as she said, 'one does not know who can be looking at what you do'. Their situation combines living in a context where social recognition is based on ideas of respect, honour and decency, and the social control of aspects of everyday life exercised by legal, illegal and paralegal armed gangs.

Giacomo Criscione (2011) uses Foucault's concept of biopolitics and Agamben's concept of 'state of exception' to discuss recent governmental policies in Colombia that, intending to provide 'security' to citizens, express a potential to impose death. He argues that extrajudicial killings are functional for eliminating, disciplining and 'normalising' subjects. They are part of a particular technology of governing populations, based on the administration of death. 'Social cleansing' is a death practice that produces a series of effects on subjects and the population based on the elimination of 'negative others' such as homeless persons or homosexuals. Such effects intend to produce subjects that are functional to the dynamics of the current systems of 'production/consumption/existence' characteristic of the current colonial/modern power system (Criscione, 2011, p. 110).

This analysis is relevant for the purposes of this chapter since it shows that the violence that targets marginalised homosexuals in the context of socio-political conflict is far from being exceptional or irrational but is functional and productive for certain social, political and economic systems. It also shows how such violence does not act in isolation but in association with the aims of other populations. Even more, since it identified such uses of extrajudicial killings as part of government policies, it shows that the elimination of those subjects is not the result of perpetrators that act because of personalities affected by fear.

Such an analysis, however, considers the productive power of violence in terms of its function for social regulation. The patterns of anti-homosexual violence identified earlier show how the productive power of violence is in its historical generativity. Anti-homosexual violence does not simply functions as regulation, control or discipline. It is used for socio-political agents in their struggle to ignite the production of a new social order according to their hegemonic interests.

Experiences of anti-homosexual violence

As explained in the Methods chapter, participants were not chosen because they were direct victims of socio-political violence. Nevertheless, in the interviews they described experiences of violence, including but not limited to, anti-homosexual violence. Such experiences operate as a common ground for their life narratives. Rather than an exceptional event, violence has been a familiar experience.

Dividing their experiences of violence as direct or indirect would be useful to make evident different forms of victimisation. However, it is a problematic division. Most participants live and were interviewed in urban settings that are not conflict zones. Nevertheless, cities have been directly affected by armed conflict, among other reasons because of the displaced populations from war zones. Twenty-eight of the thirty-three participants in the interviews were under forty years old. They were young adults or early teenagers when *paramilitares* fought for the control of the Caribbean lowlands in the first years of the 2000s. They were born when conflict was already activated. Most of them could be entitled to compensation as direct victims of the conflict. 1985 is the year declared as departure point for defining victims of the Colombian Conflict in the current legal frame (Law 1448, 2011).

The demobilisation of *paramilitares* in the mid-2000s did not reduce the exposure to violence mentioned by participants, and did not end the use of threatening leaflets, still found in *Noche y Niebla*. Rather, demobilisation of the *paramilitares* meant that an easily identified type of armed agent was transformed into another form, less clearly identifiable, but no less harmful. The new legal definition of illegal armed gangs as *Bandas Criminales Emergentes* (BACRIM, Emerging Criminal Gangs) did not end the sense of vulnerability that participants described in detail. The shift was described by Lena as the emergence of 'grey areas' where the source of violence was not easy to identify but fear and the feeling of being all the time under scrutiny remained. The demobilisation of *paramilitares* did not imply the demobilisation of fear.

Violence seems to be, for all participants, an embodied experience. Such embodiment acts at the level of body sensations, personal relationships, domestic spaces and social and political interactions. Sometimes it can be alarm generated when hearing a motorbike approaching, or waking up late at night when there are unusual sounds. The figure of the *sicario*, the paid-killer on a motorbike, is very strong in collective representations in Colombia. At other times, fear in intimate spaces can be more evident. A threatening leaflet was left under Guillermo's house just before the interview (c.f. Appendix 4). A feeling of vulnerability was discussed often; explained through examples such as the way

to move on the streets, who to talk with, or at what time of the day to be on the streets. Violence is part of everyday life and often happens close by.

Some participants have been direct victims of violence. Zoraya and Nadia were displaced from their place of residence by armed groups (c.f. Chapter Six, Appendix 4). In their descriptions, different forms of violence interact and overlap. Lena connected the insults she faces when walking on the streets with her girlfriend to the actions of death squads (c.f. Chapter Six). Zoraya connected the violence she faced when she was a child with threats by *paramilitares*, men in the community, and criminality. Ignacio, Guillermo and Oscar mentioned the threats against drug users, homosexuals and prostitutes that were sent by armed gangs in dispute about territorial control (c.f. Appendix 4).

This embodiment of violence operates through a constant process of scrutiny of gender and sexual behaviours. Victor, Ignacio and Oscar called attention to the importance of being *serio* (acting straight), controlling signs of effeminacy in order to avoid homophobic violence. Violence also acts on the social expectations associated with gender. Zoraya worked and interacted with others intending to be a 'well behaved woman'. This was the way she negotiated a space of safety where armed groups regulated most aspects of everyday life. Lena presented her constant care of their house, her following of work routines and the reduction of any sign of disorder as a way to reduce any possible cause of stigmatisation and targeting.

As can be seen in the previous examples, the embodiment of violence varies with gender relationships, household arrangements, work or patterns of migration. The women interviewed mentioned violence more often than the men, and had more varied experiences of violence. Zoraya's work history goes parallel with living in areas under the control of illegal armed groups. Nadia's narrative was about her struggles against poverty, finding dignified housing and looking for jobs. Lena shared with Zoraya and Nadia the constant need to control and regulate her gender behaviour on the streets in order to be safe. She also described the fears and risks of living in the city. Zoraya made clear how often the fact of being a *travesti* exposed her to violence.

Gay men did not describe that constant surveillance or fear. Some of them mentioned occasions on which they have answered back to jokes related to their gender or sexuality, something that Lena or her girlfriend would not dare to do. Victor mentioned how he arrived as a *transformista* in a town known for its violence, and nothing happened to him (c.f. Chapter Six). He also explained that if gay men are victimised it is partially because 'they look for it', implying that deliberate exposure to risks is a cause of violence. This also suggested an experience of partial protection that could be maintained if socially acceptable limits were not passed.

This relative sense of security does not mean that the men interviewed did not have a sense of vulnerability. Victor described a variety of forms of violence against gay men that he has witnessed in the lives of his close friends, such as being harassed by police or robbed in their houses. Stigma for being a person living with HIV is often around him. Guillermo shared with Ignacio and Oscar the feeling of vulnerability for being part of a group threatened by leaflets and death squads. However, he also made clear that his experience of vulnerability as an addict and as a person living with HIV was not the same as those of Oscar and Ignacio, his gay co-workers. Edward was concerned about how his being gay and his activism could ignite old antagonisms against his family. Because of that, he takes care not to arrive home too late and is often cautious about whom he talks to.

Gender seems to operate as a factor that reduces the impact of some violent acts and increases the impact of others. It seems that for Edward, his being gay weakens his sense of protection because of being a man, and facilitates the emergence of surrounding forms of violence. Meanwhile, for Lena, Zoraya and Nadia, surrounding socio-political violence combines with violence against women and violence because of gender non-conformity.

Not all participants described being affected by socio-political conflict in the same way. Nadia mentioned that police do not bother her because she is perceived as a 'proper' woman. Zoraya was confident that since she has not done anything improper threats are not for her. Victor made clear that anti-homosexual violence happens, but always for a reason. He described how victims he knows had exposed themselves to violence. These ideas do not mean that these participants are safe. Rather they show that since violence is not a self-evident experience, but involves a variety of modes of interpellation, forgetting, memorizing and appropriation, the sense of victimisation also varies.

This variation is related to how participants have been learning to live with violence. People search for a space of dignity in the interacting climate of violence in which they live. That learning can take several forms. Lena mentioned how she and her partner are constantly 'reading' their context in order to understand what is happening, how it can affect them and what spaces of freedom are available for them. Zoraya's movements from one place to another were related not only to her search for employment but also to a constant balancing between the risks she was facing and the limited space of protection she had available. She even exposed herself to risky situations in order to find some freedom. Guillermo said that he had not paid very much attention to the threatening leaflet left under his door, despite making the point that he stays alert to what is happening around him.

Activism and mobilisations

The fact that violence is embodied does not imply that it will become directly a matter of mobilisation; or that it will be a core element in the description of one's own life course. The dialogue between Nadia and Edward during the interview (c.f. Chapter Six,Appendix 4) indicates how violence, in particular anti-homosexual violence, can have different places at the moment of telling a life story and defining a political identity. Edward, as an LGBT rights activist, was concerned with how discrimination because of her sexual orientation or gender identity would have affected Nadia's life experience. For Nadia, having a house, some work autonomy and personal intimacy were more relevant than changing her name or denouncing policy harassment. She resisted being defined as a victim.

Edward represents a type of activism that is becoming professional. In it, anti-homosexual violence is a core theme of advocacy. Same sex partners of victims of the conflict are now included as beneficiaries of compensations (Law 1448, 2011). The legal mandate to implement policies with a 'differential perspective' has opened a space to include LGBT people in the agendas of participation. In this context, Edward's career is promoted partially by the state and by NGOs. Edward has taken courses on human rights financed by the state and has travelled in the country to participate in events. In those events, he has been able to 'educate' people on the meanings of 'LGBT', as he explained. In representing victims of the 'LGBT community' in national events, as legally mandated, he is becoming part of an 'LGBT' intelligentsia.

Edward works for a local NGO funded partially by national and international resources. Because of that, he is introducing international trends of activism to the local context, and contributes to an international advocacy on 'LGBT' rights and Colombia. Activism has given him a chance of social mobility that he may not have had with only a university qualification. There is also a symbolic value. As he said, his previous classmates and his community now look at him with respect. His career connects two elements. It resembles what was earlier the role of *violentologos* (violentologists) those experts in Colombian violence, who set the agenda on how to understand the issue. It confers on him the authoritative voice of 'being one of them', as he is presented in official events. His is a new stage of activism that is not done against, but side-by-side with, the State.

Victor and Zoraya represent a different pattern of activism and another way to locate anti-homosexual violence. They come from a long history of answering with their own

resources the state's failure to fulfil basic needs. That overlaps with the activism that Edward represents. The documentation and advocacy against anti-homosexual violence has long been done with the limited resources of activists. However, Victor's and Zoraya's activism is not based on the victimisation caused by sexual orientation. Victor cared for people living with HIV–AIDS in his house and with his own social networks covered their basic needs. Zoraya organised *travestis* to participate in *reinados*, acquiring basic knowledge of how to interact with communities and local authorities. Victor used part of the economic resources he obtained in different jobs to support his activism. For Zoraya, her work as hairdresser has been at the same time the space for her activism. Theirs is an activism that moves in horizontal lines rather than in the structured and upward lines described by Edward. It is an activism that preceded the current struggles for 'rights' and proceeds in parallel with them, in spite of not having their popularity.

With Victor and Zoraya, Lena shared a kind of activism that is connected with broader struggles for justice. With Edward, she shared the opportunity of starting activism as a university student. However, sexual orientation or LGBT activism is not among her priorities. It is not that she is ignorant or 'in the closet'. Giving dignity to her relationship has been her main activism. She has done it by negotiating a space for the two of them in their families, among friends, colleagues and work spaces.

What all of them have in common is how the presence of *paramilitares* has regulated and restricted their spaces for activism. Sometimes it has made talking about certain topics dangerous, as happened to Edward while at the university. At other times it has appeared as a direct threat, as Lena and her classmates experienced while doing a documentary in a nearby town. It can even have the paradoxical form of the *paramilitar* who donated to some of Victor's activities in order to show how powerful he was.

Changes and continuities in anti-homosexual violence in transitions

Colombia has experienced multiple partial processes of transition from conflict to post-conflict contexts. The Caribbean region has also lived through a period of opening up to international markets that has reshaped its social, political and economic landscape. With the idea of making the region more attractive to national and international tourism, security policies have been reinforced. Some have argued that *paramilitares* were key elements in this transformation of the region.

The result of this broad transition is the coexistence of several social orders at the same time. Participants felt that transition occurred when killing squads committed extra-judicial

killings in order to make them more attractive for tourism and to facilitate the selling of central areas to national and international housing markets. Lena remembered that the bar where she and her partner were asked to leave for kissing is at the same time promoted as the most 'modern', 'alternative' and attractive for international tourism. Victor mentioned how with tourists arriving in specific periods of the year some sex workers also migrate in search of clients and come into conflict with the local sex workers. What police see as the increasing insecurity caused by *travestis* is actually the result of the opening of the cities to international tourist markets promoted by development policies.

In this process, the state is also redefining its relationship with citizens through new policies. Local bureaucracies not only implement these policies but also translate them into everyday practices and into the logic of local politics. Several participants described how there are new spaces for participation and recognition that did not exist before. The support provided by local authorities to gay pride events or to *reinados* of transwomen was mentioned as 'advancement'. Considering the history of neglect by State authorities, and the violence exercised by police, that interpretation that there has been advancement is reasonable. However, such recognition is clearly limited. It is under the frame of reinados and carnival events that gays or *travestis* are included. Their claims for recognition are reduced to a spectacle of State sponsored diversity while other subjects are kept invisible, including lesbian women.

The story shared by Carolina and Jorge shows the ambivalences created at local levels of bureaucracy by these new legal frames. Carolina and Jorge as public employees have to implement policies of inclusion in whose design they have had no share. Policies are still designed at centralised levels of government and those levels in Colombia are defined by geographical, racial and class distances. Their idea of 'I accept but I don't understand' the need to include LGBT people in the implementation of policies exemplifies the dilemmas they face. In making sense of the situation, they interpret 'gayness' as a matter of class - something they have seen in privileged classes, but not in working class local communities. Thus, they represent 'gayness' as a kind of alien experience, and reveal how distant the logics of inclusion promoted by new legal frames are for them. On the other hand, they come from a long history in which citizens are seen as users of the services they administer. As managers of services, there is some power in their hands. That power seems to be at risk now that idea of civil 'rights' transfers some power to citizens.

Citizens are also redefining their relationship with the State. Edward's career as an activist is regulated by the spaces created by the State. In his case, the State shapes his claims. Nadia has lived all her life at the margins of the State and has learnt not to expect very much from it. Not even from the legal system that diminished the physical violence

she faced as *problemas de maricas* (faggots' issues). In her case, the State is not the space for her claims. She does not see her claims in the language of 'rights' promoted by activists, but in a language of 'favours', reproduced by bureaucracies and local power holders. Currently, both are using the channels provided by the State to relate with its citizens. Edward is using the mechanisms of 'participation' and 'representation' implemented as part of processes of democratisation. Nadia is using the mechanisms of *ayudas* (support) provided by post-conflict compensation laws and administered by local bureaucracies as gifts. They are living under a hybrid state that sometimes acts as a 'providing patriarch' and sometimes forces people to self-administer their claims under the idea of 'civil society participation'.

In this process, they are learning to look at their experiences of violence under new frames. Nadia described how she is learning to retell her life story as a *desplazada* (displaced person) - and to identify milestones of discrimination in order to explain the injustices she has faced. In another situation, she and her activist friends would explain those injustices in a broader frame of State legitimated inequalities. Now they have to look at themselves as a 'minority' excluded for their sexuality or gender identity and defined by a particular experience of violence.

In a similar way, some participants described as 'advancement' the fact that local authorities support initiatives to include *reinados transformistas* (drag queen beauty pageants) - in important local festivities. In a context where transgender and non-heterosexual experiences have been stigmatised and prosecuted by police there is justification for that interpretation. More, when those gains have been the result of the activism of local organisations with limited resources. At the same time, such inclusion means that gender and sexual diversity have been regulated and incorporated under frames of theatricality, carnival and entertainment. These 'advancements' can be seen as the reshaping of past ways of looking at gender, integrated under frames of inclusion, participation and State sponsored diversity.

In that State diversity, marginalised groups now transformed into 'minorities' sometimes have to compete for limited resources and at other times are blamed for not using them. As Carolina and Jorge mentioned, if people do not participate in the spaces that are created by the State, they cannot claim they have not had the chance to change their situations of oppression and exclusion. This is a tricky game. The stories show how the State fractures social mobilisations and resistance, distributing scarce resources and administering recognition. What on one side is a claim for dignity on the other becomes attendance at events.

Gender and sexual orders

In the interviews, participants discussed several gender and sexual orders in interaction. Those orders are in tension between the permanence of tradition and the need to adjust to changing economic and political contexts. They are also affected by the increasing internationalisation of the region. However, the elements in interaction and the quality of those interactions change for different participants.

Lena described how for the family of her girlfriend their relationship is not only a matter of shame but would also affect her chances of social mobility and would fracture family networks. Lena, being someone perceived as a foreigner, has a certain room for change in what is expected from her as a woman. In her story a tension between tradition and adjustment to new contexts defines how gender and sexual orders interact. Edward described how his relationship with a foreigner, his activism and his political representation reinforced his coming out as a gay man. His story exemplifies the interactions of the local and international level with the narrative of identity politics. Zoraya travelled extensively because of work migration and displacement, exposing herself to different sexual and gender cultures. In her travels, she constantly negotiated a passage between her desires and what she was allowed to do by the situations in which she was living. Her story is the story of sexualities in migration and the migration of sexualities.

Gender differences were evident in the struggles with these interactions. As noted above, fulfilling gender expectations was mentioned by women as the way to avoid violence. That fulfilment included embodiment and productivity. Adaptation to a context of economic fragility was part of the process of looking for respect. For Lena and her partner, getting a job and being economically independent has been a way to gain some respect for their relationship and to show that they are fulfilling what is expected in the transition to adulthood. Not showing signs of disorder in their everyday life, and doing some social work, prove they can contribute to their community. A similar situation was experienced by Zoraya who had to show to armed groups and their allies that she was a good worker, a *mujer de su casa* (home girl) who not only had a job but also did not cause scandals like other transwomen.

Pressures about decency or search for respect did not appear in the men's descriptions of their gender and sexual experiences. Gay men were the ones who described changes in the public presence of homosexuality in terms of 'advancement', suggesting how they may be obtaining some (limited) dividends from the identity and recognition politics that are arriving in the region. Some described this as an attempt to approach a hegemonic

masculinity, erasing signs of effeminacy and promiscuity associated with being homosexual. As Oscar said, being *serio* (straight acting) and responsible.

The other side of this pressure, to prove oneself 'productive', involves the avoidance of signs of excess, common in women and men and also differentiated by gender. Nadia introduced that idea when explaining how she passes on the streets as *toda una mujer*. This could be seen by some approaches to gender as related just to her gender presentation. However, when she was talking about that she was also talking about avoiding mixing with those who could be seen as a cause for trouble. Lena expressed that idea when explaining how they avoid any sign of *chirretiarse*, a slang term used to describe those who are using drugs or alcohol in excess. Young gay men mentioned how in order to interact with authorities and move inside local politics they make a productive use of gayness that needs a careful administering in order not to create negative reactions.

Considering the current use of ideas about domestication and normalisation of gender, it is tempting to explain the experiences offered by participants as part of the normativity of heterosexuality and gender divisions. Indeed, participants mentioned how they struggle to adjust to gender expectations and how they experience a constant scrutiny of their gender and sexual behaviours. However, explaining in those terms their experience of gender and sexual orders in a context strongly affected by socio-political conflict and the presence of armed actors could be reductive. It would condense the stories participants shared just to the aspect of the imposition of gender expectations and their resistances to them. It would also ignore what is intended to be constituted by those violences.

All of the participants mentioned how the presence of paramilitares and killing squads has affected the everyday life of the communities where they live and has impacted in different aspects of their lives. Information from *Noche y Niebla* showed how the application of codes of behaviour was part of the territorial expansion of *paramilitares*. Legal and illegal armed groups have played a significant role in reshaping gender and sexual orders in the region, especially when they are embedded in local politics.

Synthesis

Since the 1990s, Colombia has lived a complex process of reshaping of the State caused by the increased influence in public administration of non-State actors such as left wing guerrillas, right wing paramilitaries and drug barons. This pattern of government combined private violent coercion with capture of public resources, restrictions in public life and alliances between political, economic and social elites (Gutiérrez, 2010). It was supported by the presence of an authoritarian project of change and the fast social mobility secured by drug dealing. As in other places in Latin America, State terror and para-institutional violence targeted not only political opposition but anyone who adopted stances or belonged to a group that challenged the existing social, political and economic order (Sluka, 2000). *Parapolitica* was the term created in Colombia to explain the connection between paramilitarism and national and local politics.

In Colombia, gender and sexual policies imposed by armed groups, particularly by *paramilitares,* in order to regulate the lives of women and men in areas in dispute, can be seen as a kind of 'sexual para-politics'. Those politics are rooted in forms of socio-political violence originating decades ago, re-organised under new economic and political projects of elites supported by *paramilitares*. Those para-sexual politics have changed with time, and have transformed the everyday life of communities in both war and non-war zones. Some participants remember a constant state of siege that has become part of everyday life for some social sectors. At the same time, life narratives show experiences both of victimisation and strategies of survival, as shown in Zoraya's story who under threats by *paramilitares* decided to face them and negotiated a temporary space of protection. However, there is a risk when considering in isolation the references to these strategies for facing violence. They could lead to the impression that people are 'rebels' with the power to overcome the use of violence by armed groups and the effects of structural violence.

Following this line of argumentation, 'para-sexual politics' would be a way to name the interactions between socio-political violence and gender and sexual orders described above, and how they affected the lives of participants in this research. As has been described in the literature review on Colombia, the alliance between paramilitares and politicians was not only a project of economic control and territorial expansion through violence but also a political project of 'refounding the nation' (López, 2010). Gender and sexual violence was not just collateral damage of that project but was at its core. What has been described until now as 'anti-homosexual' violence is part of those sexual politics

that intended to reshape the economic, political, cultural and social landscape of the country through armed violence and terror.

Chapter Nine: Review

Introduction

This Chapter connects the findings of my research with relevant ideas from what is already known about the topic as presented in Chapter Two. Initially, it discusses the findings of the research in relation to literature on 'political homophobia', showing agreements, variations and alternative results. It then reviews findings that suggest new lines of interpretation. Finally, it looks at the initial research questions and compares them with research results.

Research Findings

Results of this research share with the current literature on political homophobia the idea that anti-homosexual violence serves the interests of political sectors struggling for State power. Political homophobia also has a place in tensions between national and international orders and in the debates around social change framed in the tension of modernity/tradition/culture.

The case study on South Africa showed how anti-homosexual violence and homophobia were deployed to diminish the power of anti-apartheid struggles, producing results in support of the militaristic control of the state. These results are similar to those found by Currier (Currier, 2010) in the case of SWAPO in Namibia. Political homophobia is used to suffocate political opposition and reinforce the masculinistic positions of those in power.

Beyond this, the present research found that the political use of homophobia as a counter-attack strategy is selective. Accusations of homosexuality and the outing of gay leaders were productive in the case of anti-apartheid struggles against militarism but did not have much value in stigmatising student mobilisations. In the latter case it seems to have added little as a counter-attack strategy.

Negative attitudes toward homosexuality were used by South African paralegal and criminal groups for their own interests, as can be deduced from information about mugging, extortion and the actions of bogus police in cruising areas during the 80s and 90s. Lack of action by State institutions, and the contradictions faced by victims when denouncing their attackers, facilitated those actions. The blurred areas created by 'dirty

tricks' strategies contributed to the use of homophobia for both criminal and political purposes. The result was a kind of State homophobia exercised by non-State actors.

In Colombia, anti-homosexual violence in socio-political conflict has been used by extrajudicial killing squads and by *paramilitares.* The killing squads have been using it as part of economic strategies such as gentrification of impoverished areas and disputes over control of areas of criminal influence. The *paramilitares* have used anti-homosexual violence in their territorial expansion strategies. Those strategies required a despotic local control of gender and sexuality, as has been found in previous research done in Colombia (CNRR, 2011). Both patterns of anti-homosexual violence found in Colombia confirm the idea that political homophobia serves political purposes, though the configuration of practices differs from that in South Africa.

A common element in both cases is the use of direct violence under situations of conflict escalation and when warfare strategies would cause a high impact on civilians. 'Total Strategy' policies supported by South African government in the late 70s and early 80s included more repression of civilians and legitimised the use of 'dirty tricks' to diminish the power of anti-apartheid struggles. *Paramilitares* in Colombia used multiple strategies to create terror before, during and after action on the areas in dispute. In both cases, diverse forms of anti-homosexual violence where deployed.

Another common element is the exercise of State homophobia by non-State actors. As mentioned above, in South Africa, non-State actors used homophobia as part of the 'dirty tricks' used by the apartheid regime. In that, they could be seen as extension of the State. In Colombia, *paramilitares* have captured local state institutions and political structures (Granada, Restrepo, & Tobón, 2009; López, 2010). Because of that, their use of anti-homosexual violence can be seen as a kind of para-State homophobia.

Beyond the findings of previous research on political homophobia in Colombia (CNRR, 2011; Prada, et al., 2012), this research emphasises the importance of the economic gains of such violence. Early research on extrajudicial killings of *travestis* and homeless homosexuals (Ordoñez, 1996; Rojas, 1994) suggested the connection between the action of 'social cleansing' squads and gentrification processes in capital cities. This hypothesis has had little discussion in later research that focuses more on prejudice as the cause of violence.

The present research suggests that with anti-homosexual violence, armed gangs reinforce the perceptions of insecurity, abnormality and collective fear required to justify private security (c.f. personal narratives of Colombian interviewees in Chapter Five). This

security may be offered by the same criminals that produce those fears. That can be the result of alliances between demobilised *paramilitares* and criminal gangs selling protection in marginalised urban sectors (Bedoya, 2013). That idea would connect with Currier's analysis of how political homophobia provides gains to some (masculine) groups while excluding others. Those gains are not only in terms of favouritism, legitimacy or acceptance of their actions. It is also in terms of economic gains through provision of services, extortion, control of spaces of production and the exploitation of *travestis*, impoverished homosexuals and other marginalised groups. Extrajudicial killings can be seen as the murderous exploitation of those individuals.

This research confirms the importance of locating political homophobia in the interactions between colonial legacies, postcolonial interactions and nationbuilding.

In South Africa, the uses of anti-homosexual violence during the apartheid period are connected with the colonial legacies that sexualised racial discrimination and constructed the hegemonic masculinity required by apartheid (Morrell, 2001; Shefer & Ratele, 2011). At the same time, ideas about 'gay community' or 'gay rights' were developed in a constant interaction and debate between local and transnational tendencies (See chapters Five and Six) (Fine & Nicol, 1995; Gevisser, 1995). Anti-apartheid activists in exile in European capitals interacted with social movements in the host countries and learned from them (Kraak, 2005). International gay organisations influenced local debates (Rydstrom, 2005).

Transnational relations also acted as markers of distance, when used to represent homosexuality as 'Western' invention. Such representation was not just found in black communities but also in anti-apartheid organisations. As some interviewees remembered, sexuality was a forbidden topic in students' organisations, where gay identity was seen as a very 'western' issue.

The situation in Colombia is different in terms of colonial legacies and the tension between 'tradition' and 'modernity. There, the regulation of sexualities and gender relations was not only part of the colonial process but was also part of the creation of independent nations (Balderston & Guy, 1997). Ideas about honour and 'decency' can be traced to Latin American colonial social orders and were reshaped in the Nineteenth century nation building processes (L. L. Johnson & Lipsett-Rivera, 1998; Uribe Uran, 2001). Results of this research suggest the importance of sexuality and 'purity' in social orders imposed by armed groups (See Chapter Five). Ideas such as 'social cleansing' and the targeting of social subjects seen as deviants can be seen as a continuation of this history. Armed groups recycle and renew such ideas to justify their actions. The

linking of homosexuality, prostitution and deviant behaviours such as alcohol or drug use was historically validated by mechanisms such as threats and the imposition of moral codes.

In Colombia, in spite of the importance of traditional institutions such as the church in politics, culture and sexuality, no direct connection was found between them and the politicisation of homophobia in the context of socio-political conflict. Similarly, in the case of Poland, Graff (2010) found no univocal association between Catholicism and the politicisation of homophobia. On the contrary, the documentation of anti-homosexual violence since the early 80s has been done by human rights organisations associated with progressive sectors of the Catholic Church. However, 'tradition' does appear in leaflets and in the strategies used by *paramilitares* as a claim to justify violence. As in South Africa, political actors struggling for State power use homophobia to redefine tradition and obtain the support of communities. Tradition and the claim to protect national values have been used by conservative sectors in Colombia in debates about marriage equality (Serrano-Amaya, 2012). In those debates, churches from different Christian denominations have used homophobia to define their politics in debates around sexual and reproductive rights and women's rights.

In Colombia colonialism is not just a legacy but is a constantly renovated strategy of political and economic control. The expansion of paramilitarism and the imposition of neoliberal economic policies that required new distributions of land use in the Caribbean can be seen as a strategy of 'internal colonialism' (González Casanova, 2006).

Variations in political homophobia

This research shows how the use of homophobia as a political strategy is constrained by a variety of circumstances. At least five factors create variations in the deployment of political homophobia: the type of conflict; the moment within the conflict in which it is used; the kind of political groups who use it; its interactions with other forms of oppression; the making of homophobia as a matter of activism.

In relation to the first topic, the two case studies selected here correspond to two different types of conflict. In a discussion on the variations of sexual violence in armed conflicts Elizabeth Wood (2006) calls for the need to study not only the cases in which it is used but also the cases in which sexual violence does not happen, or happen with less impact. Following that idea, South Africa would be a 'negative' case of the uses of homophobic

violence as a particular strategy of warfare. Meanwhile, Colombia would be a 'positive' case, since at least one of the parties in dispute used it explicitly and with political intentions. Both cases, however, problematise such division. As several South African participants mentioned, it is not easy to say whether 'homophobic violence' was used by the apartheid regime or not. At the same time, in Colombia it has not been used by all political sectors in the same way or at the same time. More than a 'positive' or 'negative' presence, anti-homosexual violence seems to operate in both cases in the *chiaroscuro* spaces created by the interactions between socio-political violence, gender and sexuality.

Instead of looking in terms of 'positive' or 'negative' cases, results suggest that it is more productive to consider how 'homophobia' or anti-homosexual violence is deployed differently in 'gender and sexual orders' and in 'gender and sexual regimes' (Connell, 1987). While a gender and sexual order refers to the social relations that structure gender, a gender regime refers to the definition of gender practices that characterise a particular institution. The regime of gender that characterises armies is intrinsically homophobic since it is based on militarised masculinities. Finding homophobic attitudes in the different armed groups involved in conflicts in Colombia and South Africa would not, therefore, be new. What seemed to be different was to be the role of armies in each conflict and their place in creating and maintaining gender and sexual orders. In apartheid South Africa, political homophobia was constitutive of the masculinities produced by the apartheid regime. On the other hand, political homophobia stressed the racial orders defined by apartheid. In Colombia anti-homosexual violence was part of the struggle to impose a gender and sexual order according to the political needs of armed groups, in particular with *paramilitares*.

The case of South Africa showed how lesbian women participating in anti-apartheid struggles did not make their sexual orientation a matter of activism in the same way as the men. They were activists in broader agendas, including violence against women and attention to victims of violence, as has been seen in other conflicts such as in the former Yugoslavia (Sagasta, 2001). Lesbian women did not have the same resources to make their sexual orientation a matter of activism as men. For women, making their sexual orientation explicit increased other gender vulnerabilities, such as exposure to violence and exclusion from political decision-making positions. A similar situation has been identified for the case of lesbian *guerrilleras* in Nicaragua (Babb, 2003; Irving, 1987).

This study shows that changes in political homophobia not only occur between past and present gender and sexual orders but also during the course of conflicts. In South Africa, anti-homosexual policies in the army were reinforced when socio-political violence increased in the mid 80s. That was the time when society was becoming more militarised

and the State reinforced authoritarian rule. In Colombia a new pattern of anti-homosexual violence associated with *paramilitares* was initiated around 2000 while the other pattern, dating from the 1980s, remained. The new pattern also changed with time. During the expansion of paramilitarism there were more cases of direct anti-homosexual violence. After the demobilisation of the main structure of paramilitarism, the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia*, more cases of anti-homosexual threats were committed by emerging criminal groups. Those groups were still related to paramilitarism but operated under new modes of governance. Therefore they used anti-homosexual violence in a different way.

In one of its definitions, political homophobia is seen as a strategy used by groups in struggles for political power (Bosia, 2013). Not all groups in those struggles, however, have the same motivation, or are organised in the same way to achieve their aims or to enter into dispute with others. The information collected in Colombia shows that *paramilitares* have been the main users of such violence in the communities they attempt to control. Information about the use of anti-homosexual violence in the communities under the control of guerrillas is scarce. If they use it, it seems to be inside their own armies, as part of their military disciplining of gender and sexuality.

Some authors classify the groups that emerged after the demobilisation of AUC as 'neoparamilitarism' (Granada, Restrepo, & Tobón, 2009), while the State defines them as criminal gangs. Considered as a new form of paramilitarism, the use of violence can be related to the political and ideological strategies of those groups. Seen as criminal gangs, the emphasis is on criminality and delinquency, which are far from being political actions. In the case of South Africa, anti-homosexual violence appears to be associated with the action of pro-apartheid actors or regime institutions. As in Colombia, if it were used by liberation armies, it seemed to have been used in their internal structure, as part of their regulation of gender and sexuality and in accord with their strategies of secrecy and non-disclosure of personal life details amid members of the *underground*.

'The underground' was mentioned by several participants to describe political resistance strategies. It allowed the realisation of undercover actions in favour of anti-apartheid struggles avoiding State surveillance. 'Going underground' implied having a safe place to hide, to keep identities secret and to live parallel lives. It also implies codes of secrecy, silence and unspoken rules, as described by Paddy Nhlapo and Neil Miller (Miller, 1995; Nhlapo, 2005). Nhlapo describes how during his life as an 'underground' activist he also had his 'underground gay relationships'. At the same time, he maintained his relationships with women. The idea of the 'underground' describes a situation different from 'being in the closet', as in identity politics. The underground results from the codes of secrecy required by political resistance.

The cases of Colombia and South Africa show that anti-homosexual violence follows well-known lines of privilege or vulnerability. That was seen in the case of the protection afforded to gay men who were members of student mobilisations in South Africa but also members of elite families. In Colombia, anti-homosexual violence related to socio-political conflict is committed mainly against *travestis* and homosexuals in situations of poverty. At the same time, alliances between *paramilitares* and elite families may act as a protection factor for homosexual members of those families. An example of such a situation was described to me during my fieldwork in the Caribbean coastline territory. When non-elite members obtain similar protection, it is temporary.

Homophobic violence is strategic for the normalisation of violence that is part of the gendered and sexualised ways of belonging to the nation-State. This would explain why the return to normality that constitutes the rhetoric of post-conflict reconstruction and nation building is embedded in narratives of shame, honour, tradition, patriotism or good citizenship. This can happen even when homosexuals and transgendered people are not considered as a discrete or differentiated group but when homosexualisation or feminisation of the enemy is a way to administer shame and subordination on them (Oosterhoff, et al., 2004; Sivakumaran, 2010). It could also be useful to understand related phenomena in post-conflict contexts such as the appearance of new divisions and hierarchies of masculinity and femininity after conflicts (Moser & Clark, 2001); the coexistence of different types of homophobia (Stein, 2005); the incorporation of certain homosexual subjects in nation-building processes as opposed to the exclusion of other social activists (Puar, 2007). Finally, anti-homosexual violence and violence against transgender persons, instead of being a disruption of the ordinary is folded into it.

Finally, the ways in which those interactions are lived vary. For South African interviewees who faced the consequences of apartheid, racial violence was of such power that 'there was not room' for considering gender orientation violence as a separate matter. For participants with a commitment to feminism, violence was a lived experience because of their sharing of a common gender situation with other women. Because of that, violence directed at lesbians was not an acceptable reason for reaction and mobilisation. Negative attitudes toward homosexuality and the silencing of sexuality in liberation movements were mentioned by gay men as the way they experienced violence.

The politicisation of homophobia changes according to the interactions between different modes of oppression. From the perspective of some South African participants, homophobia evolved gradually as a matter of concern inside their commitment with anti-apartheid struggles, as documented in Chapter Five. For others, fights against

'heterosexism' were parallel to fights against racism. For a minority, however, their experiences of violence such as militarism or gay bashing made them understand anti-homosexual violence as a distinct issue.

For participants in Colombia, socio-political violence has been an everyday life experience throughout their lives. Because of that, it is a normalised and embodied experience. As part of the wider embodiment of socio-political violence and of learning to live with violence, there is a specific embodiment of violence because of gender identity and sexual orientation. That embodiment is expressed in a permanent surveillance of gender and sexual expression. In that process, differences between events of violence are blurred. The exceptional quality of an event of violence, such as the action of an armed group, is connected with the perceived vulnerability of gender expression. Anti-homosexual violence is made evident through that process of constant scrutiny of gender and sexual behaviours and the strategic display of violence made by armed groups.

Research results in relation with research questions

This last part revisits the initial question about the productive power of anti-homosexual violence in political transitions.

This research departed from studies that looked at how violence not only unmade but also remade social and gender orders (Das, 2008). In that perspective, violence is seen not only in its dimension of destruction and suffering imposed on individual and collective bodies, but also in its constructive character. The appropriation of women's bodies through sexual violence to narrate the process of nation building in India, for example, created a sexualised social contract based on sexual violence (Das, 1995).

Extending the links between gender and sexual violence against women in nation building processes (Das, 1995, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 1997), and the links between hegemonic masculinity and nationalism (Connell, 2005), this research hypothesises. that anti-homosexual violence, as another form of gender and sexual violence, is a constituent part of the dynamics of political conflicts. In protracted conflicts, anti-homosexual violence reinforces the creation of consensus around the projects of change implemented by armed groups.

In the creation of such sexualised social contracts, groups at the margins of gender and sexual norms also became targets of violence. Such violence does not always end up in homicide and physical destruction of the other; it may result, rather, in social death. The

victimisation of such groups is not just a result of the unmaking of the social but a requirement for its remaking. That would explain the association between 'political homophobia' and political transitions.

South Africa and Colombia lived different political transitions in which sexual orientation occupied different places. In South Africa, sexual orientation became a matter of protection under the Constitution that represented the new social contract signed to end apartheid. Sexual orientation was an extension of the ideals of equality, difference and inclusion that framed the new nation, the 'rainbow nation'. In Colombia, with a socio-political conflict still active and several political transitions acting in parallel, two processes occurred. At the legal level, a new Constitution enacted in 1991 created conditions used later for non-discriminatory measures related to sexual orientation. This Constitution was, however, enacted under a 'heterosexual regime of the nation' (Curiel Pichardo, 2010). At the same time, socio-political violence targeted gender and sexual groups and illegal and illegal armed groups competed for State power. While a new social and sexual contract was gradually created under the law, another was created in the practices of armed groups. Further research needs to explore whether those regimes acted separately and what their mutual relationships might have been.

This research explored the uses of anti-homosexual violence in processes of political transition that led to the negotiation of new gendered and sexualised social contracts.

Chapter Five showed how anti-homosexual violence in contexts of socio-political conflict is not a unified phenomenon but a conglomerate of different forms of violence, prejudice and discrimination, with different causes, uses and results. Those practices change with time and do not act uniformly (See Table 1). They also change according to the type of conflict. For example, the use of homosexuality as a stigma against opposition politicians and treatments such as 'aversion therapy' in the armed forces seemed to occur in South Africa but not in Colombia. Further research needs to be done in this area.

In the case of South Africa, to assume that all of these practices can be explained by the functioning of apartheid would be reductive. Making a direct association between them and a decision taken by the apartheid regime to use them in its favour would also be problematic. Nevertheless, as interview participants discussed, homophobia cannot be ignored when explaining the functioning of the regime.

Table 7: Forms of anti-homosexual violence found empirically in two cases

Country	Practice	Main Target	Uses
South Africa	'Gay bashing' Police harassment Assault 'Legal traps' and 'bogus police' Robbery Attacks against gay venues 'Hate crimes'	'Gay community'	Control of populations
	'Aversion Therapy'	Soldiers	Disciplining
	Outing 'Dirty tricks'	Political opposition	Repression
Colombia	Displacement Threats Arbitrary detention Extrajudicial killing	*Travestis*, marginalised homosexuals	Control of populations

Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight showed how practices of violence served different functions and created different effects in political transitions in South Africa and Colombia. The practices identified had political uses in political transitions, as part of the war strategies implemented by political sectors in conflict. Such uses are summarised in Table 1.

These uses need to be understood amid the particular conditions of conflicts. Threatening leaflets in Colombia, for example, cause displacement of real or perceived victims; force them to suspend their activities and adopt new ones; reshape and actualise categories of menaces to society; make that presence real, close and permanent; and since targets are often stigmatised populations, justifies the use of extrajudicial violence.

Other structural conditions increase the impact of those uses. In the case of Colombia, high levels of immunity from prosecution and the disregard of the role of law can be seen as facilitators of such actions. In the case of South Africa, toward the end of apartheid 'third forces' and 'dirty tricks' became more common and contributed to create an atmosphere of fear, everyday violence and multiplication of those involved in the struggle and of the possible victims. In both cases, it is not possible to establish a direct relationship between immunity (Colombia) or 'dirty tricks' (South Africa) and more cases of anti-homosexual violence although in both countries 'third forces' (South Africa) and *paramilitares* (Colombia) acted as paralegal forces that committed acts of violence. The use of 'surrogate violence' (Webster & Friedman, 1989) in South Africa for state repressive purposes is similar to the use of criminal groups and 'social cleansing squads' in Colombia to commit extra-judicial killings. Results of this research showed that in Colombia those paralegal groups committed acts of anti-homosexual violence. Further research should explore the possibility that something similar happened in South Africa.

What was found here is that 'dirty tricks', e.g. stigmatising an opposition leader with accusations of homosexuality, were committed by organised pro-apartheid groups. In both cases, such actions were more intense when conflict expanded to multiple aspects of everyday life, using terror strategies to contribute to its escalation.

On a theoretical level these different uses of homophobia problematise the distinction between 'persecution' and 'discrimination' that is currently applied in refugee laws related to sexual orientation and asylum seeking (UNHCR, 2008). That distinction emphasises the type of action to which a victim is subjected. Applied to the apartheid regime just described, the conclusion would be that there was 'discrimination' but no 'persecution', even if the legal prosecution of homosexuality was possible. However, the case of South Africa shows that even without 'persecution' on the part of the apartheid regime, there were negative effects for some subjects because of their sexual orientation. Those negative effects were productive for the regime and were implemented as part of its deployment of violence. The case also shows that those effects were not produced by sexual orientation *per se*, but were produced by their interconnections with other conditions of vulnerability.

When thinking about how violence is used for political reasons, intent is assumed. The two case studies gave information to show how anti-homosexual violence is used as part of political struggles, for example to diminish the political power of enemies or to eliminate some populations and obtain more territorial control. However, the case studies showed that sometimes those uses are ambivalent or pursue other purposes. This topic will be discussed in Chapter Eleven, when considering scientific implications of this research.

The findings of this research show that anti-homosexual violence in political transitions works in two ways. First, through the selective and local use of pain and suffering, it eliminates targeted individuals and their collective possibilities of action. It destroys networks of relationships and community organisations.

Second, anti-homosexual violence is politically, economically and socially productive for those involved in the struggle. Such productive power is expressed in multiple ways:

- It maintains and reproduces a gender and sexual order based on the domination of women and subordinated gendered and sexualised subjects. In order to do that, power produces a para-sexual politics that keeps or adjusts a gender and sexual order useful for warfare. In South Africa, the idea of homosexuality as an illness that could be treated was part of a war economy that required young white male bodies to be organised into military force. This idea of sexuality as illness was used there to diminish or suffocate political enemies. However that use was selective, and associated with other structures of oppression and privilege, notably race and class.

- Anti-homosexual violence produces gains for the patriarchal system that supports militarism and authoritarian regimes through the normalisation of violence. As presented in Chapter Seven in the case of South Africa, anti-homosexual violence was part of warfare technologies. Anti-homosexual violence exercised in extrajudicial killing and threats against homosexuals, lesbian and transgender women strengthened masculine militarisation. In Colombia, *paramilitares* used anti-homosexual violence as part of their despotic control of gender and sexuality in the areas under their control. A gender and sexual order that subordinates women and femininity has been used to justify the violence exercised against *travestis* and marginalised homosexuals.

- Administered selectively, anti-homosexual violence reproduces class and race privileges and reinforces racist and class orderings. In South Africa, homophobia was built into the hegemonic masculinity required by warfare and militarism. In doing that, such gendering of political homophobia was also racialised. At the same time, anti-homosexual legislation was enforced against non-white communities. In its racialisation, anti-homosexual violence was gendered using protective measures to keep white males 'pure' and using legal measures to erase possible mixtures with non-white males. Homosexuality was used as a stigma to diminish the power of anti-conscription initiatives intended to keep a sense of belonging and unity in white communities by signalling an 'inside other' in need of re-education and call for order. A similar use can be seen with one of the effects of threatening leaflets in Colombia, used to warn communities of the need to observe hegemonic social, gender and sexual orders.

- Since it produces the idea of order, cleanliness and productivity, anti-homosexual violence also produces economic gains for local elites, keeping some populations accessible for exploitation. In Colombia, a pattern of anti-homosexual violence has served the interest of economic sectors interested in reshaping urban areas. Another pattern has served the economic and political interest of *paramilitares* and the elites that support them in their territorial expansion.

- Redefining victims of anti-homosexual violence as offenders (within the legal system) blurs the difference legality/illegality, providing an opportunity for criminals to execute State duties. In this way, a political regime obtains coherence and cohesion through anti-homosexual violence. In South Africa there was also a kind of 'outsourcing' of violence using third forces that could connect isolated cases of 'gay bashing' actions with the violence facilitated by the apartheid regime.

The findings of this research support an understanding of political homophobia as a gendered strategy, a strategy used by political groups to preserve and protect their masculinist control of the state (Currier, 2010). Anti-homosexual violence, like violence in general, instead of being a disruption of the ordinary is folded into it. Anti-homosexual violence in armed conflict contributes to the transformation of the gender and sexual orders in directions that perpetuate the dynamics of conflict itself. The description of the boxing match between *homosexuales* organised by *paramilitares* in the Colombian Caribbean inner lands illustrates how it was part of their despotic gendered and sexualised project of territorial control (CNRR, 2011). This research showed that such use, rather than being an isolated event, has been part of a long-term strategy. The fact that in South Africa political homophobia was simultaneously not an important strategy but nonetheless was something that could not be ignored showed its insertion at the core of the authoritarian state.

Changes in the deployment of anti-homosexual violence deconstruct some gender and racial orders and construct the new ones required by nationalistic projects. That was the case of the second pattern of anti-homosexual violence found in Colombia, specifically the time when *paramilitares* multiplied terror strategies to obtain control (see Chapter Five). The same would be the case of South Africa with the reappearance of narratives of homosexuality as 'un-African' in the post-apartheid period.

Anti-homosexual violence is part of the changes, continuities and novelties in the gender and sexual orders that conflicts create. It also changes with them. In both South Africa and Colombia policies to act against anti-homosexual violence and forms of gendered and sexual violence have been part of the post-conflict transition. With them, a new concept of gender, sexuality and rights was incorporated in a new nation project. Gender and sexual violence did not, however, disappear but were reshaped in the post-conflict period.

In conclusion, this research leads to the view that anti-homosexual violence is constitutive of conflict in terms of the gendered violence and the violent gender orders that it sustains. This is not to define homophobia, however, as a separate issue, despite the tendency of LGBT rights and activism to create isolated forms of violence, such as 'hate crimes'. As a lived experience and as a politicisation of identity, anti-homosexual violence produces a gendering and sexualisation of transitions to democracy. It challenges the linear narrative that equates war with chaos and peace with order, since it demonstrates the continuities between forms of violence. As in the case of South Africa, for some interview participants, the post-apartheid seems to be a more hostile context (see Chapter Five). 'Increasing homophobia' then is a symptom of the failure of the State to provide the protection promised in the transition to democracy.

Chapter 10: Political Lessons

Introduction

Chapter Nine reviewed the findings of the present research in relation to the research question. Its focus was in discussing the uses of anti-homosexual violence in conflicts and political transitions. This chapter discusses the implications of this research for policies and strategies to deal with anti-homosexual violence during conflicts and in political transitions. The chapter uses the topic of the research to discuss issues of conflict resolution and mechanisms for conflict transformation. Such issues are presented in relation to three areas: the notion of change; the role of truth-telling mechanisms; and the struggles for dignity.

Anti-homosexual violence and contradictory paths for change

This research located anti-homosexual violence in the gender and sexual orders transformed and created by socio-political conflicts, showing how gender identity and sexual orientation are part of those different gendered experiences. It also showed how the packing of certain experiences and events under the notion of 'homophobia', or 'anti-homosexual violence' changes during conflicts, political transitions and post-conflict contexts.

Political transitions are often represented as having a sequential logic that starts with agreements between political sectors in conflict, continues with the signing of some mechanisms to avoid the return of armed violence, and ends in post-conflict reconstruction (Miall, Ramsbotham, & Woodhouse, 2003). Peace studies emerged in the 1960s as an alternative to mainstream tendencies in International Relations and Strategic Studies. Within those fields, Peace Studies intends to be a normative and interpretative knowledge of conflicts and their transformation. Over more than five decades, Peace and Conflict Studies expanded to include topics such as human rights, development, gender, humanitarian assistance, aid cooperation and civil society development (O. P. Richmond, 2010). With that expansion, debates around the normative duty that supports peace interventions also increased. Literature on Conflict Resolution justified this normative duty by the need for 'normalisation' of societies after conflicts (Miall, et al., 2003). The writing of a new constitution is the supreme expression of political reconciliation, post-crisis recovery and the negotiation of a new social pact.

Sometimes, those changes can create the idea of 'advancement' or 'progress' in terms of the legal frames that regulate same-sex sexualities. That is the case in South Africa, with

the inclusion of the Equality Clause in the post-apartheid Constitution. It is also the case in Colombia with the recent inclusion of 'LGBT people' in transitional justice mechanisms. Several participants in this research used that idea to describe the transitions they have lived.

The fact that there are simultaneous changes in gender and sexual orders, in the events and experiences of anti-homosexual violence and in the different dimensions of socio-political conflicts, does not mean that they have the same rhythm or mode of transformation. To illustrate this dissimilarity, feminist scholars have warned of the occurrence of post-conflict backlashes against women's gains (Pankhurst, 2008a). African feminists regret using the division peace/war in relation to violence against women, since lots of women live in a 'permanent state of siege' that continues even after conflict settlements (Bennett, 2010).

Secondary literature and information collected in this research suggest that gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender men and women also experience 'backlashes' in the post-conflict context. As commented in Chapter Four, there are examples already documented in relevant literature of increasing 'homophobic' violence after conflict settlements. Some research participants in South Africa explained 'corrective rape' as a male reaction to the protagonist role of women in the transition to democracy, the major visibility of LGBT black South Africans, and the losses experienced by men who developed their masculinities in the context of the struggles (c.f. Chapter Six, Funeka's Story; Appendix Four, Baliswe and Misa's Story). Such explanations, however, were contested by other interviewees who resisted making violence against lesbians a separate topic from violence against women (c.f. Chapter Six, Carrie's Story; Appendix Four, Sheila's Story). They also raised questions about the emphasis given in such explanations to sexual orientation rather than to gender as cause of violence.

The risk of explanations based on the parallelism war/peace and less rights/more rights, or on a distinction between war gains and post-war backlashes, is that they assume a clear polarity. At one pole, there is the rule of law, as order, and at the other, the rule of war, as chaos. This research indicates that the political uses of anti-homosexual violence move in layers not easy to separate or to locate on one polarity. Several of the uses of anti-homosexual violence happen in the balance between the criminalisation of politics and the politicisation of criminality that occurred during conflicts (c.f. Chapter Five). Anti-homosexual violence in the form of criminality has had political purposes in the conflicts in both Colombia and South Africa. At the same time, political sectors in their struggles for state power have used criminality to obtain certain gains, such as in the spread of threats and fears. It has been in the space of 'dirty tricks', 'third forces' and *paramilitarismo* that anti-homosexual practices have most occurred.

This situation makes problematic the neat divisions imposed by conflict resolution interventions and transitional justice instruments. Even more so, when these overlappings are also present within legal systems. In both countries, the transformation of conflict and the transition to democracy has created new legal frames. Those legal frames operate under logics of 'protection' of sexual orientation as an expression of equality (South Africa) or diversity (Colombia), and of granting of rights. However, alongside such legal measures, previous forms of anti-homosexual violence remain prevalent, and new forms of anti-homosexual violence appear, sometimes sponsored by the same states that have introduced formal 'protection'. In South Africa, representations of homosexuality as 'un-African' (Msibi, 2011), justifications of gender based violence under calls to 'tradition' (Di Silvio, 2011) or denialism of HIV-AIDS (Fassin, 2008), can be seen as part of such overlappings (c.f. Chapter Seven). In Colombia, the enaction of protective rulings for 'LGBT communities' inside the police institution runs parallel to the participation of police members in cases of violence against *travesti*s (Colombia-Diversa, 2013) (c.f. Chapter Eight). A similar situation has been found in Ecuador (Lind & Keating, 2013) and in transnational discourses on LGBT rights in which 'homoprotectionism' (Keating, 2013) runs parallel with State homophobia.

Anti-homosexual violence and truth telling

With the transition to democracy several technologies for conflict resolution are implemented. Truth-telling instruments, compensation measures, methodologies for reconciliation and for the development of 'civil society', are applied. With them, extensive human and economic resources are deployed in the recovery countries. Industries of NGOs acting in the post-conflict context interact with long traditions of social mobilisation. South Africa and Colombia have lived those processes but with differences. In a way South Africa has been the laboratory where several transitional justice instruments have been implemented, tested and transformed. Recent changes in Colombia are partly based on that accumulated experience.

Strategies for conflict resolution such as truth commissions have faced the challenges of forgetting and remembering traumatic events. The institutions involved, most formally the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, have developed an extensive body of methodologies to deal with these challenges (Hunt, 2004; Imbleau, 2004; Lanegran, 2005; Moon, 2008). As part of these methodologies, victims recount their stories in order to obtain compensation for the atrocities they suffered; perpetrators have to tell the truth of the crimes they committed in order to obtain reductions of their sentences; events are

documented and analysed in order to identify causes, effects and patterns of victimisation; bodies have to be found, counted and identified. Post-conflict scenarios and truth-telling strategies create a new spectacle of violence and a juridical appropriation of pain and suffering.

Such spectacle and appropriation does not act in the same way for all the subjects victimised. Events of violence are treated and interpreted depending on what is considered relevant by those in charge of reconstructed communities after conflicts. In the case of South Africa, the notion of 'gross human rights violations' that oriented the actions of the TRC did not include gender and sexual violence (Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1996).

Activists and victims also participate in giving meaning to the idea of truth that leads these processes. In South Africa, the participation of gay and lesbian organisations in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the making of anti-homosexual violence into a matter of concern in the transition period were explored in the interviews and the archives (See Chapters Five and Six). As a truth-telling mechanism in which the atrocities of apartheid were made public, the TRC would seem to have been a privileged space for making visible anti-homosexual violence during apartheid. What was found instead was a distinctly limited participation of gay and lesbian activists and their organisations in the TRC. What made the difference was the context given to anti-homosexual violence in the retelling of the past and the production of post-apartheid South Africa.

Several reasons can be offered for that limited participation. One was the scepticism of women's organisations in such an instrument, since it reduced women's experiences during the apartheid time to their roles as mothers, wives or sisters of male victims (c.f. Chapter Six, Carrie's Story). This has been an issue discussed and confirmed in a specialised literature (Antjie & Nosisi, 2009; Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1996). For other participants apartheid was perceived as more a matter of race than of gender and sexuality, and because of that, the TRC was not seen as a relevant instrument for gay and lesbian organisations (c.f. Appendix Four, Dawie's Story). From a more pragmatic perspective, other interviewees remembered that in a context of limited resources, organisations had to make priorities in terms of where to intervene and in what way (c.f. Chapter Six, Gerald's Story). At the time, the priority was obtaining legal reforms. Participating in the TRC would have demanded resources that needed to be invested in the main cause.

There were two cases, identified in the archives and in the interviews, in which gay and lesbian topics were raised with the TRC. One was the submission presented by the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality in the Winnie Madikizela-Mandela case.

The other was the research done by the NCGLE on the uses of aversion therapy by the South African Armed Forces. Both cases can be framed in the politics of truth forced by transitions to democracy. The first illustrates the decisions made by political subjects in dealing with violence as a frame given to their recognition. The second, the problems faced in documenting and investigating past events of anti-homosexual violence.

On 29 December 1988, members of Mrs. Madikizela-Mandela's security personnel abducted four young men from the house of the Reverend Paul Verryn to the house of Mrs. Madikizela-Mandela. In captivity, the four men faced torture, neglect and harassment. One of the young men, James Seipei, was found dead days after. The actions were justified accusing Verryn of sexually abusing the young men. During the TRC, a hearing on the case was realised. On 3 December 1997 the NCGLE presented to the TRC a submission calling attention to the vilification of 'lesbian and gay people' used by Mrs Madikizela-Mandela in an attempt to interfere in her search for justice.

In the document, the NCGLE expressed their concerns about the homophobic and racist arguments used by Mrs Madikizela-Mandela and her supporters to defend the actions. It also gave the reasons argued by the coalition of organisations for not making a submission on the 'human rights violations against lesbian and gay people under apartheid' (NCGLE, 1997, pp. 8-9). First reason was the overwhelming task of the TRC and the existence of other mechanisms that could address the situation of gay and lesbian people; second, the support and identification with the submissions made by those others who participated in the struggles; third, support given to reconciliation with those members of gay and lesbian communities who participated in the apartheid regime. The three arguments resisted the making of anti-homosexual violence into a separate topic of the apartheid and post-apartheid period. They also illustrate the alliance-building strategy used by activists in their work for gay and lesbian rights.

The research on the uses of aversion therapy by the South African Army Forces was based on information provided during the TRC; but the research results were produced after the TRC ended (van Zyl, et al., 1999). Such research can be seen as part of the process of understanding the institutionalisation of human rights abuses against homosexual men and women during the apartheid regime. It described the abuses faced and the complicity of health professionals with the regime. The report can be seen as part of the memory work motivated by the transition to democracy. In such work, documenting and reconstructing experiences is part of the process of raising awareness of past human rights violations for current projects of social change.

As it has shown earlier (c.f. Chapter Seven), individuals and organisations working for 'gay and lesbian rights' were active participants in the struggles and in the transition

processes. During transition to democracy, gay and lesbian activists in South Africa chose a single-issue strategy, to create a main legal change and develop it in the post-conflict context. Transition, as several research participants declared, was framed in a logic of 'rights' and the possibility of transformations. It involved a 'positive' rhetoric of change and hope (c.f. Chapter Seven). It can be suggested that in such a situation, the logic of an instrument such as the TRC acted in a different way. Making anti-homosexual violence into a specific issue in the context of the TRC would have been producing for the public a painful past, especially when the creation of that past was reproducing gender and sexual stereotypes. The activist strategy made anti-homosexual violence visible in the post-conflict context in reference to a past of legal 'persecution' and 'penalisation' and a future legal logic of 'protection', rather than with the logic of gendered 'truth telling' of pain that characterised an instrument such as the TRC.

The case of Colombia offers a different situation in terms of what truth is being told, the context for telling it, and the results of such a system of transparency. Trends to incorporate a gender perspective in all peace-building and conflict-resolution mechanisms have led also to the 'gendering of reparations' and increasing interest in exploring the different needs of women in transitional justice (Rubio-Marín, 2009). In Colombia, the notion of gender in reparation and reconciliation laws has been expanded to include 'gender and sexual minorities' and 'LGBT people' as victims of political conflict (see: Law 1448 of 2011). Such legal changes are a result of the activism of organisations that have struggled against a long history of denial of the victimisation because of gender identity and sexual orientation. Describing them as State-centred initiatives of 'homo-protectionism', as Keating (Keating, 2013) argues in the case of United States policies, would be inadequate. Still, since those measures are implemented through State institutions they are regulated under their particular logics.

It is clear from this research that such regulated definitions of LGBT people as subjects of public policies and as victims of armed conflict have affected the way in which some participants position themselves in the current political situation lived in Colombia (c.f. Appendix Four, Nadia´s Story). These definitions have made some recreate their life stories to be consistent with what they understand new legal frames expect them to be. They reflect on their life courses to remember events and connect them in the ways that their declaration as 'victim´ requires, seeing themselves as minorities defined by an experience of violence. In the story that Nadia shared, she struggled to explain her life story as a trans woman under the narrative of discrimination required by the gay activist who participated in the conversation. Other participants followed an activist perspective that matches their life stories with victimisation stories (c.f. Appendix Four, Edward´s Story). Meanwhile, some other participants interacted with those narratives in their

struggles for a space of dignity (c.f. Chapter Six, Lena´s Story, Victor´s Story). The result of this situation is that those who are fluent in the language of rights and their mechanisms are more able to receive the benefits granted by the State. Others may not be recognised or their experiences are rendering invisible.

Anti-homosexual violence and struggles for dignity

This research started as a quest for documenting events and exploring people's experiences of anti-homosexual violence in political transitions. Research participants transcend the focus on violence as a connecting point of their narratives. A search for dignity was the underlying thread in most of the stories. For several participants the search for dignity connected their stories from the beginning to the end, from how they experienced structural violence through their involvements in initiatives for change, ending in activities in which they are now involved (c.f. Chapter Six, Funeka´s Story; Zoraya´s Story; Appendix Four, Baliswe and Misa´s Story).

That element in the narratives could be exaggerated by an effect of sampling in that the project focused on individuals committed to activism. Indeed most of the participants have had some kind of involvement with initiatives for social justice. Their work trajectories are the result of complex relations between activism, funding and professionalisation. That is of particular importance in a context such as South Africa where international aid has been significant in the struggles for justice and in developing a sector of professional activists and aid workers. In Colombia there is now a new generation of professional activists who have been formed, in part, by involvement in State–sponsored activities.

Not all interviewees, however, have that profile. Others combine unskilled jobs with some activism that is not oriented to demands on the State, but acts in the everyday life of their communities. This is a kind of horizontal and ordinary activism. Notable examples are the transgender women in Colombia who use their beauty parlours as sites of encounter, dialogue and organisation (c.f. Chapter Six, Nadia´s Story, Zoraya´s Story). That is an activism that was producing change before rights discourses, public policies and dialogues with institutions.

This research also showed how political transitions have been spaces to promote and obtain change in aspects of gender and sexual orders. Sometimes those changes take the form of legal reforms, as in the case of South Africa with the inclusion of the Equality Clause. Sometimes they take the form of demands for 'rights' as victims of the conflict, as

in the case of Colombia. In the transition to democracy in South Africa, decriminalisation of homosexuality was seen as the starting point of a chain of legal and progressive changes. Sexual orientation was the 'test' for how far the notion of 'equality' leading the reconstruction of the nation and its focus on human rights could go (Cameron, 1993).

Organised activism was fundamental in these changes to gender and sexual orders. Political uses of anti-homosexual violence run in parallel with the politicisation of collective identities as a dynamic of change. In South Africa and Colombia activism has been a key factor in making anti-homosexual violence an event to be documented, a reason for lobbying and a way to obtain social changes. However, anti-homosexual violence is not always the starting point for lesbian and gay activism, and not always the core of continuing activism.

Even more, this research implies that the discussion about social change and justice needs to move forward from legal changes and the granting of rights to individuals and groups defined by 'sexual orientation' or 'gender identity'. In a collection of texts on transsexual lives and social change Viviane Namaste (2012), argues for moving beyond discussions around identity and debates on who can or cannot be included when discussing domination and lived oppression. Namaste´s argument can be applied here. Not only for the lives of *travesti*s, transsexual and transgender men and women living in context of war, but also for those others whose lives are reduced to a matter of sexual orientation. In Colombia socio-political violence and extrajudicial killings (wrongly named as ´social cleansing´) target individuals and collectives in a complex interaction of marginalities and vulnerabilities caused by social structures (c.f. Chapter Seven).

Another reason for going beyond an abstract rights framework is the fact that social change and the transformation of injustices is experienced in specific time frames. Those frames are not aligned in sequences of progress but of overlapping and sometimes contradictory tendencies for change. Even more, the time frames of communities, activists and institutional agents differ from each other. In their process of remembering events, some South African research participants expressed a feeling of rupture with the past but disappointment with the present (c.f. Appendix Four, Baliswe and Misa´s Story). On the one hand, transition to democracy and the instruments for reconciliation have removed a past typified by injustice and denial of citizenship. On the other, the unfulfilled promise of change creates disappointment and bitterness.

This perception resembles what Irina Silber found in an anthropological study in post-war El Salvador (2005). Resistance to war gave to some communities a sense of purpose and social unity. With the failing of peace promises and increasing post-conflict violence in neoliberal El Salvador, a feeling of 'being worse than before' was mentioned by rural

Salvadorians. Silber found that disillusionment was gendered. Women's narratives of daily and gendered violence have been rendered invisible and untold; in hierarchical terms they come below the narratives of male revolutionary subjects and women are blamed for their post-war misfortune. As Diddier Fassin (2008) mentions for post-apartheid South Africa, the past is embodied in contradictory feelings of change and resentment.

From an activist perspective, subordinated memories are not linear nor directed toward the past. Instead, they intend to establish directions for the present and give an account of social transformation. In a certain way, these activist memories work as 'counter memories', in the sense explored by Foucault, when considering narratives of change that protect against death (Foucault, 1977). Counter memories invert the epic narratives oriented toward the production of the hero and war as the seminal moment.

Perceptions of time differ also in the technologies used to transform conflicts. Conflict resolution strategies have an implicit notion of change in a linear and progressive sequence: peacemaking - peacekeeping – peace building (Miall, et al., 2003). Peace, as heroic action, constitutes a common imagining in post-conflict moments. The conventional model of conflict resolution has been criticised because it is based on the liberal myth of rights and its linearity (Patomäki, 2001), and because of the exclusion of women (Reimann, 2001). Even more, conflict resolution follows a 'straight' logic and reproduces a privilege heterosexual perspective that renders gender and sexual diversities invisible (Serrano-Amaya, 2004b).

The creation of emancipatory conflict resolution practices has been a matter of discussion for several decades (Bendaña, 1996). Creating alternative frames for conflict resolution implies not just a revision of top-down models of action or a focus on grassroots and social movements but also a different theory of power (O. Richmond, 2007). This situation is exacerbated when conflict resolution operations still act under the mission civilisatrise model imposed by modernity (Paris, 2002). This is of particular importance considering that conflict resolution technologies currently act in parallel with neoliberalism, privatisation of markets and development of 'civil society' as administration of State responsibilities (Belloni, 2001; Paffenholz, 2010).

This situation has been already been identified in empirical research. Michael Humpheys and Estela Valverde (2008) found that in post-conflict Argentina and South Africa democratisation resulted from a demand for 'rights' and was implemented under the frame of neoliberal economic policies. Because of that, measures to implement social and economic rights were framed under a developmental state as provider of services and carer of citizens. In the case of this research the narrative shared by Nadia (See

Appendix Four) illustrates the results of such logic. Nowadays she is waiting for an *ayudita* – help from the State, once she is recognised as an 'LGBT victim' of the conflict.

It is important, therefore, to explore social change and time in relation to gender and sexuality. Other ways to understand time and progress have been offered by postcolonial and de-colonial critiques of modernity (Mbembe, 2000; Quijano, 1993). The struggles for dignity mentioned above can be located in temporalities of simultaneity where there are continuities between expressions of violence, and in counter-public spaces (Warner, 2002), where subordinated subjects create other senses of collective action.

It is important when introducing the need to consider the struggles for dignity made by individuals and their collectives in contexts of socio-political conflict, to keep in mind that we are looking at different forces in interaction. One is the constructive and deconstructive power of violence to 'unmake and remake' the social (Connell, 2011; Das, 2008). The other is the drive for change and the alternative projects created by those located in multiple vulnerabilities. They are not opposite or separate forces, nor are they equal forces.

To consider and celebrate the struggles for dignity is not to justify violence or to fetishise the limited options individuals and groups have for survival. In the story that Zoraya shared (see Chapter Six), when she decided to face the leader of an armed group for the threats she received, she used her sense of humour and confidence to obtain permission to stay. Just looking at that act, it would be seen as a performance of identity used as resistance strategy. But that result was part of the power of the paramilitary to control life and death. If that was a kind of provisional protection it was still 'murderous', borrowing the term used in a recent compilation of articles about violence, feminist and queer politics of inclusion (Haritaworn, Kuntsman, & Posocco, 2013).

In conclusion, the understanding of events and uses of anti-homosexual violence offers a different angle on the notion of change that is produced in conflicts and political transitions. Anti-homosexual violence, as part of gender and sexual orders, resists linear interventions promoted by conflict resolution mechanisms. It also challenges narratives of change based on models of progress and development. In this way, anti-homosexual violence shows the limits of the policies and politics used to transform protracted conflicts. It reveals that, with the intention of reduce some forms of harmful violence, other forms of violence are incorporated. Even more, as much as some of the technologies used in conflict resolution can deliver change and compensate harms, they can also reshape social relations of oppression.

Truth telling, for example, exposes individuals to a spectacle of violence that may reproduce victimisation. Such reproduction is not just because of the retelling of the

experience of violence during conflict. Sexual orientation, lived under the hegemonic model of 'coming out the closet', is in itself another truth-telling experience. As the above discussion on dignity suggested, this saturation of demands to tell the truth about her/himself does not compensate victims but may end up subjecting them to new forms of domination. That is the case of the regulated inclusions imposed by neoliberal states in transition to democracy.

A connection between anti-homosexual violence and political transitions should be examined, avoiding a linear or progressive reading of events which associates democratisation and the end of political repression with development of activism around sexual orientation or gender identities. Examples of this critique can be found in recent scholarship on Eastern Europe and Latin America. Mizielinska and Kulpa (2011) state that whereas in the 'West' change in culture and sexual politics is experienced in a 'time of sequences', in the 'East' it is a 'time of coincidences'. They define the first as a 'straight time', the other as a 'queer time'. They use that difference to explain how in post communist European countries in a short period of time there was a simultaneous presence of Gay Liberation, LGBT and Queer politics and knowledge.

The forms in which anti-homosexual violence is spoken and made visible, tell a relevant story about how the existence of certain groups is made possible or not in political transitions. The re-pathologisation of sexualities may be a general tendency often ignored under the urgency to end up some forms of violence, mainly armed violence. The discussion on extrajudicial killings introduced in Chapters Eight and Nine suggested how death-making is constitutive of certain forms of political interactions. Anti-homosexual violence in its combination with violence against other subordinated subjects Instead of being an exception may be a constant in the creation of those zones of abandonment where death-making is a common pattern of interaction. The political implications of studying anti-homosexual violence in contexts of protracted conflict are not only in terms of understanding, but also in terms of challenging, the regimes of attribution of life and death to gendered and sexualised subjects.

Chapter Eleven: Scientific implications

Introduction

This chapter evaluates core concepts used in this research and concepts emerging from it as a contribution to the creation of bridges between the sociology of gender, studies of sexualities and studies of conflicts. It starts with a discussion of the concept of 'political homophobia', introduced in Chapter Two. It then looks at issues of memory, as a method for collecting information. Finally, the chapter examines different forms of thought about violence.

Political homophobia: evaluating the concept

Since the 1990s international human rights NGOs have produced periodic reports documenting the failure of States to act against homophobia (Amnesty-International, 1997). These reports have shown how States can promote and 'sponsor' homophobia for political reasons (Human rights Watch & International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 2003). International NGOs have mapped the world exposing the continued criminalisation of same-sex behaviours and identifying antidiscrimination actions classified according to the recognition of gay and lesbian rights (ILGA, 2014).

Political homophobia has been a useful concept to show how homophobia and anti-homosexual violence are key elements in political transitions. Homophobia and anti-homosexual violence are integral with the gender and sexual politics that frame conflicts and the gender and sexual orders that are produced in political transitions. Recent scholarship using the concept of political homophobia (Bosia & Weiss, 2013; Currier, 2010) shows that the violence experienced by gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender subjects in political transitions are not accessory or subsidiary to other forms of violence but create a discrete issue with its own characteristics and purposes.

However, connecting such a disparate set of countries, events and time frames under the same concept risks blurring differences and confusing specific trends in conflict and in gender and sexual politics. Packing sexual violence against men in Bosnia or Abu Ghraib; the trial of same-sex attracted men in Egypt; or the passing of 'anti-gay' laws in Uganda into the concept of political homophobia, risks merging disparate forms of violence under one concept. Even more; classifying a discrete set of events as 'political homophobia', and assuming that others are not is, in itself, a political judgment.

This research showed that from the perspective of individuals and groups acting in contexts of conflict and political transition, violence does not separate into distinct components, but occurs in complex interactions. Archival material showed how several forms of anti-homosexual violence can coexist and intermingle in political transitions, with or without a direct connection with the political struggles for State power. Violence because of heterosexism and violence because of racism, as interviewees in South Africa explained (c.f. Chapter Seven), are mutually constitutive. In this way, classifying some of those experiences of violence as 'political homophobia' and excluding others is problematic and shows the limits of the concept.

From the present research, three main problems can be identified in the concept of political homophobia. They are: the assumption of purpose; the focus on struggles around State power and the understanding of political usage.

The idea of political homophobia as a purposive strategy is useful to show the decisions made by political groups in contention. It allows us to explore how homophobia is deployed in war strategies and in post-conflict contexts. The emphasis on purpose and choice in political homophobia challenges the idea of homophobia as a kind of irrational fear. It centres attention, however, on the intention of the political groups involved and not on the process of deployment, or the results of homophobia. In such processes, constraints, renegotiations and changes occur. Even more, the 'choice to do something' as political homophobia is defined (Bosia, 2013), may end up having different effects from those intended.

The present research shows that anti-homosexual violence is used and deployed in conflicts across a variety of situations, obtaining results that are differentiated, ambivalent and sometimes unexpected. These findings call into question the notions of intention, decision and strategy and are at the base of the concept of political homophobia.

The case of South Africa challenges the idea of political homophobia as a purposive strategy. It seems there was no clear intention to use homophobia as part of warfare strategies. Nevertheless the regime let anti-homosexual violence happen, as in the case of aversion therapy in the army. In South Africa, legal orders than could be considered homophobic were used for purposes that were not strictly related with sexual deviance. In their analysis of convictions for sodomy and 'unnatural sexual offences' Botha and Cameron (1993) show how those laws were used mainly against 'non-white' males. More than a 'choice' to persecute homosexuals, what was there was the creation of a space that allowed the permanence and transformation of systems of oppression with multiple faces.

The case of Colombia can be more adequately explained with the concept of political homophobia. There, *paramilitares* have used anti-homosexual violence in their struggles for territorial control and in their contention with other political groups, i.e. state institutions and guerrillas. Homophobia has helped their purpose of obtaining detailed control over the lives and bodies of the inhabitants of the communities under their control. Even more, it has provided them with economic gains. *Paramilitares* construct certain subjects as a danger and menace to profit, and offer security from this threat. Rather than a result of 'intolerance', 'prejudice' or 'machismo', this use of homophobia and anti-homosexual violence shows a strategy to produce fears in order to sell security and normalcy. This implies the appropriation of the bodies of others as part of warfare industry.

However, in Colombia anti-homosexual violence did not act as a separate event. It occurred in close relationship with other forms of violence. In association with marginality and domination, those forms of violence are more than political homophobia. They are based in struggles for State control and in redefinitions of the nation. They act not only in broad gender and sexual politics but also in the politics of social ordering and creation of hierarchies. They are part of the creation of the 'others' required to define the 'self' of a new project of nationhood. The previous reference to the selective use of sodomy laws against non-whites in South Africa can be seen as part of that intrinsic relationship between gender and sexual discrimination and other forms of domination.

The focus on purpose and strategy in the concept of political homophobia is useful when exploring how gender and sexual politics operate but this focus risks reducing gender to nothing more than an instrument or a motor for conflicts but not what is in contention. As this research showed, anti-homosexual violence it not just productive for the purposes of political groups in contention but is part of the gendering and sexualisation of conflicts and of the making of the gender and sexual orders that conflicts create.

In relation to the second critique, the literature using the concepts of political homophobia has the State as the key point of reference. Literature on 'State sponsored homophobia' (Amnesty-International, 1997; ILGA, 2014) often focuses on State institutions such as police or legislation, particularly laws that penalise homosexual behaviour. In this, Michael Bosia (2013, p. 31) offers an expansion of the concept. For him, 'State homophobia' is related to strategies and tools used by contenders for, and holders of, State authority. Liberation movements, authoritarian politicians or armed groups may be seen as users of political homophobia.

However, this idea assumes a notion of the State that tends to be the liberal democratic State or a situation in which the State is the main holder of power. These associations between political homophobia and groups in contention for State power may lead to the

idea that other groups apparently not in dispute, such as economic and social elites, are not involved in political homophobia. In Colombia as in several African countries, non-State groups such as paramilitary, guerrillas and criminal gangs, concentrate powers that would be held by the State in US/West Europe countries. It can be argued that those groups are not just in dispute for state power but act in parallel to it.

In both Colombia and South Africa, the overlap between legal, paralegal and illegal militants makes it difficult to maintain a separation between State and non-State perpetrators of homophobia. The case study of Colombia showed that economic and social elites cannot be excluded from the analysis of anti-homosexual violence in conflicts. Classifying their use of homophobia as social prejudice, disengagement or shaming would be far too limiting. At the same time, separating their involvement from the use of homophobia by State institutions or other bodies competing for state authority would erase the links between the different kinds of agents. If there is political homophobia in terms of legal persecution, then social, cultural and economic elites can contribute to its supporting discriminatory practices, as in the case of South Africa. When there is political homophobia in terms of persecution by armed groups competing for State authority, social, cultural and economic elites are also part of the production of discriminatory practices, as in the case of Colombia.

Because of its focus on contention for State power, the concept of political homophobia does not allow understanding of the political strategies of social sectors that do not have the State as a main point of reference in their struggles for dignity. In some ways, the concept of political homophobia is still within the frame of the 'political process' approach to social movements and social change (Tarrow, 2011). In that frame of analysis, as suggested by Armstrong and Bernstein (2008, p. 77), collective action is considered political only when it targets the State, and social movements are understood through their struggles against one principal source of domination. Gay and lesbian movements are an example of struggles that target not only the State but also society and intend to produce changes in several sources of domination with symbolic and material effects.

In this way, 'political homophobia' would be an insufficient concept to explain some of the struggles that gay and lesbian movements implement in situations of political conflict. That would be true in the cases of the struggles for dignity that several participants in this research expressed and that ignore the State as a point of reference (c.f. Chapter Six, Zoraya's Story; Appendix Four, Nadia's Story). These are the struggles that politicise homophobia as an issue in order to demand attention from the State.

Even if the argument does focus on the State as point of reference, this research shows that the state is not a monolithic institution when dealing with homophobia. A state can

implement strategies for regulated inclusion of 'sexual diversity' and strategies for 'not-knowing' (Nordstrom, 1999) about certain forms of violence at the same time. Information collected from local bureaucracies in Colombia illustrates the tensions created when anti-homosexual violence became a matter of public policy (c.f. Chapter Eight). When the point of analysis is the State in practice, conflict must be recognised not only between groups vying for State power but also inside State institutions for the meanings and implications of the changes they have to provide.

Finally, there are politics in the concept that deserve consideration. The fact that the concept of 'political homophobia' has been developed in societies experiencing war and protracted conflict, such as Africa or Eastern Europe, can easily lead to the idea that political uses of homophobia are intrinsic to conflicts in those areas or cultures. In that respect, the concept echoes knowledge produced for activist purposes in international NGOs that describe political homophobia as a particular element of certain unstable, 'non-modern' or 'non-Western' countries. Applying the concept of 'political homophobia' only to conflicts in the global South, assumes that it results from their particular ways of interacting with colonisation and constructing themselves as nations. In that way, political homophobia becomes a label that some nations applied to others in order to define them in a subordinated place in the global maps of 'LGBT' rights. In this way, the compilation made by Bosia and Weiss offers an important advance, when including discussions of past and present United States politics that also used political homophobia to regulate local and international political interactions.

To criticise an implied association between political homophobia and political transitions in countries of the global South should not lead to another essentialism that establishes sharp separations between, for example, African or Eastern cultures and Western cultures or that consider gender divisions as colonial importations, as argued by some African scholars (Connell, 2012b).

Activist memories

Results of this thesis research showed that the production of memories of anti-homosexual violence and the violence individuals and groups suffered because of their sexual orientation or gender identities are not descriptive process of events but the result of different understandings of victimisation experiences. As some participants stated, sexual orientation is not always the departure point for a reflection on the conditions of inequality they face. For others, sexual orientation is not possible to separate from their

experience of other forms of violence. Because of that, the narration of anti-homosexual violence is part of a complex assemblage of memory practices that do not follow a linear or sequential order but are in juxtapositions and parallels. Documenting, narrating, forgetting and remembering, are different and parallel processes in the construction of memories by subordinated groups and in their conformation as political subjects.

One of the problems in the study of homophobic violence in an international context is the lack of documentation and the problems of fact-finding. Documentation by international human rights organisations of abuses against sexual minorities was still rare in the early 1990s (LaViolette, 2009). Problems in documentation can increase in contexts of armed violence. Albarracín (2011) identifies three obstacles in the documentation of anti-homosexual violence in Colombian armed conflict. The first, obstacle is raised because of the fear, shame or invisibility of victims which makes it difficult to identify them and may cause them to deny the reasons for their victimisation. The second, homophobic violence can be justified culturally and socially, and therefore homophobic reasons for violence can be hidden or violence can be explained by accusing the victim of committing other crimes. The third, socio-cultural conditions can affect the forms of homophobic violence and therefore their expression and management.

In the description of such obstacles for documenting anti-homosexual violence there is an implicit reference to the notion of visibility and recognition common to mainstream gay and lesbian activism. It is assumed that it is difficult to document violence because people are not 'out of the closet'. It is also assumed that once people obtain visibility of their sexual orientation more violence occurs. Results of the present research show that the factors in violence are not more or less visibility but oppression, marginality and exploitation. *Travesti*s who have been victims of socio-political violence in Colombia are targets because of their visibility and not because of lack of it.

In spite of the problems caused by the use of the 'coming out' as a reference point to document violence, activists and human rights organisations have created archives and documented cases using media reports, charges presented to authorities, or personal communications. Examples of these documents can be found in several Latin American countries, including those experiencing political conflicts such as Colombia (Colombia-Diversa, 2008) or Peru (Montalvo, 2006). National and regional electronic list servers have also been used to provide information about cases of homophobic violence and are important sources of documentation. Those archives and reports offer very rich information. Organisations have direct access to the topics they are dealing with and have developed knowledge on what is relevant for their causes. At the same time, information is fragmented and focused on particular events. Cases tend to be narrated in isolation from one another and with limited details. Besides, information contained in

primary sources, such as media, has passed through several processes of editing and selection. Those processes are repeated again when NGOs produce their human rights reports, making them assemblages of overlapping and partial data.

In addition, documenting is not just a technical issue. The information contained in human rights reports usually offers voices and narratives of witnesses and victims. They are testimonies produced under particular logics of voice and authorship that challenge the plain description of events. Beverly (2000) analyses testimonies of human rights violations circulated under the type of literary and autobiographic texts and the debates they created about reality and authority of voice. A famous example is the book I Rigoberta Menchú, containing Peace Nobel Prize winner's experience of Guatemalan violence. The book has been contested by some researchers for lack of accuracy and for being closer to a novel than to a historical document. However, for Beverly, looking for reality in such testimonies is not only misleading but also hides the political agendas both of those looking for authoritative facts and of the authors in telling their stories. Instead, Beverly proposes considering those documents as art and a strategy of underlying memories (Beverly, 2000, p. 561).

Documents such as human rights reports produced by activists and NGOs are not only important tools for lobbying but are also technologies of memory. More than a description of events by native informants, those documents are narrative constructions shaped by and for the agency of subordinated subjects. What those reports contain are testimonies produced with the political intention of supporting human rights claims and creating a sense of solidarity and collective experience. In this way, they mediate the production of collective memories. The mediation of memories produced by human rights reports results from the interaction between different factors: the languages used; different types of authorships and voices; circulation between geographies of space and of knowledge. In this way material such as that described in Chapter Five such as from *Justicia y Paz* and *Noche y Niebla* can be understood.

Even more, these documents are mechanisms in which pain and suffering are exposed and made public. The existence of information, however, supports analysis but does not make it nor does it make it a matter of political attention and public policies. The case of Colombia is relevant in explaining this.

In Colombia the documentation of anti-homosexual violence associated with social and political conflict was commenced by activists in the early 1990s. In one of the first documents in this area, Juan Pablo Ordoñez (1996) explained cases of violence against *travesti*s and marginalised homosexuals as part of the action of 'social cleansing' squads. The report, with a foreword by Noam Chomsky, denounced the complicity of United

States government in the training of militants in 'dirty war' strategies in Latin America, and reached great international concern among human rights and international gay and lesbian organisations. Ordoñez, in conversation with the author of this research, mentioned that the document reached limited attention in Colombian embassies that were more concerned about its impact on the international image of the country. Meanwhile there was no or little response in local Colombian institutions. Still, the document inaugurated the 'boomerang' strategy often used by local human rights organisations: denounce in the international arena to reach attention in local institutions.

Ten years later references about *homosexuales* and *travesti*s who were victims of social cleansing squads were mentioned in reports on human rights produced by United Nations bodies present in Colombia (Serrano-Amaya, 2004b). In 2009 the Colombian government initiated contacts with LGBT activists, in response to recommendations in the Universal Periodic Review done by the United Nations Human Rights Council. At least fifteen years passed before the commencement of systematic denunciation of human rights violations against gender and sexual diverse groups and the publication of a State answer.

One aspect of this situation worth discussion is the impunity that surrounds these events thanks to the responsibility of State authorities. For the purposes of this chapter the roles of knowledge production and memory-work are relevant.

Carolyn Nordstrom (1999) called those actions that make society unaware of many issues related to violence and war as the "politics of not-knowing". She used the idea to call attention to the situation of girls in war zones, often the most exploited, victimised and defenceless and at the same time the most invisible. The invisibility that affects girls is not just about their situation but also about the industries that exploit and profit from them. Invisibility is useful to reproduce power systems. Anti-homosexual violence in contexts of conflict is affected also by politics of not-knowing. The lack of attention on anti-homosexual violence by State institutions or by organisations in charge of conflict resolution policies is not just caused by the lack of information. As the example of Colombia shows, even when information exists, anti-homosexual violence in general, and in its associations with political conflict in particular, are invisible events.

In the case of armed conflicts double victimisation can be increased when the limits between legal and illegal militant groups are not clear, creating a complex situation in terms of who can be trusted and who exercises control and why (Acemoglu, Robinson, & Santos, 2010; A. Jones, 2004). This coexistence of different governing orders, some controlled by State officials, some controlled by criminals and some controlled by para-institutional groups, is not only present in Colombia but has also been found in conflicts and political transition processes in Africa or Eastern Europe (J. Comaroff & Comaroff,

2007; A. Jones, 2004). The result is that authorities assume the non-existence of homophobic violence in general and in contexts of conflict in particular. Even if they accept its existence, they consider it is impossible to make proper enquires because of lack of information. In this way, not-knowing is not just silence but is a silence that impedes the conformation of certain subjects as subjects of rights. And since the perspective of institutions there is not event, there are no records to create.

On the other hand, records about past events of extrajudicial killings because of gender and sexual orientation are still present among gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender men and women in Colombia, as was expressed by participants in this research. Those violent acts have even been incorporated in literature and performing arts, showing their presence and importance as historic and group markers. Even young participants in this research remembered those past events and connected them with events still happening.

The construction of knowledge of anti-homosexual violence is not separated from the politics of identity and memory in which it has been produced. Memorialisation of the prosecution of homosexuals during Nazism started in the early 1970s, with the emergence of contemporary gay liberation movements in Europe and United States. Before the rainbow flag that currently identifies 'LGBTI' mobilisations, the pink triangle and the black triangle were the symbols that created a sense of community. The holocaust has remained as reference for activists in concepts such as 'homocaust', created by the Italian gay activist Mario Consoli (Consoli, 1991) and is still in use to denounce extensive patterns of anti-homosexual violence as in the case of Brazil (GBB, 2012).

This memorialisation of violence as part of identity construction was expressed in the narratives participants shared for this thesis. This created a tension at the starting point of this research. When describing the methods applied in this research the decision was mentioned to not interview victims of violence. Since interviewing implies an act of remembering it could reiterate a suffering from which participants might have decided to move on. Even more, remembering in this case would be not only the recounting of a horrific experience but also the reiteration of a position as a subordinated subject in the gender and sexual order.

Some participants shared experiences of violence as a part of their politicisation of identity and of their struggles for dignity, as in the case of Funeka (See Chapter Six). Others offered a narrative that struggled between the forgetting of some events and the need to remember them, as in the case of Nadia (See Appendix Four). In several moments of the interview, Nadia mentioned that she did not remember certain aspects of her story. She could not offer information about the armed groups that were acting in the

region where she was born. She introduced herself by explaining that she arrived in the Caribbean because her parents had passed away. Later in the interview she explained that after she was sent to live with her sister things in the area went back to normal. Reducing these tensions between remembering and forgetting to a dispute between truth and fiction may be misleading. The interview was the opportunity to obtain some support by one of the interviewers and she engaged in the conversation he was leading.

Documentation is more than a technical issue and memorialisation more than making visible some events. Narrating violence can operate under frames of not-knowing as discussed before or under frames of identity politics. In the case of this research often the efforts for documenting homophobic violence lay on the shoulders of activists. They produce a kind of information that supports their demands. That narration has to use the languages and logics of state institutions and human rights organizations. That could be seen in the narratives of several participants in Colombia and South Africa who used language and terms common in international NGOs and lobbying strategies. Same time, because it is information produced under the frame of activism, it also tends to use logics of identity politics. Identity politics operate as a frame for remembering. The conversation between Nadia and Edward (See Appendix Four) showed how while she was struggling recreate a life narrative he was asking her to answer to a script of identity formation because of experiencing violence.

Identity politics situate violence and discrimination as a kind of foundational myth for collective organisation. The iteration of homophobic violence is important in situations of impunity and when issues of the status of victims are being discussed. It also, however, orders the production of collective memories with regard to violence. The result of this association between collective memories and violence is that other narratives of memory are not possible and that those who are not part of groups defined by gender identity or sexual orientation are rendered invisible.

This problem has been already identified in related discussions. Stereotypes and preconceptions about same-sex sexualities also shape the way in which events of victimisation are documented and victims are compensated. Researchers have found that authorities in countries receiving asylum seekers such as Canada, the United Kingdom or Australia use their preconceptions and stereotypes about homosexuality to judge the relevance or not of their claims (Millbank, 2002). Those preconceptions are not only based on ideas about gay identity in the metropolis but also on male homosexuality. Because of that, asylum seekers are forced to provide a narrative of themselves that matches the expectations of authorities in receiving countries about what is means to be 'gay' and therefore liable for prosecution in the countries of departure (Raj, 2011).

Memory practices and the creation of political subjects are two interconnected processes. Nonetheless, this interconnection can have different courses. Identity politics organised around the idea of 'gay pride', that characterised mainstream homosexual movements in Western societies, and used memories of shame and discrimination to claim pride and coming out as the core of subjectivities (Galloway, 1983). The idea that shame needs to be overcome to affirm pride is at the core of the conceptualisation of homophobia (Weinberg, 1972). Tendencies oriented by queer theories and queer politics read shame and the trauma of discrimination because of gender identity or sexual orientation in the opposite way, as a productive experience of queer subjects (Cvetkovich, 2003; Halperin & Traub, 2009). Those readings, produced in the context of Western societies, need to be considered in the particular ways in which shame and trauma are administered and experienced in the context of armed political conflicts, usually occurring in the global South and in the post-colonies. Remembering and forgetting to become a political subject have other meanings and other results there.

Following these ideas, the memory practices that constitute gender and sexual diverse groups as political subjects in contexts of political conflicts can be defined as activist memories. This notion is of particular relevance here, if we consider how armed conflicts reproduce positions of domination and how post-conflict initiatives should contribute to construct fair social relations. Activist memories refer to practices that convert subordinated memories into political agendas.

'Memory work' (Haug, 1987) in this case is important for the recuperation of histories and experiences of victimisation. Such projects occupy a strategic place in the post-conflict moment, when reparation of victims, reconciliation and construction of collective memories can determine new social relations. However, the kind of memory work I am discussing here is more than the inclusion of queer subjects in official memories. It is a chance for reflection and interrogation of social transformation projects in which gender and sexual diverse collectives can offer lessons learned in their experience of subordination and resistance.

Thinking violence

This research was initiated as an attempt to explore a form of violence (anti-homosexual violence) in its connections with another (socio-political violence and violence in political transitions). As presented in Chapter Two that idea was problematic once research started since it assumed the existence of those acts of violence as unified phenomena

able to be connected in certain political situations. Research results showed that what is usually seen as anti-homosexual violence is more an assemblage of several and sometimes disparate forms or violence. The interest in understanding how violence interacts and even more, how it is transformed, led the research.

Underlying that interest there were several assumptions that deserve to be considered in the concluding chapters. Discussing how those links are created does not deny the role of violence in the creation, maintenance and transformation of gender and sexual orders. Their exploration would, in fact, contribute to understanding in more detail how violence works, who are the ones who suffer from it and who gain from it. Instead of general conclusions that blame 'culture' or 'society' for violence, understanding how researchers, activist and policy makers make these connections would provide better opportunities for change.

This research located anti-homosexual violence in gender and sexual orders rather than a form of violence against a particular group of people, resulting from perspectives based on identity politics. In locating the analysis in relation with gender and sexual orders there was no attempt to create a kind of oppositional thinking of the type 'homosexuals can also be victims'. Such a way of understanding can be seen in studies that discuss sexual violence against men in armed conflicts (Oosterhoff, et al., 2004; Sivakumaran, 2007, 2010). Those perspectives end up creating oppositions and blurring differences between some forms of violence and others, especially when considering their effects and intentions.

One of the assumptions underlying this research and in the literature on topics of prejudice or homophobia is the linking between gender, sexuality and violence in order to create concepts such as 'violence because of gender and sexual orientation' or 'violence related to gender and sexual orientation'. This linking assumes a relation of causality in which gender identity and sexual orientation are reasons for violence. Earlier in this Chapter the problem of linking homophobia and political transitions was discussed since it assumes an idea of purpose or intention in making such connection. That conceptualisation also assumes a causal relationship.

Identity politics and activism have been fundamental to make visible these forms of violence. It can be argued that identity politics and activism have been important to challenge the 'categorical thinking' (Connell, 2012a) common in public policies related to gender, health and violence. A way of thinking that is also common is the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in conflict analysis (Serrano-Amaya, 2013). Identity politics use a group definition that tends to separate collectivities and make hierarchies in the reasons for violence.

The current movement to incorporate 'LGBT' asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2008) in the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees – CRSR (1951) is an important tool for the protection of gender and sexual diverse individuals at risk. It is, however, based on ideas of 'minority', group identity and collectiveness that do not match the diversity of gender and sexual experiences in many countries. The distinction between 'discrimination' and 'persecution' that derives from such legal instruments (LaViolette, 2009) seems to be useful to differentiate patterns of violence and victimisation. While discrimination would refer to negative perceptions about same-sex behaviour that may exist in many countries, persecution would be a particular case or victimisation that would happen under particular socio-political situations. However, such distinction seems problematic in a context where armed gangs justify their violent actions with discriminatory practices supported by culture, as the case study on Colombia showed or when criminal and political uses of violence were interconnected, as both the case of South Africa and Colombia demonstrated. On the other hand, this distinction is based on an idea of same-sex sexualities as a group marker.

The group definition underlying identity politics and the causal logic underlying the linking between violence, gender and sexuality may result in the creation of a new type of violence: 'LGBT victims of conflict'. Once that creation is put on practice it implies the use of mechanisms for including, excluding and classifying. Material collected in Colombia showed how in that process local bureaucracies use their own logic to implement policies, and subjects find ways to recreate their stories in order to fulfil expectations. A similar situation has been already identified in studies of LGBT asylum seekers (Millbank, 2009; Raj, 2011). In this way, violence is not only a real experience of suffering imparted on some bodies but also the condition of possibility given to them to exist as subjects. It not only makes them 'visible' to some form of governance but also make them 'legible' as gendered and sexualised subjects.

The use of logics of visibility assumes purity in the process of seeing and blurs the logics under which such a process is realised. In the frame of identity politics it can lead to chains of demands for visibility that end up atomising social mobilisations. That is the case of the demands for visibility done adding 'phobia' to the violent acts faced by lesbians, transgenders or bisexual people.

Janet Bennett calls 'silo-isation' (2010) a way of understanding strategies against violence that look at issues separately. This way of thinking can be also found in the current tendency to create separate ways of understanding of violence related to sexual orientation or gender identity. In an attempt to make visible particular forms of discrimination, and in the context of identity politics, activists and some academics have developed concepts such as 'lesbophobia' (Rosenbloom & IGLHRC, 1996), 'transphobia'

(Hill & Willoughby, 2005) or 'biphobia' (Obradors-Campos, 2011). This thinking not only separates these phobias but also assumes that the 'phobia' is the reason for violence, discrimination or prejudice.

That risk of 'silo-isation' was a permanent concern all through this research and demanded a constant observation of the ways in which the topic of the research were defined and were transformed in the research process. It also implied contrasting ways of analysis. in Chapter Five it was shown how in the case of Colombia, information about extrajudicial killings and threats against *homosexuales* and *travesti*s runs parallel with similar actions against sex workers or drug users. When denouncing those events LGBT organisations acting in the country (Colombia-Diversa, 2008), emphasise actions against LGBT victims and leave under-discussed the connections with other marginalised subjects. However, in the case of collective threats, in a few cases gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender men and women are the only target. In most cases they are targeted in association with other marginalised subjects. In this way, it seems marginality and vulnerability are the reasons for victimisation, rather than sexual orientation or gender identity.

'Silo-isation' thinking may act not only in terms of groups but in behaviours and identities. The separation between sexual orientation and gender identity has been useful in analytical and political terms. In activism, it has been made evident that the reasons to organise and the claims of transgender women and men cannot be explained or covered in issues of sexual orientation. In a similar way, the separation between sexual behaviour and sexual identity has been relevant in studies on HIV, for example, to explain practices that are not associated with identities.

However, such divisions are problematic. In the case of Colombia the identification of victims of socio-politicals as *homosexuales* or *travesti*s can lead to different kinds of explanations of violence. Information collected in this research suggests that what has been discussed as 'homophobic violence' in the context of socio-political conflict may be in fact more violence against *travesti*s and gender non-conforming individuals. In this way, it may be less a violence based on prejudice or fear and more a violence constitutive to social structures of vulnerability, marginality, oppression or exploitation. Logics like 'coming out of the closet' claimed as a need to make forms of anti-homosexual violence visible seems to be inadequate in the case of *travesti*s in Colombia, since their public presence is evident.

A similar situation is suggested by information collected in South Africa about violence against 'effeminate' men and 'masculine' women (See Chapter Seven). In their experiences, sexual orientation and gender identity or gender expression are part of a

continuum that defines their individual and collective experiences, a continuum that includes, but is not limited to, gender and sexual orders. This coincides with research on violence against lesbians and transgender men in South Africa (HRW, 2011) which argues that their experiences do not fit into linear narratives of discrimination resulting from sexual orientation or gender expression.

In this way, the need for visibility used in academia- and activism-produced knowledge is limited to explain violence faced by transsexuals and transgender men and women in contexts of conflict. Thinking in terms of separations between discrete realms becomes more problematic when the subjects identified them as gay, in terms of sexualities and as *travesti*s, in terms of their social position, work environment and other conditions that may include gender identity but are not confined to it.

A correlate of silo-isation is exceptionalism. Making exceptions in the understanding of violence was an idea introduced by some South African participants when questioning the creation of corrective rape as a matter of concern in policies, activism, academia and the media. With corrective rape, rape is reduced to a matter of sexual orientation and is not connected with their role in patriarchal gender and sexual orders. At the same time, it reduces discussions on lesbianism around sexual orientation and rape, disconnecting it from issues such as masculinities, heterosexualities, religion or race that are necessary if we are to understand the situation of lesbian women in post-apartheid South Africa. As an idea applied to post-apartheid South Africa, corrective rape marks a time period with a past and a present. As some interviewees explained, it is a symptom of the crisis in black masculinities caused by the ending of apartheid. In making it a characteristic of post-apartheid, however, it is assumed that it did not happen before, as sexual violence. Exceptionalism thus makes some forms of violence, such as quotidian gender and sexual violence, exceptional. The same is true in cases of violence against *travesti*s that, framed under the idea of 'transphobia', are reduced to the fear of some gender identity or gender expression, when, in fact, it is the result of several forms of oppression, marginality and vulnerability.

The need to explore particular patterns of violence and victimisation is relevant to challenging homogeneous analysis that ignores diversity in social conditions. Operating with exceptions or silos, however, impedes the observation of interactions and mutual constitutions. Nor does it allow consideration of why some acts of violence are valorised and permitted while others are rendered invisible, stigmatised, policed or criminalised. That can be seen in the use of homosexuality as a stigma against political antagonists or communities under control. In those cases, it is not gender or sexual identity in itself that was used but the association of some sexualities with disorder, immaturity or impurity. This explains the overlapping between forms of violence with social classifications such

as 'internal enemy', social deviance, or threat to the social body. It is a use of sex that goes beyond sex.

More than social relations acting separately, case studies in this research show how violence overlaps and results in mutual transformation. Categories such as 'social cleansing', 'corrective rape' or 'gay bashing', have been useful to transform some forms of homophobic violence into matters of public concern. As specific areas of interest, they may facilitate considering the multiplicity of modes in which socio-political conflict and political transitions are sexualised. In doing that, however, they reproduce voyeuristic, masculine and hierarchical logics that dehumanise subjects. With the intention of making some issues clearer they impede acknowledgement of the social relations of privilege and oppression, of reproduction of 'patriarchal dividends' (Connell, 1987) that produce violence.

In conclusion, results of this research show that thinking in terms of a connection between anti-homosexual violence and political transitions as if they were discrete and clear realms is inadequate. There is not a connection because they are not separated. This lack of connection was seen initially in this research as a result of 'silences' or the 'invisibility' of such form of violence, something that people knew happened but was barely investigated. However, since in political transitions violence is gendered and gender is violence, anti-homosexual violence is part of this situation. Anti-homosexual violence does not only create hierarchies and exclusions of gendered subjects. It also produces gains and losses, negative results for some of them and positive results for others. If there is a homophobia - conflict connection, it is not always direct as in the cases of persecution but mediated through other social structures such as race and class and social conditions such as vulnerability, marginality, and continuous precariousness. It is in those mediations that some lives obtain value and others are pathologised.

The creation of bridges between fields of knowledge usually separated needs to go further than the adding of one topic to the other, such as, adding sexuality to the studies of political transitions or conflict resolution to the studies of sexuality. It needs also to advance from the creating of specialised topics of expertise, as discussed above with the problem of silo-isation. Even more, it needs to move beyond the institutionalisation of anti-violence movements. There is a risk of normalising violences when making them a matter of policies.

One way to move beyond is looking at the interactions between violence, sexuality and conflicts in their historicity. In that way of thinking about violences, more than departing from implicit connections, assumed separations or pre-established intersections, what is required is exploring their mutual constitution in concrete historical and temporal

circumstances. In short, it means thinking about violences more as interacting in layers than in separate lines. The analysis presented throughout this research intended to introduce the possibility of such historicity of violences to the understanding of the sexualisation of political transitions.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Short description of each country

South Africa

Context of the conflict

Apartheid was a system of racial segregation enacted by the National Party between 1948 and 1994. The National Party represented an idea of nationalism modelled on German National Socialism of the 1930s (Conway, 2008). The system was a continuation of the racial order imposed by the colonial process that gave shape to the nation. Apartheid regulated multiple aspects of the lives of South Africans through a complex system of laws and policies. As a discriminatory system it created privileges for some populations ('whites') and the exploitation of others ('blacks' and 'coloured'). Forced removal, under laws such as the Natives Act (1952) and the Group Areas Act (1950) took control of lands, reshaped geography and regulated mobility.

Almost since its installation in power, national campaigns of resistance to apartheid started. They were based on previous organisational activities, such as the African People Organisation (APO) (1906) and the African National Congress – (ANC) (1912). Anti-apartheid initiatives took multiple forms. From everyday actions of rebellion such as boycotts and rallies through the creation of plural and organised resistance organisations to uprising involving complete communities. Armed resistance, clandestine actions and underground resistance were also created. In 1961 an armed branch of the ANC, the Umkhonto we Sizwe – MK- was launched, incorporating guerrilla warfare strategies in the anti-apartheid struggles.

International pressure to end apartheid started since the early 60s. Pressure was expressed in political and cultural isolation and economic sanctions. In 1962 the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution deeming apartheid a violation of South Africa's international commitments. South African delegates faced boycotts to participate in academic, artistic and sports events. Although it is questionable how effective the international pressure to end apartheid those measures was, it created awareness of apartheid and mobilised public opinion.

The apartheid regime responded to resistance with increasingly repressive measures. The Terrorist Act (1967) facilitated persecution, detention policies and gave State forces extensive powers to commit multiple human rights violations. Those measures were applied differently for black and white resisters and for men and women (Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1996). In 1973 the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* Afrikaner Resistance

Movement (AWB) was created by Eugène Terre'Blanche as a separatist and paramilitary group.

By the second half of the 70s a new political and military rhetoric emerged from the South African State (van Zyl, et al., 1999). At the end of the 70s, as result of increasingly violent uprisings, the South African government established the 'Total Strategy' policy, which allowed repression and restriction of basic rights. 'Total Strategy' was the other side of 'Total Onslaught', the name given by the State to what it perceived as menaces, threats and conspiracies to challenge the status quo. 'Third Forces', propaganda against anti-apartheid struggles and 'dirty tricks' became part of counterinsurgency strategies supported in the 'Total Strategy' policy (Potgieter, 2012).

By the 80s South Africa was a highly militarised society. South African troops were deployed in townships and State control increased. Violence between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC and the commission of atrocities, sometimes supported by government security agents, blurred differences between resistance groups and contributed to a feeling of violence and terror (Melander, 2002).

As response, a State of Emergency was declared in 1986 and a National Security Management System of secret police was created, expanding military power. That year, the South African Defence Force (SADF) created the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), an office that was later accused in the TRC of numerous crimes against the anti-apartheid opposition. By the late 80s state repression ranged from legal methods such as detentions and banning of anti-apartheid organisations to extra-legal and informal repression, committed through vigilantes, death squads and 'surrogate forces' (Webster & Friedman, 1989).

With increasing political uprisings, boycotts and economic sabotage, a crisis of governability was inevitable. It was a combination of internal and external pressures that created conditions for political negotiations between NP and ANC leaders in the late 80s and early 90s. The economic crisis after the mid 80s, due to deteriorating investment, contributed to the crisis of the regime. International private lenders did not renew loans to refinance external debt, precipitating a drop in the currency value. Sectors of South African business elites pushed for broader changes. The collapse of the Soviet Union impeded using the 'communist menace' as an argument to justify actions against the ANC and opposition leaders. Years of accumulated activism made democratisation a political force and created a need for diverse sectors of society with enough leadership in the parties involved to lead a political transition. Political transition involved the first

democratic elections (1994), the enactment of a new Constitution (1996) and the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996 – 2003).

Post-apartheid South Africa is often described as the simultaneity of the conquests over oppression and the results of an incorporation in market economies that has not fulfilled the promises of change offered by the transition to democracy (J. L. Comaroff & Comaroff, 2006). It is also the simultaneity of pressures for the rule of law and the permanent suppression of a variety of expressions of violence and injustice. The early 90s was a period of spill over of violence (Oakes, 1988, p. 507). In the decade violence shifted from attacks on opponents of apartheid supported by the State to inter-ethnic conflicts and to social violence sometimes classified as 'familial' and 'criminal' (Barbarin, Richter, de Wet, & Wachtel, 1998). Distrust and antagonism limited the possibilities of a democratic public sphere that reproduced gender and sexual violence (Hassim, 2009). For gay and lesbian groups, this situation is translated into a disjuncture between *de jure* and *de facto* rights, since the granting of constitutional rights has not implied the end of violent acts but their reshaping and the emergence of new ones (Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy, & Moletsane, 2010).

Next, several characteristics of relevance to the case studies will be described.

Sex, racism and nationhood

Sex was an important area of concern for colonial South Africa and for the apartheid regime. The Immorality Act (1927) made sexual relationships between 'Europeans' and 'natives' illegal. While it was assumed that the first were 'white', the second were assumed as 'blacks', although, such divisions did not cover the complexity of racial interactions. In 1950 the Immorality Act was modified to include 'coloured' populations and to replace the term 'natives' to 'non-Europeans' (Ratele, 2009).

With the development of apartheid, concerns about sexuality also increased and specialised. A reform of the Immorality Act in 1957 expanded the types of sexual behaviours considered illegal and punishable, including 'soliciting', sexual relations with a person with mental disabilities and prostitution.

Under apartheid, sodomy was a common law offence, dating from Roman Dutch proscriptions (K. Botha & Cameron, 1993). Homosexuality became a danger to (white) youth in the moral panics of the 60s. In 1966 police 'discovery' of a gay subculture in Johannesburg led to new legal changes. In 1969 (Act 57) another modification to the Immorality Act included new sexual crimes such as the manufacture and selling of sexual

toys and augmented the punishment for male homosexuality. Those concerns were strategic in a system based on militarism and the use of young men in the armed forces. Apartheid was supported in the idea of the country living under constant siege and in need of keeping its 'purity' and moral solidarity (Retief, 1995). In that context, homosexuality was not simply an illness or a moral problem but a threat to the nation.

These legislations resulted from a long history of generisation and racialisation of the colonial process that would gave shape to South Africa. Robert Morrell (2001), in a history of the colonisation of Natal shows how the hegemonic masculinity in ruling classes was supported in the sense of belonging to schools, sports, clubs, military organisations and male control of inheritance. Such masculinity created the conditions for a sense of identity that was pivotal for the logic of inclusion and segregation at the core of apartheid.

Apartheid also reshaped gender relations in black communities. Thembisa Waetjen (2004) shows how masculinities in Zulu groups were transformed during the Nineteenth Century from an agrarian patriarchy to a patriarchy incorporated in the capitalistic economy of South Africa. Those masculinities were later transformed again into the militaristic and war-oriented masculinity that would characterise a party such as the *Inkhata Freedom Party* (IFP).

Tamara Shefer and Kopano Ratele have argued that the generisation and sexualisation of apartheid was racist and racism was sexualised (2011). Apartheid took control of sex and bodies to create a racialised space in them and to define positions of privilege and hierarchy as much as the space for deviance. Thus the notion of 'immorality' that was the basis for legal measures such as the Immorality Act was more a concept about racial relations than unaccepted behaviours (Ratele, 2009, p. 294).

Racist sexualisation used sexual regulations for racist purposes. Arrests and prosecution for male-male sexual offences were enforced selectively in the different races. In 1992, for example, 83% of the persons convicted for sodomy and 'unnatural sexual offences' were classified as 'non-white' (K. Botha & Cameron, 1993, p. 225). In the same year, the 'success rate' for sodomy prosecutions involving a 'white' accused was higher than when there was a 'non-white' male involved. For Botha and Cameron, this suggested two parallel tendencies. Prosecutions that involved a male white were followed with greater zeal. In parallel there was more police harassment against 'non-white' men, which accounts for the higher number of cases involving them.

In spite of the economic, political and social resources established to control sexualities and racial relationships, there were uncontained gaps in those regulations as shown by the relatively high number of cases of prosecutions for 'forbidden' interracial intercourse

(Shefer & Ratele, 2011). Networks of same-sex sexualities and of interracial relationships traced a landscape of forbidden and 'defiant' desires in action, as can be seen in literature and personal narratives of the time (Gevisser & Cameron, 1995; Hoad, et al., 2005).

"No liberation without gay-lesbian liberation"

The roles of gender and sexuality in the anti-apartheid struggles and of the fight against racism in gay and lesbian organisations were matters of division and alliances in the apartheid South Africa. In the Cape Town area, for example, gender analysis, feminism and sexuality were marginalised and even rejected topics in broad political mobilisations in the early 80s. Following a tendency common in left-politics, anti-racism was the main topic and women's emancipation was seen as a subsequent step of national liberation (Van Zyl, 2005, pp. 98-99).

Several gay and lesbian organisations were created in South Africa in the 80s. Some were led by university students, other created spaces for socialisation and others offered social services such as counselling (Croucher, 2002; Gevisser, 1995; Van Zyl, 2005). In 1982 the Gay Association of South Africa (GASA), was created in Johannesburg. In Cape Town, Lesbians and Gays against Oppression (LAGO) was formed mainly by white intellectuals recognising the need to have a specific gay and lesbian voice speaking out against apartheid and the impossibility of gays and lesbians to be open about their sexuality in a movement looking for democracy (Van Zyl, 2005, p. 101). In October 1987 LAGO terminated itself and was replaced by Organisation of Lesbian and *Gay* Activists (OLGA). These organisations were inspired by a model of gay identities, public presence, openness and the development of a specific voice.

International NGOs were fundamental in providing support for members of anti-apartheid organisations in exile. During such exile key members of the ANC entered into contact with organisations working in broad human rights agendas that included gay and lesbian rights (Kraak, 2005). There were also gay and lesbian organisations in Europe and North America that supported anti-apartheid struggles (Rydstrom, 2005). Such connections offered spaces for learning, discussing and the interchange of ideas about the role of gay and lesbian rights in the post-apartheid South Africa. They also operated as mechanisms of political pressure and lobbying. The membership of the Gay Association of South Africa in the International Gay and Lesbian Organisation was suspended in 1987 because of its lack of commitment to anti–racist struggles (Rydstrom, 2005). Discussions around that event helped to make evident the weak connection between anti-racist and anti-heterosexist mobilisations.

Still, the accumulated work of lesbian and gay individuals and organisations and a planned lobby strategy in the ANC (Fine & Nicol, 1995), facilitated the changes in the regulation of sexual orientation in South Africa during the transition to democracy. Legal changes started with the inclusion of the *Equality Clause* in the 1996 Constitution and included the declaration of unconstitutionality of the criminalisation of homosexual behaviour and 'unnatural sexual offences' (1998); as well as rights for same-sex couples such as nationalisation, adoption and marriage (1999, 2001, and 2004).

'Equality' as a leading narrative of the transition period, was strategically managed by activists in order to locate gay rights in the logic of the constitution building process. 'Equality' converged with other parallel debates such as sexual rights, human rights and 'diversity'. Though, those debates were neither single nor simple they defined the possibilities and limits of the idea of 'equality' (Cock, 2005). Besides, changes in the legal recognition of sexual orientation have not had the same impact in the lives of south African transsexuals and transgender women and men (Vincent & Camminga, 2009). While under apartheid South African transsexuals had access to free sex reassignment surgeries, in the transition time (1993-2003) those programs ceased (Swarr, 2012). The Alteration of Sex Description and Sex Status Act of 2003 enable transsexual persons to change their identity number after providing a medical report (Morgan, Marais, & Wellbeloved, 2009).

Colombia

Context of the conflict

Dating from the early 50s, Colombian political conflict is one of the oldest non-negotiated conflicts in the world (Ficas, 2014). In such long history the conflict has mutated and has become a heterogeneous interaction of violence, armed actors, reasons to struggle and reasons to resist. A permanent element is its high impact on non-combatant populations. Communities and civilians have been at the middle of struggles between State forces, guerrillas and *paramilitares*.

By the time of writing this introduction, there were officially 6.514.351 victims of the conflict (Victims-Unit, 2014). Of these, 86% were victims of displacement (5.632.062), 13% of homicide (848.710), 2.5% of threats (165.634) and 2% of forced disappearance (135.863). In 2014 Colombia was the country in the world with the second largest number of internally displaced persons after Syria (6.5 million) and before Nigeria (3.3 million) (Albuja et al., 2014).

At the same time, Colombia has had active, massive and extensive mobilisations for peace and non-violent conflict transformation. Mobilisations were small in the early 70s and increased gradually. By the mid 90s it was estimated that at least 50 million Colombians were mobilised in different peace initiatives and there were years when there were around 250 massive mobilisations all through the country (García-Durán, 2013). Those mobilisations were not highly contentious and used multiple mechanisms to educate, politicise, protest, organise and resist the actions of armed groups.

In 2013, as the result of a legal mandate to provide an account of the fifty years of armed conflict (Law 975 Justice and Peace), a report called *!Basta ya!* (!Enough Already!) was presented (GMH, 2013). The authors of the report identify four periods in the conflict. The first period (1958-1982) was characterised by the transition from political struggles between traditional parties to subversive violence. Guerrillas emerged in different rural areas of the country, mainly in the Andean highlands.

In the second period (1982-1996) guerrillas expanded and increased their political and military power. In that period armed groups against guerrillas supported by local elites known generically as *paramilitares* where organised. At the same time drug-dealing industries increased and State power partially collapsed. In 1991 a new Constitution was negotiated as a response to peace negotiations with some guerrilla groups and demands to democratise the country. 'Human rights' was the inspiring basis of that Constitution.

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In the third period (1996-2005), armed conflict increased. *Guerrillas* and *paramilitares* struggled for control over new territories and State institutions reorganised to answer the political crisis amid conflict. An armed solution to the conflict was demanded by public opinion and State policies. The war on drugs led by the United States merged with its internationalised war on terrorism, and Colombian guerrillas were classified as 'terrorists'.

In the last period (2005-2012) armed groups remobilised their forces. Counter-insurgent State military actions reached its most effective peak, weakening but not defeating the guerrillas. Political negotiations that led to demobilisation of *paramilitares* failed and their fragmented groups reorganised under several forms as criminal gangs. Again, drug dealing has been a key element in the reconfiguration of new armed groups, more criminal and more defiant of State rule.

Behind these changing and extensive wars there is a long history of struggles for land access, land property and legal and illegal appropriation of resources. Roots of the conflict go beyond the emergence of guerrillas and disputes for State power. Those struggles have been at the core of the conflict and have been rejuvenated by it, as shown by the extensive number of internally displaced persons from areas in dispute by legal and illegal armed groups and its impact on land property (J. Restrepo & Sadinle, 2009). Conflict has caused land reform not achieved by other State polices. The connection between displacement and economic reforms has been denounced by peasant organisations, victims of displacement and NGOs. These protests related to areas where communities had been displaced and where local elites implemented new projects involving intensive growth, such as the manufacture of palm oil and the creation of industrialised cattle farms.

Next, several characteristics of relevance to the case studies will be described.

Interactions between different types of violence

Violence associated with political conflict is not the main cause of deaths in Colombia. By 2003 homicides associated with armed conflict were between 11% and 17% of total homicides and the statistic decreased in subsequent years (Granada, Restrepo, & Vargas, 2009). By 2008 the percentage was between 8% and 9%. Lethal violence is not just the result of political conflict but results from other forms of social and criminal violence.

Such differentiations and classifications are, however, problematic. Struggles between security state mechanisms, guerrillas and *paramilitares* have been also affected by criminal activities, making neat separations between forces difficult to establish. Local elites, local politicians and public employees have been also found in alliance and collaboration with guerrillas and *paramilitares*. Illegal armed groups have expressed their preference for some local politicians and antagonism against others, restricting free elections. Alliances between legal and illegal armed groups and between criminal and war industries combined political and social violence. Non-lethal forms of victimisation such as displacement have increased in the years when lethal violence decreased. Even more, areas with high rates of homicide were also the areas where illegal armed actors were struggling for power (Granada, Restrepo, & Vargas, 2009).

There is extensive documentation about relationships of complicity and direct or indirect collaborations between State agents and illegal armed groups, particularly with *paramilitares*. In several atrocious events legal forces have been present before *paramilitares* committed crimes, or did not attend the calls from communities who asked for help. Members of the military have participated in extrajudicial killings in order to obtain privileges and compensations as the 'results' of these actions (Cinep, 2011).

Connection between the military project of *paramilitares* and sectors of national political life created what was called *parapolitica* (parapolitics), a type of governance that combined privatised coercive violence and the capture of public resources, restriction of public life and alliances between economic, social and political elites (Gutiérrez, 2010). Some authors have argued that such military and political projects were oriented to create a reordering of the social, political and economic landscape, a new foundation for the nation (López, 2010).

Regionalised and 'low scale'

The particular geography, the complex structure of illegal armed groups and the different strategies deployed by state forces to combat them have created a landscape of different patterns of conflict interaction with impacts on rural and urban areas differentiated. The result of a particular regional dynamic and the high impact on civilian unarmed populations follows a pattern of violence characterised by a focus on civilians in the areas under dispute. Such violence acts as a quotidian sequence of 'low scale events'; events that, because of intensive but localised impact, obtain local control and reduce the national visibility of armed struggles. In brief, it is a 'dosification' (GMH, 2013, p. 15) of

violence and cruelty that has been strategically used by armed actors in their efforts to terrorise and repress communities.

Exclusion, elimination and political sphere

Another long term element has been the permanence of forms of political interaction based on exclusion, restriction of public spaces and elimination of adversaries. The most evident expression of it was the elimination through extrajudicial killings of around 5.000 members of *Unión Patriótica*, a political party related with FARC guerrilla group. This has been considered a 'political genocide' (Gomez-Suarez, 2007) and impacted on issues of political participation, activism and alternative political projects.

In Latin America, State terror and para-institutional violence targeted not only political opposition but anyone that adopted stances or belonged to a group that challenged existing social, political and economic order (Sluka, 2000). Para-institutional violence connected with what was called initially 'moralistic violence', the violence that justified the elimination of marginal individuals because theey embodied threats against moral or social values (Camacho and Guzman, 1987). 'Social cleansing' was the term that popularised the sinister connection between para-institutionality and violence against those positioned at the margins of society: homeless youth, prostitutes, drug users, streets delinquents and homosexuals. In brief, the poor, the undesirable, the 'disposable' (Ordoñez, 1996). In 1994 a joint report of the United Nations Special Rapporteurs on Torture and on Extrajudicial Killing mentioned the action of death squads against homosexuals as part of social cleansing operations in Colombia and called attention to the legitimacy, impunity and complicity of authorities in such crimes.

High impunity

Statistics about impunity in the Colombian legal system have been a matter of academic and political debate. A 1966 study established that just one of three homicides is investigated; in 80% of violent deaths there is no information about the circumstances of the event; just 4% of cases resulted in a sentence (Rubio, 1996). It is generally believed that fewer than 10% of cases resulted in a conviction when the efficacy of the Colombian legal system is considered although this figure is disputed. According to the methodology used, statistics can fluctuate between 32% and 99% (E. Restrepo & Martínez, 2004). Still, even the existence of such disparities in statistics shows the problems faced by the legal system. These include inefficient registering systems, lack of trust in the legal system and

fears caused by threats. That situation increased in the areas directly affected by the conflict. There, just 6% of cases of homicides were resolved in comparison with 16% in non-conflict areas (E. Restrepo & Martínez, 2004, p. 20). Nevertheless both numbers are very low.

The Colombian State has implemented several strategies to develop its legal system and to tackle the shortfall in convictions. In 2002 a new accusation system was implemented (Law 906) and several public policies have been enacted to reduce impunity in key matter such as crimes related to international human rights law (Vicepresidencia-Colombia, 2005).

Failure to convict and lack of adequate research of crimes are relevant elements for this research. The Colombian NGO Colombia Diversa registered 542 homicides of LGBT people between 2006 and 2011 (Colombia-Diversa, 2013). In 300 of them, there were no resultiant legal processes. Most of the victims were not identified. Half of the cases under investigation are still in the preliminary stages since perpetrators have not been identified. Early cases have been already archived without any further result. Even more, prejudice in the justice system and its officers seem to be common characteristics of these cases (Colombia-Diversa, 2013, p. 28). This situation of failing to achieve convictions is not new, considering that cases of violence against *travestis* and impoverished homosexuals have been identified since the early 90s by Colombian activists (Ordoñez, 1996) and international agencies without resultant action by State authorities.

Gender and sexual orders

In such protracted conflict, with extensive numbers of victims and in which multiple forms of imparting suffering and pain have been used, impacts and harms are diverse and cover economic, social, psychological, moral, cultural and political aspects. Harm has also varied according to the type of violence and the gender, race or age of the victim. Current development projects focused on areas highly affected by the conflict do not contribute to transforming structural injustices or reproducing unequal gender orders (Díaz, Ramírez, Benjumea, & Restrepo Restrepo, 2012). This is a matter of particular relevance considering that women are the main claimants of land rights under the 2005 Peace and Justice Law (Meertens & Zambrano, 2010).

Gender and sexual violence have been at the core of the conflict and its functioning. They have been used by all the armed actors involved, as women and human rights organisations have documented extensively (Amnesty-International, 2011; Díaz, et al.,

2012). Between 1997 and 2005 members of the paramilitary group *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (Colombian United Self Defence Forces, AUC) established a despotic control over the North of the country, using a diverse range of forms of violence that transformed everyday life and the life projects of women, men, girls and boys radically (CNRR, 2011; GMH, 2013). Humiliating and authoritarian representations of gender, supported by a prolonged control of almost all aspects of everyday life, were fundamental for their territorial conquest.

In a context where women lived under a patriarchal order, political violence merged and took control of those aspects valued by them, such as care and protection (GMH, 2013, p. 305). Violence also acted on women's leadership, political activism and community work. Atrocities committed against women included almost all forms of gender and sexual violence presented in other conflicts throughout the world such as rape, sexual slavery, torture, public humiliations and economic exploitation (Díaz, et al., 2012; Pinzón, 2009).

Violence also transformed the lives of men. Forced displacement and the impact of war in productive activities interfered with men's role as providers and family and community authorities. They were forced into dependency or to work on activities that would affect traditional masculinities. The impossibility of protecting women from the actions of armed gangs affected masculinities and was used to diminish resistance and community cohesion (GMH, 2013, p. 312).

The use of homophobia in the Colombian conflict and socio-political violence has started to be documented by human rights and LGBT organisations since the mid-2010s (Colombia-Diversa, 2005, 2008, 2013; Payne, 2007). Some isolated documents were produced in the early 1990s (Ordoñez, 1996). There are no consolidated reports with national coverage or exploring the uses of homophobia by the different armed gangs involved. Lack of systematic information and of sustained documentation makes activism, research and policy intervention in the topic difficult. Brief mentions in declarations of demobilised *paramilitares* and in studies about the regional impact of the conflict, however, show their existence and use (CNRR, 2011).

Law 1448 (2011) known as the Victims' Law includes three articles related to sexual orientation and victims of the conflict. Article 3 includes partners of same-sex couples as victims of the conflict; Article 6 includes 'sexual orientation' as a factor to be protected from discrimination; Article 13 includes 'sexual orientation' under the *Enfoque Diferencial* (Difference Mainstreaming and Inclusion) that ought to characterise the implementation of the law.

There have been two previous similar cases in the international context. In Spain, the Historic Memory Law (2007) mentioned 'sexual orientation' as one of the reasons for

obtaining reparation. In Peru, the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2003) had a chapter on violence against 'sexual minorities'. The case of Colombia is unique because mention was made of reparations at the beginning of their implementation (different from Spain) and had a direct impact in the compensation of victims (different from Peru).

According to Albarracín and Rincón (2013)the inclusion of sexual orientation in the aforementioned Law resulted from a process with three characteristics: the recognition of the rights of same-sex couples in other legal instruments; the participation in the Victims' Law of political groups allied with LGBTI rights and the previous work done by LGBTI organisations denouncing the issue. It is important also to consider the increasing recognition of gender and sexuality in conflict resolution instruments and the pressure of international organisations on the Colombian State to fulfil human rights standards.

In the implementation of Law 1448, the *Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a a las Víctimas* (Unit for Attention and Reparation of Victims) has recognised the need to identify, register and strengthen the participation of LGBT victims of the conflict. That has included a variable called LGBTI in the system to register all victims. According to that information, up to August 2013, 536 persons have been identified as LGBTI and 374 have passed the process of evaluation to be included in the *Registro Unificado de Víctimas* (official victims' registration system) (Albarracín & Rincón, 2013). Internal displacement, homicide and threats are the three main reasons for victimisation.

Appendix 2: Interview protocol (Spanish)

Temas de las entrevistas

Resultados esperados de las entrevistas: información sobre la condición de género y de sexualidad de los conflictos armadas y las transiciones políticas, y sus resultados.		
Introducción: Explicación de los objetivos de la investigación y de la entrevista. Entrega y firma de la declaración de participación informada y del consentimiento informado.		
Pregunta inicial: Conoce usted de casos o eventos de violencia contra personas homosexuales o transgeneristas ocurridos durante el conflicto?		
Descripción del evento(s): - Que estaba pasando en el contexto general en ese momento? - Que sucedió? - Quienes estuvieron involucrados en el evento? - Que hicieron? - Cuando empezó? - Cuando termino? - Cual fue el efecto o impacto del evento?		
Preguntas específicas para expertos/as en el sector no gubernamental: - Cual era la situación de las organizaciones de base antes del evento? - Cual fue la reacción de las organizaciones de base ante el evento? - Como les afecto el evento? - Hubo algún tipo de movilización por motivo del evento?	**Preguntas específicas para expertos/as en el sector gubernamental**: - Había algún tipo de iniciativa gubernamental para prevenir o atender los casos de violencia contra personas homosexuales antes del evento? - Cual fue la reacción de las instituciones públicas ante el evento? - Que tipo de acciones de política pública se desarrollaron o no, y por qué?	**Preguntas específicas para expertos/as académicos/as:** - Era la violencia contra homosexuales un tema de estudio o intervención antes del evento? - Hubo participación de la academia en el estudio de estos eventos?
Después del evento: - Cambió algo después del evento? - Hubo alguna iniciativa formal o informal para reconstruir el evento? - Fueron las víctimas compensadas? - Hubo alguna acción legal contra los victimarios? - Hay alguna iniciativa para incorporar el evento en las memorias colectivas o las acciones de resolución luego del conflicto?		

Interview protocols (English)

Interview topics

Expected results of interviews: information about the gendered and sexualised condition of armed conflicts and political transitions, and their outcomes.
Introduction: Explanation of the purposes of the research and the interview. Handing and signing of the participant information statement and written consent.
Starting question: Do you know cases of violence against homosexual or transgender people while the conflict?
Description of event(s): - What was happening in the general context at that time? - What was the event? - Who were involved in the event? - What did they do? - When did it start? - When did it finish? - What was the effect or impact of the event?

Specific questions for experts in non-government sector:	Specific questions for experts in government sector:	Specific questions for academic experts:
- How was the situation of grassroots organizations before the event? - What was the reaction of grassroots organizations to the event? - How did the event affect them? - Was there any kind of mobilisation because of it?	- Was there any public initiative to prevent or attend anti-homosexual violence before the event? - What was the reaction of public institutions to the event? - What kind of public policy actions were (or not) developed and why?	- Was anti-homosexual violence a topic of study or intervention before the event? - Was there any participation of academics in the study of these events?

After the event: - Did something change after the event? - Was there any formal or informal initiative to reconstruct the event? - Were victims compensated? - Was there any legal action against perpetrators? - Has there any initiative to incorporate the event in collective memories or post-conflict resolution actions?

Mapping participants events and experiences

For: Academics, activists and people with experience in the topic

Purpose: Obtain a better understanding of the situation in the case study (SA, Colombia)

Results:

> Names, events, institutions and other relevant information to follow in detail

> "Map of potential participants" in the three areas: Governmental, non-governmental and academic

This is an informal conversation, asking for support. In case the person is herself or himself a key participant, a proper interview will be requested for later.

Questions:

In relation with anti-homosexual violence during apartheid,

> It is known that homophobia was part of the gender and sexual orders created by the apartheid. Do you know any event or case of anti-homosexual violence?

In relation with the TRC,

> There was a report about aversion therapy in the armed forces. Do you remember other references to anti-homosexual violence or violence related with gender non-conformity that was not included in the TRC reports?

In relation with the research,

> Who should I talk to? (Key actors in academia, Government, Non government organizations)

Interview topics

Moment	Main topic	Specific topics
Introduction to the interview: giving areas to cover and defining level of detail	Giving the interviewee the chance to describe her/his participation	- You participated in… (i.e. incorporation of a gender perspective in the TRC, writing a report, in a organization). What was the origin of such initiative? - What did you do? What was your specific contribution? - Who else was involved? - As an academic/activist/public employee, how was your relation with other academic/activist/government sectors? - I am interested in issues of knowledge building. How would you describe anti-homosexual violence? Which terminology would you use?
During apartheid	How gender based violence and anti-homosexual violence functioned politically?	- What was happening at that time in terms of… (gender violence, anti-homosexual violence)? - How would you describe the uses of anti-homosexual violence by the apartheid regime? - What about violence against transgender persons?
	Description of gender violence and anti-homosexual events	- Do you remember any particular moment or event when the apartheid regime used anti-homosexual violence?[3] - Who were involved? - Were there police units, paramilitaries or death squads targeting homosexuals? - What did they do? - When did it start? - When did it finish? - What was the effect or impact of the event?
In the transition period	Specific questions about TRC What happen in terms of gender politics? What was said/not said about gender/sexual hierarchies? About gender/sexual violence?	- As part of your participation in the TRC you produced several reports and documents. - How were they produced? - How were they received? - What do you think was the impact of those documents? Something changed? - Why that topic (i.e. gender, anti-homosexual violence) was not a relevant topic for the TRC? - Was homophobia reported in the hearings of the Truth Commission? - There were submissions to the TRC related with homosexuality? - Were gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender persons perceived as victims of the apartheid?

		If yes, what was said?
		- If not, why there was silence?
		- Was there something that impede that such stories were told?
		- Were those stories told in other spaces?
		- How would you describe the participation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender people in the transition period?
		- Do you know about gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender people as perpetrators of violence related with the apartheid?
	Specific questions for participants who produced reports or relevant documents	- Was anti-homosexual violence a topic of study in academia? How was academic knowledge used?
		- What was the origin of that initiative?
		- How was it constructed?
		- Which were the main challenges faced when writing that document?
		- What was not said?
		- How was it received?
		- What was its impact?
After apartheid	Post apartheid and Nation building: how people understood that project during/after apartheid?	- What happened in gender and sexuality with the transition to democracy?
		- What changed? What remain the same? What was new?
		- Was there any formal or informal initiative to reconstruct events of anti-homosexual violence during apartheid?
		- Were victims compensated?
		- Was there any legal action against perpetrators?
		- Has there any initiative to incorporate anti-homosexual violence in collective memories or post-conflict resolution actions?
	Current situation	- What has happened in the last 10-12 years?
		- Are there common elements in the homophobia(s) lived now and the one(s) before? What is different?
		- Things getting better? Getting worst? Same?

THE UNIVERSITY OF **SYDNEY**	**Facultad de Educación y Trabajo Social**

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DECLARACION DE PARTICIPACION INFORMADA

(1)   De qué es este estudio?

Esta investigación cualitativa explora el rol de la violencia contra minorías sexuales y de género en los conflictos armados y las transiciones a la democracia.

(2)   Quién realiza este estudio?

El estudio es realizado por José Fernando Serrano-Amaya y es parte de su grado como Doctor en Filosofía en la universidad de Sídney, bajo la supervisión de la Profesora Raewyn Connell, PhD.

(3)   Qué implica este estudio?

El estudio implica la realización de consultas en archivos especializados en el tema, en Sur África y Colombia, y la realización de entrevista con actores significativos en los sectores académico, gubernamental y no-gubernamental. Para los participantes este estudio implica su colaboración con una entrevista semi-estructurada. Las preguntas de la entrevista son sobre su experiencia profesional en el manejo de casos de violencia contra minorías sexuales y de género en contextos de violencia política. La entrevista se llevará a cabo en un tiempo y lugar definidos de común acuerdo entre el investigador y el participante.

(4)   Cuanto tiempo lleva el estudio?

Las entrevistas que hacen parte del estudio toman entre 60 y 90 minutos.

(5)   Me puedo retirar del estudio?

Hacer parte del estudio es una decisión voluntaria (usted no obligado/a bajo ninguna circunstancia para hacer parte de él) – y si acepta se puede retirar en cualquier momento sin afectar su relación con la Universidad de Sídney.

Si usted no desea continuar la entrevista, la puede detener en cualquier momento, la grabación de audio será borrada y la información suministrada no será incluida en el estudio.

(6)   Conocerán otras personas los resultados?

Todos los aspectos del estudio, incluyendo los resultados, son estrictamente confidenciales y solo los investigadores tendrán acceso a la información de los participantes. Un reporte del estudio puede ser presentado a publicación, pero los participantes individuales no serán identificados en tal reporte.

(7)   En qué me beneficia el estudio?

La entrevista no ofrece un beneficio personal a los participantes. Sin embargo, creemos que este estudio será de beneficio general para sociedades que se viven procesos de transiciones políticas y que se recuperan de conflictos prolongados.

(8)   Puedo contarle a otras personas del estudio?

Si, puede hacerlo. Además, le agradecemos su ayuda identificando otros posibles participantes en el estudio.

(9)   Qué puedo hacer si requiero información adicional?

Una vez haya leído esta información, José Fernando Serrano-Amaya comentará con usted otras preguntas e inquietudes adicionales que pueda tener. Si quiere saber más en otro momento, por favor siéntase libre de contactar a: José Fernando Serrano-Amaya, Candidato a Doctorado, Universidad de Sídney, <jser1926@uni.sydney.edu. au>, o a Raewyn Connell, Supervisor, La Universidad de Sídney, <raewyn.connell@sydney.edu.au>

(10)   Qué puedo hacer si tengo una duda o una queja?

Cualquier persona con dudas o quejas sobre el desarrollo de este estudio puede contactar a El Administrador, Administración de Ética Humana, Universidad de Sídney, al +61 2 8627 8176 (teléfono); +61 2 8627 8177 (fax) o ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au (Email).

Esta información es para que usted la guarde

Appendix 3 Participant Information Statement

<table>
<tr>
<td>THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY</td>
<td align="right">Faculty of Education and Social Work</td>
</tr>
</table>

Raewyn Connell, PhD	Room 554
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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

(1)   What is the study about?

This qualitative research explores the role of violence against gender and sexual minorities in armed conflicts and political transitions to democracy.

(2)   Who is carrying out the study?

The study is being conducted by José Fernando Serrano-Amaya and will form the basis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at The University of Sydney under the supervision of University Professor Raewyn Connell, PhD.

(3)   What does the study involve?

The study involves consults in specialized archives in South Africa and Colombia and the realization of interviews with key actors in academia, governmental and non-governmental sector. For participants this study involves their collaboration in a semi-structured interview. Questions in the interview are about their professional expertise in dealing with violence against gender and sexual minorities in situations of political violence. The Interview will be conducted at a time and place mutually convenient to the researcher and the participant.

(4)   How much time will the study take?

The interview component of the study will take between 60 to 90 minutes.

(5)   Can I withdraw from the study?

Being in this study is completely voluntary - you are not under any obligation to consent and - if you do consent - you can withdraw at any time without affecting your relationship with The University of Sydney.

You may stop the interview at any time if you do not wish to continue, the audio recording will be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study.

(6)   Will anyone else know the results?

All aspects of the study, including results, will be strictly confidential and only the researchers will have access to information on participants. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report.

(7)   Will the study benefit me?

<u>There is no personal benefit to the participants. We believe, however, that this study will be of general benefit for societies in political transitions and recovering from protracted conflicts.</u>

(8)   Can I tell other people about the study?

Yes, you can. We appreciate your help identifying other possible participants in the research.

(9)   What if I require further information?

When you have read this information, José Fernando Serrano-Amaya, will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact: José Fernando Serrano-Amaya, PhD Candidate, The University of Sydney <jser1926@uni.sydney.edu. au>, or Raewyn Connell, Supervisor, The University of Sydney <raewyn.connell@sydney.edu.au>

(10)   What if I have a complaint or concerns?

> **Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact The Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 8176 (Telephone); +61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au (Email).**

This information sheet is for you to keep

Appendix 4: Other Personal narratives of critical events

Baliswe and Misa's stories

Introduction

Baliswe and Misa are grassroots activists and health promoters. Their stories have in common the experience of living in a township close to Johannesburg. They differ not only because they belong to different ethnic and cultural backgrounds but also for their location in different gender and sexual orders.

The story that Baliswe shared can be summarised in a term she used to describe herself: 'I am a survivor'. Her story talks about overcoming the different kinds of violence imposed by the apartheid regime and by the existence of cultural gender orders and paying the price of trying to transform them. It is also the story of living openly as a lesbian woman in the townships, amid precarious jobs and everyday violence.

The story that Misa shared contributed to the oral histories of gay men living in black townships. He reminds us of the connections between desire, masculinities and the blurred areas in gender and sexual orders. It is the story of witnessing changes and continuities in the ways that violence regulates everyday lives and the fear that some South Africans experience now that promises are not fulfilled and new threats impede social changes.

From different approaches, Misa and Baliswe's stories show how the struggles for dignity among marginalised South Africans are constant and adjust to different historical and structural situations.

The interview

I was introduced to Baliswe by Hannah le Roux, a lecturer at Wits University who has a field project in Kwa-Thema, a township at the south-west of Johannesburg. Baliswe has collaborated with Hanna in fieldwork activities.

In the long trip from Johannesburg to Kwa-Thema, Hanna told me the story of the township and how it was created in the 1930s with the idea of ameliorating the life conditions of black communities through a detailed urban planning project. When the National Party assumed power, the modernist planning that included schools, community services and green areas was transformed into churches, canteens and crowded streets. Despite some advances, the project did not fulfil all the expectations and ended up reinforcing the harsh conditions of apartheid. The promise of change made it a very attractive place for black communities to live and its failure seems to have nurtured resistances and mobilisations. Kwa-Thema was the place of important anti-apartheid uprisings in the 70s and early 80s and of vigilante activity after the mid 80s. Nowadays, youth unemployment, increasing poverty and health problems are some of the challenges the inhabitants face.

Arriving at Kwa-Thema reminded me of working class areas in Latin American capital cities. The mixture of old and new settlements, the two floor brick houses close to wood

and fragile constructions made me think of the long term efforts of their inhabitants to have a better life and the constant arrival of new settlers searching for new options. The labyrinthine location of Baliswe's house was a clear example of the organic way in which parts of the township have been developing, far from the ideals of the original planning project.

Baliswe knew we were arriving and was waiting us with Misa, her close friend. Hannah had explained to her days before the reasons of my presence. I decided to interview both of them. We drove for around fifteen minutes to the closest mall, looking for a coffee place. Malls are a very common meeting point, especially on Saturday afternoon. The place was busy and noisy. Hannah waited for us, sitting at a different table.

Instead of doing two separate conversations, I decided to have just one, asking the two of them the same questions. Sometimes they answered in support of the other's opinion rather than giving an individual view. I tried to make it a fluid chat, giving them enough time to answer and to comment about their experiences. Baliswe offered more extensive and detailed comments and led the interview. Misa talked less but gave his opinion on most of the topics of the interview. Baliswe appeared to be emotionally affected when talking about some of her experiences of violence. She left the table several times, for reasons that seemed to be health-related. I felt uncomfortable with the fact that the interview might be causing discomfort. I felt like finishing earlier, but they continued to respond to my questions and the recorded interview lasted eighty minutes.

Though both life stories have common elements I decided to write an individual analysis for each in order to highlight their differences.

Baliswe's story

Life course

Baliswe was born in 1973 in Kwa-Thema. She is part of the Ndebele people. Her father was a member of the royalty of her ethnic group and left his family in his early years to become a priest. Because of that he does not accept Baliswe's sexual orientation. She considers that in her ethnic group being gay is more difficult than in other communities. They have initiation schools that are more difficult for members of the royalty. She remembered that she was well known as a lesbian since puberty and that fact would have made her initiation more difficult.

She described herself as being an activist since she was twelve years old. She has been working on topics such as homophobia and xenophobia and, since she was twenty years old, in HIV related matters. Her work life has included several informal jobs and the delivery of social services, such as community health, family counselling and HIV. Currently she works in a local clinic but her payment depends on the availability of resources to fund educational activities. She said that, as a lesbian, it is difficult to get a job. She lives with her partner and they have four children aged fifteen, ten, seven and two years old. Two of the children are hers and the other two are from her partner.

Violence as a lived experience

In the narratives about violence offered in her interview, Baliswe made a distinction between the violence she suffered because of the apartheid system and the violence experienced in the lesbian community.

> In the 80s I was a teenager and lots was happening in terms of violence. Politically it was very hard, because of the government, it was oppressive, and worst for the LGBT community. It was not possible to get a job, those years were trauma, painful, physically, and wherever you went you were attacked by Police. I remember once when I was fifteen, and a policeman and his friends called me names and they threw stones at me. I used to dress like that (showing her current style of clothes). They chased me and I went to a church. I hid under a table. Next day they recognised me. He was a black police in uniform. I didn't go into town. I was always in trouble. I reacted.

There are two important elements in this narration. One is the everyday presence of surveillance by the apartheid regime and the individual harassment Baliswe experienced because of her racial and gender identity. The other is the reference to her resistance. Resistance and surviving are two of the underlining texts in her narrative.

She differentiated the 'pain' that violence inflicted for political reasons and what came for cultural reasons. She remembered that it was common that people called her and other persons *stabane*, a cultural term associated with gender and sexual variant people. That harassment and pain was increased by the sense of not having any protection, since, as she remembered, police would not take any action in such situations. "There was a case in the 80s. A guy was killed because he was an embarrassment to the family, his mother got him killed." Baliswe mentioned this to explain the kind of violence associated with culture and community values.

Baliswe also made a distinction between the violence they experienced during the time of apartheid and nowadays. In her perspective there is more violence now than before. Homophobia, corrective rape or hate crime are expressions of the emergence of new forms of violence.

On the other hand, at the time of apartheid it was possible to fight back and be supported by the community. That sense of support has now disappeared. Even more, there is the risk of being arrested for fighting back, she explained. In other words, the sense of resistance has changed or even disappeared.

Her perception of the current situation of more violence was explained by concrete cases. She was a friend of Eudy Simelane, the soccer player who was raped, beaten and stabbed to death on 28 April 2008. Her death was one of the cases that made evident the difficult conditions faced by lesbians in townships. It also became emblematic for the definition of corrective rape as a social issue. The description of Eudy's case took a large part of Baliswe's narrative. She used the case to emphasise the lack of attention given to the violence that lesbians face and to illustrate the social support for violence, since perpetrators are known and sometimes supported by their communities.

Baliswe offered other examples to justify her perception that there is now more violence than during the anti-apartheid struggle. She has seen violence against foreigners in her community and has also noted that some foreigners are now leading criminal gangs. She mentioned a recent case in which a gay man was killed by one of these gangs. They like

to 'play' with drag queens for their money and then kill them, she said. Drug dealing is an element that appears associated with this new situation.

The other element that was associated with this feeling of a more violent context is the homophobic attitude of churches. Baliswe mentions how for some churches homosexual people are seen as 'having demons inside', and how much trouble those declarations cause in their everyday lives. Particularly since some clergy are also politicians, making matters even more difficult.

Activism and mobilisation

Baliswe remembers that in the 80s Kwa-Thema was a very supportive and interesting place to be as a gay or lesbian person. At that time the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand – GLOW, was active and made efforts to make people feel safe. Because of that Kwa-Thema was a very safe place to be, she explained. Among the different activities promoted by GLOW was HIV activism and Baliswe mentioned it as part of her organisational commitments. These statements are supported by Misa. He moved to the area during that time because it was seen as more supportive for gay and lesbian persons.

Baliswe was active in the mobilisations to pressure the justice system to make an adequate investigation of the Eudy rape and murder case. It has been the only such case in which a sentence has been pronounced. It was also very relevant for her because of the efforts mobilised by activists and grassroots organisations to obtain justice. For Baliswe, it was an example of the prevalence of homophobia in society and in institutions, included the judicial system. She remembered how community members supported the perpetrators and how police did not collect information properly or simply tried to turn a blind eye in the case. The high cost of the case (1.3 million Rands) showed that bringing justice is expensive but also demonstrates the results social mobilisation can obtain.

Baliswe's activism has exposed her to being imprisoned. She referred to being jailed several times because of her participation in gay rights or HIV treatment access campaigns. She concluded her statement by saying that 'gay rights are human rights and I am fighting for that', stressing her political commitment.

Transition conflict/post-conflict

Like other interviewees, Baliswe recognises that there have been changes with the end of apartheid. In relation to violence, for example, at least it is now possible to go to the police. Although there is now more violence, people today have to accept that gays and lesbians are human beings, and are part of the communities.

When talking about what has changed, however, she is also clear that the equal rights given by the new Constitution are rights with a question mark. The lack of resources to implement what the Constitution promised is a big problem. And things are more complicated if politicians become part of the problem. 'After Zuma more men became more homophobic, they became worse, after all, if the president can rape lesbians, why can't we?', referring to the way in which some men legitimise violence.

Finally, the way in which the idea of 'tradition' has been used is also a problem. When recalling the idea of 'tradition' Baliswe was not only referring to the cultural issues she

mentioned before. She was also referring to the current uses of 'tradition' to challenge Constitutional gains and the rights they have been fighting for. In particular, how some groups have been using 'tradition' as backlash argument against the rights that have been obtained in the reforms.

Gender and sexual orders

The references to gender and sexual orders in Baliswe's narrative are very close to her references to experiences of violence. In her memories, gender orders were not always rigid or monolithic. She remembered that when she was a girl, she used to play soccer with the boys. Her family wanted her to play with girls, but since the boys did not seem to be bothered with her presence, she kept playing with them.

Those memories contrast with her experiences of violence years later, for example in the murder of Eudy Simelane, referred to earlier. Kwa-Thema has been one of the places where cases of corrective rape have been perpetrated and Baliswe knows the cases in detail. She explained that it is common that perpetrators are known by the victims and close to them. In some cases perpetrators are jealous of the women's success, something that some men cannot stand. Baliswe also mentioned the idea that men feel that lesbians are taking 'their' women, and because of that have a violent reaction.

Misa's story

Life course

Misa was born in 1963 in the Northern Cape. His mother was black and his father 'coloured'. He described himself as mixed race and remembered being classified in the same category of his father.

Early in the introduction of the interview, he defined himself as an intersex person.

> 'I was born intersex and they (family) decided they wanted to have a boy and they took me to hospital. They chose for me, they decided for me since I have two sexual organs. They were very supportive. I could not go to any toilets at school and I had to go home to pee'.

He remembered growing up 'falling for' other boys. When he was eighteen years old he decided to become an anti-apartheid activist and then an LGBT activist. In the 80s Misa came to Kwa-Thema, in part because of the spirit of freedom and activism experienced by black gay and lesbian communities in the township and in part because his mother was born there. Currently he works as marriage and HIV counsellor in a local hospital. His payment depends on the availability of funds to support such activities, as is the case with Baliswe. He has a twenty-eight-year-old son and a grandson. His son knows about his being gay and seems not to have issues with that.

Violence as a lived experience and gender and sexual orders

Misa shared with Baliswe the perception that there is more violence nowadays than during the times of apartheid. It does not mean that there was no violence against gays and lesbian people at that time as there is now, but the feeling is that it was safer at that time. In his view, that violence became worse after 2000.

Misa remembered that when he arrived in Kwa-Thema in the 80s, there were incidents of violence against gay men. There was, however, some understanding of who they were and some curiosity about 'how could a gay sleep with a straight?' he said, smiling. He also remembered cruising activities and the possibilities of getting to know men in taverns and other spaces.

'It was ok, you go to a place, a tavern, and a man could go and tell you, I love you, to sleep with you. They were friendly'.

This description contrasts with other interviewees who considered townships as very violent and homophobic places. If gay culture was mainly a feature of white middle class in Johannesburg it does not mean that some kind of homoerotic networks and spaces for socialisation did not exist in townships.

The big difference for Misa is that nowadays violence ends up in murder. He feels that there are more chances to be killed now than before. He mentioned cases in which gay men have been attacked in their houses by men who break into their places. The pattern is usually the same: perpetrators are people known by the victims, or people who try to befriend them to get access to their spaces or to gain trust and then take advantage of the situation.

"In townships there is the idea that gay men have money. There was a case of two guys who spent the night together and one was killed the other day". The fact that now violence against lesbians in townships is more visible does not mean that gay men are not being brutally murdered.

The feeling of vulnerability is reinforced by the lack of police attention, the risk of double victimisation and the stereotypes that police have about gay men. 'If you go to police they say, why didn't you fight back? You are a man, and if you said why you hadn't fought back, they would say, oh, you are one of *those*!'

Transition conflict/post-conflict

Misa is clear that legally now in South Africa all people are equal. He used ideas such as "gay rights are human rights" or the Constitution as a protective framework to support that point. However, laws need to be applied and there is a lack of commitment in the current government to do it. As Baliswe commented, he is also witnessing how some leaders are calling on tradition and picturing homosexuality as un-African to promote violence. He fears that with the strengthening of traditional leaders, the Constitution could be changed and legal protection could disappear.

Synthesis

Baliswe and Misa's stories are good examples of what it means to live in a township as openly gay and lesbian persons. They also show how different forms of activism interact and overlap over time. Their narratives are relevant for this research to establish similarities and differences with other gay and lesbian interviewees who are middle class activists, academics or members of cooperation agencies and who also have been experiencing the transition from apartheid to democracy.

The experiences of violence referred to by Baliswe and Misa give us the opportunity to explore particular events, such as the cases of violence against black lesbians or against gay men in townships. Those references are also relevant to further explorations of the different logic that is applied to cases of violence against men and against lesbians and how they end up understood under different frames.

They are also relevant to understanding an underlying text in Baliswe and Misa's narratives, related to the continuity of violence and also to the changes in the ways in which it is met. With the end of apartheid real violence has increased and the possibilities to react against that violence have been reduced. In spite of that, as Baliswe said, 'as long as there is space to change, I will keep on doing my activism'.

There is an element in Baliswe's narrative that seems to suggest different approaches to violence and change. Baliswe's story is a narrative of emotions. It is not that emotions are not referred to by Misa or by other interviewees. However, in the case of Baliswe, pain, resistance and anger are at the core of her narrative. Violence is understood as pain and as resistance. Anger because of unfilled promises, and fighting for promised rights, connect her story. Emotions, in the case of Misa, appear mainly associated with the social networks of male desire, and the risks that they created. In this, they introduce certain economies of feelings, their changes and transformations.

Sheila's story

Introduction

Sheila Lapinsky has been a human rights, gender and social justice activist since the early 60s. She has participated in several initiatives for the rights of lesbian and gay South Africans. The story she shared was embedded in feminism, women's experiences and political activism. Her narrative illustrates the interactions between gender and sexual politics in liberation movements from the perspective of a committed activist.

The interview

Sheila is fifty-nine years old. She was born in the Eastern Cape. Currently she works for a health public institution. The interview took place at her house, in Observatory, Cape Town and lasted ninety minutes. The interview focused on her experience in anti-apartheid activism and gay and lesbian rights. Personal experiences of violence were not mentioned.

Sheila framed the interview by making a distinction between being seen as a witness of events and as someone with an expert knowledge based on experience. Often she is asked to tell stories about what happened during the anti-apartheid struggles. She said, when people interact with her from that perspective, however, they look at her as the carrier of a story and ignore her wisdom. Because of that, she approached the interview as the chance to make a balance of the struggles for social justice in South Africa, its achievements and challenges. At the end of the interview, the conversation became an interchange of experiences and impressions of what is happening in activisms in South Africa and Latin America, their new trends and possible futures.

When describing her life course Sheila emphasised moments of decision-making, agency and deliberations about paths to create change. She made explicit the feminist agenda of the personal as political. Her narrative showed, however, that such a conversion is not a mechanical process but the result of complex interactions between reflection, deep political thinking and attempts to make real political commitments.

Life course

Sheila started her involvement in the anti-apartheid struggles as a university student in Cape Town, in the early 60s. For five years she was a member of the National Union of South African Student (NUSAS), reaching the position of full time member of the secretariat. With other students Sheila contributed to support the studies of political prisoners, collecting funds from international aid. That initiative put them under the surveillance of the Government. Between 1973 and 1978 she and eight members of the student organisation received a banning order that prevented them from leaving the country and restricted their movements in the city. That did not stop Sheila's political commitment. As she said, that was the initial context in which her 'consciousness' was developed. A development she described in the first part of the interview in terms of simultaneous, increasing and differentiated processes of political participation.

At the end of her banning order in the late 70s Sheila was involved in a feminist consciousness-raising group and in gay and lesbian organisations. By the early 80s Sheila was participating in the United Democratic Front (UDF) and in the End of

Conscription Campaign (ECC) both created in 1983. At that time Sheila was also part of a discussion group on gender and sexual politics. They discussed key documents from authors such as Audre Lorde. She defined the state of emergency (1985) as the transition point from a discussion group to the creation of a more structured organisation: Lesbians and Gays against Oppression (LAGO). The first action of LAGO "was saying that there must be a gay and lesbian voice in the struggles", she said.

In the early 90's Sheila became more involved in the ANC, upgrading her representation from a regional to a national level. Her activism in gay and lesbian issues also acquired national dimensions. By the mid 90s she was part of the National Coalition for Gay and lesbian Equality (NCGLE). After that, she was less involved in gay and lesbian issues and had a period of work in teaching, health matters and public institutions.

Activism and mobilisation

One of the reasons to interview Sheila was her participation in creating connections between gay and lesbian politics and anti-apartheid struggles. She was involved in several key organisations and movements. The reasons for her simultaneous involvement in them and her core political position were not the same. Her participation in feminism and women's organisations was part of her long-term discussion of gender inequalities and women's subordination. Her participation in the early gay and lesbian associations in Cape Town was a political mission. When remembering her presence in the United Democratic Front-UDF she mentioned participating as a 'white person', while when recalling her role in the End Conscription Campaign-ECC she referred to alliances with men and other women against militarisation.

The results of those involvements were also different. She explained her role as chair of one of them as a strategy of political activists in the 'underground' to politicise all 'constituencies'. That experience was not pleasant. Gay men, she said, were sexist and resistant to change. Resistance of white gay men to consider gay activism in terms of political commitment with the antiapartheid struggles was a characteristic of mainstream gay activism, as described by other interviewees. Besides, some lesbians were hesitant to join gay organisations because homosexual men replicated power relations embedded in heterosexual relations, as was also mentioned by other interviewees.

Sheila was a member of LAGO-OLGA and her story as an activist resembles the history of confluences and separations that were part of the life of the organisation. For her, connecting anti-apartheid struggles and the fight for gay and lesbian rights was easy since both activisms shared experiences of marginalisation. Her presence with other members of LAGO-OLGA in the anti-apartheid struggles contributed to give credibility to the organisation. At the same time, she remembers, there was homophobia in progressive organisations such as the UDF and sexism in gay organisations.

For several years Sheila was almost the only woman in LAGO. When remembering that period she recalled that at least until the initial discussions for the new South African Constitution, in the early 90s, gay men and lesbian women were operating separately. Women were doing more 'women's issues' such as attention to the problems of women victims of gender and sexual violence and men participated in gay-oriented activities. If there were layers upon layers in the struggles, those layers were not just accumulating

but entering in alliances, tensions and conflict. As was expressed by other interviews, such as Funeka's, activism has shades and sometimes evolves in contradictory ways.

Transition conflict/post-conflict

When asked about the creation of the Equality Clause in the new South African Constitution, Sheila remembered that the antiapartheid struggles had internal and external dimensions. Since the ANC was in exile, their experience and understanding of what was happening in South Africa at the time of the struggles was different from that of those in the country. In some ways, she said, anti-apartheid initiatives abroad created a fantasy of the struggle, she said. Some of the ANC leaders spent time abroad and it was in that international experience that they developed strategies to end apartheid and rebuild the country. That was case of the new Constitution, for example, that was drafted by ANC leaders in Europe. Sheila remembered that it was because of that international influence that topics like gay and lesbian rights resonated among ANC leaders. Kader Asmal or Albie Sachs for example, were in touch with gay and lesbian activists in Europe. Anti-apartheid initiatives were supported by countries such as Sweden, Norway or the Netherlands where gay and lesbian rights were part of social mobilisations and rights agendas.

It cannot be deduced from Sheila's interview that the incorporation of the Equality Clause was a result only of international influence. Sheila mentioned how at the same time that those leaders in exile entered into contact with gay and lesbian organisations in Europe, in the country there were also initiatives to write drafts of the new Constitution including topics of gender. Her organisation, for example, as mentioned above, contributed to the creation of connections between anti-apartheid struggles and gay and lesbian rights. Once, for example, they printed a t-shirt for a gay and lesbian event in which the usual rainbow colours were replaced by the colours of the ANC. The designers of the t-shirt were members of the anti-apartheid underground. As she said, it was the combination of national and international actions and of actions at the level of decision leaders and community activism that created the atmosphere for the inclusion of the Equality Clause.

Sheila also had a direct participation in the TRC. Because of her interest in the health area, she was exploring the complicity of the health sector in apartheid and its related violence. For example, she was looking for incidents in which people had not received proper medical treatment. While doing so they found information about gay men in the army who received treatment for their homosexuality. Conscientious objectors in exile also raised the issue. Once they had some initial information she, as member of the NCGLE, commissioned a report on the use of aversion therapies among gay men in the army (van Zyl, de Gruchy, Lapinsky, Lewin, & Reid, 1999).

Sheila remembered that when the issue was mentioned, the TRC considered it a human rights abuse. However, the impact of such discovery was limited. The health commission in the TRC was small and the psychiatrist who was accused of using aversion therapies had left the country by the time the report was public. On the other hand, as member of the NCGLE, Sheila remembers that homophobia during apartheid and the participation of the gay and lesbian movement in the TRC were not relevant issues. She admitted that, as a gay and lesbian movement, they would not know how to manage the emergence of discussion on homophobia during apartheid. Besides, the energies of the NCGLE were in

fulfilling the so called 'laundry list' of rights and legal issues that were considered priority at that time.

As mentioned in interviews with other women activists in the struggles, transition to democracy seemed to deactivate the involvement of some early activists. Interviews for this research show that that transition to democracy was in some cases the starting point for new activists and new forms of activism. The interview did not explore in detail Sheila's life after the transition to democracy. She did mention that now she is going back into the topic of gay and lesbian rights, mainly because of a rethinking of the socialist agenda. Despite the fact that there are not the same organisations as before, she said, it is important to have a 'political watchdog' on what is happening.

Gender and sexual orders

When recalling her memories about being a lesbian woman at the time of "the struggles", Sheila explained how different the experience of lesbians participating in the mobilisations against apartheid was. Several times she mentioned factors that made that experience different for lesbians from that of gay men and other men involved in antiapartheid activities.

One difference was the fact that there were few out lesbians at that time. At least, not out as gay men like Simon Nkoli were, she explained. A second difference was in the relationships of lesbians with other women. Many women were in jail because of their political activism and their stories are still under-recognised. Some of these were lesbian women and were discriminated against by their female comrades. A third difference was the position of lesbian issues in women's organisations. Women's issues that needed to be considered were rape, oppression and partner's violence. Lesbian issues were seen of less relevance and therefore located 'on the back burner. They were also seen as a group that would create divisions among women. Sheila explained that at that time the mainly white women's organisations stated that lesbian issues could impede the recruitment of black women to their causes. Sheila doubted that this was true, but the results were clear: "sometimes we have to silence ourselves".

At the same time, the fact that some women in the struggles had female partners was known by their male and female comrades, but never mentioned. "There was a woman who now is in a good position in the ANC that everyone knew had a woman partner but she did not come out, as I did, she didn't want to be seen, she was into the underground". Even in organisations with a significant participation of lesbian women, lesbianism was not a topic to be raised. In one of the women's organisations in which Sheila participated, of the twenty-one female members, twenty were lesbians, she said. However, she was the only one to talk openly about lesbianism, since other participants told her the organisation was just about 'women's issues'.

Sheila was also clear that her personal experience was not similar to the one of other lesbians.

When remembering the situation of the other woman who was in the underground, Sheila was clear that that woman could not be out in the way she was. "I always operated in the political arena as an open lesbian". Since she was an open lesbian, other lesbians did not want to be associated with her and did not invite her to lesbian events and private parties.

"They were so deep into their closet and had so much internalised oppression", was her explanation.

In spite of using the logic of openness versus the closet to define the difference with other lesbian women, Sheila did not follow the identity paradigm of coming out and essential identities. Early in the interview, Sheila made clear that her experience of being a lesbian was not the same for her as for other women since she made a 'choice' to be lesbian. She discussed in the interview that for other people that was not the case but for her, being a lesbian was something she developed parallel to her political activism and her commitment to the struggle for women's rights. Despite, however, the fact that her openness about being a lesbian and having a female partner made her different from other lesbians, she shared with them the fact that it was something to 'hold on' all time, as she said.

Synthesis

In Sheila's recount of her participation in anti-apartheid movements, homosexuality was seen as a threat to coalition building and cohesion. The understanding of the violence that lesbians could face was subordinated to the fight against other forms of violence against women. The idea of homosexuality as something to be rejected as a kind of pollution to the political agendas of the anti-apartheid struggles was also experienced by gay men. The support that some gay organisations offered to prisoners was a matter of discussion and tension since it was 'gay money', said Sheila.

Sheila's reflections on homosexuality in the antiapartheid struggles challenge reductive descriptions of liberation movements as homophobic. What Sheila described and explained was something different. The reference to her comrade who had a same-sex partner and the fact that it was known by others but kept 'on hold' needs to be understood in relation with the importance of the 'underground' and secrecy as part of the political strategies of liberation movements. Some individual gay men and lesbian women like Sheila could be open about her homosexuality as result of factors such as their position in the liberation movements, alliances with other political groups or the role given to sexuality in their personal identities. However, keeping sexual identity unmentioned could be strategic in a particular political debate.

Dawie's story

Introduction

Dawie Nel is the Director of OUT LGBT Well-being, an organisation that delivers health and social services for LGBT people in South Africa. In the interview he defined himself as an activist. Working for OUT has given him the chance to combine his interest in creating change and has provided him with a space to deliver initiatives to promote transformations. The narrative he shared is relevant to understanding the experience of a gay Afrikaner man during the last years of the apartheid regime, during the transition to democracy and in the years after. It illustrates the privileges he enjoyed, such as having access to education and qualifications or experiencing violence only from a certain distance; but it also illustrates the fears promoted by the apartheid regime to control populations and the contradictions faced by those who were politically committed to change it.

The interview

The interview took place at Dawie's office, in Pretoria and lasted fifty-two minutes. Dawie's approach to the interview was formal. He accepted the interview as part of his position as Director of the organization and kept away from personal questions. His answers were precise and clear, without adding information or expanding on a topic. In his language he used terms and concepts such as intersectionality, weak states or failed democracies, revealing his expert knowledge of the subject.

The interview started with an explanation of the research objectives and the intention to explore the connections between homophobia and apartheid. For him, that connection was not clear and he asked for a short explanation before starting the interview. He answered, pointing out that his experience dates from the end of apartheid, maybe as a way to show that he was not the best person to be interviewed on the topic.

Life course

Dawie was born in Pretoria in 1965. He studied at the Universities of Pretoria and Stellenbosch and took his PhD at the University of Witwatersrand. He has been consulted by State institutions and social organisations as an expert voice about issues such as HIV, hate crime and violence against gay men. He has been part of the Johannesburg Pride Board and has participated in several research activities of institutions such as the Human Sciences Research Council. Currently he is also part of the Hate Crimes Working Group, an alliance of civil society organisations set up to deal with events not only of anti-homosexual violence but also of xenophobia, religious intolerance and related crimes happening in South Africa.

Violence as a lived experience

Dawie did not refer to personal experiences of violence. The interview, however, dealt with the topic of violence in at least two ways. The first appeared in his description of the transit from not knowing about violence toward making it an issue in his work as activist. The second was evident in the description of different forms of violence all through the interview. These forms of violence included the violence he may have witnessed or experienced while in the army and in the everyday life of the apartheid regime; references

to cases of gay bashing in cruising places in the time of apartheid; the perpetration of corrective rape against black lesbians as a matter of concern in media and organisations; knowledge of cases of violence against effeminate men in townships; recent trends of violence, mainly against white gay men, in cases associated with robbery and attacks at their houses.

The first mention in the interview that dealt with violence was account by Dawie stating that when he was young, at the time of apartheid, he had no knowledge of experiences of violence caused by sexual orientation. As mentioned above, when the topic of the interview was introduced, his first reaction was that he did not know what to say about the links between homophobia and apartheid, even being unsure of such a connection. It was not until he went into the army that he encountered such violence.

As the interview progressed, violence became a more relevant issue in his narrative. In his memories, apartheid culture was patriarchal, homophobic and always reinforcing ideas of what it was to be a real man. Dawie remembered the case of a friend who was beaten in a cruising area and also friends who were picked up by undercover police and then detained. Sometimes the excuse used to detain them was that they were drunk. Those were isolated events, however, and he did not see them as part of a structured strategy of the regime.

His memory of violence recalled how segregated life was at that time. He did not remember hearing about cases of violence against lesbian women or against transgender people. During apartheid, he did not know what was happening with gay and lesbian people in the townships. As he said, "it is very separated in South Africa" referring not only to separations between gay men, lesbian women and transgender people but also between white, black and coloured communities.

Dawie's experience of violence also changed with his major involvement in activism and involvement in OUT, the LGBT organisation that he currently coordinates. Violence was not a relevant topic at the beginning of the organisation. The issue acquired relevance for the organisation around 2009 or 2010 when the rape of black lesbians became a topic of attention by media, and people reported more.

Dawie was suspicious of the extension of violence against black lesbians created by media representations. He referred to some studies his organisations did in the early 2000s that showed similar numbers of cases of violence against black gay men and black lesbians. However, the rape of black lesbians acquired more visibility.

When discussing the topic of violence against black lesbians and how extensive it is, Dawie questioned if sexual orientations were in fact the reason for violence or whether this was the perception of the gender identity of the victim. He stated that while most of the attacked men are effeminate the lesbians who have been raped are masculine. However, making such a distinction is not always easy to establish, he emphasised.

In his more recent work, he has been dealing with another pattern of violence: gangs of young black men that attack and steal from older white men at their houses. It seems those men make contact online and relatively organised gangs take advantage of some vulnerabilities to commit crimes. Despite his organisation's asking police to deal with these crimes as hate crimes and not as isolated events, the response has been inadequate due to the incompetence, lack of qualification and laziness of current state institutions, he said.

Activism and mobilisation

Dawie was involved in anti-apartheid students' organisations such as NUSAS when he was studying at the University of Pretoria and at Stellenbosch University. Both universities are known for attracting mainly Afrikaner students during the apartheid times. He remembers that those campuses were very white and apartheid driven. They created the intellectuals of the apartheid regime. Several Prime Ministers studied at Stellenbosch. The fact that Dawie gave some time in the interview to explain this and the references he made are important if we are to understand the ideological and cultural background of being a gay Afrikaner man growing up at the time of the apartheid.

Dawie remembers his participation in NUSAS as a mixture of fear, discussions, excitement and silences. NUSAS meetings occurred late at night, sometimes in hidden places and with severe concerns about security. Security policies made activist environment quite paranoid, he said. There was a case where they had to travel for more than six hours for a meeting including taking an aeroplane and two different cars. Discussions inside the organisation were very ideological. Economics and political liberation were the main topic. At the same time, student activism was a space for resistance and to start 'breaking the monolith' of apartheid. It was not easy. However, students were the 'cracks in the system'. That was the reason why the apartheid regime was afraid of them, even more when some Afrikaner academics and students visited the ANC in Lusaka, at the late 80s.

At the same time, sexuality was a taboo topic at students' organisations such as NUSAS. Dawie remember that gay identity was seen as a very 'western' issue. The secrecy required by students' activism and the silence about sexuality in those mobilisations could explain why Dawie described his feelings of freedom after the end of the apartheid and the creation of the new Constitution. "The feeling of prosecution was taken out", he said. After the new Constitution there was a sense that change could be possible, that there was protection to be whoever you wanted and that things could be transformed. There was a lot to do and the space to do it. That was the time in which he became more involved in gay activism.

His activism in gay matters started in the late 90s. At that time, the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE) was leading important legal changes in the topic. Dawie got involved with Out Pretoria. Out was an organisation that resulted from the work of two interest groups: a gay church and anti-apartheid activism. They followed the model of Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (GLOW), the organisation led by Simon Nkoli in Johannesburg. At the beginning OUT was more an informal group of friends who kept in touch. It had a loose structure and was on a small scale. In the early 2000s the organisation was doing more legal activism. Later, they moved more to HIV topics and the delivery of health and social services.

Transition conflict/post-conflict

Dawie's memories of the end of apartheid in South Africa and the transition period contrast with his perception of what is happening today. If the end of apartheid was the moment to dream that anything was possible, current South Africa lives with the knowledge that the State is unable to make those dreams come true. In the transition to democracy other elements of the apartheid period remained. "Heterosexual black

masculinities perpetuate the strong man perpetually at war with the enemy and in pursue of victory, fucking everything around in its way".

Economic crises and unemployment are still at the crossroads of other forms of inequality and injustice. Democracy gave the sense of being able to talk about many things, but in today's weak State it is not possible to talk about rape or to manage its own failures, he said. At the same time, he explained, making a direct association between anti-homosexual violence and the transition to democracy would be simplistic.

This perception of disenchantment with the transition to democracy and the current State, in particular the critique of the role of the ANC was mentioned by other interviewees and in informal conversations with other South Africans. Dawie also shared the perception that there was a limited participation of gay and lesbian organisations during the transition period, in particular during the TRC, because of an idea that apartheid was mainly about race. Because of that, there was silence about gender, sexuality and other related issues. Some of this silence was due to the fact that sexual orientation protection was already in the new Constitution and it was, therefore, not a reason to fight, he said.

The only area of hope, according to Dawie's interview, is the permanence of a 'strong civil society'. His use of 'civil society' to describe social mobilisations, non-state organisations and the social arena that is not the State refers to the extension of the logics and languages of NGO work. Such a vibrant civil society challenges unfairness and inequalities. In it, there is also a vibrant gay and lesbian society that contributes to solve those challenges. Sometimes this vibrant leading role can reach contradictory consequences such as now, when a magistrate claimed that it is the responsibility of OUT to participate in the rehabilitation of hate crime perpetrators. Here, he introduced a contradiction created by a 'strong civil society' and a 'weak State'. Such a civil society and strong middle class that he described as the only space that 'calls for reason in the middle of the incompetent state' is the same one to which he belongs.

Gender and sexual orders

When exploring the possible connections between the apartheid regime and anti-homosexual violence Dawie remembered what life was like during the apartheid era. "You acted as if you should not be like this. It was repressive, fascist, you must know your place, it was a constant indirect message that you should not be like this. There were homophobic comments, jokes". This 'homophobic informal culture' created a feeling that you could not even breathe. Because of that, people ended up fearing their own homosexuality.

When analysing the information in Dawie's interview about gender and sexual violence it appeared to be strongly connected with the information about other experiences of violence. In his narrative, experiences of violence and the gender and sexual orders were connected by the ideological structures of the apartheid regime, its permanent reinforcement of what a 'real' man should be, the homophobia in informal cultures and the permanent repression of homosexuality. In short, it was a system that constantly imposed the idea that 'you must know your place', as he said. Violence, in a variety of forms, acted to keep in place the gender and sexual orders that apartheid required.

His description of what is happening now with the so called 'corrective rape' and the cases of violence against white older men by younger black men shows a different interpretation. Now black lesbians are represented as victims but this ignores violence

against effeminate (black) men. In the case of violence against white older gay men, the failure of the state to deal with inequalities and its lack of recognition of the vulnerabilities they face nurture crime. If during apartheid violence was the result of an ideology, current violence is the result of the failure of the State to perform its role.

Synthesis

When remembering the areas in which Out has been working Dawie mentioned that violence has not been a main topic of their concern, and that this situation has come with a price. There is a resemblance between his personal career as activist and the activities of the organisation in which he has been involved. Anti-homosexual violence, in terms of denouncing, preventing or prosecuting, has not been the leading connecting point of those activisms. In his case, it was the spirit of freedom and possible change promoted by the transition to democracy and the creation of the Equality Clause that motivated his involvement. The sense of collective identity promoted by a gay church and political commitment to the anti-apartheid struggles motivated the organisation in which he has been working over the last few years.

The interview exemplifies how violence does not act as a self evident event but through different experiences it acquires meaning. Dawie did not know about anti-homosexual violence during apartheid until he went into the army. In his different experiences of violence it appears to be often associated with gender and sexuality. First as a white young man in the army; then, as a man experiencing homosexual feelings; in the silence about sexuality in anti-apartheid movements; later, in the cases of hate crime that his organisation is dealing with.

The rich description of cases of anti-homosexual violence showed that the separation between violence during and after apartheid is not easy to make. However, the examples he mentioned also showed different patterns. In the cases of gay bashing in cruising places, police used clandestine spaces for sexual encounters to take advantage of men who could not risk making their reasons to be at those places obvious. Repression and patriarchal masculinities common to the apartheid regime could make it difficult to claim victimisation because of sexual orientation. It was a kind of violence from some white men to others.

Dawie's reference to cases of crime using online cruising shows another situation. In the post-apartheid context segregation of spaces has been blurring. New technologies can increase this blurring. Yet, networks of desire are still marked in racial terms: older white men cruising younger black men. During the apartheid regime there was a politicisation of criminality and a criminalisation of politics that could facilitate a situation such as police taking advantage of the marginality of (white men's) homosexuality. In the post-apartheid context, criminality has takes advantages of certain vulnerabilities to control interactions.

The interview also shows what happen during political transitions, in particular what is allowed to change or not change. Sexuality, gender and violence maintain close connections, but such connections have not been the same. Dawie's life story shows how collectives that are beneficiaries of those changes participated in the mechanisms that allow, impede or promote some changes in society and no others.

Nadia's Story

Introduction

The story Nadia shared can be easily described as the narrative of a trans woman who is able to obtain subsidies from the state because of legal changes in Colombia. It can be also seen as part of the common story of violence and discrimination associated with trans women. The story she told is, however, that of how the state produces and reproduces forms of exclusion and injustices, even within the concepts of reparation and compensation. It is also the story of her dealing with a script that forces her to retell her life under a frame of violence and discrimination. In doing that, she gives us the chance to explore the interactions between remembering, forgetting and narrating. Those interactions occur in a context in which her memories became a space for consideration of personal, collective and State struggles.

The interview

The interview was held in Malambo, a municipality close to Barranquilla. It lasted one hour and was arranged by Edward, another interviewee. He lives there and has conducted HIV education campaigns with gay, trans and *travestis* groups. Edward had heard that Nadia was looking to be included in the register of victims of displacement resulting from political conflict. He thought her story could be relevant for his activism and for my research.

Edward led the first part of the interview. He asked about Nadia's experience of displacement and situations of discrimination because of her 'identity'. He introduced himself as a representative of victims and used terms and concepts proper to the language of human rights and institutions. On some occasions he offered Nadia his support as activist. In the first part of the conversation Nadia mainly answered Edward's questions. In the second part, after a break for jokes and opinions by other persons in the beauty parlour where the interview was held, Nadia talked in a more friendly and informal way. Her descriptions were more detailed and personal.

The interview was held in the *peluqueria* – beauty parlour, where Nadia lives and works. The house belongs to her sister. Nadia shares the household with the family of her sister: the husband and four children. Nadia's sister kept attending clients during our conversation. Men arrived as clients to have their hair done. A standard haircut can cost $2500 COP, a little more than one USD. One bus journey can cost half that price. The cost of the haircut is cheap compared with other cities, where it can cost four or five times more for a similar standard of cut. During the time I was there several clients arrived and these men were also friends of the women who were present. It was a very active and open place and several conversations and other activities took place while we were there.

During the interview other *travestis* present in the parlour commented on Nadia's stories. When talking about the possibility of getting some compensation because of being recognised as a displaced person, one of her friends told her to use that money to get her breast implants. She answered saying that she would do it if she were younger and that she does not need 'those things' to pass as a woman.

When describing various aspects of her life, Nadia used masculine pronouns. For example, when talking about her peers she used *nosotros* – us, in masculine form or

called them *otros gays* – other gays. On the other hand, she described several times how she has lived as a woman for a long time. In the interview, she stated that she wanted to be incorporated in the displacement register as a 'transsexual'. Female pronouns will be used in the construction of the case when referring to Nadia. When relevant, references to the use of masculine pronouns will be introduced.

The recorded interview lasted sixty minutes. An off-record conversation continued. Nadia and other *travestis* asked Edward about his lovers. They also wanted to know if we were boyfriends. They shared their love and sexual experiences with men while clients were having their hair done. Male clients laughed but did not participate in the conversation. Female clients wanted to hear more. After we left the parlour other *travestis* and gay men called Edward asking for condoms and for his advice in several legal issues.

Life course

Nadia was born in 1966 in Puerto Berrio, a town in the interior of Colombia. When she was a teenager, her family sent her to live in Barranquilla with her sister. There, she worked as housemaid in different houses for periods of one or two years. Once she arrived in Barranquilla in the 1980s, she entered in the circuit of gay life such as bars, discos and beauty pageants. She commented extensively on those times in the second part of the interview and said how much she enjoyed partying in that city and how safe she was spending all night with *el cliente* – the client, in public places. It is possible that she used that term to refer to a 'trade', someone she had just met, but it also suggests the possibility of occasional sex-work. Since there were a number of people present I did not explore that aspect of Nadia's life during the interview.

In the early 1990s Nadia's sister moved to Malambo and Nadia followed her. She kept working as a housemaid and in beauty parlours.

For years she used different female names. In 2011, while participating in a beauty contest, she was *bautizada* - baptised with her current female name. Her name was given by another older and well-respected *travesti* in the community, after selecting among several names that her friends were using for her. She does not want to change the masculine name that is on her identity card because all her other legal documents have that name. She did not mention change of her name as a problem in terms of legal issues.

She is currently expecting that, with the benefits that the government is giving to displaced people, she can have a house for her own. Housing was a common thread in the interview.

Violence as a lived experience

In the first minutes of the interview Nadia offered two of the elements that structured the story she shared. One, was her arrival to Malambo, when a teenager. The other was her recent experience hoping to be incorporated in the official register for internally displaced people in Colombia.

> I arrived in Malambo around 1980, displaced from Puerto Berrío, Antioquia. I came here when I was fourteen years old. Now, because of the circumstances of my life, I have started the procedures to be registered as *desplazado* – displaced, because when I came here such things did not

exist. I came here because of my parents passed away and because of the violence I had to face. I had to face many things that now I can't remember.

This description of her arrival and current situation resulted also from different ways she was asked to recall the events. Her initial description of her arrival used the term *me vine de la edad de catorce años* – 'I came here when I was fourteen years old'. Isolated, that expression could imply that she did it on her own will. When asked to talk more about what happened she remembered that her father me *tuvo que enviar aqui* – 'he had to send me here'. That was not her decision but her father's mandate. And immediately, she continued:

> **Nadia**: At that time, there was *contraguerrilla* – counter guerrilla armies. Nothing happened to me. I was sent (to live with sister) maybe because they wanted to do something to me.
> **Edward***:* was there any threat?
> **N***:* Yes.
> **Fernando***:* Do you remember what was happening at that time?
> **N***:* No, I don't remember.
> **E***:* Do you think that the reason was because you were a young gay?
> **N***:* I think so because since I was a kid I knew I would be gay. Maybe it was because of that.
> **E***:* Something happened to you? They told you something?
> **N***:* No, they didn't tell me anything.
> **F***:* What happened after that?
> **N***:* I remember my father told me 'make your bags. You are going to your sister's. She has the tickets'. It was all very sudden. I barely had time to pack. After that, I didn't return. My sister here was the one who came home to collect me. She was already living here and she came for me.

This description illustrates different ways in which events are forgotten and remembered. Several times during the interview, Nadia mentioned that she did not remember certain aspects of her story. She could not offer information about the armed groups that were acting in the region where she was born. She introduced herself explaining that she arrived in the Caribbean because her parents had passed away. Later in the interview she explained that after she was sent to live with her sister things in her former home area went back to normal. Her father died years later, for reasons not related to the conflict, as she made clear in other moment of the conversation. A specific event of displacement resulting from actions of armed paramilitary was not mentioned.

Reducing these tensions between remembering and forgetting to a dispute between truth and fiction may be misleading. The immediate situation in which the narrative was created needs to be considered. Nadia was relating the interview as a variation of the narrative she had to offer to the bureaucracies in charge of registering her as displaced person. The interview was the opportunity to obtain some support from one of the interviewers. At the same time, he has a name as an LGBT activist and an advocate for the rights of victims of the conflict. Holding those views he sees discrimination because of sexual orientation or gender identity as a common explanation, departure and arrival point. The previous excerpt of the interview illustrates his interest in connection with the experience of displacement with her 'identity'.

Just after her description of the circumstances of her arrival in the Caribbean, Edward asked Nadia if she had experienced discrimination in her family because of her 'identity'.

Nadia made it clear that she did not feel any *rechazo* - rejection by her family. All her family knew she was '*gay*' since she was a child, she commented. She did, however describe one experience of violence in her family as being quite common.

> "My family has always treated me as a *varón* – male, but they have supported me lots. They never rejected me. The only rejection I felt was when my father kicked me out of the house. That was the only rejection. But no, from my family I haven't had any rejection. They said I was like a woman; I was like one of them. The only one who realised I was (a man) was a cousin".

The interview protocol for this research emphasised the description of events, experiences and practices. In certain moments she was asked to expand moments of her life story that she summarised with the formula. "At the moment I don't remember" which she used several times. During the interview Nadia was responding to different ways of and reasons for reconstructing events that were acting simultaneously. However, this simultaneity does not mean that Nadia is not conscious of living in an unjust situation or that she does not want to change it.

Interacting with the State

In a broader context, Nadia's narrative was organised around two ways in which the Colombian State has related to its citizens and particularly with those in subordinated positions in the gender and sexual orders. One way, is the long history of denial of the conditions of citizenship to some citizens. The other way is related to a form in which, in a context of transitions between conflicts, legal changes create new forms of being recognised by the State. This point will be explained next.

Nadia's story resembles the story offered by Zoraya, another trans woman living in Santa Marta who was also interviewed for the research (see above). However, they belong to different generations and Zoraya has had the opportunity to acquire the training and language of activism. Nadia's narrative differs from the narratives offered by other gay or trans-activists interviewed in Colombia or in South Africa since the State does not appear in her narrative as the reference to define her claims. In her limited interactions with the State Nadia has learned not to expect very much from it.

When asked about direct experiences of violence Nadia emphasised that luckily nothing has happened to her. Differing from other narratives of *travestis* or trans women, Nadia said that police *no se mete con nosotros* - did not assault us. *Paso como toda una dama!* – "I pass as an entire lady!", she explained, laughing. Her use of a collective *nosotros* – us, in masculine form, differed from other trans women who described themselves collectively using female pronouns. It seems that Nadia's sense of collective and belonging is not the same as that of other trans women.

Last year, however, she was living with other 'gays' and something happened. Some men went to their house for drinks and her house mates stole money from them. When the men realised they were missing money one of them returned to the house. Nadia opened the door and the man stabbed her. She was in the hospital for some weeks. Her brother helped her with the legal issues. However, he left the city and Nadia decided not to pursue any other legal steps. The judge told her brother that it was *problemas de maricas* – 'problems between faggots'. Nadia offered that reason to explain why pursuing justice would not achieve any result. In this Nadia shared the experience faced by other trans women in terms of a long tradition of denial and lack of attention by the State and its

protective instruments. There is also a common mistrust in the State as a trustworthy body to deal with conflicts.

The other way in which the State appeared in Nadia's narrative is through the recent policies that create an official register for internally displaced people in Colombia. According to new legal frames people who have experienced displacement because of the actions of armed paramilitary are asked to give their testimony to corresponding bureaucracies. Some administrative procedures are followed to check the stories offered by victims. The ones who are accepted in the register as displaced persons are entitled to compensation. Malambo, for example, has been receiving a significant number of people displaced by the conflict. It is nowadays one of the first municipalities with housing projects for victims of the conflict.

Asked about the reasons to go the institution in charge of registering internally displaced people, Nadia said:

> On February 28th I was interviewed. I was incorporated in the displaced register to see if I can receive some help. Now in March I have to go again. I don't know what *ayuda* - help I will be given. Maybe money, a house. Any help I receive, I will agree with it. Nowadays I am really bored with my sister. I want to have something I can consider mine, my own space. People told me to follow that procedure. I didn't do it because my identity card is not from here but the *personero* – ombudsman told me that it does not matter, a displaced person is a displaced person!

It is possible to argue that Nadia is using one of the few instruments that the state has created to give some citizens the chance to obtain a limited chance for compensation for civil injustices. She knew about that instrument through another *travesti* who knew the case of a gay man who was displaced with all his community by *paramilitares*. He received a house in Malambo. That would explain why in the search for some economic independence she used that instrument. Her life story showed how without access to education, growing up in a peasant's family and with limited family support, her chances for social mobility were restricted.

However, as she also expressed, what she was expecting to receive from the state was *una ayuda* - some help. That help was facilitated by the random fact that the ombudsman is a gay man and was welcoming to her. 'LGBT' people were recently recognised as victims of the conflict. Local bureaucracies were aware of the need to collect information about 'LGBT victims'. Nadia remember the sympathy of the *personero*. When he saw her identity card he asked her how she wanted to be registered, if as a 'woman' or a 'transsexual'. She chose 'transsexual'.

Nadia did not explain her situation as a 'lack of rights' and compensation as reparation for the harm inflicted on her. She was responding to what the State has been for a long time teaching their citizens. The State offers 'gifts' that are distributed according to the will of the bureaucracies that are in charge of administering them.

Synthesis

Memories of her arrival in Malambo and dealing with legal procedures are the milestones in Nadia's narrative. They are interconnected as she is retelling her life story in terms of displacement, discrimination and violence. They are also based in her claim for housing not only as accommodation but also as space for intimacy. Her life narrative does not

concentrate solely on the discrimination she suffers because of her sexual orientation or her gender identity. Its violent effects, however, were always present in her narrative.

Nadia described her arrival in Malambo combining different explanations and ways of narrating events. When recalling the death of her parents and 'facing violence' she was condensing a series of events that later, when expanded, would correspond to different moments of her life and her ways to define these events. She also made clear from the outset that at the time of her arrival no concepts such as 'desplazado' were known, and she therefore did not look at herself in that way. If several *circunstancias de la vida* – such as legal changes, access to information, informal networks of support and LGBT activism had not come together for her, Nadia would be telling her life story in a different way.

The story Nadia shared, however, is not just about a single random event. It is not just the result of a legal change produced in the context of transitional justice instruments. To assess how much new the legal frames compensate situations of injustice like those faced by Nadia, other trans women, or displaced communities, is something that cannot be done in the space of the story she shared with me. What Nadia shared is the story of how the State defines its relations with its citizens and how they learn to interact with it.

In doing that, Nadia seems to struggle with the need to be defined as a victim created by law and by activism. During the interview she resisted the tendency to describe her life story as a script of rejection because of her 'identity'. The administrative process she followed seems to be more a mechanism to compensate for a long history of exclusions rather than a response to a feeling of harm because of displacement. Political violence, along with other forms of violence, is part of that history. However, the way she looks at herself is more than a history of violent episodes, as she stated early in the interview:

 "In spite of what I am, I have been very lucky in my family, my colleagues, people in high society, the whole of humanity. I have never been rejected by anyone for anything".

That claim does not deny the injustices she has faced. What it seems to do is to claim some dignity, when the State and some forms of activism just look at her as a subject in need or as a site for violence.

Ignacio, Guillermo and Oscar's Stories

Introduction

During the field trip in Colombia I was interested in interviewing people who were living or working in places highly affected by the political conflict. Victor, one of my collaborators in Santa Marta was coordinating an educational program on HIV in Cienaga, a town close to Santa Marta. I asked Victor to introduce me to his work on an HIV education project in Cienaga. Cienaga has a long history of social resistance and unionism in banana plantations that started in the early Twentieth Century. In the last decades Cienaga and the surrounding areas were badly affected with *paramilitares*. Currently, new forms of criminal bands that emerged after the demobilisation of *paramilitares* exercise violence in the zone.

The stories these three subjects share have in common their struggles to navigate in the ambit of power and ambivalences that the male gender and sexual order imposes on them. Hierarchies of subjects are created and reinforced by threats, fear and actual violence. Those hierarchies become part of everyday life interactions under notions of respectability, correctness and cleanliness.

The interview

I expected to interview one of Victor's colleagues. When we arrived at Cienaga, however, three members of the project were waiting for us. All of them expressed their interested in contributing to the research and stayed for the interview. The three participated almost equally in the interview. However, I had to distribute the questions and ask two of the interviewees directly, since one of the participants assumed a leading role. He spoke extensively about the results of his work and seemed to think my visit was really an external assessment of the project and might carry possibilities of further funding. The other two participants limited their contributions to answering my questions. Victor was present throughout the interviews and set procedures in motion.

The interview lasted 120 minutes. Afterwards I had a chance to walk around Cienaga with Victor and two of the participants. They showed me the areas where they observe the activities of sex workers and 'gay men' and other target populations. I noticed that some members of the community recognised them and talked to them in a friendly way. I also noticed others looking at us with caution. On two occasions I heard jokes and mocking whistles aimed at us as we passed. The two who were with me did not react to any comments.

Life course

Guillermo was born in 1963 in Bogota. His family had a comfortable economic position. He started using drugs when he was a teenager. Because of that he left his family and lived in a number of places in the country. He defined himself as a recovering addict. Ten years ago he left the city where he was living because of threats to his security and moved to Cienaga. There, when his wife was pregnant with their first child, they both tested positive for HIV. He has been working in different institutions and projects concerned with drug users, homeless people and urban youth. Now he coordinates education campaigns on HIV prevention with sex workers.

Ignacio was born in 1995 in Cienaga. Recently he started training to be a nurse. His work in the project encouraged him to pursue those studies. His family did not accept his

homosexuality and his father refuses to talk to him. He had to leave his family when they discovered his sexual orientation. After that, he worked for a while as a *transformista* in gay discos. Nowadays his relationship with his family is becoming better. As far as he acts *serio* – 'straight acting', his family would accept him, he explained. However, he still feels rejection in his family and community. He finished his introduction expressing his admiration to the family of Oscar, the third participant, because of the way they support him.

Oscar, the third participant in the collective interview, was born in Cienaga in 1993. He started the interview explaining how much he trusts his mother and how important that trust has been to overcome bullying because of his sexual orientation and gender expression. He did not fear to react to bullying on the streets by turning back and facing the situation, because he is sure his family will support him. He also emphasised that what makes a difference is that he is taking his life a gay man in a 'responsible' way, meaning that he is not being promiscuous or causing problems. The only aspect his family does not know is that he likes to *vestirse* – dressing up, for shows as a *transformista*. In the same introduction he talked about himself as a *trans*person. "As a trans, I can see many cases of *transformistas* that go on the streets like that, but I don't do it, I just do it for special events, I am not a full time *transformist*", he explained.

Violence as a lived experience

The three participants have been exposed to different types of violence. Those differences are related to their age, life course and experiences of vulnerability. Guillermo described experiences of violence related to drug abuse, living in the street and criminality. Ignacio and Oscar made clear that they have not been exposed to violence directly and made a distinction between 'discrimination' and 'violence'. Discrimination, explained Ignacio, is the case of a *chica trans* – transgirl, who cannot go to school because she wears long hair. Violence, according to them, is restricted to physical violence, attacks and murder.

Because of their work with marginalised populations, the three participants were able to describe a variety of cases of violence related to discrimination and social exclusion. Oscar and Ignacio have contributed to the creation of human rights reports on violence against 'LGBT' people in the region. They referred to them when recalling events of violence. Their descriptions resemble the language and logic of activism. For example, they used the LGBT acronym when giving information about events. When going deeper in explanations or anecdotes, they used local terms related to gender and sexualities. Their descriptions were precise and rich in details. Most of the cases they referred concerned people they knew.

The cases of violence they mentioned have in common that they occur in public spaces, that vehicles are used to help the victimisers to pursue their victims and the targeting of particular victims. Some of the cases they mentioned occurred in areas where new forms of criminal bands that emerged after the demobilisation of *paramilitares* dispute control. For example, they remembered a soccer referee who was gay was killed last year while training in a park in a zone affected by violence. A guy driving a motorbike appeared all of the sudden and shot him. A trans woman was decorating the house of her sibling for Christmas and suddenly two men appeared, chased and killed her. She had been warned before about not coming back to that area. Two years earlier, a lesbian girl was raped and killed. Her body was found in a deserted place. The weekend before the interview, a

'transgirl' who is also doing sex work was sitting in a bar and suddenly a guy arrived and shot her in front of everybody. She was badly injured but survived.

In their descriptions of these and other cases, Guillermo, Ignacio and Oscar gave information about double victimisation and discrimination by authorities. During the conversation they showed documents related with a case that had occurred the previous weekend. They included medical and legal records. One of the documents was a complaint against the hospital because the medical staff that attended her downgraded the case, saying it was just 'inflammation'. A legal charge was presented but they fear nothing is going to happen because she was doing sex work and that would be seen to justify the treatment she was given.

When the three participants were describing those events they were not just giving information on patterns of victimisation or typologies of crime. The cases they remembered were, in certain ways, selected from the broader landscape of cases collected in reports produced by human rights organisations. What they described were not isolated or distant events. The cases they recalled referred to violence that had happened to people that were close to them or with whom they had become familiar. Even if they do not know the victims personally, it is still violence that has occurred close to them. That proximity is not just in terms of space. It is proximity in terms of people in similar social conditions or with similar life experiences.

That sense of proximity with violence was exemplified more when talking about the spreading of threatening leaflets in the city during the last months. Talking about that topic took an important proportion of the conversation. The use of threatening leaflets has been documented and denounced by human rights and LGBT organisations. Because of that it was considered as a particular element to be explored during the data collection field trip in the Colombian Caribbean region realised for the present research.

Guillermo was the one who offered most information on that topic. He received one of those leaflets recently. It was left under his front door. The house that acts as the venue for the education project on HIV is also his home and he lives there with his wife and their one year old girl. Guillermo connected the leaflet with the fact that people know that they offer services in the house for trans women and sex workers. In the leaflet there was a death threat to *maricas, putas y drogadictos* – 'faggots, whores and drug users'. Guillermo emphasised that it affects them since it not the first time it has happened. Now there is a new wave of those leaflets. Asked if HIV was mentioned in that leaflet, he said it was not but he guesses that it is implicit because people know they work in that area. Research scientists gathering information on people living with HIV were also included in the threatened populations.

Guillermo explained that those leaflets sometimes target several groups and sometimes target just one group, such as drug users, drug dealers or sex workers. *O dejas de ser burro o te mueres* – 'you better stop being a junkie or you will die', was in one of the leaflets he saw recently directed to someone he knew. Sometimes they are very specific, even giving names or nicknames of the persons they threaten. A few days before the interview, he visited a friend who is a drug user and lives on the streets. He showed Guillermo the leaflet with his full name there. Some may be signed and some are anonymous. They may be left under doors or dropped in the streets.

Asked about the impact of the leaflets Guillermo explained that they are used to them and it is better to ignore them. However, he also explained that it does not mean that leaflets

do not have any impact. Oscar and Ignacio agreed that they can affect them when distributing condoms and offering rapid HIV testing because they do that in parks and public places. Once leaflets are distributed people stop going out, 'transgirls do not dress up' and prefer to stay at home.

This situation runs parallel with two other aspects of the political conflict mentioned in the conversation. One is the presence of criminal gangs struggling for power. *Bandas Criminales Emergentes* – Criminal Emerging Gangs is the official name given to them. They emerged after the demobilisation of *paramilitares* and it is said that they are just a new phase of paramilitary armies. For Guillermo, the fact that leaflets threaten drug users and drug dealers is not coincidental. Those gangs are struggling for the control of micro-networks of drug distribution. Some of the threatening leaflets in circulation have the names of those gangs as their authors.

The other aspect is the constant movement of population because of displacement caused by the conflict. Cienaga and Santa Marta are cities receiving displaced populations and the interviewees confirmed that situation. Asked about the presence or trans, gay or lesbian persons as displaced they claimed not to know of such cases but drew attention to the opposite situation. Because of the violence that targets them, some trans women have migrated to Bogota and the inland cities. There, Guillermo explained, there are more chances to get better places in sex work and to avoid threats. Oscar explained, however, that, it is possible that there are also gays, lesbians or trans displaced but they do not declare their condition. Some may abstain from declaring, fearing for their security and also because they want to start a new life. It is like what happens with HIV, continued Guillermo, when people prefer not to go to clinic or to a medical examination as they do not wish to be identified as HIV positive.

Gender and sexual orders

The descriptions that Guillermo, Oscar and Ignacio offered about the current situation of violence in Cienaga constrasted with the references they offered on the changes in gender and sexual orders. Those changes were seen by them under the idea of *avances* – 'advancements' and the acquisition of more *reconocimiento* – 'recognition'.

Early in the interview, they agreed on 'machismo' as a common element of the local culture. 'Machismo' was offered as an all encompassing explanation that would speak for itself. Guillermo mentioned how his work on sexual rights often faces the problem that care is seen as a responsibility of women. Because of machismo men do not participate in those activities and introducing the use of condoms is difficult, he continued. Even more, he mentioned with concern how the city may be facing a high level of vulnerability to HIV because of the 'myths and ignorance' around sexuality and the virus.

However, also early in the interview and before the description of experiences of violence they explained all the 'advances' they have been making. Three years ago, for example, there was the first *Desfile de la Diversidad Sexual* – Sexual Diversity Parade, Oscar and Ignacio remembered. They were just a few and walked with fear. Despite some negative reactions, people 'behaved properly', they commented. In the second year there were more participants, nobody used masks to cover their faces and they even had the accompaniment of the police. The community was expecting the parade, people wanted to see them from the best places on the street and even the wife of the Mayor was present, they said enthusiastically. Commenting on that event Guillermo said that he sees more respect in a place like Cienaga than in the interior. There is now space for a trans-

beauty pageant during *Fiestas del Caiman* – Alligator Festivities, the most important local festivities in Cienaga. What they are describing is a regulated integration of diverse sex, sexuality and gender.

These references were added to after the recorded interview was finished and while walking the town. Ignacio, Oscar and Victor described a dense network of parties and beauty pageants that happen all year through and in different places in the region. They even mentioned a little town, close to the extended banana plantations, where sometimes *transformistas* organise events. Part of the conversation was about what happened in the last pageant when the best candidate was someone coming from the other side of the country. They were proud they have people from so far coming here. Asked about how this could happen in an area where *paramilitares* had a significant control they associated that with the logic underlying some male-to-male sexual interactions. For them it happens for the same reason that *cacorros* at the same time that they look for *maricas* to have sex are the first ones 'throwing stones at them' when they are in male company.

This ambivalence is also challenged by them. At the end of the interview Oscar mentioned, with some humour, how when he is doing prevention campaigns and he sees someone he knows is a *cacorro* but do not want to be identified, he approaches him offering condoms.

Synthesis

As can be seen in their life courses, the three persons that participated in this collective interview had very different backgrounds and life experiences. They belong to different generations and experience vulnerabilities in different ways. They also exercise agency using different resources. At the same time their presence in the same area exemplifies the confluences created by alliances and initiatives for change. Marginalisms and exclusions overlap without blurring. In their descriptions there is no separation between violence associated with the political armed conflict and violence associated with criminality. Oscar and Ignacio made clear their differences with Guillermo not in terms of sexual orientations but in terms of how to understand and react to violence.

Oscar and Ignacio, in spite of sharing similar experiences as transformistas and having a similar age range, also have differences. Oscar's simultaneous definition as a gay man, a *transformista* and a trans requires further discussion on the interactions between sexual orientations and gender identities in his cultural context. Even more, a discussion on how some forms of activism are based on such divisions while other gender and sexual orders present other connections and divisions. Even more, a discussion of transformations in gender and sexual orders related to generational changes, access to information and new technologies as well as interactions between local contexts and international trends.

The three of them shared a description of their context in which the proximity with violence runs parallel to the idea of 'advancement' and progress in terms of recognition of forms of political identities associated with sexual orientations. That proximity is the result of what they live personally and what they decide to remember from collective experiences and make memories. In that way, violence becomes an embodied experience.

The 'advances' they described are the result of their activism and the strategies they have chosen to find a space for themselves in their community. In a context in which dealing with violence and injustices openly exposes someone to direct violence obtaining

respect or recognition in those forms is not a minimal gain. Having the chance to organise the third *Desfile de la Diversidad Sexual* or obtaining a space in the local festivities is the result of their work and at same time restricts them to the time and space of carnival. Those advances are framed by the way that the community, in particular local authorities, regulate their public presence. In a more intimate dimension it is the tension between acceptance and family support as far as people act under norms of respect. It is the demand of being *serio* – straight acting or 'responsible' expressed by Ignacio and Oscar.

Social actors, as the participants in the interview showed, organise, resist and learn to exercise agency using a variety of resources. Those resources vary from acquiring the grammar of legal instruments, the interaction with State institutions or everyday life resistances. Sometimes it can be the simple but no less powerful act of giving a condom to a *cacorro* in a bar to expose the contradictions of gender and sexual orders.

Edward's story

Introduction

Edward is a young 'LGBT' activist. Activism has given him an opportunity for educational and social mobilisation that he might not had coming from a working class family struggling with poverty in a Colombian Caribbean city. The story he shared is the result of his inquisitive and trained gaze on his culture, the complexities of gender and sexual orders and the emerging LGBT activism in the region. His life story shows how such orders can interact with global economies of industry and tourism and with national policies for conflict resolution. It also shows the professionalisation of activism and the incorporation of social mobilisations in State policies. His life story also illustrates how those changes can occur in a short period of time.

The interview

I met Edward in a workshop I facilitated. The workshop was part of the collaboration I developed with a local organisation in Colombia in relation to my PhD research. I had several informal conversations with Edward before the recorded interview. He also introduced me to other interviewees and to the local life in his hometown. The interview was fluent and rich in details. Edward gave me information related to regional cultures and to his personal life. Often he moved from one level to the other in the same answer. We did a recorded interview about his work and another about his personal life. The second interview was held in a coffee place. It lasted ninety-five minutes.

Life course

Edward was born in 1989 in Malambo, a municipality of the urban area close to Barranquilla. Malambo is home to an important working class sector for the factories surrounding the city. His father was an unskilled worker in the informal sector of economy and his mother was in charge of the household.

Edward studied sociology at Universidad del Atlantico, a regional publicly-funded university. In the second year of his studies, his father died. He left university, looking for work to support his family. He found several informal jobs: tutoring school students, attending grocery shops and even selling candies on public buses. That was a very difficult time since they moved from being a working class family to a family living in poverty. It was the late 2000s. He is still responsible for the economic support of his mother and part of his extended family.

At that time, his partner was a man in Spain whom he had met online. His partner supported Edward economically and emotionally during the crisis after his father passed away. He also encouraged him to go back to University. Up to the time of our interview they hadn't met personally but they are still in touch online. Despite the fact that his partner often talks about visiting, Edward knows that he is concerned about security and fears coming to Colombia.

Once back at his studies, Edward joined several organisations working on gay rights and HIV in the Colombian Caribbean region. After finishing his BA he took an online course on human Rights offered by the National Ombudsman's Office. That experience was fundamental for his career development. During the course he made contact with public employees, police forces and other activists on human rights. He also understood the

mechanisms, concepts and language of the field. Moreover, it gave him a new status among his family, classmates and community.

In 2012 he was hired by a local LGBT organisation to manage a data base on violence related to gender or sexual orientation. The organisation has obtained some funds from an international cooperation agency and is working in alliance with other Colombian LGBT organisation to consolidate the data base. Funds are still limited and Edward has had periods of low income. Despite not being a lawyer, his training in human rights has given him the skills to present legal requests to local authorities. Because of his current work, he has been participating in national meetings related to victims of homophobic violence during the armed conflict. In 2013 he was given the opportunity the read a paper on the topic in front of the plenary of the Colombian Senate.

Violence as a lived experience

Edward does not describe himself as victim of violence or mention any personal experience of victimisation. There were, however, several events in his narrative that show his closeness with different forms of violence. This close relationship with violence appears in four ways: as an element in the life story; as part of social interactions; as witnessing; as expert knowledge.

In different moments of the interview and in our informal conversations Edward recalled the bullying he faced when he was a child for being perceived as effeminate and less masculine. He did not connect that with an idea of violence but more with the logics of the gender and sexual orders in his culture.

Another awareness of violence appeared when remembering the presence of illegal armed groups in his university. He also mentioned how that this presence is still common in his community and the fear he sometimes feels of being identified as a gay man and an LGBT activist. After the recorded interview he mentioned how his brother had to leave the community because of some problems related to criminality. He explained that the fact of his being gay would increase the chances that members of the community might retaliate against him for what his brother did. Because of that possibility he is always cautious when arriving home late at night.

He has also witnessed several cases of violence against trans women and gay men. Because of his work, he has had the chance to walk the street with trans women and visit them at their working places. He mentioned how often people on the streets call out names and insult trans women. One of his close friends was a trans woman who died after injecting silicone to acquire a more feminine body. He remembered the mocking and negligence of hospital personal because of her gender identity.

Finally, since nowadays his work is administering a data base, his everyday life is closely associated with the identification, description and following-up of cases of violence.

The knowledge he has gained about violence is result of his activist and his professional skills. It can be also a matter of security concerns. Because of having witnessed events of violence and because of the information he collects, he mentioned in the interview that allowing what he knows to become public would put him at risk.

Activism and mobilisation

Edward's activism needs to be framed in the context of studying social sciences in a public regional university and in the development of gay and lesbian organisations in the region.

Edward dated his activism to his time at the university. After he returned to his studies, and with the encouragement of his Spanish partner to be open about his sexuality, he took a class on gender studies. All the male students were gay, but none as open as he was. Because of that his teacher asked him to support her when she needed to talk about gender and sexual diversity. He also organised movie presentations and events to talk about homosexuality in the university. He received significant recognition within the university and felt the need to do something outside. He looked for organisations working in 'LGBT rights' and joined them as a volunteer.

At the time of his studies, there was a lot of political activism in his university and particularly in his faculty, remembered Edward. Some of his classmates had a *discurso revolucionario* – revolution speech that made the university environment rich in discussions but also a focus of attention for forces opposed to students' mobilisations. Illegal armed groups from different sides of the political landscape were present in the university. Because of that, he remembered, participating in activism on gay rights was a bit dangerous. *Paramilitares* had allies in the University and talking about those topics would be putting you at risk, he said.

In this context, he described his activism as evolving around three main focuses of interest: social justice and poverty; gay rights; trans women.

At the same time, his activism has expanded in connection with other social movements and toward national levels. His current responsibilities in an LGBT organisation have given him the chance to interact with regional and national State institutions and with representatives of other social movements working with victims of the conflict. That organisation has been successful in obtaining funds from international agencies to do 'LGBT' activism. When those funds are not available they still implement projects and do consultancy for local State institutions. Because of that they have gained recognition at national level.

Transition conflict/post-conflict

Edward has had the chance to participate in a space created by the Government as part of the implementation of a new legal frame for the rights of victims of the conflict. 'LGBT people' have been included as one of the protected sectors and have representation in that space.

Acting at that level was not easy, he remembered. He is young and gay. His youth contrasts with the more mature and professional activism he has found in other representatives of social movements and with State bureaucracies dealing with these topics. At the same time, gender identities and sexual orientation are still seen as minor topics compared to displacement, or peasant or trade unions movements. He is representing a topic that is new and that has created suspicious among more established topics of activism. For some representatives of other social movements, LGBT topics are quite exotic, he said.

In that context, he has experienced the hierarchies of victims and the professionalisation of activism promoted by State participation policies. He mentioned how often there are

discussions and jokes about the inclusion of 'homosexuals' as victims of the conflict. However, since there is a legal frame that creates that inclusion, he feels the eventual acceptance of the topic is inevitable. He explains that the law included diversity as one of its principles and therefore women, ethnic groups and several minorities are put in the same box.

He has, however, seen in that mixed participation the chance to educate others about what is happening in terms of gender and sexual orientation. Often he is asked about what is a trans woman or to explain what the LGBT acronym means. In the interview, he explained his work as opening spaces or creating bridges.

His activism and his representative role have put him also created debates with other members of LGBT organisations. The fact that sometimes he presents in national arenas the violence suffered by trans women is seen by trans leaders as patronising and inadequate, among other reasons because he is not a transperson. At the same time, he continued, because he and his organisation often talk about violence and denounce cases of victimisation, they have been accused of creating a stigma on trans women and prostitution.

Gender and sexual orders

In the recorded interview and in informal conversations, Edward offered rich information about the sexual cultures and gender relationships in the region. For example, he described in detail the tensions and conflicts between gay men and trans women in their interactions with straight men and how they compete for those possible sexual partners. He described how because of new technologies they have access to sexual cultures of other places and enter into long-distance relationships with men abroad interested in Latino men. In his descriptions he acted as a sociologist and as someone sharing personal experiences. Sometimes he described situations using the language of activism, like the acronym LGBT. At other times, he used terms and expressions that can only be understood in the local context. When describing from an activist perspective, issues were covered in a broad and homogeneous agenda around the political identities defined by the LGBT logic, for example separating gender identities from sexualities. When describing from the local cultures, gender and sexuality seems more intermingled aspects, and differences were based on the use of terms such as gay versus local terms.

Edward's references to gender and sexual orders can be organised in three ways: those related to trans women; those related to male homosexuals; and the interactions between these two groups.

Several times during the interview Edward talked about his experiences and perceptions of trans women. He mentioned that initially in his activism he felt closer to gay rights issues but now he feels more connected with the needs of trans women. The needs of trans women are also becoming more visible as a matter of concern in the agendas of regional and national LGBT organisations.

Edward remembered being raised with the idea that trans women were dangerous, scandalous and people to be avoided. The fact that trans women were part of his everyday life was clear from his narratives. When walking around his hometown and his current living place the presence of trans women was evident. The area is well known for a long term presence of trans women.

Part of that perception of danger around trans women, he explained, was the combination of two factors: trans women can have the physical power of men to exercise strength and violence and the power of women to seduce. The *conmoción* – commotion they cause with their public presence is associated also with the perception of their masculine or feminine presentation, he continued. He mentioned elsewhere in the interview that people tend to marginalise trans women when they look too masculine, but accept them when they have operations to look more feminine. When they become prettier, he said, people accept them more easily as 'proper' women. In that process, trans women also change their names from nicknames to proper female names. Edward and other interviewees described a rich and lively circuit landscape of *reinados* – beauty pageants, all through the year in the region. Some of them are very important activities in their communities and include the support of local authorities. The importance of those *reinados* for trans women is their similarity with other *reinados* for non-trans women and their connection with carnivals, spectacles and celebrations. It seems that the closer the connection of trans women with hegemonic definitions of femininity and with a strictly regulated public presence, the less the perception of them as risk factors.

Edward was also clear about the resistance and struggles of trans women to win a place of dignity for themselves. When he walks in dangerous places because of his work in HIV prevention, for example, he feels safer with trans women than with gay men. Trans have gained for themselves a space on the streets or in the community, he explained. On the other hand, there are more chances for him to be insulted when walking just with gay men, he continued.

At the same time, not all trans women are in the same situation or are seen by their communities in the same way. Malambo has been the point of arrival for persons internally displaced because of the conflict. Edward has found, for example, that trans women displaced because of the conflict are not seen in the same way as those in poverty. Displacement is associated with violence, particularly with suspicions that one might be a supporter of one of the factions involved in the conflict. In that way, displacement adds a different element to the vulnerabilities that trans women face.

As with other male interviewees in the Caribbean, Edward gave lots of space in his narrative to explain his interactions with *cacorros*, a local term used to describe men who have sex with other men but do not identify as gay. He introduced the discussion on *cacorros* at the beginning of the recorded interview when trying to identify forms of violence against each of the four identities now covered under the LGBT umbrella. He mentioned that they have not found bisexuals as a particular category for victimisation. It does not mean that bisexuality does not exist in the region. In this narrative, Edward was cautions about doing a fusion between *cacorros* and bisexuality.

Edward confirmed the sexual and economic interchanges between gay identified men and *cacorros* mentioned by other interviewees. *Cacorros* look for gay identified men for their support and gay men look for *cacorros* as sexual partners because of their masculinity. At the same time, heterosexual-identified men can look for trans women as a *vacile* – a temporary moment of fun without any commitment. They would not, however, like to be seen in public with a trans woman. Certain sexual and erotic practices mark the difference between one position and the other. Kissing for example, can make a man closer to being seen as gay. Some trans women do not like men that try to kiss them, because kissing is seen as less masculine and therefore close to homosexuality and a gay position, Edward explained. There is, however, competition between trans women

and gay-identified men for heterosexual-identified men. For trans women, masculine gay men are *tapados* – covered, because they do not show who they are. Even more, since some of those gay identified men can pay other men for sex, they are taking some possible clients away from trans women in sex work, explained Edward. Masculine gay men can be acceptable public company for heterosexual-identified men, something that is not true for trans women.

Synthesis

The rich description of local gender and sexual orders and of the professionalisation of activism provided by Edward is relevant for this research in order to understand the simultaneities of specific gender and sexual arrangements with extensive processes of change. Edward's activism operates from a LGBT agenda but has not (yet) impeded his analysis of local cultures in their own terms. At the same time, his increasing presence in national spaces of participation promoted by the State seems to be associated with the use of the language of rights and the diversity imposed by such logic.

His description of gender and sexual orders, in particular of masculinities, is relevant for this research to understand who the subjects of anti-homosexual violence are, how they are defined and what others may or may not be affected by such violence. In other words, his description is a challenge to the way in which the implicit subject of this research project is defined.

How these complexities interact with the dynamics of armed conflict is something that requires further analysis. Edward's description of gender and sexual orders, as an insider and a trained sociologist, suggests the interaction of several layers. One such interaction implies the use of sexual orientation as a subjective identity that creates a particular position. That would be the case for men who identify themselves as gay men. Another suggested the importance of gender conformity and regulation of private and public spaces. That would apply to the perception of trans women vulnerability reducing as they are seen as having become more feminine, or the case of masculine gay men who pass undiscovered even if they have same-sex partners. In both cases it seems there are more chances to occupy public spaces safely in accordance with conventional gender conformity. The other layer refers to the position of men who have sex with other men compared with gay men and trans women and the possible dangers they face. It is implicit in Edward's narrative and in the ones offered by other gay-identified men that those men are relatively protected under hegemonic ideas of masculinity. My interviewees, however, did not offer information about what happened with those men in the context of violence or where armed groups struggle for territorial control. Despite violence creating situations of vulnerability, it is affected by rules governing gender and sexual orders.

Appendix 5: Example of threatening leaflets distributed in Colombia

The next leaflet was distributed in the Colombian Caribbean coast in July 2014. *Rastrojos* is the name of a criminal gang associated with *paramilitares*. The leaflet says:

'Considering the alliance between institutions, the Victims' Working Group of Atlántico and factions of the FARC acting in Atlántico, the next left-wing leaders have been declared military target:

1. Because they do not support the advancements of the *Seguridad Democratica*

2. We demand to these people to stop brainwashing communities

3. We demand them to stop claiming the defence of human rights of peasants, displaced people, faggots, lesbians, and women raped by the extinct AUC.

(Next there was a list of name that was omitted for security reasons)

These dogs and sluts have 72 hours to hide or to face us.

We will fight since the beginning to the end against our enemies, FARC and ELN and their associated trade union and social organisations.

<div align="center">Rastrojos, Armed Group, North Branch</div>

JULIO 9 DE 2014

ANTE LA ALIANZA DE LAS ISNTITUCIONES, LA MESA DEPARTAMENTAL DE VICTIMAS DEL ATLANTICO Y LOS FRENTES DE LA S FARC QUE OPERAN EN EL ATLANTICO, LOS LIDERES T Y LIDEREZAS DE LA EXTREMA IZQUIERDA QUE MENCIONAMOS A CONTINUACIÒN HAN SIDO DECLARADOS OBJETIVO MILITAR.

1. .POR NO APOYAR LA AVANZADA DE LA SEGURIDAD DEMOCRATICA ...

2. EXIGIMOS A LOS AQUÍ SEÑALADOS DEJEN DE LAVAR EL CEREBRO A LAS COMUNIDADES

3. EXIGIMOS DEJAR DE PREGONAR DEFENDER LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS DE LOS CAMPESINOS,DESPLAZADOS, LOS MARICAS,LESBIANAS Y MUJERES VIOLADAS POR LAS EXTINTAS AUC.

ESTOS PERROS Y PERRAS TIENEN 72 HORAS PARA ESCONDERSE O ENFRENTARNOS

NUESTRA LUCHA SERa DESDE EL PRINCIPIO HASTA EL FIN CONTRA NUESTROS ENEMIGOS LAS FARC Y EL ELN COMO SUS ORGANIZACIONES SINDICALES Y SOCIALES AMIGAS

GRUPO ARMADO LOS RASTROJOS-COMANDO NORTE