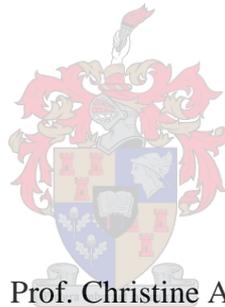


The discourse of liberation: The portrayal of the gay liberation movement in South African
news media from 1982 to 2006

Lauren Danger Mongie

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Supervisor: Prof. Christine Anthonissen

Co-supervisor: Dr Frenette Southwood

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Declaration

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Dedication and acknowledgements

This study is dedicated to the memory of my father, Reg Mongie, whose love, support, humour, brilliance and rogue parenting style continues to brighten my life, and to my mother, Byrene Mongie, whose love is a guiding light in my life.

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Abstract

This dissertation reports on a study that straddles the applied linguistic fields of discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis and a sociolinguistic field recently referred to as “queer linguistics”. The study investigated the linguistic construction of gay mobilisation in South African media discourses across a period of almost 30 years. It aimed to identify characteristics of the Discourse that topicalised the gay liberation movement, considering specifically the linguistic means used in articulating on the one hand the need and the right to gay liberation, and on the other hand the public opposition to acknowledging gay rights. It invoked a social theory identified as ‘framing theory’ in analysing the different kinds of views, attitudes, social positions and arguments motivating for or agitating against the institution and protection of gay rights in post-apartheid South Africa.

The project takes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), particularly its applications in considering features and functions of media discourses, as its primary theoretical framework. First, following the insistence of the Discourse-historical approach put forward by Wodak (1990), it gives an overview of the social and historical context against which the recognition of gay rights in South Africa developed. It follows the analytic methodology suggested by van Dijk (1985) in considering issues of ‘language and power’, and the ways in which the access of elites to media attention is drawn on to support and give credence to particular ideologies. Supplementary to the application of CDA methods, an analytic approach from the fields of Social Movement Theory and Collective Action Framing is introduced to make sense of the discursive strategies implemented in the Discourse thematically tied to the South African gay liberation movement, particularly from the early 1980s up to 2006. This period was marked by the movement’s pursuit of social mobilization. Attention went to the ways in which arguments for and against gay rights were instantiated in the media using a variety of different frames. Such analysis could disclose the extent to which the “anti-apartheid” master frame was utilised by actors of the gay liberation movement.

Based on their circulation demographics, two local South African weekly newspapers, *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian*, were screened in order to identify articles and letters to the editor relevant to the gay liberation discourse. The full complement of published items topicalising homosexuality directly and indirectly were collected as two corpora in order to

assess the ways in which they contributed to public discourses of gay liberation. Two analytic exercises were done: first, the content of the full data-set was “tagged” and categorised according to the textual nature of the newspaper item, and the kinds of frames used in its presentation; second, a number of articles and letters were selected from the corpora for detailed analysis that would illustrate the use of the various strategies and frames found to characterise the Discourse. The first more quantitative analysis provided an overview of patterns, trends and editorial practices typically used in the media representations. The second more qualitative analysis provided insight into the finer details of media presentation of ideas aimed at affecting the knowledge and attitudes of the intended and imagined readers. The findings of these analyses were presented in terms of quantifiable results as well as detailed descriptions.

In broad strokes, the quantifiable findings showed that the *Mail & Guardian* corpus was significantly more outspoken in advocating for gay rights than the *City Press* corpus, and that both publications frequently framed homosexuality in terms of “tolerance”, “religion” and “rights”. The quantifiable findings also showed that in their discourses of gay tolerance and gay rights, both the *City Press* and the *Mail & Guardian* made significant use of frames typically and widely used by the media in the discourse of political change at the time. The detailed analyses investigated the textual reproduction of the authors’ ideologies, drawing attention to their regular reliance on certain types of arguments used for and against gay rights in the selected newspapers.

Opsomming

Hierdie proefskrif lewer verslag oor 'n studie wat die toegepaste taalwetenskapterreine van diskoersanalise en kritiese diskoersanalise asook 'n sosiolinguistiese terrein wat sedert onlangs “queer-taalwetenskap” genoem word, betrek. In die studie word daar ondersoek ingestel na die linguistiese konstruksie van gaymobilisering in Suid-Afrikaanse mediadiskoerse wat oor 'n tydperk van bykans 30 jaar strek. Die doel van die studie was om eienskappe van die Diskoers wat die gaybevrydingsbeweging topikaliseer te identifiseer, met inagnome van spesifiek die taalkundige middele gebruik tydens die artikulering van die behoefte aan en die reg tot gaybevryding aan die een kant en die openbare weerstand teen die erkenning van gayregte aan die ander kant. Die analyses van die verskillende standpunte, gesindhede, sosiale posisies en argumente ten gunste van of teen die instelling en beskerming van gayregte in post-apartheid Suid-Afrika beroep hulself op 'n sosiale teorie wat as “ramingsteorie” (Engels: *framing theory*) geïdentifiseer is.

Die projek neem kritiese diskoersanalise as hoof teoretiese raamwerk aan, veral kritiese diskoersanalise se toepassings in die oorweging van kenmerke en funksies van mediadiskoerse. Eerstens, deur die aandrag van die Diskoers-historiese benadering voorgestel deur Wodak (1990) te volg, word daar 'n oorsig oor die sosiale en historiese konteks gegee waarin die erkenning van gayregte in Suid-Afrika ontwikkel het. Die analitiese metodologie voorgestel deur van Dijk (1985) word gebruik tydens die oorweging van kwessies rakende “taal en mag” asook wyses waarop sogenaamde “elites” se toegang tot media-aandag betrek word om geloofwaardigheid aan bepaalde ideologieë te verleen. Aanvullend tot die toepassing van kritiese diskoersanalise-metodes word 'n analitiese benadering uit die terreine van Sosiale Bewegingsteorie en Kollektiewe Ramingsteorie betrek om sin te maak uit die diskursiewe strategieë wat (spesifiek van die vroeë 1980s tot 2006) geïmplementeer is in die Diskoers wat tematies aan die Suid-Afrikaanse gaybevrydingsbeweging verbind is. Hierdie tydperk is gekenmerk deur die beweging se nastrewing van sosiale mobilisering. Aandag is verleen aan die wyses waarop argumente ten gunste van en teen gayregte geïnstansieer is in die media deur gebruik te maak van 'n verskeidenheid rame. Só 'n analise kan die mate waarin die “anti-apartheid” meesterraam deur spelers in die gaybevrydingsbeweging gebruik is, onthul.

Gebaseer op hul oplaagdemografie is bydraes in twee Suid-Afrikaanse weeklikse koerante, *City Press* en *Mail & Guardian* gesif om artikels en briewe aan die redakteur relevant tot die gaybevrydingsdiskoers te identifiseer. Die vol getal gepubliseerde items wat homoseksualiteit direk en/of indirek topikaliseer, is as twee korpusse versamel om sodoende die wyses te ondersoek waarop hulle bydra tot openbare diskoerse van gaybevryding. Twee analitiese oefeninge is uitgevoer: eerstens is die inhoud van die volledige datastel geëtiketteer en gekategoriseer op grond van die teks-aard van die koerantitem en die tipe rame wat in die item se aanbieding gebruik is; tweedens is 'n aantal artikels en briewe uit die korpusse geselekteer vir gedetailleerde analise wat die gebruik van verskeie strategieë en rame sou illustreer wat bevind is om kenmerkend van die Diskoers te wees. Die eerste, meer kwantitatiewe analise het 'n oorsig gegee oor patrone, tendense en redaksionele praktyke wat tipies in die mediavoorstellings gebruik is. Die tweede, meer kwalitatiewe analise het insig gegee in die fyner besonderhede van mediavoorstelling van idees wat daarop gemik is om die kennis en gesindhede van die bedoelde en denkbeeldige lesers te affekteer. Die bevindinge van hierdie analises is in terme van kwantifiseerbare resultate asook gedetailleerde beskrywings aangebied.

In breë trekke het die kwantifiseerbare bevindinge daarop gedui dat die *Mail & Guardian*-korpus beduidend meer uitgesproke as die *City Press*-korpus was in die bepleiting van gayregte, en dat beide koerante gereeld homoseksualiteit in terme van “toleransie”, “godsdienst” en “regte” geraam het. Die kwantifiseerbare bevindinge het ook aangetoon dat beide *City Press* en *Mail & Guardian* beduidend van rame gebruik gemaak het wat tipies en wyd in daardie stadium deur die media gebruik is in die diskoers van politieke verandering. Die gedetailleerde analises het ondersoek ingestel na die tekstuele reproduksie van die skrywers se ideologieë, en spesifiek die aandag gevestig op hul gereelde staatmaking op sekere tipes argumente wat in die geselekteerde koerante vir en teen gayregte gebruik is.

Abbreviations and acronyms

ABIGAILE - Association of Bisexuals, Gays, and Lesbians

AIDS - Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC - African National Congress

DP - Democratic Party

CA - Constitutional Assembly

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

CL - Critical Linguistics

CT - Critical Theory

CODESA - Convention for a Democratic South Africa

DRC - Dutch Reformed Church

GAIDE - Gay Aid Identification and Enrichment

GASA - Gay Association of South Africa

GLOW - Gays and Lesbians of Witwatersrand

IFP - Inkatha Freedom Party

ILGA - International Lesbian and Gay Alliance

LAGO - Lesbians and Gays Against Oppression

MPNP - Multi-Party Negotiating Process

NCGLE - National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality

NP - National Party

OLGA - Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists

RGO - Rand Gay Organisation

SADF/SAPS - South African Police Force / Service

UDF - United Democratic Front

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Background

All Shall be Equal before the Law!

All Shall Enjoy Human Rights!

There Shall be Peace and Friendship!

(ANC Freedom Charter, 1955)

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation will investigate, from a sociolinguistic and discourse analytic perspective, the linguistic construction of gay mobilisation in recent South African media discourses. It will investigate the characteristics of the discourse identified here as “gay liberation discourse” which topicalises the gay liberation movement. It will also investigate how linguistic means have been used in articulating the need and the right to liberation; how arguments against the gay liberation movement have been framed; how the relationship between homosexuality and AIDS has been constructed; and how the movement’s outcomes can be interrogated by considering features of the public discourses. The investigation will refer to print-news articles written by journalists and to letters-to-the-editor written by readers, all published over a period of almost 30 years in two weekly newspapers with relatively wide circulation in the country, namely *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian*. Included in the discourse, are not only newspaper items supportive of gaining gay rights, but also voices that protest against the acknowledgement of such rights.

My interest in the discursive (re)production of heteronormativity stems from close friendships with gay and lesbian peers, as well as my own research (Mongie 2007) on a similar topic. An investigation of expressions of homophobia in student journalism over a period of five years, and how such attitudes may or may not have changed as the wider public discourse changed, made me aware of the extent to which homosexuality remains stigmatised in many South African

communities, and the extent to which this stigmatisation is discursively (re)produced. This study continues my interest in how language reflects and constructs gender stereotypes. It also follows my interest in the kinds of discourses that contribute to social change, including change that removes social discrimination against minority groups such as gays and lesbians.

Important points of departure for this study are that an estimated one in ten South Africans is gay (Isaacs and McKendrick 1992: x), that homosexuality was removed from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) more than thirty years ago, and that gay rights have been written into South Africa's Constitution for more than fifteen years, and thus have been acknowledged and are legally secured in the country. Even so, reports of escalating homophobic violence in various news media reveal that a significant percentage of the population still views homosexuality as an illness, a psychological disorder or as "sin". The relative stability of these attitudes over time reveals a minoritising view of sexuality, in which the heterosexual majority appears not to be significantly aware of or interested in issues concerning gays, and homophobic individuals fail to recognise the complexity and social effects of such marginalising (Sedgwick 1990: 2).

The persistence of a minoritising view in the face of dramatic political and constitutional reforms brings to light the need to problematise the extent to which a social movement, such as the gay liberation movement in South Africa can be said to have achieved "success". Theorists such as Croucher (2002: 315) and Sinclair (2004: 12), and activists such as Gevisser (1995: 78) have examined and commented on what they sometimes term the "surprising success" of South Africa's gay liberation movement. According to them, the success of the movement was unlikely, as there were (and to some extent remain) racial divisions within South Africa's gay rights organisations (Gevisser 1995: 48) as well as divisions between gay men and gay women (Cruikshank 1992: 4). Further, South Africa's policy of apartheid has been identified as one of the "crises" facing the development of a formal gay liberation movement in South Africa (Isaacs and McKendrick 1992: 161), as was the later historical pairing of homosexuality and AIDS, which resulted in "a wave of anti-gay feeling that is still washing over South Africa".

Isaacs and McKendrick (1992: 121) claim that AIDS and homosexuality have been historically linked within both medical and popular discourses, and that this pairing has hindered the

progression of the gay liberation movement by (i) resurrecting homophobia within the gay sub-culture and wider parent culture; and (ii) reintroducing a backlash of political innuendo in which AIDS is constructed as “divine retribution” belonging to only one sub-group (Isaacs and McKendrick 1992: 213). Despite these obstacles, the movement is largely considered to have been successful, and many theorists attribute its “success” to the fact that South Africa’s democratisation (following the end of apartheid) provided a political opportunity structure amenable to gay mobilisation (Croucher 2002: 329). Within the Discourse Analytic perspective, the “success” of the gay liberation movement has been attributed to the fact that it was placed in the anti-apartheid master frame (Croucher 2002: 324), which comprised a transformative context that contributed to the politicisation of gays and lesbians in South Africa.

1.2 Aims of the study

This study aims to contribute to linguistic literature on discourses of marginalisation and integration of homosexuals in South Africa. It also intends to provide a systematic description of reporting on gay issues and events over an extended period of time, and in doing so to contribute to an understanding of the development of the gay liberation movement in South Africa. The role of media discourse in the development of a social movement of this nature is in focus. Further, this study intends to contribute to recording gay South African history, by compiling and analysing a set of references that is representative of actual events, and that disclose attitudes towards and reactions to these events as they are reflected in two weekly newspapers. Finally, the study will contribute to an understanding and assessment of the various factors that contributed to the strides made by the gay liberation movement after the introduction of a democratic government in 1994.

1.3 Research questions

The research questions that will assist in achieving the overall aims of the investigation are to be answered by considering what media discourse analysis can disclose. The study’s main research question can be phrased as follows:

What types of micro- and macro-structures characterise the discursive (re)production of the ideologies of actors for and against the gay liberation movement in South Africa after 1982?

In more detailed terms, the study aims to answer the following questions:

- i. Which types of frames are used in the (re)production and challenge of homophobic ideologies in reports topicalising the gay liberation movement in South Africa?
- ii. Is the anti-apartheid frame used in the discourse of gay liberation? If so, how and to which extent is this frame utilised to justify political mobilisation?
- iii. Which elements of the core framing tasks are implemented in the discourse topicalising the gay liberation movement?
- iv. Which aspects of the gay liberation movement are given the most media coverage and thereby shown to be pertinent to the broader public discourse?
- v. Do the discourses give equal consideration to South African homosexuals of different race and gender? If not, which group receives the most consideration, and how representative is this of the country's demographics?
- vi. How is the relationship between homosexuality and AIDS portrayed in the media? Is there a development over time in the representation of this relationship?
- vii. Comparatively, how do the two publications investigated here participate in the gay liberation discourse, and how does each publication position itself and its readership in relation to the social issue of homosexuality and the rights of gay people?

1.4 *The context of (post-)apartheid South Africa*

South Africa has been regarded as politically unique for more than 60 years, first for its entrenchment of racial inequality at a time that the rest of the world was moving towards decolonisation and civil rights (Seidman 1999: 420), then for its largely peaceful and reconciliatory transition to democracy (Kende 2009: 21), and finally for its liberal constitution, which, besides other achievements, was the first in the world to provide protection from discrimination based on sexual orientation (Fine and Nicol 1995: 269). In order to make sense of the claim that South Africa's transition to democracy provided the impetus for the constitutional

recognition of gay rights, some basic knowledge of the conditions leading up to this transition is required.

1.4.1 Colonial attitudes towards racial segregation

Although apartheid was formally institutionalised in 1948, with the (whites-only) election of the Afrikaner National Party (NP) (Kende 2009: 23), the roots of the enforcement of racial segregation can be traced back as far as 1660, when Jan van Riebeeck, the leader of the first Dutch settlers of the Cape, planted a bitter almond hedge in an attempt to keep the native Khoikhoi out of the newly settled white community (Sparks 2003: xv). Van Riebeeck's desire to create and maintain racial segregation was based on several factors, including European misconceptions about Africans, and Dutch beliefs about predestination. Misconceptions about Africans included beliefs that Africans were non-democratic (Sparks 2003: 9), that they practiced witchcraft as it was conceptualised in Judeo-Christian cultures (Sparks 2003: 16), and that they were feckless and lazy (Sparks 2003: 18). These beliefs were compounded by the concept of predestination, which was largely derived from the Dutch church, and led to "a fierce sense of racial superiority" that was eventually carried over into Afrikaner attitudes, and enforced by the laws of apartheid (Sparks 2003: 28).

While the racist ideologies of the Dutch settlers resulted in the ostracisation of mixed couples and the development of separate military units and churches for whites and non-whites by the late eighteenth century (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 2), the real impetus for the implementation of racial segregation was to be found in the development of the South African economy, which centered largely on agriculture and mining until the 1940s (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 32). The development and growth of these industries fostered a desire to develop and maintain a cheap labour system, and many theorists attribute the laws of apartheid to these capitalistic interests (Seidman 1999: 423).

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, various forms of segregation were implemented by the government, largely motivated by a desire to control migrant labour, and by fears that the influx of black South Africans into urban areas would lead to a loss of control over labourers (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 10). This included the implementation of (i) pass laws

in 1873, which required non-white South Africans to register and wear badges when entering white areas for day labour (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 9); (ii) the Native Land Act in 1913, which prohibited non-white South Africans from buying or renting land in most areas of the country (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 14); and (iii) the Native Urban Areas Act in 1923, which enabled the state to exclude non-whites from the use of white-funded public amenities (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 15).

Arguments in favour of various forms of segregation and control were framed in terms of “domination”, in which the importance of maintaining white political control was emphasised; and also in terms of “trusteeship”, in which the protection and preservation of African culture, custom, and law were emphasised (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 35). Arguments framed in terms of domination generally played on fears that equal opportunities in housing, education, and employment would lead to the “degeneration” of the white race (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 9), and ultimately formed the basis of the ideology that resulted in the narrow victory of the NP in the whites-only elections of 1948.

1.4.2 The ideology of apartheid

Due to the extent to which apartheid policies (discussed below) violated the human rights of non-white South Africans, many lay-historians overlook the fact that apartheid was “not a goal in itself”, but was developed in order to implement the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism. Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989: 41) explain that the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism was the fundamental aspect of the NP’s political stance, and that ideology of apartheid was the operative aspect thereof. Broadly speaking, the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism was based on the following beliefs: (i) that Afrikaners had a “historic right” to land in South Africa (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 42); (ii) that separate nations (individually referred to as “volk”, which included notions of race, descent, and culture) had been ordained by God (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 43); and (iii) that the Afrikaner “volk” would disappear if it did not retain exclusive political control of white South Africa (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 42).

Although the NP used both secular and religious arguments to in order to advance its claim of the Afrikaner volk’s right to social and political separation from other nations (Giliomee and

Schlemmer 1989: 44), religious arguments formulated by the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) played a central role in developing and legitimising the principles that would enable such separation. The principles proposed by the DRC included the prohibition of mixed marriages, and the implementation of segregated residential areas, industries, and education (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 46). Whereas these principles were clearly consistent with the pre-apartheid laws of segregation, both the DRC and the NP claimed that the laws of apartheid were “more progressive” than segregation, arguing that that were devised to (i) protect all South African nations (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 47); (ii) promote development in each ethnic group; (iii) prevent political conflict (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 53); and (iv) grant freedom and equality to all South Africans (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 56). In addition to promoting its ideology in political discourse, the NP ensured that both the content and structure of all South African school curricula reinforced its core ideological stance (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 95), and exercised heavy censorship of media content in order to limit the extent to which South Africans were exposed to anti-apartheid sentiment.

1.4.3 The formalisation of apartheid

While the NP attempted to frame its political strategy as “progressive”, it passed a series of laws to institutionalise racial segregation in South Africa, which proved to be anything but progressive. These laws included (i) the Population Registration Act of 1950, which provided all South Africans with identification cards that specified their race (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 83); (ii) the Group Areas Act of 1950, which assigned different regions to South Africans based on their race, and prevented non-white South Africans from living in regions other than those allocated to them (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 86); (iii) the Immorality Act of 1950, which prohibited “intimacy between whites and blacks” (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 83); (iv) the Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act of 1952, which required all non-white South Africans to carry passes that identified them and detailed their employment (Sparks 2003: 33); (v) the Reservations of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, which divided public spaces such as hospitals, parks, and universities into “white” and “non-white” areas (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 87); and (vi) the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which provided separate

curricula for white and non-white South Africans, and was aimed at preparing the latter for a life of manual labour (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 81).

Although the NP initially claimed that the Population Registration Act would not have serious implications for non-whites (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 85), it proved to be one of the cornerstones of apartheid, enabling the government to determine where an individual was permitted to live, which employment s/he was permitted to fill, whom s/he was permitted to marry, and the nature of the education that s/he was entitled to. In addition to features of so-called “petty apartheid”, such as the allocation of separate park benches for whites and non-whites, the formalisation of racial segregation enabled the government to force millions of non-white South Africans out of urbanised areas, and into overpopulated and impoverished homelands and townships (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 78).

1.4.4 Resistance to apartheid

Black resistance to segregation dates back to the early 1900s, and can be grouped into three distinct movements, namely the (i) the African National Congress (ANC), which was formed 1912 in order to oppose increasingly institutionalised forms of racial discrimination; (ii) the Black Consciousness Movement, which filled the gap left by the banning of opposition parties after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960; and (iii) the United Democratic Front, which acted on behalf of the ANC in the 1980s, but employed vastly different strategies of mobilisation (Gibson and Gouws 2003: 32). While all three movements were interested in addressing the issues of land ownership, liberty, and equality, and claimed to follow the non-violent resistance strategies modeled by Mohandas Gandhi (Kende 2009: 16) and Martin Luther King Jr (Kende 2009: 21), interactions between police and protestors grew increasingly violent between the 1960s and the 1980s (Gibson and Gouws 2003: 33). This increasing violence is evidenced in the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, in which police shot and killed 69 pass law protestors; the Soweto Riots of 1976, in which police shot and killed more than 20 school children that were protesting the passing of a law that would enforce Afrikaans as a medium of education; and a three-year period of “black rebellion” (from 1984 to 1986) in response to various forms of reform apartheid (Kende 2009: 25).

1.4.5 Attempts at reforming apartheid

In addition to the increasingly violent and prolonged conflicts between white police and black protestors, an escalating economic crisis and increasing international criticism resulted in growing doubts about the sustainability of apartheid, and ultimately led to the dismantling of certain aspects of “petty apartheid” (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 115). The economic crisis was largely a result of the fact that the country’s changing demographics between 1960 and 1985 engendered a situation in which the numbers of white employees available to fill upper-level employment slots in the private and public sector had proportionately diminished, leading to bottlenecks in production processes. This ultimately led to the expansion of black education with the aim of training black South Africans to fill more senior positions (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 117), and to a marked increase in the number of black South Africans that completed high school and university (cf. Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 118). This in turn resulted in increased political discontent, wage disputes, and political demands among these newly educated black South Africans (cf. Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 119). Further, South Africa’s economy was suffering from sustained sanction campaigns that prevented trade and export with many African and non-African countries, which saw apartheid as “an obnoxious reminder of the West’s colonial past” (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 120).

The conditions detailed above led to the abolishment of a number of features of petty apartheid, including the segregation of public spaces and the restrictions on black labour and black economic activities throughout the 1970s; the prohibition of mixed marriages in 1985; the segregation of certain residential areas in 1988; the segregation of several educational institutions throughout the 1980s; and the pass laws in 1986 (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 123-126). Further, the NP established a tricameral parliament in 1983, which gave constitutional representation to coloured and Indian South Africans, but continued to exclude black South Africans (Kende 2009: 28). Following the establishment of the tricameral parliament, the government attempted to legitimise its ongoing exclusion of black South Africans by passing a series of bills, known as the Koornhoof Bills, which effectively placed black townships under the rule of self-elected black councils. While this new legislation was framed in reformist terms, the black councils had no autonomy from the government, and were forced to “do apartheid’s dirty

work”. This “dirty work” included enforcing influx controls, forcing people to the homelands, and demanding rent increases so that the black townships could become financially independent from the government (Sparks 2003: 336). While the abovementioned changes were made in the name of “reform”, and appeased international demands for “a more humane system” of governance (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989: 121), it should be noted that they were not a sign of increased benevolence, nor a recognition of the injustices of apartheid. Rather, they were representative of a form of “neo-apartheid”, in which the government attempted to modernise apartheid with the aim of retaining white political control (Sparks 2003: 322).

1.4.6 The end of apartheid

While the “reforms” listed above were made in an attempt to appease anti-apartheid activists, they ultimately resulted in a period of increased black revolt that was organised by the UDF, and aimed to make the country “ungovernable” (Gibson and Gouws 2003: 32). By 1984, public uprising against government oppression on a variety of levels had developed to relatively uncontrollable levels. This differed from previous forms of mass mobilisation in several key respects, including (i) the political context in which it occurred; (ii) the composition of the mobilised group(s); and (iii) the use of more open violence (Sparks 2003: 341). In terms of political context, two features distinguish the 1984 riots from the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, and the Soweto riots of 1976. The first is that the government’s implementation of reform strategies was seen as a “sign of weakness” that signalled the possibility that apartheid was coming to an end, and encouraged renewed mass mobilisation (Sparks 2003: 333). The second difference in political context is the extent to which black South Africans were angered by the fact that the establishment of the 1983 tricameral parliament isolated them from other non-white South Africans (Sparks 2003: 335). These two factors converged to renew a desire for mass mobilisation that would bring about the end of apartheid.

In terms of the composition of the mobilisation, the 1984 uprising was unique as it (i) spanned several generations of anti-apartheid liberationists, including “politically experienced adults” and “militant young comrades”; (ii) included leaders from the Black Consciousness Movement and the ANC (Sparks 2003: 341); and (iii) drew on the freedom songs that formed part of the protests of the 1960s and the militant spirit of 1976 (Sparks 2003: 336). These factors converged

to create “the call to make the townships ungovernable”, and resulted in forms of resistance that were often beyond the control of the UDF (Sparks 2003: 342). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the 1984 uprising differed from the mass mobilisation that preceded it in terms of the extent to which it utilised violent strategies of resistance. These strategies included the slaying of township council members, stoning police, burning cars, torching buildings, throwing petrol bombs, and firing AK47 automatic rifles in street riots. While the UDF attempted to curb its constituents’ use of violence, it was often ineffective, and by the end of the three year uprising more than 3,000 people had died, and more than 30,000 were detained (Sparks 2003: 343).

In spite of the government’s desire to appear “reformed”, police responded to these increasingly violent forms of resistance with growing militarisation, replacing riot-control equipment with lethal automatic rifles, and operating under orders to “shoot-to-kill” (Sparks 2003: 349). Confrontations between resistance movement actors and police reached “a virtual state of civil war” (Sparks 2003: 353) before (i) the ANC realised that their resistance movement would not result in a “revolutionary overthrow” of the government (Sparks 2003: 370), and (ii) the NP realised that it would not be able to quell the resistance movement (Sparks 2003: 373). Ultimately, apartheid ended in a series of “pacts” that were made between 1987 and 1990, in which the NP and the ANC negotiated the terms under which the country was to transition to democratic rule (Sparks 2003: 385). These negotiations culminated in the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990, and paved the way for the construction and implementation of a Constitution that would afford equal rights to all South Africans.

1.5 *Gay intolerance in post-apartheid South Africa*

In spite of the vast amount of constitutional reform that took place in the years following the end of apartheid (cf. section 2.7), South Africa’s history of “institutionalised discrimination” left a legacy of intolerance that is proving to be resistant to change. This is true of racial as well as of other kinds of intolerance. One of the areas in which this legacy is visible is in the prevalence of homophobic hate crimes, which includes hate speech, physical assault, and sexual assault. Homophobic hate crimes typically result from a “pathological hatred of lesbians and gay men” (Bristow 1996, cited in Reddy 2002: 167), and are intended to send a message to the victim and the gay community that “his or her sexual orientation and/or gender non-conformity is deviant

and must be changed” (Nel and Judge 2008: 22). While the constitutional rights afforded to gay and lesbian South Africans were intended to subvert the country’s legacy of gay intolerance, recent studies (referred to below) indicate that they have contributed to increasing levels of anti-gay hate crimes by thrusting the issue of sexual orientation onto the public agenda.

1.5.1 Homophobic victimisation in South Africa

A 2002 study (cf. Reid and Dirsuweit) of anti-gay hate crimes in South Africa revealed that, in the 24 months preceding the study, 37.1% of the (homosexual) respondents had experienced hate speech, 15.6% physical abuse or assault, 10% domestic violence, and 7.9% sexual abuse or rape. While verbal and physical assault were found to be evenly distributed among black and white respondents, the study found that sexual assault was twice as common in black respondents, and that black lesbians were the most likely to experience domestic violence that was motivated by homophobia. Further, the study identified the consequences of these forms of homophobic victimisation as depression, low self-esteem, and suicide ideation among gay individuals (Wells and Polders 2006: 23).

Consequent studies have revealed that several factors complicate discussions of the prevalence of homophobic victimisation in South Africa, including the fact that the South African Police Service (SAPS) does not keep a separate crime register to collect statistics on hate crimes (Reid and Dirsuweit 2002: 108); the extent to which homophobic victimisation varies among white and black South Africans, and among gay men and lesbians; and extreme under-reporting of homophobic discrimination to the SAPS (Wells and Polders 2006: 25). Further, South African homophobic victimisation is typically more physically and sexually violent than homophobic victimisation in America (Nel and Judge 2008: 23), and is unique in the fact that the vast amounts of victims are lesbians, rather than gay men (Reid and Dirsuweit 2002: 108), which limits the extent to which one can refer to Western studies on this topic. Various explanations have been offered to account for the vast under-reporting of homophobic victimisation to the SAPS, including (i) fear of “secondary victimisation”, in which police and/or health care workers respond to the victim in an unsympathetic way; (ii) apathy due to frequency of occurrence; (iii) fear that the victim’s sexual orientation will be exposed (Wells and Polders 2006: 26); and (iv) a close relationship between the victim and the perpetrator (Wells and Polders 2006: 25). Studies

have shown that secondary victimisation is particularly problematic in South Africa, with gay and lesbian victims of physical and sexual assault reporting that police have ridiculed them (Reid and Dirisuweit 2002: 114), blamed them (Reid and Dirisuweit 2002: 122), and accused them of lying (Reid and Dirisuweit 2002: 114).

In addition to identifying the reasons behind under-reporting of homophobic victimisation, studies of anti-gay hate crimes in South Africa (cf. Reid and Dirisuweit 2002, Wells and Polders 2006, Nel and Judge 2008) have revealed that black lesbians are most vulnerable to homophobic sexual violence. A 2004 study on the experiences of black lesbian women (cited in Nel and Judge 2008: 24) revealed that 41% of the women interviewed had been the victims of rape, and a further 9% were survivors of attempted rape. These figures are a reflection of the prevalence of a township practice known as “corrective rape”, in which black lesbian women are raped in order to “cure” them of their homosexuality. Acts of corrective rape commonly involve multiple perpetrators, and the perpetrators are mostly known to the victims (Nel and Judge 2008: 24).

1.5.2 Foundations of homophobic sentiment in late 20th century South Africa

While the prevalence of homophobic victimisation seems counterintuitive in light of the constitutional rights and protection afforded to gay and lesbian South Africans, theorists have identified several factors that have contributed to the situation, including (i) cultural and religious narratives that condemn homosexuality (cf. section 3.8.1); (ii) the legacy of apartheid; (iii) the nature of the anti-apartheid movement; (iv) the extent to which homosexuality threatens traditional conceptualisations of masculinity; (v) the increased visibility of gay men and lesbians in post-apartheid South Africa; (vi) media representation; and (vii) the perception that HIV/AIDS is a “gay disease”.

1.5.2.1 Apartheid ideology

One of the lesser recognised and yet significant sources of homophobic sentiment is undoubtedly the ideology of apartheid, which, as discussed above, was a manifestation of the government’s ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism, and was largely justified by Afrikaner interpretations of Christianity and the Bible. Although homosexual acts had been policed and punished in South

Africa since the late-nineteenth century (Sinclair 2004: 49), the apartheid government reframed the policing of sexuality in such a way that the tolerance of homosexuality was seen not only as a violation of Christian principles, but also as a threat to the survival and morality of the Afrikaner volk (Retief 1995: 102). Decades of government rhetoric in which homosexuality was framed in terms of sin, deviance, immorality, threat, and criminal activity have proved to be resistant to change, and has resulted in a culture in which “otherness” is automatically identified and punished (Nel and Judge 2008: 21). Further, the extent to which the SAPS enforced the apartheid government’s criminalisation of homosexuality caused gay and lesbian individuals to fear the police, and has evidently contributed to the under-reporting of homophobic victimisation in South Africa (Wells and Polders 2006: 25).

1.5.2.2 Intolerance in the anti-apartheid movement

While the legacy of the apartheid government’s intolerant ideology is self-evident, the intolerance fostered by the anti-apartheid movement is somewhat less so. Naive expectations of a liberation movement would include that such movement understands discrimination generally and thus upholds democratic values such as political tolerance and freedom of choice across all minority groups whose basic human rights are violated. However, various strategies employed by anti-apartheid activists in relation to fitting set norms, reveal that this was not always the case. Illustrative of such intolerance is the extent to which black South Africans were coerced into participating in the uprisings that took place between 1984 and 1987. Individuals who “violated” consumer boycotts were often murdered (Sparks 2003: 345), forced to swallow their purchases, or given up to 500 lashes (Gibson and Gouws 2003: 34). A second strategy was evident in the run up to the 1994 democratic elections, during which opposing anti-apartheid groups declared “no-go zones” in which parties other than the ANC were not permitted to campaign or recruit members. Entry into these “no-go zones” was violently punished, and often resulted in death of those who contravened (Gibson and Gouws 2003: 23).

These strategies of coercion and control fostered political intolerance among a large percentage of black South Africans, which was demonstrated by a study conducted in the run up to the 1994 elections, in which 43% of respondents said that “it would be impossible to live next to neighbours with political views different from their own”, and 53.3% reported that “they found it

very hard or nearly impossible to disagree with politicians”. Further, the results revealed that many black South Africans “found it very hard to disagree with family members on political issues” (Gibson and Gouws 2003: 23). Ultimately, both black and white South Africans had internalised undemocratic and intolerant values from their political leaders, and the learned tendency to meet difference with violence and repression appears to have had lasting consequences for post-apartheid South Africa. A study conducted by Gibson and Gouws (2003: 61) revealed that two thirds of South Africans reported that they would not tolerate homosexuals, and found that English-speaking white South Africans were the most tolerant, followed by Afrikaans-speaking whites, followed by Coloured and Asian people, followed by Zulu- or Xhosa-speaking black South Africans (Gibson and Gouws 2003: 56).

1.5.2.3 Patriarchal values and the “crisis of masculinity”

Political tolerance theorists such as Gibson and Gouws (2003: 93) identify perceptions of threat as the greatest predictor of intolerance, explaining that intolerant and repressive attitudes appear more and more natural as perceptions of threat increase. This conceptualisation is particularly useful in making sense of the popular claim that homophobic victimisation is a form of “gender violence” that is committed in response to a perceived threat to traditional gender roles (Reddy 2002: 166). Despite their vast ideological differences, South Africa’s apartheid and anti-apartheid movements were comparable in their adherence to a patriarchal social order in which gender roles were clearly defined and delineated (Reid and Dirsuweit 2002: 104). Theorists that attribute rising levels of homophobic victimisation to patriarchal values (cf. Reddy 2002, Reid and Dirsuweit 2002, Walker 2005, Wells and Polders 2006, Nel and Judge 2008) argue that South Africa’s new Constitution caused a “crisis of masculinity” for many South African men due to the extent to which women and homosexuals were empowered. This argument is based on the assumption that the constitutional rights afforded to women and homosexuals have unseated or undermined “men’s dominant, privileged position”, which was “traditionally guaranteed through patriarchy” (Walker 2005: 229).

South Africa’s crisis of masculinity has been compounded by (i) the disempowerment experienced by black South Africans under apartheid (Reid and Dirsuweit 2002: 101); (ii) a lack of political status now that the anti-apartheid struggle is over (Walker 2005: 228); and (iii)

unforeseen levels of poverty and unemployment among black South African men (Walker 2005: 235), leading to a situation in which men increasingly resort to physical and sexual violence in order to assert their power and dominance (Walker 2005: 227). Studies have shown that individuals that experience the “uncertainty, insecurity and anxiety” associated with a crisis of masculinity (Walker 2005: 229) are particularly incensed by visible signs of a gay or lesbian identity, especially when these identities are expressed by signifiers of the opposite gender, such as dress and speech (Reid and Dirisuweit 2002: 100). While both lesbians and gay men disrupt the patriarchal social order by violating heterosexist norms surrounding gender and sexuality, findings indicate that lesbians are particularly threatening to men experiencing a crisis of masculinity as they are also sexually unavailable, and act as sexual rivals to heterosexual men (Reid and Dirisuweit 2002: 117).

Findings that link increased homophobic victimisation with gender presentation confirm the hypothesis that homophobia is largely a response to perceived violations of patriarchal gender roles, and that homophobic hate crimes are used as a form of social control over gendered behaviour (Nel and Judge 2008: 26). Moreover, these studies help to explain the fact that (i) lesbians are victimised more than gay men in South Africa; and (ii) South African instances of homophobic victimisation tend to be of a sexual nature. Considering perceptions of masculinity, homophobic rape is interpreted as a “reinforcement of masculine dominance”, and an expression of the patriarchal right to women’s bodies (Reid and Dirisuweit 2002: 123).

1.5.2.4 Increased visibility

In addition to their consensus on the role played by patriarchal attitudes towards gender roles, the theorists cited above are united in their emphasis of the extent to which increased visibility contributed to homophobic victimisation in South Africa. As the adoption of signifiers typically attributed to the “opposite sex” is frequently an expression of “outness” in the gay and lesbian community (Nel and Judge 2008: 26), it is sometimes difficult to separate the issues of gender presentation and visibility. This conflation of gender and sexual identity complicates discussions of gay (in)tolerance as perceptions of subverted gender norms is one of several aspects that contribute to (in)tolerance.

Nonetheless, the studies cited above indicate that homophobic victimisation is often linked to public displays of affection between gay or lesbian couples even when they do not necessarily subvert traditional gender roles. The studies justify a conclusion that the increased visibility of a homosexual identity can also be associated with increased events of homophobic victimisation (Reid and Dirsuweit 2002: 100). Valentine (1993, cited in Reid and Dirsuweit 2002: 100) attributes this to the “heterosexual codification of public space”, in which public displays of heterosexual affection are deemed acceptable, while public displays of homosexual affection are interpreted as offensively “flaunt[ing] sexuality”. The result of such occupation of public space by heterosexism is that many lesbians and gay men feel the need to “closet” their sexual orientation in public in order to ensure their safety (Nel and Judge 2008: 27). Thus, while the newly established constitutional rights afforded to gay and lesbian South Africans created a political environment that was conducive to “coming out”, homophobic responses to this increased visibility has limited the extent to which these rights can be claimed and enjoyed. Cohen and Felson (1999, cited in Wells and Polders 2006: 21) comment on this contradiction, remarking that “it is ironic that the very factors which increase the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of life also may increase the opportunity for predatory violations”.

1.5.2.5 Media representations of homosexuality in South Africa

In addition to religious and cultural sources of knowledge, the mass media is widely recognised as an important instrument of socialisation (see sections 3.5.4 and 3.6 below). The media plays a particularly prominent role in the construction of attitudes towards homosexuality, as many individuals have no first-hand experience with a gay person; and the taboo nature of the topic means that it is often silenced among traditional sources of knowledge such as friends, family, churches, and educational institutions (Calzo and Ward 2009: 180).

While a review of the available literature reveals a noteworthy absence of studies that examine the portrayal of homosexuality on the South African media, what has been written suggests that the media has achieved little in countering homophobia in traditional contexts. As is the case with many powerless minority groups, media coverage of gay and lesbian South Africans has largely been characterised by silence, sensationalism, and the perpetuation of stereotypes (Cilliers 2007: 334). Gevisser (1995: 77) remarks on this, pointing out that sensationalism has

characterised media coverage of homosexuality since the 1950s, and that homosexuals have variously been portrayed as child molesters, drag queens, over-sexed hedonists, and AIDS victims. Although the constitutional reforms of the 1990s resulted in increased media coverage of gay and lesbian issues, a recent study revealed that South African media coverage of homosexuality continues to be characterised by “scandals, negative images, and stereotypes” (Ndlovu 2006: 9). An analysis of print clippings collected over a three-month period revealed that South African media coverage of homosexuality focuses on a relatively small number of topics, namely legal issues such as gay marriage and adoption (25%), stigma/discrimination (16%), gay events such as the PRIDE parade (13%), religious debates about the acceptance of homosexuality (11%), celebrities (8%), and HIV/AIDS (7%) (Ndlovu 2006: 15).

Further, the clipping analysis revealed that, of the 25 images accompanying stories about homosexuality, 11 featured pictures of drag queens (Ndlovu 2006: 12). Individual surveys and focus groups that informed the Ndlovu study revealed that 63% of gay and lesbian South Africans were unhappy with media coverage of gay and lesbian issues (Ndlovu 2006: 10). They listed violence against lesbians, hate crimes, family issues, unsympathetic police, and positive gay role models among the issues that need to be addressed in the media (Ndlovu 2006: 15). One of the problems identified by the study is that only 27% of the coverage of gay and lesbian issues covered South African stories. This testifies to a failure to address issues pertinent to the South African condition, such as the claim that “homosexuality is unAfrican”, and the fact that AIDS is largely a heterosexual, not homosexual, epidemic in this country (Ndlovu 2006: 9).

While media coverage of gay and lesbian issues has undoubtedly improved in both volume and content in the years following the decriminalisation of homosexuality in South Africa in 1998, many gay and lesbian South Africans are of the opinion that the media continues to portray a one-dimensional image of the gay community. Further, the increased media attention that has resulted from the constitutional rights afforded to gay and lesbian South Africans has contributed to the visibility of the gay and lesbian community, placing sexual orientation on the public agenda (see section 3.5.4 below). On the one hand this has provided positive recognition; on the other hand this has increased the likelihood of homophobic victimisation (Reid and Dirsuweit 2002: 103).

1.5.2.6 HIV/AIDS

Cultural and religious arguments that framed homosexuality in terms of sin, (un)naturalness and threat (see section 3.8.1 below) were augmented by the “moral panic” that resulted from the outbreak of HIV/AIDS in the early 1980s. Weeks (1985, cited in Isaacs and McKendrick 1992: 121) explains the mechanisms of a moral panic that typically involve

the definition of a threat in a particular event; the stereotyping of the main characters in the mass media as a particular species of monsters; a spiralling escalation of the perceived threat, leading to the taking up of absolutist positions and the manning of moral barricades; the emergence of an imaginary solution; followed by a subsidence of anxiety, with its victims left to endure the new social prescriptions.

As AIDS was initially diagnosed among gay men, it was first labelled Gay Related Immuno Deficiency, and was termed the “gay plague” in homophobic discourse (Milani 2012:65). This discourse clearly fits the stages identified by Weeks (1985). A recent study (Petro et al. 2006: 73) revealed that linking homosexuality to an incurable, lethal disease has remained a part of public discourse even after the disease became increasingly visible in the heterosexual community in the mid-1980s. Sontag (1991, cited in Reddy 2002: 172) argues that the conceptualisation of AIDS as a “gay disease” resulted in a belief that “certain types of sexual practices cause disease”, which in turn led to a perception that “certain types of sex are disease”. This intensified arguments that homosexuality is a disease, and increased fears that gay individuals could “transmit” their sexuality to others.

In addition to resulting in a revival, even if in a new cloak, of the medicalisation of homosexuality, the emergence of HIV/AIDS also resulted in a renewal of moral discourses in which homosexuality was constructed as a “sin”, and AIDS identified as “God’s plan to get rid of homosexuals” (Petros et al. 2006: 74). Skinner and Mfecane (2004: 159) explain that judgmental discourses that conceptualise AIDS as “God’s punishment for sinners” are psychologically reassuring, as they create the illusion that “guilty” people contract AIDS because they “deserve it”, and that therefore all who fit the (hetero)sexual norm are safe from infection. Paradoxically, this judgmental discourse contributed to the spread of AIDS in the heterosexual community, as it reassured many heterosexual individuals that they were safe from infection, and

so did not need to take precautions against infection (Milani 2012: 65). Even after the HI virus had spread to heterosexual communities, the moral discourses continued, drawing a distinction between “innocent” AIDS victims, which includes individuals that contract HIV through blood transfusions, children of HIV positive mothers, rape survivors and women whose partners are unfaithful, and “guilty” AIDS carriers, which includes prostitutes, intravenous drug users, unfaithful lovers and gay men. (Skinner and Mfecane 2004: 59). A study of AIDS discourse between 1985 and 2000 revealed that the media has continually constructed this latter group of AIDS carriers as “the dark and threatening Other”, and as “allies of the enemy” in the war against AIDS (Connelly and Macleod 2003: 67).

Weeks (1985, cited in Isaacs and McKendrick 1992: 121) explains that the “moral panic” that resulted from the emergence of AIDS was compounded by it feeding on existing public fears, and the fact that it emerged at a time when the gay liberation movement was “unfinished”. Several prominent theorists have identified the initial outbreak of HIV/AIDS in the gay community as the single biggest challenge faced by South Africa’s gay liberation movement (cf. Isaacs and McKendrick 1992 and Gevisser 1995), and one of the main causes for the extent to which homophobic sentiment remains prevalent in post-apartheid South Africa (Petros et al. 2006: 75).

1.5.3 Constitution vs. attitude

In addition to the prevalence of homophobic victimisation in post-apartheid South Africa, an attitude survey conducted in the year following the legalisation of gay marriage revealed that 82% of South Africans felt that homosexuality is “always wrong”, with an additional 6% reporting that it is “almost always wrong” (HSRC SASAS 2003-2007). A study conducted by Gibson and Gouws (2003: 174) confirmed the hypothesis that legal reform does not necessarily result in an increase in tolerance, and revealed an “asymmetry of institutional persuasion in South Africa”, in which tolerant rulings made by the Constitutional Court had a significantly smaller impact on public sentiment than intolerant rulings. These findings reflect the fact that intolerant attitudes generally tend to be more resistant to change than tolerant attitudes, and that apartheid’s legacy of oppression is yet to be banished from the minds of South Africans.

1.6 Theoretical points of departure

The study will take the work of Critical Discourse Analysts, particularly of those considering features and functions of media discourses, as its primary theoretical framework. It will consider issues of ‘language and power’, and the ways in which individuals use varying degrees of media access in order to express their ideologically based opinions through textual devices in news media. Besides referring to the seminal work of theorists such as Norman Fairclough (1989, 1995) and Ruth Wodak (1999, 2001, 2002), particular attention will go to the work of Teun van Dijk (1991, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2008), whose extensive studies on racism and news media provide a framework in which the (re)production or challenge of social dominance can be examined. In addition to the theoretical framework described above, several concepts from the fields of Social Movement Theory and Collective Action Framing will be examined in an attempt to make sense of the discursive strategies that were implemented by members of the South African gay liberation movement in the pursuit of social mobilisation. Ultimately, van Dijk’s theoretical toolkit will be supplemented with several elements from the abovementioned fields and theorists in order to render the methodology compatible to Queer Linguistics. Although this study is of interest to the field that has recently become known as “Queer Linguistics” (Motschenbacher 2011), due to its attention to the features of the media discourse on liberation in South Africa more generally, Queer Linguistics does not form part of the primary theoretical framework of the investigation.

The incorporation of Social Movement Theory and Collective Action Framing will enable particular attention to the ways in which arguments for and against gay rights were framed in the media. This will disclose the extent to which the “anti-apartheid” master frame was utilised by actors of the gay liberation movement. The study will adopt a constructionist perspective, in which essentialist views of sexuality are rejected in favour of a Foucauldian understanding of sexual identity as something that is created discursively, and normalised or pathologised through dominant discourses and power hierarchies. This view of sexuality creates a basis for “sexual pluralism as a democratic value”, and allows for the problematisation of homophobia by challenging the “naturalness” of heterosexuality (Correa and Jolly 2008: 23).

The constructionist perspective of discourse relates this study to the field of Queer Linguistics, which is a sub-field of Queer Theory in which heteronormative discourses are examined in order to make sense of the ways in which heterosexuality is constructed as “self-evident, obligatory, and desirable” (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 471). Like Critical Discourse Analysis, Queer Linguistics adopts a Foucauldian understanding of discourse as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault 1972, cited in Motschenbacher 2011: 152), and an explicitly political agenda that aims to challenge the status quo. Both within Queer Linguistics generally and this study particularly, this “status quo” centres on the normative favouring of the following combinations of biological sex, socially constructed gender and desire: male sex – masculine gender practice – desiring women; and female sex – feminine gender practice – desiring men (Motschenbacher 2011: 156).

1.7 Methodology

Two local South African publications (*Mail & Guardian* and *City Press*) will be reviewed in order to identify relevant articles topicalising the gay liberation movement in South Africa. These publications have been selected based on their circulation demographics, with the view of identifying popular news media that count as representative of the majority of South Africa’s media readerships. The archives for both of the abovementioned publications are kept in the National Library of Cape Town where they are bound together in large collections typically containing three to six months’ of material. The archives consist of physical copies of the publications as they were distributed to readers and contain all additional materials such as advertisements and supplements. All texts in the two newspapers during the selected time frame that topicalised homosexuality directly and indirectly were collected and scrutinised in order to gain a global impression of the ways in which they were woven into national public discourses topicalising gay liberation.

Finally, a number of specific texts were selected as representative of the kinds of frames used in gay liberation discourse. Analytic tools from the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) were used to analyse these articles with the aim of answering the research questions set out above. The CDA approach to conducting an ideological analysis on news media was adopted for this study. Within this approach, consideration is given to strategies of polarisation, opinion coherence and

attribution as well as implicitness, unmentionables, descriptions and the use of history (van Dijk 1993: 253). The study covers reporting across a period of thirty years, between 1976 and 2006. Many theorists identify the Soweto Riots, which started on 16 June 1976 as a turning point in the anti-apartheid struggle. In anticipation of the relationship between the political mobilisation of two marginalised groups, namely black South Africans and gay South Africans, the turning point in the struggle against apartheid stands out as a meaningful point of entry. The analysis will extend to December 2006 when the Civil Unions Bill was approved. This event is considered by many to mark the success of the gay liberation movement in South Africa.

The study will take into consideration problematic aspects of a social movement achieving “success”, and will therefore adopt Goffman’s view of social mobilisation as a work in continuous progress. The study will consider the relatively vast body of collected data with a view to (i) an identification of the characteristics of (anti-)gay liberation discourse; (ii) an examination of framing strategies; and (iii) an examination of the ways in which a selective media focus set the public agenda as far as gay liberation is concerned. The primary goal of the study is to use CDA to identify recurring micro- and macro-structures that characterise discourse that topicalises gay rights. The different publications will be compared to determine whether each makes use of its own communicative devices in characterising the gay liberation movement, or whether there are generic features that are used across all publications. Articles in which those affiliated with the gay liberation movement mention political organisations will be examined with a view to determining how the relationship between the various gay rights organisations on the one hand and political parties and ideologies on the other, was constructed in the media. The extent to which the anti-apartheid frame was implemented in the discourse that reported on the gay liberation movement in South Africa, will be investigated by analysing selected articles topicalising the movement.

The interest of the analysis on this level is in how arguments for and against the movement were constructed, specifically in relation to characteristic elements of anti-apartheid discourse used in the same publications. Secondly, arguments of actors opposed to the gay liberation movement and how these are represented in the media will be examined in an attempt to establish the form and content of discourse(s) of objection to gay rights and gay equality. Thirdly, articles selected

according to the criteria stipulated below in section 4.7.2 will be examined with a view to (i) identifying those power elites who participate in the discourse of the gay liberation movement; (ii) examining the discursive strategies they employ in order to convey their ideologies; (iii) assessing the ways in which those affiliated with the gay liberation movement explicitly align their cause with the anti-apartheid struggle; and (iv) examining the extent to which the ideologies of these power elites are directly or indirectly cited and supported or critically discussed in the media texts.

The theoretical approach chosen for the study will also allow for examination of the extent to which “newsworthiness criteria” (cf. section 3.5.2) appear to have influenced the media’s portrayal of homosexuality, and how this is likely to have affected public perceptions of the gay liberation movement. Specifically, articles will be analysed in order to determine (i) whether the concerns of and about white, male homosexuals receive a disproportionate amount of media attention in comparison to blacks and women in similar categories; and (ii) the extent to which a causal connection is made between homosexuality and AIDS. In order to examine these issues, publications in which there is specific reference to individual groups (such as white or black, male or female homosexuals) within the gay liberation movement will be quantified and compared. Further, specific discourses in which AIDS is topicalised will be examined and quantified in order to determine the variance over the past thirty years. The type of discourse that characterises this topic will be analysed, in order to determine whether Isaacs and McKendrick (1992: 121) are correct in their assertion that homophobic individuals overemphasise the relationship between homosexuality and AIDS in order to deny and distort the validity of homosexuality.

1.8 Structure

The first chapter of this study aims to identify and explain the phenomenon under investigation. Further, this chapter provides introductory background information to situate the study. It identifies the chosen theoretical approach and the research questions. Chapter 2 provides a historical overview of South Africa’s gay liberation movement in an attempt to outline the context in which the changes examined in this study took place. Chapter 3 discusses the theoretical background and analytical toolkit of the CDA approach selected for this study. It also

gives an overview of the theoretical background of collective action framing as the detailed analyses of this study work specifically with framing devices introduced within this theory. In chapter 4, I provide a summary of the study's methodology. Chapter 5 gives a quantitative overview of the ebb and flow of articles and letters in the two publications where gay liberation was topicalised in the given time frame. Chapter 6 presents qualitative analyses of a number of purposefully selected printed texts from the period in order to show which frames were most often used and which structural and thematic features emerged as those characterising gay liberation discourse in the two publications. Finally, chapter 7 provides a conclusion which collates the findings of chapters 5 and 6 and highlight the most significant insights produced by the study.

1.9 Terminological clarification

Technical terms most often used and the particular meanings they have in this study are listed below for the sake of quick reference.

Access

Van Dijk (1996: 86) defines “access” as “who may speak or write to whom, about what, when, and in what context, or Who may participate in such communicative events in various recipient roles, for instance as addressees, audience, bystanders and overhearers”. He further explains that “access may even be analysed in terms of the topics or referents of discourse”, that is, who is written or spoken about. We may assume, as for other social resources, that more access, according to their several participant roles, corresponds with more social power. In other words, measures of discourse access may be rather faithful indicators of the power of social groups and their members.”

Apartheid

“Apartheid” refers to a centuries-old political system of racial segregation in South Africa formally institutionalised in 1948 by the then ruling Afrikaner National Party. During the apartheid regime, non-whites (although comprising the vast majority of the population) were oppressed socially, educationally and economically. As stated by (Johnson 2000), during

apartheid non-whites were “denied political and civil rights, segregated from whites in virtually every aspect of social life, and exploited economically”.

Collective action framing

“Collective action framing” refers to a strategy in which movements repeatedly use certain frames in order to (i) articulate their grievances and goals in a meaningful and integrated fashion; (ii) manufacture consensus and mobilisation among (potential) constituents (also referred to as frame “adopters”) (Snow and Benford 1992: 137); and (iii) demobilise opponents (Snow and Benford 2000: 614). Collective action frames differ from individual interpretive frames (which van Dijk refers to as “mental models”) as they are “agentic” and “contentious” in the sense that they use selective interpretations of social reality to bring about social change (Snow 2004: 385).

Coming out

The term “coming out” is used in this study to refer to the revelation of an individual’s sexual identity.

Corrective rape

Corrective rape refers to an act of sexual violence against women committed by men ostensibly to “cure” lesbians of their nonconforming sexual orientation—or to “correct” it (Di Silvio 2011: 1470).

Counterframing

The term “counterframing” is used in this study to refer to instances in which authors challenge the contents of arguments put forth by members of the out-group by providing alternative perspectives.

Discourse

The term “discourse” is used in this study to refer to language use in a Foucauldian sense, in which language is seen to construct that which it seeks to describe.

Discourse Analysis

The domain of Discourse Analysis encompasses the study of language used in units larger than the sentence, i.e. beyond the level of sentences and utterances. Discourse Analysis is interested in the coherence of texts, and considers them in relation to social or societal context (Turner 2006: 145).

Framing

The notion of ‘framing’ refers to the process of “select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Goffman 1974, cited in Reese 2003: 7).

Gay

In this study, I use the adjective “gay” to refer to a sexual orientation in which individuals are attracted to members of the same sex, whereas the noun “gay” is used to refer to gay males specifically. In this context, “gay” does not necessarily signal an adoption or performance of a gay identity as the study acknowledges the fluid nature of such identities.

Gay liberation movement

In this study, the term “gay liberation movement” is used to refer to the process through which lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender South Africans achieved constitutional protection from discrimination based on sexual orientation. While the term implies a consistency and sense of completion, this study acknowledges the fragmented nature of South Africa’s gradual shift towards a recognition of gay rights, as well as the fact that many do not consider the movement to be complete.

Gay rights

In this study, the term “gay rights” is used to refer to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals’ access to freedom from discrimination, which is listed in South Africa’s Constitution as a basic human right. In South Africa, these rights include the right to marry, the right to adopt children and the right to shared pension and medical benefits.

Hegemony

“Hegemony” is a term that was coined by Antonio Gramsci (1971) to refer to the manner in which “power relations are enacted in society, in particular how one social class dominates another” (Swann et al. 2004). According to Swann et al. (2004), such domination of one social class by another can be maintained through (i) coercion, for example by physical force through the use of the police or the army, and (ii) hegemonic power, i.e. alliances between social institutions such as the church and the family, “that secure consent through ideological means” (Swann et al. 2004). The power obtained through hegemony involves alliances between different social groups, including alliances between groups unequal in power (such as that between the more powerful church and the less powerful family mentioned above). As such, hegemony is “never complete: alliances shift between and across social groups thus allowing for the possibility of challenge and change” (Swann et al. 2004).

Heteronormativity

The term “heteronormativity” is used in this study to refer to the dominant and pervasive belief that a viable family consists of a heterosexual mother and a heterosexual father raising heterosexual children together (Hudak and Giammattei 2010: 3).

Homophobia

“Homophobia” refers to a passionate aversion to homosexuality, sometimes expressed in the form of violent acts or prejudice against homosexuals (Scruton 2007). According to Scruton (2007), the term “homophobia” has also been used “to suggest that criticism of homosexuality is either irrational, or based in a pathological condition which may be legitimately deprived of a voice”.

Homosexual(ity)

In this study, I use the term “homosexuality” to refer to a sexual orientation in which individuals are attracted to members of the same sex, and I use the term “homosexual” to refer to an individual to whom this description applies. While the term “homosexuality” has historically negative connotations, it is used neutrally in this study.

Ideology

Generally used to point to the ability of ideas to affect social circumstances, the function of ideology has thus been described as the capacity to advance to political and economic interests of groups or social classes, or, alternatively, the capacity to produce cohesion and resolve social strain. Within the constructivist framework, consciousness and ideology are understood to be part of a reciprocal process in which meanings given by individuals – in transactions with others – to their world becomes patterned, stabilised and objectified. These meanings, once institutionalised, become part of the material and discursive systems that limit and constrain future meaning making (Turner 2006: 278).

Lesbian

In this study, I use the term “lesbian” to refer to a sexual orientation in which women are attracted to members of the same sex. In this context, the word “lesbian” does not necessarily signal an adoption or performance of a gay identity as the study acknowledges the fluid nature of such identities.

Master frame

I use the term “master frame” in this study to refer to the main macropropositional content of a publication, thus to that which the publication purports to be topicalising in connection to homosexuality.

Mental model

Mental models are mental representations of personal experiences of specific actions, events or situations that people engage in, discuss, or read about. Mental models are stored in episodic (long term) memory, and are drawn upon in the process of decoding messages (Van Dijk 1995c: 251).

Political opportunity

Political opportunity is defined as “consistent – but not necessarily formal or permanent – dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for collective action by affecting people’s expectations for success or failure” (Tarrow 1998: 76).

Resonance

“Resonance” refers to the effectivity, or “mobilising potency”, of a collection action frame, which is influenced by the frame’s credibility and salience (Snow and Benford 2000: 619).

Social mobilisation

Social mobilisation, also sometimes referred to as “social movement” or a “reform movement” is a “sustained, organized collective effort that focuses on some aspect of social change” (Johnson 2000). Such a movement attempts to “improve conditions within an existing social system without changing the fundamental character of the system itself” (Johnson 2000).

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an outline of the focus of the study by introducing the reader to the main aims and research questions, the situational context of the data, the primary theoretical approach, methodology and key theoretical concepts used in the analysis and findings. Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the development of the gay liberation movement in South Africa, and in doing so, adheres to the requirements of Wodak’s Discourse Historical approach to CDA. This approach (see Wodak 1996) underscores the importance of considering the historical situatedness of discourse in analysing and interpreting texts that form part of the larger Discourse in question.

Chapter 2

The History of Gay Liberation in South Africa

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I shall give a historical overview of the construction of homosexuality in South African social structures from as far back as the 1920s. I shall highlight specifically the events that affected such self- and other-constructions by individuals and groups after 1980 when the liberation struggle for full citizenship of black South Africans started to intensify. Given the consideration of historical context in making sense of discourse and in CDA, this overview is given in considerable detail. It gives the backdrop to the analysis of the media discourses in which this study is interested.

To trace the history of homosexuality in any culture is a challenge, as the topic is something that has been, and still remains, silenced and fragmented by heteropatriarchy (Visser 2003: 126). To trace the history of homosexuality in South Africa is in some ways even more challenging, as the linking of apartheid to issues of gender inequality created rifts within the gay community, rendering it near-impossible to create a narrative of a single, cohesive, gay, South African identity (Kennedy 2006: 61). Following a perspective accepted in Queer Theory, this study questions the usefulness and validity of using sexuality as an “essentialist identity category” (Motschenbacher 2011: 151).

Kraak (2005: 119) describes how he is “struck with awe at the quantum leap from the antediluvian criminalisation of homosexuality under apartheid, to the full citizenship of gays and lesbians under the government of the African national Congress”. He attributes this “quantum leap” to “an absence of historically explicable discourse linking the past to the present”.

A review of the available literature has shown that more of the available gay South African historiography has come from non-academic writers than from writers doing scholarly work. Such historiography reflects largely the experiences of white, middle-class men. The following overview will confirm white male domination in queer studies and will show when and how

lesbian and black, gay South Africans gradually became part of gay organisation in South Africa. This will be done by discussing the events that affected the gay liberation movement in chronological order.

2.2 *Categories of homosexuality in the first half of the 20th century*

The first public traces of gay subcultures in South Africa date back to the 1920s, when the mining rush, and the changes in the national economy from an agricultural to industrial base resulted in a flooding of people from rural into urban areas. For many South Africans, these changes meant moving away from their families and communities for the first time, thus enabling for the first time the practice of personal autonomy. For gay men, this autonomy provided the first chances to “come out” as part of a homosexual subculture (Visser 2003: 127).

The demographics of these first gay subcultures would foreshadow the nature of South African gay subcultures for the next sixty to seventy years. Firstly, there was a non-representative gender division in the public face of gay subcultures – the emerging gay subcultures in South Africa were almost exclusively male. Secondly, there was a racial division between two gay subcultures that were developing simultaneously – black men in the mining compounds, and white men in urban areas (Gevisser 1995: 18).

These divisions characterised South African gay subcultures for decades to come - white South African lesbians (Gevisser 1995: 49) and black gay South African men would remain largely closeted until the mid to late 1980s (Gevisser 1995: 63), and to this day, black South African lesbians remain closeted in many parts of the country. It is only very recently, in the past 10 to 15 years, that attention has turned to brutal practices of ostracising black lesbians by men in their home communities; such practices include “corrective rape”, which allows men to rape lesbians, allegedly to “cure” them of their sexual orientation (Wells and Polders 2006: 24). Conversely, while a highly visible subculture of gay men emerged since the 1950s (discussed below in section 2.2.1), coloured lesbians remain as closeted as their black counterparts, for much the same reasons (Lewis and Loots 1995: 143).

Echoing the effects of the mining rush and the influx of white men into urban areas in the 1920s and 1930s were the effects of World War II in the 1940s. Theorists have noted that the war had similar effects on the formalisation of gay subcultures in the USA and in South Africa. The war separated men from their families, bringing about what is known as “circumstantial homosexuality” (men who practice homosexuality for lack of a more appealing heterosexual alternative) in some cases, and providing the freedom to explore their gay desires and identities in others (Gevisser 1995: 18).

Not surprisingly then, the war had a formalising effect in terms of gay leisure space development. The result in South Africa was that the first gay cruising venues developed in the port-cities of Durban and Cape Town, and near the army camp in Johannesburg. Though these cruising venues developed during the war because of their proximity to where single men, sailors and soldiers, lived and spent their free time, they remained active gay meeting places after the war ended. As a result of patriarchal and racist ideologies of the 1940s and 1950s (to which many white gay men also subscribed), lesbians, and black and coloured gay men were excluded from these venues, and thus from the developing gay subculture (Visser 2003: 127).

2.2.1 White gay men in the 1950s and early 1960s – the opening up of public space

While the war opened up public spaces for an emerging white gay subculture, it was by no means condoned, nor remotely tolerated by the South African public and the South African Police Services (SAPS). Following a 1956 police swoop of one of Durban’s most popular gay cruising venues, in which thirty men were charged with indecent assault, the magistrate assigned to the case issued a statement declaring that “your type is a menace to society and likely to corrupt and bring about degradation to innocent and unsuspecting, decent-living young men and to spell ruin to their future” (Gevisser 1995: 18).

Despite such intolerance, South African white, gay men had a far greater variety of options in terms of public meeting spaces than their black and lesbian counterparts did. Three main types of cruising venues were available: clubs, public areas and private parties. During these years straight owned gay clubs developed in urban areas, public spaces such as the Johannesburg Park Station or café-bios

became gay cruising spots, and private parties were organised with a specific view to minimising possible police attention – also by deliberately excluding lesbian guests (Gevisser 1995).

2.2.2 White lesbians in the 1950s and early 1960s

Lesbians practiced a similar type of self-censorship at their private gatherings by not inviting gay men. One guest explained “if the cops raided us we had the perfect excuse: we were having a kitchen tea” (Gevisser 1995: 19). The belief that a kitchen tea was one of the only reasons that a private gathering of women would be tolerated by the police is indicative of the limited roles that were available to women in these years. Although lesbians did not experience the same opening up of public space and resulting homophobic backlash as white gay men, they were under far greater pressure to remain closeted than men were (Gevisser 1995: 19). This is partly due to the fact that the war did not open up public gathering spaces for lesbians as it did for gay men, and in the white community also because the prevailing Calvinistic, patriarchal ideology of the 1950s and 1960s in Afrikaans South Africa prohibited such alternative lifestyles (Cage 2003: 11).

In keeping with this ideology, women were under far more pressure than men to marry and have children. Women in formal employment would undoubtedly have lost their jobs (and thus their financial independence) if their homosexual preferences were disclosed and, in any case, they were less likely to be financially independent than their male counterparts. This made lesbians less free than gay men to risk rejection by their families or employers (Schaap 2011: 25).

The reasons given above go some way toward explaining why white women only became a visible part of the gay South African subculture in the mid-to-late 1980s. Until then, lesbian subcultures mainly existed in the form of small cliques of friends, often organised by profession, who would meet in each others’ homes or at sport clubs. Such groups were strongly defined by gendered rituals in which butch and femme groups were distinguished (Gevisser 1995).

2.2.3 Class divisions in the white, gay subculture of the 1950s and 1960s

As explained above in section 2.1, the South African gay subculture was divided in terms of race and gender, and even within the white, gay subculture further divisions existed as a result of

social class differences. Not only black or coloured men and gay women, but also white, working class gay men were largely excluded from the emerging subculture of the 1950s and 1960s.

To a large extent it was easier for middle-class men to enter the white, gay subculture than it was for their working-class counterparts as they had access to suitable spaces (cf. section 2.2), were economically independent, and had higher levels of education which exposed them to “alternatives to the heterosexual paradigm” (Gevisser 1995: 28). This often resulted in working-class men being “othered” by white, gay, middle-class men, labelled as “rent”, or “rough trade”, and excluded from the formalisation of gay subcultures into a gay movement in the late 1960s (cf. section 2.3 below). This exclusion changed to some extent in the 1970s and 1980s (cf. sections 2.4 below). There is no evidence to suggest that similar class divisions existed among white lesbians in the same period

2.2.4 Coloured moffies in the 1950s and 1960s

Around the same time that a public gay scene was emerging in the white, middle class gay communities, a “vibrant” and “visible” gay subculture was emerging within the coloured community of District Six in Cape Town. An interesting subculture of “effeminate gendered performances” became synonymous with gay identities (Tucker 2009: 74).

The coloured community occupied a precarious position in apartheid South Africa, due to the fact that, while they were less stigmatised than black South Africans, they were “still forced to exist in varying degrees of subordination to white communities” (Tucker 2009: 71-73). The fact that significant sections of the coloured community were the product of inter-racial relations between people of various racial backgrounds, called the category of a separate coloured identity into question.

Within this multiracial and multicultural society the highly visible “*moffie*” subculture took root in Cape Town’s District Six in the 1950s. It was mainly manifested in the form of cross-dressing, in which coloured gay men would regularly wear women’s clothing and makeup. The general tolerance of the flourishing *moffie* subculture is largely attributed to its lack of homogeneity

(Gevisser 1995: 28), and the community's tolerance of and "shared sense of struggle" (Tucker 2009:77).

This tolerance and shared sense of struggle is illustrated by a tradition in which the annual Cape Coon Carnival, which dates back to 1907, is always led by a *moffie* (Gevisser 1995: 28). Within coloured society, cross-dressing came to represent a form of "symbolic autonomy and freedom", and by celebrating queers, the carnival became a form of defiance toward the apartheid state and white power (Tucker 2009: 78). Even after the forced relocation of more than 55,000 coloured people that started in 1966 and tore the community of District Six apart, it did not put an end to the "*Moffie Drag*" subculture that had flourished there (Tucker 2009: 77). To date, the Western Cape's coloured suburbs remain "dotted with... the homes of present day coloured cross-dressing men", who, similar to their counterparts in District Six, feel that "cross-dressing allows a degree of overt visibility and freedom that they otherwise might not be able to achieve" (Tucker 2009: 83).

While the coloured *moffie* subculture's role in South Africa's gay organisations remains largely "untold" (Gevisser 1995: 28), their visibility as part of the Western Cape's broader community undeniably defied the homophobia of the apartheid government, thereby aligning their subculture with the broader anti-apartheid movement.

2.3 Events opening space for public consideration of gay rights in the 1960s to 1970s

The mid to late 1960s in South Africa saw the beginnings of gay organisation, triggered by three key events: (i) the Forest Town raid of 1966; (ii) the proposed legislation of 1968 which sought to criminalise homosexuality in South Africa; and (iii) the formation of the Homosexual Law Reform Fund in 1969. The aftermath of these three events, coupled with an economic boom and the import of European ideas of 'gay life' served to formalise the South African gay subculture in a way that had not been imaginable before. The development of public space for gay South Africans in the 1970s can be similarly be examined in terms of three key events: (i) the opening up of safe public spaces where gay men could come together; (ii) the establishment of South

Africa's first gay organisations; and (iii) a police raid of New Mandy's in 1979, similar to the Forest Town raid of 1966 (cf. section 2.3.1 below).

2.3.1 *The Forest Town raid of 1966*

The proposed amendments to the Immorality Act (cf. section 2.3.2) in 1968 were the impetus for the beginnings of formal gay organisation in South Africa, and the result of the largest, most organised and most publicised police raid in the history of the South African gay community (Gevisser 1995: 30).

The raid took place in January 1966, at a private party in Forest Town, Johannesburg. Nine men were arrested for “masquerading as women”, and one for “indecent assault on a minor”. The official police report reads:

... a party in progress, the like of which has never been seen in the Republic of South Africa. There were approximately 300 male persons present who were all obviously homosexuals... Males were dancing with males to the strains of music, kissing and cuddling each other in the most vulgar fashion imaginable. They also paired off and continued their love-making in the garden of the residence and in motor cars in the streets, engaging in the most indecent acts imaginable with each other (Retief 1995: 101).

The reasons for the raid at this particular point in time are unclear – there had neither been a visible increase in public gay events, nor a visible increase in police attention to the matter.

Such policing of sexual minorities was consistent with the apartheid government's repressive ideology, and its attempts to characterise homosexuality as a foreign phenomenon (Croucher 2002: 317). One expression of concern indicated that “wealthy Jewish and English men were corrupting Afrikaner boys”. Further, the police action intended to show that the national Party was “protecting the culture and morality of Afrikanerdom” (Schaap 2011: 27), as well as formalising apartheid and exerting Afrikaner National control (Retief, cited in Gevisser 1995: 30).

The relative lack of sexual policing up until the mid-1960s is attributed to the fact that the lifestyle of gays was “invisible enough for the state not to regard homosexuality as a serious

problem” (Retief 1995: 101). Not surprisingly, the gay community’s reaction to the Nationalist government’s “discovery” of their subculture was a “flurry of panic”.

2.3.2 Proposed amendments to the Immorality Act 1968 and 1969

Following the Forest Town raid, the South African Police head office sent a circular to all divisional commissioners, explaining that “homosexuality and gross indecency is being practiced between male persons throughout the country, and that offenders are now pursuing an organised *modus operandi*”. The circular recommended that police informers go undercover and infiltrate gay parties in order to gather further information (Retief 1995: 101). The term “*modus operandi*” is characteristic of conspiracy rhetoric that was typical of the times in which police kept control by constructing everyone that did not fit the stereotypes of Christian National values, as “bogeymen” (Gevisser 1995: 31).

In response to a call from the South African Police head office at the time, the Minister of Justice, PC Pelsler, proposed “draconian anti-homosexuality legislation” (Gevisser 1995: 31). In addressing the House of Assembly, he argued that homosexual activity would “bring about utter ruin” of civilisation in South Africa, and compared South Africa to the ancient civilisations of Rome and Sparta, claiming that these once-great civilisations were brought to their knees as a result of their tolerance of homosexuality (Retief 1995: 102).

Pelsler’s address was well-received, but the motion was deferred, and proposed again in 1968 (Gevisser 1995: 31) when it was proposed as an amendment to the Immorality Act. The intention was to make homosexuality an offense punishable by compulsory imprisonment of up to three years. Thus the proposed legislation would make homosexuality itself illegal, whereas before only male public homosexual acts had been regulated by law (Currier 2007: 33).

In 1968 a Select Committee of parliamentarians was established to review the proposed legislation, and to hear evidence on the nature of homosexuality (Gevisser 1995: 32). The central debate in the Select Committee was between the law-and-order lobby and the society of psychiatrists and neurosurgeons of South Africa (SPNSA) (Retief 1995: 102). The former was “convinced that homosexuality was spreading because older men and women were seducing

teenagers”, and the latter felt that “a homosexual orientation was an ingrained psychosexual disorder that ought to be dealt with medically and not by means of prison sentences”. The SPNSA argued that practitioners could essentially “prevent homosexuality through a system of public education that would help people to bring up their children with sound attitudes towards sexual behaviour” (Schaap 2011: 28). Notably, the Select Committee only considered viewing gay individuals in one of two ways: either as criminals who needed to be removed from society; or as mentally ill people, whom society needed to recognise and treat.

The amendments that resulted from the Select Committee’s work, testify to their focus on white gay men. Lesbians, and black and coloured gay men entered the Committee’s discussions as “afterthoughts” which mainly centred on concerns that interracial relationships were taking place in the gay community, and concerns about the “sizes, shapes and attributes” of dildos used by lesbians (Retief 1995: 103).

2.3.3 The establishment of the Law Reform group 1968

The Forest Town raid of January 1966 and its aftermath have often been compared to the Stonewall Rebellion that took place in New York in June 1969. Both incidents involved a police raid of an event that was patronised by gay men, and both resulted in the establishment of gay liberation movements. The critical difference between the two incidents is that the Stonewall Rebellion set a grassroots gay liberation movement in motion in the United States, while the Forest Town raids resulted in a more select liberation movement limited to urban, white and middle-class gay men in South Africa (Gevisser 1995: 34).

A “wave of panic” swept through South Africa’s gay communities in response to the establishment of the Select Committee. With unprecedented organisation, a small group of gay professionals began meeting in Johannesburg and Pretoria, later formalising their actions into the Homosexual Law Reform Fund, known abbreviatedly, and euphemistically, as the “Law Reform”. The group undertook to raise R40000 in order to retain legal counsel that would challenge the proposed legislation of 1968 discussed above. The purpose of this action was to “control and coordinate” the evidence presented to the Select Committee, and in doing so to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality of those who gave evidence (Gevisser 1995: 32).

In April 1968 Law Reform organised the first public gay meeting that had ever been held in South Africa at the Park Royal Hotel in the then-white gay neighbourhood of Hillbrow. Attendees were strategically chosen, and were invited on the basis of their financial and evidential contributions (Currier 2007: 33). Following this meeting, informal Law Reform cells developed across the country to co-ordinate testimony and prepare representations to be given to Parliament, to build a body of research on the nature of homosexuality, and to raise funds (Gevisser 1995: 33).

Many contributed financially to this campaign, but more than that, the Select Committee “galvanised the gay subculture”, and created a gay community that had not existed previously. Despite this galvanisation, Law Reform failed to bring about gay liberation in South Africa for much the same reasons that later gay organisations would fail, namely its narrow focus on challenging the proposed legislation, its undemocratic organisation that excluded lesbians, and black and coloured gay men, and its failure to associate itself with South Africa’s broader liberation movement (Gevisser 1995: 33).

Theorists have pointed to the ANC’s 1952 Defiance Campaign as an example of one of the ways in which Law Reform could have drawn on the protest formula of the early anti-apartheid movement:

In 1952, in the form of a national defiance campaign, the ANC asked members to transgress apartheid curfew, pass and segregated facility laws. By inundating the prisons and courts beyond their capacity, the campaign was intended to demonstrate their ability to impair the functioning of the system, and, it was hoped, achieve the repeal of the oppressive laws (Younis 2000: 85, cited in Currier 2007: 34).

Further, theorists attribute the Law Reform’s failure at the time to associate itself with the country’s liberation movement to the fact that white, middle-class gays and lesbians had more to lose in terms of their class position and safety, than did black South Africans 16 years earlier. By 1968 the ANC was a banned political party, thus white gays and lesbians would most likely have invited further state scrutiny of their lives if they were to associate with the political aims of the party. As it was, segregation laws of the time assured that Law Reform members had such limited contact with black homosexuals, that they were hardly introduced to equality rhetoric of the resistance movement. And

in any case, the authorities had defined homosexuality as a white problem which Law Reform hardly protested (Currier 2007).

In terms of the goals it has set, the Law Reform group was successful. The proposed legislation was dropped, and instead only three amendments were made to the Immorality Act: (i) the age of consent for homosexual acts was raised from 16 to 19; (ii) dildos were outlawed; (iii) the “men at a party clause” was introduced. This final amendment criminalised any act of one male person with another male person at a party, if it was “calculated to stimulate sexual passion or to give sexual gratification”; a “party” was defined as “any occasion where more than two persons are present”. These amendments to the Immorality Act were calculated to “give teeth” to police in future raids on gay parties (Gevisser 1995: 35).

For Gevisser (1995: 36) the Law Reform movement had not been successful in reforming the law as it had simply prevented even more repressive legislation. This is evidenced by the fact that sodomy laws remained intact, and that the amendments to the Immorality Act gave authorities “the power to construe gay activist meetings as illegally promoting and inducing sexual acts between members of the same gender” (Currier 2007: 33). While the police formerly had focused on eliminating public sex between men, they now used the amended Immorality Act in order to shut down South Africa’s first explicitly political gay organisation in 1972 (discussed below in section 2.3.5).

The immediate consequences of the legislation - which included police surveillance and raids of gay clubs, bars and parties, bundling men into police vans, lining them up to be photographed - have never been fully documented (Retief 1995: 103). After the amendments were announced, Law Reform advised that “gay society proceed with renewed caution, as any gatherings could be construed as ‘parties’ under the new legislation, and even dancing could be viewed as ‘an act calculated to stimulate sexual passion’” (Gevisser 1995: 36).

Despite widespread scepticism of the legal outcomes of Law Reform, the group is acknowledged to have created common ground between gay South Africans, establishing “the stirrings of a gay collectivity” (Gevisser 1995: 36). Two further explanations for the formalisation of the gay subculture in the late 1960s and 1970s have been offered, namely a

boom in the South African economy and the success of Western European and North American gay rights movements (Visser 2003: 128). The improved economy assured higher standards of living and increased expendable income. This boom was echoed in the growth of the leisure industry for gay and straight South Africans alike. For white, gay South Africans, the boom meant that increasing amounts of gay bars and clubs were opening up. Gay South Africans who had travelled abroad and experienced the exhilaration of Amsterdam, New York and San Francisco introduced the idea of a 'gay life' to the local scene.

Ultimately, the police raids, the formation of the Law Reform group and the amendments to the Immorality Act resulted in "stirrings of gay collectivity" in the mid to late 1960s in South Africa. Still, the gay subculture ended up "moving indoors" (Visser 2003: 128) in the early 1970s. This contributed to further stratifying South Africa's gay subculture, as apartheid policies prevented black gay South Africans from frequenting the venues that had been opened up to their white counterparts (Visser 2003: 128).

2.3.4 The opening up of public spaces for white, gay South Africans

Two types of "public spaces" opened up to white, gay South Africans in the 1970s, namely gay leisure spaces in the form of bars and clubs (cf. section 2.2.1 above), and gay neighbourhoods which were frequented by gay people, tolerated by the general public and yet largely ignored by the authorities (Gevisser 1995: 38). Along with this came larger and more diverse gay subcultures. Economic growth brought more social mobility than before so that growing numbers of people from rural communities moved to urban areas.

In the cities identifiable "gay neighbourhoods", such as Hillbrow in Johannesburg and Sea Point in Cape Town that were populated by both English and Afrikaans white gay men, were not policed very strictly in terms of the existing legislation so that they experienced "a new level of tolerance" by other inhabitants. To this extent, the 1970s offered gay inhabitants of these neighbourhoods a chance to "come outside" relatively soon after they were "driven indoors" by the amendments to the Immorality Act (Gevisser 1995: 37, 38, 127). Still, with the exception of one unlicensed club in Johannesburg (Gevisser 1995: 39), lesbians, and black and coloured gay men continued to be excluded from the growing urban gay subcultures in the 1970s. The

economic boom that created the opening up of public spaces for white gay men did not offer any similar opportunities to the black gay subcultures that were developing in the townships (cf. section 2.4.7 below).

2.3.5 First gay organisations in South Africa

At this stage, besides the establishment of the South African Gay Liberation Movement (SAGLM) at the University of Natal in 1972, there were hardly any formal organisations publicly campaigning for gay rights. As it is, due to police intervention and harassment, the SAGLM was short-lived (Gevisser 1995: 43). The racist and homophobic policies of the National Party reinforced one another throughout the 1970s, as “an obsessive interest in sexual policing was as important to successive Nationalist governments as racist legislation was. The Christian Nationalist apartheid ideology was based on keeping the white nation not only racially pure, but ‘morally’ pure as well” (Cage 2003: 14).

In 1976, a second gay organisation, Gay Aid Identification and Enrichment (GAIDE) was founded with more care, in that it articulated itself as a support group, not a political action group. It started out as a social club, and soon branched out into social support services, which included a telephone-information and counselling line and a monthly newsletter (Gevisser 1995: 44). The membership of the organisation reflected a broader cross-section of the gay subculture, as it included working-class white men, and 40% of active lesbian members. This “representative membership” did not include black or coloured gay and lesbian South Africans, largely as a result of the societal divisions already mentioned above (cf. section 2.2). Although GAIDE collapsed in 1978, when its founder left the country, it had contributed to opening up a space for more newsletters and similar material published for a gay audience (Gevisser 1995: 45, 46)

2.3.6 The New Mandy’s raid of 1979

Events that emphasise the public censure of homosexuality of these years are the expulsion of four gay students from a Teacher’s Training College in Potchefstroom in 1979, a homophobic statement by rugby hero Naas Botha in which he referred to homosexuality as “a modern day disease” in 1979, and a police raid of a gay club called New Mandy’s in 1979 (Gevisser 1995: 47).

During the police raid on New Mandy's patrons were "manhandled, photographed, verbally abused, and kept locked up in the building until morning". As was the case with the Forest Town raid of 1966, the worst intimidation of this police procedure was the threat of exposure (Gevisser 1995: 30). Different to the Forest Town raid, however, the patrons of New Mandy's, particularly the drag queens, fought back. For this reason, many theorists feel that the New Mandy's raid, rather than the Forest Town raid, was South Africa's "Stonewall Rebellion". The violent nature of the raid brought some members of the gay community to look beyond social support, and "begin talking of rights once more" (Gevisser 1995: 47). This ultimately led to the establishment of Lambda (cf. section 2.4 below) in 1981, which was to be South Africa's first expressly gay activist organisation since the short-lived SAGLM of 1972.

The gay organisations of the 1980s and 1990s drew more heavily on the hallmarks of anti-apartheid organising, including "liberatory rhetoric" and therefore also for the first time really reached out to South Africans of different races. Further, many of the key gay, lesbian and bisexual activists of the 1980s and 1990s "learned valuable lessons from the anti-apartheid and student movements in South Africa during the 1970s" (Currier 2007: 35).

2.4 *The 1980s as a period of accelerated public gay awareness*

The 1980s was a time of "opening up" for South Africa, both socially and politically. The "uneasy political climate" of intensified state oppression and responding civil disobedience allowed for the "emergence of resistance" in all South Africans, including gay men (Sinclair 2004: 189).

Several events that shaped the future of gay organisation in South Africa, will be discussed in this section. These events include the establishment of "supper clubs" such as Lambda in 1981, of the national Gay Association of South Africa (GASA) in 1982 and the Organisation of Lesbians and Gay Activists (OLGA) in 1987. Of critical importance was the involvement of black gay activists Simon Nkoli and Alfred Machele with GASA, whose isolation within this organisation brought about the expulsion of GASA from the International Lesbian and Gay Alliance (ILGA) in 1987. This period marks the beginning of media attention to the connection between homosexuality and HIV/AIDS, which has proven to be a robust perception which, in the

South African context, is largely a red herring. The 1985 review of the Immorality Act and the consequent formation of the National Law Reform Fund in 1986, the formation of more political gay organisations such as the Rand Gay Organisation (RGO) in 1986, Lesbians and Gays against Oppression (LAGO) in the same year, and the Gays and Lesbians of Witwatersrand (GLOW) in 1988, all count as markers of increased activism and social awareness in a time when the grassroots uprising against apartheid markedly intensified.

In this period gay organisations were obliged to shift from a stubbornly a-political stance to a politicised stance articulated in the Organisation of Lesbians and Gay Activists (OLGA) that affiliated itself with the newly formed and widely supported liberation movement, the United Democratic Front (UDF) that was covertly affiliated with the still banned ANC. Through OLGA the African National Congress (ANC) was persuaded to include gay rights in its Bill of Rights. The shift to a more politicised stance that took place in the 1980s is considered to have been essential to the gay liberation movement's later success in getting the sexual discrimination clause in South Africa's first Constitution (De Vos 2007: 435).

2.4.1 Gay organisations of the early 1980s

The 1979 police raid at New Mandy's forced some members of the gay community to "begin talking of rights once more" (Gevisser 1995: 47). This directly led to the establishment of Lambda in 1981. Defined as a gay organisation that was simultaneously "expressly activist" and "a-political", Lambda intended its members no longer to be "a silent minority", even if they would not be "militant" (Gevisser 1995: 47). While the largely white, gay communities of the 1970s were "ready to assert themselves more openly", they were not yet ready to align themselves with the broader anti-apartheid movement that was brewing at the time (Schaap 2011: 30).

In April 1982 the first national gay organisation, the Gay Association of South Africa, (GASA) was formed, which was a landmark event in that it was the first gay liberation organisation that approximated the kind of gay grassroots movements formed earlier in Western Europe and North America. Here "grassroots" very limitedly referred only to the involvement of white, middle-class gay men (Gevisser 1995: 48).

The organisation grew rapidly: within months of its foundation, GASA had established nine branches across South Africa, and within a year of its establishment the organisation had over 1,000 paying members (Gevisser 1995: 48). However, its purported a-political stance soon brought it into controversy. In November 1982 a “lesbian scandal” erupted in the South African Railways Police after two lesbian officers were caught kissing on a platform (Sinclair 2004: 205). This led to the dismissal of four women and nine men and a further sixty resigned. GASA’s response was low key and very limitedly supportive. They merely issued a media statement that “lesbianism is not illegal” and “the dismissal or forced resignations of women because of lesbianism is a flagrant case of discrimination against women, as it involves moral issues which are not legal ones” (Gevisser 1995: 51).

The most important signifier of GASA’s demise within four years, lies in its failure to support one of their few black members, Simon Nkoli, when he was arrested and jailed for high treason in 1984 as a result of his role in the anti-apartheid struggle. Nkoli was an active member of the radical Congress of South African Students (COSAS), who joined GASA in 1983. He formed a black interest group within the organisation. This group’s first meeting was attended by 82 black gay men. They met every Saturday, taking on black liberation interests right from the start (Gevisser 1995: 53). Nkoli was eventually charged with murder and treason alongside 21 others in the Delmas Treason Trial, and spent four years in prison during the course of the trial, before being acquitted in 1988 (Nkoli 1995: 249). GASA’s failure to support Nkoli is attributed to the fact that his political involvement was “intensely threatening to GASA’s conservative white membership” as the organisation feared association with the illegal liberation struggle, which they did not support in the first place. Therefore the organisational response to his difficulties was largely indifferent (Gevisser 1995: 56).

While Nkoli was “ignored” and “abandoned” by GASA, he became a *cause célèbre* in the international gay community (Gevisser 1995: 56). As the only openly gay person among the Delmas Treason Trialists, Nkoli became “internationally visible as a bridge between gay and anti-apartheid organising” (Currier 2007: 39), challenging the notion that homosexuality was unAfrican, and at the same time demonstrating the presence of gay men and lesbians in the anti-apartheid movement (Kraak 2005: 130).

When GASA applied for membership of International Lesbian and Gay Alliance (ILGA) in 1983, they were afforded only provisional membership, on condition that they prove themselves convincingly to be a non-racial organisation. Their failure to come out in support of Nkoli contributed largely to their membership eventually being revoked. Also significant in the rejection of GASA by ILGA, was the contribution of Alfred Siphwe Machela, gay black, future founder of the Rand Gay Organisation who told an ILGA meeting in 1987 that GASA did not represent the entire gay movement in South Africa. Machela distanced his constituency from GASA, saying “we don’t wish them to represent us at any level without our mandate” (Croucher 2002: 318).

On the political front, although Nkoli’s ANC comrades at first were “dismayed” by his public show of homosexuality (Nkoli 1995: 255), he always emphasised that “the battles against homophobia and racism were inseparable”. Speaking at a public parade after his release, he said “I’m fighting for the abolition of apartheid, and I fight for the right of freedom of sexual orientation. These are inextricably linked with each other. I cannot be free as a black man if I am not free as a gay man”. Nkoli’s assertion of this link was considered to have been a “watershed” moment in gay South African politics which shifted the attitudes of key political players such as Popo Molefe, the General Secretary of the UDF, who told Nkoli “since you have been on this trial, my eyes have been opened. I now understand that lesbians and gay men should be accepted for who they are” (Sinclair 2004: 227).

2.4.2 Media focus on the connection between homosexuality and HIV/AIDS

Early media attention to HIV/AIDS (cf. sections 1.5.2.6 and 3.8.1.2) in the media characterised the virus and related illness as one that specifically plagued gay men. Such a mediated position is described as “medico-moral discourse” which frames AIDS as “God’s punishment” for improper sexual activity (Seidel 1993: 178). Such a portrayal changed significantly in March 1985 when, according to Gevisser (1995: 59) media attention was directed towards HIV-cases in Soweto. This marked the beginning of recognition of heterosexual transmission of HIV, and awareness that in South Africa HIV-infection had reached alarmingly high levels regardless of sexual orientation, and was particularly prevalent in more vulnerable poor, black communities. Even though such recognition shifted the public association between HIV and homosexuality to some

extent, the stereotype of HIV and AIDS being a “gay disease” appears to be stubbornly persistent.

2.4.3 The 1985 review of the Immorality Act and activist responses

In April 1985, 17 years after the Law Reform action culminated in gay-related amendments to the Immorality Act (cf. section 2.3.2), section 16 of the Immorality act was repealed in order to decriminalise interracial sex (Sinclair 2004: 208). Proposed constitutional changes at the time were intended to remove aspects of “petty apartheid” in order to postpone more radical constitutional change, so that “whites’ self-interest” could remain protected. While the reform programme was meant to convince that the NP government was becoming more accommodating in terms of racial difference, such tolerance did not extend to gay and lesbian South Africans (Conway 2009: 862).

Concerned that homosexual behaviour would be decriminalised, a number of powerful institutions, including the SAPS, the state Department of Justice, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Association of Law Societies, and the Baptist Union of South Africa called for “harsher laws regarding homosexuality, or at the very least, confirmation of the status quo” (Sinclair 2004: 208). The President’s Council (a nominated mixed-race upper house of Parliament) was requested to investigate the Immorality Act with a view to amending it in order to codify the decriminalisation of interracial sex into law (Johnson 1997: 595). Reminiscent of the review of the Immorality Act in 1968 (cf. section 2.3.2), the outcome of the investigation caused considerable panic in gay society (Schaap 2011: 31).

In August 1985 stricter legislation against gay men was proposed, and it was recommended that Parliament further investigate four related issues, namely extending the criminal prohibitions on gay conduct to include gay women; expression of societal abhorrence to homosexuality; explicating state programs of rehabilitation or punishments; and investigating possible evidence that the tolerance of homosexuality caused the decline of civilisations (Sinclair 2004: 209). The President’s Council rejected any move to decriminalise homosexuality, and in a 1987 report voiced concern about the increased public acceptance of homosexuality. It identified homosexuality as “a cause of social breakdown and an impediment to good citizenship” (Schaap

2011: 31), resulting in the offensive and explicit suggestion that homosexuality was “abhorrent, requiring rehabilitation at best and punishment at worst” (Gevisser 1995: 60).

The report of the 1985 investigative committee of the President’s Council as is interpreted as indicating that “a gap had grown between the National Party government, which was still rooted in ideas of Afrikaner masculinity and power, and wider society which started to become more accepting of homosexuality”. GASA, that was still a national organisation when the findings of the investigative committee were announced, responded by setting up the National Law Reform Fund (NLRF) in 1986. The aim of the NLRF was similar to the aims of Law Reform in 1968 (cf. section 2.3.3), namely to make submissions to the President’s Council to convince authorities that “white, gay men were respectable, law-abiding, worthy members of the community” (Sinclair 2004: 210). Also similar to the 1968 events, the NLRF needed money to fund GASA’s legal team, thus an alliance of 20 Johannesburg based gay organisations formed a fundraising incentive called Benefit. The fund ended up raising R59,000, which at the time was a considerable amount (Gevisser 1995: 60).

At Benefit’s launch in March 1986, human rights advocate, Edwin Cameron (cf. section 2.5.2), pointed out that the Law Reform movement of 1968 had failed, as the gay communities that had formed in the 1970s and 1980s could still not depend on legally entrenched rights. He also raised the issue of a “larger struggle”, and reproached white gay South Africans for “looking after their material interests and comforts while ignoring the issues of discrimination and oppression – their own, and that of others around them” (Gevisser 1995: 61).

Finally, nothing came of the initiative to amend the Immorality Act as the NP’s interest in homosexuality “fizzled out” after 1987 (Sinclair 2004: 211). Unlike in 1968, the government’s focus after 1986 was directed at president Botha’s campaign to “smash anti-apartheid resistance”, thus “the gay issue was forgotten” (Gevisser 1995:61).

2.4.4 Gay organisations of the late 1980s

GASA’s failure to support Nkoli (cf. section 2.4.1), and finally its national collapse (cf. section 2.4.1) prompted the formation of “a new kind of lesbian and gay politics” (Gevisser 1995: 57).

One organisation that illustrates such a change in political position was the Rand Gay Organisation (RGO), founded by Alfred Siphwe Machela in 1986. Although the RGO claimed to be multiracial, its membership was exclusively black (Sinclair 2004: 217). Machela's objective was to do what GASA had failed to do: to consolidate South Africa's struggle for gay liberation with the country's broader struggle for liberation (Sinclair 2004: 216).

GASA and the RGO had conflicting mission statements, and spent much time objecting to each others' points of view. The two organisations butted heads on, for instance, GASA's management of the NLR (Sinclair 2004: 218), GASA's failure to respond to HIV/AIDS in the black community (Sinclair 2004: 223), GASA's membership in the ILGA (cf. section 2.4.1), and GASA's role in the whites-only parliamentary elections (cf. section 2.4.5). Although the RGO was admitted to the ILGA in August 1986, the organisation collapsed in 1988, and was never heard of again (Gevisser 1995: 57).

At the same time that the RGO was founded, a group of white gay anti-apartheid activists formed a similarly political organisation known as Lesbians and Gays against Oppression (LAGO). The founders of LAGO had come from leadership positions in Cape Town's branch of GASA (GASA-6010), which they had left due to frustration over GASA's failure to oppose apartheid (Currier 2007: 40). LAGO was the first white gay organisation to explicitly "fold gay rights issues into the apartheid struggle". From their mission statement it is also clear that they were the first group to explicitly take on lesbian issues as well as gay ones (Gevisser 1995: 58).

LAGO made a point of supporting gay political activists, such as Simon Nkoli (cf. section 2.4.1) and Ivan Toms, a white, gay lieutenant in the South African Defence Force (SADF) who spent nine months in prison for refusing to be deployed by the SADF in their military campaign in the townships surrounding Cape Town (Croucher 2002: 319). Toms was pressured by the then-banned End Conscription Campaign (ECC) of which he was an active member, to remain silent about his homosexuality in favour of better furthering their cause (Gevisser 1995: 58). Nevertheless, Toms eventually did come out, forcing his comrades to acknowledge the presence of white, gay men in the struggle against apartheid in much the same way that Simon Nkoli's coming out during the Delmas Treason Trial had done.

Despite LAGO leaders' prominence within the anti-apartheid structures of the Western Cape (Gevisser 1995: 58), they were not necessarily welcomed by the anti-apartheid movement, and LAGO members faced accusations that they were "hijacking the anti-apartheid struggle for their own partisan ends" (Currier 2007: 40). These accusations are similar to those levelled at Machela, the founder of the RGO (discussed above in section 2.4.4), who was accused of hijacking the gay struggle to further his own political agenda.

LAGO was dissolved 15 months after it was founded, largely as a result of an ideological division between members on how they were to join the broader liberation struggle. Many believed that the NP and the anti-apartheid movement were "equally homophobic" (Currier 2007: 40). LAGO was replaced by the Progressive Gay and Lesbian Working Group (PGLGW), who in 1987 acknowledged that "for lesbians and gay men to be recognised and given full rights when South Africa became a democracy, it was necessary to participate in the events that led up to that change and be part of the main struggle" (Sinclair 2004: 234). The PGLGW was eventually replaced by the Organisation of Lesbians and Gay Activists (OLGA), whose affiliation with the United Democratic Front (UDF) (discussed below in section 2.4.6) was fundamental to the ANC's eventual decision to include gay rights in its constitution (Sinclair 2004: 234).

2.4.5 Hillbrow as an iconic space

Hillbrow in Johannesburg had by the mid-1980s not only become one of South Africa's first "gay neighbourhoods" (cf. section 2.3.5), but had also developed as home to a culturally diverse community. Despite the government's attempts to enforce the Group Areas Act of 1960, 20% of Hillbrow's residents were non-white by the time GASA opened up their regional offices there in 1983. Gevisser (1995: 41) finds that the presence of gay people living in Hillbrow had "turned the area into a tolerant liberated zone of sorts", which laid the groundwork for the area becoming South Africa's first deracialised neighbourhood.

By 1985 black homosexuals living in Hillbrow were going through a phase of coming out in public, in much the same way as GASA's white members had in the 1970s. The black contingent's meetings became spaces to express their exhilaration, particularly as they continued

to be excluded from the public spaces that had opened up to white gay men (cf. section 2.2.1) (Gevisser 1995: 53).

National and international critiques of GASA's white self-interest were fuelled by the role that GASA's magazine, *Exit*, played in the 1987 whites-only parliamentary elections when it campaigned for its readers to "vote gay" by electing a candidate who had expressed support for gay rights (Conway 2009: 856). The shift in government focus described above in section 2.4.3 was demonstrated by the NP's decision to "co-opt hitherto marginalised sexual others" by supporting a pro-gay rights candidate in the Hillbrow constituency of the 1987 parliamentary elections. Conway (2009: 849) describes this decision as "a spectacular contradiction of both NP policy and the NP's relationship with Afrikaner nationalism", and attributes it to "an effort to preserve and rejuvenate the wider political community and preserve the status quo" (Conway 2009: 850). In simple terms, white unity was fragmenting for the first time since the NP came into power in 1948, apartheid was destabilising, and the NP needed all the white votes they could get (Conway 2009: 852).

Although the NP bought into the "vote gay" campaign, it was an *Exit* initiative of March 1987 that put gay issues on the broader agenda of the elections. The magazine wrote to all parliamentary candidates to establish whether or not they supported gay rights. They began by writing to the incumbent Progressive Federal Party (PFP) MP for Hillbrow, Alf Widman, to determine his stance on the. *Exit* found Widman's response that "sexuality is a personal matter and not the responsibility of the government" to be insufficient, and the magazine launched a campaign to unseat him and elect his pro-gay rights NP rival, Leon de Beer (Conway 2009: 855). During this campaign, De Beer used *Exit* as a platform to advocate non-discrimination against gay men, and in turn, *Exit* lobbied for its readership to vote for him. De Beer rather expediently reconciled the NP's previous persecution of gay men with his 1987 campaign by explaining that "only the NP could protect the rights of minority groups", and that gay white South Africans were included in the minority groups that the NP (now) aimed to protect (Conway 2009: 856).

Leon de Beer won the seat from Alf Widman, in what Gevisser (1995: 62) describes as "a fascinating display of gay political power". *Exit*'s involvement in the campaign echoed GASA's focus on gay rights for white South Africans and its propensity of avoiding broader political

issues regarding black liberation. While *Exit* celebrated the political power of gay voters and asserted that it had “taken the first steps toward a party political awareness of gay people by creating a gay power vote” (Conway 2009: 858), there was a sharp backlash from key figures in the South African and international gay community.

The backlash was the natural outcome of *Exit*'s decision to support a candidate that represented the apartheid government. Edwin Cameron described this as “a debasement of the gay cause and a profaning of its responsibilities to the South African gay community as a whole” (Conway 2009: 850). An activist from OLGA wrote to *Exit*, saying that “for gay people to cast a vote in favour of the racist oppression of twenty-four million people in order to advance what they regard as their own best interests, is a moral outrage”. Conway (2009: 850) described the campaign as “a regrettable episode in the history of gay rights in South Africa”, and the University of Witwatersrand's Gay Movement expressed their “profound disgust” with the magazine (Conway 2009: 860).

Outside of South Africa, ILGA also noted GASA's role in the election campaign. This, the organisation's lack of support for Nkoli, and the fact that their meetings were consistently held in whites-only areas, brought ILGA to conclude that GASA did not actively oppose apartheid. They expelled the organisation later that same year (Sinclair 2004: 225).

2.4.6 Interaction with political liberation movements: OLGA, the UDF and the ANC

As mentioned above in section 2.4, OLGA's affiliation with the UDF was of vital importance to the ANC's acceptance of the principle of equality for gay people. In the 1980s, the ANC was still banned, but it was affiliated with the UDF, which was the country's leading internal anti-apartheid organisation. Ironically, a homophobic statement in 1987 by an ANC National Executive member, Ruth Mompati, served as the catalyst to forming a strategic alliance between OLGA and the UDF, and thus between OLGA and the ANC (Cock 2003: 36). Mompati made a statement to Peter Tatchell, an Australian gay activist and journalist for *Capital Gay*, saying

I hope that in a liberalised South Africa people will live a normal life... I emphasise the word normal... Tell me, are lesbians and gays normal? No, it is not normal... I cannot

even begin to understand why people want lesbian and gay rights. The gays have no problems. They have nice homes and plenty to eat. I don't see them suffering. No one is persecuting them... We haven't heard about this problem in South Africa until recently. It seems to be fashionable in the West (Tatchell 2005: 142).

When Tatchell (2005: 143) asked the ANC's chief representative in London, Solly Smith, for a response to Mompati's statements, he answered "We don't have a policy. Lesbian and gay rights do not arise in the ANC. We cannot be diverted from our struggle by these issues. We believe in the majority being equal. These people [lesbians and gays] are in the minority. The majority must rule".

Mompati's and Smith's statements voiced the sentiment that "racial oppression trumped sexual oppression" (Currier 2007: 41), and illustrated that the suffering of persecuted and maligned gays was not considered in the ANC's liberation agenda (Cock 2003: 36). However, Tatchell's wide publication of the statements brought a change. Following this, multiracial organisations like OLGA directed attention to ANC leaders within and outside of South Africa to persuade them to include freedom from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in their revision of exclusionary apartheid laws (Currier 2007: 41).

Tatchell (2005: 143) made a point of bringing Mompati's views to the attention of members of anti-apartheid organisations such as the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, the London-based Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR) and the Notting Hill Gay Youth Organisation, whose support the ANC valued. He intended thereby to "pressure it to confront the issue of homophobia and eventually to abandon its rejection of lesbian and gay equality". His strategy worked in that the outcry that followed, was overwhelming.

Tatchell followed this up by writing a private appeal to the ANC leadership in exile in Lusaka, addressing the letter to Thabo Mbeki, then the ANC Director of Information. In the letter he argued that "support for lesbian and gay liberation was consistent with the principles of the ANC's Freedom Charter", and that the ANC should be committed to removing all forms of discrimination and oppression in a new dispensation (Tatchell 2005: 144). He included his own published articles on the contributions of gay activists Simon Nkoli and Ivan Toms. Albie Sachs (discussed below in section 2.4.6), in this respect, noted that "the ANC policy makers were much

influenced by the knowledge that people such as Simon Nkoli and Ivan Toms were gay: the fact that comrades were being affected by gay oppression did much to get the gay issue considered on its merits” (cited in Li 2009: 72).

Mbeki answered Tatchell, giving his agreement to the idea that gay rights should indeed be protected. This is recorded at the ANC’s first public announcement of their pro-gay rights stance (Li 2009: 73). At Mbeki’s request, Tatchell communicated the letter to gay and anti-apartheid movements worldwide, including OLGA and the UDF, helping to pave the way for the subsequent inclusion of gay rights in the country’s first democratic Constitution (Li 2009: 73).

As mentioned above, the UDF was the country’s leading internal anti-apartheid organisation, and thus closely affiliated with the ANC. OLGA applied for affiliation to the UDF, and in spite of mixed reactions the application was accepted “for moral and strategic reasons: moral, because OLGA motivated the worthiness of its cause, and strategic, because the whole point of the UDF was to make its constituency as broad as possible”. OLGA’s affiliation with the UDF is attributed to its recognition that the ANC should be co-opted as it would be the new democratically government (Sinclair 2004: 253).

Further reasons for the “new-found acceptability of gay politics” include the fact that Simon Nkoli’s coming out during the Delmas Treason trial changed the homophobic ideologies of senior UDF officials like Popo Molefe, and ANC members in exile such as Albie Sachs, who were exposed to liberal positions in European communities, were similarly convinced. Ivan Toms (discussed above in section 2.4.4, cited in Croucher 2002: 319), adds that the “close contact many OLGA members maintained with exiled ANC members during the 1980s”, and “the commitment of OLGA’s members to being open about their homosexuality” also contributed to this new-found acceptability of gay politics.

The pivotal role that Albie Sachs, the ANC’s “constitutional expert”, and a senior member of the ANC’s legal and constitutional team played in the ANC’s acceptance of gay rights, is well documented. OLGA was brought into touch with Sachs in 1989, and their proposals for the protection of lesbian and gay rights in the future Constitution were sympathetically received (Sinclair 2004: 253). Sachs is said to have advised them to “go for the arguments about diversity,

tolerance and freedom; don't go for the concept of a protected minority group" (Sinclair 2004: 254), to involve heterosexual people who supported the gay cause (Sinclair 2004: 254), and to work hard on changing the perception that the gay and lesbian issue is "merely a 'white' issue" (Sinclair 2004: 255).

In addition to the efforts of South African organisations such as the RGO, LAGO, OLGA and GLOW (cf. section 2.4.1), activists from countries that supported the South African anti-apartheid struggle, such as Sweden, Holland, Britain, Canada and Australia also contributed to consolidating the struggle for gay rights with the apartheid struggle, thereby helping to persuade the ANC to accept the principle of equality for gay people, and write it into their new constitution (see also Gevisser 2000; Kraak 2005; Tatchell 2005).

2.4.7 Gay identities and organisations in the townships

The 1976 Soweto student uprising (discussed above in section 1.4.4) was the start of period when "youth rose up against the authority of adults, parents and elders", and coincided with the emergence of a more visible gay and lesbian youth culture in townships (Morgan and Reid 2003: 376). Theorists draw a causal link between anti-apartheid activity, and the emergence of a gay township subculture among youngsters. This assertion is echoed by Linda Ngcobo, one of the founding members of GLOW in 1988, who writes that

1976 gave people a lot of confidence... I remember when the time came to go and march and they wanted all the boys and girls to join in. The gays said "We're not accepted by you, so why should we march? But then they said they didn't mind and we should go to march in drag."
(McLean and Ngcobo 1995: 180)

Shortly after his release from prison in 1988, Simon Nkoli (discussed above in section 2.4.1) founded a new and predominantly black organisation, Gays and Lesbians of Witwatersrand (GLOW). It differed from GASA in that it became an outspoken advocate of gay and lesbian political demands, and its predominantly black membership linked the gay struggle to the broader anti-apartheid struggle (Croucher 2002: 319). For these reasons, Nkoli's group, and other, similarly political groups such as LAGO and OLGA (discussed above in section 2.4.4) are believed to have signified a shift in the way gay and lesbian movements started to engage with

the apartheid movement in which gay rights were redefined as human rights (Gevisser 1995: 63). The manifesto of GLOW started to use the ideals of the struggle as committing to “a Non-Racist, Non-Sexist, Non-Discriminatory Democratic Future”, thus using a new kind of rhetoric compared to that of earlier organisations in the gay communities (Gevisser 1995: 74).

GLOW’s predominantly black membership challenged Mompati’s implication that homosexuality was a ‘white issue’ (discussed above in section 2.4.6), and the organisation’s focus on recruiting black gay and lesbian members added to this contestation (Croucher 2002: 319). Currier (2007: 43) cites a former member of GLOW, who explained that prior to the organisation’s establishment

black people never had a movement that they could go to and feel at home. There was GASA, and there were other white movement organisations. But a lot of black people didn’t feel welcomed, or they didn’t feel safe to go to those organisations. When GLOW was started in 1988, we found that a lot of black people... came out and then they joined the movement.

Despite GLOW’s focus on recruiting gay and lesbian members, the organisation remained male dominated. In an attempt to address this, the GLOW Lesbian Forum was founded, where particularly the emotional needs of these women was in focus as many of the new members reported being “very traumatised by having been rejected by their families”. The focus on support meant that more explicit political concerns had to be “put on hold”, and GLOW’s political activity remained largely male (Gevisser 1995: 80).

The phenomenon of cross-dressing in coloured communities was featured prominently by *Drum* magazine and the *Golden City Post* from the 1950s to the 1980s (Tucker 2009: 79). These two publications were the biggest selling publications among black South Africans in the 1950s and 1960s (Chetty 1995: 116), and their articles and exposes of the Cape Town *moffies* undoubtedly affected their readers’ impressions of the relationship between gender and sexuality. The similarity in the socio-economic status of the black and communities brought the gay groups within these communities (otherwise divided by apartheid regulations) closer together. Tucker (2009: 90) describes it, saying that

Close-quarter living is more likely to occur... In these communities the possibility of privacy is diminished. Sharing of rooms and the close proximity of other dwellings means that the probability of being able to keep one's sexuality private is lessened. The solution to this problem is to become overtly visible.

Although GLOW was initially successful in beginning to formalise a gay township subculture, the organisation was plagued by the same tension that describes as having characterised South African gay organisation since the early 1970s, namely the choice between the social support and political activist functions (Gevisser 1995: 44). These two functions appealed to two very different communities: the social support function appealed to a group of young, largely-black people that mainly resided in the township, while the activist function appealed to a group of older, largely-white activists that generally resided in the city (Gevisser 1995: 78). The young, black members are compared to the white gay men who “joined GASA in droves” in the early 1980s in order to meet friends and romantic partners. However, two major differences are noted, namely that unlike the white GASA members of the early 1980s, the young, black GLOW members came from a highly politicised environment, thus words like “struggle” and “rights” were already part of their daily vocabulary. Further, unlike the white GASA members of the early 1980s, the majority of GLOW's black membership came from the working class, meaning that, due to the overcrowded nature of most township homes, the right to privacy was high on the GLOW members' list of human rights. OLGA and GLOW with their predominantly black membership made significant strides in aligning the gay liberation movement with the broader struggle for liberation, and in securing the ANC's commitment to support gay rights. Gevisser (1995: 48)

2.5 Mobilisation for gay rights in the new constitution

The establishment of GLOW signalled important changes in gay organisations, yet still gave limited clues as to the monumental constitutional and legislative changes that were to take place within the next few years. These changes are largely attributed to the country's transition to democratic rule in the 1990s, which “loosened restrictions on, and access to, the political realm and opened up a social and political space of tolerance and equality within which gays and lesbians could claim their rights” (Croucher 2002: 321).

2.5.1 Unbanning of the ANC and development of constitutional documents

February 1990, when the liberation movements were unbanned, was the beginning of the process of a transfer of power from the National Party to a democratically elected government (Croucher 2002: 319). Nelson Mandela, who went on to become South Africa's first democratically elected president four years later, was released from prison in the same month.

The unbanning of the ANC is of particular interest in the narrative of South Africa's gay liberation movement, as this was the party that first included sexual orientation in its Bill of Rights and eventually implemented a constitution that would afford gay and lesbian South Africans all the same basic rights as their heterosexual counterparts. The release of Nelson Mandela is also of interest, as his moral authority is cited as one of the main reasons that the gay liberation movement succeeded in making the legislative changes discussed below.

Thus in the 1990s a variety of public spaces for gays and lesbians now opened up. Social spaces such as gay bars and clubs became far more open, with "outdoor cafe tables" and "big sliding glass doors rather than blackened portholes" (Gevisser 1995: 64). Similarly, sport clubs opened up to them at the same time as they became more racially mixed. At the time South Africa's first registered gay church, the Reforming Congregations of Equals in Christ, was opened with the express aim to meet the "spiritual and political" needs of the congregants (Gevisser 1995: 65).

October 1990 saw GLOW hosting a Gay and Lesbian Pride March for the first time. It was one of the ways in which the organisation attempted to reconcile its conflicting needs of social support and political activity. The march has been described as "simultaneously angry and carnivalesque" – the anger reflected the political fight for gay rights, and the carnivalesque theme, adopted from the North American Pride Marches, satisfied the need for socialisation (Gevisser and Reid 1995: 278). Further, the march is considered to have been a symbol of the "new gay liberationist" politics, taking place within months of the unbanning of opposition parties (Gevisser 1995: 63).

When GLOW disbanded in the early 1990s it was interpreted as evidence that its role in the gay liberation movement had been fulfilled as there was little need for it once the Interim

Constitution stipulated sexual orientation in a clause for non-discrimination (Sinclair 2004: 237). Thus, unlike many of the gay organisations that preceded it, GLOW's demise was not taken as a failure, but a sign of its success.

In May 1990, only three months after the unbanning of the liberation movements, ANC constitutional lawyer Albie Sachs (discussed above in section 2.4.6) spoke at an OLGA press conference and said the following:

What has happened to lesbian and gay people is the essence of apartheid - it tried to tell people who they were, how they should behave, what their rights were. The essence of democracy is that people should be free to be what they are. We want people to feel free.

(Gevisser 1995: 82)

Although these sentiments were neither entirely shared by his comrades, other parties, nor (as far as could be gauged) by a non-political majority, the ANC included non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in the Gender Rights clause of its first draft of the Bill of Rights in November 1990. OLGA's submission to the constitutional committee of the ANC closely adhered to the advice given by Albie Sachs, They defined gay and lesbian rights as "fundamental human rights", and a "public, political issue" (Fine and Nicol 1995: 271).

In contrast to the "national euphoria" of 1990, key events that took place in 1991 made it clear that the country's transition to democracy would not be as swift nor as all-encompassing as the gay community had hoped. These events include the homophobic sentiments expressed in Winnie Mandela's defence trial, an unpromising response to an expansion of OLGA's lobbying, and a deadlock in the country's first multi-party constitutional negotiations. In spite of having included sexual orientation in its first draft of the Bill of Rights, the ANC leadership skirted around the issue, failing to address it formally (Fine and Nicol 1995: 272).

In the Supreme Court criminal trial of Winnie Mandela, where she was charged for kidnap, assault and intention to do grievous bodily harm, along with three co-accused, the president's wife came out with strongly homophobic sentiments (Holmes 1995: 284). Her defence lawyer was also found to have "hopelessly conflated (homosexuality) with sexual abuse" (Holmes 1995:

288). Although the ANC never officially responded to the homophobic sentiments expressed by Mandela's lawyer, nor to GLOW's letter protesting this, it attempted to show continued support of gay rights later that year by sending a "warm message of support" to the 1991 Gay Pride March in Johannesburg (Holmes 1995: 291).

In December 1991 various political parties, including the ANC, the DP, the IFP and the NP met at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg at a forum called the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in order to begin negotiations for the drafting of an Interim Constitution. Unfortunately, CODESA was typified by "conflicts, deadlock and violence", resulting in a more drawn out process than was initially envisaged.

Nevertheless, 1992 saw the continuation of OLGA's lobbying efforts (discussed above in section 2.4.6), the publication of the Bills of Rights of four of the most influential political parties in South Africa, and the birth of a new gay liberation organisation, the Association of Bisexuals, Gays and Lesbians (ABIGAILE), which made the first steps in establishing grass-roots enforcement of the ANC's gay rights policies in South African townships.

In March 1992, before the negotiations collapsed, OLGA responded to calls from CODESA, and submitted a detailed request that non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation be maintained in the Bill of Rights. OLGA's submission included proposals on how to enforce this principle of non-discrimination, such as: decriminalising homosexuality, introducing positive anti-discrimination laws, implementing effective mechanisms to enforce new protective laws, and embarking on accessible countrywide public education programmes (Fine and Nicol 1995: 274).

So, in May 1992, the ANC became the first mass-based movement in Africa to acknowledge formally the rights of lesbians and gay men when it included "the right not to be discriminated against or subjected to harassment because of sexual orientation" in its Bill of Rights (Fine and Nicol 1995: 269). Soon after, the Democratic Party (DP), the National Party (NP) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) followed suit (Christiansen 2000: 20). Of these four parties, only the NP offered what Cameron (1995: 95) terms "oblique protection", while the other three offered what he terms "express protection". This unanimity has been ascribed to the fact that

political parties were hesitant to take positions that could be construed as oppressive in light of the country's history of injustice and oppression (Massoud 2003: 303).

ABIGAILE was established in the Western Cape with the aims of providing still much needed social support, and of organising political action. The group explicitly intended to provide a space for the black gay individuals that felt "alienated by the social ethos and intellectualism" of the existing activist groups (Gevisser 1995: 79).

In late 1992 an ANC Youth League (ANCYL) activist in Khayelitsha, Funeka Soldaat, joined ABIGAILE and facilitated a meeting between the organisation and the ANCYL. This meeting went a long way towards getting the issue of gay rights discussed at the grassroots of the ANC, as members of the ANCYL "committed themselves to... give help in terms of organising lesbians and gays in the township and encouraging them to be open and accepted by the community" (Gevisser 1995: 77). By 1993 ABIGAILE had become South Africa's fastest-growing and most vociferous gay action group (Gevisser 1995: 81), and had recruited many new members in the township of Khayelitsha (Gevisser 1995: 77).

In April 1993, the ANC, the DP, the IFP and the NP met again at the Multi-Party Negotiating Process (MPNP), and resumed the process of drafting the Interim Constitution, which was widely recognised as the document that would set the agenda for the final Constitution (Croucher 2002: 320). After much debate, the parties decided to provide an enumerated list of conditions that would be protected by the equality clause, of which sexual orientation was one, and race was another (De Vos 2007: 437).

2.5.2 The role of elite activists

Many of the parties discussed above attributed their decision to accept gay and lesbian rights to a 1993 article written by Edwin Cameron, titled "Sexual Orientation and the Constitution: A Test Case for Human Rights". Cameron had been the defence attorney during the trial of Ivan Toms (discussed above in section 2.4.4) in 1987. By 1993 he had a reputation of being a high-ranking ANC member (Massoud 2003: 303).

In the article, Cameron equated sexual discrimination with racial injustice, and suggested that “racism, sexism and homophobia fostered similar negative consequences”. In so doing, he reproduced OLGA’s discursive strategy (discussed above in section 2.4.6) of defining gay and lesbian rights as “fundamental human rights”, and a “public, political issue”. This approach was aimed at capitalising on the “window-period of transition” that became available after the events of 1990 (Gevisser 1995: 82).

The advances made by the gay liberation movement by the end of the 1990s were strongly contrasted in the homophobic statement made by DP candidate Graham McKintosh, who commented on Edwin Cameron’s public announcement that he was HIV positive, saying that it was “a logical consequence of his... practice of a homosexual orientation”. Different to public responses in previous incidents of this nature, there was open condemnation of McKintosh’s thoughtless words and the DP issued an immediate apology, highlighting the changes that had taken place in the decade during which constitutional changes had been made (Croucher 2002: 328).

In 1994, when Nelson Mandela became the country’s first democratically elected president, the Constitutional Assembly began drafting South Africa’s final Constitution. At the same time the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality was formed. The comment of an onlooker at the 1994 Gay Pride parade, summarises the sentiment well:

“No, I would not want to see my son or daughter marching there. But those people have a right to march. This is the New South Africa. When we were voting last April, we weren’t just voting for our own freedom, we were voting for everyone to be free with who they are...”
Gevisser (2000: 111)

Nelson Mandela’s inaugural address of 10 May 1994 symbolised the end of apartheid and the beginning of the New South Africa (Croucher 2002: 326). His pointed mention of freedom, dignity, and liberation from discrimination and oppression at this occasion is thus relevant and noteworthy as his moral authority is cited as one of the reasons for South Africa’s attitude towards homosexuality being vastly different to that of its neighbouring countries.

The democratically elected Constitutional Assembly (CA) had drafted the final Constitution, by December 1996, and implemented it in February 1997 (Christiansen 2000: 7-8). Throughout the process, the CA encouraged “broad-based participation” in a variety of ways, including holding public meetings and workshops, airing a weekly television programme, publishing regular newsprint publications, setting up a toll-free telephone service, and setting up a website. This participatory approach made the new Constitution widely representative, so that as many citizens as possible could associate with it and feel protected by it. This process resulted in a “range of claims for the recognition of specific social identities and conflicts”, including the issue of sexual orientation. In the end, sexual orientation ranked seventh among issues that motivated South Africans to participate, with 7,032 responses in favour of the inclusion of sexual orientation in the equality clause, and 564 opposed (Klug 1996: 56, cited in Croucher 2002: 323).

Christiansen (2000: 26) reveals that respondents that argued in favour of the inclusion of sexual orientation “most often cited a general non-discrimination, fundamental rights argument”, while those opposed cited “biblical values” and “fundamentalist Christian notions of morality”. Only one political party, the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), was explicitly opposed to the inclusion of sexual orientation as a protected right. De Vos (2007: 442) finds that the objections put forward were so extreme that they served to alienate other political actors that were potential allies of the ACDP.

2.5.3 New organisations following constitutional protection

The National Coalition of Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE) was organised in 1994 by Edwin Cameron, former GASA president Kevin Botha, and AIDS activist Zachie Achmat (Kende 2009: 135). The organisation was made up of 43 gay liberation organisations throughout the country, in order to coordinate the lobbying efforts that aimed to retain the sexual orientation clause in the draft of the South African Constitution (Cock 2003: 37). The formation of this organisation would put an end to some of the biggest problems experienced by South Africa’s gay liberation organisations in the past: the fact that they were poorly organised, racially divided and politically uncohesive (De Vos 2007: 437).

The NCGLE adopted an “effective, if essentialist” strategy of constructing sexuality as a characteristic as inherent and immutable as race (Gevisser 2000: 119), equating the master frame of equality with non-discrimination.

One of the most influential submissions to the Constitutional Assembly was made by the NCGLE in 1995 in their argument that “discrimination against gays and lesbians displays the same basic features as discrimination on the grounds of race and gender”. It was in this submission that the argument for the immutability of sexuality emerged. The NCGLE asserted that “sexual orientation is fixed... and therefore part of the natural order... the individual cannot change it” (Cock 2003: 38). The strategy was thus, similar to that of OLGA (discussed above in section 2.4.6) and Cameron (discussed above in section 2.5.2), to fold the issue of gay rights into the broader issue of human rights. This strategy was clearly based on a “repugnance for the use of legal processes for irrational discrimination” that was felt by the majority of South Africans as a result of apartheid (Botha and Cameron, cited in Cock 2003: 37).

2.6 *Assuring inclusion in the final constitution*

Although it was widely recognised that the interim Constitution would set the agenda for the final Constitution, it was by no means certain that the sexual orientation clause would be retained in the final Constitution (De Vos 2007: 439). For this reason, the submissions made by the NCGLE in 1995 were of high importance, and the fact that the sexual orientation clause was maintained in the final Constitution of 1996 is widely attributed to the lobbying work of this organisation (De Vos 2007: 440).

Over the course of the next decade, the NCGLE continued to lobby for equal rights for gay and lesbian South Africans, including the abolition of all remaining anti-sodomy laws; the right to equal medical aid and pension benefits; the right to adoption; and the right to marry (discussed below in section 2.7.1).

Following its victory in 1996, the NCGLE turned its attention to systematically challenging laws that denied equal rights to gay and lesbian citizens. The first law that they chose to challenge was the prohibition on male sodomy, which essentially criminalised homosexuality at the time. The

NCGLE's decision to challenge the sodomy law first was based on the belief that it would establish "a strong jurisprudential foundation that could later be used to challenge more contentious issues such as adoption and marriage rights for same-sex couples".

The NCGLE, along with the South African Human Rights Commission, launched a constitutional challenge of the law in 1997 (Louw 2005: 245), which went to trial in 1998. The Minister of Justice Dullah Omar at first announced that he would oppose this petition, and withdrew his opposition in response to protest mounted by gay and lesbian activists (Croucher 2002: 328). This emphasises the division within the political community, and also the value of lobbying. The successful abolishment of the sodomy law in May highlighted a growing gap between constitutional policy, and sentiments held by many citizens and members of parliament.

In January 1998 the ANC's governing body, the National Executive Committee (NEC) held its first meeting in Johannesburg. On the agenda was

a motion to adopt a resolution, proposed by progressive members of the SA Communist Party, committing the ANC to an active struggle against all forms of discrimination suffered by gay and lesbian people, and to the support of gay adoptions and marriages.
Gevisser (2000: 120)

The debate on this resolution ended up taking an entire afternoon of the two day meeting, after which the issue became "a lightning-rod for other divisions within South Africa's ruling party" (Gevisser 2000: 120). Many of those opposed to the resolution expressed the view that homosexuality was "alien to African culture", and that "the battle for gay equality was anathema to an African liberation movement". The attitudes expressed in that meeting made it clear that the ANC's support of gay rights was by no means representative of a widely-held position within the ANC.

2.7 *Constitutional rights in practice*

Over the course of the next decade, several legal reforms were put into place in order to implement the rights enshrined in the Constitution. These reforms were ordered strategically, starting with the relatively uncontroversial unbanning of sodomy, and culminating in the legalisation of gay marriage and adoption.

2.7.1 *Civil benefits assured*

The attitudes of doubt and denial of homosexuality in African communities were strongly contrasted by a number of legal test cases where applications for equal rights claimed in terms of the new Constitution were heard. For example, in the Pretoria High Court, in *Langemaat v. Minister of Safety and Security and Others*, the denial of the police medical scheme, POLMED, to allow a lesbian police captain to list her partner as a dependent on her medical aid, was overturned. The presiding judge ruled that:

The stability and permanence of their relationship is no different from the many married couples I know. Both unions are deserving of respect and protection. If our law does not accord protection to the type of union I am dealing with then I suggest it is time it does so.
(Louw 2005: 144).

The NCGLE welcomed this 1998-ruling as “a victory for equality, dignity and justice for all people in South Africa” (Cock 2003: 39).

As has been mentioned (see section 2.6), the NCGLE’s first step towards implementing the rights enshrined in the 1996 Constitution was to overturn the statutory and common law restrictions on male sodomy. In May 1998, in a case titled *National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality v. Minister of Justice*, the Constitutional Court declared these laws to be invalid on the grounds that they “violated principles of equality and dignity” (Kende 2009: 136). In this landmark case the laws that “reduced gay men and women to... unapprehended felons” (Cameron 1995: 92), were finally recalled. The court ruled that the apartheid regime’s oppression of gay and lesbian rights made them a “disadvantaged group”, and that their rights would henceforth be protected in the interest of equality (Massoud 2003: 305). Further, the discourse of the case “rejected... the very notion of heteronormativity”, as well as the view of homosexuals as ‘failed heterosexuals’” (De Vos 2007: 449).

De Vos (2007: 449) emphasises this point, concluding that

it is difficult to overstate the power of the rhetoric in the first National Coalition case. In a way that no court in the world has ever done, the Constitutional Court rejected the very

basis of different treatment of gay men and lesbians by rejecting the notion of normal and abnormal sexuality as aligned with hetero- and homosexuality.

Court rulings such as these increasingly reflected the values enshrined in the constitution, even if the statements made by certain members of parliament did not necessarily support the same sentiments.

In *Martin v. Beka Provident Fund*, the NCGLE gained another legal victory when in April 1999 the Pensions Fund Adjudicator, which had been set up to regulate the pension fund industry, ruled that “the exclusion of same-sex partners from the class of persons entitled to enjoyment of the spouse’s pension unfairly discriminated against lesbian and gay couples” (Gevisser 2000: 113). As in providing equality in terms of medical aid, the judgement in this case recognised the validity of same-sex unions, and the right of individuals within such unions to be afforded the same rights as their heterosexual counterparts.

Later in 1999, in *National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality v. Minister of Home Affairs*, the Constitutional Court ruled that foreign partners of South African gays and lesbians should be given the same rights and residency permits as the foreign spouses of heterosexual South Africans (De Vos 2007: 450). Although the issue of immigration rights is relevant to a smaller proportion of the gay community than (e.g.) rights related to dignity, medical aid and pension provisions, the judgement is important, as here the Constitutional Court “endorsed the view that ... the state has a duty to protect same-sex couples who live in same-sex life partnerships” (De Vos 2007: 450). The Court defined “same-sex life partnerships” as “a conjugal relationship between two persons of the same sex” (De Vos 2007: 450), and provided an open-ended list of factors that could be used to determine whether a relationship could be defined as such. The ruling aimed to establish the “permanence of the relationship” and the “public nature of the commitment” (De Vos 2007: 451). In examining this case, the Court also considered the extent to which the sodomy law perpetuated undesirable stereotypes, such as that “gay people are sexual creatures incapable of relationships, or that gay people cannot be good parents” (Kende 2009: 139).

In May 2002 another landmark case in the Constitutional Court, *Du Toit and Another v. The Minister and Population Development and Others*, produced a ruling that allowed “same-sex couples to adopt

jointly and both be recognised as the legal parents and guardians of the adopted children” (Isaak and Judge 2004: 73). Before this, adoptions by individual gay or lesbian people were only permitted for one member of a same-sex couple, which meant only one could be the legal guardian of an adopted child (Isaack 2003: 21). In the course of his ruling Justice Themba Skweyiya described the relationship between the plaintiffs in a manner that highlighted the impropriety of withholding joint guardianship in such a case. In his words:

The applicants have lived together as life partners since 1989. They formalised their relationship with a commitment ceremony, performed by a lay preacher in September 1990. To all intents and purposes they live as a couple married in community of property; immovable property is registered jointly in both their names; they pool their financial resources; they have a joint will in terms of which the surviving partner will inherit the other’s share of joint community; they are beneficiaries of each other’s insurance policies; and they take all major life decisions jointly and on a consensual basis.

(Kende 2009: 141)

Thus the finding in this case was that the existing law was “an infringement on human dignity” (Kende 2009: 142).

In reference to all these changes introduced first in the constitution, and then in court rulings that interpreted and assured the practical effects of constitutional provisions Gevisser (2000: 114) writes: “with a speed that even South African gay activists did not expect, the country was, at the turn of the millennium, approaching a position where same-sex marriage existed in all but name”. By the year 2002 the only civil rights related legislative change that remained to be made, was provision for formalised civil partnerships and the right of same-sex couples to marry.

2.7.2 The Civil Unions Bill and marriage

In December 2005, the ruling in *Minister of Home Affairs and Another v. Fourie and Another* endorsed the idea of gay marriage for South African citizens (Kende 2009: 142). Justice Albie Sachs presided over the case which found that the failure to recognise the relationships of same-sex couples “perpetuate[s] and reinforce[s] existing prejudice and stereotypes”, and “reinforces the wounding notion that same-sex couples... do not qualify for the full moral concern and respect that our Constitution seeks to secure for everyone” (De Vos 2007: 455). Much attention

was paid to the “practical and symbolic” status of marriage in South African society. Finally, following a master narrative of “dignity and equality”, Sachs ruled that a regime which gave a different “separate but equal” arrangement of union for same-sex couples, would not be accepted (De Vos 2007: 454, 455).

Arguments put forward by religious groups were considered, but eventually rejected. The court could not condone the argument of some that marriage centres on “procreative potential”; nor could it accept the argument that “marriage is by definition a religious institution”. The Court ruled that “the religious beliefs of some cannot be used to determine the constitutional rights of many” (De Vos 2007: 456).

In his ruling, Sachs insisted that Parliament implement the necessary legislation for union rights equal to those of married couples within one year. If they were to fail to do so, the Court ruled that “the existing Marriage Act would automatically be amended to include same-sex couples and would extend all the rights associated with marriage to such couples” (De Vos 2007: 457).

The first draft of the Civil Unions Bill was presented in Parliament in August 2006, and proposed the creation of “a separate institution for same-sex partners”, known as a “civil partnership”. This institution claimed to bestow “exactly the same rights on same-sex civil partners as on heterosexual married couples”, with three pivotal differences: (i) the union would not be called a “marriage”, (ii) all marriage officers would have the “right to refuse to solemnise such a union”, and (iii) such a union would only be open to same-sex couples (De Vos 2007: 458).

This proposal was not only unacceptable to many in the gay and lesbian community, but it also contradicted the instructions set out by the Constitutional Court. Drawing again on the master narrative of dignity and equality, and highlighting the similarities of the proposed “separate but equal” policy of the Bill to the policies of apartheid, activist groups protested vehemently (De Vos 2007: 459). Ultimately, their arguments were successful, as the Bill was substantially amended before being passed in November 2006 (De Vos 2007:459). The amended Act “provides for both same-sex and different-sex couple to enter into a marriage or civil partnership” (De Vos 2007: 461), with the legal consequences of both unions being equal in every way. Different to the original Marriage Act, however, the Civil Union Act contains a

clause that allows marriage officers the right to refuse to solemnise the union “on the ground of conscience, religion and belief” (De Vos 2007: 462). Constitutional lawyer De Vos (2007: 465) found this to be no more than a “small victory” as in many ways particularly vulnerable people may not always be informed or properly advised of the rights they may claim under the new legislation. Nevertheless, considering the 2006 position of gay rights recognised in South Africa to the position of a decade earlier, the effects of the gay liberation discourse in societal structures, were marked.

2.8 Constitutional and legislative setbacks to the gay liberation movement

Although many civil rights such as the right of same-sex couples to claim insurance benefits of a kind equal to those of heterosexual couples, are constitutionally supported and made secure by court rulings, several theorists agree with De Vos that the legalisation on gay marriage in South Africa is by no means indicative of the “success” or “finality” of the gay liberation movement. Central to these arguments are the following themes: (i) despite the changes in the law, a large percentage of the South African population remains homophobic; (ii) the strategies that led to these changes necessarily prohibited the development of a gay grassroots movement; and (iii) poverty prevents a large portion of the gay and lesbian population from claiming the rights afforded to them in the Constitution.

2.8.1 Unchallenged homophobia

For Li (2009: 74) the gay liberation movement has been largely unsuccessful, in that it “did not seek to undermine or challenge the underlying heterosexual norm, but wished merely not to be discriminated against”. The result of this is that “gay rights have not been culturally implemented”, so that homophobia remains intact and unchallenged (Li 2009: 79).

As evidence of the continued existence of homophobia in South Africa (and thus the failure of the gay liberation movement), Li (2009: 74) cites two surveys conducted with the aim of examining attitudes towards homosexuality. The first, a survey in 1995, had 2,163 respondents, drawn from all races and regions of South Africa. The results showed that 48% could count as homophobic, and that 44% of the respondents were against affording homosexuals equal rights

in the new constitution. This survey further showed that 64% of the respondents were opposed to homosexual marriage, and that 68% opposed homosexuals adopting children.

The second survey, conducted by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) in 2003, showed that 84% of the respondents felt “it is wrong for two adults of the same sex to have sexual relations”. Consequent surveys conducted by the HSRC revealed that such attitudes remained constant, with 83% echoing this sentiment in 2004, 85% in 2005, 83% in 2006 and 82% in 2007 (HSRC SASAS 2003-2007). These statistics are cited as evidence that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is still pervasive in contemporary South Africa, and that this shows the need to interrogate the gap between constitutional policy and public sentiment (Li 2009: 75).

Cock (2003: 41) makes a similar argument on the basis of interviews conducted with gay and lesbian informants in 2001. She finds that “gays and lesbians continue to be denied cultural recognition and are subject to shaming, harassment, discrimination and violence”. De Vos (2007: 440) attributes such limitedly challenged homophobia to the conscious strategy of the NCGLE not to challenge and win the hearts and minds of South African people, nor to “confront homophobic attitudes and assumptions”. Their strategy assumed that a change in legislation would eventually lead to a change in public sentiment. They, perhaps naïvely, understood the law as “an important site of struggle... which helps to produce the reality in which we live” (De Vos 2007: 464).

2.8.2 The absence of a gay grassroots movement

Another concern raised by theorists, and also a consequence of the strategy adopted by the NCGLE, is the lack of a gay grassroots movement in South Africa. Fear that “mass mobilisation would create a strong reaction from the religious right” resulted in the executive committee of NCGLE opposing direct political action, civil disobedience, picketing, demonstrations and protest type actions as ‘inappropriate’ (De Vos 2007: 442).

As discussed above (see section 2.4.7), these forms of participation were significant in the development of a gay township subculture in the late 1980s, as they formed a link between anti-

apartheid- and gay liberation discourse. Denying gay and lesbian South Africans the opportunity to participate in their own liberation in these ways in the 1990s seems to have prevented the continued development of a grassroots movement.

2.8.3 Poverty as an obstacle to “coming out”

De Vos (2007: 465) fears that the absence of a grassroots movement will prohibit less-privileged gay and lesbian South Africans from gaining access to the legal protection and recognition they have according to the new legislation. He believes that the social, economic or cultural circumstances in which they live, withhold information, protection and access to legal recourse. This fear is echoed by Cooper (cited in Cock 2003: 38), who says that the laws have “had no impact on the masses”, that they are meaningless to unemployed people.

These views are based on the view that gay and lesbian individuals have to be ‘out’ in order to claim the rights afforded to them by law (Botha, cited in Cock 2003: 38). For many living in poor and gay-hostile circumstances this is impossible. For fear of their physical safety, homelessness, and rejection by their communities they remain “closeted” and under constant threat of rejection and community “correction” (De Vos 2007: 464).

2.9 Politically unique in Africa

To maintain a regional perspective, it is important at this stage to note the contrast between the treatment of gays and lesbians in South Africa and its neighbouring countries. Gevisser (2000: 114-116) refers to recent homophobic announcements of leaders in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Swaziland, and Uganda. He explains these as, at least in part, attempts to distract from other social issues in their countries.

In 1995, Zimbabwean president, Robert Mugabe, declared that “homosexuality degrades human dignity. It is unnatural, and there is no question, ever, of allowing these people to behave worse than dogs and pigs” (Gevisser 2000: 114). In 1996, Namibian president, Sam Nujoma, said that “homosexuals must be condemned and rejected in our society”. In 1997, Swazi king, Mswati III, declared that homosexuals are “sick”, and the president of the Swaziland league of churches

concluded saying that “Such people hate God. According to the Bible, these are the people who were thrown in the dustbin. The Bible said they should be killed” (Gevisser 2000: 115). In 1999, 25 Ugandan students were expelled from school for “allegedly practicing homosexuality” (Gevisser 2000: 114).

Considering such attitudes, one has to ask how South Africa arrived at such a different position. De Vos (2007: 436) volunteers an answer, pointing to anti-apartheid discourse, which he identifies as “the most powerful master frame available” at the time of the formation of the NCGLE. He maintains that South African “gay men and lesbians could refer to this struggle and show that their struggle... was part of the same larger struggle for human rights”.

Christiansen (2000: 27) also cites the master frame of “prohibition of discrimination” as an explanation for constitutional protection and support of elites in South Africa. He adds that the timing of the rise of gay and lesbian visibility, which was “contemporaneous with the fundamental constitutional re-creation”, and the “autocratic constitutional drafting process” all led to “a serendipitous intersection of uniquely South African circumstances”.

Further explanations are presented by Gevisser (2000: 125), including the “porous and hybrid nature of urban South African life, where essentialist patriarchy no longer holds”; the role of popular culture in South Africa, such as popular addressing of gay issues and introducing gay subjects on TV talk shows; the influence of American ideas and styles; the moral authority of Nelson Mandela and sections in the ANC influential at the turn of the century; and the standard media perspective on homosexuality.

Gevisser (2000:118) further points to the role of the church, explaining that

unlike other African countries, those uncomfortable with homosexuality could not marshal the support of a homophobic church... Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South Africa’s undisputed moral leader, has made it an article of faith to support gay equality. In late 1999 Tutu wrote that “those who make gays and lesbians doubt that they are children of God commit the ultimate blasphemy”.

2.10 Conclusion

The recount of the history of gay organisation and mobilisation in South Africa given in this chapter, is intended to contextualise the discourse under scrutiny in this study. The research questions and data used to answer them, will be analysed in chapters five and six against this backdrop. The review should make apparent that an essentialist understanding of homosexuality, which (i) defends the existence of a single, cohesive gay identity, and (ii) claims that homosexuality is of little relevance to heterosexual individuals, is inappropriate for the South African context. It has been demonstrated that South African gay and lesbian narratives have long been divided along the lines of socio-economic status, gender, race and time, and that the story of gay liberation is intimately entangled with the story of the country's broader struggle for liberation.

The role public discourses such as those in the media have played in endorsing and at times even driving the progress of the gay liberation movement in South Africa can hardly be overstated. The next chapter will investigate the theoretical work dealing with contested discourses, which explains mechanisms by which individuals access and internalise the ideologies found in discourses such as those contending to direct or prohibit establishing gay rights as constitutionally protected human rights.

Chapter 3

Critical Discourse Analysis

3.1 *Introduction*

This chapter will provide an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which provides the theoretical framework for this study. Analytical tools from one of the main contributors to this field will be used to examine the progression of media construction and reflection of gay liberation in South Africa. CDA is a field of analytic reflection based on a long history of philosophical reflection on the nature of ‘science’ within the social sciences. Going back to the work of early 20th century neo-marxists such as Lukacs, and of scholars in the pre-World War II Frankfurt School such as Horkheimer and Althusser, CDA does not represent a single unitary approach (see Anthonissen 2001). It is an approach that requires both diachronic and synchronic examination.

The first section of this chapter will define the central concepts of CDA, such as ‘discourse’, ‘power’, and ‘social change’, as well the aims of this kind of analytical approach. The following section will explore the theoretical origins of the field, focusing specifically on pertinent philosophical developments since the 1930s. The theoretical and methodological work of Teun Van Dijk will be discussed in more detail, as this provides an important analytic instrument for this study. This chapter will also examine the ways in which attitudes towards homosexuality in general, and gay liberation in particular, were framed in media discourses between 1976 and 2006. Further, in interdisciplinary consideration of sociological work on the role of framing in social movements I will show how CDA draws on theoretical developments that are not strictly linguistic, but certainly helpful in explicating the connections between language and situational context.

3.2 *CDA as theoretical approach*

CDA, also at times referred to as Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), is described by Van Dijk (1995a: 17) as a “general label for a special approach to studying text and talk”. This description encapsulates the fact that the field of CDA is characterised by a wide range of theoretical backgrounds, methodologies, and data (Wodak 2002: 7), and is united by the

common goal of gaining insight into discursive practices that (re)produce dominance. This interest in discourses of power intends not only to reflect these social practices, but also to contribute to bringing about social and political change.

Wodak (1999: 186) explains that the term “critical” can be traced to its use by the scholars of the Frankfurt School (discussed in section 3.3.1), whose work was based on the assumption that researchers’ own interests and opinions always shape the outcomes of their research, as they can never fully distance themselves from the object of their research. This understanding of the term “critical” ties in with the central aim of all CDA, which is not only to analyse the discursive (re)production of power, control, dominance and oppression (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000: 448), but also to challenge such (re)production in the interest of empowering dominated groups (Van Dijk 1995a: 24).

In addition to the main goal of revealing and challenging discursively enacted dominance, Van Dijk (1995a: 17) provides a list of criteria that typically characterise studies in CDA, including that CDA (i) is “problem- or issue-oriented, rather than paradigm oriented”, so that any issue that links discursive practices to social problems can be examined, (ii) is not a unified school, field, or sub-discipline, but is linked by a common, “critical” agenda, (iii) is typically inter- or multidisciplinary, (iv) examines “all levels and dimensions of discourse”, including phonology, syntax, semantics, style, rhetoric, schematic organisation, speech acts and pragmatic strategies, and (v) specially focuses on institutional discourses that enact “group relations of power, dominance and inequality”, and the ways these are “reproduced and resisted by social group members through text and talk”. Central to all of these characteristics is a focus on the relationships between *discourse*, *power*, and *control*, each of which will be discussed in more detail below.

3.2.1 Discourse

Critical Discourse Analysts (cf. Van Dijk 1985, Fairclough 1989, Wodak 1989) introduce the notion of ‘*discourse as social practice*’ in order to offer an understanding of language that is separate from traditional Saussurean conceptions of language. Whereas Saussure’s distinction between *langue* (a uniform system of language to which all speakers have access) and *parole* (the individual production of language) characterises language as something that exists

separately from society, CDA understands ‘*discourse*’ as language that exists in a dialectical relationship with society (Fairclough 1989: 22).

This view of discourse recognises that language is shaped by the social context in which it is used and, in turn, shapes the social context. This conceptualisation of language also recognises that discourse is “socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned”, as it typically reproduces and maintains social reality, but can also help to transform it (Wodak 2002: 8). As most studies in CDA are interested in the ways in which social dominance is reproduced and challenged in both written and spoken discourse these studies typically engage with some form of written or spoken language, such as “news reports, political propaganda, advertising, religious sermons, corporate directives and scholarly articles” (Van Dijk 1995a: 22).

3.2.2 Power

CDA’s conceptualisation of the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures brings attention to the fact that discourse is a potential source of social power. In fact, CDA generally assumes that there is no discourse without some power dimension which has potential for a degree of manipulation between participants. Privileged access to and control over discourse allows members of certain powerful groups (commonly referred to as “elites”) to determine the way that less powerful individuals perceive social phenomena. Thereby the actions of the less powerful group are controlled and the status quo that favours the position of the elite, is maintained (Van Dijk 2003: 354). Van Dijk (2003: 355) compares this resource to more tangible and traditionally recognised resources, such as “wealth, income, a good job, position, status, knowledge and education”, and explains that control over text and talk is one of the main ways in which a dominant social group maintains control over the members of a dominated group in modern society (Van Dijk 1995a: 22).

Van Dijk (1995a: 20) brings attention to the fact that most members of the public have control over a very limited set of discourses, such as conversations with family members, friends or colleagues. Typically these types of discourses are not sources of social power to such individuals, as they are usually limited to very small groups of participants in which participants tend to have equal positions in the discourse. In contrast to the access and control that most

individuals have in terms of their personal interactions, the access that they have to powerful discourses, such as institutional-, bureaucratic and media discourses (hereafter referred to as “dominant discourses”) is relatively passive, and the control that they exercise over such discourses is generally non-existent, or extremely limited. The effect of this uneven distribution of control in powerful discourses, which can be articulated in terms of “discourse access profiles” (Van Dijk 1993: 256) is that elites such as politicians and journalists typically control the content of these discourses, and therefore control the discursive construction of the phenomena that are topicalised.

While Van Dijk (1993: 250) acknowledges that CDA is “biased” in the sense that it pays more attention to “top-down relations of dominance than to bottom-up relations of resistance, compliance and acceptance”, he maintains that the main focus of CDA should be on challenging the discursive (re)production of social dominance and social inequality.

3.2.3 Social control

Van Dijk (1995a: 21) finds that the control that elites have in dominant discourses allows them to control the “knowledge, beliefs, understanding, plans, attitudes, norms and values” of the less-powerful individuals that have passive access to these discourses (Van Dijk 1993: 257), and he refers to this as “mind control”. He describes this type of power as “symbolic and persuasive”, as it indirectly controls the actions of less-powerful group members by controlling the mental representations that monitor their overt activities, known as ideologies (Van Dijk 1995d: 10).

Van Dijk (1995a: 22) recognises that members of the public are not merely passive recipients of dominant discourses, in that they have the ability to “disregard, reject, and disbelieve” the messages of powerful speakers or writers. Despite this, Van Dijk explains that there are many constraints that limit the individual’s ability to resist the influence that dominant discourses have on their knowledge, opinions and attitudes, mainly due to (i) the power, status and credibility of the speaker/writer which widely determines reception; and (ii) the structural properties of the discourse that contribute to naturalising the dominant position. As a result of these two factors, and further factors such as a lack of alternative sources of information, a lack of knowledge of language and grammar, and a lack of strong counter-opinions, Van Dijk believes that most

individuals can be “lied to, manipulated, persuaded or otherwise influenced against their best interests, in or in the interests of the powerful speaker/writer”. Van Dijk (1993: 254) also brings attention to the fact that discursive dominance is often “enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear natural and quite acceptable”.

As is mentioned above, and discussed in more detail below, a focus on the power that elites exercise over the opinions and attitudes of less-powerful individuals through their control of dominant discourses is what unites most popular approaches to CDA. Further, although power and ideology and their tendency to control can be identified in the discursive actions of individuals, they are largely seen to be the products of the joint action of groups made up by membership of such individuals, and are therefore viewed as “shared, social representations” (Van Dijk 1995c: 245).

3.3 *Origins of CDA*

The theoretical origins of CDA can be traced to social theories developed in the early part of the 20th century. Significant movements will be discussed as they emerged in four different periods when interrelated theories, approaches, and schools of thought arose and related to one another in the investigation of the ways in which knowledge, power, and identity are constructed and negotiated through language. These developments took place gradually and dialectally. This section will highlight key moments in the 1930s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1990s that culminated in CDA as it is currently conceptualised as a theoretical approach to contested discourses. (For an elaborate exposition of the development of CDA from its origins in Critical Theory see also Anthonissen 2001.)

3.3.1 *The Frankfurt School of the 1930s*

As mentioned above, the “critical” approach that characterises CDA can be traced back to the Critical Theory (CT) of the scholars of the Frankfurt School, which was founded in Germany in 1930. This school was established by scholars disillusioned in their expectations of social development that was to result from Marxist policies. Thus they returned to earlier texts, re-interpreted these in what came to be identified as neo-Marxism, and so founded a new school of

thought. The central theory of the Frankfurt School can be found in an essay published by the founder, Max Horkheimer, in 1937, in which he argued that social theory should be aimed at changing society, rather than simply attempting to explain and understand it (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 6). The notion of changing society into how it “ought to be” was clearly based on a particular understanding of social justice articulated in Marx’s critique of capitalism, and his call for “bringing about radical change” so that “oppression and exploitation would disappear” (Hammersley 1997: 241).

In their critical approach to sociology, Horkheimer and his “first generation” associates, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse, essentially rejected positivistic conceptualisations of the social world, in which social changes were attributed to natural laws, and “knowledge” limited to that which could be measured in terms of empirical evidence and truthfulness. Instead, the theorists of the Frankfurt School of the 1930s attempted to make sense of the ways in which subjective aspects of knowledge, such as beliefs, preferences, and attitudes were (re)produced, in an attempt to understand “past events and processes”, and “future possibilities” (Anthonissen 2001: 43).

Largely as a result of the pre-WWII context in which CT was developed, the theorists of the Frankfurt School were interested in “finding means with which to change societal structures so that a true, free and just life would be ensured to all members of society” (Anthonissen 2001: 43). An interest in making sense of “the mass appeal of the Nazi party”, as well as the lack of resistance to the party fuelled the theoretical stance of the Frankfurt School (McLaughlin 1999: 115), and strongly influenced Horkheimer’s definitions of the tasks of CT. As mentioned above, these tasks were chiefly aimed at advancing a “struggle for emancipation” (Anthonissen 2001: 45) by identifying the ways in which power differences are established, (re)produced, and challenged in society.

Initially, Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse attempted to further the tasks of CT by engaging in “critical dialogue” with Marx and Freud (McLaughlin 1999: 114), and to a lesser extent, Kant, Hegel, Weber, and Lukacs (Anthonissen 2001: 44). A number of factors, including (i) their exile to America during Nazi rule, where there was a less favourable evaluation of Marxist theory (McLaughlin 1999: 116); (ii) the end of their professional relationship with Fromm, who was the only theorist with expert knowledge of psychoanalysis (for a detailed discussion of the

contestation of Fromm's involvement with the Frankfurt school, see McLaughlin 1999); (iii) the pessimism that resulted from the effects of WWII (Anthonissen 2001: 47); and (iv) a growing awareness of the increased role of mass media in manufacturing and manipulating power, identity and popular opinion, led to a shift in focus upon their return to Germany after 1945 (Anthonissen 2001: 49).

This shift in focus was compounded by the contributions of Jurgen Habermas, who joined the Frankfurt School as Adorno's student in 1956 (McLaughlin 1999: 113). Although Habermas is considered to be one of the central figures of post WWII CT, his work is often viewed as separate from that of the first generation, as "the social reality to which he respond[ed] [was] different to that of his predecessors" (Anthonissen 2001: 53). Habermas criticises Marx's focus on capitalism and the exploitation of the labour of the working class as the source of social inequality, and turns attention to the critical effects of "language based social interaction" (Hammersley 1997: 243). In this sense, Habermas's theory that "language is... a medium of domination and social force" as "it serves to legitimise relations of organised power" (Habermas 1967: 259, cited in Wodak and Meyer 2001: 10) can also be taken as a continuation of the neo-Marxist contributions of Gramsci, Althusser, and Foucault (discussed in section 3.3.3), which focused increasingly on the role of language in the (re)production of knowledge, power, and identity. The linguistic theory of Halliday (cf. Halliday 1985) is based specifically on these Habermasian views of language as a socially constructed instrument.

3.3.2 The birth of new disciplines in the study of language in the 1960s

At the same time that Habermas was turning his attention to the ways in which language was related to the tasks and interests of CT, several new fields of study with an interest in language and linguistics were emerging in the humanities and social sciences (Van Dijk 2007: xix). The emergence of such fields in the 1960s contributed to the development of CDA in that they developed various concepts and theories that are now part of the CDA toolkit. These new fields included anthropology, discourse analysis, pragmatics, semiotics, conversation analysis, sociolinguistics and artificial intelligence.

According to Van Dijk (2007: xxi), these “new” fields/paradigms/linguistic sub-disciplines have several dimensions in common, including (i) an interest in “naturally occurring language”; (ii) a focus on larger units of language, such as texts and conversations; (iii) the extension of linguistics beyond formal grammar; (iv) a focus on non-verbal aspects of interaction; (v) the study of the role of context in meaning production and comprehension; and (vi) an analysis of hitherto unexamined “phenomena of text grammar and language use”, including discursive devices that create coherence, such as microstructural units that include anaphora, deixis, repetition, parallelism, topicalisation, and macrostructural units that include speech acts, cooperative maxims, turn-taking, signs, politeness, argumentation, and rhetoric. Van Dijk (2007: xxi) implies that this “renewal” in the humanities and social sciences can be related to the “revolutionary spirit of the end of the 1960s”, in which various types of power imbalances were challenged both in the USA and in Europe.

3.3.3 Philosophical and linguistic developments of the 1970s

In addition to the contributions made by the theorists of the Frankfurt School between 1930 and 1970, and the emergence of several new fields of interest after 1960, further developments in the fields of philosophy and linguistics ultimately led to the emergence of Critical Linguistics in the late 1970's. The developments in philosophy are typically described as post-Marxist or neo-Marxist, which emphasises their ties with the theories developed in the Frankfurt School, while the developments in linguistics can be described as a fusion between functional linguistics and CT.

3.3.3.1 Post-Marxist and neo-Marxist theories of power, discourse and ideology

As mentioned above, Habermas's theory of the role of language in the (re)production of social inequality coincided with the contributions of three philosophers whose theories of the linguistic (re)production of power are also rooted in Western Marxism. In addition to the developments discussed above, Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony', Althusser's metaphor of interpellation, and Foucault's conceptualisation of the relationship between discourse and power are widely considered to be central to modern CDA (Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak 2011: 360).

In terms of CDA, Antonio Gramsci's major contribution was his emphasis on the role of "hegemony" in manufacturing consent and maintaining social inequality. According to Gramsci (1971, cited in Benwell and Stoke 2006: 30), traditional forms of coercive power such as those of the police and the army have been usurped by a less direct, and therefore less apparent and more effective form of cultural power, in which dominant social groups persuade dominated groups that their powerlessness is "natural", "desirable" and "inevitable". According to Gramsci's theory, hegemony "operates largely through discourse", as the dominant groups use their control over public discourses to impose their world view on the dominated groups in order to win their consent. Gramsci's conceptualisation of hegemony can be traced to a neo-Marxist interest in "remedying" societal inequality; this is clearly appropriated in CDA's focus on the institutional discursive (re)production of ideology, and its interest in challenging the status quo where powerful groups appear to naturalise relationships that subvert those who are less powerful and limitedly represented.

Like Gramsci, Louis Althusser was influenced by Marxist ideology, and introduced the metaphor of "interpellation" in order to describe the process through which identity, including beliefs, preferences, and attitudes, is socially constructed through exposure to "Ideological State Apparatuses" such as families, religious institutions, media and educational institutions (Macdonnel 1986: 38). Also echoing Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony', Althusser (1971, cited in Benwell and Stoke 2006: 30) claims that individuals gradually come to "accept and even internalise existing social relations and norms" as they are unaware of the ways in which ideology is, mostly subconsciously, imposed upon them. Although it has been criticised for being "overly deterministic" (Fairclough et al. 2011: 360), Althusser's contribution to CDA's conceptualisation of the process through which group ideologies become internalised and ultimately reproduced (discussed in section 3.4.4.2) has been significant.

Echoing Althusser's theory of interpellation, Michel Foucault developed a post-Marxist theory of the "discursive production of the subject", which emphasises the ways in which both identity and power relations are shaped by dominant discourses (Foucault 1972, cited in Benwell and Stoke 2006: 30). Like Althusser's theory, Foucault's conceptualisation of "society as a struggle of discourses" (Elliot 2001: 83) attributes very little power to the individual, and attends largely to

the control exerted by large social institutions. His ideas have been criticised for being overly deterministic, and for “failing to engage with the details of language as situated practice” (Benwell and Stoke 2006: 45). Nonetheless, Foucault’s theory of the manner in which the discursive production of identity contributes to the (re)production of social inequality is widely recognised as one of the cornerstones of modern CDA, and he is often cited as “one of the theoretical godfathers of CDA” (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 10).

3.3.3.2 Critical Linguistics

In view of the theoretical contributions discussed above, it is not surprising that the 1970’s saw the emergence of “Critical Linguistics” (CL). The term was first adopted by a group of scholars working in Britain, who “recognised the role of language in structuring society” (Wodak 2002: 13). They specifically drew attention to “the potency of certain grammatical forms” (Fairclough et al. 2011: 361), and their role in (re)producing power structures in society. Kress (1991: 88) describes the aims of CL as twofold: The first aim of CL is to “use the tools provided by linguistic theory to uncover the linguistic structures of power in texts”; and secondly, it aims to make the field of linguistics “more accountable, more responsible and more responsive to questions of social equity”.

The first work in CL was produced by Fowler, Kress, Hodge and Trew, and was based on the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) of Michael Halliday. Halliday’s model of SFL proposes that the structure of grammar evolved to suit the social functions of language (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000: 454). The theory identifies three metafunctions of language, namely the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. The first metafunction is the function through which language both reflects and constructs social meaning; the second metafunction establishes and reinforces the relationships between the participants; and the third metafunction constitutes coherence and cohesion in texts (Wodak 2002: 16).

Halliday’s theory is still a central component of most CDA theories, as it provides a clear explication of the relationship between discourse and social reality, as well as a method for analysing this relationship. Kress (1991: 88) defends the “eclectic” nature of CL which relates structural to social aspects of language, and which was carried over into CDA, by explaining that

(i) it would be “unwise to neglect linguistic insights produced by generations of scholars, as well as by current work in linguistics”; and (ii) this eclecticism is not found in the theoretical framework of CL / CDA, only in its methodology.

In terms of the second aim of CL, a political commitment to social change has characterised the group from the start, and Kress (1991: 88) explains that the label “Critical” was “self-consciously adopted” in order to reflect an interest in challenging domination and advocating emancipation. This label, coupled with the adoption by CL theorists of Gramsci’s concept of ‘hegemony’, Althusser’s concept of ‘Ideological State Apparatuses’, and Foucault’s concept of ‘discourse’, clearly demonstrates the extent to which CL was influenced by the philosophical position of Critical Theory. In explaining the extent to which CL is a product of CT, Anthonissen (2001: 61) identifies four aspects of CL in which the influence of CT is clearly visible, namely the nature of knowledge, the use of institutional language, the relationship between language and ideology, and the interdisciplinary nature of both CL and CT.

As mentioned above in section 3.3.1, the theorists of the Frankfurt School rejected positivism because they were interested in a broader conceptualisation of what constitutes knowledge. This concern is echoed in CL, where what is presented as “knowledge” in the process of learning and education is identified as the truths or classifications of the powerful, rather than absolute truths. Additionally, both Critical Theorists and Critical Linguists note that the form of language used in the presentation of such “knowledge” is not neutral, as it organises the content in a way that reflects the interests of the powerful (Anthonissen 2001: 61).

Referring to the use of institutional language, CL reflects the interests of CT in its focus on the manner in which institutions and bureaucracies use conventional forms of language in order to “obscure arbitrary positions by presenting them as natural and therefore unalterable” (Anthonissen 2001: 61). Additionally, CL considers the institutions themselves to be social constructs that are brought into consciousness through discourse (Kress 1989: 61, cited in Anthonissen 2001: 62), which reflects CT’s conceptualisation of the discursive (re)production of power.

A third way in which CT is rearticulated in CL is in the conceptualisation of the role of ideology in governing social action, including discourse production and comprehension. Both CT and CL acknowledge that ideology “imposes a prior and systematically organised set of values” on the ways in which individuals perceive social and natural phenomena, and that it does so in a way that makes the values seem natural. CL extends this conceptualisation of the functioning of ideology to an expectation that an individual’s ideologies will influence the “textual and syntactic form” of the discourse produced by the individual, as his/her values will to some extent be “taken for granted” (Anthonissen 2001: 63).

A final way in which CL reflects the assumptions and practices of CT is in its interdisciplinary approach, and its recognition of the intertextual nature of most discourses. CL is necessarily interdisciplinary on account of the broad range of subject matter it addresses. This analytic perspective encompasses any aspect of social life in which unequal power relations are (re)produced discursively. This echoes CT’s broad range of subject matter, which has included capitalism, environmentalism, mass media studies, social constructionism and psychoanalysis. In terms of intertextuality, both CT and CL acknowledge the importance of analysing the historical dimension of social behaviour, as neither text nor action can be understood without taking that which precedes it into account (Anthonissen 2001: 66).

While the discussion above has shown that the emergence of CL is not surprising in terms of the philosophical contributions which preceded it, it is remarkable when one considers the fact that it emerged at a time when linguistic analysis was largely limited to the examination of formal aspects of grammaticality, and even the field of sociolinguistics was limited to examining linguistic power in terms of language variation and structures of communicative interaction (Wodak 2002: 13).

3.3.4 The emergence of CDA as a network of scholars since 1990

The theory referred to as CL in the 1970’s had by 1990 become known as CDA. This became established with the launch of a journal titled “Discourse and Society” in 1990, and a meeting of a group of CL scholars in January 1991, which included Teun Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak. Both the journal and the meeting allowed

the group of scholars to come to an agreement about the key theories and methodologies that were to characterise CDA, which Kress (1991: 85) cemented by publishing a list of ten “theoretical foundations and sources” of the school of CDA.

This list included the following: (i) the conceptualisation of language as a social practice; (ii) an understanding of texts as products of socially situated speakers and writers; (iii) recognition of the fact that the “relations of participants in the production of texts are generally unequal”; (iv) the conceptualisation of meaning as something that is co-constructed by both the writer and the reader; (v) an acknowledgement that linguistic features are never arbitrary; (vi) recognition of the fact that linguistic features, language and texts are always opaque; (vii) an acknowledgement that the socio-cultural positioning of language users limits the range of contributions that they can make; (viii) an attempt to problematise notions such as ‘language system’, ‘norm’, and ‘core’; (ix) an acknowledgement of the necessity of always taking history into account when examining texts; and (x) a reliance on close linguistic description (Kress 1991: 85). These features clearly reflect CDA’s theoretical roots, as does the label “critical”, and the fact that the terms CL and CDA are still used interchangeably (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 1).

3.4 Popular approaches to CDA

The following section will outline the CDA approaches of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun Van Dijk, who founded the school of thought that is now widely referred to as CDA. While each approach differs in terms of focus, methodology and data, they are united by the theoretical foundations outlined by Kress, and discussed above. As a result of this theoretical common ground, each approach offers certain elements that are useful and relevant to this study. Where applicable in the analysis of media discourses that topicalise gay rights, these elements will be drawn upon in order to supplement the tenet I refer to most, namely Teun Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive theory CDA.

3.4.1 Fairclough

Fairclough’s (1989, 1992, 1995) Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA) to analysing the relationship between discourse and social change is central to this study in a number of ways.

This approach was first articulated in his (1992) publication “Discourse and Social Change”, where he outlines the three-dimensional composition of CDA. The first dimension focuses on the textual aspects of discourse, such as lexical items, grammatical features, and cohesion. The second dimension focuses on the context in which the discourse is produced, and pays specific attention to the notion of intertextuality, which refers to the ways in which texts draw upon other texts, and strongly echoes the interests of CT and CL. The third dimension focuses on “discourse-as-social-practice” in the sense that it examines the ways in which the characteristics of the first and second dimensions contribute to social construction and transformation.

Four elements of Fairclough’s DRA are particularly useful to this study, namely his exposure of the fallacy that news media are “neutral” (Chouliarki and Fairclough 1999, cited in Wodak and Meyer 2001: 12); his concept of ‘synthetic personalisation’, which draws attention to the “tendency of treating each of the people handled en masse as an individual” (Fairclough 1989: 62); his analysis of “discursive representation”, which examines the ways in which quoted utterances are selected and incorporated into texts, and which contributed to Scollon’s theory of attribution (discussed in section 4.7.2.9); and his analysis of the ways in which changing discursive practices affect hegemonic processes in society (Fairclough 1992, cited in Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000: 448).

Fairclough’s approach to CDA exemplifies many, if not all, of the theoretical foundations outlined in section 3.3.4, and his more recent focus on the concepts of ‘neoliberalism’ (2000), ‘globalisation’ (2006), and the ‘knowledge based economy’ (2008) have continued this trend. Fairclough’s work probably most clearly exhibits the theoretical links between modern CDA, CT, CL, and the theoretical contributions of Gramsci, Althusser and Foucault.

3.4.2 Wodak

The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) developed by Ruth Wodak and other scholars in Vienna (Wodak et al. 1990, cited in Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 95) offers several important contributions to the study of discourse and social change. Originally developed to investigate the constitution and reproduction of anti-Semitic images in Austrian public discourse, the DHA is a three-dimensional, interdisciplinary approach which attempts to analyse the linguistic strategies

through which ideologies are (re)produced in discourse (Wodak 1999: 188). In order to (i) identify the origins of current discursive practices, and (ii) investigate the ways in which these practices change over time, the DHA takes four layers of context into account, namely: (i) the immediate linguistic context; (ii) the intertextual and interdiscursive context; (iii) the extralinguistic social context, and (iv) the broader socio-political and historical context (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 93).

Several aspects of Wodak et al.'s DHA are useful in this study, including its interdisciplinary methodology, in which historical, socio-political and linguistic perspectives come together (Wodak (1999: 188); the focus on historical context (Wodak 1999: 188); the notion of “recontextualisation”, which examines the way in which meaning is affected by what Fairclough labels “discursive representation”; the analysis of “interdiscursivity”, which refers to the ways in which different topics are incorporated into a specific discourse (cf. Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 90); and the aim of “demystify[ing] hegemony” by illustrating that “language is not powerful on its own”, and by drawing attention to the strategies by which dominant groups maintain the status quo (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 88). Additionally, Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 96) clearly outline the eight-stage programme of DHA, which greatly facilitates the application of the approach to new topics.

Following its initial focus on anti-Semitism, the DHA has been used to examine several other issues, such as discrimination against Romanian immigrants in Austria (1995, 1999, 2007); European politics of memory (2000, 2003, 2008); Islamic racism in the British Press (2004), and identity politics and decision-making in EU organisations (2008). As is the case with Fairclough's approach, the DHA clearly illustrates its CT roots, especially in terms of its focus on history, ideology and social inequality. These areas of focus, coupled with the application of the DHA in the analysis of various types of discriminatory linguistic practices makes this approach particularly useful to this study.

3.4.3 Flowerdew

In his analysis of Britain's withdrawal from Hong Kong, Flowerdew (1998, cited in Flowerdew, Li and Tran 2002: 328) compiled a useful taxonomy of discursive strategies that are commonly

employed in news media in order to empower majority groups and disempower minority groups. The first strategy identified by Flowerdew is known as “negative other presentation”, in which individuals emphasise the “negative social or cultural differences, deviances or threats” that can be attributed to members of their out-groups. In media discourse, this strategy is typically realised through the use of negatively connotated metaphors (Flowerdew et al. 2002: 330); the use of negative attributions (Flowerdew et al. 2002: 332), and the repetitive use of labels (Flowerdew 2002: 333). A second strategy listed in Flowerdew’s taxonomy is known as “scare tactics”, which typically involves predictions of threats that out-group members pose to in-group members (Flowerdew et al. 2002: 334); the prediction of threats that members of the out-group pose to social and political stability, and the use of quasi-objective figures (Flowerdew et al. 2002: 335). A third strategy identified by Flowerdew is known as “blaming the victim”, in which members of minority groups are blamed for the “burden” that they place on the majority group. In its most extreme form, blaming the victim is known as “scapegoating” (Flowerdew et al. 2002: 336), in which members of the majority group attribute their discriminatory practices to the “burden” placed on them by members of the minority group. Blaming the victim is also achieved through the strategy of “distortion” (Flowerdew et al. 2002: 338), in which an inaccurate depiction of the minority group’s situation is presented by members of the majority group. A final strategy identified by Flowerdew is known as “delegitimisation”, which is achieved by drawing attention to the lack of social and legal status held by members of the minority group (Flowerdew et al. 2002: 339), as well as “magnifying voices opposed to the minority group” (Flowerdew et al. 2002: 340).

3.4.4 *Van Dijk*

As mentioned above, Teun Van Dijk is widely recognised as one of the founding contributors to modern CDA. He is explicit about his aims of furthering the social and political agenda of CDA and, in keeping with this objective, much of his work focuses on the (re)production of racism in news media.

Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive theory of CDA is largely based on the conceptualisations of the interrelationships between discourse, power and mind control discussed above, and has been expanded to account for the ways in which these relationships are realised. This theory has three

interrelated functions, namely (i) the provision of what he termed a “more explicit and theoretical” theory of ideology; (ii) the identification of the “missing link” (Van Dijk 1995b: 20) between the micro- and macro-analysis of society, and (iii) the provision of a framework in which the discursive (re)production of ideology can be analysed.

I selected Van Dijk’s theoretical and methodological framework for this study as I found his modelling of the process through which public discourses are internalised into personal ideology to be useful to the study’s investigation of the interface between individual ideologies and the media’s representation of South Africa’s gay liberation movement. Also, the extensive set of analytical units given in Van Dijk’s (1991, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2008) work were found to be helpful in identifying the micro- and macro-structures that characterised arguments for- and against gay rights in the selected news articles. Two concepts central to Van Dijk’s theoretical work and relevant to the analyses of this study, namely ‘ideology’ and ‘mental modelling’, will now be discussed.

3.4.4.1 Ideology

Van Dijk (1995c: 243) defines ideologies as “basic systems of fundamental social cognitions” that are made up of a hierarchical set of norms and values, and that “organise the attitudes and other social representations shared by members of groups”. He claims (1995c: 245) that ideologies form the “interface” between the cognitive processes by which people understand and make sense of social reality, and the social processes involved in their interactions with other individuals. To support the claim he outlines a socio-cognitive theory of the characteristics, organisation and functions of ideologies.

Of key importance to this theory of ideology, as to the conceptualisation of ideology in most approaches to CDA, is the assumption that individual knowledge, beliefs and attitudes are a reflection of the knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of the social groups to which individuals belong. This ties in with a more general CDA conceptualisation of power and control as the domination of one group by another, rather than one individual by another. Examples of ideologies that determine manipulative behaviour in particular social groups have been termed “racist”, “sexist”, “anti-abortionist”, and so on.

Van Dijk (2001: 12) compares ideologies to grammars, as both are sets of principles, rules and norms that govern behaviour; both are cognitively stored and socially shared (Van Dijk 1995c: 245), and both are represented in various degrees of explicitness and completeness in the minds of individuals (1998: 26). This comparison works analogically, explaining the relationship between discourse and social reality as one where ideologies are in a dialectical relationship with the behaviour of members of an ideological group: ideology determines the discursive practices of group members, and these practices reinforce the individual's membership in the group (Van Dijk 1995b: 18).

Characteristics of ideologies

In addition to the assumption that ideologies articulate and reinforce group membership, Van Dijk (1995c: 244-247) highlights the following as central to his understanding of ideology: (i) ideologies are cognitive, in that they “involve mental objects” such as ideas, judgements, values and belief systems; (ii) ideologies are social, as the social groups to which people belong are organised according to shared ideologies; (iii) ideologies are socio-cognitive, as the “mental objects” listed above originate among, and are shared by members of a social group; (iv) ideologies are not defined as “true” or “false”, but rather as more or less effective in furthering the goals of the group; (v) ideologies may have various degrees of complexity, as some group members may have internalised very detailed versions of the group ideology, and others only vague versions thereof; (vi) ideologies have contextually variable manifestations due to the fact that most individuals belong to more than one social group, and are therefore exposed to various, “sometimes mutually contradictory” ideologies, and (vii) ideologies exist as abstract, situation-independent systems.

This conceptualisation of ideologies provides a few important insights into their structure, organisation, and roles in groups. Firstly, Van Dijk's characterisation of ideologies makes it clear that they are subjective and evaluative sets of belief systems that organise the ways in which group members understand and act on the world. Van Dijk (1995c: 248) elaborates on this point, and explains that the basic building blocks of ideologies are socio-cultural values, such as “equality”, “justice”, and “truth”, which social groups select and to which they assign a

“hierarchy of relevance”. In selecting these values, the group defines itself, and its evaluative criteria, providing “the basis for judgements about what is good or bad, right or wrong”.

Second, this list of assumptions gives rise to the conviction that even if ideologies cannot be defined as true or false, they do in fact determine the “criteria for truth and falsity”, and therefore underpin what members believe to be true or false (Van Dijk 1998: 29). Van Dijk (2001: 15) refers to the social beliefs that a group holds as true as “group knowledge”, and contrasts these group-specific beliefs with beliefs that are more generally shared across a culture, referred to as “cultural common ground”. Typically, the beliefs encapsulated in cultural common ground stem from the group knowledge of a powerful social group, and make up “the socio-cognitive basis of our common sense”, which means that group ideologies are based on common ground. As cultural common ground is constantly changing, ideology is fluid; for example aspects of Christian group ideology which were “generally thought to be true” are currently considered to be, more limitedly, the opinion of a specific group.

Functional organisation of ideologies

Van Dijk (2001: 13) argues that it would be erroneous to “assume that ideologies are unstructured lists of ideas”, and suggests that ideologies are “somehow organised” to serve particular functions. As mentioned above, the main social functions of ideologies are the organisation and reproduction of social groups, and the main cognitive functions are to “organise, monitor and control” group attitudes, and to represent the basic social characteristics of groups (Van Dijk 1995b: 19).

In order to justify his claim regarding the functional organisation of ideologies, Van Dijk (2001: 13) highlights the following: (i) since most individuals are members of more than one social group, the ideologies of these groups would have to be organised hierarchically in the mind of the individual in order to allow the individual to select the most salient or important ideology in a given situation; (ii) individuals need to learn new ideologies as they become members of new social groups, thus it is plausible that ideologies are somehow categorised in the mind in a way that allows group members to manage, change and update them, and (iii) ideologies are drawn upon in every interaction, thus they need to be instantly “accessible, retrievable and applicable”.

The abilities to select a salient ideology, to learn new ideologies, and to access ideologies instantly indicate that ideologies are organised entities, and Van Dijk (1995c: 248) believes that one of the most common forms of organisation is “polarisation”, which refers to thoughts, opinions, actions or discourse that are structured in terms of “positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation” (Van Dijk 1998: 25). Van Dijk (1995c: 249) attributes the prevalence of polarised thinking to the role that “access to social resources” plays in the acquisition of social power, and explains that a desire for social power causes most ideological groups to organise themselves in relation to other groups, in what can be described in terms of a “self-schema” (Van Dijk 2001: 14).

Van Dijk (1995c: 249) lists six basic categories that typically define and organise social groups: (i) identity / membership, which specifies who belongs to the group and who does not; (ii) tasks / activities, which define the typical actions of group members; (iii) goals, which determine the activities of the groups, and are typically related to social change or social power; (iv) norms / values, which are the building blocks of ideologies, as previously discussed; (v) position, which is the “core of social group self-schemata”, and defines the group in terms of “friends and foes, allies and enemies, opponents and proponents”, and (vi) resources, which typically determine the social power of the group.

From this list of basic group self-schemata it is clear that social groups, and the ideologies that bind them together, are functionally organised around a desire for social power over and in relation to other social groups. This understanding of the organisation of ideologies helps to clarify what Van Dijk (2001: 13) refers to as the “social conditions of groupness”, namely the conditions upon which members consider themselves to be part of a social group. The desire for power and efforts either to gain or to maintain such power are taken to be the origins of the ideology of the group.

3.4.4.2 Mental models as the interface between group ideology and individual discourse

While Van Dijk’s explanation of the functional organisation of ideologies makes it clear that group ideologies determine the behaviour of individual group members, it remains unclear how group ideologies come to be expressed in individual discourse. The fact that most individuals are

members of several groups, and therefore have access to several, often conflicting ideologies already complicates the notion that the attitudes that are organised by group ideologies are expressed by group members, as does the fact that the “personal experiences, biography, motivation, emotions, dilemmas or principles” of each member influences the manner in which they interpret and ultimately express the ideologies of the group (Van Dijk 1995c: 246).

For this reason, Van Dijk (2003: 354) identifies one of the main goals of CDA as “bridging the gap” between discourse, which belongs to the micro-level of social order, and group or institutional power and dominance, which belong to the macro-level of social order. In an attempt to do so, Van Dijk’s (1995b: 20) socio-cognitive theory of ideology identifies “mental models” as the “missing link” between group ideologies and individual discourse. Van Dijk (1995c: 251) describes mental models as “mental representations of personal experiences of specific actions, events or situations” that people engage in, discuss, or read about, and explains that these mental representations are stored in episodic (long term) memory. While mental models are therefore “personal, subjective, and context-bound” (Van Dijk 1998: 27), they also include personalised versions of the ideologically organised knowledge, attitudes and opinions of the individual’s social group(s), and are therefore also socially controlled and determined.

Schematically, Van Dijk’s proposal of the process by which ideologies come to be expressed in discourse can be depicted as follows: **IDEOLOGY - organised into - GROUP ATTITUDES - internalised into - MENTAL MODELS - expressed in - DISCOURSE.**

Key to this process is the fact that, before group ideologies are expressed in discourse, they are internalised into the mental models of individual group members, where they are compared to the personal experiences of these individuals and modified accordingly. Van Dijk (1995c: 252) claims that this process of internalisation, modification and expression explains why ideologies are expressed in various ways and in various degrees of specificity by members of a group, and further explains that “the more a model resembles the (instantiated) general knowledge and attitudes of a group, the more standardised and stereotypical it will be”.

For Van Dijk (1998: 21), due to the ways in which group ideologies and personal experiences are internalised into mental models, the ideological groups to which writers belong will influence

their mental representations of events. This, in turn, will influence the discourse structures of their news reports. He (1995d: 14) describes this in terms of “preferred models”, and explains that journalists will always report news “in such a way that readers form a model that is at least similar to their own model”. This is typically achieved by manipulating various aspects of the surface structures of the news stories, in order to promote the positive representation of the journalist’s in-group(s), and the negative representation of the journalist’s out-group(s).

While Van Dijk (1993: 262) recognises that the socio-cognitive processes that underlie the discursive (re)production of ideologically organised attitudes may be “largely automatised”, and therefore unintentional, he maintains that “intentionality is irrelevant”. Further, Van Dijk (1995b: 23) maintains that the fact that there is no such thing as a “neutral” account of an event means that “any properties of discourse that express or signal the opinions, perspective, position, interests or other properties of groups” should be examined in order to examine the ways in which group ideologies and personal opinions are conveyed to the readers.

3.5 The selection and representation of “news” discourse

In addition to the bias that results from the ideological stance of the journalist, the ways in which “news” is selected and represented need to be taken into account in order to make sense of the ways in which the news media influences readers’ understanding of the world around them. In the section that follows, concepts such as ‘newsworthiness’, ‘gate-keeping’, and ‘agenda setting’ will be examined in order to shed light on the political, social and economic factors that contribute to the lack of neutrality in news media, as well as the effects that these factors have on the event models formed by the readers.

3.5.1 Power imbalances in news media

In terms of the discursive (re)production of ideology, the mass media clearly wields an enormous amount of power in contemporary society, especially in light of the fact that “media discourse is the main source of people’s knowledge, attitudes and ideology” (Van Dijk 2000: 36). This is especially the case when “detailed personal models are lacking” (Van Dijk 1995e: 35) due to a lack of personal experience with a particular issue or phenomenon.

Fairclough (1989: 49) refers to the power embedded in mass-media discourse as “hidden power”, as it involves several dimensions that are often imperceptible to the readers. Firstly, there is the distribution of power between the producer(s) and interpreter(s) of a text, which is unbalanced due to the “one-sidedness” of media discourse – a text is produced for mass-consumption, and there is typically no opportunity for the recipient to respond to the content or structure of the text. Secondly, journalists have less power than is often assumed – they typically have limited control over the ideological content of a news article, as they work under editorial control. Fairclough (1995: 48) cites Bell (1991), who reports that up to eight people may contribute to the production of a single news story, including producers, editorial staff, and technical staff. Thirdly, the sources used in news articles are “overwhelmingly in favour of existing power-holders”, and are thus not representative of the interests or perspectives of the readership at which the news is directed, nor are they necessarily representative of the interests or perspectives of the journalist. Finally, the fact that the press is primarily a “profit-making organisation” influences the content of news articles, as “content is (at least) partially aimed at achieving high readerships in order to “sell audiences to advertisers” (Fairclough 1995: 42).

An examination of these “hidden” dimensions of power makes it clear that the content of a news article should not simply be viewed as a “faithful account of recent events happening in the world” (Caldas-Coulthard 2003: 275), nor as a product of a journalist’s event model, but as a reconstructed version of certain events that is influenced by several different sources of power. There are several theoretical approaches to investigating the processes through which events come to be reconstructed in news discourse, of which four of the most popular will be examined here: the praxis approach of news values, the functionalist approaches of gatekeeping and agenda-setting, and the representational approach of framing.

3.5.2 Newsworthiness

In addition to the power relations discussed above, various types of culturally specific “news values” play a role in determining what is, and what is not, reported in news media. In reference to this, Fowler (1989: 12) cites Hall, who claims that “the media do not simply and transparently report events which are ‘naturally’ newsworthy *in themselves*. ‘News’ is the end-product of a

complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories”.

In order to make sense of the process by which “newsworthiness” is determined, one can consider the list of criterial factors provided by Galtung and Ruge (cited in de Beer and Botha 2008: 235), which includes the following: (i) time span, which refers to the fact that the time schedule of the event should fit that of the news medium; (ii) intensity or threshold value, which refers to the magnitude or sudden increase of an event that is needed for an event to become “newsworthy”; (iii) clarity, which refers to the fact that unambiguous stories are more likely to be published; (iv) cultural proximity or relevance, which refers to the fact that “relatable” stories are more likely to be published; (v) consonance, which refers to the fact that events that are expected or desired are more likely to be published; (vi) unexpectedness, which refers to the fact that unexpected events are also likely to be published; (vii) continuity, which refers to the fact that an event will continue to be topicalised once it has been marked as “news”; (viii) composition, which refers to the fact that an event’s newsworthiness is partially determined by the news values of competing stories at the time of publication; (ix) reference to elite nations or elite people, which refers to the fact that events that are related to persons or groups marked as “important” are considered more newsworthy, and (x) negativity, which refers to the fact that “disasters are more newsworthy than triumphs” in our current news culture.

Fowler (1989: 13) acknowledges that these criteria may be largely “unconscious in editorial practice”, but maintains that they are nonetheless important as they perform a “gatekeeping role” by “filtering and restricting news input”. The extent to which these values are culturally determined further underscores the fact that the selection and representation of “news” cannot simply be attributed to the ideologies of the journalist, editor, or news institution.

3.5.3 Gatekeeping

As mentioned above, the news values of a specific culture play a “gatekeeping” role in the sense that they influence the decisions of the sources, journalists, editors and news directors who determine which events are included in news media, and which are omitted. The concept of ‘gatekeeping’ relates to the “hidden power” outlined by Fairclough and discussed in section

3.5.1, and highlights the fact that one cannot simply attribute the ideological stance of a news story to the personal ideologies of the journalist.

Although the concept of ‘gatekeeping’ dates back to 1922, White’s (1950) study thereof (cited in de Beer and Botha 2008: 237) was highly influential in media studies, as its description of the way in which “news ‘flows’ along certain channels that contain ‘gates’ where decisions are made that influence the way that news is perceived, reconstructed and eventually packaged”, laid the groundwork for other theoretical approaches to news media, including the praxis, functionalist and representational approaches discussed above and below.

In addition to the gatekeeping roles of source, journalist and editor, the individual reader’s ability to act as a gatekeeper has increasingly been recognised, as readers also make decisions about which (parts of) news events they repeat in conversation and, more recently, in internet news and blogs. This trend has transformed the traditionally “passive” role of the reader, and has resulted in a shift away from traditional news values in these online mediums, as events that score relatively low in terms of newsworthiness, such as celebrity and fashion news, are often given a considerable amount of coverage (de Beer and Botha 2008: 232). This shift away from traditional news values is fostered by the fact that internet news is much less dependent on advertisers, and is thus less concerned with maintaining readership figures.

Recently, Schoemaker (1999, cited in de Beer and Botha 2008: 238) acknowledged the fact that the idiosyncratic traits and characteristics of gatekeepers, such as “likes and dislikes, values, attitudes, views of the profession, socialisation, approaches to problems and strategies of decision making” influence their selection and representation of news events. This reiterates the fact that, comparable to individual readers and bloggers, journalists and editors are subjective in their application of news values.

3.5.4 Agenda setting

Though officially coined by McCombs and Shaw in 1968, the concept of ‘agenda setting’ was first referred to by Walter Lippmann in 1922, when he asserted that the mass media was chiefly responsible for transferring the events and phenomena of the world into the consciousness of

individual readers (McCombs and Ghanem 2003: 67). Broadly defined as the “media’s ability to focus the public’s attention on specific issues”, agenda setting is the product of gatekeeping, as the decisions made in terms of what to include in the news and how to present it ultimately inform the public about the importance of particular news events, and “lay the foundation for some public opinion on a particular issue” (de Beer and Botha 2008: 238).

McCombs and Ghanem (2003: 69) identify two levels of agenda setting: the first level refers to the effects of gatekeeping, as it is concerned with the “objects” that readers identify as newsworthy. These “objects” include individuals, events and social issues. The second level of agenda setting refers to the effects of framing (discussed below in section 3.6), as it is concerned with the “attributes” of the objects identified above. These “attributes” refer to the characteristics and properties of events that are made salient in the media, such as certain actions of individuals, and certain effects of events. McCombs and Ghanem rephrase Bernard Cohen’s famous adage that “while the media may not tell us *what to think*, they are stunningly successful at telling us *what to think about*”, adding that the media also tell us “how to think about” some objects. In this revised dictum, the media’s ability to “tell us what to think about” can be attributed to gatekeeping, while their ability to “tell us how to think about it” can be attributed to framing.

De Beer and Botha (2008: 239) identify several ways in which newspapers provide cues about the salience of particular objects and attributes, including “the placement of a report on a page, the page it is printed on and the size of the headlines”. Additionally, they identify repetition of an object or attribute as a salience marker. Here it should be noted that a newspaper’s decision to remain silent about an issue such as the legalisation of gay marriage is likely to result in a situation in which readers consider the issue to be unimportant or irrelevant. To a certain extent this can have even more of a “naturalising” effect than one-sided framing, as there is no opportunity for frame transformation if the reader is not made aware of the issue.

De Beer and Botha (2008: 239) cite McCombs (1997), who warns that the term “agenda setting” is not to be understood in terms of conspiracy or premeditation, but rather as “the result over time of numerous day-to-day decisions by all the gatekeepers in a news organisation”. Whether or not the agenda set by the media is intentional, it is widely recognised that second-level agenda setting “can predispose the recipient of the framed message toward a particular line of reasoning

or outcome”, and therefore has considerable consequences for the (trans)formation of opinions, attitudes, and behaviour (McCombs and Ghanem 2003: 78).

3.6 Framing

In what follows I shall give an exposition of the ways in which framing theory, developed in sociological reflection on the processes by which individual ideologies are translated into social mobilisation, may be useful to a CDA analysis of gay liberation discourse. This theory holds that individual ideologies, once derived from mass media discourse, come to be expressed in collective activities which ultimately result in social action. Various aspects of the framing theories of sociologists such as Chong and Druckman (2007), Gamson (1992), Snow and Benford (1992), and Tarrow (1998) will be introduced in order to find a possible explanation for these processes, and to account for the ways in which the gap between micro- and macro levels of sociological order are bridged. Referring to such theory, frames that typify the core arguments of proponents and opponents of gay liberation movements will be outlined in order to contextualise the data that to be introduced in this study.

While news values and gatekeeping determine the content of news articles, a process known as “framing” determines the way in which this content is presented and interpreted. First introduced by Goffman (1974, cited in Reese 2003: 7), the notion of ‘framing’ refers to the process of “select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman 1993, cited in Reese 2003: 10). The process of selecting and making salient certain aspects of an event can be seen as the discursive realisation of a journalist’s preferred model, as framing essentially involves processes of emphasis and de-emphasis (de Beer and Botha 2008: 240), which are guided by individual interpretations of events (Norris, Kern and Just 2003: 11).

In their review of framing theory, Chong and Druckman (2007: 109) clarify their understanding of ‘attitude’, and shed light on ways in which elites achieve “framing effects” by making strategic use of specific frames in order to influence public opinion.

Despite the impression that most people have fixed attitudes regarding a range of social and political issues, research into public opinion shows that a large majority actually hold “low-quality opinions”, in the sense that they are unstable, inconsistent, uninformed, and disconnected from abstract values (Chong and Druckman 2007: 103). The weakness of public opinion is especially pertinent to the examination of the gay liberation movement in contemporary South Africa. Interestingly, Gibson and Gouws (2003: 119) have indicated that low-quality opinions are particularly prevalent in transitioning societies.

While the conventional expectancy value model of an individual’s attitude defines an attitude as “the weighted sum of a series of evaluative beliefs” (schematically: $\text{Attitude} = \sum v_i * w_i$, where v_i refers to value of index i and w refers to the weight of the value at index i), this is widely recognised as an “idealised conception”, rather than a true reflection of most individuals’ attitudes. In practice, Chong and Druckman (2007: 105) argue, the attitudes expressed by most individuals reflect only a few values that “come to mind” at the time that an issue is discussed, and the individuals are typically unable to accurately aggregate the weight of these values into a summary score.

In order to demonstrate the low-quality opinions held by most members of the public, and thus their susceptibility to framing effects, Chong and Druckman (2007: 104) refer to a study conducted by Sniderman and Theriault, in which they tested the extent to which framing influences opinion. The study found that

when asked whether they would favour or oppose allowing a hate group to hold a political rally, 85% of respondents answered in favour if the question was prefaced with the suggestion, “Given the importance of free speech”, whereas only 45% were in favour when the question was prefaced with the phrase, “Given the risk of violence”.

While the idealised attitude model would predict that the respondents’ opinions are based on well thought-through perceptions of the consequences of the proposed rally, which can be phrased in terms of values such as “free speech” and “safety from physical harm”, and the weight assigned to each value, Sniderman and Theriault’s results demonstrate that in practice this is not the case.

Although the conventional expectancy value model of attitude formation is idealised in erroneously assuming the existence of “high-quality opinions” (Chong and Druckman 2007: 103), it is useful in demonstrating two levels on which opinions can be manipulated through strategic framing. On one level people consider values associated with a particular issue, and on another level they assign weight to these values. The extent to which attitudes and opinions can be affected by framing, and the implications this has for democratic participation, emphasises the importance of examining the process of framing effects.

In addition to topicalising an idealised model of attitude formation, Chong and Druckman (2007: 114) distinguish between issue frames and valence frames in order to demonstrate a common effect of framing, namely the creation of “socio-logic”. While issue frames typically draw on qualitatively different values such as “free speech” vs. “tolerance”, valence frames draw on logically equivalent values, such as “10% unemployment vs. 90% employment”. Both types of frames influence the attitudes of the recipients by drawing attention to different considerations, and occasionally specific pairs of issue frames are used so often that they come to be seen as valence frames. An example is the pairing of “religious values” vs. “gay rights”, in which the frequent use of the competing frames creates the perception that the two values are mutually exclusive. This perception is known as “socio-logic”, and is used to manipulate attitudes by oversimplifying the values associated with a particular issue. Although this study does not investigate the actual effect certain media reports had on the attitude of their readers, an understanding of the formation of social attitudes will assist in recognising which frames are used and why they are introduced in particular ways.

3.6.1 Social movements and the use of collective action framing

Due to the extent to which strategic framing has been demonstrated to influence public opinion, it has come to be seen as a key resource for social movements. Snow (2004: 11) defines “social movements” as

collectivities acting with some degree of organisation and continuity outside of the institutional or organisational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organisation, culture or world order of which they are a part.

Snow's conceptualisation of social movements is intentionally inclusive, and its recognition of the varying degrees of organisation that underlie different social movements is particularly useful in interpreting the evolving nature and effects of the gay liberation movement in South Africa. Under this formulation, groups that address divergent issues such as "abortion, animal rights, civil rights, human rights, democratisation, environmental protection, family values, gay/lesbian rights, gender equality, governmental intrusion and overreach, gun control, immigration, labour and management conflict, nuclear weapons, religious freedom, terrorism, war, and world poverty" can all be understood in terms of their collective activities, which are typically aimed at resisting or advocating specific types of social change(s) (Snow 2004: 4). The term "collective action" includes a broad range of activities, including regulated and non-disruptive behaviour from signing petitions and taking part in authorised demonstrations to disruptive strikes and violent demonstrations (Meyer 2004: 136).

The past 25 years have witnessed a marked increase in the number of studies that examine the role of "collective action framing" in social movements, which refers to a strategy in which movement actors (hereafter referred to as frame "transmitters") repeatedly use certain frames in order to (i) articulate their grievances and goals in a meaningful and integrated way; (ii) manufacture consensus and mobilisation among (potential) constituents (also referred to as frame "adopters") (Snow and Benford 1992: 137); and (iii) demobilise opponents (Snow and Benford 2000: 614). Collective action frames differ from individual interpretive frames (which van Dijk refers to as "mental models") as they are "agentive" and "contentious" in the sense that they use selective interpretations of social reality to bring about social change (Snow 2004: 385).

The collective action framing approach differs from the new social movements approach of Western Europe, and the resource mobilisation perspective of the United States, as it problematises the role of the discursive (re)production of ideology in the process of social mobilisation, rather than taking it for granted or treating it in a purely descriptive manner (Snow and Benford 1988: 198). Central to this approach is its recognition of the fact that social mobilisation does not only depend on traditionally established variables such as resources, leaders, and political opportunities, but also on the ways in which these variables are framed in

public discourse, and the extent to which these frames “resonate with the targets of mobilisation” (Snow and Benford 1988: 213).

3.6.2 Three core framing tasks

Snow and Benford (1988: 199) elaborate on Klandermans’s (1984) claim that social mobilisation counts as successful if it has achieved the (re)production of consensus and mobilisation. They outline three “core framing tasks” that assure reaching these two goals, namely diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing, which together characterise a social movement’s collective action frame. The first two tasks create the necessary consensus, meaning that they “drum up support” for their views and aims, while the third task provides the impetus for mobilisation, meaning that it “activate[s] individuals who already agree with those views”.

Diagnostic framing

Diagnostic framing is the process by which a social movement introduces its “cause” to the public agenda. This typically involves the (re)production of an “injustice” component, which identifies “the victims of a given injustice”, and the nature of their suffering (Snow and Benford 2000: 615), as well as an “attributional” component, which identifies the individuals and/or institutions that are responsible for the injustice.

Gamson (1992: 176) claims that the injustice component is the most instrumental part of any collective action frame as it constrains the following, complementary tasks of prognostic and motivational framing. Snow et al. (1986: 466) echo this sentiment, drawing attention to the fact that the existence of injustice is less relevant to the promotion of collective action than public perception thereof. Further, Gamson (1992: 176) draws attention to the critical role of the “abstractness of the target” in determining the resonance of a particular frame (Gamson 1995: 91). If the attributional component of the diagnostic frame is too vague, the (intended) adopters of the frame are likely to view the perceived injustice as inevitable, and are therefore unlikely to act in the way desired by the social movement. Conversely, if the attributional component is too concrete, the adopters are likely to overlook the broader sociocultural forces that are responsible for the injustice, and are therefore likely to act ineffectively. Thus, in order to promote effective

action, the attributional component of the diagnostic frame of the collective action frame needs to find a balance between vagueness and specificity.

Gamson's discussion of these aspects of collective action framing draws attention to the range of emotions that can be produced in the diagnostic part of the framing process, as well as the ways in which different emotional responses determine the (in)action of the recipients. Tarrow (1998: 111) expands on this, identifying emotions like love, loyalty, reverence and anger as "vitalising", and likely to play a role in stimulating mobilisation. In contrast, emotions such as despair, resignation, shame and depression are identified as "devitalising", and unlikely to mobilise recipients.

It is important to note that the diagnostic component of a social movement's collective action frame is often strategic, rather than a reflection of the movement's main agenda. The strategic execution of this task is typically based on movement organisers' perceptions of the extent to which different issues are likely to mobilise support and sympathy at different times (Meyer 2004: 139)

Prognostic framing

The second core task of a social movement is that of prognostic framing, in which a solution to the injustice identified in the first task is proposed. Prognostic framing is typically constrained by diagnostic framing, which is why Gamson emphasises the importance of raising awareness of injustice in the initiating diagnostic framing. Snow and Benford (2000: 617) point out that prognostic framing typically involves refutation of the prognostic frames put forward by oppositional social movements, as well as provision of a rationale for the proposed solutions. Oppositional framing, where groups with opposing positions compete for the attention and support of the same community, is referred to as "framing contests"; such contests typically lead to "counterframing" and "reframing" activities that help clarify the goals of the social movement.

Motivational framing

The final core framing task of a social movement is that of motivational framing, in which the movement attempts to mobilise its constituents by persuading them that they can and should enforce the proposed solutions to the topicalised injustice. McAdam (1982, cited in Snow et al. 1986: 466) refers to the process through which the mutability of undesirable social arrangements becomes recognised as “cognitive liberation”. Snow and Benford (1988: 202) explain that motivational framing is typically achieved through the use of “vocabularies of motive”, which are devised to make constituents aware of their own potential to change social reality. These vocabularies of motive typically offer “selective incentives for participation”, such as material, status, or moral rewards. As is the case with prognostic framing, the motivational dimension of framing is constrained by the task of diagnostic framing, which further explicates Gamson’s emphasis of the centrality of this first task.

3.6.3 Potential failure of diagnostic and prognostic framing

Snow and Benford (1988: 203) identify three conditions under which the diagnostic and prognostic components of collective action framing can fail to result in mobilisation. The first is in instances where the injustice component of the diagnostic task is framed “so cataclysmically and hopelessly” that it results in a “sense of fatalism”, and therefore discourages possible frame adopters from action. The second is in instances where the movement emphasises the diagnostic component at the cost of the prognostic component, so that possible frame adopters are willing to act, but remain uncertain as to what the proposed course of action is or what it can achieve. The third condition of likely failure is in instances where the diagnostic and prognostic frames rely too heavily on jargon that is inaccessible to the majority of the audience. Under these conditions, public debate is unlikely to occur, and the issue becomes “non-participatory” (Snow and Benford 1988: 204).

3.6.4 Resonance as a measurement of framing effects

The efficacy, or “mobilising potency”, of a collective action frame is largely determined by the extent to which the core framing tasks outlined above are carried out successfully. This efficacy is conceptualised in terms of “resonance”, which, in addition to the successful completion of the

tasks, is determined by two sets of interacting factors, namely *credibility* and *salience* (Snow and Benford 2000: 619).

The credibility of a frame is determined by frame consistency, empirical credibility and credibility of frame articulators. “Frame consistency” refers to the “congruency between a social movement’s articulated beliefs, claims and actions”, and can therefore be assessed in terms of (i) the extent to which the beliefs and claims of the social movement are compatible; and (ii) the extent to which the claims and actions of the social movement are compatible. “Empirical credibility” refers to the extent to which the content of the diagnostic and prognostic frames are “culturally believable” to adherents or possible adherents of the social movement. Here it is important to note that factuality or validity of the frames is not under discussion, but rather their *perceived* factuality or validity. “Credibility of the frame articulators” is a feature comparable to the credibility of sources discussed in Scollon’s (1997) theory of attribution (see section 4.7.2.9 below) as the persuasiveness of a particular argument in determining values is linked to perceived status, knowledge or expertise of its proponents (Snow and Benford 2000: 620).

Besides credibility, the salience of a frame to its (potential) adopters determines its resonance. Three dimensions of salience have been identified, namely centrality, experiential commensurability, and narrative fidelity. The dimension of centrality refers to the extent to which the beliefs, ideas and values associated with the frame are important to (potential) movement constituents. The dimension of experiential commensurability is related to the concept of centrality, in referring to the extent to which the beliefs, ideas and values associated with the frame are present in the daily reality of (potential) movement constituents. Finally, the dimension of narrative fidelity refers to the extent to which the beliefs, ideas and values associated with the frame are culturally pertinent to recipients at the time that the frame is (re)produced (Snow and Benford 2000: 621).

3.6.5 Master frames

Snow and Benford (2000: 619) explain that some frames are so resonant that they come to be adopted by several distinctive social movements. Such frames are referred to as “master frames”, which include frames of “rights”, “choice”, “cultural pluralism” and “a return to democracy”.

Although all master frames are similar in the sense that they resonate strongly with large portions of the general public, they vary in several ways as to (e.g.) *attribution*, *elaboration*, and *potency*. Such variables have a large impact on the resonance of the collective action frames that adopt the master frame. These are often used to account for the failure of mass mobilisation attempts when “structural conditions are otherwise ripe” (Snow and Benford 1992: 144).

“Attribution”, the first variable listed above, refers to the way in which master frames entail a choice between internal and external blame assignment, which in turn constrains the attributional component of the diagnostic task of the collective action frame (Snow and Benford 1992: 138). “Elaboration”, the second variable listed above, refers to the flexibility of the master frame, which is measured in terms of the extent to which it lends itself to being extended, to be applied across a range of issues. Rigid master frames are typically restricted, and therefore limit the range of social movements that can “tap into” them, while flexible master frames are transferable, and therefore lend themselves to adoption by a wide range of social movements (Snow and Benford 1992: 139). Additionally, the flexibility of a master frame determines the range of tactical options that are available to the social movements that adopt the frame, with elaborate master frames opening up a broad range of options, and therefore increasing the chances of successful mobilisation. “Potency”, the final variable listed above, refers to the mobilising potency of the master frame, which is partly determined by the resonance components discussed above, and partly by the extent to which a master frame is elaborated. Thus a collective action frame that is based on an elaborate and resonant master frame is much more likely to be successful than one that is based on an inflexible, non-resonant master frame (Snow and Benford 1992: 140).

While a social movement’s collective framing activities are more likely to result in mobilisation when based on an appropriate master frame than otherwise, the adoption of such a frame can also be restrictive. Any attempt to depart from the master frame in future movement activities can result in a loss of both external and internal support for the social movement. More recent studies have shown that social movements can also increase their chances of success by adopting more than one master frame (Snow 2004: 390), and that master frames play an important role in reducing the likelihood of successful counterframing by oppositional parties (Diani 1996: 1058).

This is an important perspective for my study: in section 3.8.2, I shall show how two otherwise limitedly connected master frames (*gay liberation* and *political liberation*) were simultaneously invoked in the South African transition to democratic government.

3.6.6 Frame alignment processes

In addition to the execution of the core framing tasks, and the adoption of appropriate master frames, successful frame transmission is largely accomplished by the use of one or more frame alignment processes, in which social movements link their interpretive frames to those of their potential constituents. These frame alignment processes, which include “frame bridging”, “frame amplification”, “frame extension” and “frame transformation”, are carried out through one or more discursive processes, which Snow et al. (1986: 464) refer to as “micromobilisation”. Each of the alignment processes mentioned here can be associated with a different phase in a social movement’s life history (Snow et al. 1986: 476). These phases are not mutually exclusive; rather, they make up a continuum, with, on the one hand, processes that rest entirely on existing beliefs and values, and on the other, processes that challenge and attempt to change existing beliefs and values (Tarrow 1992: 188).

Frame bridging

Defined as “the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem” (Snow et al. 1986: 467), frame bridging is the process in which social movements reach out to “unmobilised sentiment pools” that already share the core beliefs, values, and goals of the movement. This process is primarily achieved by using mass media outlets to spread information to potential constituents, and providing new members with a plan of collective action (Snow et al. 1986: 468). Even branded as “the least ambitious form of framing” (Tarrow 1992: 188), frame bridging is the most prevalent of the frame alignment processes. Snow et al. (1986: 477) find that unbounded use of frame bridging techniques can lead to an “oversaturated market”, in which potential members are inundated with appeals from so many different social movements that they fail to respond to a movement whose beliefs, values, and goals are congruent with their own.

Frame amplification

Closely related to bridging, frame amplification refers to the “idealisation, embellishment, clarification or invigoration of existing beliefs or values” (Snow and Benford 2000: 624). Frame amplification differs from frame bridging in degree rather than type, as both processes draw on existing values, but the aforementioned is more emphatic and transformative than the last-mentioned. Referring to both frame bridging and frame alignment, Snow and Benford (2000: 624) argue that a social movement’s decision to emphasise existing values is typically based on the fact that the salience component of a frame significantly affects its resonance.

Frame amplification can occur through one of two processes, namely value amplification or belief amplification. “Value amplification” refers to the process of emphasising one or more values believed to be salient to potential constituents, but that have failed to inspire collective action. Snow et al. (1986: 477) find that a social movement which makes use of value amplification can be risking its frame resonance if the movement fails to uphold the values it emphasises, or if the value loses its cultural saliency. “Belief amplification”, which is less jeopardous than the aforementioned process, refers to the amplification or transformation of beliefs related to the three core tasks discussed above, including beliefs about (i) the seriousness of the injustice, (ii) the cause of the injustice, (iii) the nature of the perceived perpetrators of the injustice, (iv) the likelihood of successful action, and (v) the extent to which the individual is morally obliged to act (Snow et al. 1986: 470). Largely due to this last-mentioned belief, Snow and Benford (2000: 624) draw attention to the fact that frame amplification is particularly relevant to social movements whose constituents are “strikingly different” to its beneficiaries.

Frame extension

Largely aimed at increasing a social movement’s constituency, “frame extension” is a process that involves the broadening of a movement’s values, concerns, and goals to include issues that are “incidental to its primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents” (Snow et al. 1986: 472). The process of frame extension is similar to frame bridging and frame amplification in that it relies on alignment with existing beliefs and values, but differs from the other processes in that the beliefs and values addressed in the process of frame extension are not

related to the social movement's primary issue(s). Snow et al. (1986: 473) explain that this strategy is typically used in order to gain an audience with members of public who are sympathetic to the movement's primary objectives. As is the case with the two processes discussed above, frame extension exposes the social movement to vulnerability as it may fail to achieve its newly professed goals, it may trivialise the movement's main objectives, and it may alienate (potential) constituents by "clouding" the movement's message (Snow et al. 1986: 478).

Frame transformation

"Frame transformation", the most ambitious of the frame alignment processes, refers to attempts at reconstructing and overturning widely accepted meanings, understandings, beliefs and values by reframing issues in new ways (Snow et al. 1986: 473). This typically occurs when the goals of the movement are not connected with widely held societal values, and new values need to be created (Afshar 2006: 69). Within the process of frame transformation, two sub-processes have been identified, namely the transformation of domain-specific interpretive frames, in which one aspect of life is reframed as unjust and problematic, and the transformation of global interpretive frames, in which the transmission of a new master frame results in the reinterpretation of many events and experiences (Snow et al. 1986: 474). While this second type of transformation is rarer and less procurable, it is highly desirable as it has the potential to result in changes that were "previously inconceivable" (Snow et al. 1986: 475).

Both of the abovementioned frame transformation processes are accompanied by potential framing hazards. Domain-specific transformation is often narrowly based and thus vulnerable to changes in public opinion, and global transformation requires a large amount of "ideological work", and thus requires a significant portion of a social movement's resources (Snow et al. 1986: 478). Additionally, Tarrow (1992: 190) draws attention to the fact that any frame that proposes an entirely new interpretation of an event or experience is more vulnerable to counterframing than those that rest on existing beliefs and values.

3.6.7 Characteristics of collective action frames and processes

Tarrow (1992: 189) draws on Snow et al.'s conceptualisation of frame alignment processes in order to demonstrate a number of characteristics of collective action framing. These characteristics include being based on existing beliefs and values, limited control of social movement organisers over potential constituents' responses, and the content dictating the future behaviour of movement actors once a particular frame resonates with its constituency. Coupled with the fact that organisers often execute the movement's core framing tasks strategically, rather than ideologically, and the extent to which consistency influences frame resonance, this last-mentioned fact is particularly noteworthy.

3.6.8 Role of the media in collective action framing

Most theorists that focus on the role of collective action frames in social movements (cf. Tarrow 1998, Gamson 1992, 1995, 2004, Snow and Benford 1988, 2000) agree that public discourse plays a critical role in determining the outcome of a social movement. The "collectivity" of collective action frames rests on the sharing of frames among elites, the media, and members of the public. Public discourse is of particular importance for the (re)production of the injustice component, an effect of the diagnostic task of collective action framing. The first step towards achieving social change is to publicly share knowledge of and indignation about a perceived injustice with supporters and challengers (Tarrow 1998: 111).

Considering various forms of public, institutional discourse available to social movement actors, the mass media is widely acknowledged to be the most influential in terms of effectuating social change. This can be ascribed to (i) the "general audience" nature of the media (Gamson 1995: 86), which provides social movement actors with the opportunity to mobilise frame adopters, garner bystander support, and provide counterframes to the opposition; (ii) the fact that movement actors assume that the media is influential, and thus assess movement success in terms of media coverage; and (iii) the fact that the media produces social reality in the sense that it "both signals and spreads social change" (Gamson 2004: 243). Further, the targets of a social movement often ignore its claims and demands until the movement receives a certain amount of

media coverage, at which time it starts to be considered a part of the public agenda (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 116).

3.6.8.1 Competitive symbiosis between media and social movements

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 116) describe the relationship between the media and social movements as “competitive symbiosis”. This refers to the fact that social movements need the media for the successful accomplishment of the three core framing tasks outlined above, for validation of the importance of the movement, and for the opportunity to garner bystander support, while the media need social movements to provide fodder for news stories.

Close examination of this relationship reveals that the power dependency ratio is uneven, as social movements need the media more than the media need social movements. This is a result of the fact that, for journalists, social movements are one of several potential sources of “drama, conflict, and action”, while, for social movements, the mass media is the most important instrument of public discourse (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 117). For this reason, the media is “both a target and a medium of communication” for social movements (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 119).

3.6.8.2 Variables in the relationship between the media and social movements

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 120) identify several interrelated variables that play a role in the relationship between the media and social movements, including the media strategies and sophistication of social movements on the one hand, and the nature of the media outlet’s organisation and audience on the other.

Social movements are typically interested in three elements of media coverage, namely the extent to which they are given media coverage, the extent to which their preferred frames are transmitted by the media, and the extent to which the media coverage creates sympathy for the movement. The outcome of these elements are largely determined by the approach that the movement takes towards courting media attention, and the amount of resources that the movement is willing to dedicate to media strategies. Of particular importance is the extent to

which the movement is clear in its representation of issues and goals, and the extent to which the movement makes it “as easy as possible for journalists to send their message”, by providing sound-bites, photo-opportunities, video footage, and newsworthy stories (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 121).

A movement’s media strategy is likely to influence the evaluations the media give of the sophistication of the movement. This will, in turn, influence their decisions to provide media coverage to the movement. In this sense Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 121) argue that “journalists act as self-appointed surrogates for political elites”, as their evaluations of the validity and organisational strength of a social movement will determine the extent to which the movement is topicalised in public discourse, and thus the extent to which the movement is successful in achieving its goals.

As discussed above, the media are only interested in social movements that provide interesting or entertaining copy, and even then, social movements must compete with a variety of other available “news”. In terms of media variables, the extent to which the media outlet is dedicated to entertainment vs. journalistic integrity will influence decisions on covering stories about social movements. The size of the media audience is likely to influence the extent to which social movements are willing to dedicate resources to media strategies. Regarding this last-mentioned variable, Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 123) maintain that the size of the media outlet’s audience tends to determine the extent to which the movement is willing to “dilute” and “reframe” a message in order to “make it palatable to a mass audience”.

3.6.8.3 Media as one of three sources of knowledge

Gamson (1992: 176) explains that, while the media play an important role in (re)producing a social movement’s collective action frame(s), it is only one of three sources of knowledge that people draw on in the process of opinion formation. In addition to media discourse, individuals also draw on popular wisdom and experiential knowledge. In terms of media impact, Gamson (1992: 179) cites Graber (1988), who proposes that media effects are largely determined by the “relationship of the audience to the issue”. Specifically, Graber’s “modulator model” suggests that media effects diminish as personal experiential knowledge of an issue increases.

Tarrow (1998: 115) offers an alternative perspective on the relationship between media discourse and personal experience, explaining that the media can cultivate collective awareness if experiential knowledge is already in place. In support of this claim, Tarrow points to the televisation of the American civil rights movement in the 1960s, which helped achieve the core framing tasks by raising public awareness of the collective nature of their stance, and by providing a strategic and uniform model of resistance. Elsewhere, Gamson (1995: 87) also acknowledges the role played by the media in linking “personal and cultural resources”. He draws attention to the fact that frame salience, and thus frame resonance, increases if the frame relates to the personal experiences of the audience.

3.6.9 Collective action framing and political opportunity

In addition to their consensus on the central role of the media in the transmission of collective action frames, most social movement theorists (cf. Tarrow 1988; Gamson 1995; Snow and Benford 2000) agree that political opportunities play a key role in determining the outcome of a social movement. First conceptualised by Eisinger (1973, cited in Meyer 2004: 128), and Tilly (1978, cited in Meyer 2004: 128), political opportunity is defined as “consistent - but not necessarily formal or permanent - dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for collective action by affecting people’s expectations for success or failure” (Tarrow 1998: 76). An integral part of this definition is the word “expectations”, which emphasises the fact that actors’ perceptions of their chances of successful action are often more important than the “objective” political context (Diani 1996: 1057).

Tarrow (1998: 77-80) outlines five conditions that are likely to lead to an increase in political opportunities, namely (i) increasing access to political participation, especially in the transition from a non-democratic- to a democratic system, (ii) instability of political alignments, often signalled by electoral realignments, (iii) conflicts within and among elites, which often cause the elites with less power to take on the grievances of emerging social movements, (iv) the presence of influential allies, especially if those allies are political parties, and (v) state repression, which paradoxically produces a “radicalisation of collective action”, as it often causes militant actors to “take centre stage” (Tarrow 1998: 85).

Adherents to the political opportunity perspective vary in their identifications of the political conditions that are likely to influence a social movement's outcome, yet they are united in their recognition that the three core framing tasks identified above are necessarily "context dependent" (Meyer 2004: 126). They are also in agreement that "activists do not choose goals, strategies and tactics in a vacuum" (Meyer 2004: 127). Despite this consensus, there are several factors that limit the extent to which a movement's success or failure can be assessed in terms of political opportunities. One such factor relates to political mobilisation that often takes place despite a lack of political opportunity, and that is often a response to unwanted policy changes, rather than perceived "openness" (Meyer 2004: 137). Further, social movement actors often fail to accurately assess the political opportunities that are available to them, and simply "keep on trying" regardless of the political context (Gamson and Meyer 1996, cited in Meyer 2004: 139). Framing processes and political opportunities exist in a dialectical relationship to one another in the sense that collective action frames are transmitted more successfully in times of political opportunity, and in turn, the successful transmission of collective action frames creates political opportunities (Meyer 2004: 129).

3.7 The gay liberation movement's utilisation of collective action framing in anti- and post-apartheid South Africa

The theoretical exposition of collective action framing has been given above specifically for its value in developing a discursive perspective on the gay liberation movement in South Africa (as set out above in chapter 2). In the analysis of the media discourse on this topic across a critical period of about 30 years, the concepts of 'resonance', 'master frames' and 'political opportunity structure' are particularly valuable.

3.7.1 Resonance

In terms of resonance, four of the six components discussed in section 3.6.4 above are relevant to the gay liberation movement, namely (i) the credibility of frame articulators, (ii) centrality; (iii) experiential commensurability; and (iv) narrative fidelity. To illustrate the credibility of frame articulators, I refer to the contributions of individuals that were strongly affiliated with the anti-apartheid movement, such as Simon Nkoli (cf. section 2.4.1), Albie Sachs (cf. section 2.4.6),

Nelson Mandela (cf. section 2.5.1), Edwin Cameron (cf. section 2.5.2), and Archbishop Desmond Tutu (cf. section 2.9). The component of centrality that refers to the extent to which particular values are salient and accessible is illustrated in the particular values espoused by the gay liberation movement, such as “freedom”, “democracy”, “equality” and “human rights”. These terms were not only widely used in the general liberation discourse of the anti-apartheid struggle by the 1980s; they also refer to concepts that were central to the quality of life, the life chances and experiences of South African citizens at the time. The component of “experiential commensurability” refers specifically to the latter in that it speaks to the personal experience of injustice which the majority of South Africans had and that was highlighted by the gay liberation movement. The discursive focus on oppression and discrimination that was based on a biologically given, immutable trait resonated well in a context where (e.g.) experiences of human rights denied on the basis of race, could be extended to similar experiences of denial on the basis of sexuality. The component of narrative fidelity/credibility refers to the consonance between known and respected beliefs and values and the framing goals of a social movement. The beliefs and values that formed the basis of the gay liberation movement’s framing strategy were culturally resonant, and related well to the experiences of South Africans that had not necessarily experienced oppression personally, but nonetheless aligned themselves with the values of the newly democratic South Africa.

3.7.2 Master Frames

The concept of ‘master frames’ (see section 3.6.5 above) is also useful to a discursive perspective on the South African gay liberation movement. In reviewing the strategies employed by the various social movements that were interested in attaining equal rights for gay South Africans, it became clear that movements which adopted the master frame of “democracy” were the most likely to make progress. Coupled with the flexible master frame of democracy were the master frames of “equality”, “constitutional rights”, “dignity”, and “non-discrimination”. Each of these worked in tandem to enable the core framing tasks and frame alignment processes that ultimately led to the movement’s successful attempts at mobilisation.

3.7.3 Political opportunity structure

The third concept that is essential to understanding the social mobilisation of gay South Africans is that of “political opportunity structure”. In reviewing the political context in which the abovementioned framing strategies were applied (discussed above in section 1.4 and chapter 2), it became apparent that each of the five conditions that Tarrow (1988) identified were present in the period in which the mobilisation efforts started to gain momentum. The first condition, namely an increase in access to democratic participation, was clearly present as the country was going through a transition towards its first fully democratic government. Especially during the deliberately inclusive process of Constitution making much access was enabled that satisfied a requirement of political opportunity structures. The second condition, namely the instability of political alignments, was also clearly present as the five years of a State of Emergency (1985-1990) illustrated. Such instable alignments were at least partially the result of the process of transition to democracy. The same goes for the third condition, namely the existence of conflict among elites as the proliferation of groups such as the End Conscription campaign among young white men, illustrated. The fourth condition, namely the presence of influential allies, is exemplified by the support that political elites such as Albie Sachs and Nelson Mandela gave to the gay liberation movement. Finally, the condition of state repression was clearly present in the years leading to 1990, when political organisations such as the ANC, PAC and SACP were banned, countless publications were censored, and public protests led to incarceration of tens of thousands of citizens. This demonstrated the extent to which repression leads to the formation of organised and tactical collective activities.

In addition to the considerations discussed above, it should be noted that the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE, discussed above in section 2.5.3) responded strategically to the “depth of challenge” and “weak control” dilemmas identified by Gamson. Firstly, the Coalition avoided the depth of challenge dilemma by approaching the Constitutional court (in 1999) with a well-developed strategy that was aimed at achieving genuine and lasting social change, while being mindful of the dangers of demanding drastic changes too quickly. In keeping with this strategy, the NCGLE first argued for legal protection of medical aid and pension benefits, and only later for marriage rights, and finally, adoption. Secondly, the NCGLE

avoided the weak control dilemma by consciously choosing not to foster a grassroots movement, and even going as far as referring to mass mobilisation strategies such as protests, picketing and demonstrations as “inappropriate”.

3.8 Framing intolerance and tolerance

As was the case in the gay liberation movements of countries such as Canada (cf. Smith 1998) and the United States (cf. Price, Nir and Cappella 2005), arguments for and against gay rights in South Africa were largely based on the frames of equality and morality. Despite these similarities, the monumental political opportunities afforded by the process of South Africa’s transition to democracy, and the extent to which this transition enabled the transformation of global interpretive frames renders the frames utilised by South Africa’s (anti-) gay rights movements “uniquely South African” (Christiansen 2000: 27).

3.8.1 Framing intolerance

Historically, homophobia has been framed in terms of pathologisation, criminalisation and religious or moral condemnation. While the removal of homosexuality from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) in 1973, and the repeal of South African sodomy laws in 1998 have lessened the extent to which homosexuality is framed in terms of mental illness and criminal acts, the condemnation of the gay lifestyle in general, and gay marriage in particular, remains constant (HSRC SASAS 2003-2007). In post-apartheid South Africa, anti-gay rights frames typically fall into one of three categories, namely religious arguments, perceptions of group threat, and cultural arguments related to traditional African values. Below I shall elaborate on each of these categories.

3.8.1.1 Religion

Cilliers (2007: 340) reports that the most popular anti-gay rights frame in South African media centres on the argument that homosexuality is incompatible with Christian, and in some cases also Muslim and/or Hindu values. This frame, which Afshar (2006: 71) labels the “homosexuality is wrong” frame, is typically based on the argument that God’s creation of one

man and one woman demonstrates the fact that God did not create homosexuality, and that it is therefore not inherent, and unnatural. This argument leads to the conclusion that homosexuals “choose to be gay” (Afshar 2006: 72), and that they can therefore be “healed” from, or “condemned” for their “wrong choice”. Such framing of homosexuality as a choice lessens the likelihood that adherents to this frame will accept “gay rights” as basic human rights that rest on natural features such as gender and race, and that as such are worthy of constitutional protection.

A second popular variant of the “homosexuality is wrong” frame cites the argument that homosexuality is unnatural because it cannot lead to procreation. However, Dreyer (2006: 164) reports that reliance on this argument has declined in recent years, as the use of birth control has limited the extent to which heterosexual sex leads to procreation. A third popular variant of the “homosexuality is wrong” frame is found in arguments that compare homosexuality to social taboos such as prostitution, bestiality, and incest. As is the case with both the creation and procreation arguments, this third argument is an example of negative frame bridging, as it positions traditional Christian values in opposition to gay rights, although an alternative perspective holds that these issues are not mutually exclusive (Afshar 2006: 73).

A 2005 survey conducted on a national South African radio station, in which listeners were asked to “vote yes or no to the question *is there a place for gays in the church?*” exemplifies this juxtapositioning of gay and Christian values. Such a practice leads to the creation of what Chong and Druckman (2007) term “socio-logic”, in which issue frames come to be seen as valence frames. Of the 1647 respondents to the 2005 radio survey, 48% voted “yes”, while 52% voted “no”, which demonstrates the continuing prevalence of anti-gay sentiments that are framed in religious terms in roughly half of the interested community. Cilliers (2007: 341) notes that the post-apartheid Afrikaans print media has tended to topicalise religious anti-gay rights frames more frequently than the English print media, which appears until recently to have “deliberately ignored” the existence of such frames (Cilliers 2007: 342).

It should be noted that several religious elites, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, have publically supported the gay rights movement, and that several churches welcome gay congregants and ministers (Cilliers 2007: 348). Dreyer (2006: 158) attributes religious (in)tolerance to different attitudes towards knowledge, where religious intolerance is based on a

positivistic approach to truth, and tolerance is based on a relational view of truth. The core difference between these two approaches to the interpretation of Biblical principles is that the former views Biblical texts as “objective truth, regardless of the harm done to people’s lives”, while the latter recognises that prejudice is “theologically untenable” (Dreyer 2006: 155).

3.8.1.2 Threat

A second type of anti-gay rights frame, which is also popular among conservative religious groups, is based on the argument that homosexuals pose a threat to established societal structures. Two theories that are particularly useful in conceptualising and countering frames based on threat are (i) political tolerance theory (discussed above in section 1.5.2.3), which posits that intolerance primarily stems from perceptions according to which the out-group poses a threat to one’s in-group(s) (Gibson and Gouws 2003: 178), and (ii) the theory of primordialism, which posits that groups are more likely to view their negative attitudes as “natural” and “involuntary” when they feel threatened by (members of) other groups (Dreyer 2006: 158). Several anti-gay “threat” frames have been cited in both religious and non-religious public discourses, including threats of AIDS, paedophilia, and family values.

AIDS

Claims that AIDS is a “gay disease” reinforce religious arguments that homosexuality is a “wrong choice”. This position identifies AIDS as “God’s punishment against those who lead a sinful and promiscuous lifestyle” (Afshar 2006: 75). Although the spread of AIDS to heterosexual communities has “de-gayed” the disease to some extent, the association created by repeated frame amplification of the relationship between AIDS and homosexuality has remained in public consciousness (Cilliers 2007: 340). Frames that are based on the threat of AIDS have the potential to mobilise members of the public that would not necessarily respond to religious arguments, as the AIDS frame encompasses the interests of “society at large” (Afshar 2006: 76). For this reason, anti-gay rights actors that frame their arguments in terms of AIDS threats gain credibility, which contributes to the resonance of such gay-intolerant frames.

Paedophilia

A second popular threat frame rests on claims that homosexuality is related to paedophilia, in fact, that being gay presupposes an inclination to paedophilia. This frame is exemplified by the position taken by the defence team in Winnie Mandela's 1991 trial for the murder of a young activist (discussed above in section 2.5.1). As is the case with the purported necessary link between homosexuality and AIDS, the relationship between homosexuality and paedophilia is (re)produced by repeated frame amplification, as it augments beliefs associated with the perceived threat posed by homosexuality. Afshar (2006: 74) cites Terry (1999), who identifies several past conceptualisations of homosexuality that explain the popularity of the claim that homosexuality and paedophilia are related. Such conceptualisations include that gays are "compulsive, obsessive, and uncontrollable in their impulses", and therefore likely to prey on "easy targets"; that gays are "psycho-sexually immature", and therefore more likely to be attracted to children. Here it has also been noted that the media often pair reports of child abuse with reports of homosexual violence. Although the "child molester myth" has been statistically disproven for more than 40 years (Fyfe 1983: 551), it continues to be cited by anti-gay rights movements (Afshar 2006: 74), and therefore remains part of public discourses on homosexuality.

Family values

A third anti-gay threat frame rests on the argument that acceptance of a gay lifestyle poses a threat to traditional "nuclear family" values, in which the procreative potential of heterosexual relationships is used to portray such relationships as "serving family life", while the lack thereof in gay relationships is used to portray such relationships as "serv[ing] only the pursuit of individual pleasure" (Dreyer 2006: 165). Although the availability of birth control has reduced the resonance of arguments based on procreation, recent studies (cf. Brewer 2002: 198) demonstrate that "traditional family ties" are still one of the most oft-cited arguments against gay marriage, and that large numbers of people believe that "the newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of society". Such a "family values" frame prioritises and often idealises family life with limited recognition of the wide variety of human relationships and community structures where either traditional family life is disrupted, or non-traditional families are

functional. As is the case with other threat frames, movement actors that frame anti-gay rights sentiments in terms of “protecting family values” engage in a process of frame amplification, and gain credibility, and therefore resonance, by positioning themselves as protectors of societal values.

While many religious elites have spoken out against the acceptance of gay marriage, arguing that it threatens to compromise the sanctity of marriage (Price, Nir and Cappella 2005: 184), it should again be noted that several religious institutions have spoken out in support of gay marriage. In response to the passing of the Civil Unions Act (No. 17 of 2006) for example, the South African Council of Churches, which represents 26 religious denominations, made a public statement, saying “we recognise that, for many lesbian and gay people in particular, the court’s decision comes as a joyful affirmation of their humanity and dignity...and...we share this joy with those lesbian and gay people who are members of our congregations and churches” (Cilliers 2007: 354).

3.8.1.3 Incompatibility with traditional African values

A third type of anti-gay rights frame rests on the argument that homosexuality has been culturally determined, and in South Africa has to be seen as a white colonial import which is incompatible with traditional African values and culture (van Zyl 2011: 335). As discussed in section 2.5.1, the claim that “homosexuality is a threat” has been used by various African political elites, including Winnie Mandela and Robert Mugabe, seemingly as part of attempts to shift public attention away from complaints about their own misconduct. More recently, this argument has been extended to include claims that tolerance of gay marriage, and democracy itself are “not suited for Africa”, as it is “a product of oppressors” (Cilliers 2007: 355).

According to Van Zyl (2011: 337) the perceived incompatibility of homosexuality and African culture is compounded by the prevalence of the southern African philosophy of “Ubuntu”, which emphasises the centrality of communal interdependency and kinship. The central role of kinship in traditional African societies results in two impediments to the acceptance of homosexuality, namely (i) emphasis on procreation as a community expectation, and (ii) reinforcement of the dominance of hetero-patriarchal values. While the procreation argument is used worldwide in order to frame homosexuality as “unnatural”, it carries particular significance in Ubuntu cultures,

as fertility is strongly related to a sense of masculinity (Reid 2008: 79). Further, patriarchal gender orders, evidenced by the practice of paying lobola (bride price), continue to play an important role in traditional African marriages, which strengthens the argument that homosexuality poses a threat to family values (van Zyl 2011: 338).

3.8.1.4 Examples of anti-gay rights frames

As discussed above in section 2.5.2, the African Christian Democratic Party publically opposed the inclusion of sexual orientation in the equality clause of the Constitution. Although the ACDP's political stance largely centred on arguments about "Christian morals", it also framed its anti-gay rights discourse in terms of "threat" and "UnAfricanness". Examples of these frames can be found in public statements made by ACDP elites and supporters in the time leading up to the drafting of the 1996 Constitution, such as: "We should strive to uphold the good and moral qualities of South Africa"; "Nation-building cannot be possible while we try to legally destroy family values and the moral fibre of our society"; and "As an African, I wouldn't like to see European liberals imposing their lifestyles on the African masses" (Oswin 2007: 98).

3.8.2 Framing tolerance

In discourses of prejudice and stereotype, much attention goes to how intolerance of minority groups, their practices, values, civil rights, etc. is articulated. In institutional discourse powerful groups often defend the status quo by means of intolerant frames that position the less powerful group badly. Much less researched within CDA, are discourses that proclaim and encourage tolerance of minority groups that are socially marginalised. Nevertheless, in the opposition to apartheid, discourses of tolerance developed which encouraged inclusion rather than exclusion, and appreciation of difference rather than "othering" and disowning. The discussion in section 2.10 above of the NCGLE strategy of utilising anti-apartheid master frames of "equality", "rights", and "dignity" in order to gain Constitutional protection for gay South Africans illustrates one such discourse of tolerance. It needs to be noted that, while the NCGLE confronted anti-gay rights frames that were based on religious arguments, it ignored the claim that "homosexuality is UnAfrican" (De Vos 2007: 441). The counterframes that were developed in response to the ACDP's intolerant religious frames largely centred on comparisons between

religious objections to homosexuality and constructions of biblical objection to racial integration. Thus justification of gay intolerance was presented as similar to justification of apartheid (Oswin 2007: 99). This created space for removing objections to homosexuality, and for developing a discourse of tolerance within this theme.

Examples of frames of tolerance can be found in the public debates around the inclusion of sexual orientation in the equality clause of the Constitution, which included arguments such as “We must never forget that the apartheid regime held the bible in its one hand and the whip of oppression in its other hand” (Oswin 2007: 100); and “the religious beliefs of some cannot be used to determine the constitutional rights of others” (De Vos 2007: 456). Essentially, the resonance of the NCGLE’s (counter)frames was based on a desire to “put to rest the evils of apartheid”, and to build a “rainbow nation” (Oswin 2007: 96). Further elaboration of the various frames of tolerance will be given in chapter 6 below.

While the anti-apartheid master frame of “none will be free until all are free” (De Vos 2007: 436) was demonstratively resonant enough to result in extensive Constitutional reform, and ultimately also the legalisation of gay marriage in South Africa, its ability to influence public opinion and attitudes towards gay marriage continues to be impeded by counterframes (frames of intolerance) such as those discussed above in section 3.8.1. The extent to which anti-gay rights frames based on religious and cultural arguments clash with gay rights frames based on political arguments will be topicalised in the analyses of chapters 5 and 6. Such conflict demonstrates the complex array of factors that influence the mobilising potential of social movements, including frame resonance, movement strategy, and political opportunity.

3.9 Limitations of CDA in analysing ideologically framed discourses

Although CDA is the preferred approach for analysing the particular set of discourses in focus in this thesis, one has to be clear about what this analytic method can and cannot achieve. Several problems may be encountered in the process of attempting to conduct discourse analysis of media texts that carry meanings laden with ideological implications and connotations. While some of these problems do not have simple solutions, it is nonetheless essential to be mindful of them in conducting an analysis of this nature.

One of the potential pitfalls to be mindful of when conducting an ideological analysis relates to the concept of ‘intentionality’. As discussed in section 3.4.4, Van Dijk (2006b: 127) questions the extent to which one can assume that specific discourse features, such as passive sentences, are intentional in the sense that the speaker / writer is consciously attempting to manipulate the opinions and attitudes of his/her interlocutors. While Van Dijk (2006b: 128) acknowledges that the selection of macropropositions can be seen as relatively intentional, the syntactic structure of the sentence is significantly less so, and the selection of individual lexical items falls somewhere in between, depending on the genre and whether the discourse is written or spoken.

Even in cases where intentionality can be assumed, the context in which the discourse occurs needs to be taken into account when attempting to identify the specific intentions of the speaker. This is necessitated by the fact that “as such, words, phrases, topics or intonations are not ideologically based”, but are used and interpreted as such in a specific context. An example is the use of the word taboo word “nigger”, which is strongly associated with racist ideology. If used by a member of the Ku Klux Klan, this word is likely to be interpreted as racist, and the intention of the speaker is likely to be interpreted as offensive. In contrast, if this word is used by an African-American leader, this word is unlikely to be interpreted as racist, and the intention of the speaker is likely to be interpreted as an expression of solidarity, in jest or as a political statement (Van Dijk 2006b: 128).

This example highlights the fact that attempts at judging the intentions of the speaker are always subjective as they are a result of mental models which include judgements about the context in which the discourse occurs. The implication of this is that one cannot assume that the ideologies identified in the process of conducting a discourse analysis are merely the result of deliberate strategies employed by the speaker / writer, but rather that these ideologies are as much a function of the listener’s / reader’s subjective interpretation of the discourse.

A second pitfall to be mindful of is the danger of “ideological over-interpretation”. When conducting an ideological analysis, one must not fall into the trap of interpreting every feature of the discourse as intentional ideological manipulation. Van Dijk (2006b: 129) draws attention to the fact that “discourse is not just to express or reproduce ideologies”, and that language use has several other, more practical functions. While acknowledging the fact that discursive features

such as passive sentences are often used to (de)emphasise agency, Van Dijk draws attention to the fact that they are sometimes used non-strategically, in cases where the agents are unknown, or have just been mentioned, or where the focus is on the patients of the sentence. Again, the implication is that ideological discourse analysis should always take the context and perceived intentions of the speaker into account, rather than resorting to constructing the writer / speaker as a propagandist.

3.10 Conclusion

The theoretical work discussed in this chapter will form the framework within which the analyses of selected texts will be done, and the features of the Discourse in which this study is interested, will be identified. The study relates to a CDA position which holds that the media is a major source of beliefs and attitudes, and that printed discourses on ideologically loaded matters such as social acceptability and institutional recognition of homosexuality, are often structured to reflect the writer's position and to shape the reader's ideas. Van Dijk's approach to CDA, which he developed in order to examine racial discrimination in news media, is taken as a useful model in the examination of media representations of attitudes towards sexual minorities. While the constraints referred to above will not be minimised, the theoretical "toolkit" provided by Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach will be mindfully applied to give insight into the ways in which media discourse (re)produced attitudes towards extensive provision of gay rights, such as marriage, in South Africa.

The following chapters will present and analyse news media discourse that carried arguments for and against gay rights and gay marriage. Besides a CDA analysis of the selected texts, the analyses will also illustrate the extent to which the frames, framing tasks and frame bridging processes discussed in this chapter featured in public discourses on gay rights in South Africa. The analyses will also show how gay liberation discourses related to, and to some extent even relied on the discourse of liberation which led to extensive democratic reform in the country.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the methodological considerations that guided this study and will show how the exposition of the research context and theoretical framework given in the foregoing chapters are used in an analysis of the particular media texts of interest to the study. Specifically, this overview will give the details of the sampling procedure used in the collection of data, the nature of the publications selected, as well as the processes and analytical tools involved in the collection and analysis of data. Finally, this chapter will examine the ethical considerations and limitations of this study.

As discussed above (cf. section 1.2), this study aims to investigate the characteristics of the discourse topicalising the gay liberation movement by examining the ways in which linguistic means were used in articulating the need and the right to liberation. It will also show how arguments in favour of or against the gay liberation movement were framed. The study has an interdisciplinary interest in that, besides studying a collection of texts from a CDA perspective, it also draws on perspectives from two other fields namely contemporary social history and Collective Action Framing. Contemporary social history provides information on the situational context in which the texts were produced and received, and Collective Action Framing provides insight into how media texts highlight the content pertinent to the authors' interests, and mystifies content that does not suit the authors.

The data for this study is made up of media texts that touch on social acceptability or not of gay identities and the legal protection of various civil rights for people with such identities, The texts were collected from the two publications selected for this study, namely the *Mail & Guardian* and the *City Press*. The data will be examined in order (i) to answer the seven specific research questions listed in section 1.3, and (ii) to identify and make sense of larger issues that emerge in

the analysis of such data – as articulated in the overarching question regarding discourse properties and how they are produced and interpreted.

4.2 Sample and sampling procedure

A wide variety of South African publications have topicalised Gay Discourse in the past 30 to 40 years, and have done so from many different perspectives, with differing motives, aimed at different audiences. In a study of this scope, obviously, not all of these could be included for closer analysis. The sources I selected for analysis here, namely *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* are ones that give contemporary documentation of crucial aspects of the liberation and gay liberation histories of the period 1982 to 2006, and which are also interesting in terms of their supposed readerships, as well as distribution figures and ideological positioning. These publications were selected with a view of identifying how printed news media that represent large and influential interest groups among South Africa's media readership discursively contributed to social and constitutional developments critical to the integration of gay citizens. As mentioned in chapter 1, the time period from January 1976 to December 2006 was selected based on the social and political climate of the time and on specific, relatively wide-reaching events that mark the period. My analysis will show the extent to which the gay liberation movement seems to have capitalised on other discourses pertinent to other social and political movements of the time.

All publications of the full period were scrutinised by hand as no corpus instruments were available for searching articles printed in the hard copies of the newspapers. Thus, over a period of five months, from June 2011 to November 2011 (see section 4.6 below), the researcher manually paged through the full set of these publications to identify articles topicalising homosexuality directly and indirectly. Considerably more material was collected than could eventually be dealt with; however, such selection assured that no material of significance to the study could have been overlooked. As a result of the size of the corpus and the nature of the publications, the data collected from the newspapers *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* could be analysed first in quantitative terms, and then with a small, representative sample, also in qualitative terms.

On the quantitative level, in going through the archived copies of *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian*, I kept records of the title, page number and date of publication of each selected article, so that it was possible to check that all flagged material had been copied and would be available for analysis. Additionally, to ascertain that I had not, through the awkward process of gaining access to the data, lost important material, I randomly selected certain months across the 30 odd years of publication for re-examination, and on checking, found a difference of <5% in the first and second reviews of those months. Thus, I am confident that in selecting the material for analysis, I have as complete an inventory as is possible of the range of articles – in different genres and with different communicative goals – that made up the Discourse of Gay Liberation in the two newspapers across the identified period of time.

The items from *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* that were chosen for qualitative analysis as representative of the Discourse, were ones that will assist in assessing how public discourses topicalising gay liberation were structured in order to be instrumental in achieving the aims of the movement.

4.3 Profile of City Press

City Press has been in print since 1982, when it started out as a Sunday paper, the *Golden City Press*, within the newsgroup South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN). It was selected for analysis due to its status as one of South Africa's most widely distributed weekly newspapers (with the third highest circulation of all newspapers in the country), as well as its predominantly black readership. Such selection criteria assure that my analyses refer to printed media reports most likely to have had a framing effect on those with access to the media in the >80% black population of the country. Within a year of its first publication, the name was shortened to *City Press*, and within two years (due to financial difficulties) it was taken over by the Nasionale Pers (Naspers) group. This is significant as it went from liberal English ownership to Afrikaans Nationalist ownership in a fairly tumultuous period of the liberation struggle. The change of ownership coincided with a shift in content from a strong political interest to an increased focus on entertainment. This is commensurate with a widely recognised trend in the media, where even the political daily news reports giving information on remarkable events are increasingly presented in texts with entertainment features. Nevertheless, more recently *City Press* has

returned to reporting widely on matters of public interest, responding to newsworthy events in government, sport, the arts and lifestyle. In December 2012, on the basis of the number of *City Press* citations in other media between January 2012 and December 2012, it was voted South Africa's most influential newspaper of the year (n.n.n.d.).

4.4 Profile of *Mail & Guardian*

Comparable to *City Press*, the *Mail & Guardian* was started as a weekly newspaper in 1985 by an independent group of journalists who had worked for the liberal *The Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Express*. These two newspapers were obliged to close on account of political pressure which translated into financial difficulties for them. The newspaper was originally published under the name *Weekly Mail*, which changed to *Weekly Mail & Guardian* in 1993 (after a collaborative agreement with the UK-situated *Guardian* newspaper), and was later shortened to *Mail & Guardian*. During its formative years in the run-up to democratic elections in 1994, the newspaper gained a reputation for high standards of journalism as well as strong, informed criticism of the government. This afforded it the status of “the favourite prison reading of Nelson Mandela”. In the years following the country's transition to democracy, *Mail & Guardian* has maintained its reputation for investigative reporting and political analysis, and independent, liberal positioning – which has caused some critics to refer to it deprecatingly as *The Wail* (n.n.n.d.2).

4.5 Nature of the data

The data collected for analysis are articles¹ (71%) and letters to the editor (29 %). All published articles in *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* across the period of 1982 to 2006 in which both direct and indirect reference was made to homosexuality were collected. A thorough reading of the whole collection revealed that 85% of the articles topicalised homosexuality directly, while in letters where homosexuality was topicalised, 97% addressed the topic directly. As mentioned above, more data was collected than could eventually be dealt with. For this reason, I chose to

¹ The term “article” is used here to refer to any piece authored by journalists affiliated to the particular publication, regardless of its status (one the front page, centre page or less prominently in a small column on page 5 (e.g.) or the genre (main news item, editorial, review article, special feature, etc.).

quantify the data for both publications, based on which I selected publications for a more detailed analysis. After a quantitative summary of relevant information on the total of 284 publications in the complete combined corpus from *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* (given in chapter 5), 16 were selected for more detailed analysis (given in chapter 6). As indicated below (cf. section 4.7.2), this selection was purposive as it was based on the results of the quantitative analysis.

4.6 Data collection

The archives for the publications of interest to this study are not available electronically, so that an electronic sampling procedure was not possible. The archives for both of the publications to be analysed here are kept in the National Library of Cape Town where they are bound together in large units that each contain published material covering a period of three to six months. The only available option for data collection was to access the physical archives at the National Library of Cape Town in order to page through each journal in chronological order.

The archives consist of complete hard copies of the publications; they are original editions of the ones that were distributed to readers, thus with all additional materials such as advertisements and supplements included. The study starts to consider publications in a pre-digital publication era – thus no electronic copies are available of publications of the 1970s and 1980s. Also, even in the later stages, electronic versions of the various printed media differ in the selection of material and the particular content of the online version. Therefore, also on the basis of a much more limited readership for online publications (in terms of numbers and population diversity) a decision was taken to consider printed publications only.

To access the material for analysis, copies of selected articles were required. The National Library does not allow users to copy their own material, thus for each flagged article a handwritten request had to be submitted for a duplication on which the title, page number and date of publication was specified. Copies of these request forms remain with the user, which allows the user to ensure that all flagged material has been photocopied.

4.7 Method of analysis

The collected data ultimately lent itself to two types of analysis, namely quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative analysis is useful for identifying and analysing correlations and changes over time that would be difficult to spot working with a smaller, more selective sample. The qualitative analysis, contrastively, draws on an overview of the most interesting topics that were covered by each publication, and uses CDA, mostly van Dijk's analytic instruments (referred to in chapter 3, discussed in more detail below in section 4.7.2), to show how the Gay Liberation Discourse was structured and how it developed in these publications over time.

4.7.1 Quantitative analysis

Once the data was collected, it was captured in an Excel workbook in strong and binary form. Each publication was examined with the aim of categorising it in the following terms:

- (i) Title under which the article/letter was published;
- (ii) Page number – for reference;
- (iii) Type/genre of the publication;
- (iv) Direct or indirect topicalisation of homosexuality;
- (v) General positioning of the article – e.g. tolerant, intolerant or neutral;
- (vi) Macropropositional content of the publication;
- (vii) Use of a master frame, and if so, identification of the master frame;
- (viii) Use of any additional frames;
- (ix) Power elites cited in the publication;
- (x) Use of more general liberation discourse, and if so, an example;
- (xi) Use of any framing tasks, and if so, specify which tasks are completed;
- (xii) Subcategories topicalised within the publication;
- (xiii) Accompanying images that add to the meaning constructed by the publication.

While such a quantifying of largely qualitative information does not answer the research questions directly, it provides a useful framework for classifying the articles and letters that

thematise homosexuality, and allows the data to be captured in a format that may prove useful to other studies in related fields. Further, these questions were designed to test several relationships that are topicalised in the research questions, such as the relationship between the implementation of religion frames and (in)tolerant arguments. The quantification of macropropositional content facilitated the identification of 13 themes that typically emerge in the framing of gay (in)tolerance, namely “religion”, “morality”, claims that homosexuality is “(un)African”, claims that homosexuality is “(un)natural”, “AIDS”, “rights”, “equality”, “homophobic victimisation”, “legal issues”, “(in)tolerance”, “gender”, “marriage” and “parenting”. The data generated by entering such information into a grid was used to generate the plots and graphs discussed in chapter 5, which, in turn, informed the purposive selection of the articles analysed in chapter 6.

4.7.2 Qualitative analysis

The qualitative analysis followed the quantitative analysis detailed in section 4.7.1 above as the latter made clear which types of publications warranted closer examination. Based on the findings of the quantitative exposition of content of the complete data set, eight publications were chosen from each source for qualitative analysis. All publications in the corpora were considered for qualitative analysis, and the selection was made based on a number of criteria, namely (i) the extent to which the publication makes use of (an) otherwise widely used frame(s), (ii) the extent to which this frame is well-implemented, (iii) the extent to which the publication incites social mobilisation, and (iv) the extent to which the publication makes use of what were identified as characterising features of arguments for and against gay liberation.

As mentioned above in section 3.4, Van Dijk’s (1991, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2008) investigations of the (re)production of racism in news media have provided ample examples of the textual elements that can be studied in order to identify the discursive (re)production of ideology. The following section will provide an overview of the textual elements that will be examined in chapter six of this study. Although the elements that are discussed below have been drawn from Van Dijk’s work, the ordering of the elements is my own. Finally, in section 4.7.2.9 I give an exposition of Scollon’s theory of attribution for the value it has in supplementing the variety of theoretical constructs already mentioned.

4.7.2.1 Context

In addition to the mental models, also known as “event models”, described above in section 3.4.4.2, Van Dijk (1991: 117) identifies “context models” as mental representations that define the “goals of the discourse, its communicative acts, and the properties of the audience”. Van Dijk (1995b: 25) explains a journalist’s context model as one that includes information to determine which aspects of the event model will be included in the text. Such contextual information includes reference to (i) the writer’s mood, opinion and perspective (personal context); (ii) the formality, group membership and dominance relations (social context), and (iii) language variants, sociolects, norms and values (socio-cultural context). Due to the ways in which context models influence discourse production, one may (e.g.) expect to find two different versions of a single event in the discourse of a journalist addressing a friend, and the discourse of the same journalist writing a newspaper article.

Van Dijk’s theory of the role of context models can be related to a broader pragmatic theory of context, in which the physical, social and linguistic circumstances in which an utterance is made, known as “contextual features”, influence both the production and comprehension of the utterance (Bloor and Bloor 2007: 26). Van Dijk (1998: 62) advises that one should “describe the communicative context”, including the “group membership(s) of the author, the aims of the communicative event, the genre, the intended audiences, the setting, and the medium” as part of any analysis of the discursive (re)production of ideology. In addition to utilizing van Dijk’s methodological guidelines regarding the analysis of context, Wodak’s (1999: 188) emphasis on the importance of historical context will be taken into account as the sequence of events discussed in chapter 2 will be related to the analyses presented in chapters 5 and 6, as well as in the findings given in chapter 7.

4.7.2.2 Individual lexical items

Van Dijk (1998: 31) identifies the analysis of lexical items, considering the particular items an author / speaker selects, as the “best known in studies of ideology and language”. Many content words such as nouns and verbs have clear evaluative dimensions that are deliberately invoked or subdued in discourse. According to Van Dijk’s theory of CDA, the context and event models of a

journalist will in part determine the selection of lexical items that make up the news story, and this will in turn determine the ways in which the news story may be interpreted by readers. I use “in part” here, because media texts rarely have one author only, and the first writer rarely has the final word on exactly what is published. The journalist’s (original) selection of lexical items will always be directed at a specific imagined audience, and will reflect his/her “preferred model” of the news event, which will always be aimed at positive self-presentation of members of his/her in-group and negative other-presentation of members of his/her out-group.

4.7.2.3 Modified propositions

Just as the ideological stance of a journalist (or publisher) will determine the selection of individual lexical items, it will also determine the ways in which these lexical items are modified and combined in clauses. Van Dijk (1998: 32) explains that there are several levels on which one can analyse the modification of individual lexical items: (i) one can examine the ways in which lexical items are modified by adverbs and adjectives; (ii) one can examine the ways in which lexical items are organised into sentences and assigned thematic roles; (iii) one can examine the ways in which clauses or sentences are modified by necessity modalities, and (iv) one can examine the ways in which attitudes impact the complexity of sentences and sentence meanings.

Just as individual lexical items can convey the ideological stance of the journalist (or that of the editor/publisher), so too can the adjectives and adverbs that modify them. In terms of the assignation of thematic roles, one can generally expect to find that members of the out-group will be placed in the Agent role (the one that performs the action) if the action is negatively valued, and will be placed in the “non-agentive”, “non-responsible” role if the action is positively valued. Conversely, members of the in-group will be placed in the Agent role if the action is positively valued, but not if the action is negatively valued (Van Dijk 1995c: 261). Van Dijk (1998: 33) explains that this strategy is based on the fact that people are “held more responsible” for actions if they appear in the Agent role, and relates this to the strategic use of voicing in news articles, in which a sentence is written in the active voice if the journalist wishes to attribute blame to the Agent, and in the passive voice if the journalist wishes to de-emphasise the role of the agent.

A third way in which a proposition can be modified is through the use of necessity modalities, such as “They were forced to”, “They were obliged to”, and “They had no choice but to” (Van Dijk 1998: 32). The use of such modalities will reduce the amount of responsibility that is assigned to the Agents of the propositions in which they occur and, as is the case with the selection of individual lexical items, their modifications, and the choice of propositional structure, the use of necessity modalities is strategic, and aims to create a preferred model of understanding that promotes the interests of the journalist’s ideological group(s).

A fourth link between propositional structure and ideologically monitored opinion is that of syntactic complexity. Sociolinguistic research shows that elites will often use highly complex sentences in order to restrict the comprehensibility of their discourses so that less-powerful members of the public are “excluded from elite debate and decision making”. Conversely, Van Dijk (1995b: 25) explains that oversimplified syntactic structures are sometimes used in order to express “ideologically based condescension”. The aforementioned strategy is more likely to be found in public institutional discourses, such as political and media discourse, while the last-mentioned strategy is more likely to be found in private discourses.

4.7.2.4 Implication

In addition to being explicitly expressed in propositions, ideologically based opinions and attitudes are often “semantically implied or entailed by other, explicit expressions and their meanings” (Van Dijk 1995c: 268). Van Dijk (1991: 113) describes implication as “one of the most powerful semantic notions” in discourse production and comprehension, and explains that the reconstruction of implied meaning requires culturally shared knowledge of language (Van Dijk 1995c: 26), as well as shared knowledge of the world, which is stored in event models (Van Dijk 1998: 33).

4.7.2.5 Presupposition

Van Dijk (1995c: 273) describes presupposition as “a specific and well-known case of semantic implication”, in which the truth of a proposition is presumed to be known, and therefore “not asserted by the utterance”. Unlike implications, presuppositions are typically signalled by

structural units such as definite articles, “that” clauses, or by specific words such as “stop” or “even”. Presuppositions are more persuasive than implications as a result of the “matter of fact” way in which they “allow speakers to make claims without actually asserting them” ,“take specific beliefs for granted although they might not be” (Van Dijk 1995c: 273), and are more difficult to ignore or negate.

4.7.2.6 Description

While the strategies discussed above all involve propositional meaning, an analysis of sequences of propositions reveals that the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation also functions on a broader level, and determines, among other things, what is deemed important, what is deemed relevant, and what is made prominent in the text as a whole (Van Dijk 1995c: 262).

Van Dijk (1998: 42) explains that, as mental models are hierarchically organised, some types of information will be marked as more important than other information for members of a specific group. This relative importance is cognitively defined in terms of “interestingness”, and also in terms of the consequences or “inferences that can be made on the basis of such information”. While importance is ideologically sensitive to a certain extent, relevance is much more so. Van Dijk (1995c: 263) describes the extent to which information is relevant to a specific group as pragmatically defined, and explains that relevance of information “may be defined in terms of the usefulness of information for specific recipients”, and in terms of the ways in which the information relates to the goals, norms and interests of the group.

The extent to which information is deemed relevant or important to the journalist’s in-group(s) will determine the prominence that the information is given in the text (Van Dijk 1995c: 263). Information that is important and relevant will be expressed at the top of the news story, usually in the headline and in the beginning of the article, and may be repeated throughout the article, and towards the end. This “foregrounds” the information, marking it as important and relevant to the reader, and assigns a “relevance structure” to the text (Van Dijk 1991: 115).

In addition to the prominence markers discussed above, information that is important and relevant to the journalist's in-group(s) will also be assigned more volume in a text, and will be discussed in more detail and more completely. In simple terms, the volume of the text is determined by the following principle: "say a lot about Our good things and Their bad things, and say little about Our bad things and Their good things". This can also be understood in terms of explicitness / implicitness. Information that makes the journalist's in-group(s) look good, or his/her out-group(s) look bad will be discussed explicitly, while information that makes the journalist's in-group(s) look bad, or his/her out-group(s) look good will be discussed implicitly, or not discussed at all (Van Dijk 1998: 43), in which case it is referred to as "unmentionable" (Van Dijk 1998: 60).

Related to the notions of relevance, importance, prominence and specificity is the "strategic use of irrelevance". This is a strategy in which a journalist describes certain irrelevant information about a member of his/her out-group(s) at a high level of detail, in order to (i) discredit the individual; or (ii) imply that the information is causally related to other information about the individual. Van Dijk (1995d: 14) explains that the manipulation of what appears relevant and important to the reader will affect the way that the reader understands the event, and thus the mental model that the reader constructs of the event. This is typically done in keeping with the preferred model of the journalist, and in keeping with the principle of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

4.7.2.7 Local coherence

The implementation of the strategies discussed above all rely on the semantic "coherence" of the text, which is defined by Van Dijk (1998: 36) as the way "sequential sentences or propositions... hang together or form a unity, and do not form an arbitrary set of sentences". While it goes without saying that a text needs to "refer to facts that are related" (Van Dijk 1991: 112) in order to be meaningful, the notion of "local coherence" also refers to the fact that the opinions and ideologies expressed in the text need to be consistent in order for the reader to construct a model of that which is being reported.

The manner in which a journalist expresses the relationships between the propositions of a text will be determined by his context and event models, which will, in turn, be influenced by the ideologies of his social group(s), thus local coherence is said to be “ideologically controlled” (Van Dijk 1995c: 278). One of the main ways in which a journalist conveys his/her preferred model to the reader is by signalling the ways in which the facts of the story are related to one another. This is typically expressed through the functional relationships of example, contrast, generalisation and specification, and the construction of these relationships may have “strategic, argumentative or rhetorical functions” (Van Dijk 1998: 37).

One strategy that appears to contradict the notion that local coherence is an essential property of textual semantics is the use of disclaimers, in which contradictory propositions are placed next to one another in order to mitigate, hide or deny the negative aspects of the ideologies of the journalist’s in-group(s). Van Dijk (1995c: 279) explains that disclaimers, which typically deny prejudiced attitudes in propositions such as “I’m not a racist, but...”, are “face-keeping” strategies that are aimed at positive self-presentation and impression management.

4.7.2.8 Rhetorical devices

In addition to the discursive structures discussed above, Van Dijk (1995b: 29) identifies rhetorical structures as possible sites for the expression of ideology. Commonly used rhetorical structures include rhyme, in which syllables are repeated at the ends of words; alliteration, in which consonants are repeated at the beginnings of words; rhetorical questions, in which a question is asked in order to make an assertion; hyperbole, in which an exaggerated claim is made; puns, in which a substitution is based on accidental similarity; and metaphor, in which substitution is based on underlying resemblance (McQuarrie and Mick 1996: 431). Typically, such structures are used in news articles in order to promote the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, as the main functions of many rhetorical figures are (i) to exaggerate or mitigate certain information, and (ii) to emphasise what has been expressed already (Van Dijk 1993: 278).

4.7.2.9 Scollon's theory of attribution

In addition to examining the ways in which opinions and attitudes are (re)produced by the journalist's strategic selection of individual lexical items, propositional structures and macropropositions, one also needs to analyse the various ways in which the journalist delegates responsibility for these opinions and attitudes. In his analysis of attribution in news media, Scollon (1998) builds on the works of Goffman (1981), Bell (1991), and Fairclough (1992, 1995) in order to provide a framework in which one can gain insight into the ways in which journalists use and characterise sources to influence the ideologies of the reader, while taking minimal responsibility for the ideological stance of the article.

Scollon's (1997: 384) focus on attribution, which he defines as "any linguistic means one might use to indicate who is responsible for saying something", is based on his conceptualisation of news discourse, in which news stories are largely seen as reports of what newsmakers say about events, rather than reports of the events themselves (Scollon 1998: 216). According to this model of news discourse, the journalist constructs the article by selecting and reporting various newsmakers' accounts of the event being topicalised, and conceals his/her ideological stance through the strategic selection of attributive verbs, the characterisation of sources, the delegation of production format roles, and the placement of the source's contribution. Naturally one can expect that the journalist will present the contributions in a way that maximises the chances that the reader will approximate his/her preferred model of the event.

Scollon (1998: 222) explains that, in addition to selecting the newsmakers that will contribute to the article (hereafter referred to as "sources"), and the parts of their accounts of the event being topicalised (hereafter referred to as "quotes") that will be used in the article, the journalist further controls the ideological stance of the article by selecting the verbs that attribute the quotes to the sources. Scollon explains that "the language by which attributions are made goes considerably beyond the use of verbs of saying", and draws attention to the ways in which different attributive verbs characterise the sources that are cited. Attributive verbs range from completely neutral, such as "say" and "tell", to strong innuendo, such as "claim", "admit", and "explain" (Scollon 1998: 223). In terms of ideological (re)production, non-neutral attributive verbs are the most

significant, as they are likely to influence the way in which the reader interprets the source's contribution.

In addition to characterising quotes through the strategic selection of attributive verbs, sources are also characterised by the ways in which the journalist chooses to describe them. In general, one can expect that the credibility of the source will be emphasised if their contribution is in keeping with the ideological stance of the journalist, and de-emphasised if their contribution contradicts the ideological stance of the journalist. Typically, credibility is emphasised by explicit reference to a source's expertise, personal involvement, or authority (Slater and Rouner 1996: 974), which is expressed in news articles as seemingly neutral descriptions. Conversely, credibility may be de-emphasised by a lack of specific attribution, or by the strategic use of irrelevance (discussed in section 4.7.2.7).

Once the sources and quotes have been selected by the journalist, s/he can decide whether the contribution will be presented as a direct quote, in which the exact words of the source are used, or as an indirect quote, in which the journalist reformulates the words of the source. Alternatively, the journalist can choose to present the information supplied by the source in his/her own voice, in which case the contribution is not attributed to anyone (Scollon 1998: 228). Scollon (1998: 233) cites Bell (1991), and Fairclough (1992, 1995), who argue that the selection of voicing is motivated by the journalist's desire to (i) retain control of the opinions and attitudes expressed by the article, and (ii) avoid responsibility for these opinions and attitudes.

Scollon (1998: 217) further builds on Goffman's analysis of production format roles, and explains that the journalist delegates these roles strategically by voicing the sources' contributions in such a way that allows him / her to "stand aside from the argument, taking responsibility only for the words used". One can therefore expect that the journalist will make minimal use of his/her own voice and of direct quotes, and maximum use of indirect quotes. This expectation is based on the fact that the use of direct quotes delegates both the roles of authorship and principalship to the source, which places the journalist at risk of losing control of the ideological stance of the story. Conversely, one can expect that the journalist will make minimal use of his/her own voice, as this retains both the roles of authorship and principalship, which places the journalist at risk of being held responsible for the views expressed in the story.

In contrast to this, the use of indirect quotes retains the role of authorship, and delegates the role of principalship to the source, which allows the journalist to control the ideological stance of the story by selecting the wordings, while avoiding responsibility for the opinions expressed in these wordings.

4.7.2.10 Application of analytical instruments

The selected publications were examined using the analytical instruments explained above. The analyses attempted to answer the following questions:

- (i) What is the ideological stance of the writer?
- (ii) Which textual devices motivate this judgment on ideological stance?

The ideological positionings found in these publications were compared to those discussed in the exposition of the historical context given in chapter 2 in order to determine the extent to which arguments for and against gay liberation were articulated in terms of well-known and widely used frames.

4.8 Ethical considerations

As the process of data collection and analysis did not involve any human participants, this is considered a low-risk study in terms of research-ethical considerations by the Ethics Committee: Humanities, Stellenbosch University. As such, no ethical clearance for conducting the study had to be obtained from this committee. In writing the dissertation, I took care to refer to individuals and groups in a non-discriminating manner; where discriminatory language use by others was quoted, I clearly indicated (by the use of quotation marks and/or referencing) what part of a sentence contained my wording and what part could be attributed to someone else.

4.9 Limitations of the study

The study was largely limited by time constraints as the data was not available electronically. Such time constraints limited the amount of sources that could be examined as well as the time-

period that could be brought into focus. Further, the archives are not always complete, which further compounded time constraints as the researcher was forced to find the missing journals in other libraries. Finally, the manner in which the data was captured lent itself to thousands of possible thematic interests and constellations, of which only the thirteen listed in section 5.7.1 were selected.

If similar data had been electronically available, a corpus could have been developed in which a more precise reading of certain linguistic topoi could have been done. Nevertheless, given these constraints, I am confident that very little if any data was overlooked. The selection for in-depth analysis could have been done more randomly, but I preferred to work in a manner that would assure I had not overlooked themes and discursive structures that are critical to characterising this topic and chapter in South African gay liberation discourse.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide information regarding the methodological considerations that were critical to this study. While the set of themes listed here informed the process of data analysis, the core research remained focused on the questions listed above in section 1.3. The following chapter will provide a statistical analysis of the *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* data, and will attempt to answer several of the research questions posed above in section 1.3.

Chapter 5

Quantifying the Data

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* data, indicating how topics and positions on gay liberation were represented. The chapter will give representations of the complete dataset in bar graphs, histograms and correlations to give an overview of the extent of media interest that there was in the topic, and of what the likelihood of effective action framing would be in response to gay liberation movement discourses.

5.2 Quantifying the *City Press* data

This section will examine the *City Press* data in quantitative terms. It will give histograms and bar graphs which have been generated using the 2D plotting tool XMGrace in order to demonstrate developments over time and proportions, respectively. Further, the section will report on correlations that were found between various aspects of the data that were tested using the computer programming language JAVA. Following below are 13 figures that will provide a visual overview of the progression of the *City Press* data based on a quantification of the corpus.

5.2.1 Number of publications across a period of 24.5 years

Figure 1 below represents in graph form the number of publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1976 – 2006). It shows that 234 publications were printed in *City Press* that was published on a weekly basis over a period of 1279 weeks (24.5 years). The graph gives a visual image of the cyclical nature of discourses topicalising homosexuality, showing how years of high frequency of publications are interspersed with years of low frequency of publications. Three points of high frequency of publications can be identified, including the time period following the unbanning of opposition movements in 1990, and the time period following South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. Further, the graph shows that the five years

between 2002 and 2006 comprised the period in which homosexuality was topicalised the most, with 43% of the total publications collected in this time period. This period coincides with the time in which homosexuality was increasingly framed in terms of marriage and parenting, and takes place after the period in which basic rights had been established, as is illustrated in the decriminalisation of sodomy, and awarding of immigration rights and shared pension benefits to gay couples. This indicates that socio-political and legal developments contributed to the extent to which homosexuality was placed on the public agenda in the media.

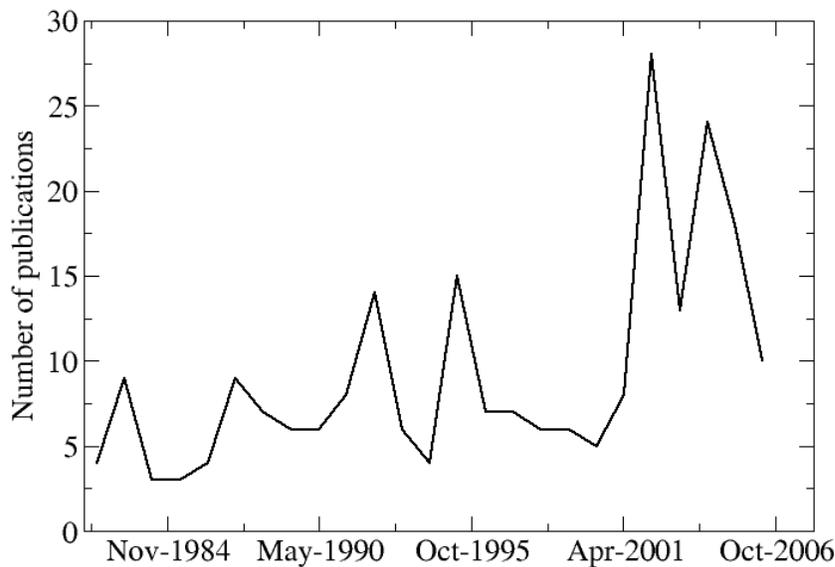


Figure 1 – City Press publications over time graph

5.2.2 Distribution of publications in terms of gay (in)tolerance

Figure 2 below represents in graph form the differences in the number of tolerant (39%), intolerant (29%) and neutral (26%) publications across the given period of time (1982-2006), with “neutral” referring to both unbiased publications and publications that made use of contradictory frames or arguments. The graph clearly demonstrates the fact that the increase in number of publications discussed above was chiefly driven by an increase in the number of neutral and intolerant publications. The graph further demonstrates the fact that tolerant publications outweighed intolerant publications from the beginning of the data collection period

until 2001, after which both neutral and intolerant publications outweighed tolerant publications. An examination of the macropropositional content of the intolerant publications found in the last five years of the data collection period shows that this increase in intolerant publications was primarily driven by arguments against gay marriage.

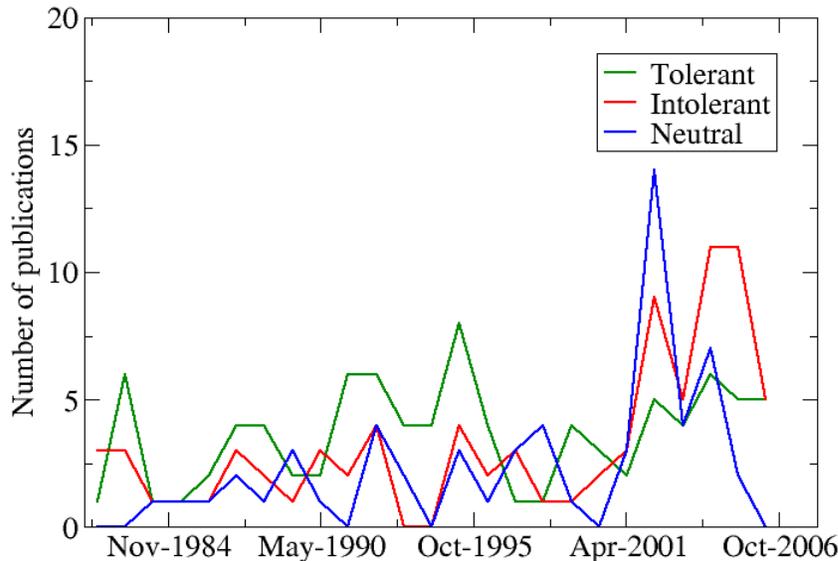


Figure 2 –City Press publications over time in terms of nature graph

5.2.3 Distribution of publications in terms of (in)direct topicalisation

The (in)direct topicalisation of homosexuality in *City Press* across the given period of 1982 to 2006 is represented in graph form in figure 3 below. The graph clearly demonstrates the fact that direct topicalisation (72%) outnumbered indirect topicalisation (28%) for the majority of the data collection period (1982-2006), as well as the fact that direct topicalisation of issues pertaining to homosexuality became more frequent from 1992 onwards as 82% of the direct topicalisation took place after this period, while indirect topicalisation remained relatively stable from 1992 onwards. The graph further demonstrates the fact that the rise in the number of publications depicted in figure 2 was chiefly driven by publications in which homosexuality was topicalised directly.

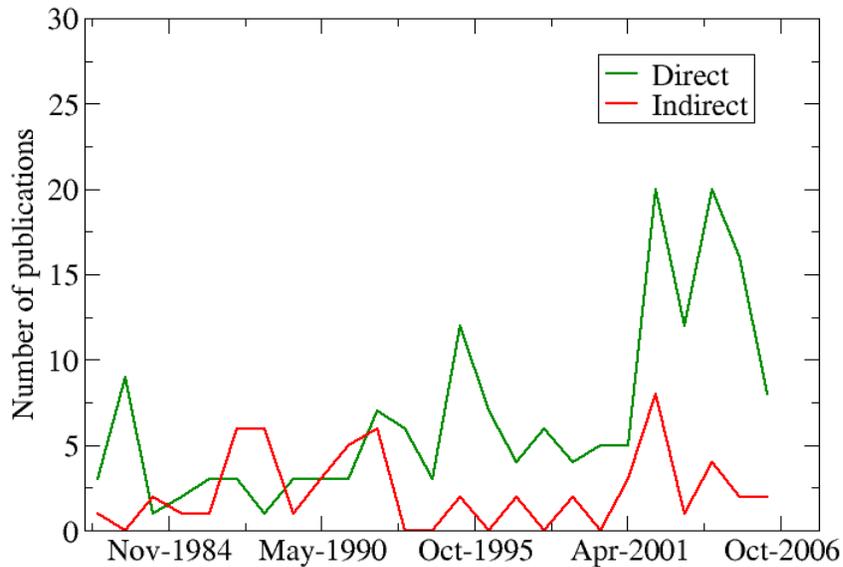


Figure 3 – (In)direct references to homosexuality by *City Press* over time graph

5.2.4 Distribution of publications in terms of publication type

Figure 4 below represents in graph form the publication of (in)tolerant letters topicalising homosexuality across the period of 1982 to 2006. The graph clearly demonstrates a spike in letter publications in the years following the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 (as 26% of the *City Press*'s letters were published in the five years following this event) and again between 2002 and 2006 (during which 42% of the total letters were published). As mentioned above, gay rights were increasingly topicalised during this period, specifically in relation to marriage and parenting.

The graph further demonstrates that the highest number of tolerant letters topicalising homosexuality was published between 1991 and 1996 as 50% of the publications that make up the *City Press* corpus's total tolerant letters were published in these five years. The increase in tolerant letters in this period can be explained by the fact that it coincides with the time leading up to the drafting and implementation of South Africa's new constitution. An analysis of liberation discourse over time (see figure 12 below) further demonstrates that gay liberation was increasingly framed in terms of rights and equality during this period. The graph also

demonstrates a clear spike in the amount of intolerant letters topicalising homosexuality in the years between 2002 and 2006, during which 58% of the publications that make up the *City Press* corpus's intolerant letters were published. Further, the graph indicates that intolerant letters (63%) outweighed tolerant letters (37%) in the publications that make up the *City Press* corpus.

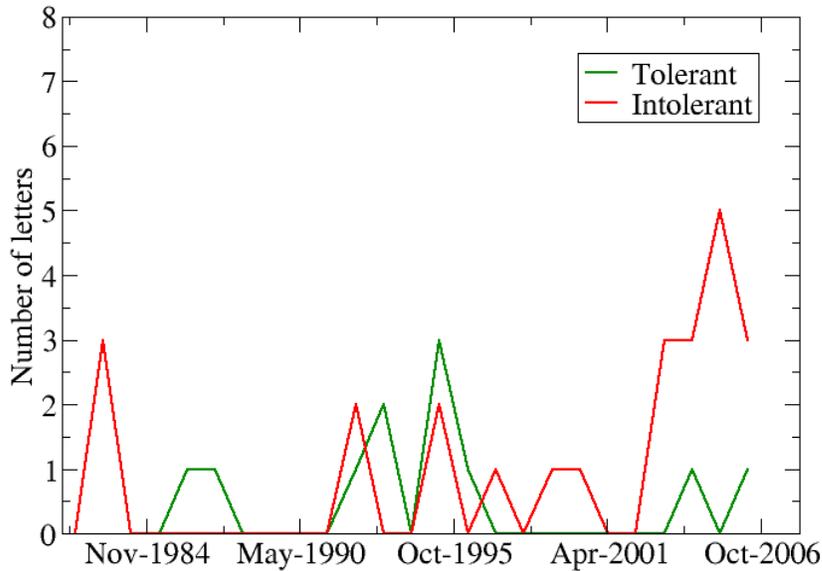


Figure 4 – (In)tolerant *City Press* letters over time graph

Figure 5 represents in graph form the publication of (in)tolerant articles topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006). Interestingly, the graph demonstrates that tolerant articles (40%) topicalising homosexuality have outnumbered intolerant articles (29%) for the majority of the data collection period (1982-2006). Further, while the data indicates that the number of intolerant articles spiked around 2001 and 2003, with 46% of the *City Press*'s intolerant articles published between 2003 and 2006, the data demonstrates that tolerant articles showed a similar spike a few months later, with 26% of the *City Press*'s tolerant articles published in the 2003-2006 period.

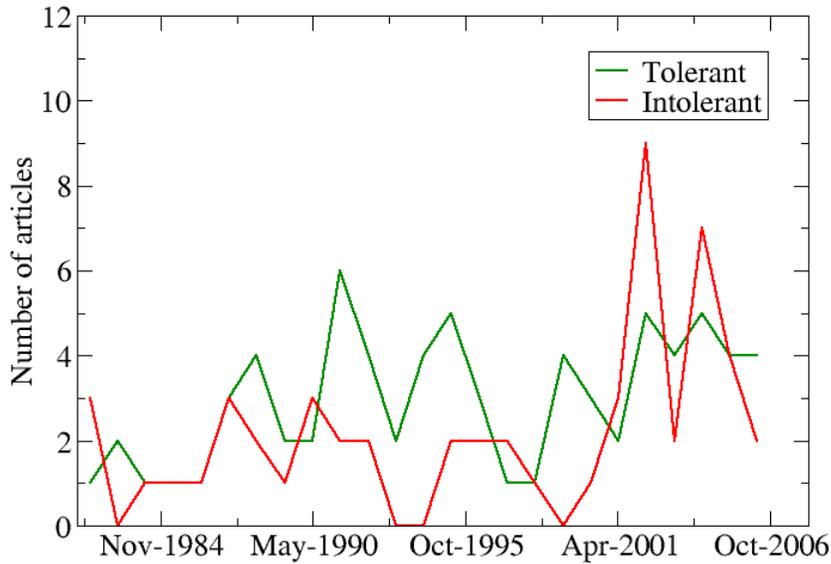


Figure 5 – (In)tolerant *City Press* articles over time graph

Figure 6 below represents in graph form a breakdown of publications by type, nature and (in)directness. The graph clearly demonstrates the extent to which articles (79%) outnumbered letters (16%); the fact that intolerant letters (63%) outnumbered tolerant letters (37%); the fact that intolerant articles (63%) outnumbered tolerant articles (37%); the fact that tolerant articles (40%) outnumbered intolerant articles (29%); the fact that letters (97%) tend to topicalise homosexuality more directly than articles (31%); and the fact that intolerant articles tend to make more use of indirect topicalisation (35%) than tolerant articles (22%).

<i>City Press</i> publications (234)									
Letters (38)				Articles (186)					
Tolerant (14)		Intolerant (24)		Tolerant (74)		Intolerant (54)		Neutral (58)	
Direct (14)	Indirect (0)	Direct (23)	Indirect (1)	Direct (58)	Indirect (16)	Direct (35)	Indirect (19)	Direct (35)	Indirect (23)

Figure 6– Division of *City Press* publications according to type, nature and (in)directness

5.2.5 Distribution of publications in terms of framing

As discussed above in section 4.7.2, the quantification of the *City Press* data enabled the identification of 13 themes that typically emerge in the framing of gay (in)tolerance, namely “religion”, “morality”, claims that homosexuality is “(un)African”, claims that homosexuality is “(un)natural”, “AIDS”, “rights”, “equality”, “homophobic victimisation”, “legal issues”, “(in)tolerance”, “gender”, “marriage” and “parenting”. The graph in figure 7 below represents the proportionate relationship between the different frames and master frames that are employed by *City Press* publications topicalising homosexuality. The term “master frame” is used here to refer to the primary way in which the publication is packaged, i.e. to what the publication purports to be topicalising, while the term “frame” is used to refer to other macropropositions that are found in the publication. The graph’s Y axis represents the percentage of the time the individual frames and masters frames were used in the corpus, and demonstrates the fact that the most commonly employed frames are “(in)tolerance”, “religion”, “rights” and “morality” while the most commonly employed master frames are “religion”, followed by “AIDS”, and “(in)tolerance”. While this quantification of framing is useful for identifying the most commonly implemented (master) frames, it is not sufficient for examining the ways in which homosexuality is framed in *City Press* publications. In order to obtain an accurate view of the ways in which homosexuality is topicalised, one also needs to examine the increasing implementation of each frame over time.

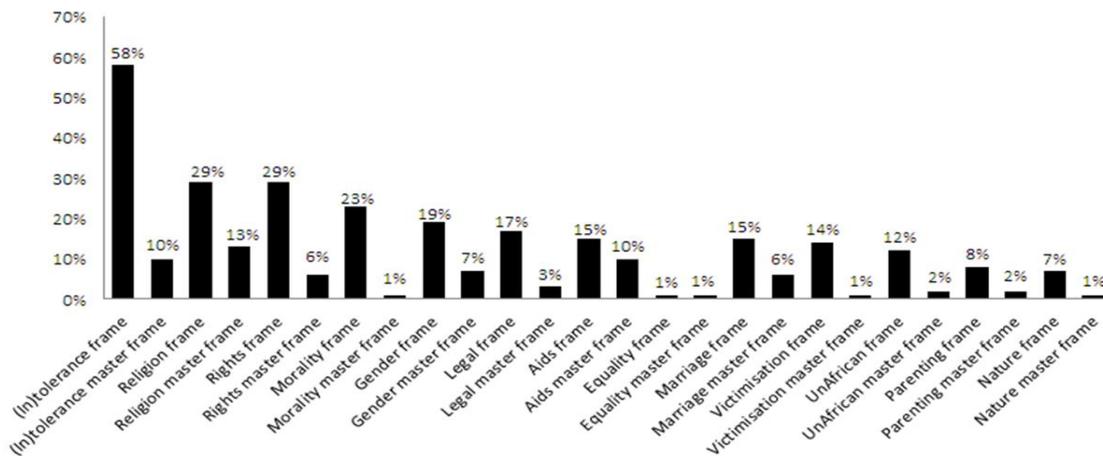


Figure 7 – *City Press* (master) frames bar graph

The table in figure 8 below orders the frames represented above in figure 7 from the most commonly to least commonly implemented, and represents the distribution of tolerance, intolerance and neutrality in each of the frames. The data in this table demonstrates that the frames that were typically used to express tolerant sentiments included “AIDS”, “rights”, “equality”, “victimisation” and arguments centering on claims that homosexuality is “unAfrican”, and that the frames that were typically used to express intolerant sentiments included “religion”, “morality”, “nature”, and frames centering on “legal issues”. This finding contradicts the literature (cf section 3.8.1) which predicts that “AIDS” frames and “unAfrican” frames are more likely to be used to express intolerant sentiments. Further, the data shows that the issues of “parenting”, “gender”, “(in)tolerance” and “marriage” were primarily topicalised in tolerant ways in the *City Press* discourse.

Frame	Percentage of total publications	Tolerant	Intolerant	Neutral	Primarily used to express
(In)tolerance	58%	48%	36%	16%	Tolerance
Religion	29%	39%	47%	14%	Intolerance
Rights	29%	57%	25%	18%	Tolerance
Morality	23%	30%	56%	14%	Intolerance
Gender	19%	49%	29%	22%	Tolerance
Legal	17%	20%	43%	37%	Intolerance
Aids	15%	56%	24%	20%	Tolerance
Equality	15%	74%	12%	14%	Tolerance
Marriage	15%	40%	34%	26%	Tolerance
Victimisation	14%	66%	25%	9%	Tolerance
UnAfrican	12%	46%	39%	15%	Tolerance
Parenting	8%	58%	16%	26%	Tolerance
Nature	7%	35%	59%	6%	Intolerance

Figure 8 – Distribution of tolerance, intolerance and neutrality in individual frames in *City Press* publications

Figure 9 below represents in graph form the implementation of anti-gay rights frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006). As shown above in figure 8, the frames that were typically used to express intolerant sentiments in the *City*

Press discourse were “religion”, “morality” and “nature”. As these frames are used to verbalise both pro- and anti-gay rights arguments, the graph below only represents the instances in which these frames were used to express intolerant sentiments. The graph shows that “religion” was the frame most frequently used in intolerant publications, followed by “morality”, followed by “nature”.

Figure 9 below represents the implementation of religious frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006). “Religious frames” here refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of religion, or in which religion is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. As mentioned above, religious frames make up 13% of the master frames utilised in *City Press* discourses, and religion was used as a master frame in 46% of the publications in which it was topicalised, which means that letters and articles that mention religion are statistically more likely to topicalise the issue in conjunction with others.

The graph demonstrates that a vast majority of the religious master frames were implemented after the drafting and implementation of the country’s new constitution. The graph further demonstrates that the largest occurrences of religious frames were found in the years between 2001 and 2006, during which 49% of the *City Press*’s religious frames were implemented, demonstrating the fact that religious discourses centering on homosexuality were increasingly placed on the public agenda during these transitional times.

As demonstrated above in figure 8, statistical analysis of this data demonstrates a medium statistical dependence between intolerant publications and those implementing religious frames, with 47% of the religious frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus being used to express intolerant sentiments, while 39% were used to express tolerant sentiments. Similarly, a statistical analysis ² demonstrates a very strong statistical dependence between religious frames and morality frames, meaning that a publication topicalising religion is far more likely to mention morality than any other publication in the corpus.

² The dependency of event A and event B was measured by comparing the unconditional probability of event A, P(A), and the conditional probability of event A given that event B, P(A|B), has occurred. The probability gain is defined as $100 \cdot (P(A|B)/P(A) - 1)\%$.

The implementation of moralising frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006) is also represented in figure 9. “Moralising frames” is used here to refer to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of moral transgressions or in which moral transgressions are topicalised in terms of homosexuality. Moralising frames make up 1% of the master frames utilised in *City Press* discourses, and morality was used as a master frame in 4% of the publications in which it was topicalised, so letters and articles that mention morality are statistically more likely to topicalise the issue in conjunction with others.

The data demonstrates that moralising frames were found at a relatively cyclical frequency in the first decade of the selected period, followed by a rapid and steady increase in frequency in 2006, during which 9% of the *City Press*'s moralising frames were implemented. As discussed above, a statistical analysis revealed a very strong statistical dependence between the implementation of religious frames and moralising frames, meaning that a publication containing a moralising frame is more likely to contain a religious frame than any other publication in the corpus. Further, figure 8 above shows that 56% of the moralising frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express intolerant sentiments, while 30% were used to express tolerant sentiments.

Figure 9 below further represents the implementation of nature frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006). “Nature frames” here refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of “naturalness” or in which naturalness is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. Nature frames make up 1% of the master frames utilised in *City Press* discourses, and nature was used as a master frame in 12% of the publications in which it was topicalised, which means that letters and articles that mention nature are statistically more likely to topicalise the issue in conjunction with others.

The data demonstrates that homosexuality was topicalised in terms of “naturalness” from the beginning of the selected period (1982), with the highest frequency of publication occurring at the beginning of the selected period and a spike in the period between 2003 and 2006, during which 40% of the *City Press*'s nature frames were implemented. As mentioned above, this period coincides with a time in which the issue of gay marriage was increasingly placed on the public agenda. A statistical analysis of the data demonstrates a strong statistical dependence

between nature frames and intolerance, with 59% of the nature frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus being used to express intolerant sentiments, while 35% were used to express tolerant sentiments.

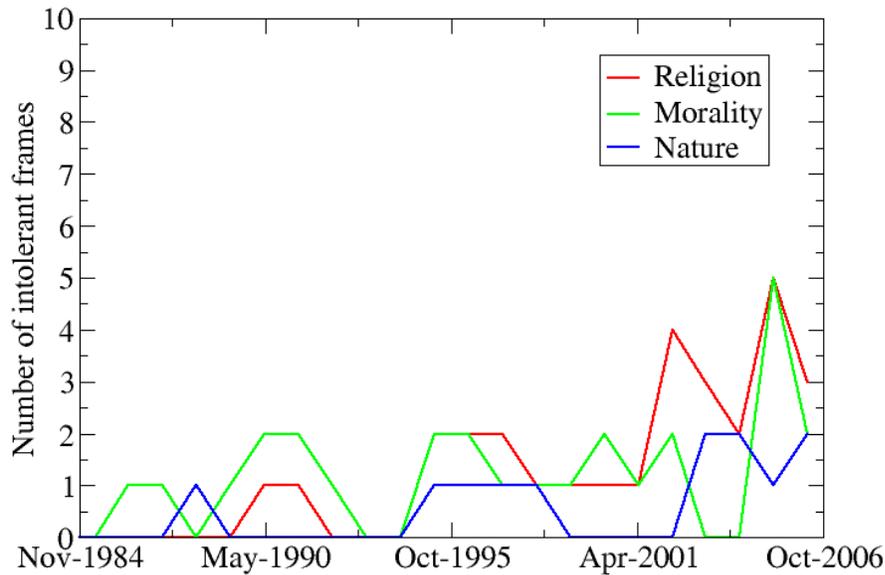


Figure 9 –Anti-gay rights frames in *City Press* over time graph

Figure 10 below represents in graph form the implementation of pro-gay rights frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006). As shown above in figure 8, the frames that were typically used to express tolerant sentiments in the *City Press* discourse were “rights”, “homophobic victimisation” and “equality”. As these frames are used to verbalise both pro- and anti-gay rights arguments, the graph below only represents the instances in which these frames were used to express tolerant sentiments. The graph demonstrates that “rights” was the argument most frequently used in tolerant publications, followed by “equality”, followed by “victimisation”.

The graph represents the implementation of rights frames in publications topicalising homosexuality from 1982 to 2006. “Rights frames” is used here to refer to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of human rights or in which human rights is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. Rights frames make up 6% of the master frames utilised in *City Press*

discourses, and rights was implemented as a master frame in 21% of the publications in which it was topicalised; letters and articles that mention rights are thus statistically more likely to topicalise it in conjunction with other issues. Further, figure 8 above shows that 57% of the rights frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 25% were used to express intolerant sentiments. The data demonstrates that gay marriage was topicalised in terms of rights from the beginning of the selected period (1982). Further, the data indicates strong spikes in 1995, during which 13% of the *City Press*'s rights frames were implemented, and in the years between 2003 and 2006, during which 35% of the *City Press*'s rights frames were implemented. The first increase in the implementation of rights frames coincides with a period in which South Africans were increasingly making use of rights discourse in general, and the second coincides with the period in which gay marriage was placed on the public agenda.

The graph in figure 10 also represents the implementation of equality frames in publications topicalising homosexuality from 1982 to 2006. "Equality frames" here refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of equality or in which equality is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. While equality frames make up 15% of the frames utilised in *City Press* discourses, there were no instances in which equality was used as a master frame. This finding contradicts the popular hypothesis that both liberation discourse and equality frames played a role in facilitating the gay liberation discourse. Nonetheless, the data demonstrates that the equality frame was implemented in publications topicalising homosexuality with relatively constantly increasing frequency from the beginning of the selected period (1982) until around 1998, after which the frame is implemented less frequently. Further, figure 8 above shows that 74% of the equality frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 12% were used to express intolerant sentiments. The graph below further indicates a spike in the last year of the selected period, during which 11% of the *City Press*'s equality frames were implemented. While the lack of equality master frames seems to contradict the hypothesis that equality frames played a role in facilitating gay liberation, the sudden increase of equality frames in the year in which gay marriage was legalised serves as evidence for such hypothesis.

Figure 10 below further represents the implementation of victimisation frames in *City Press* publications topicalising homosexuality from 1982 to 2006. “Victimisation frames” here refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of homophobic hate crimes, including corrective rape, physical assault and verbal abuse. Victimisation frames comprise 1.5% of the master frames utilised in *City Press* discourses, and victimisation was used as a master frame in 8% of the publications in which it was topicalised; letters and articles that mention morality are thus statistically more likely to topicalise the issue in conjunction with others.

The data demonstrates a spike in the frequency of the implementation of victimisation frames in 1995, during which 14% of the *City Press*’s victimisation frames were implemented, and again from 2001 to the end of the selected period, during which 33% of the *City Press*’s victimisation frames were implemented. These periods of increasingly frequent topicalisation coincide with the period during which South Africans were made aware of the fact that the Constitution protects individuals from discrimination based on sexual orientation, and the period during which gay marriage was increasingly topicalised. Further, a statistical analysis revealed a strong statistical dependence between the implementation of victimisation frames and tolerance, with 47% of the rights frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus being used to express tolerant sentiments, while 39% were used to express intolerant sentiments.

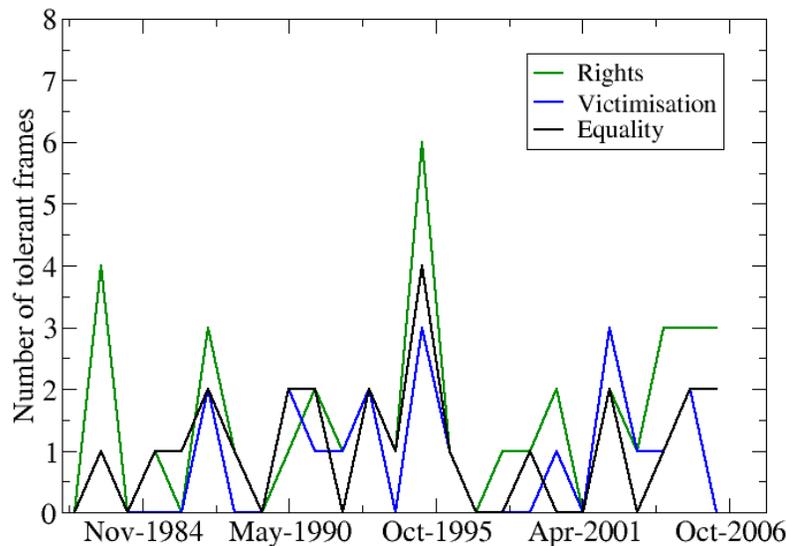


Figure 10 – Pro-gay rights frames in *City Press* over time graph

Figure 11 below represents in graph form the implementation of issue frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006). A review of the macropropositional contents of the corpus reveals that the frames that were typically used to topicalise issues rather than express (in)tolerance in the *City Press* discourse were “gender”, “parenting”, “marriage” and “(in)tolerance”. The graph demonstrates that “(in)tolerance” was the issue most frequently topicalised in *City Press* discourse, followed by “gender”, followed by “marriage”, followed by “parenting”.

Figure 11 below represents the implementation of tolerance frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006). “Tolerance frames” here refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of tolerance or in which tolerance is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. While the tolerance frame is the third most commonly implemented master frame in the *City Press* discourse, it is implemented in 59% of all letters and articles published in the *City Press*, making it the one that is used most commonly in articles topicalising homosexuality. As shown above in figure 8, 48% of the tolerance frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 36% were used to express intolerant sentiments. While the graph of the tolerance frames shows a relatively steady increase in frequency of publication, a visible spike occurs between 2002 and 2006, during which 40% of the *City Press*’s tolerance frames were implemented. As discussed above, this period coincides with the period during which gay rights, marriage and adoption were increasingly placed on the public agenda.

Figure 11 also represents the implementation of gender frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006). “Gender frames” is used to refer to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of gender norms or in which gender norms are topicalised in terms of homosexuality. Gender frames make up 20% of the *City Press*’s master frames, and gender was implemented as a master frame in 16% of the publications in which it was topicalised, which means that letters and articles that mention gender are statistically more likely to topicalise it in conjunction with other issues than allowing it to form the focus of the publication. As shown above in figure 8, 49% of the gender frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 29% were used to

express intolerant sentiments. Interestingly, the data demonstrates that the pairing of publications topicalising homosexuality and gender frames was relatively rare in the first decade of the selected period (16%), showing a rapid and steady increase from 1990 up to the end of the selected period (2006) (2006).

Figure 11 further represents the implementation of marriage frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the period of 1982 to 2006, where “Marriage frames” refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of legalising gay marriage. Marriage frames make up 15% of the *City Press*’s master frames, and marriage was implemented as a master frame in 20% of the publications in which it was topicalised; letters and articles that mention marriage are thus statistically more likely to topicalise it in conjunction with other issues than allowing it to form the focus of the publication. As shown above in figure 8, 40% of the marriage frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 34% were used to express intolerant sentiments.

The data indicates that gay marriage has been topicalised in the data from 1984, with a series of strong spikes in the years between 2001 and 2006, during which 71% of the *City Press*’s marriage frames were implemented. This rapid increase can be explained by the fact that the issue of gay marriage was increasingly placed on the public agenda during this period. Interestingly, the data demonstrates that relatively few gay marriage master frames (20%) were used, and that the issue of gay marriages was mainly discussed in conjunction with other issues.

Statistical analysis of the data demonstrates a very strong statistical dependence between gay marriage frames and rights frames, meaning that a publication topicalising gay marriage is far more likely to mention rights than any other publication in the corpus. Similarly, statistical analysis demonstrates a strong statistical dependence between gay marriage frames and equality frames, which means that a publication topicalising gay marriage is more likely to mention equality than any other publication in the corpus.

Finally, figure 11 further represents the implementation of parenting frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the period 1982 to 2006. The term “parenting frames” here refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of both biological and adoptive

parenting. Parenting frames comprise 1.5% of the master frames utilised in *City Press* discourses, and parenting was used as a master frame in 21% of the publications in which it was topicalised, which means that letters and articles that mention parenting are statistically more likely to topicalise the issue in conjunction with others. Interestingly, only one publication was found in which parenting was used as a master frame. As shown above in figure 8, 58% of the parenting frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 16% were used to express intolerant sentiments.

The data demonstrates the fact that homosexuality was discussed in terms of parenting from the beginning of the selected period (1982), with a strong spike in topicalisation in the years between 2000 and 2002, during which 21% of the *City Press* parenting frames were implemented, and again in 2006, during which a further 21% of the *City Press*'s parenting frames were implemented. Further, a statistical analysis demonstrates that there is a very strong statistical dependence between reference to the subcategory "lesbian" and parenting frames, compared to a very weak statistical dependence between reference to the subcategory "gay" and parenting frames, meaning that a publication topicalising parenting is much far likely to refer to lesbians than to gay men.

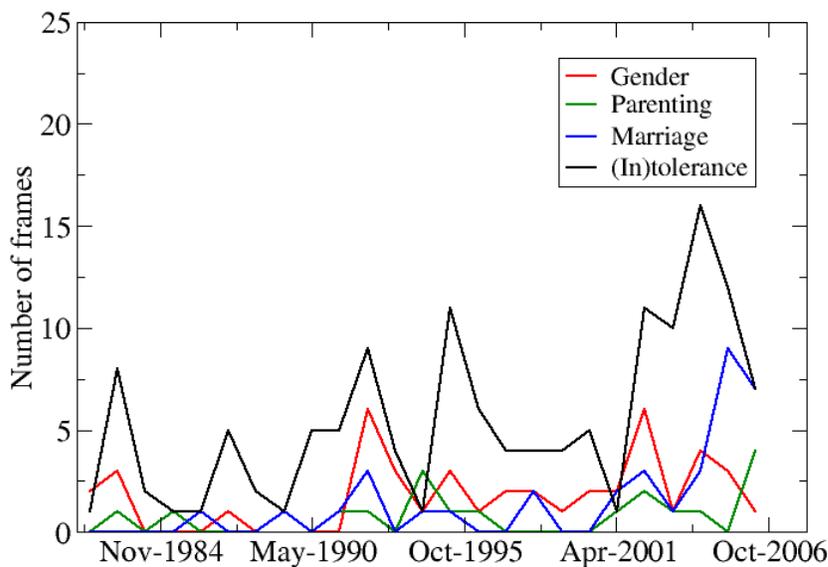


Figure 11 – Issue frames in *City Press* over time graph

5.2.6 Distribution of publications in terms of liberation discourse

Figure 12 below represents the presence of liberation discourse in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1982-2006), where “liberation discourse” refers to textual elements in which reference is made to notions such as “human rights”, “equality”, “apartheid”, “oppression” and “freedom”. Interestingly, the data demonstrates that liberation discourse has been present in publications topicalising homosexuality from the beginning of the selected period (1982), and that it was implemented in 32% of the publications that make up the *City Press* corpus. The data further shows that 12.5% of the *City Press*’s liberation discourse was implemented in 1995, which is the year after the new government took office, and again in 2006, which is the year in which gay marriage was legalised. The data represented on this graph therefore supports the claim that gay rights advocates made use of liberation discourse in their arguments supporting gay rights and gay marriage.

Statistical analysis of the data demonstrates a strong statistical dependence between the implementation of liberation discourse and tolerance, meaning that a publication implementing liberation discourse is more likely to be tolerant than any other publication in the corpus. Further, statistical analysis demonstrates a very strong statistical dependence between the implementation of framing tasks and liberation discourse; a publication implementing framing tasks is thus more likely to implement liberation discourse than any other publication in the corpus. This finding reflects the fact that the presence of framing tasks is indicative of a coherent and organised social movement, and that such a movement typically employs frames and resources strategically.

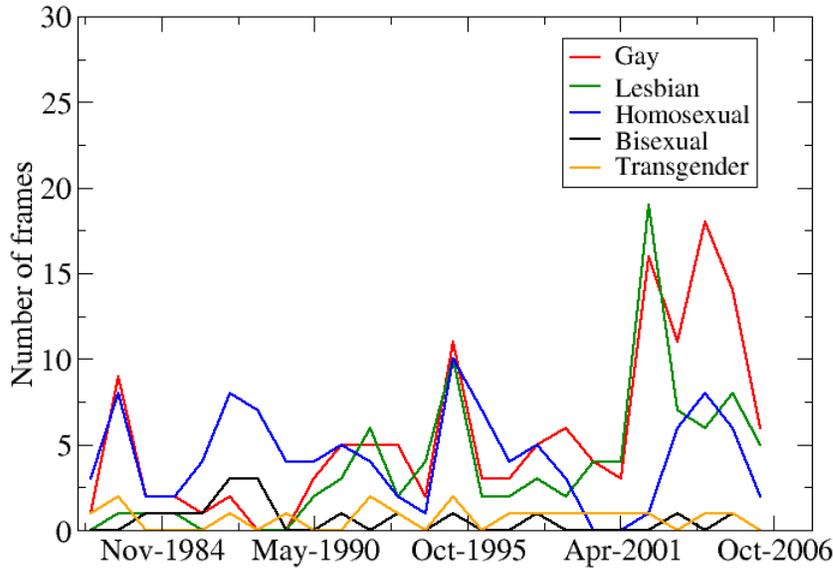


Figure 13 –Subcategorical references in *City Press* over time graph

5.3 Quantifying the *Mail & Guardian* data

This section will examine the *Mail & Guardian* data in quantitative terms. As was the case for the *City Press* data, histograms and bar graphs have been generated using GRACE in order to demonstrate developments over time and proportions, respectively. Further, correlations between various aspects of the data were tested using JAVA.

5.3.1 Number of publications across a period of 20.5 years

Figure 14 below represents in graph form the number of publications topicalising homosexuality. It shows that 550 publications were printed in *Mail & Guardian* over a period of 1076 weeks (20.5 years). The data demonstrates a relatively steady increase throughout the selected period. The data further demonstrates a rapid increase in the number of publications topicalising homosexuality in 1990, during which 4% of the *Mail & Guardian* corpus's publications were collected, and again between 2002 and the end of the selected period (2006), during which 36% of the *Mail & Guardian* corpus's publications were collected. The first period of rapid increase coincides with the period in which the ANC began drafting their Bill of rights, whereas the

second coincides with a period in which the legalisation of gay marriage and parenting was increasingly topicalised in media discourses.

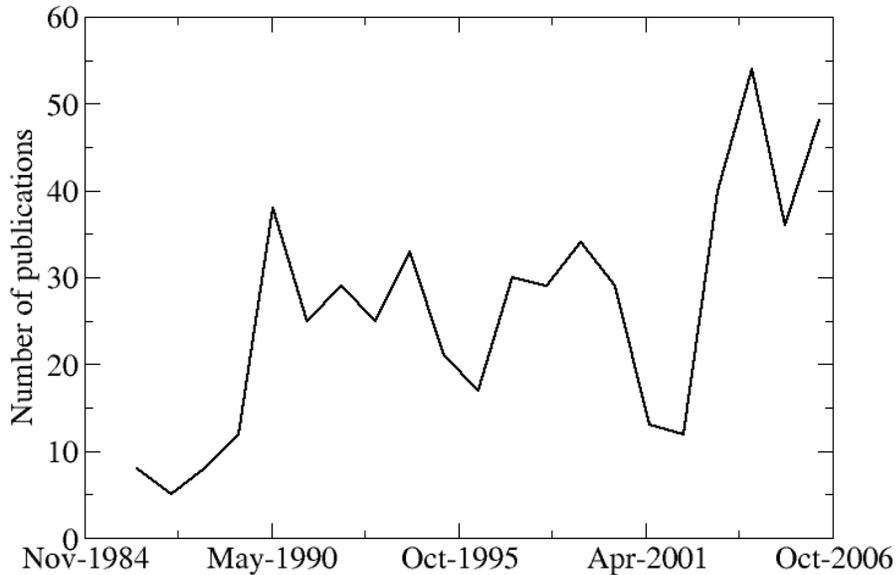


Figure 14 – Mail & Guardian publications over time graph

5.3.2 Distribution of publications in terms of gay tolerance

Figure 15 below represents the differences in the number of tolerant (74%), intolerant (8.5%) and neutral (17%) *Mail & Guardian* publications across the period of 1986 to 2006, with “neutral” referring to both unbiased publications and publications that made use of contradictory frames or arguments. The graph clearly demonstrates that the increase in number of publications discussed above was driven primarily by an increase in the number of tolerant publications. The graph further demonstrates the fact that the majority of publications were tolerant, followed by neutral publications, followed by intolerant publications.

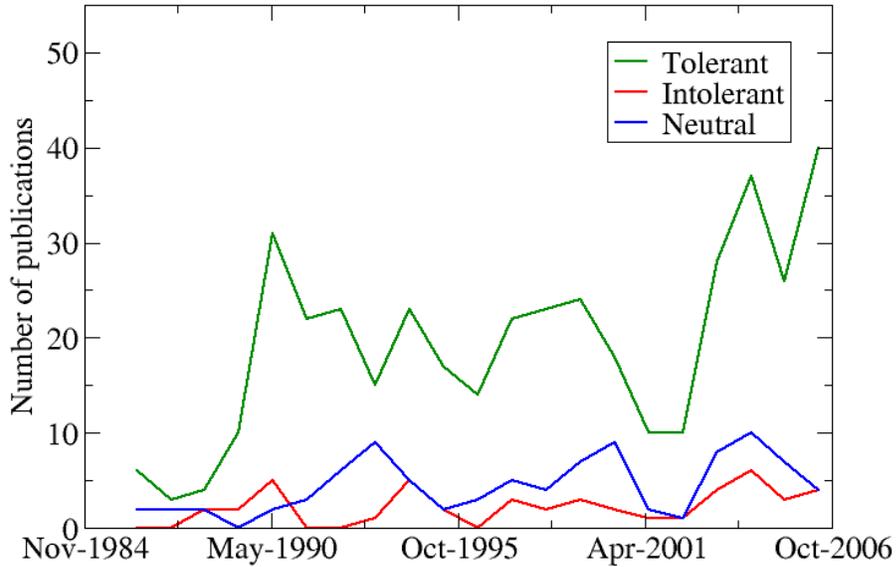


Figure 15 – *Mail & Guardian* publications over time in terms of nature graph,

5.3.3 Distribution of publications in terms of (in)direct topicalisation

Figure 16 below represents in graph form the (in)direct topicalisation of homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006). The graph clearly demonstrates the fact that direct topicalisation (80.5%) outnumbered indirect topicalisation (18%) from 1988 until the end of the selected period (2006). The graph further demonstrates the fact that the rise in the number of publications depicted in the image in figure 30 was chiefly driven by publications in which homosexuality was topicalised directly, as 37% of the direct topicalisation took place after this period.

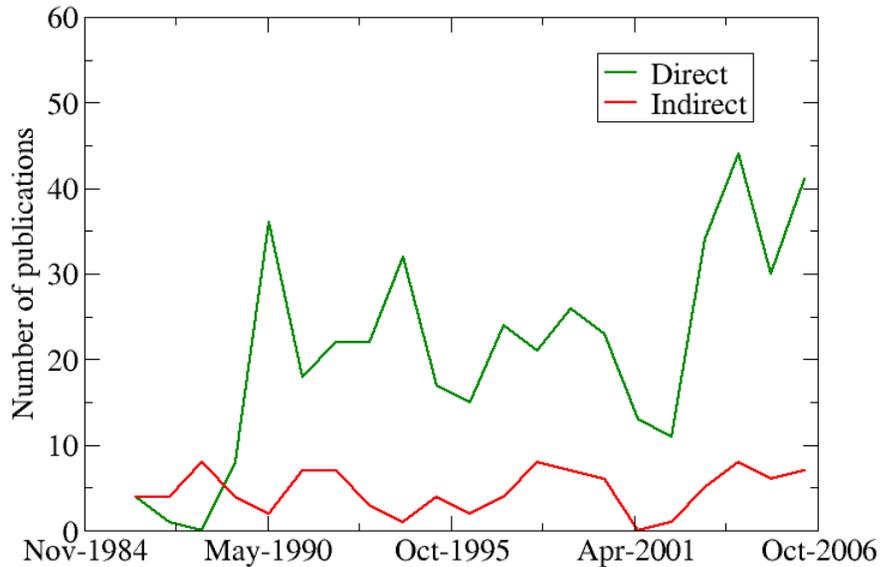


Figure 16 – (In)direct references to homosexuality in *Mail & Guardian* over time graph

5.3.4 Distribution of publications in terms of publication type

The publication of (in)direct letters topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006) is indicated in figure 17 below. The graph clearly demonstrates a spike in letter publications in the years following the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, as 14% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s letters were published in 1991, and again between 2002 and 2006, during which 50% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s letters were published. As discussed above, this period of increasingly frequent publications coincides with the period during which gay rights and marriage were increasingly topicalised.

Figure 17 also represents the publication of tolerant letters topicalising homosexuality during 1986 to 2006. The graph demonstrates the fact that the highest number of *Mail & Guardian* tolerant letters topicalising homosexuality (12.5%) was published between 1990 and 1991, and in the years between 2002 and 2006 (33%). An analysis of liberation discourse over time (see figure 51 below) further demonstrates that gay liberation was increasingly framed in terms of rights and equality during this period.

Figure 17 further demonstrates the publication of intolerant letters topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006). Unlike the relationship between time and tolerant letters, this graph demonstrates a relatively steady increase in intolerant letters, with small spikes in 1990, 1996, 2003 and 2006. Further, the graph indicates that tolerant letters (72%) were published far more frequently than intolerant letters (28%).

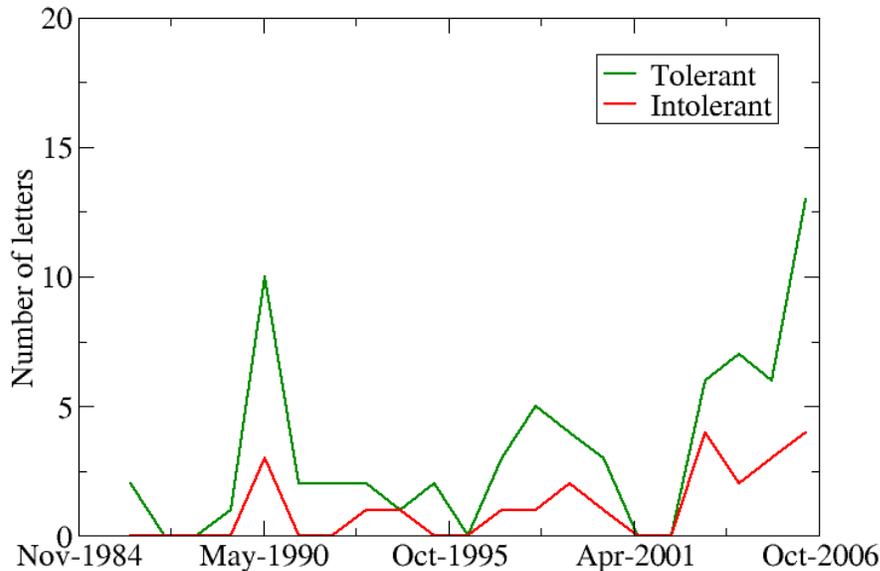


Figure 17 – Mail & Guardian letters over time graph

Figure 18 below represents in graph form the publication of articles topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006). The graph clearly demonstrates the extent to which articles (68%) outnumbered letters (18%) in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus. Unlike the letters over time graph, figure 18 demonstrates a relatively steady increase in the number of publications from 1990 until the end of the selected period (2006), with short periods of rapid increase in 1990, 1992, 2000, 2003 and 2006. The steady increase demonstrated in this graph is representative of the fact that *Mail & Guardian* topicalised gay and lesbian issues frequently throughout the selected period.

Figure 18 further below represents in graph form the publication of (in)tolerant articles topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006). Most notably, the graph

demonstrates that tolerant articles topicalising homosexuality (75%) have far outnumbered intolerant articles (3.5%) throughout the selected period, with tolerant articles appearing with relatively regular frequency from 1990 until the end of the selected period (2006). Further, the data indicates that the publication of intolerant articles was a very rare occurrence, with the last intolerant article appearing in 2004.

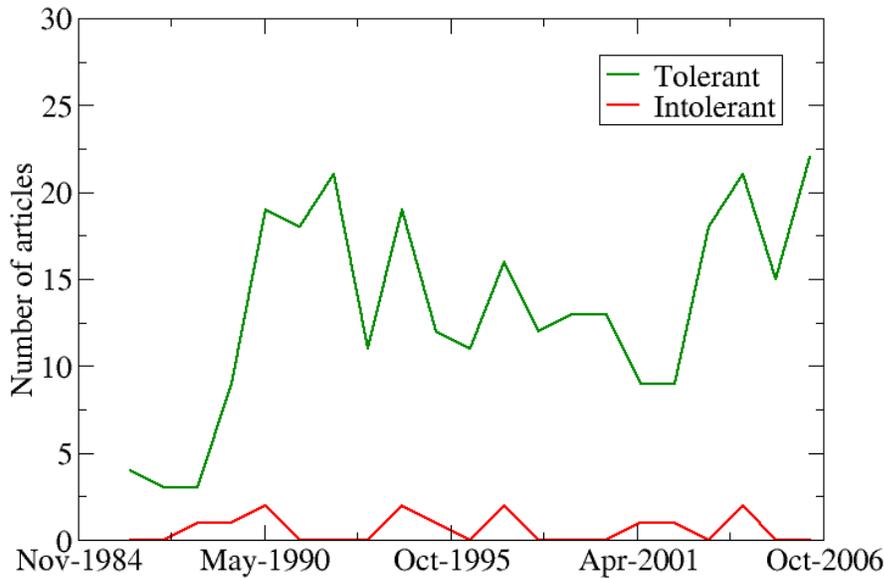


Figure 18 – Mail & Guardian articles over time graph

Figure 19 demonstrates a breakdown of publications by type, nature and (in)directness. The graph clearly demonstrates the extent to which articles (67%) outnumbered letters (17%); the fact that tolerant letters (72%) outnumbered intolerant letters (28%); the fact that tolerant articles (75%) outnumbered intolerant articles (4%); the fact that letters (93%) tend to topicalise homosexuality more directly than articles (23%); and the fact that tolerant articles tend to make more use of indirect topicalisation (18%) than intolerant articles (15%).

Publications (550)											
Letters (96)						Articles (369)					
Tolerant (69)		Intolerant (23)		Neutral (4)		Tolerant (278)		Intolerant (13)		Neutral (76)	
Direct (67)	Indirect (2)	Direct (22)	Indirect (1)	Direct (4)	Indirect (0)	Direct (227)	Indirect (51)	Direct (11)	Indirect (2)	Direct (43)	Indirect (31)

Figure 19 – Division of *Mail & Guardian* publications according to type, nature and (in)directness

5.3.5 Distribution of publications in terms of framing

As discussed above in section 4.7.1, the quantification of the *Mail & Guardian* data enabled the identification of 13 themes that typically emerge in the framing of gay (in)tolerance, namely “religion”, “morality”, claims that homosexuality is “(un)African”, claims that homosexuality is “(un)natural”, “AIDS”, “rights”, “equality”, “homophobic victimisation”, “legal issues”, “(in)tolerance”, “gender”, “marriage” and “parenting”. The graph in figure 20 below represents the proportionate relationship between the different frames and master frames that are employed by *Mail & Guardian* publications topicalising homosexuality. The graph demonstrates the fact that the most commonly employed frames are “(in)tolerance”, “legal”, “religion”, “rights” and “morality”, while the most commonly employed master frames are , “(in)tolerance” , followed by “religion” , and “AIDS” . As stated above, the quantification of (master) frames is interesting but not sufficient for examining the ways in which homosexuality is framed in a particular publication. For this reason, one also needs to examine the accumulation of each master frame over time, as well as the implementation of (non-master) frames if one is interested in obtaining an accurate view of the manners in which homosexuality is topicalised.

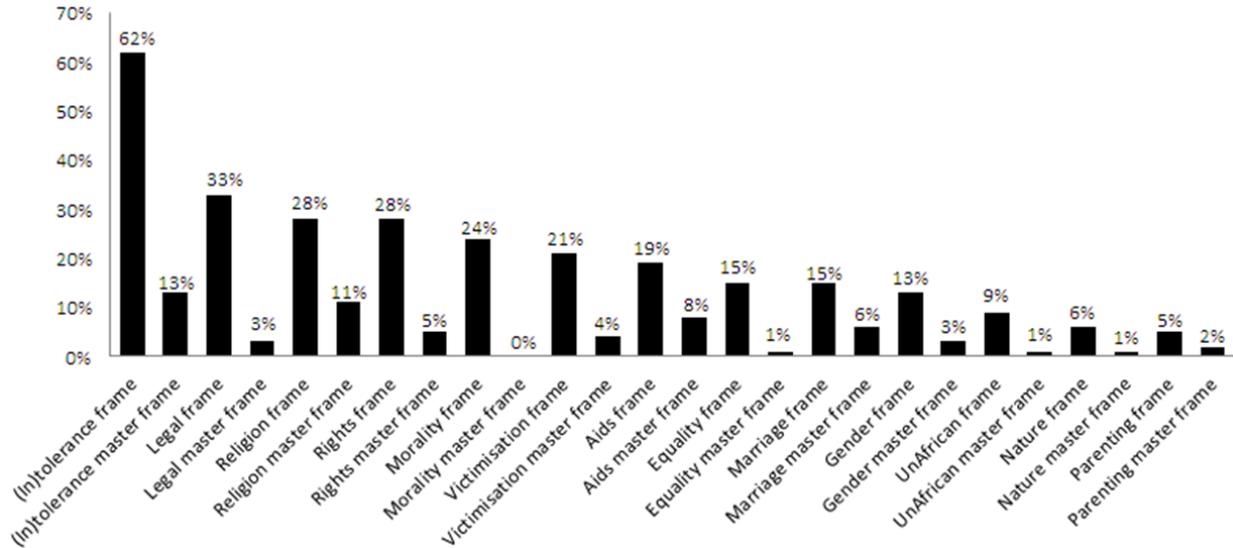


Figure 20 – (Master) frames bar graph for *Mail & Guardian*

The table in figure 21 below orders the frames represented above in figure 20 from the most commonly to least commonly implemented, and represents the distribution of tolerance, intolerance and neutrality in each of the frames. The data in this table demonstrates that the frames that were typically used to express tolerant sentiments included “rights”, “equality”, “victimisation”, arguments centering on claims that homosexuality is “unAfrican”, and “AIDS”, and that the frames that were typically used to express intolerant sentiments included “religion”, “morality” and “nature”. As mentioned above, this finding contradicts the literature (cf section 3.8.1) which predicts that “AIDS” frames and “unAfrican” frames are more likely to be used to express intolerant sentiments Further, the data shows that the issues of “parenting”, “marriage” “(in)tolerance” and “gender” were primarily topicalised in tolerant ways in the *Mail & Guardian* discourse.

Frame	Percentage of total publications	Tolerant	Intolerant	Neutral	Primarily used to express
(In)tolerance	62%	82%	7%	11%	Tolerance
Legal	33%	78%	7%	15%	Tolerance
Religion	28%	74%	12%	14%	Tolerance
Rights	28%	89%	5%	6%	Tolerance
Morality	24%	73%	15%	12%	Tolerance
Victimisation	21%	88%	1%	11%	Tolerance
Aids	19%	80%	8%	12%	Tolerance
Equality	15%	86%	4%	10%	Tolerance
Marriage	15%	83%	6%	11%	Tolerance
Gender	13%	81%	3%	16%	Tolerance
unAfrican	9%	85%	5%	10%	Tolerance
Nature	6%	77%	9%	14%	Tolerance
Parenting	5%	94%	3%	3%	Tolerance

Figure 21 – Distribution of tolerance, intolerance and neutrality in individual frames

Figure 22 below represents in graph form the implementation of anti-gay rights frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006). As shown above in figure 8, the frames that were most commonly used to express intolerant sentiments in the *Mail & Guardian* discourse were “religion”, “morality” and “nature”. As these frames are used to verbalise both pro- and anti-gay rights arguments, the graph below only represents the instances in which these frames were used to express intolerant sentiments. The graph shows that “religion” was the frame most frequently used in intolerant publications, followed by “morality”, followed by “nature”.

The implementation of religious frames in publications topicalising homosexuality from 1986 to 2006 is represented in figure 22 below. “Religious frames” here again refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of religion, or in which religion is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. As discussed above, religious frames make up 11% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and religion was used as a master frame in 38% of the publications in which it was topicalised, so letters and articles that mention religion are statistically more likely to topicalise it in conjunction with other frames.

Interestingly, the graph indicates religious frames were implemented for the first time in 1990, four years after the beginning of the selected period (1986). The graph further demonstrates that the largest occurrences of religious frames were found in the years between 2002 and 2006, during which 89% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s religious master frames were implemented. As discussed above, this period coincides with a period in which gay marriage and gay parenting were topicalised with increasing frequency.

Further, statistical analysis of this data demonstrates a negative dependence between intolerant publications and those implementing religious master frames, with 12% of the religion frames implemented in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus being used to express intolerant sentiments, while 74% were used to express tolerant sentiments. By contrast, statistical analysis demonstrates a very strong statistical dependence between religious frames and morality frames, meaning that a publication topicalising religion is far more likely to mention morality than any other publication in the corpus.

The implementation of moralising frames in *Mail & Guardian* publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006) is also represented in graph form in figure 22. "Moralising frames" again refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of moral transgressions or in which moral transgressions are topicalised in terms of homosexuality. Interestingly, while moralising frames comprise 24% of the frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, no instances were found in which morality was used as a master frame, which means that the issue was topicalised often, but always in conjunction with other frames. As shown above in figure 21, 15% of the moralising frames implemented in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus were used to express intolerant sentiments, while 73% were used to express tolerant sentiments.

The data demonstrates that moralising frames were found at a relatively high frequency in the years between 1990 and 1995, during which 39% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s moralising frames were implemented, followed by a rapid and steady increase in frequency in 1997 and 2006, during which 55% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s moralising frames were implemented. As discussed above, statistical analysis revealed a strong statistical dependence between the implementation of

religious frames and moralising frames, meaning that a publication containing a moralising frame is more likely to contain a religious frame than any other publication in the corpus.

Figure 22 below further represents the implementation of nature frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006), where “nature frames” here again refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of “naturalness” or in which naturalness is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. Nature frames comprise 1% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and nature was used as a master frame in 17% of the publications in which it was topicalised, meaning that letters and articles that mention nature are statistically more likely to topicalise the issue in conjunction with others.

The data shows that homosexuality was topicalised in terms of “naturalness” from the beginning of the selected period (1986), with a strong spike in the period between 2003 and 2006, during which 43% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s nature frames were implemented. As mentioned above, this period coincides with a time in which the issue of gay marriage was increasingly placed on the public agenda. Interestingly, statistical analysis of the data demonstrates a negative correlation between nature frames and intolerance, with 9% of the nature frames implemented in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus being used to express intolerant sentiments, while 77% were used to express tolerant sentiments

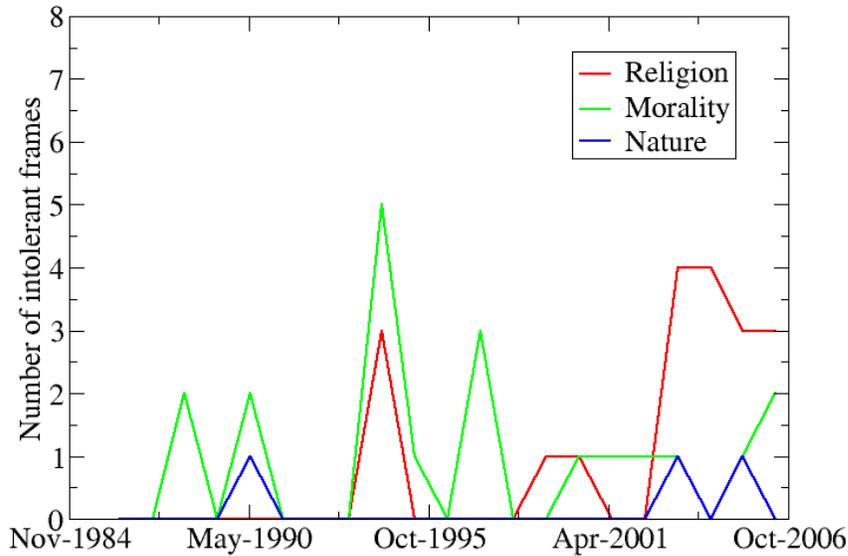


Figure 22 – Anti-gay rights frames in *Mail & Guardian* over time graph

Figure 23 below represents in graph form the implementation of pro-gay rights frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006). As shown above in figure 8, the frames that were typically used to express tolerant sentiments in the *Mail & Guardian* discourse were “legal issues”, “religion”, “rights” and “homophobic victimisation”. As these frames are used to verbalise both pro- and anti-gay rights arguments, the graph below only represents the instances in which these frames were used to express tolerant sentiments. The graph demonstrates that “legal issues” was the argument most frequently used in tolerant publications, followed by “religion”, followed by “rights”, followed by “homophobic victimisation”.

Figure 23 represents the implementation of legal frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the period 1986 to 2006. As was the case when discussing legal frames used in *City Press*, “legal frames” here refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of legal problems or in which legal problems are topicalised in terms of homosexuality. Legal frames make up 3.5% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and legal issues were used as a master frame in 10% of the publications in which it was topicalised; letters and articles that mention legal issues are thus statistically more likely topicalise it in

conjunction with other frames. As shown above in figure 21, 78% of the legal frames implemented in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 7% were used to express intolerant sentiments.

The data demonstrates that legal frames (33.5%) were one of the most frequently used frames in the *Mail & Guardian* publications, with a relatively steady increase in the pairing of legal frames and discourses topicalising homosexuality from 1990 until the end of the selected period (2006). Further, the data demonstrates that while legal issues were not topicalised in master frames very often, they were thoroughly addressed in the *Mail & Guardian* discourse.

The implementation of religious frames in publications topicalising homosexuality from 1986 to 2006 is also represented in figure 23 below. “Religious frames” here again refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of religion, or in which religion is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. As discussed above, religious frames make up 11% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and religion was used as a master frame in 38% of the publications in which it was topicalised, so letters and articles that mention religion are statistically more likely to topicalise it in conjunction with other frames.

Interestingly, the graph indicates religious frames were implemented for the first time in 1990, four years after the beginning of the selected period (1986). The graph further demonstrates that the largest occurrences of religious frames were found in the years between 2002 and 2006, during which 89% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s religious master frames were implemented. As discussed above, this period coincides with a period in which gay marriage and gay parenting were topicalised with increasing frequency.

Further, statistical analysis of this data demonstrates a negative correlation between intolerant publications and those implementing religious master frames, with 74% of the religious frames implemented in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 12% were used to express intolerant sentiments. Further, statistical analysis demonstrates a very strong statistical dependence between religious frames and morality frames, meaning that a publication topicalising religion is far more likely to mention morality than any other publication in the corpus.

Figure 23 below further represents in graph form the implementation of rights frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006). “Rights frames” here again refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of human rights or in which human rights is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. Rights frames make up 5% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and rights was implemented as a master frame in 16% of the publications in which it was topicalised, which means that letters and articles that mention rights are statistically more likely to topicalise it in conjunction with other frames. As shown above in figure 21, 89% of the rights frames implemented in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 5% were used to express intolerant sentiments.

The data demonstrates that the pairing of homosexuality and rights frames was rare in the first few years of the selected period, and that rights frames were only implemented frequently from 1991 onwards. Further, the data indicates strong spikes in 1990, 1994, 2004 and 2006, with 1990 and 1994 overlapping with a period in which South Africans were increasingly making use of rights discourse in general, and 2004 and 2006 overlapping with the period in which gay marriage was increasingly placed on the public agenda.

Finally, figure 23 represents in graph form the implementation of victimisation frames in *Mail & Guardian* publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006). As was the case in the discussion of *City Press*'s utilisation of victimisation frames, the latter term refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of homophobic hate crimes such as corrective rape, physical assault and verbal abuse. Victimisation frames comprise 4% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and victimisation was used as a master frame in 20% of the publications in which it was topicalised: letters and articles that mention victimisation are thus statistically more likely to topicalise the issue in conjunction with others. As shown above in figure 21, 88% of the victimisation frames implemented in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 1% was used to express intolerant sentiments.

The data demonstrates a relatively steady increase of victimisation frames in the years between 1990 and 2006, with spikes in the years 1990, 2000, 2004 and 2006. Further, statistical analysis

revealed a medium statistical dependence between the implementation of victimisation frames and tolerance, meaning that an article that implements a victimisation frame is more likely to be tolerant than any other publication in the corpus.

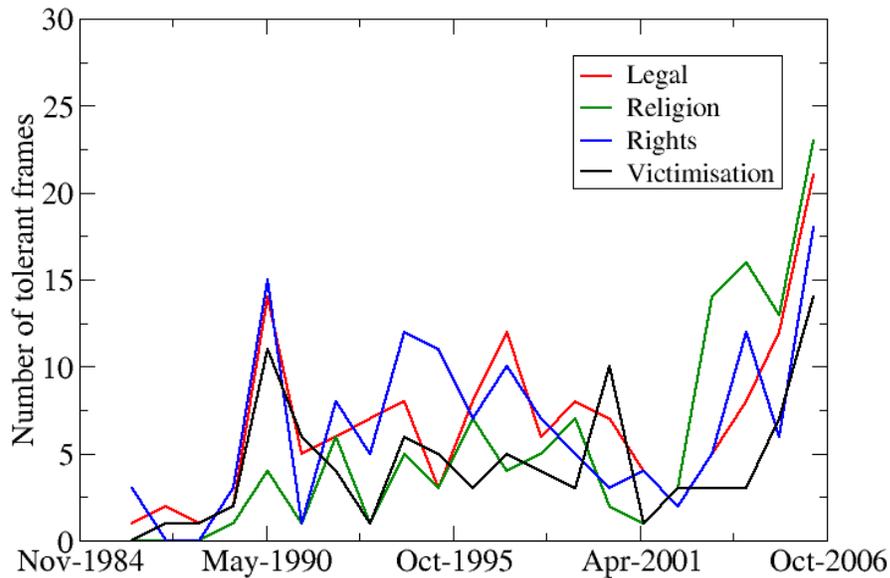


Figure 23 – Pro-gay rights frames in *Mail & Guardian* over time graph

Figure 24 below represents in graph form the implementation of issue frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006). A review of the macropropositional contents of the *City Press* corpus reveals that the frames that were typically used to topicalise issues rather than express (in)tolerance in the *Mail & Guardian* discourse were “gender”, “parenting”, “marriage” and “(in)tolerance”. The graph demonstrates that “(in)tolerance” was the issue most frequently topicalised in *City Press* discourse, followed by “marriage”, followed by “gender”, followed by “parenting”.

The implementation of tolerance frames in *Mail & Guardian* publications topicalising homosexuality from 1986 to 2006 is represented in figure 24. “Tolerance frames” here, as above, refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of tolerance or in which tolerance is topicalised in terms of homosexuality. (In)tolerance frames make up 13% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and (in)tolerance was used as a master frame in 20% of

the publications in which it was topicalised, which means that letters and articles that mention religion are statistically more likely to topicalise it in conjunction with other frames. As shown above in figure 21, 82% of the tolerance frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 7% were used to express intolerant sentiments.

As is reflected in figure 24, the data here demonstrates that the tolerance frame is the one that is implemented the second most frequently in letters and articles topicalising homosexuality. While the cumulative graph of the tolerance frames shows a relatively steady increase in frequency of publication from 1990 until the end of the selected period (2006), the implementation of (in)tolerance master frames continued to occur at a low frequency for the duration of the selected period.

Figure 24 below also represents in graph form the implementation of gender frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the period 1986 to 2006. Recall that “gender frames” refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of gender norms or in which gender norms are topicalised in terms of homosexuality. Gender frames comprise 3% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and gender was used as a master frame in 23% of the publications in which it was topicalised, meaning that letters and articles that mention gender are statistically more likely to topicalise it in conjunction with other frames. As shown above in figure 21, 81% of the gender frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 3% were used to express intolerant sentiments.

Interestingly, the data demonstrates that the pairing of publications topicalising homosexuality and gender frames was relatively rare in the first half of the selected period, showing a rapid and steady increase from 1998 up to the end of the selected period (2006), during which 70% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s gender frames were implemented. Further, the data indicates that gender master frames were rarely employed in the *Mail & Guardian* data, and that the vast majority of the gender master frames were found in the decade between 1996 and 2006.

Figure 24 further represents the implementation of marriage frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006), where “marriage frames” again refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of legalising gay marriage.

Marriage frames comprise 6% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and marriage was used as a master frame in 39% of the publications in which it was topicalised, which means that letters and articles that mention religion are statistically more likely to topicalise it in conjunction with other frames. As shown above in figure 21, 83% of the marriage frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 6% were used to express intolerant sentiments.

The data indicates that gay marriage has been topicalised in the data from 1989, with a series of small spikes in the years between 1993 and 1997, and a very rapid increase between 2003 and 2006, during which 67.5% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s marriage frames were implemented. As discussed above, this period of increasingly frequent topicalisation coincides with a period during which the issue of gay marriage was increasingly placed on the public agenda. Interestingly, the data demonstrates that gay marriage master frames were only used in the years between 2003 and 2006, which indicates that the issue was mainly discussed in conjunction with other frames for the majority of the selected period.

Statistical analysis of the data demonstrates a strong statistical dependence between gay marriage frames and rights frames, meaning that a publication topicalising gay marriage is far more likely to mention rights than any other publication in the corpus. Similarly, statistical analysis demonstrates a strong statistical dependence (19%) between gay marriage frames and equality frames, meaning that a publication topicalising gay marriage is more likely to mention equality than any other publication in the corpus.

Finally, figure 24 below represents the implementation of parenting frames in publications topicalising homosexuality across the period 1986 to 2006. "Parenting frames" here, as above, refers to frames in which homosexuality is topicalised in terms of both biological and adoptive parenting. Parenting frames make up 5% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, and parenting was used as a master frame in 39% of the publications in which it was topicalised, so letters and articles that mention parenting are statistically more likely to topicalise the issue in conjunction with others. As shown above in figure 21, 94% of the parenting frames implemented in the *City Press* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments, while 3% were used to express intolerant sentiments.

The data demonstrates that homosexuality was first discussed in terms of parenting in 1988, after which the parenting frame was used relatively frequently. While the parenting frame data is characterised by a series of spikes and plateaus, the parenting master frame data shows a steady increase, with noticeable spikes in 1995 and 1998.

Further, statistical analysis demonstrates that there is a very strong statistical dependence between reference to the subcategory “lesbian” and parenting frames, compared to a very weak statistical dependence between reference to the subcategory “gay” and parenting frames, meaning that a publication topicalising parenting is far more likely to refer to lesbians than to gay men.

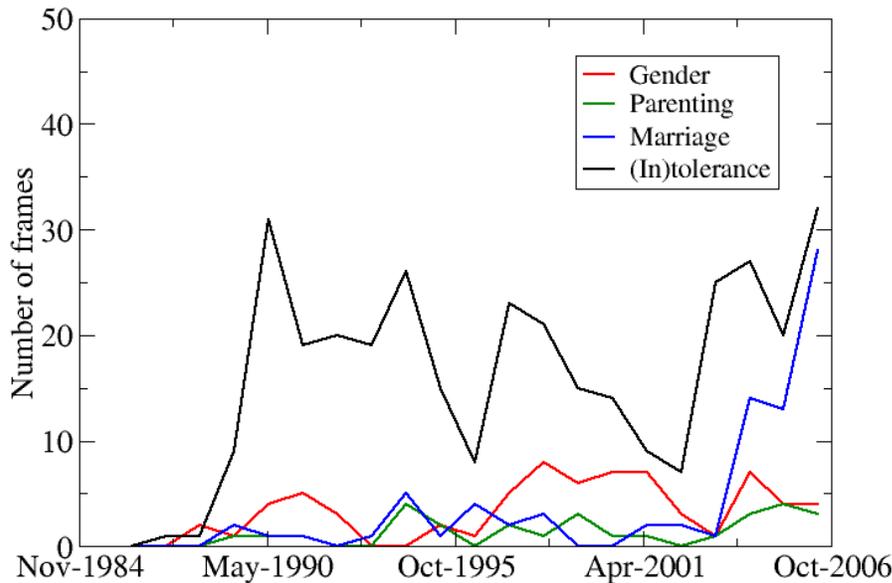


Figure 24 – Issue frames in *Mail & Guardian* over time graph

5.3.6 *Distribution of publications in terms of liberation discourse*

Figure 25 represents in graph form the presence of liberation discourse in *Mail & Guardian* publications topicalising homosexuality during the period 1986 to 2006. As stated above, “liberation discourse” refers to textual elements in which reference is made to notions such as “human rights”, “equality”, “apartheid”, “oppression” and “freedom”. Interestingly, the data

shows that liberation discourse has been present in publications topicalising homosexuality from the beginning of the selected period (1986), and that it was implemented in 29% of the *Mail & Guardian* corpus. The data further shows a strong spike in 1990, during which 7% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s liberation discourse was implemented, and again in 2006, during which 12% of the *Mail & Guardian*'s liberation discourse was implemented. The first period of increased implementation was the year in which the ANC started drafting their Bill of Rights, while the second is the year in which gay marriage was legalised. Further, the frequency of the implementation of liberation discourse in publications topicalising homosexuality supports the claim that gay rights advocates made use of liberation discourse in their arguments supporting gay rights and gay marriage.

Statistical analysis of the data demonstrates a strong statistical dependence between the implementation of liberation discourse and tolerance, meaning that a publication implementing liberation discourse is more likely to be tolerant than any other publication in the corpus. Further, statistical analysis demonstrates a very strong statistical dependence (30%) between the implementation of framing tasks and liberation discourse, meaning that a publication implementing framing tasks is more likely to implement liberation discourse than any other publication in the corpus. As stated above, this finding reflects the fact that the presence of framing tasks is indicative of a coherent and organised social movement, and that such a movement typically employs frames and resources strategically.

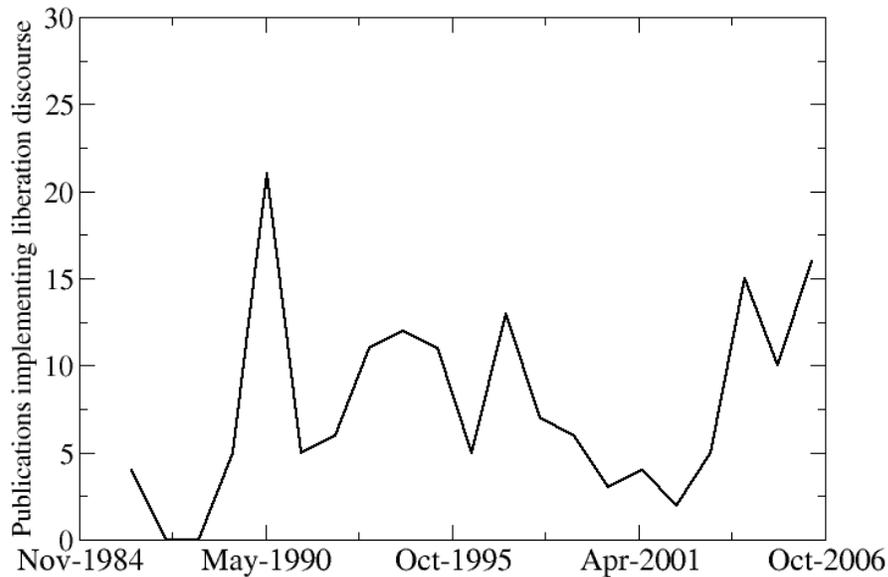


Figure 25 – Liberation discourse in *Mail & Guardian* over time graph

5.3.7 Distribution of publications in terms of labelling

Figure 26 represents the presence of subcategorical references in publications topicalising homosexuality across the given period of time (1986-2006), where “subcategorical references” referring to labels such as “gay”, “lesbian”, “bisexual” and “homosexual”. The data shows that the term “gay” was the preferred term throughout the selected period, and was utilised in 77% of the publications in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus. Further, the data shows that lesbian issues were topicalised significantly less than gay issues, that the terms “lesbian” (44%) and “homosexual(ity)” (46%) were topicalised equally frequently, and that “bisexual(ity)” (5%) and “transgender(ism)” (6%) occurred at an equally low frequency. Unlike the *City Press* discourse, all of the subcategorical labels found in the *Mail & Guardian* were used to express tolerant sentiments more often than intolerant sentiments. Further, in contrast to the *City Press* discourse, the subcategorical label “lesbian” is used in connection to “parenting” (10%), “legal” issues (39%), “marriage” (18%), “victimisation” (27%) and “(in)tolerance” (69%) more often than the subcategorical label “gay” (6%, 36%, 16%, 25% and 68% respectively).

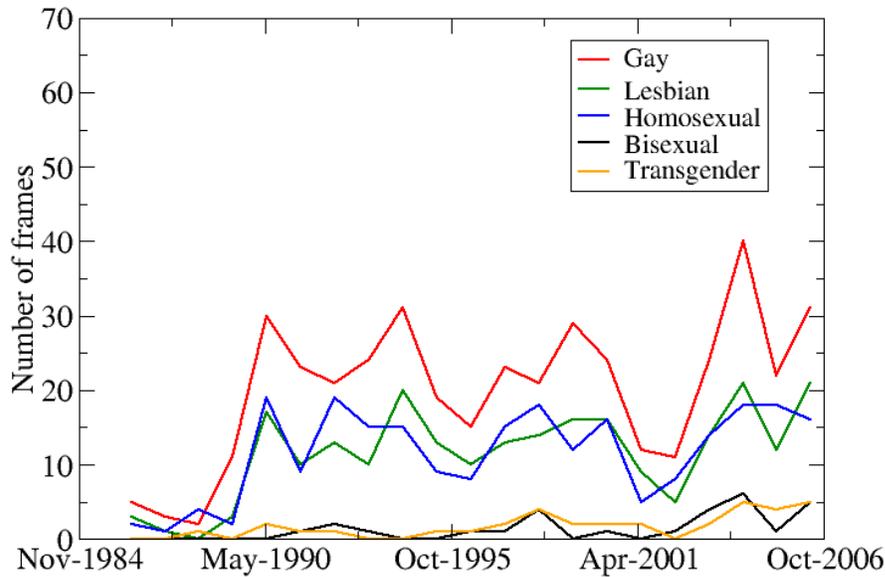


Figure 26 –Subcategorical references in *Mail & Guardian* over time graph

5.4 Conclusion

The data examined in this chapter has served to answer several of the research questions outlined in chapter one (these will be answered explicitly in the following two chapters), and has provided a characterisation of *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* publications in which homosexuality is topicalised. The following chapter will provide a detailed analysis of some of the data collected in the *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* corpus, and will allow for comparisons between the characterising features of the two newspapers.

Chapter 6

Detailed analysis of a selection of *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* publications: Illustrating the textual realisation of Gay Liberalisation Discourse

6.1 Introduction

In the following section, analyses will be given of a number of publications from *City Press* and from *Mail & Guardian*. These two newspapers were selected on the basis of their both being weekly newspapers, both having a relatively liberal editorial policy, but each having a different profile of ‘typical reader’.

The analyses conducted in this chapter will rely specifically on a number of CDA devices, primarily ones that are explained and applied in the work of van Dijk as presented in chapter 3 and 4, and will demonstrate textual realisations of the most commonly used frames identified in the statistical analysis presented in chapter 5. Recall that in the *City Press* data three such frames were evident, namely those identified as “tolerance”, “religion” and “rights”, and that in the *Mail & Guardian* data four such frames were evident, namely those identified as “tolerance”, “religion”, “AIDS” and “rights”. As was mentioned in chapter 4, the selection of the particular articles and letters for analysis was based on a number of criteria, including (i) the extent to which the publication makes use of commonly used frames; (ii) the comprehensiveness of the frame; (iii) the extent to which the publication incites social mobilisation; and (iv) the extent to which the publication makes use of features that typically characterise arguments for and against gay liberation. Eight publications were selected from the *City Press* corpus to demonstrate the implementation of the three frames most used by *City Press* across the period of observation. Likewise, eight publications were selected from the *Mail & Guardian* corpus to demonstrate the implementation of the four frames most used in this data set. Of the eight publications selected for each source, an extensive analysis of one tolerant- and one intolerant publication is presented below. This will be followed by an overview of six further publications that illustrate the framing of religion, rights

and (in)tolerance as these were the three most commonly implemented frames in both the *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* discourses. I shall first analyse the *City Press* data and then the *Mail & Guardian* data.

6.2 *City Press* discourses analysed

The following section will provide detailed analyses of the *City Press* publications selected according to the criteria specified above. As discussed above, the three most commonly employed frames in the *City Press* corpus were “tolerance”, “religion” and “rights”, in which tolerance frames topicalise homosexuality in terms of (in)tolerance, typically foregrounding arguments for or against gay tolerance, depending on the stance of the author; religious frames topicalise homosexuality in terms of religion (often Christianity), typically foregrounding Biblical bases for or against gay tolerance, depending on the stance of the author; and rights frames topicalise homosexuality in terms of human rights, backgrounding or foregrounding considerations of human rights, depending on the stance of the author. The analytical devices that will be employed in the analyses include context (cf. section 4.7.2.1); individual lexical items (cf. section 4.7.2.2); modified phrases (cf. section 4.7.2.3); implication (cf. section 4.7.2.4); presupposition (cf. section 4.7.2.5); description (cf. section 4.7.2.6); local coherence (cf. section 4.7.2.7); rhetorical devices (cf. section 4.7.2.8); and attribution (cf. section 4.7.2.9). Further, the framing tasks (cf. section 3.6.2) were identified and analysed. As discussed above, eight publications will be analysed in total, of which two illustrate the implementation of religious frames, three illustrate the implementation of rights frames, and three illustrate the implementation of (in)tolerance frames.

6.2.1 ‘Gays’ need help, not rights – 27 August 1995

The first publication selected for qualitative analysis is a letter titled “‘Gays’ need help, not rights” (cf. Appendix C). The letter was published in August 1995, and is an entry in the *City Press* corpus which illustrates the reproduction of homophobic ideology in a genre that is under significantly fewer constraints than articles that are published by the newspaper. The letter was written by Dr Motsoko Pheko, and was selected for publication due to the way in which the author counterframed gay rights by constructing homosexuality as unAfrican.

Context

Published just over a year into the new political dispensation, the social changes of the time were marked by events that include the ANC's election victory and the establishment of the NCGLE. The progress that had been made by the gay liberation movement in the country undoubtedly prompted expressions of homophobia of the kind found in this letter. The author here explicitly rejects the introduction of gay rights.

Macropropositional content

Consideration of various macropropositions given in this letter reveals that it is largely dedicated to framing homosexuality as “unAfrican”, unnatural and sinful.

Individual lexical items

The lexical items selected by the author that give evidence of his ideological alignment, include words such as “condemnation” (line 3), “deviation” (line 7), “cure” (line 9), “victims” (line 9), “disaster” (line 13), “misfortune” (line 13), “unnatural” (line 14), “abnormality” (line 17), “problem” (line 18), “abomination” (line 28), “law” (line 30), and “tainted”(line 31)are used in phrases that characterise a given perception of and attitude towards homosexuality. Moreover, homosexuality is offensively likened to “incest” (line 14) and “sex with animals” (line 14-15), and gays and lesbians are deemed worse than “dogs” (line 19) and “pigs” (line 19).

Modified phrases

Several phrases give modified phrases which add to this intolerant characterisation, including those in (1) to (3):

- (1) African culture has always regarded homosexuality as a deviation from what is morally normal, or as a mental lapse (line 6-7)
- (2) In African societies traditional doctors have often been quietly consulted to cure the victims of homosexuality (line 8-9)

- (3) The law of the Old Testament Bible has some affinity with the norms of African traditional culture before it was tainted by the decadent European culture (line 29-30)

Implication

Other textual elements used to convey the author's preferred model to the reader in this text are the pragmatic phenomena of implication and presupposition. To illustrate the use of implicature, the following can be cited:

- (4) I am commenting on homosexuals – or so-called “gays”— and their rights (line 1)
- (5) As far as I know the African culture has always regarded homosexuality as a deviation from what is morally normal (line 6-7)
- (6) Droughts and other natural disasters and national misfortunes have often been believed to be caused by such unnatural behaviour (line 12-13)
- (7) Surely even dogs and pigs do not practice homosexuality (line 18-19)
- (8) The Eurocentric viewpoint on homosexuality may be “unquestionably right” (line 31)

In (4), the author places the word “gay” in quotation marks, possibly in order to imply his disdain for the term. In (5), it is implied by the author that the historicity of the African viewpoint on homosexuality provides adequate motivation for its perseverance, and in (6) that God punishes “innocent” people for the “unnatural behaviour” of gays and lesbians. The word “even” in (7) implies that gays and lesbians are less moral than animals; and the author's quotation marks around the words “unquestionably right” in (8) are used to signal his disagreement with tolerant attitudes towards homosexuality.

Presupposition

To illustrate the use of presupposition, the following can be cited:

- (9) Perhaps the explanation of psychiatrists and psychologists should be solicited to help us understand the causes of this behavioural problem (line 16-17),

in which the author's use of the demonstrative article "this" presupposes that homosexuality is a "behavioural problem";

- (10) We have our own culture, and we must rededicate ourselves to our traditional values that make us human beings (line 21-22),

in which the word "that" introduces the presupposition that traditional values make people "human beings". Such a presupposition naturalises the idea that individuals who do not fit traditional systems are not properly human. Further presuppositions include:

- (11) The Bible says, "if a man lieth with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination" (line 26-27),

in which the author's reference to a Biblical verse invokes the Bible as a moral authority;

- (12) The law of the Old Testament Bible has some affinity with the norms of African traditional culture before it was tainted by the decadent European culture (line 29-30),

in which the use of the word "before" introduces the presupposition that African culture has been "tainted" by European culture; and

- (13) Is President Mugabe wrong when he says, "If dogs and pigs do not do it, why should human beings?" (line 20-21),

which refers to Robert Mugabe as a reliable source, and then presupposes that his condemnation of homosexuality is sufficient reason to challenge gay liberation.

Local coherence

The content of the letter is attributed in such a way that it appears to be important and relevant. The propositional content articulates typical relationships of local coherence in terms of dismissing homosexuality as wholly objectionable, but in paragraph 6, there appears to be a contradiction. Here,

the author appears to show sympathy rather than blunt condemnation. This can also be read as an attempt to save face in view of possibly dissenting readers. The tolerance expressed in (14) is strongly in contrast with the intolerant ideology expressed in the rest of the letter.

(14) It seems fair to sympathise with homosexuals (line 15)

Attribution

As discussed above, the author's use of attribution lends credibility to his arguments, and marks them as important. The intolerant propositions expressed in the letter are variously attributed to authoritative people or institutions such as Robert Mugabe, African culture, traditional healers, psychiatrists and psychologists, the Bible, and the author, who identifies himself as a doctor. This strategy is fortified by the accompanying image of Robert Mugabe, and the caption, given in (15), as well as the direct quotations used in the article.

(15) President Mugabe... sees no place for homosexuality in an African context (line 10)

The diverse sources are used to afford credibility and to increase the chances that readers will align themselves with the author. This increases the likelihood that readers will form mental models similar to the author's preferred model (cf. section 3.4.4).

Interestingly, while the title and leading paragraph of the letter refers to gay rights, homosexuality is not framed in terms of rights elsewhere in the article. The author's allusion to gay rights marks his letter as newsworthy in those terms; yet, he soon departs from that master frame. Further, the author's explicit reference to Robert Mugabe's condemnation of homosexuality relates the matter of gay (in)tolerance to a wider public agenda. Mugabe is presented as an authoritative source; however, this is unlikely to have the desired framing effect of raising the credibility of the author's position. Many South Africans had come to doubt Mugabe's leadership at the time of publication. Thus while the frame of homosexuality being unAfrican was available, accessible and important to constituents, its applicability is likely to be decreased to due Mugabe's ever worsening reputation.

Framing and counterframing

Homosexuality is directly topicalised and presented within an UnAfrican master frame in which religious, medicalising and naturalness frames are implemented alongside cultural ones intended at establishing gay-intolerant attitudes. The heading to the letter, selected not by the writer, but by the *City Press* subeditor, foregrounds the word “help” and so suggests a measure of sympathy and tolerance, until the contrast with “rights” becomes evident. The content of the letter is an expression of author alignment firmly against the gay liberation movement. Writers of letters to the editor are not subject to the same contextual constraints as authors of articles; nevertheless, the subeditor does have the power to withhold publication if, for example, the content is abusive or would comprise hate speech. The subeditor may publish letters with content that is not supported by editorial policy, but that will hold some advantage such as to stimulate debate and so improve circulation. The letter selected here explicitly gives textual expressions of an ideology that other genres of news media would not carry. This affords an opportunity to analyse a combination of religious, medicalising, unnaturalness and cultural master frames as they are used in homophobic discourse that the media would hardly itself articulate.

Despite the fact that the author aligns himself against the gay liberation movement, he implements both the injustice component of the diagnostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2), in which, in a denial of scientific knowledge, he identifies

(16) droughts and other natural disasters (line 12)

as results of homosexuality, and the attributional component, in which he implies that “homosexuals” are the perpetrators of this kind of injustice (line 13). Building on this diagnostic frame, the author’s prognostic frame suggests that homosexuals can be “cured” (line 8), and that

(17) psychiatrists and psychologists should be solicited to understand the causes (line 16-17).

In spite of references to “help” and “cure”, the prognostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) appears to be a strategy aimed at saving face rather than a genuine, mobilising “plan of action”. As discussed above in section 3.6.3, overemphasising the diagnostic frame at the cost of the

prognostic frame places the resonance of the frame at risk. In contrast to this relatively vague prognostic task, the author implements a detailed motivational framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) in which he refers to African cultural norms (line 6-7) as well as Biblical principles (line 25), which constitute the frame alignment tasks of bridging, belief amplification and value amplification (cf. section 3.6.6).

6.2.2 *Black gays fight for self-determination – 22 September 2002*

The second *City Press* article selected for analysis is titled “Black gays fight for self-determination” (cf. Appendix G). This article was published on the 22nd of September 2002, and has been selected for closer attention due to its focus on black attitudes towards and experiences of homosexuality.

Context

The social and political changes that had taken place since the publication of the 1999 article of Reverend Joe Mdhlela discussed directly above, include the legalisation of adoption by gay and lesbian parents, which many saw as the final hurdle before the legalisation of gay marriage. The article topicalises homosexuality directly, and makes use of a rights master frame in which (in)tolerance is topicalised. Further, the article frames homosexuality in terms of culture, victimisation and pride. The article clearly aims to keep the discourse on gay rights and gay tolerance on the public agenda. Considering events such as the closure of the oldest gay bar in Johannesburg, and wider discourses on racial inequality, the topic remained a newsworthy one.

Macropropositional content

Consideration of the macropropositional content of the article reveals that the author uses the personal narratives of four gay and lesbian South Africans in order to draw attention to the continuing “condemnation and marginalisation of homosexuality” (line 5) in many African families and communities. The author, Nahima Ahmed, aligns herself in support of better recognition of gay rights and gay liberation.

Individual lexical items and modified phrases

This ideological alignment is evidenced in the prominence afforded to various arguments and in several textual elements employed throughout the article, including individual and modified lexical items. Examples of such elements include individual lexical items such as “struggle” (line 3), “marginalization” (line 5), “human rights” (line 6), “freedom” (line 10), “respect” (line 10), and “dignity” (line 10), and examples of modified phrases are given in (18) and (19):

- (18) Despite the fact that the progressive constitution of the country recognises their “human rights”, homosexuals and lesbians continue to be subjected to humiliation in the name of religion and the so-called African culture (line 7-9)
- (19) ... gays and lesbians have plucked up enough courage to assert not only their rights but their freedom to live with respect and dignity (line 10-11)

Both the individual lexical items and the modified phrases identified above frame homosexuality in terms of democracy, constitutionality and human rights, which increases the likelihood of the readers forming a mental model (cf. section 3.4.4.2) that is similar to that of the author.

Implication

The author makes use of implied and presupposed meanings in order to increase the likelihood that the reader will form a preferred model that is similar to her own. To illustrate the use of implicature, consider (20).

- (20) Despite the fact that the progressive constitution of the country recognises their “human rights”, homosexuals and lesbians continue to be subjected to humiliation in the name of religion and the so-called African culture (line 7-9) (=18)

The inverted commas placed around the words “human rights” implies that these rights exist in name only. A second example of implication can be found in the same paragraph, in which the words “so-called” in the phrase “so-called African culture” implies that the author does not

believe that homophobic attitudes are based on cultural objections. Other examples of implicature are cited in (21) to (26):

- (21) ... gays and lesbians have plucked up enough courage to assert not only their rights but their freedom to live with respect and dignity (line 10-11) (=111)
- (22) My parents were very strict Christians and traditionalists. They just couldn't accept it when I said I was gay (line 21-22)
- (23) This 35-year old man got no support from his parents after confiding in them about his love for the same sex (line 23-24)
- (24) This has seen some enlightened families embracing their gay offspring with love and understanding (line 31-32)
- (25) Jacky Mukwevho is a proud lesbian, despite the hard moments she encountered at the hands of her family and school teachers (line 41-42)
- (26) African parents who have a clear picture of homosexuality and understand its biological roots handle their gay sons in a warm, parental manner (line 64-65)

In (21), the words “plucked up enough courage” imply that fighting for gay rights is scary. Mhlongo's reference to his parents' religious and cultural values, in (22), implies that these factors contributed to their intolerance. The word “confiding” in (23) implies that Mhlongo's parents betrayed the trust he placed in them, whereas the phrasing of the first part of the sentence in (24) implies that “enlightened families” are more likely to “embrace their gay offspring”. “Despite” in (25) implies that intolerance hinders gay pride, and in which the phrasing of the paragraph of which (26) forms part implies that tolerance increases with understanding.

Presupposition

In addition to the implications discussed above, the author makes use of several presuppositions in which opinions are presented as agreed upon facts. To illustrate the use of implicature, the following can be cited:

- (27) Nahima Ahmed went out to capture their struggle for identity and self-determination (line 3-4),

in which the possessive article “their” presupposes the construction of gay rights as a “struggle”;

- (28) No factor is more noticeable in family and community relations in the African society than the condemnation and marginalisation of homosexuality (line 5-6),

in which the definite article “the” presupposes that gay and lesbian South Africans face “condemnation and marginalization”;

- (29) homosexuals and lesbians continue to be subjected to humiliation in the name of religion and the so-called African culture (line 8-9),

in which the word “continue” presupposes that gay and lesbians are currently “subjected to humiliation in the name of religion and the so-called African culture”;

- (30) Observations reveal that behind the scenes families have not only been torn apart but forced to confront the issue in a manner that has left some members scarred for life (line 12-13),

in which the words “not only” presuppose that “families have been torn apart”; and

- (31) The truth is not every woman was meant for a man (line 58-59),

in which the words “the truth is” presuppose the validity of the claim that follows, namely that “not every woman was meant for a man”.

Local coherence

While the article’s macropropositions demonstrate typical relationships of local coherence, the relationship of contrast demonstrated in paragraphs 38 and 39 is worthy of examination:

- (32) Africans, unlike other societies, do not accept homosexuality and view the whole thing as an immoral, unAfrican practice that came with the westerners that came to settle in Africa. On the other hand, homosexuals have a positive attitude in their

mission to defeat the negative criticism that comes from homophobic individuals
(line 79-82)

As is typically the case with relations of contrast, the negative behaviour of the out-group, which is identified as “Africans [who] do not accept homosexuality” is contrasted with the positive behaviour of the in-group, which is identified as gays and lesbians who have a “mission to defeat the negative criticism that comes from homophobic individuals”. Further, while the author does not employ many rhetorical devices in the article, the last paragraph contains a powerful metaphor in which homophobic individuals are referred to as “little Mugabes” (line 84). The connotations of such a comparison are clearly negative, as the South African press had distanced itself from Mugabe’s fundamentalist, disparaging ideology on gay citizenship by this time, constructing it as extremist and unconstitutional.

Attribution

The author’s attributive strategies provide further evidence of her ideological alignment, as she characterises tolerant sources as “proud” (line 40) and “courageous” (line 9) individuals who have “dismissed” (line 15) homophobic sentiments and “educated their families” (line 16) whereas intolerant sources are characterised as “little Mugabes” that “claim” that “being gay is against African culture” (line 27). Such characterisations are likely to influence the credibility of arguments put forth by the abovementioned groups as the credibility of sources acts as a moderator on framing effects, as well as impacting the frame’s resonance.

Framing

An analysis of the article’s diagnostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) reveals that the the injustice and attributional components identify black gays and lesbians as the victims of homophobic attitudes that are based on perceptions of “African culture” (line 9). Further, the prognostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) appears to be aimed at gays and lesbians as it encourages them to “assert their rights” (line 10). The concept of “asserting rights” is one that is likely to have been resonant at the time of publication, as it related strongly to the experiences of many readers. The motivational framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) is implemented more extensively

than the diagnostic and prognostic framing tasks as it is based on the personal narratives of suffering and rejection that make up the bulk of the article's volume. In contrast to the relatively implicit framing tasks, the article attempts to implement a domain specific frame transformation (cf. section 3.6.6) in which currently dominant perspectives is challenged.

6.2.3 Religion

The following section will present an analysis of the textual elements that were used to articulate anti-gay rights frames, as well as pro-gay rights counterframes. As mentioned above, the frame that was most commonly used to express intolerant sentiments in the *City Press* data was "religion", followed by "morality" and "nature", with 47% of the religious frames found in the *City Press* corpus being used to express intolerant sentiments and 39% being used to express tolerant sentiments.

Framing intolerance in terms of religion

The third publication selected for qualitative analysis is titled "Homosexuality is all in the individual's mind" (cf. Appendix E), and contains several textual elements that frame anti-gay rights arguments in terms of religion. The article was published on the 22nd of September 1996, and is selected with a view to illustrating the implementation of a religious frame.

Context

By 1996, when the article was published, gay rights lobbyists in South Africa had made significant progress, as in the decision of the Constitutional Assembly to entrench gay rights in the final draft of Constitution. The article topicalises homosexuality directly, and makes use of a religious master frame in which the medicalisation of homosexuality is rationalised. Further, the article frames homosexuality in terms of rights, ethics, naturalness, choice and tolerance.

Macropropositional content

The author of this article is identified in the byline as Reverend Lebamang Sebidi. In the opening

paragraph, the author refers to the constitutional ban on discrimination based on sexual orientation, and initially appears to be presenting a balanced account of two opposing attitudes towards gay liberation. However, soon it becomes apparent that he aligns himself against the gay liberation movement. Consideration of the macropropositions of the article reveals intolerant attitudes to be represented in 13 of the 17 paragraphs. Not only are intolerant arguments presented first, they are also foregrounded in the text and marked as important.

Individual lexical items and modified phrases

Individual lexical items that are used to topicalise homosexuality in such terms include “sinful” (line 12), “abomination” (line 19), “sodomites” (line 20), “sin” (line 35), “aberration” (line 46). Several modified phrases contribute to this construction of homosexuality, including (33) and (34):

(33) It is a distortion of God’s creative intent (line 13)

(34) God did not create this inclination (line 38)

Implication

In addition to the explicit propositions discussed above, the author makes use of several implications and presuppositions throughout the article. To illustrate the use of implicature, consider (35), which contains an implication that also serves as a necessity modality. The use of the word “exempt” in this context implies that the church is under some obligation to moralise homosexuality, thereby implying a necessity modality similar to those discussed above in section 4.7.2.

(35) this ban does not exempt churches from trying to clarify their understanding of the ethical intricacies concerning homosexuality (line 44)

Attribution

The author’s use of attribution further compounds the expression of an intolerant ideology throughout the article. In paragraphs 5 to 8, the author defends arguments that deny gay rights and that construct being gay as being immoral, as seen in (36) and (37).

- (36) It is a distortion of God's creative intent (line 13)
- (37) "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor homosexuals, nor sodomites will inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor: 6:9) (line 20)

In (36) and (37), the Bible is used as an authorising voice. In paragraphs 9 to 11, where a more tolerant attitude is introduced, no similar attribution or citation of authority is given. The use of direct Biblical quotes in lines 19-21 are intended to lend further credibility to the intolerant tone of the article as the religion frame is available, accessible and applicable to a large number of readers. For many South Africans, adherence to Christian principles is a central consideration in deciding on values; this is important in calculating the effect of Biblical citations as authority. Further, the identification of the author with the title "Reverend" and as the executive director of the Trust for Educational Advancement in South Africa enables the author's religious and political credentials to lend further credibility to his preferred model, thereby increasing the resonance of the intolerant sentiments expressed in the letter.

Framing

The quoted material above shows that the letter's motivational framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) is based largely on Biblical scriptures. In addition to this framing task, the author makes use of bridging and amplification (cf. section 3.6.6) frame alignment processes in which religious beliefs and values are emphasised, for example in (38) and (39):

- (38) homosexuality is sinful (line 12)
- (39) God did not create this inclination (line 38) (=34)

The author's emphasis of religious values constructs a form of socio-logic in which the issue frames of religion and tolerance are constructed as valence frames.

Counterframing religious arguments

The fourth *City Press* publication selected for qualitative analysis is an article titled "Time for church to speak up for gays" (cf. Appendix F). The article was selected for analysis on the basis

of its counterframing of religious intolerance, which is primarily articulated in terms of tolerant religious arguments. The article topicalises homosexuality directly, using religious frames with the apparent intended effect of welcoming gay citizens into religious communities. Further, the article frames homosexuality in terms of tolerance, liberation and apartheid.

Context

The article was published in a period that saw the decriminalisation of sodomy and court rulings that guaranteed equal pension benefits to citizens and immigration rights to all, regardless of sexual orientation. By 1999, when this article was published, the social and political landscape in the country had changed considerably for gay and lesbian citizens following the acceptance and implementation of the new Constitution.

Macropropositional content

Consideration of the macropropositional content of the article reveals that the author, identified as Reverend Joe Mdhlela, aligns himself with the gay liberation movement, and calls for tolerance and acceptance of homosexuality in South African churches.

Individual lexical items and modified phrases

Individual lexical items that are used to topicalise the church's attitude towards homosexuality include "homophobia" (line 4), "judgment" (line 5), "pontificate" (line 6), "deify" (line 6), "marginalised" (line 16), "solidarity" (line 22), "apartheid" (line 24), "discrimination" (line 24), "condemn" (line 26), "defend" (line 28), "pain" (line 31), "tyranny" (line 34), "injustice" (line 36), "unchallenged" (line 40), and "subjective" (line 45). Further, modified phrases add to this, for example those given in (40) to (43) below:

(40) homophobia in the household of the Lord [is] uncalled for (line 3)

(41) we have no right... to sit on the judgement seat and pontificated against gay and lesbian people. To do so would be to deify our opinions (line 5-6)

- (42) the Church has failed to speak up for the gay and lesbian community, preferring instead to condemn them as a sinning community not worthy of God's love (line 24-25)
- (43) opinions have been passed on as facts that have dangerously marginalised the people God created in his own image (line 41-42)

Implication

Additionally, several implications and presuppositions are found throughout the article, allowing the author to imply and assume several meanings without expressing them directly. To illustrate the use of implicature, the following can be cited:

- (44) homophobia in the household of the Lord [is] uncalled for (line 3)
- (45) And yet, today there are those who speak as though they know the mind of God (line 10)
- (46) Is it not that even the priests in churches and parishes are not prepared to raise a finger in solidarity with the gay and lesbian community because they would be seen as imperfect people? (line 20-21)
- (47) The same priests who preached long and angry sermons about the evils of apartheid and discrimination now speak tentatively, if at all, about gay and lesbian issues (line 22-23)
- (48) Is it not perhaps time that the Church was reminded of the days of Lemuel, King of Massa, who was taught by his mother to "open your mouth, pronounce just sentences, and defend the needy" (line 24-25)

In (44), it is implied that certain members of the church are homophobic. The words "as though" in (45) imply that one cannot know the mind of God; and the word "even" in the phrase "even priests in churches and parishes" (cf. (46)) implies that priests are more obliged than other individuals to defend gay rights, whereas the words "the same" in (47) indicate that it is hypocritical to ignore gay rights if one defends black rights; and the word "reminded" in (48) implies that the church has forgotten that its purpose is to defend the needy.

Presupposition

An example of a presupposed meaning can be found in (49), in which the words “must begin to warm up” presuppose that the church has been cold towards the gay and lesbian community, and in which the definite article “the” presupposes that the gay and lesbian community endures “ridicule and pain”. A final presupposition, given in (50), can be found in paragraph 14, in which the phrasing presupposes that God created gays and lesbians, and by extension, homosexuality.

(49) the Church must begin to warm up and be ready to defend the gay and lesbian community from the ridicule and pain this community endures (line 29-30)

(50) opinions have been passed on as facts that have dangerously marginalised the people God created in his own image (line 41-42)

Local coherence

While, in terms of content, the article is largely dedicated to the author’s opinions, the prominence afforded to the contents of Reverend Maze’s sermon marks its importance. Further, while the macropropositions largely display the typical relationships of local coherence, the use of a disclaimer in paragraph 15 disrupts this coherence:

(51) I might be that we see gay and lesbian people as behaving in an “abominable and ungodly” way. But that remains our subjective view about them (line 41-42)

Characteristic of disclaimers, the first part of the proposition expresses a concession that is not reflected in the second half of the proposition, nor in the bulk of the text. Moreover, the position of the concession near the end of the article marks it as less important and possibly irrelevant. It is clear that the author makes use of this apparent concession in an attempt to reduce the extent to which his opinions may be face-threatening to the reader, rather than in a genuine attempt to validate homophobic ideologies.

Rhetorical devices

In addition to the textual elements discussed above, the author implements several rhetorical devices which appear to be aimed at rendering the text more appealing and persuasive. Examples include the use of rhetorical questions, such as those in (52) and (53).

- (52) Is it not that even the priests in churches and parishes are not prepared to raise a finger in solidarity with the gay and lesbian community because they would be seen as imperfect people? (line 20-21) (=46)
- (53) And what about the church? (line 36)

Further, the use of metaphor can be seen in paragraph 6, in which the author asks whether priests are prepared to “raise a finger” in solidarity with the gay liberation movement (line 20). The metaphor is used strategically to draw attention to the small amount of effort that would be required of the church, as well as that the church is currently unwilling to make even that amount of effort. A second metaphor can be found in paragraph 17:

- (54) all opinions that have for generations been layered in sanctified language are nothing but subjective opinions that really need to be thrown out of the window (line 20-21)

This metaphor emphasises the author’s view that there is no place for homophobic sentiments, and employs a necessity modality in the use of the words “need to”.

Attribution

While the author of the article is afforded credibility by his status as a man of the cloth/pastor/religious leader, he attributes large parts of the article to Reverend Larry Maze, who he describes as “wonderful” (line 7), “compassionate” (line 8), and “good” (line 16). Further, the author makes use of characterising verbs in his attribution of the quotations, including “preached” (line 10), “expressed sadness”(line 16) and “as the bishop correctly put it” (line 46). Finally, paragraphs 14 to 16 demonstrate a pattern identified by Scollon (1998) and discussed in section 3.6 above in which propositions following a direct quotation are ambiguously voiced, in the sense that the reader is not able to ascertain whether the content of the phrases should be

attributed to the quoted source or to the author of the article. Such strategies lend credibility to propositions that may otherwise be rejected by the reader.

Framing

An analysis of the article's framing tasks reveals that the author implements both the injustice and the attributional components of the diagnostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2), in which he identifies gays and lesbians as the victims of the church's intolerance. Further, the prognostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) counterframes religious arguments in which people "speak as if they know the mind of God", and proposes that "the Church must begin to warm up". The motivational framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) draws heavily on liberation discourse, which reveals the implementation of the frame alignment processes of bridging and belief amplification (cf. section 3.6.6). As discussed above in section 3.7.2, arguments framed in terms of liberation discourse were high in experiential commensurability and narrative fidelity at the time of publication, and therefore likely to be more resonant.

6.2.4 Rights

The following section will present an analysis of the textual elements that were used to articulate pro-gay rights frames, as well as anti-gay rights counterframes. As mentioned above, the frame that was most commonly used to express tolerant sentiments in the *City Press* data was "rights", followed by "equality" and "homophobic victimisation", with 57% of the "rights" frames found in the *City Press* corpus being used to express tolerant sentiments, and 25% being used to express intolerant sentiments.

Framing tolerance in terms of rights

The fifth *City Press* article selected for qualitative analysis, titled "Gay and Proud!" (cf. Appendix B), has been selected for analysis as it illustrates the implementation of a tolerance frame which is largely realised through the introduction of Simon Nkoli's narrative. The article was published on 14 October 1990, which adds salience to the author's use of anti-apartheid discourse as the political environment at the time of publication was transformative.

Context

The social and political climate in South Africa had changed considerably between 1984 and 1990, thus in the years between the publication of the article discussed in 7.1.1 and this one. The unbanning of the ANC in 1990 after five years of a State of Emergency, that were marked by brutal state repression of political protesters, contributed significantly to such change. Two events of great importance to the gay liberation movement had taken place in these years, namely the founding of GLOW and the ANC's decision to include protection from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in its proposed Bill of Rights.

The 1990 article topicalises homosexuality directly, and makes use of a tolerance master frame in which Simon Nkoli's personal narrative is used to raise awareness for gay liberation and "pride" on the public agenda. Further, the article shows how homosexuality has been framed in terms of mental illness, rights, apartheid, stigma, race, criminalisation, discrimination, religion, victimisation, celebration, visibility and pride; its own framing is primarily aimed at mediating between perceptions that stigmatise or criminalise and perceptions that respect rights and counter discrimination. The intention of the article, in terms of social movement, is to intervene in favour of a more tolerant (if not celebratory) attitude.

Macropropositional content

The macropropositional content of "GAY and PROUD!" has two foci: the first details Nkoli's own historical alignment with both black and gay liberation, and the second topicalises Nkoli's vision for gay liberation in South Africa. The article pays equal attention to each of these two macropropositions, and the chosen textual and ideological features make it clear that the author aligns himself with Nkoli personally as well as with the gay liberation movement. In keeping with this position, Nkoli's historical alignment with the anti-apartheid movement is given prominence, thereby increasing the likelihood that *City Press's* largely black readership will relate their position against racial discrimination to the position against discrimination of gays. The analysis below will highlight the devices used in the communication of such content, to achieve the intended framing effects.

Individual lexical items

Individual lexical items that are used to topicalise homosexuality in such terms include descriptions of Simon Nkoli as a “leader” (line 16), an “activist” (line 20), a “campaigner” (line 21), a “comrade” (line 59), an “acknowledged” person (line 21) who is “honoured” (line 21), “feted” (line 22) and “prominent” (line 44).

Modified phrases

In adjectival phrases, modified lexical items contribute to the textual construction of Nkoli, referring to him in the following manner:

- (55) the former Delmas Treason Trialist (line 5)
- (56) a leading member of COSAS (line 6)
- (57) a member of the ANC” (line 16)
- (58) an anti-apartheid activist (line 20)
- (59) a gay and lesbian rights campaigner (line 20)
- (60) a person held in high esteem by civic and political movements (line 27-28)
- (61) a prominent black homosexual in apartheid South Africa (line 44)

These supportively framed descriptions of Nkoli provide the textual context against which the propositions presented in the second half of the article are to be read. The second half articulates the possibly more contentious attitudes of the author in his recount of Nkoli’s views on gay rights and gay liberation.

Implication and presupposition

Nkoli’s position on gay rights is presented as newsworthy here in that the article reports on South Africa’s first gay pride march, of which he was the principal organiser. This context allows the author a rare chance to present content which voices a pro-gay ideology directly in news discourse without having to revert to indirect discursive strategies such as implicature and

presupposition. Examples of language that allow this textual (re)production of an ideological agenda include uses of modified phrases such as those in (62) and (63):

- (62) Nkoli would like to see gays and lesbians treated equally before the law and victimisation stopped (line 64-65)
- (63) The march was aimed to dispel the myth surrounding black gays and lesbians in the community and to make people aware that being gay or lesbian was not a sin but the right of the individual to choose sexual partners (line 76-78)

Attribution

Further evidence of the mobilising nature of the article is the extent to which power elites are cited as supporters of the gay liberation movement. Specifically named elites include the ANC, People Opposing Women Abuse, an “authority on gay politics” (line 88), Albie Sachs, Edwin Cameron, and DRC minister Hendrik Pretorius. Sachs is quoted as having said that

- (64) the ANC would like to see a new constitution that guaranteed the gay and lesbian community full protection against any form of discrimination, harassment or abuse because of their sexual orientation (line 91-93)

Additionally, the author refers to “supporters from Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Botswana and other part of Africa” (line 18-19), “gay movements and leading politicians worldwide” (line 22), the mayors of New York, Columbia and San Francisco in the US” (lines 23-26) and “gay, anti-apartheid and human rights organisations” (line 58-59) abroad, all of whom support(ed) the gay liberation movement in South Africa. As discussed in chapter 3, the credibility of frame articulators (cf. section 3.6.4) plays a role in determining the resonance of the frame, thus the author’s reference to credible political leaders and organisations is likely to add to the article’s mobilising potency.

Framing and counterframing

The article performs particular framing tasks in a number of ways. In detailing how homophobia influences South African gays and lesbians, the author implements the injustice component of

the diagnostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2). Who the perpetrators of such injustices are, is only implied, thus there is no attribution that could implicate possibly prejudiced readers. In proposing changes and solutions to the injustices identified by diagnostic framing, the prognostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) is performed in a manner that avoids possible counterframing (cf. section 3.6). In referring to “a new South Africa” (line 102) that is likely to appeal to a broad readership a motivational framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) is performed. Given the wider political landscape, such a frame is available, accessible, and applicable, as well as culturally believable and salient in terms of narrative fidelity and experiential commensurability of the average reader. The frame alignment processes that are visible in the article include frame bridging (cf. section 3.6.6), in which the author reaches out to unmobilised individuals that already share the movement’s core perspective; frame extension (cf. section 3.6.6) in which existing beliefs and values about gay tolerance are amplified, such as the gay liberation movement expressing an interest in advancing

(65) human rights in a new South Africa (line 101-102);

and domain specific frame transformation (cf. section 3.6.6) for opponents of the gay liberation movement, as the article encourages acceptance and tolerance of homosexuality, such as Nkoli’s statement that the gay pride march was

(66) aimed to dispel the myth surrounding black gays and lesbians in the community (line 77-78).

As evidenced in Nkoli’s utterances cited in (62) and (63), the article is mobilising in nature. This mobilisation is visible in the implementation of a number of framing tasks throughout the article, such as the diagnostic framing (69), the prognostic framing (68) and (70), and the motivational framing (67) and (71).

(67) attitudes against gays and lesbians are changing for the better in South Africa (line 59-60)

(68) the new generation [is] more enlightened and better equipped to accept gays and lesbians (line 60-61)

(69) the stigma attached to people who love people of the same sex (line 28-29)

- (70) Nkoli would like to see gays and lesbians treated equally and victimisation stopped
(line 64-65) (=21)
- (71) only with such unity can we join the coalition of all progressive organisations calling
for human rights in a new South Africa (line 100-101)

Counterframing rights arguments

The sixth *City Press* publication selected for analysis is a letter under the heading “The myth of homosexuality” (cf. Appendix H). The letter was published on the 29th of May 2005, and has been selected for discussion due to the way in which the author makes use of an anti-apartheid frame to deny gay rights.

Context

While the *Minister of Home Affairs and Another v. Fourie and Another* case (cf. section 2.7) had not yet taken place, the inevitability of the legalisation of gay marriage was widely known and topicalised at the time of publication. Perhaps in response to this context, the letter, written by Dr Motsoko Pheko (also see section 6.2.1), topicalises homosexuality directly, and makes use of an anti-gay rights master frame in which religious, cultural and naturalness frames are implemented alongside arguments against gay rights.

Macropropositional content

The heading chosen by the sub-editor of the letter summarises the macro proposition which questions the legitimacy of claims to gay rights. This letter, quite outspoken in articulating a position intolerant of public arguments in favour of equality and dignity for gays, has the same author as the letter published under the heading “Gays need help, not rights” ten years earlier, and discussed above in section 6.2.1.

Individual lexical items and modified phrases

Individual lexical items that are used to topicalise homosexuality in such terms include terms such as “aberration” (line 6), “European values” (line 7), “colonization” (line 7), and “frowned upon” (line 41). Further, gay rights claims are dismissed as “propaganda” (line 9), “lies” (line 26) and “myth” (line 30) as the author denies the existence of a substantial gay community in South Africa, as well as the tolerance of homosexuality in any religion or culture. The author contrasts gay rights claims with those of “traditional leaders” (line 15), “former freedom fighters” (line 16), “the poor” (line 17), “the unemployed” (line 18), “the victims of HIV/AIDS” (line 18), “the landless” (line 18) and “those who can’t afford education” (line 18), claiming that

- (72) homosexuals could not be found anywhere in the country during the liberation struggle against apartheid (line 19-20).

Implication

As is the case with the author’s previous contribution (cf. section 6.2.1), the present letter is rife with implied and presupposed meaning, all of which gives substance to his claim that gay rights should not be placed on the public agenda. To illustrate the use of implicature, the following can be cited:

- (73) In America leaders of homosexuals claimed that they were 10 percent of the population (line 9-10),

in which the word “claimed” casts doubt on the figures reported by “leaders of homosexuals”. A second implication is found in the same paragraph:

- (74) This was an attempt to make the public believe that homosexuals are fighting against discrimination and violation of their minority rights (line 11-12),

in which the words “make the public believe that” imply that the gay community is not “fighting against discrimination and violation of their minority rights”. Further implications include:

- (75) In fact, in South Africa the rights of homosexuals are better stated in the Constitution Section 9(3) than those of African Traditional Leaders in Sections 211 and 212 of the Constitution (line 14-15),

in which the words “in fact” imply that traditional leaders, freedom fighters and all others groups named above are more deserving of human rights than gays and lesbians;

- (76) The paradox is that homosexuals could not be found anywhere in this country during the liberation struggle against apartheid and colonialism (line 19-20) (=72),

in which the word “paradox” implies that gays and lesbians do not deserve rights as the author claims that they did not participate in the country’s broader liberation struggle;

- (77) homosexuals have huge amounts of money to go to the highest courts of this land to fight for the legalisation of “same sex marriages” (line 22-23),

in which the author’s reference to the “huge amounts of money” dedicated to fighting for gay rights is used to imply that wealthy individuals’ rights claims are less valid than those of poor individuals. This implication is strengthened by the use of the word “even” (line 23) in the same paragraph, as it implies that land evictions are more important than gay rights. Further, the construction of the phrase:

- (78) Many people in America have bought into these rights (line 29),

implies that the decision to respect gay rights was not well thought through.

Presupposition

In addition to the implications discussed above, the author makes use of several instances of presupposed meaning in which opinions are presented as agreed-upon facts. To illustrate the use of presupposition, the following can be cited:

(79) The paradox is that homosexuals could not be found anywhere in this country during the liberation struggle against apartheid and colonialism (line 19-20) (=71)

(80) these gay rights which are contradicted by scientific research (line 19-20)

In (79), “that” in the first sentence presupposes the absence of gays and lesbians in South Africa’s anti-apartheid struggle, and in (80) the word “which” presupposes that gay rights are “contradicted by scientific research”.

Attribution

Although the letter under discussion contains several false claims, including the claim that

(81) all cultures of the world have been heterosexual in sex and marriage (line 37-38)

the author cites several authoritative sources to lend credibility to his argument, including the South African Constitution (line 14), “research” (line 10) , “scientific research” (line 29-30), “scientific proof” (line 36), and “anthropology” (line 37), which is likely to enhance the resonance of his arguments. Further, claims in favour of gay rights are dismissed as “desperate attempts” (line 5), “propaganda” (line 9), “claims” (10), “lies” (line 26), and “myth” (line 30), which increases the likelihood that the reader will form a mental model that is similar to the author’s preferred model.

Framing

An analysis of the letter’s framing tasks reveals that the author implements a diagnostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) in which gays and lesbians are identified as the perpetrators of an injustice as they are using their wealth to fight for rights that are not available to poverty stricken South Africans (line 22-23), which the author constructs as “more deserving”. This framing task is likely to contribute to the resonance of the letter as the “poverty narrative” is high in experiential commensurability (cf. section 3.7.1).

6.2.5 Tolerance

The following section will present an analysis of the textual elements that were used to articulate (in)tolerance frames in which (in)tolerance of homosexuality was topicalised. As mentioned above, the issue that was raised most commonly in connection to homosexuality in the *City Press* discourse was “(in)tolerance”, followed by “gender” and “marriage”.

The seventh article selected for qualitative analysis is titled “It’s OK to be gay: Homosexuals don’t need a cure say the experts” (cf. Appendix A). The article, written by the “Home Press Doctor” was published in September 1984, thus in the second year of the newspaper’s establishment, and was selected due to the editorial decision to publish an article topicalising black homosexuality in a time where it was largely silenced.

Context

Although homosexuality was still criminalised in the country at the time of this publication, South Africa’s gay liberation movement had started to gain momentum with the establishment of GASA in 1982, and Nkoli’s establishment of “The Saturday Group” in 1984 helped to place the issue of black homosexuality on the public agenda.

Macropropositional contents

Consideration of the article’s macropropositional content reveals that the article in question topicalises homosexuality directly, making use of a small story about a young lesbian (given the pseudonym “Amanda”) coming to terms with her sexuality in order to introduce the topics of homosexuality, self-acceptance and gay tolerance. It makes use of a tolerance master frame, and thus is aimed at changing the attitude of the readers to being more tolerant and more accommodating of gay people. It also addresses gay individuals, encouraging them to explore and accept their sexuality. Further, it uses a personal narrative to make the story more compelling and persuasive. In the process, the article frames homosexuality in terms of medicalisation, nature, legal issues, morality, circumstantial homosexuality and “coming out”.

Individual lexical items

Individual lexical items that are used to topicalise homosexuality in such terms include “unsure” (line 3), “unfulfilled” (line 4), “outcast” (line 7), “rejected” (line 10), “stuck” (line 11) and “scared” (line 11), all of which are used to describe Amanda, the subject of the questioning/gay narrative that is presented at the beginning of the article. Further examples include the words “abnormal” (line 16), “immature” (line 16), “immoral” (line 16), “sick” (line 16), “bad” (line 32) and “a problem” (line 33), all of which are used to describe the way in which South African society viewed homosexuality at the time of publication.

Modified phrases

Several modified phrases contribute to the meaning created by the individual lexical items, including the description of Amanda as

(82) a young woman who is unsure of her feelings (line 3),

who

(83) feels stuck and scared that she may not be normal (line 11),

Further, Amanda’s sexual preference is described as follows:

(84) she is not afraid of men but feels she is more attracted to women (line 5).

Lastly, societal attitudes towards homosexuality are described as in (4) and (5):

(85) a disease which needs to be, and can be cured (line 17)

(86) illegal in South Africa (line 27)

These descriptions are juxtaposed with the results of a study in which two out of three participants from 76 countries reported that they considered homosexuality to be “socially

acceptable” (line 25-26). Unlike the selection of the previous analytical device, individual lexical items, the modified phrases discussed here are not likely to cause conflicting reactions.

Implication and presupposition

The headline and byline contain examples of instances in which implications and presuppositions are used in order to strengthen the ideological stance of the author. Use of an implication is illustrated in the headline (cf. (87)) as this phrasing implies that some people are claiming that it is not okay to be gay. Use of presupposition is illustrated in the byline (cf. (88)) in which there is reference to a position in which the need for a cure for homosexuality is presupposed. While the presupposition in the byline provides context to the reader, the implication in the headline functions as a summary of the central message of the article, and therefore is intended to influence the reader’s opinion on the topic.

(87) It’s OK to be gay (line 2)

(88) Homosexuals don’t need a cure, say the experts (line 1)

A second example (presented in (89) below) is introduced in paragraph 2 where discrimination based on arguments of naturalness is presupposed:

(89) She [Amanda] will have to face the fact that people are only regarded as important if they bear children (line 8)

The presupposition embedded in (89) forms part of the prognostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) of the article, drawing attention to and challenging the belief that homosexuality is “unnatural” because it cannot lead to procreation, which forms part of the nature frame identified above. More broadly, the prognostic task of this article is to draw attention to the fact that gay individuals suffer as a result of homophobia. Considering the framing tasks realised in the article, it appears that it was primarily aimed at mobilising gay individuals, thus singling them out of the *City Press* readership and addressing them directly. This becomes apparent when one examines the diagnostic framing task(s) (cf. section 3.6.2), which are outlined in a number of paragraphs printed under the subtitle (given in (90) below) in which the author outlines the options available to gay individuals.

(90) What to do about being homosexual

The placement of Amanda's narrative at the beginning of the article marks its prominence, and communicates the importance and relevance of this information to reader. Considering the content given in various parts of the article, it appears that only one of the 20 paragraphs discusses negative perceptions others have of homosexuality, while the rest of the text is dedicated to showing how homophobia affects gay individuals, and suggesting ways of dealing with it. These ways in which various parts of this article are marked as prominent and important are likely to make the textual model which the author selected here more persuasive.

Local coherence

In addition to the textual elements discussed above, the author also makes use of relationships of local coherence in order to make his argument more persuasive. Examples of the use of such relationships can be found in paragraphs 2 and 3, where paragraph 3 gives examples of the treatment that Amanda fears, which is introduced in paragraphs 2. A second example can be found in paragraphs 6 and 7, where society's condemnation of homosexuality is contrasted with the fact that studies have shown that homosexual and heterosexual individuals are typically equally mentally healthy. A second example of contrast can be found within paragraph 10, in which South Africa's persecution of homosexuals is contrasted with countries in which they are not policed in such a way. As is characteristic of printed news discourse generally (cf. section 4.7.2.6), the relationship between the headline and the rest of the article in this case demonstrates a relationship of specification. The headline summarises the most important point(s) that the article wants to make. Given such a relationship, one can argue that the headline and byline act as macropropositions for the article.

Rhetorical devices

Analysis of the metaphors employed by the author provides further evidence of his/her preferred model (cf. section 3.4.4), as Amanda is described as feeling "stuck" (line 11), and homosexuality is topicalised in terms of "disease" (line 17) and "cure" (line 17). The metaphorical use of the word "stuck" evokes an image of an individual that needs help moving forward, and is likely to

evoke sympathy in the mind of the reader. Further, the metaphorical use of the words “disease” and “cure” medicalises homosexuality, implying that it is a mental illness that needs to be remedied. These metaphors also imply the possibility of “contamination”, creating the impression that contact with homosexual individuals may “infect” heterosexual individuals.

Attribution

In addition to the textual elements discussed above, the author’s use of citations also provides evidence of his/her preferred model. While the author attributes the arguments in favour of increased gay tolerance and acceptance to tangible, credible sources such as Amanda, “the American Psychological Association” (line 21) and “a study of 76 countries” (line 25), s/he attributes the arguments that illustrate intolerance or judgment to a nameless, faceless “some” (line 34). Further, the author of the article is identified as the “Home Press Doctor”, which lends further credibility to the tolerant propositions that make up the bulk of the article, thereby contributing to the resonance of the tolerance frame. This manner of attribution is likely to make the article’s tolerant arguments more persuasive, and the intolerant arguments less persuasive. In addition to these sources, the author provides GASA’s contact details in the last paragraph of the article, which provides further evidence of his or her ideological alignment with the gay rights movement.

Framing

Reading this article against the larger textual background of the 14 publications in the *City Press* corpus topicalising gay issues prior to this one, it is clear that the content was deemed “newsworthy” as a result of a series of letters that introduced issues of homosexuality in the previous year. Such greater textual context shows that this publication plays a role in agenda setting as it makes use of prognostic and diagnostic framing that appears to be aimed at a broad audience. An analysis of the article’s framing tasks reveals that the author emphasised the injustice component of the diagnostic framing task (cf. (91) and deemphasised the attributional component in which the perpetrators of the injustice is identified. Further, the prognostic framing task makes use of counterframing in which anti-gay rights arguments, such as the claim that gay people are “sick”, are opposed (cf. (92)).

- (91) She is likely to be treated as an outcast (line 7)
- (92) Most studies have found there is no difference in the mental health of people who are homosexual and people who are heterosexual (line 18-19)

While the diagnostic and prognostic framing tasks seem to be aimed at a broad audience, the motivational framing task is mainly focused on encouraging gays and lesbians to seek support rather than encouraging tolerance:

- (93) Being homosexual can be very lonely and many have found it very important to get support (line 49)

Finally, it should be noted that the author does not make use of frame alignment processes as the article topicalises homosexuality exclusively.

The eighth *City Press* publication selected for qualitative analysis is a letter titled “Gay-ness isn’t like flu” (cf. Appendix D). It was sent in as a response to the letter discussed above in 6.2.1. Published on the 17th of September 1995 the letter topicalises homosexuality directly by making use of tolerance frames.

Context

As has been mentioned, proponents of gay rights had achieved several victories at the time, including the Constitutional Assembly’s decision to include gay rights in the final national Constitution. Further frames that are used refer to homosexuality in terms of rights, morality and medicalisation. Due to the context in which it was published, this letter serves as an illustration of counter-framing, discussed above in section 3.6. The letter’s reference to an issue that was recently topicalised and the political context in which the letter was published renders its contents newsworthy, and that the letter is selected for publication shows that the issues of gay tolerance, gay rights and gay liberation were on the public agenda, and that the publication regarded it as worthy of public debate.

Macropropositional content

Consideration of the macropropositional content of the letter reveals that the author's main objective was to challenge the intolerant arguments put forward in the letter discussed above, and to provide alternative, tolerant arguments about gay rights and gay liberation. The author identifies herself as heterosexual, but still aligns herself firmly with the gay liberation movement, and against the author of the abovementioned letter.

Individual lexical items and modified phrases

An analysis of individual lexical items and modified propositions that are used to topicalise homosexuality in such terms provides evidence of this ideological alignment, as the author refers to the contents of the previous letter as being a “blatant judgment, condemnation, discrimination” (line 4) and to its authors as having “a holier-than-thou attitude (line 42)”, and claims that both the previous author and Robert Mugabe “have no clear understanding of these people” (line 24). Further, the author topicalises gay liberation in terms of “rights” (line 21), “fairness” (line 12), “respect” (line 15), innateness (line 38), “daring to come out” (line 47), “plight” (line 48) and “struggle” (line 48), and emphasises the fact that gays and lesbians are “human beings” (line 11) who are neither “savages” (line 23) nor “things from outer space” (line 27). The author constructs herself as a “young” (line 46), “impressionable” (line 46) “18-year old” (line 46) who professes not to understand homosexual attraction, but even so advocates for a rational and respectful treatment of others who are different. She contrasts the previous author's tone with her own, saying

(94) I am attacking his thoughts and utterances, not him, because I do not know him. But he did not think twice about judging people that he doesn't even know (line 32-33)

Implication

As is the case with other letters to the press, the relative lack of contextual constraints on the author in comparison to constraints on the editor results in rich ideological (re)production. Similar to the letter discussed above, the author of the present letter makes use of several

implications and presuppositions to make her argument more compelling. Examples of such implicit meaning making are found throughout the article.

To illustrate the use of implicature, the following can be cited:

- (95) I would like to comment on the letter by Dr Matsoko Pheko of Johannesburg which you printed on the 27th of August '95 with a bold headline saying "Gays" need help not rights" (line 32-33)

The word "bold" is used ambiguously in (95) to refer to the font and the content of the heading to Pheko's letter. The word "bold" in the second sense identified here implies that the content of the letter is controversial. Further implications can be found in the following phrases:

- (96) I am not a lesbian, but I respect all homosexuals (line 9)
(97) I personally do not understand how one woman finds herself attracted to another woman, but I respect that as it is not my duty to judge (line 13-14)

The conjunction "but" in both (96) and (97) introduces a statement that implies that such a perspective is out of the ordinary. Such an implication draws attention to the inappropriateness of an essentialising view of homosexuality in which heterosexual individuals are constructed as unwilling or unable to participate in gay discourses. Further implications are found in (98) to (101):

- (98) Dr Pheko refers to homosexuals as though they are these things from outer space that need to be kept out of our "precious society" (line 26-27)
(99) Dr Pheko's thoughts show a kind of naivety that I cannot understand for a man of his stature (line 31)
(100) Several surveys have shown that gay people may actually be born gay (line 37)
(101) I respect all homosexuals for daring to come out (line 45-46)

In (98), the author presents the words "precious society" in inverted commas to signal that she does not agree with such his moralistic characterisation of South African society, whereas "a man of his stature" in (99) implies that Pheko should be more tolerant and understanding than he is. In (100), the likely possibility that most people are born gay is used to imply that they are not

to be blamed for their sexuality, and in (101) the phrasing of the proposition “daring to come out” implies that coming out is frightening.

Presupposition

In addition to the implicatures discussed above, the author makes use of several presuppositions throughout the letter. To illustrate the use of presupposition, the following can be cited:

(102) It is blatant judgement, condemnation and discrimination against people that he doesn't even understand (line 4-5),

in which the word “that” introduces an utterance that carries a presupposition in statement form, namely that Pheko does not understand homosexuality;

(103) I personally do not understand how one woman finds herself attracted to another woman, but I respect that as it is not my duty to judge (line 13-14) (=97),

in which the word “as” is used to presuppose that people should not judge one another;

(104) They are not the savages they have been made out to be by Mugabe (line 22),

in which the phrasing of the sentence presupposes that Mugabe has likened homosexuals to savages;

(105) I think it's time we started living our lives according to our individual beliefs and not according to what society deems fit (line 43-44),

in which the word “started” presupposes that people are living their lives “according to what society deems fit”; and

(106) I understand their plight and I support their struggle (line 13-14),

in which the use of the possessive pronoun “their” presupposes that gays and lesbians are involved in a “struggle”.

Local coherence

While the content of the letter is largely consistent, the author makes use of apparent concession in the sentence in (107):

(107)I understand that people have the right to express their thoughts, but I don't think it's fair for them to express their ill feelings and intentionally hurt other people (line 11-12)

This sentence could be read as inconsistency if the disclaimer is not interpreted as such. Further, there appears to be an inconsistency in (108) where the author identifies herself as a heterosexual person advocating for the rights of homosexual people. In doing so, the author defies an expectation that only gay people would agitate for gay rights. She uses reference to her own sexual orientation strategically, as a means of countering stereotyping and emphasising that not only in-group members of the gay community care about gay liberation. In this instance, the author implements the strategic use of irrelevance by asserting her sexual preference in order to advance her ideological agenda of promoting tolerance. The contrast in (109) can also be seen as a form of apparent concession, in which a disclaimer is used to soften the tone of that which is to follow:

(108)I am not a lesbian, but I respect all homosexuals (line 9) (=96),

(109)I personally do not understand how one woman finds herself attracted to another woman, but I respect that as it is not my duty to judge (line 13-14) (=97).

Rhetorical devices

In addition to the textual devices discussed above, the author makes use of several rhetorical devices to promote her preferred model, including metaphors such as “savages” (line 23), “things from outer space” (line 27), and “hell on earth” (line 29). Further, the author implements several rhetorical questions that are designed to make the reader think about the issue under discussion, including paragraph 10, in which the author asks the questions in (110) which is intended to make the reader aware of the shortcomings of their moral frameworks, or to serve as an introduction for the author's morality, in (111) which implies that the author is of the opinion

that Pheko's contribution was "thoughtless", and in (112) which implies that people do not have the right to judge one another.

(110)What, I ask, are morals? (line 13-14)

(111)Did he even stop to think about people who do not follow any kind of religion? (line 39-40)

(112)Who gives the next person the right to judge whether or not what you are doing is morally wrong? (line 42-43)

Attribution

The ideologies (re)produced in this letter are reinforced by references to "documentaries" (line 22), "shows on TV" (line 22) and "several surveys" (line 38), but this credibility is somewhat undermined by the author's description of herself as a "young", "impressionable" "18-year old". Alternatively, the author's self-identification may be read as an implied criticism of older readers, specifically Pheko, who have not yet overcome their prejudice.

Framing and counterframing

Consideration of the textual devices discussed above shows that the letter is dedicated to framing homosexuality in terms of rights and tolerance; also, it presents a counter-frame to Pheko's arguments. An analysis of the letter with a view to disclosing how various framing tasks are performed reveals that the author implements both the injustice component, in which she identifies "blatant judgement, condemnation and discrimination" (line 4) as an injustice, as well as the attributional component, in which she identifies the author of the previous letter and Robert Mugabe as perpetrators of these injustices. Additionally, the author implements the prognostic framing task (cf. section 3.6.2) by encouraging acceptance and tolerance, and by counterframing the intolerant arguments regarding African culture that were presented in the letter of 27 August 1995. While the author focuses extensively on counterframing, the implementation of the motivational framing task is largely left implicit.

6.3 *Mail & Guardian* discourse analysed

The following section will provide detailed analyses of the articles selected from the *Mail & Guardian* corpus according to the criteria specified above. As discussed in section 6.1, the four most commonly employed frames in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus were “tolerance”, “religion”, “AIDS” and “rights”, in which tolerance frames topicalise homosexuality in terms of (in)tolerance, typically foregrounding arguments for or against gay tolerance, depending on the stance of the author; religious frames topicalise frames in terms of religion, often Christianity, typically foregrounding Biblical bases for or against gay tolerance, depending on the stance of the author; AIDS frames topicalise homosexuality in terms of its perceived connection with the HIV/AIDS epidemic; and rights frames topicalise homosexuality in terms of human rights, backgrounding or foregrounding considerations of human rights, depending on the stance of the author. The analytical devices that will be employed in the analyses include context (cf. section 4.7.2.1); individual lexical items (cf. section 4.7.2.2); modified phrases (cf. section 4.7.2.3); implication (cf. section 4.7.2.4); presupposition (cf. section 4.7.2.5); description (cf. section 4.7.2.6); local coherence (cf. section 4.7.2.7); rhetorical devices (cf. section 4.7.2.8); and attribution (cf. section 4.7.2.9). Further, the framing tasks (cf. section 3.6.2) were identified and analysed, as were the accompanying images. As discussed above, eight publications will be analysed in total, of which two illustrate the implementation of legal frames, two illustrate the implementation of religion frames, two illustrate the implementation of rights frames and two illustrate the implementation of (in)tolerance frames.

6.3.1 *Homosexuality is against the ‘Afro-renaissance’ – 13 November 1998*

The first *Mail & Guardian* letter selected for detailed analysis is titled “Homosexuality is against the Afro-renaissance” (cf. Appendix L). The letter was published on the 13th of November 1998, and was selected for analysis based on the author’s construction of homosexuality as unAfrican.

Context

Considering again South Africa’s social and political landscape at the time of the publication of this letter, after 1994 circumstances had changed significantly for gay and lesbian citizens.

Important developments were the decriminalisation of sodomy and a number of court rulings that guaranteed rights such as equal pension benefits and immigration rights to all, regardless of sexual orientation. The letter topicalises homosexuality directly, and makes use of an unAfrican master frame in which male homosexuality is constructed as incompatible with African culture. Further, the article frames homosexuality in terms of gender, circumstantial homosexuality and morality. The author constructs an in-group and out-group by making use of the collective pronouns “we” and “our” by means of which he strengthens an argument that sets groups up against one another.

Individual lexical items and modified phrases

As mentioned above in chapter 4, authors of letters to the editor are not subject to the same contextual constraints as authors of articles. This explains why letters often carry explicit textual expressions of ideologies such as those evident in (113) to (117).

- (113) Homosexuality is a deviation from “African renaissance” thought (line 2)
- (114) [Homosexuality] threatens to distort the relationship between friends (line 4-5)
- (115) Homosexuality cannot be condoned or accepted as good (line 13-14)
- (116) We can no longer allow our social lives to be controlled by European decadence (line 18)
- (117) All brothers who are homosexuals should know that they too can become committed to the collective will (line 13-14)

Such an explicit textual expression of ideologies as found in (113) is not found in other genres of printed news media. An analysis of individual lexical items and modified phrases in (114) to (117) reveals some evidence of the author’s ideological alignment.

Implication

In addition to the explicit ideological content articulated in this letter, the author conveys a large amount of implied and presupposed meanings in order to persuade the reader to adopt his preferred model. To illustrate the use of implicature, the following can be cited:

- (118) Homosexuality is a deviation from “African renaissance” thought as it makes the person evaluate his own physical needs above the teachings of national consciousness (line 2-3) (=113),

in which the author’s reference to “physical needs” implies that homosexuality is a result of physical attraction rather than psychological and emotional orientation; and

- (119) Our task in the “African renaissance” vein is to give our brothers and sisters healthy self-concepts. A male child needs encouragement in his activities. The child must feel that his manhood is attached to a mind working on important questions (line 9-10),

in which the author implies that a child becomes gay due to a lack of a “healthy self-concept”. The author further claims that a boy’s “manhood” will ensure his heterosexuality as long as his “mind [is] working on important questions”, which implies that young men become gay due to a lack of intellectual stimulation. Further implications include:

- (120) homosexuality cannot be condoned or accepted as good for the national development of a strong people (line 13-14),

in which the author implies that tolerance of homosexuality will prohibit national development, and will make South African’s “weak”;

- (121) [homosexuality] must be tolerated until such a time as our families and schools are engaged in “Afro-renaissance” instructions for males (line 13-14),

a statement that clearly implies that such instruction will eradicate homosexuality, which reinforces the author’s claim that homosexuality is a result of poor gender identity and “European decadence” rather than an innate sexual orientation. A further implication can be found within the same paragraph, in which the author’s reference to “white racism claw[ing] at the soul of black manhood” (line 15-16) implies that racism is responsible for black homosexuality, and a final implication can be found in paragraph 5, in which the author’s

reference to “the redemptive power of Afro-renaissance” (line 23-24) implies that homosexuals are sinners in need of salvation.

Presupposition

As is the case with the other letters reviewed here, the author of this letter makes much use of presupposed meaning. To illustrate the use of presupposition, (122) to (127) can be cited:

- (122) An outburst of homosexuality, fed by the prison breeding system (line 3-4)
- (123) These gays tend to live in the make-believe world of white gays (line 7-8)
- (124) we can no longer allow our social lives to be controlled by European decadence (line 18) (=116)
- (125) the time has come for us to redeem our manhood through Afro-renaissance action (line 18-19)
- (126) they too can become committed to the collective will (line 20)
- (127) The homosexual shall find the redemptive power of “Afro-renaissance” to be the magnet which pulls him back to his centre (line 23-24)

In (122), the author presupposes that “the prison breeding system” is responsible for black homosexuality, whereas in (123) he presupposes that white gays live in a “make-believe world”. This presupposition implies that black and white gays cannot work together in the struggle for gay liberation, and is in keeping with the racist tone of the letter, characterised by phrases such as “white racism” and “European decadence”. The statement in (124) presupposes that homosexuality is a Western import, as well as that homosexuality affects the lives of heterosexual South Africans, whereas that in (125) presupposes a loss of manhood, as well as that an Afro-renaissance will remedy this loss. In (126), it is presupposed that homosexuals are not committed to collective will, and in (127) that they have lost sight of their culture.

Local coherence

While the letter is fairly typical in terms of local coherence (cf. section 4.7.2.7), it should be noted that the author makes use of apparent concession (cf. section 4.7.2.7) in paragraph 4, in

which he writes that “An African renaissance perspective recognises [homosexuality’s] existence, but...” (line 12-13). As discussed above in section 4.7.2.7, formulations that express a tolerant perspective that is not representative of the author’s ideological stance are typically employed strategically in order to mask the author’s intolerant sentiments. Such a strategy to save face for the author is employed in paragraph 5, in which the author makes use of the necessity modality (see (241) below) in order to justify mobilisation against homosexuality. As is the case with apparent concession, this strategy is employed to soften and justify the author’s intolerant stance.

Framing

An analysis of the article’s framing tasks reveals that the author implements the attributional component of the diagnostic framing task by identifying gays and lesbians as the perpetrators (line 1) while the injustice component remains implicit. Similarly, the prognostic framing task is left implicit as no solution to the unidentified injustice is proposed. In contrast, the motivational framing task is implemented explicitly as the majority of the letter’s volume topicalises the ways in which homosexuality impedes the Afro-renaissance; see, for example, (128):

(128) homosexuality cannot be condoned or accepted as good for the national development of a strong people (line 13-14) (=120)

As discussed above in section 3.6.3, under-implementing the prognostic framing task places the resonance of the publication at risk as readers are left uncertain of the appropriate response to the “injustice”. Further, the letter implements the frame alignment processes of bridging (cf. (129), amplification (cf. (130), and extension (cf. (131), by emphasising existing beliefs and topicalising the anti-gay rights movement in terms of a renewal of African culture.

(129) Homosexuality is a deviation from “African renaissance” thought (line 2) (=112)

(130) homosexuality cannot be condoned or accepted as good for the national development of a strong people (line 13-14) (=119)

(131) white racism claw[ing] at the soul of black manhood (line 15-16)

6.3.2 *No prisoner to prejudice* – 17 November 2006

The second article selected from the *Mail & Guardian* corpus for qualitative analysis is titled “No prisoner to prejudice” (cf. Appendix P). The article was published on 17th of November 2006, and was selected for analysis based on the author’s tolerant construction of the legalisation of gay marriage in South Africa.

Context

As mentioned above, the legal and constitutional changes demanded by gay and lesbian lobbyists had been implemented at the time of publication, causing some to regard the issue of gay rights as complete. The article topicalises homosexuality directly, and makes use of a marriage master frame in which the passing of the Civil Unions Bill is topicalised. Further, the article frames homosexuality in terms of rights, equality, democracy and the anti-apartheid struggle.

Macropropositional content

An analysis of the article’s macropropositional content reveals that the author dedicates half of the bulk of his article to providing a transcript of a speech delivered by Defense Minister Mosiuoa Lekota in support of the Civil Unions Bill. The author’s reference to such an influential power elite is likely to enhance the article’s credibility, which will in turn enhance the resonance of the frames that are implemented in the article. The author describes Lekota’s speech as “a passionate speech to loud applause” (line 26), and the volume and prominence afforded to the quoted speech reveals that the author aligns herself with the gay liberation movement.

Individual lexical items and modified phrases

Several textual elements reinforce this claim, including the individual lexical items and modified phrases that are used to topicalise the passing of the Civil Unions Bill, such as those given in (132) to (141):

- (132) Tuesday was a historic day in Parliament, with South Africa becoming the first African country to allow same-sex couples to marry (line 4-5)
- (133) South Africa is only the fifth country in the world to remove legal barriers for same-sex couples to marry (line 5-6)
- (134) The roots of this Bill... lie in the pronouncements of our people over very many years and decades of struggle (line 27-28)
- (135) The question before us is not whether same-sex marriages or civil unions are right or not. The question is whether we suppress those in our society who prefer same-sex marriage (line 33-34)
- (136) we are bound to fulfill the promises of democracy which we have made to the people of our country (line 35-36)
- (137) you will continue to live your life as you choose (line 39)
- (138) in the long and arduous struggle for democracy very many men and women of homosexual and lesbian orientation joined the ranks of the liberation and democratic forces (line 43-45)
- (139) How then can we live with the reality that we should enjoy rights that together we fought for side-by-side, and deny them that? (line 46-47)
- (140) it is only rights that they must be afforded similar space in the sunshine of our democracy (line 47-48)
- (141) this country cannot afford to continue to be a prisoner of the backward, timeworn prejudices that have no basis (line 49-51)

Implication

Additionally, the author makes use of implied and presupposed meanings in order to increase the likelihood that the reader will form a mental model that is similar to the author's preferred model. To illustrate the use of implicature, (142) and (143) can be cited:

- (142) Tuesday was a historic day in Parliament, with South Africa becoming the first African country to allow same-sex couples to marry (line 4-5) (=132)
- (143) South Africa is only the fifth country in the world to remove legal barriers for same-sex couples to marry (line 5-6) (=133)

In (142), the phrase “a historic day” implies that the legalisation of same-sex marriage is a positive and momentous occasion, and in (143) the author writes that “South Africa is only the fifth country in the world” to legalise same-sex marriage. In this second example, the word “only” implies that South Africa’s decision to legalise same-sex marriages is indicative thereof that the country is liberal and progressive. Further examples of implications include:

(144) In Parliament this week Defense Minister Mosiuoa Lekota made a passionate speech to loud applause from the public gallery (line 26-27),

in which the author’s reference to “loud applause” implies that the audience related to the content of the Defense Minister’s speech:

(145) The Constitutional Court reminded us that we have not as yet delivered in relation to those who prefer same-sex partners for life (line 30-32),

in which the word “reminded” implies that the ANC was always planning on legalising same-sex marriage;

(146) Are we going to suppress this so-called minority (line 36),

in which the words “so-called minority” implies that the Defense minister does not consider gays and lesbians to be a minority group; and

(147) the time has come that we as a society... must lead (line 51-52),

which implies that the legalisation of same-sex marriage is an implementation of leadership.

Presupposition

In addition to the implications discussed here, one example of presupposed meaning can be found, given here as (148), which presupposes that South Africans have historically been denied freedom as a result of prejudice.

- (148) this country can no longer afford to continue to be a prisoner of the backward, timeworn prejudices that have no basis (line 49-51)

Rhetorical devices

In addition to the devices discussed above, the author makes use of several rhetorical strategies that make his text more appealing, persuasive and memorable. To illustrate the use of rhetorical devices, the following can be cited:

- (149) No prisoner to prejudice (line 1),

in which the words “prisoner” and “prejudice” produce alliteration, and in which the metaphor “prisoner to prejudice” is used to emphasise the extent to which social prejudice can result in a lack of freedom in less powerful groups and individuals;

- (150) South Africa is only the fifth country in the world to remove legal barriers for same-sex couples to marry (line 5-6) (=133),

in which the legalisation of same-sex marriage is metaphorically described as “remov[ing] legal barriers”, which emphasises the collective action required to do pass the legislation and the freedom it offers to gay and lesbian South Africans;

- (151) This time they pulled in the heavyweights and left nothing to chance (line 22-23),

in which the metaphor “pulled in the heavyweights” is used to describe the ANC’s approach to getting the Bill passed. The “heavyweights” metaphor emphasises the fact that certain members of the ruling party have more power than others, as well as the effort required to get the Bill approved. Further examples of rhetorical devices include:

- (152) The roots of this Bill... lie in the pronouncements of our people over very many years and decades of struggle (line 27-28),

in which the metaphor “roots of this Bill” is used to emphasise the origin of the legalisation of same-sex marriage, as well its gradual and inevitable growth;

(153) Are we going to suppress this so-called minority group, or are we going to let these people enjoy the privilege of choosing who will be their life partners? (line 27-28),

in which the question is clearly posed in order to make readers reconsider opposition to same-sex marriage, also creating the “socio-logical” perspective (discussed above in section 3.6) that the choice between the two options forms part of a valence frame which draws on logically equivalent values;

(154) how then can we live with the reality that we should enjoy rights that together we fought for side-by-side, and deny them that? (line 27-28) (=138),

in which the question is asked in order to make readers aware of the connection between the country’s gay liberation movement and it’s broader democratic struggle, and

(155) today, as we reap the fruits of democracy, it is only right that they must be afforded similar space in the sunshine of our democracy (line 47-48).

While the metaphor “fruits of our democracy” is used here to emphasise the collective work that went into the country’s transition to democracy, the “sunshine of our democracy” metaphor is used to emphasise the happiness and prosperity that has resulted from the transition.

Framing

Interestingly, an analysis of the article’s framing tasks reveals that the author does not implement diagnostic nor prognostic frames, which can be explained by the fact that the article topicalises a major success in the gay liberation movement. For this reason, the tolerant arguments put forth in the article are not necessarily implemented as part of a motivational framing task, nor as frame amplification.

6.3.3 Legal

The following section will present an analysis of the textual elements that were used to articulate pro-gay rights frames that were based on considerations of legal issues. As mentioned above, the frame that was most commonly used to express tolerant sentiments in the *Mail & Guardian* data was “legal issues”, followed by “religion” and “rights”, with 78% of the “legal issues” frames found in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus being used to express tolerant sentiment. This finding stands in contrast to the *City Press* findings, in which “legal issue” frames were more commonly used to express intolerant sentiments. Further, the *Mail & Guardian* topicalised “legal issue” frames in relation to homosexuality in 33% of the corpus, compared to 17% in the *City Press*. The fact that both corpora assigned equal weight to “rights” suggests that the *Mail & Guardian* corpus made the connection between rights and legislation more clear than the *City Press* corpus.

The third article selected for more detailed analysis is titled “Making it legal to be men at a party” (cf. Appendix J). The article was published on the 11th of December 1992, and was selected for analysis due to the way in which the author provides the reader with background knowledge of the government’s history of policing homosexuality.

Context

This article was published at a time during which South Africa’s gay liberation movement was making significant progress. This resulted mainly from OLGA’s persistent lobbying efforts, which included drafting and submitting a detailed request that non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation be maintained in the Bill of Rights. This article topicalises homosexuality directly, and makes use of a legal master frame in which the legal discrimination faced by South African gays and lesbians is topicalised. Further, the article frames homosexuality in terms of rights, equality, victimisation, nature, religion, unAfricanness and intolerance. The article draws attention to the unconstitutional nature of laws that criminalise homosexuality, and makes use of liberation discourse in an attempt to put legal discrimination on the public agenda.

Macropropositional content

An analysis of the macropropositional content of the article reveals that the author uses South Africa's history of criminalising homosexuality in order to justify his call for "explicit constitutional protection" (line 37) of gay rights, in which he includes "legal recognition of gay permanent domestic partnerships" (line 73).

Individual lexical items

Individual lexical items that are used to topicalise homosexuality in such terms include. "rights" (line 2), "discrimination" (line 3), "consensual" (line 6), "private" (line 6), "natural" (line 36), "immutable" (line 36), and "dignity" (line 39). This positive portrayal of homosexuality is contrasted by lexical items such as "filthy" (line 34), "disgusting" (line 34), "unacceptable" (line 34), "reprehensible" (line 34), and "mental disease" (line 35), which were used by "learned members of the church" (line 33-34 in an attempt to justify legal discrimination against gays and lesbians.

Modified phrases

In addition to the individual lexical items discussed above, several modified phrases contribute to the meaning constructed by the author, including those in (156) to (159):

- (156) fighting hard to have homosexual rights entrenched in a new constitution (line 2-3)
- (157) gays are a uniquely vulnerable category (line 28)
- (158) the right of a homosexual to dignity and equal protection under the law is an inalienable human right (line 39-40)
- (159) This clause is the result of intense lobbying by South Africa's budding gay rights movement, and was strongly supported by enlightened ANC constitutional experts (line 57-58)

Moreover, the author compares South Africa's gay liberation movement to "black liberation", and claims that gay and lesbian South Africans are "entitled to explicit constitutional protection – just as blacks and women are" (line 37-38).

Implication

The author makes use of implied and presupposed meaning in order to convey his ideological stance to readers. To illustrate the use of implicature, the following can be cited:

(160) South Africa's budding gay rights movement is fighting hard to have homosexual rights entrenched in a new constitution (line 1-2),

in which the word "budding" in the phrase "South Africa's budding gay rights movement" implies growth that is both desirable and natural;

(161) Homosexuality was perceived, like communism or black liberation, to pose a threat to white civilisation (line 12-13),

in which the word "perceived" emphasises the subjective nature of the apartheid government's attitudes towards homosexuality;

(162) Homosexuality remains criminal in South Africa and, according to an inaugural lecture by Wits University law Professor Edwin Cameron last month, the situation should be rectified in a new constitution (line 21-23),

in which the phrase "should be rectified" implies that the criminalisation of homosexuality is a mistake;

(163) As evidence, Cameron presents arguments from a South African court in which learned members of the court use language like "filthy" (line 33-34),

in which the use of the adjective “learned” implies that the individuals who make homophobic statements should know better;

(164) But in a country obsessed with racial discrimination, most do not see the importance of prioritizing gay rights (line 40-41),

in which the word “but” implies that South Africa’s gay liberation struggle is overshadowed by its broader liberation struggle; and

(165) strongly supported by enlightened ANC constitutional experts (line 59),

in which the use of the word “enlightened” implies that an individual’s attitudes towards gay rights is indicative of their (lack of) enlightenment.

Presupposition

As did other authors whose work I have already discussed, this writer makes use of several presuppositions in which an opinion is constructed as an agreed-upon fact. To illustrate the use of presupposition, (166) to (169) can be cited:

(166) parliament had trumped up one of its most absurd statutes: the “men at a party” Act (line 13-14)

(167) apart from misery and fear (line 25)

(168) perhaps the reason why constitutionally entrenched gay rights remain unacceptable has more to do with homophobia (line 43-44)

(169) and most controversially, the legal recognition of gay domestic partnerships (line 72-73)

In (166), the phrase “one of its most absurd statutes” presupposes that the apartheid government had several absurd statutes. (167) presupposes that anti-gay legislation causes misery and fear for gays and lesbians, and “gay rights remain unacceptable” in (168) presupposes that South African

citizens have historically been against gay rights. Lastly, the phrase “most controversially” in (169) presupposes that all gay rights legislation will be controversial.

Attribution

The author makes use of attribution in order to lend credibility to his story, thereby increasing the article’s resonance, and in order to appear neutral himself. The first example of attributive strategies that convey ideological content can be found in line 5, in which the author uses quotation marks to indicate that the words used within such quotation marks are not his own. The use of quotation marks around words such as “deed” (line 5) indicates that the author wants to distance himself (or at least create such an impression) from the ideological content of the quoted material. A second example of ideological attribution strategies can be found in line 8, in which the attributive verb “raged” is used to attribute an intolerant direct quotation to the aforementioned minister of justice. The use of this verb goes beyond attribution, as it characterises the source as someone angry and out of control, thereby detracting from his credibility. A third example can be found in line 13, in which the attributive verb “trumped up” is used in connection with parliament. As is the case with the attributive verb “rage”, this lexical item is not neutral as it conveys negative ideological connotations to the reader. A fourth example can be found in paragraph 4, in which the author describes Edwin Cameron as a “Wits University law professor” in order to increase his credibility. Further, unlike members of the author’s out-group such as the aforementioned minister of justice, neutral and credible attributive verbs such as “said” (line 23), “continued” (line 25), “presents” (line 33), “notes” (line 42), “cautions” (line 60), and “concludes” (line 69) are used to attribute quoted text to Cameron, who is clearly a member of the author’s in-group.

This ideological alignment is further evidenced in the voicing of the article, as Cameron is regularly given both authorship and principalship, while members of the author’s out-group are seldom given authorship. This pattern of referencing influential power elites is likely to increase the article’s credibility, which in turns increases the resonance of the frames that are implemented. As discussed above, the author uses direct quotations from members of his out-group strategically as he only quotes their speech in order to distance himself from their opinions.

Rhetorical devices

Several rhetorical devices strengthen the author's ideological stance, thereby increasing the likelihood that the reader will form an event model that is similar to the author's preferred model. To illustrate the use of rhetorical devices, (170) and (171) can be cited:

(170) this viper in our midst (line 9)

(171) sooner or later homosexual instincts make their effect on a community if they are permitted to run riot (line 10-11)

In (170), the author quotes a past Minister of Justice, who described homosexuality as a "viper in our midst". This metaphor clearly frames homosexuality in terms of threat, and implies that gays and lesbians are dangerous and devious. The minister in question is then quoted as making the statement in (171). While the threat(s) implied by this statement remain undefined, it is clear that this is an example of a slippery slope metaphor, in which gay tolerance is constructed as a "slippery slope" that leads to moral decay.

Further examples of rhetorical devices include (172) and (173), in which gay rights are compared to the rights of blacks and women in South Africa. This comparison lends credibility to the author's arguments as most readers would have accepted the need to afford equal rights to blacks and women at the time of publication. Examples of the use of other rhetorical devices are cited in include (174), in which metaphorical use of the word "buried" implies that the gay rights provision has been killed or hidden, and that it is unlikely to reemerge, and (175), in which the author quotes Albie Sachs, who describes South Africa's treatment of gays and lesbians as "the essence of apartheid". While the use of liberation discourse is common in publications topicalising gay rights, this explicit comparison increases the likelihood that the reader will adopt the author preferred model, and strengthens the author's use of the liberation master frame.

(172) Homosexuality was perceived, like communism or black liberation, to pose a threat to white civilisation (line 12-13) (=161)

- (173) The irrationality and unacceptability of racism and sexism has become widely acknowledged, but the history of opprobrium towards gays is not only true as a social phenomena, it is visible everywhere (line 29-31)
- (174) it [the ANC] buries the gay rights provision deep in its Bill of Rights (line 61-62)
- (175) What has happened to gay people is the essence of Apartheid – it tried to tell people who they were, how they should behave, what their rights were (line 75-77)

Framing

An analysis of the article's framing tasks reveals that the author implements both the injustice component of the diagnostic framing task, in which legal oppression of gays and lesbians is identified as an injustice, as well as the attributional component, in which South Africa's legal system is identified as the perpetrator of this injustice; consider (176) in this regard:

- (176) Homosexuality remains criminal in South Africa and, according to an inaugural lecture by Wits University law Professor Edwin Cameron last month, the situation should be rectified in a new constitution (line 21-23) (=162)

Further, the author implements the prognostic framing task extensively as he explicitly outlines the legal changes that he feels are necessary; see (177):

- (177) Adequate constitutional protection... must entail the following: the decriminalization of homosexual activity in all common and statutory law; the establishment of legislative enforcement to prevent discrimination in employment, housing and insurance; the entrenchment of gay people's right to free speech, association and conduct; and most controversially, the legal recognition of gay permanent domestic partnerships (line 69-74).

Whereas the diagnostic and prognostic framing tasks are implemented relatively extensively, the motivational framing task, in which the author makes use of liberation discourse, is the most explicitly implemented. As discussed above in section 3.6.4, the implementation of such a frame is likely to increase the resonance of the article as it is high in centrality, experiential

commensurability and narrative fidelity. Further, the author's extensive use of liberation discourse reflects his desire to implement the transformation of domain-specific interpretive frames.

The fourth *Mail & Guardian* article selected for qualitative analysis is titled "Gays and lesbians now 'separate but equal'" (cf. Appendix O). The article was published on the 15th of September 2006, and was also selected for analysis based on the extensive legal frame that is employed throughout the article in order to familiarise readers with the legislative aspects of legalising gay marriage.

Context

All of the legal and Constitutional changes discussed in chapter 2 above had been implemented at the time of publication, and as a result many considered the gay liberation movement to have reached a stage of completion. The present article challenges such assumptions by topicalising homosexuality directly, and making use of a marriage master frame in which the Civil Unions Bill is compared to the "separate but equal" policies enforced by the apartheid government. Further, the article frames homosexuality in terms of rights, equality, morality and victimisation.

Macropropositional content

An overview of the macropropositional content of the article reveals that the author, a law professor at the University of the Western Cape that identifies himself as a gay man, aligns himself firmly against proponents of the Civil Unions Bill as he feels that the distinction between "marriage" and "civil partnerships" sends the message that "Parliament views homosexuals as less worthy of respect and dignity than other members of society" (line 65-66). The author's use of collective pronouns such as "us" and "our" explicitly orients him in terms of his ideological stance, and his insight as a legal expert and a gay man are intended to lend credibility to the article.

Individual lexical items

An analysis of individual lexical items reveals further evidence of the author's ideological alignment, as words such as "ridiculous" (line 3), "unequal" (line 6), "sad" (line 9), "oppression"

(line 54), “marginalization”, (line 54) “vilification” (line 54), and “insulting” (line 60) are used to topicalise the Civil Unions Bill. Further, the author claims that the proposed Bill is a result of homophobic attitudes in which gays and lesbians are constructed as “inferior” (line 6), “impure” (line 6), “dirty” (line 7), “depraved” (line 51) and “tainted” (line 51) individuals that will “contaminate” (line 31) “defile” (line 31) and “real marriage” (line 30).

Modified phrases

An analysis of modified phrases adds to this construction, as the following phrases are used to topicalise the proposed Bill:

- (178) arguments put forward to justify apartheid (line 3)
- (179) It is sad and surprising that an ANC cabinet has approved legislative proposals providing for “civil unions” between same-sex partners that replicate this bankrupt logic (line 9-10)
- (180) this approach... is unthinkable in our constitutional democracy (line 20-21)
- (181) The Bill creates a separate institution for same-sex couples (line 23)
- (182) This move not only fails to respect the dignity of gay men and lesbians, it contradicts the instructions of the Constitutional Court (line 32-33)
- (183) Separate but equal was not good enough because it “served as a threadbare cloak for covering distaste for or repudiation by those in power of the group subjected to discrimination (line 39-40)
- (184) The Bill creates a second-class form of legal recognition for these relationships (line 42-43)
- (185) the creation of an apartheid-style, separate civil partnerships for same-sex couples (line 56)
- (186) a doctrine of “separate but equal” was deeply humiliating when applied to black South Africans. It remains humiliating and insulting (and now also unconstitutional) when applied to homosexuals (line 60-62)
- (187) If the draft Bill is not scrapped or amended by Parliament, its passing will constitute a direct challenge to the Constitutional Court (line 63-64)

Implication

In addition to the explicit textual realisations of ideology discussed above, the author also makes use of implied and presupposed meaning in order to make his text more persuasive. To illustrate the use of implicature, (188) can be cited, in which the author's decision to place inverted commas around the words "separate but equal" demonstrate his disagreement with the appropriateness of the description.

- (188) One of the most popular, and ridiculous, arguments put forward to justify apartheid, was that it provided for "separate but equal" opportunities (line 3-4)

Similar implications can be found in paragraph two, in which the author placed inverted commas around the words "inferior" (line 6), "impure" (line 6) and "dirty" (line 7) in order to distance himself from the intolerant characterisations. Further examples of this type of implication can be found in paragraph 7, in which the words "separate but equal" (line 30), "real marriage" (line 30-31), "defilement" (line 31) and "contamination" (line 31) are placed in inverted commas.

Presupposition

Further, two instances of presupposition are found in the article, given here in (189) and (190):

- (189) Mindful of the prejudice that many voters feel against gay men and lesbians, the drafters of the Bill attempted to... (line 29-30)
- (190) Hopefully, when Parliament is provided with the facts MPs will do the right things and will refuse to pass this homophobic piece of legislation in its current form (line 66-67)

In (189), it is presupposed that many South Africans are still prejudiced against gays and lesbians, and in (190) that "the right thing" would be to refuse to pass the Civil Unions Bill.

Local coherence

The author also makes use of relationships of local coherence, specifically the relationship of contrast, in order to make his argument more compelling. To illustrate the functional relations of local coherence, (191) to (193) can be cited:

- (191) the Civil Unions Bill purports to give effect to a decision by the Constitutional Court ordering an extension of marriage rights to same-sex couples, in effect it denies them that right (line 10-12)
- (192) This approach... is unthinkable in our constitutional democracy. But this is exactly the approach Cabinet has endorsed (line 21-22)
- (193) purports to bestow the same legal rights on same-sex civil unions (line 23-24)

In (191), the first half of the sentence is contrasted by the half that follows; in (192), the sentence “unthinkable in our constitutional democracy” is contrasted by the sentence that follows, which reads “but it is exactly the approach Cabinet has endorsed”; and (193) is contrasted by the sentence “there are, however, three ways in which the civil partnership will differ from traditional marriage”. It is clear that the author makes the contrast between what was proposed by the Constitutional Court and what was produced by the ANC cabinet explicit as this incongruity is the backbone of his argument.

Rhetorical devices

In addition to the textual devices discussed above, the author makes use of several rhetorical strategies in order to make his text more memorable and appealing. To illustrate the use of rhetorical devices, the following can be cited:

- (194) separate but equal (line 1, 4, 30, 39, 60),

which is used repeatedly throughout the text. This repetition is strengthened by the emotional connotations attached to the rhetoric used by the apartheid government as it emphasises the similarities in the apartheid government’s treatment of non-whites and the new government’s treatment of gays and lesbians. Further examples of rhetorical strategies include:

- (195) Separate but equal was not good enough because it “served as a threadbare cloak for covering distaste for or repudiation by those in power of the group subjected to discrimination” (line 39-40) (=183),

in which the metaphor “a threadbare cloak for covering distaste” is used to describe the reasoning behind the “separate but equal” approach in order to emphasise the fact that the approach has been used by South African government in the past as well as the lack of effectiveness of such an approach;

- (196) The Constitutional Court warned that creating a special institution for same-sex couples would send the signal that bringing same-sex couples under the umbrella of marriage law would taint those already within its protection (line 49-51),

in which the metaphor “the umbrella of marriage law” is used to emphasise the protection and benefits accorded to those that are permitted to become a part of the institute of marriage; and

- (197) “humiliating and insulting” (line 60 & 61),

which is used twice, once to refer to the apartheid government’s treatment of non-whites, and once to refer to the new government’s treatment of gays and lesbians.

Framing

An analysis of the article’s framing tasks reveals that the author implements both the injustice component of the diagnostic framing task – consider (198) in which the inequality between the Civil Unions Bill and heterosexual marriage is identified as an injustice – as well as the attributional component – consider (199) in which the ANC cabinet that approved the Civil Unions Bill is identified as the perpetrator of this injustice:

- (198) the Civil Unions Bill purports to give effect to a decision by the Constitutional Court ordering an extension of marriage rights to same-sex couples, in effect it denies them that right (line 10-12) (=255)

- (199) It is sad and surprising that an ANC cabinet has approved legislative proposals providing for “civil unions” between same-sex partners that replicate this bankrupt logic (line 9-19) (=243)

Further, the author implements a prognostic framing task; see (200):

- (200) Hopefully, when Parliament is provided with the facts MPs will do the right things and will refuse to pass this homophobic piece of legislation in its current form (line 66-67) (=190)

Here, MPs are encouraged to refuse to pass the Civil Unions Bill. The motivational framing task is largely based on a comparison between the Civil Unions Bill and the apartheid government’s oxymoronic “separate but equal” policy (cf. (201) which enables the author to implement the frame alignment processes of bridging and extension in an attempt to implement the transformation of a domain-specific frame.

- (201) a doctrine of “separate but equal” was deeply humiliating when applied to black South Africans. It remains humiliating and insulting (and now also unconstitutional) when applied to homosexuals (line 60-62) (=186)

6.3.4 Religion

The following section will present an analysis of the textual elements that were used to articulate pro-gay rights frames that rested on religious arguments. As discussed above, 74% of the religious frames found in the *Mail & Guardian* discourse were used to express tolerant sentiments. As is the case with the legal frames discussed above, this finding stands in contrast to the *City Press* findings, in which “religious” frames were more commonly used to express intolerant sentiments.

The fifth *Mail & Guardian* publication selected for detailed analysis is an article titled “God help the homosexuals” (cf. Appendix M). The article was published in November 2003, and was selected for analysis based on the way in which the author makes use of a religious frame in

order to encourage gay tolerance among Christians.

Context

This article is set against a well-publicised court case, recorded as *Du Toit and Another v. The Minister of Population Development and Others*. The final ruling legalised adoption by same-sex couples and so inevitability opened the way to legalisation of gay marriage. Several religious individuals and organisations were perturbed by such an outcome, and so embarked on moralising discourses in which gay marriage and adoption were depicted as “the breakdown of family life”. The article in question addresses religious objections to gay liberation by topicalising homosexuality directly, and making use of a religious master frame in which tolerance, medicalisation and morality frames are implemented alongside arguments in favour of gay tolerance.

Macropropositional content

The macropropositional content of the article welcomes the court ruling, positively propagates the gay liberation movement, and calls for tolerance and acceptance of homosexuality in South African churches.

Individual lexical items and modified phrases

Individual lexical items that are used to topicalise homosexuality in such terms include. Several individual lexical items and modified phrases strengthen his argument; see (202) to (207):

- (202) People need to understand that being homosexual is neither an illness nor a disorder (line 12-13)
- (203) a tenth of the population is gay or lesbian (line 14-15)
- (204) Same-sex orientation is not in itself a sin and not in itself contradictory to Christian faith and life (line 21)
- (205) the debate about homosexuality is not going to go away but should continue in a spirit of tolerance (line 23-24)

- (206) humanity has evolved from the days of Leviticus (line 32)
- (207) Spirituality is alive and well. It is the consciousness of caring for people as they actually are (line 70)

These propositions are given in utterances that advocate for tolerance and are given in contrast to propositions attributed to members of the author's out-group, and which articulate intolerance. Such propositions are given in phrases such as those cited in (208) to (210):

- (208) Many religious people have attacked homosexuality as a heinous sin, an evil to be cast out and a devilish distortion (line 18)
- (209) Some, from cardinals to bush Baptists, have condemned homosexuality as unnatural and something to be rejected (line 70)
- (210) an abomination that should be penalised by death (line 28-29)

The effects of this contrast are reinforced by propositions that suggest similarities between the church's attitude towards homosexuality and its historical attitudes towards "human sacrifice" (line 51), "slavery" (line 54), "the oppression of women" (line 55) and "the glorification of race" (line 56).

Implication

Additional to propositions directly articulated, the article carries several implications which allow the author to convey several meanings without expressing them directly. To illustrate the use of implicature, the following can be cited:

- (211) The perceived "horror" of the gay debates splitting the church should not be feared (line 2),

in which the author places the word "horror" in inverted commas in order to imply that he finds the term, and hence the reaction, inappropriate;

(212) A gay friend of mine was born intersexed... Homosexuals do not have unusual sexual organs, but they do have a different sexual orientation (line 4-8),

in which the author implies a similarity between the innateness of intersexuality and homosexuality; and

(213) God help the homosexuals (line 17),

in which the author implies that gays and lesbians suffered under South Africa's anti-gay legislation.

A fourth implication can be found in paragraph 4, in which the content that follows the rhetorical question "does God help?" (line 18) implies that religion has done more to harm than to help homosexuals. Further implications include:

(214) Those who claim that "the Bible condemns homosexuality" need to be careful (line 26),

in which the phrase "need to be careful" implies that it is dangerous to use the Bible to justify homophobia;

(215) Only three texts appear specifically denounce homosexuality (line 27-28),

in which the word "only" in the phrase "only three texts appear to specifically denounce homosexuality" implies that Biblical justification for homophobia is scarce, and therefore negligible;

(216) why is it they feel they know better than Leviticus with regard to killing, but not with regard to homosexuality? (line 17),

which implies that Christians that base their homophobic sentiments on Leviticus are hypocritical;

(217) Paul's condemnation of those who indulge in "shameful acts" (line 35),

in which the author's use of inverted commas around the word "shameful acts" imply that he does not agree with the ideological content of the phrase;

(218) Paul had no idea that homosexuality was natural to many people (line 37-38),

which implies that the Apostle Paul would have omitted the anti-gay sentiments from his books of the Bible if he had known how widespread and natural it was;

(219) Human sacrifice and ritualism were replaced during the Old Testament period and attitudes to gentiles, women and the poor changed in the time of the New Testament (line 50-52),

in which the author's reference to changing attitudes towards issues such as "human sacrifice and ritualism" implies that a similar "spiritual progress" is required in terms of the church's attitude towards homosexuality; and

(220) Jesus was killed precisely for questioning the religious traditions of his time (line 52-53),

in which the author's reference to Jesus's death implies a similarity between him and those that challenge the church's intolerance of homosexuality.

Presupposition

In addition to the implications discussed above, the author makes use of several presuppositions throughout the text, in which opinions are presented as commonly accepted facts. To illustrate the use of presupposition, (221) to (223) can be cited:

(221) People need to understand that being homosexual is neither an illness nor a disorder (line 12-13) (=201)

- (222) Recent advances in biology and psychology have removed many of the uncertainties that induced such phobias (line 41-42)
- (223) In South Africa our reluctant acceptance that Church institutions that supported apartheid were heretical (line 58-59)

In (221), the phrase “people need to understand that” presupposes that “being homosexual is neither an illness nor a disorder”. It is presupposed in (222) that homophobia results from a lack of knowledge about sexual orientation. The use of the word “that” in (223) presupposes that the South African church institutions supported apartheid. The presupposition here is that the church’s condemnation of homosexuality is unjust and immoral, in the same way that facilitating apartheid was unjust and immoral.

Rhetorical devices

In this article, the author uses several rhetorical strategies in order to make the ideas he wants to propagate more appealing, persuasive and memorable. To illustrate the use of rhetorical devices, the following can be cited:

- (224) It’s the way they are. Fact of life (line 7 & 14)
- (225) does God help? (line 18)
- (226) why is it they feel they know better than Leviticus with regard to killing, but not with regard to homosexuality? (line 33-34) (=216)
- (227) they are sincere, but sincerely wrong (line 65)

In (224), the repetition of the last few words of paragraphs 1 and 2 are used to describe both intersexed and homosexual individuals, which reinforces the author’s claim that homosexuality is as innate as intersexuality, and that homophobia is unjustified. The rhetorical question in (225) serves to raise readers’ awareness that the very institutions that claim to care for the downtrodden are often the most vitriolic in their judgement of homosexuality. A third rhetorical strategy can be found in paragraph 7 (cf. (226), in which the author’s question is used to make readers aware of the hypocrisy of discarding a part of a Bible verse in order to justify an

ideological stance. In (227), the repetition in the phrase “they are sincere, but sincerely wrong” draws attention to the fact that good intentions do not justify religious condemnation.

Framing

An analysis of the article’s framing tasks reveals that the author implements both the injustice component of the diagnostic framing task, in which gays and lesbians are identified as the victims of homophobia, as well as the attributional component, in which the church is identified as the perpetrator of this injustice; see (228) in this regard:

(228) Many religious people have attacked homosexuality as a heinous sin, an evil to be cast out and a devilish distortion (line 18)

Further, the article performs a prognostic task in which intolerant religious arguments are counterframed, and in which “a spirit of tolerance” (line 24) is proposed as a solution to the abovementioned injustice. In contrast to the brevity of the sections that implement the diagnostic and prognostic framing tasks, the bulk of the article is dedicated to content that implements the motivational framing task. This testifies to an attempt to implement the transformation of a domain-specific frame, namely to transform the way in which Christians interpret the Bible’s attitude towards homosexuality.

6.3.5 Rights

The following section will present an analysis of the textual elements that were used to articulate pro-gay rights frames in the *Mail & Guardian* discourse. As discussed above, 89% of the rights frames found in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments in the *Mail & Guardian* discourse. Unlike the “legal issues” and “religion” frames discussed above, this finding was echoed in the *City Press* discourse, in which 57% of the “rights” frames were used to express tolerant sentiments.

The seventh article that was published in *Mail & Guardian* that has been selected for detailed analysis is titled “Olga meets Albie to talk of a post-apartheid gay future” (cf. Appendix I). The article was published on the 18th of May 1990, and it was selected for analysis due to the explicit

way in which the author framed gay rights in terms of anti-apartheid discourse as well as the way in which the author constructed the relationship between the ANC and the gay liberation movement. My review of the *Mail & Guardian* news items started with the newspaper's first publication in 1984; however, the items that were published in the years between 1984 and 1990 did not differ in any significant way to the articles eventually selected for analysis. As none of the news items published during this period satisfied the selection criteria discussed above in section 4.7.2 as clearly as the articles discussed below, none were selected for detailed analysis. Although the analysed articles represent work from a later stage than the onset of the newspaper, the full period has been included in the data-analysis given in chapter 5.

Context

As mentioned above in chapter 6, South Africa's gay liberation movement had made significant progress by the time *Mail & Guardian* was first published in 1984. By 1990, when this article appeared, the ANC's intention to include sexual orientation in South Africa's first Bill of Rights had already been established. Also, the first gay pride march organised by GLOW, during which Simon Nkoli emphasised the similarities between South Africa's gay liberation movement and its broader liberation struggle, had taken place. The article topicalises homosexuality directly, and makes use of a rights master frame in which a meeting between a gay rights group and an ANC constitutional expert is topicalised. Further, the article frames homosexuality in terms of tolerance, victimisation and equality, and makes use several quotes from ANC elites in order to increase the likelihood that the reader will adopt the journalist's preferred model of the event.

Macropropositional content

Interestingly, the author appears to prefer explicit textual realisations of ideology, and does not make much use of implied and presupposed meaning. An analysis of the article's macropropositional content reveals that the bulk of the article is dedicated to making explicit links between South Africa's gay liberation movement and the country's broader liberation struggle.

Individual lexical items

Individual lexical items that are used to topicalise homosexuality in such terms include. Several individual lexical items that are repeated throughout the article promote the author's ideological stance, namely "rights", "discrimination", "oppression", and "democracy". Further, gays and lesbians are described as "comrades" (line 33) who have been vilified as "different" (line 40), "strange" (line 40), "perverts" (line 59), "mad" (line 59) and "sick" (line 59).

Modified phrases

Several modified phrases contribute to the meaning constructed by these individual lexical items, including (229) tot (238):

- (229) lesbian and gay activists involved in the mass democratic movement (line 9)
- (230) working towards the goal of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa (line 10-11)
- (231) situate the lesbian and gay struggle within the context of the total liberation movement (line 11-12)
- (232) The issue has special pertinence in this phase of overcoming apartheid (line 22)
- (233) The essence of democracy is that people should feel free to be who they are (line 24)
- (234) It's part of our programme against discrimination and marginalization (line 28-29)
- (235) who you chose to make love with is just a small part (line 43-44)
- (236) gay and lesbian activists in townships face an extra layer of oppression (line 53)
- (237) all we want is to be accepted as normal people (line 62)
- (238) lesbians and gays are not only a minority group, but one with a history of oppression (line 71-72)

These modified phrases make it clear that the author makes use of liberation discourse in this article in order to strengthen his argument in favour of gay rights.

Attribution

A significant part of the article is made up of direct quotations from a speech by Albie Sachs, who the author describes as an “ANC constitutional expert” (line 13) with a “10-year history of activism” (line 32). This characterisation of a significant struggle figure as an informing authority is certainly intended to add to the credibility of the article. The author’s use of neutral attributive verbs such as “said” and “added” are not as much an understatement of his contribution, as underscoring his authority: emotive terms tend to alienate, while cool reason impresses. In addition to Sachs, the author cites several other power elites who were involved in the mass democratic movement, including Simon Nkoli, the ANC and the UDF. In so doing, he is likely to contribute to the article’s resonance among readers. This combination of non-implicit textual realisations of ideology, such as found in (239) and the frequent use of direct quotations masks the ideological content of this article, which increases the likelihood that the reader will find the contents credible, and thus that the reader will form a mental model of the event that is similar to that of the author.

(239) A major aim is to situate the lesbian and gay struggle within the context of the total liberation movement (line 11-12)

Framing

Surprisingly, an analysis of the framing tasks performed by the form and content of certain utterances reveals that the author does not explicitly implement the injustice and attributional components of the diagnostic framing task, and that his implementation of the prognostic and motivational framing tasks are also largely implicit. The limited emphasis the author places on these framing tasks can be explained by the extent to which he implements the frame alignment processes of bridging (cf. (240)), amplification (cf. (241)), and extension (cf. (242)) in an attempt to implement a domain-specific transformation frame.

(240) The issue has special pertinence in this phase of overcoming apartheid (line 22)
(=233)

(241) who you chose to make love with is just a small part (line 43-44) (=235)

(242) working towards the goal of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa (line 10-11) (=230)

6.3.6 (In)tolerance

The following section will present an analysis of the textual elements that were used to articulate intolerance frames in which intolerance of homosexuality was topicalised. As mentioned above, the issue that was raised most commonly in connection to homosexuality in the *Mail & Guardian* discourse was “(in)tolerance”, followed by “marriage” and gender”.

We would like to express our deepest concern – 12 August 1994

The eighth *Mail & Guardian* publication selected for a detailed analysis is a letter titled “We would like to express our deepest concern” (cf. Appendix K). The letter was published on the 12th of August 1994, and was selected for analysis based on the way in which the author constructs the relationship between homosexuality and as a result of his objection to *Mail & Guardian*’s involvement with a gay and lesbian film festival.

Context

The early 1990s were years of considerable social and political change in South Africa. The inauguration of president Nelson Mandela in April 1994 was a watershed event. He explicitly mentioned his commitment to eradicating discrimination based on sexual orientation in his inaugural address. Also, there was an overwhelmingly tolerant response to the Constitutional Assembly’s call for participation in the drafting of the final Constitution which would entrench such rights. This letter of August 1994, written by Graham Shortridge, who identifies himself as a member of Africa Christian Action, topicalises homosexuality directly, and makes use of an intolerance master frame in which religious, , and moralising frames are implemented alongside arguments against gay tolerance. The title of the letter can be read as a semantic macroproposition for the letter, as the content largely outlines the “threat” that gays and lesbians are perceived to pose to society.

Macropropositional content

The macropropositional content of the letter is an objection to the annual Gay and Lesbian Film Festival that was taking place at the time of publication. The author feels that the promotion of gay tolerance is a danger to the health, morality and financial security of South African citizens. In using the first person plural pronoun “we” in the opening phrase (cf. (243)), he creates the impression of writing not on his own behalf, but on behalf of an organisation, namely Africa Christian Action.

(243) We would like to express our deepest concern about the Weekly Mail Gay and Lesbian Film Festival running at the Monte Carlo (line 1)

It is not possible to ascertain whether the person had been commissioned to write on behalf of this organisational community; however, it is certainly a strategy used to add weight to his message. Single voices of protest may appear to be isolated and therefore also negligible, but speaking for a group – at that a religious group assumed to stand for respected moral values – is assumed to carry more weight in mobilising support.

Individual lexical items and modified phrases

The author’s ideological alignment against the gay liberation movement is evident in his/her selection of individual and modified lexical items, as homosexuality is referred to as a “type of perverted lifestyle is strictly forbidden in the Bible” (line 3). Further, the author claims that AIDS having been historically known as “Gay related Immune Deficiency Syndrome” (line 5) is evidence of the fact that AIDS originated amongst gay men and therefore (by implication) can be interpreted as Divine judgement. S/he constructs a distinction between “innocent” (line 10) heterosexual AIDS carriers and “guilty” (line 10) homosexual AIDS carriers. In addition to the explicit textual realisations of ideology discussed above, the author implements the “slippery slope” metaphor implicitly. He alludes to “economic complications” of gay tolerance (line 4) without specifying what they entail.

Although the author's ideological stance is explicitly expressed throughout the letter, he does make use of a necessity modality; see (244):

(244) one must consider the effect on general health (line 3-4)

Such necessity modalities are employed strategically by speakers and writers in an attempt to avoid losing positive face while performing face-threatening acts. Given the political climate of liberal support for minority groups and the growing awareness of the heterosexual transmission of AIDS in South Africa at the time of publication, the macropropositional content of this letter would be considered face-threatening by the average reader of *Mail & Guardian*. Considering other reports and correspondence published in *Mail & Guardian* at the time, a message that constructs homosexuality as unnatural, immoral and socially unacceptable would not have been well received among the implied readers of the newspaper. However, the author addresses such an audience directly in an attempt to bring them to reconsider such a tolerant position.

Attribution

The author refers to two sources of authority in order to add weight to his/her arguments against gay tolerance, namely the Bible (line 3), and Africa Christian Action (line 11). While reference to these external sources of religious authority is clearly intended to add resonance to the religious frame implemented in the letter, the author's controversial reference to the link between homosexuality and AIDS is likely to alienate the largely liberal readership of *Mail & Guardian*.

Framing

An analysis of the letter's framing tasks reveals that the author implements both the injustice component of the diagnostic framing task. Consider in this regard (180), in which the Weekly Mail Gay and Lesbian Film Festival is identified as an injustice as it is interpreted by the author as an event that "promotes" (line 10) homosexuality. *Mail & Guardian* is identified as the perpetrator of this injustice in the attributional component. Interestingly, the letter does not implement a prognostic framing task as it does not provide any counterframes, nor any solutions to the injustice that was identified in the diagnostic framing task.

- (245) We would like to express our deepest concern about the Weekly Mail Gay and Lesbian Film Festival (line 1-2) (=243)

Further, the author implements a motivational task by engaging in the frame alignment process of belief amplification in which beliefs about the causal relationship between homosexuality and AIDS are (re)emphasised; see (246):

- (246) It is no accident that “Gay Related Immune Deficiency Syndrome” (GRID) had its name changes to “Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome” (AIDS) (line 5-6)

6.4 Conclusion

The letters and articles analysed above illustrate the multifaceted ways in which different frames were used to articulate arguments for- and against gay rights and tolerance in the *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* corpora. The analysis reveals the extent to which a single frame, such as religion, is used to express both tolerant and intolerant perspectives, as well as the fact that several frames can be implemented in a single publication. The data examined in this chapter has also served to answer several of the research questions outlined in chapter 1, and has provided a characterisation of *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* publications in which homosexuality is topicalised. The following chapter will provide an overview of comparisons between the characterising features of the two newspapers.

Chapter 7

Summary of gay liberation discourse features in the corpora

7.1 *Introduction*

This chapter will discuss the significance of the findings given in chapters 5 and 6, with specific attention to the characterising features of the *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* data corpora, the similarities between these corpora which allow recognition of the characterising features of the discourse as a whole, as well as the kinds of differences that were observed. I shall return to the specific aims and research questions articulated at the outset, in chapter 1, to summarise the findings relevant to such aims and questions, at which this study arrived. Further, the chapter will outline the study's key findings, as well as suggestions for further research.

The two sets of data from *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian*, stored and analysed as two separate corpora, were not collected with a view to a comparative study. Although similar analytic processes and categories were used in analysing articles and letters published in each of the newspapers, and certain similarities and differences were evident (as mentioned in the analyses of chapters 5 and 6 and shown in the summary below), it was not the aim of the study to make a direct comparison between the reporting in these two publications. For this reason, the articles selected from each corpus for in-depth analysis do not relate to the same events; neither are articles published at the same time weighed against each other. Rather than merely contrasting the topics and ways of mediating the various discourses, this study intends finally to collate the findings of the two sets of analyses in order to give an impression of what characterised the gay liberation discourse as it played out in some of the widely distributed printed media during this interesting time in South African history.

7.2 *Gay liberation discourse in City Press*

The full set of articles and letters that topicalise gay liberation in *City Press* across the almost 30 year period covered in this survey were scrutinised for how and how much they published on gay liberation, and to ascertain what position the newspaper itself seemed to prefer. Findings on general trends in the full corpus were given in chapter 5. Articles and letters from *City Press* analysed in chapter 6 (section 6.2) were selected on the basis of the extent to which they are illustrative of features of gay liberation discourse found across the whole corpus. This was done to indicate how the newspaper constructed homosexuality, what changes were recorded over time, and how the *City Press* reporting differed, or was similar to, *Mail & Guardian* reports across the same period of time.

In addition to noting the discursive trends and the particular frames within which they were put forward, attention went to whether and how the publication made use of anti-apartheid rhetoric in arguments for gay liberation. Examples of such reliance on anti-apartheid rhetorical features were evident throughout the corpus. Examples of these were discussed in the detailed analyses (cf. sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2, 6.2.3, 6.2.4, 6.2.5), and are also evident elsewhere, as in arguments used in letters of, for instance, 27 April 1986 (247) and 11 April 1993 (248).

(247) Just like apartheid has bred a false consciousness into the minds of whites, the “anti-homosexuals” are determined to smear those whom they suspect of being homosexual.

(248) I hope the next government will recognise gay rights and let them come out of the closet.

One of the most interesting findings of this study was the extent to which an individual frame can be adopted by both pro- and anti-gay rights proponents. Thus the same frame could, and often was used to defend the rights of homosexuals as well as to denounce this group. This was evident in the *City Press* corpus, in which arguments framed in terms of anti-apartheid discourse were used to express intolerant sentiments as well as tolerant ones. See, for instance, the intolerant sentiments propagated in a letter of 29 May 2005 (analysed in section 6.2.4).

- (249) homosexuals could not be found anywhere in the country during the liberation struggle against apartheid.
- (250) This was an attempt to make the public believe that homosexuals are fighting against discrimination and violation of their minority rights.

Besides anti-apartheid rhetorical features, my overview of the data set also attended to the extent to which the *City Press* corpus topicalised homosexuality in terms of black communities and African values. Such framing occurred less frequently, even if it was reported with similar attention to rights of minority groups, and attitudes more generally propagated either in favour of or against conflating the two struggles for freedom. Examples of such topicalisation can be found in the detailed analyses in chapter 6 as well as in other letters and articles in the data set. See for instance intolerant ideas propagated in two letters, one of 27 August 1995 ((251 analysed in section 6.2.1) and two others from the larger corpus, of 15 October 1995 (252) and 30 July 2000 (253).

- (251) As far as I know African culture has always regarded homosexuality as a deviation from what is morally normal.
- (252) ...the freedom fighters of this country did not sacrifice their lives for the “freedom” of homosexual lunatics. It is an insult to us Africans to have our culture contaminated by homosexual sodomites.
- (253) ... gays and lesbians will find the redemptive power of African culture to be the magnet which pulls them back to the centre.

Framing in such terms was often done on the basis of cultural arguments, tainting homosexuality as a white malady alien to “African culture”. This kind of argument ignores completely current received insight that “African culture” is an overgeneralisation which is mostly used derogatively of black communities, and which denies the variety of internal differences across the continent.

While 39% of the *City Press* publications that were framed in terms of African values expressed intolerant sentiments, the majority (46%) expressed tolerant sentiments. See for instance tolerant sentiments propagated in an article of 22 September 2002 (analysed in section 6.2.2).

- (254) Despite the fact that the progressive constitution of the country recognises their “human rights”, homosexuals and lesbians continue to be subjected to humiliation in the name of religion and the so-called African culture.
- (255) African parents who have a clear picture of homosexuality and understand its biological roots handle their gay sons in a warm, parental manner.

These examples illustrate some of the ways in which unAfrican frames were counterframed in the *City Press* corpus. Contrasting human rights with African culture (254), and well-informed, tolerant families with ill-informed, intolerant families (255) implicitly questions whether traditional values should outweigh considerations of rights, equality and familial care.

In terms of accreditation, the *City Press* corpus was scrutinised for which people and institutions were used in providing evidence or support for particular views on gay liberation movements or events. The elites cited in these news items were largely black, with Simon Nkoli, Brenda Fassie and Robert Mugabe being three of the most oft-cited power elites. These well-known personalities are characterised fairly consistently, with Simon Nkoli being portrayed as an outspoken freedom fighter and gay rights activist, Brenda Fassie as an outspoken gay-friendly voice, and Robert Mugabe increasingly as the voice of active rejection of gay rights. It was noted that very often the same sources are used in support of gay liberation, as well as against. For example, some refer to Brenda Fassie as a proud supporter of the movement, while others characterise her as an unpredictable “train wreck” bisexual celebrity (*City Press* 3 January 1993). So too Mugabe is portrayed and cited by gay rights activists as a ranting homophobe (*City Press* 13 August 1995), while anti-gay voices cite him as a prominent and insightful leader (*City Press* 27 August 1995).

Notable also in the *City Press* corpus are the images published alongside and as elaboration or illustration of the articles. These images overall (re)emphasise the extent to which black gay issues are given precedence over white gay issues, as the majority of the photographs accompanying the news items in this corpus feature black individuals (*City Press* 16 May 1982, 13 December 1992, 28 October 2001).

7.3 *Gay liberation discourse in Mail & Guardian*

The full set of articles and letters that topicalise gay liberation in *Mail & Guardian* across the almost 30 years covered in this survey was scrutinised in a similar way to the *City Press* corpus, i.e., it was determined how and how much they published on gay liberation, and what position the newspaper itself seemed to prefer. Findings on general trends in the full corpus were given in chapter 5. Articles and letters from *Mail & Guardian* analysed in chapter 6 (section 6.3) were selected on the basis of the extent to which they are illustrative of features of gay liberation found across the whole corpus. This was done to indicate how the newspaper constructed homosexuality, what changes in this construction were recorded over time, and how the *Mail & Guardian* reporting differed, or was similar to, *City Press* reports across the same period of time.

In addition to the discursive trends noted in chapter 6, several other trends were identified in the investigation of the *Mail & Guardian* corpus, of which the most notable was the significantly higher number of gay-tolerant news items as opposed to gay-intolerant positions that appeared across the data collection period. Further, *Mail & Guardian* explicitly aligns itself with the gay liberation movement, as in the article analysed in section 6.3.2. Another such explicit support of the aims of the movement, is given in an editorial published on 3 December 2004, articulated in (256) below.

(256) The M&G is unequivocal on this issue: we support our enlightened Constitution and believe gays and lesbians must be free from discrimination in every area.

Another notable feature of the *Mail & Guardian* corpus is the extent to which news items focus on the legal and political aspects of gay liberation. A quantitative analysis of the *Mail & Guardian* data shows that, after (in)tolerance, legal issues constituted the most commonly topicalised frame. A review of the macropropositional content of publications framed in terms of legal issues indicates that such publications served as extensions of publications framed in terms of rights in the sense that they served as extensions of the injustice and attributional components of the diagnostic- (see section 3.6.2 above) and prognostic framing tasks of such publications. Following (in)tolerance and legal issues, religious positions and civil rights considerations

respectively provided the third and fourth most commonly used frames in articles and letters to the editor.

In attribution, the *Mail & Guardian* corpus exhibited more regular and extensive reference to legal and political elites that were key players in South Africa's gay liberation movement than did *City Press*. Such elites include Edwin Cameron, a high court judge outspoken on gay rights; Albie Sachs, a human rights activist brutally prosecuted by the South African government in the 1970s and 1980s who was eventually appointed as a judge on the Constitutional Court of South Africa by pres. Nelson Mandela; and Zachie Achmat, an activist most widely known as founder and chairman of the Treatment Action Campaign, who continues to agitate for not only of gay rights but also the rights for treatment and life quality of people living with HIV and AIDS. Also cited as elite sources in *Mail & Guardian* were organisations such as the ANC and the NCGLE. Such references to authoritative people and institutions lent extra credence to the legal and political processes underlying gay liberation. This attribution strategy is illustrated in the analysis of the article titled "Olga' meets Albie to talk of a post-apartheid gay future", in section 6.3.5. An example from the rest of the corpus, is to be found in an article titled "Sex and Drugs and Thought Control", of 19 April 1991, which reports on the attitudes of twelve leading South African political parties towards social issues such as abortion, AIDS, pornography and gay rights.

A further observation regarding the *Mail & Guardian* corpus relates to the way in which religious objections to homosexuality and related gay rights are framed. While articles and letters topicalising religious arguments in the *City Press* corpus articulated an overwhelmingly intolerant stance, the *Mail & Guardian* corpus incorporated more that focused on the church's failure to embrace its gay and lesbian leaders and congregants. Rather than airing the views of those concerned about the failure of gays and lesbians to live according to Biblical principles, they gave space to the views of activists campaigning for greater recognition of gay rights. For example, the editorial of December 2004 mentioned above articulates the newspaper's stance in this matter in (257) below.

(257) ... nor do we buy the evangelical Christian objection that same-sex unions are "unnatural" as (if) marriage was ordained for the propagation of children

Although *Mail & Guardian* was explicit in its editorial policy of rejecting religious objections to gay rights and gay liberation, letters in which such objections were articulated were published from time to time.

7.4 General gay liberation discourse features found across the two corpora

In this section, I shall highlight those features of the gay liberation discourse that emerged as most prominent in the analyses of the two corpora, as presented in chapters 5 and 6. I shall refer to how letters and articles published in the two newspapers implemented the liberation discourse of the time; to the ways in which the topicalisation of issues pertaining to homosexuality increased in frequency over time; to the way in which directly addressing issues pertaining to homosexuality overtook indirect allusions to these issues; to the ways in which the publications framed homosexuality, specifically also in terms of AIDS; and to how arguments related to social structures such as marriage, family life and the likes were introduced.

7.4.1 Implementation of liberation discourse

Both *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* published a high concentration of articles across various genres carrying “liberation discourse”. As was demonstrated in chapter 6, certain liberation discourse features were directly recognisable in the “gay liberation discourse” of the two newspapers: 74 of the 234 articles in the *City Press* corpus (32%) and 161 of the 550 articles in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus (29%) implemented such liberation discourse features. Figure 27 below shows that the implementation of liberation discourse in *City Press* peaked in 2001 and again in 2003. This corresponds to times during which gay marriage was increasingly topicalised in wider public discourses. The figure also shows that the implementation of liberation discourse in *Mail & Guardian* peaked in 1990, which was the time when the ANC was unbanned, and again in 2003 when gay marriage was placed on the public agenda.

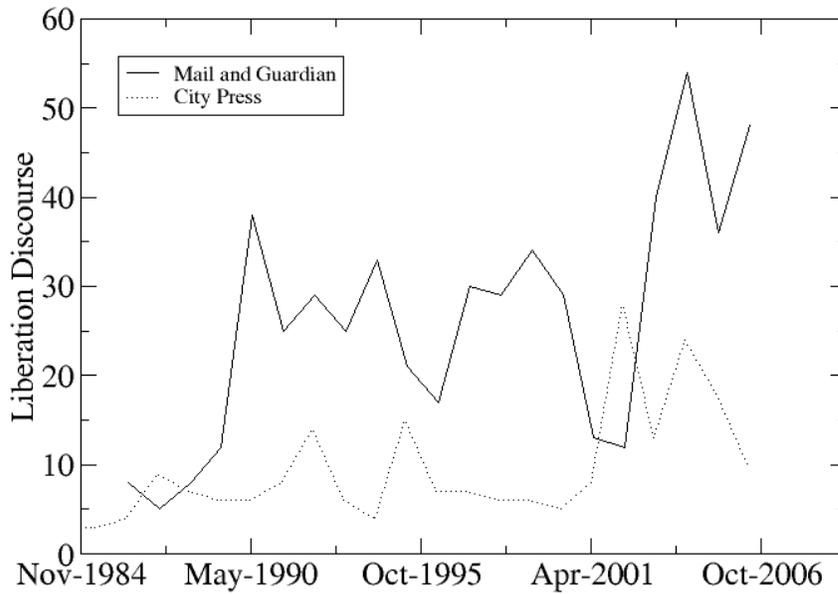


Figure 27 – Histogram of liberation discourse in *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian*

Although the implementation of liberation discourse in the two newspapers peaked at different times, there are marked similarities in how the authors that contributed articles and letters framed the gay liberation movement in terms of the broader liberation struggle. As was shown in chapter 5, for both *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* there were strong statistical correlations between gay-tolerance and the implementation of liberation discourse. Thus, an article in the “gay liberation discourse” category that implemented discursive features typically used in the general “liberation discourse” was macropropositionally far more likely to be gay-tolerant than any other article in the corpus. Typical features of liberation discourse that were found in the two newspapers I scanned for data, include references to equality (*City Press* 29 March 1987), democracy (*City Press* 21 May 1989), oppression (*City Press* 20 August 1989), and tolerance (*City Press* 28 February 1993).

7.4.2 Increase in volume of news items over time

The *City Press* and the *Mail & Guardian* corpora show similar increases in the frequency of news items topicalising homosexuality within a frame which agitated either for or against improved protection of rights for people in the gay community. As demonstrated by figures 1

and 14 above, both corpora show an increase in articles and letters on aspects of homosexuality in the years following the transition to democracy, and again in the years preceding the legalisation of gay marriage. Both newspapers show an increase in frequency of direct contributions to the gay liberation discourse around the year 2000; however, the *City Press* corpus demonstrates a consistent pattern across the full period in which news items with a gay-intolerant frame outweigh those with a more tolerant frame. By contrast, the *Mail & Guardian* corpus shows the opposite: news items within a gay-tolerant frame outweigh intolerant ones.

7.4.3 Direct vs indirect instantiation of gay liberation discourse

The data presented in chapter 5 shows that the two newspapers contained similar proportions of direct and indirect instantiations of homosexuality which this study refers to as “gay liberation discourse”. *City Press* data exhibited a ratio of 72% direct topicalisation to 28% indirect topicalisation; the *Mail & Guardian* data exhibited a ratio of 80.5% direct topicalisation to 18% indirect topicalisation.

7.4.4 Frames that functioned as master frames

The data introduced in chapter 5 shows that the master frames used most frequently overlap extensively between the two newspapers. Figure 7 above shows that *City Press* most frequently used celebrity discourse, religion, (in)tolerance, and AIDS frames, followed by ones of marriage and rights. Similarly, figure 20 above shows that *Mail & Guardian* most frequently used entertainment, (in)tolerance, religion and AIDS frames, followed by ones of marriage and rights.

Although the frequent implementation of rights, religion, AIDS and (in)tolerance frames was predicted by the literature (cf. section 3.8.1), it is interesting to note that across all genres *Mail & Guardian* most frequently topicalised homosexuality in reports on film festivals, book reviews, parties and travel supplements; within the same master frame, *City Press* most frequently reported on the lives of celebrities or events in which they featured. While such frames do not draw attention to the legal, political and social issues of gay rights and gay liberation, they have the effect of normalising gay and lesbian lifestyles by reminding heterosexual readers of such alternatives. The frequent and largely non-confrontational ways in which such frames present

homosexuality may be more effective in achieving frame changing aims than news items in which rigid or relaxed ideological views are explicitly challenged or reinforced.

7.4.5 AIDS as framing device

As indicated in chapter 5, both *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* demonstrate a lack of statistical dependence between intolerance and the implementation of AIDS frames. This means that where homosexuality is framed in terms of AIDS, one cannot predict a more or less intolerant predisposition. Nonetheless, figure 28 below demonstrates that both newspapers continued to topicalise homosexuality in terms of AIDS up to the end of the data collection period despite the fact AIDS transmission had been placed on the public agenda as a largely heterosexual infection in South Africa since the early 1980s.

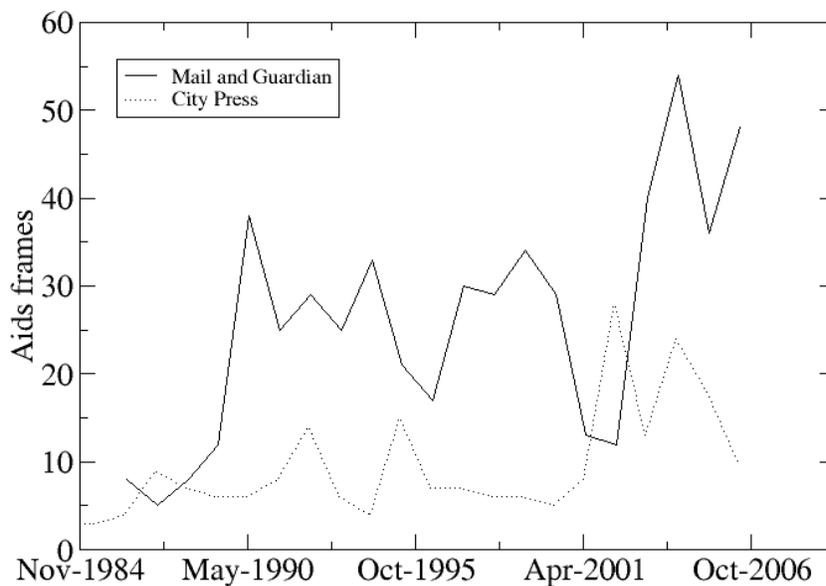


Figure 28 – Histogram of AIDS frames in *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian*

The frequency at which homosexuality was topicalised in terms of AIDS is similar for both newspapers: 34 of the 234 news items (15%) in the *City Press* corpus and 107 of the 550 news items (19%) in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus referred to AIDS. In spite of newspapers frequently topicalising homosexuality in emphasising the inaccuracy of stereotypes which construct gay

men as the predominant carriers of AIDS, the pairing of homosexuality and AIDS has remained in public collective memory, as is evidenced by news items such as those discussed above in section 6.3.6 where, in protesting against constitutional provisions for gays, a member of the “Africa Christian Action” group directly implicates AIDS as a gay-related scourge.

7.4.6 *Marriage as framing device*

Both corpora analysed in this study demonstrate statistical dependencies in various relationships that were tested as part of the quantitative analysis conducted in chapter 5. These dependencies were evident in the relationship between gay marriage frames and rights frames, as data from both newspapers show a strong correlation between the two frames. Thus, a publication that positions itself in favour of gay marriage is more likely to refer to rights than any other publication in the corpora. Further, figures 11 and 24 show that both corpora indicate an increase in the frequency of the implementation of marriage frames in the last five years of the data collection period. We can therefore conclude that marriage as a social institution remained of central concern in the gay liberation discourse, particularly during the times that general constitutional provisions in favour of gay rights were tested for their validity in also allowing for gay marriage.

7.4.7 *Religion as framing device*

Both corpora showed statistical dependencies between religion and morality, which demonstrates a strong correlation between religion and morality. Thus, a publication that frames homosexuality in terms of religion is more likely to contain moralising discourses than any other publication in the corpora. Figures 9 and 23 show that in both newspapers there was an increase in the frequency with which religious frames were implemented in the last five years of the data collection period. This can be attributed to the increased topicalisation of gay marriage and gay parenting during that period. Interestingly, while the religious frames in the *City Press* corpus were chiefly used to express intolerant sentiments, the majority of the religious frames in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus were used to express tolerant sentiments.

7.4.8 UnAfricanness as framing device

A further statistical dependence feature in both newspapers was found where intolerance frames and frames that presented homosexuality as “unAfrican” were used. *City Press* as well as the *Mail & Guardian* data demonstrate no statistical dependency between intolerance and UnAfrican frames, which means that a publication that frames homosexuality in terms of African values is no more likely to be intolerant than any other publication in the corpora. Unlike the similarities discussed above, the lack of correlation between intolerance and UnAfrican frames is surprising as the literature indicates that such arguments are commonly implemented in order to support arguments against gay rights and gay liberation. While news items containing unAfrican frames were found in the data, the lack of statistical correlation is indicative of the fact that a comparable number of news items were found in which authors provided counterframes to the unAfrican argument.

7.4.9 Parenting as framing device

My analyses further indicated statistical dependence between parenting frames and articles that referred to the subcategory “lesbian”. Both corpora demonstrated a strong correlation between lesbianism and parenting frames, which means that a publication that framed homosexuality in terms of parenting was more likely to refer to gay women than to gay men. This is one of the only frames in which gay women are referred to more often, as evidenced in figures 13 and 26 above. The fact that both *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* topicalised male homosexuality more frequently than lesbianism could of course be given much more attention; however, this study could not manage scrutinising the full data set and explaining this obvious inequality in terms of attention and sensitivity.

7.5 Specific gay liberation discourse features limited to one of the two corpora

The following section will give a summary of the significant discursive features that were found in either the *City Press* corpus or the *Mail & Guardian* corpus, thus that were specific to either the one or the other newspaper. These are features that contributed to shaping and marking the gay liberation discourse, but are at the same time associated specifically with the newspaper that

used them. The findings given here emerged from the data analyses given in chapters 5 and 6. The features to be discussed include the ideological stance of each newspaper, various implementations of (master) frames and framing tasks, references to power elites and political affiliations, the images attached to texts, references to celebrity discourse and entertainment, and certain statistical dependencies.

7.5.1 Ideological stance

One of the main differences between the discourses of *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* is the way in which the newspapers position themselves ideologically. As demonstrated in figure 2 above, the *City Press* data shows a pattern across the full data collection period in which the number of articles and letters with a master frame conveying a gay-intolerant stance is more or less equal to the number conveying a gay-tolerant or even actively supportive stance. By contrast, figure 15 demonstrates that the pattern in *Mail & Guardian* was to publish considerably more gay-tolerant and gay-supportive material. In addition to the ideological stance identified by the nature of the macropropositional content of articles and letters published in each newspaper, the editorial column of *Mail & Guardian* regularly identified the newspaper's ideological stance as explicitly in favour of extending and establishing gay rights. In contrast, while *City Press* occasionally published content which indicated an explicit ideological stance, as discussed in section 7.2.1 above, its editorial column did not make the newspaper's ideological stance explicit in any way.

I took as indicative of the newspapers' ideological stance not only explicit journalistic positioning, but also the frequency at which each newspaper carried material that topicalised homosexuality, and so counted as a contribution to the gay liberation discourse. *City Press* published a total of 234 items in the time period between 11 April 1982 and 15 October 2006, which amounts to 0.18 items in this discourse per week, while *Mail & Guardian* published a total 550 items in the time period between 9 May 1986 and 21 December 2006, which amounts to 0.51 items per week. These figures indicate that overall *Mail & Guardian* considers issues relating to homosexuality to be more newsworthy than does *City Press*. One can therefore conclude that *Mail & Guardian* places homosexuality on the public agenda more decidedly than *City Press*. Although the combination of gay-supportive positioning and frequency of gay-topical

articles in *Mail & Guardian* is likely to have an effect on its readership of attitude changing or attitude support towards extending gay rights, the letters-to-the-editor column published a number of letters in which readers disagreed with the newspaper's broad coverage of gay and lesbian issues. Thus *Mail & Guardian* did not bluntly suppress voices of dissent in terms of the editorial stance on these matters.

7.5.2 Elites cited as authoritative voices

As discussed above in section 2.5.2, certain individuals, known as “power elites”, have more social, political or economic power than others, and therefore their opinions hold more weight in public discourses. The *City Press* corpus and the *Mail & Guardian* corpus both followed a regular framing practice of referring to power elites in support of a particular position. Interestingly, the elites cited in each newspaper were not the same ones. As discussed above in section 7.2, *City Press* data most often cited Simon Nkoli, Brenda Fassie and Robert Mugabe, who occupy spaces ranging from gay activist to bisexual celebrity to homophobic political leader, respectively. While these elites differ considerably in the nature of their contributions to (anti-)gay liberation Discourse, it is notable that all three are black identity figures which, in racial identity terms, fit the majority of the *City Press* readership. The tendency to show solidarity with the readership (and in fact with a majority of the South African citizens which is often obscured in local media) and thus to focus on the position and experience of black individuals, is established in this newspaper's written content as well as in its images.

Interestingly, in the *Mail & Guardian* data across the full period, the most often cited power elites are Winnie Mandela, Jacob Zuma and Simon Nkoli. This indicates that in its selection of power elites the racial identity of *Mail & Guardian's* largely white readership is not a significant determiner. What is significant here, is the way in which these three iconic figures each represent a different position within the (anti-)gay liberation Discourse. This implicitly recognises that there is no correlation between racial identity and a single position regarding gay rights activism. The prevalence of references to these black elite persona stands in contrast to the relevant content and images found in the newspaper, which largely reflect issues articulated within white gay and lesbian groups. This could be taken as testifying to the way in which South Africa has still not overcome racial societal divisions.

7.5.3 Political affiliations

The *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* data differ in how they explicate the political affiliations between the gay liberation movement and South African political parties. At the beginning of the data collection period, the *City Press* news items do contain some references to the ANC perspective on gay rights, and later a few articles refer to Simon Nkoli's role in the ANC. Nevertheless, *City Press* is largely silent on the matter of the political affiliations that allowed gay rights to be written into the 1993 Interim Constitution and eventually also entrenched in the final version of the national Constitution. In contrast to this, *Mail & Guardian* frequently and explicitly outlines the ANC's official stance on gay rights and gay liberation. To illustrate this, the article of 18 May 1990 analysed in 6.3.5 above gives a detailed discussion of negotiations between OLGA and Albie Sachs who was the ANC expert on the constitutional rights of formerly marginalised groups.

7.5.4 Attention to male-female differences

The *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* corpora differ in the extent to which each newspaper articulates arguments for and against gay liberation in terms of male and female homosexuality. *City Press* pays relatively equal attention to both gay and lesbian issues (57% vs. 40%, respectively); *Mail & Guardian*, by contrast, pays significantly more attention to issues relating to male homosexuality, with 77% of the identified items referring to gay men and 44% of the news items referring to lesbians. Interestingly, the *City Press* showed an inverse pattern with regards to news items in which marriage and parenting are topicalised, demonstrating a stronger statistical correlation between the terms "lesbian" and "marriage" and "lesbian" and "parenting" than between the terms "gay" and "marriage" and "gay" and "parenting".

7.5.5 Celebrity discourse framing

The two newspapers across the full period exhibited different approaches to celebrity discourse: in the *City Press* corpus, 45 of the 230 identified news items (20%) framed homosexuality in terms of celebrity discourse, compared to 8 of the 546 identified news items (1.5%) in *Mail & Guardian* which framed homosexuality in such terms. As mentioned before (section 7.5.2), the

City Press items that used a celebrity discourse frame chiefly centered on the colourful life of songstress Brenda Fassie, whose fluid sexuality is constructed as part of a “train wreck narrative” rather than a valid life choice. Interestingly, an article published on 23 July 1995 claimed that the public’s obsession with Brenda Fassie had placed the plight of black lesbians on the public agenda. This indicates that even negative coverage of gay and lesbian celebrities may eventually lead to an increase in discussion and tolerance. While *Mail & Guardian’s* topicalisation of celebrities’ sexual preferences was infrequent, where it did focus on gay and lesbian leisure and entertainment, it provided a similar lighthearted forum in which alternative sexuality could be examined.

Celebrity discourse master frames were the most commonly implemented master frames in the publications that make up the *City Press* corpus, comprising 21% of the master frames implemented in *City Press* discourses. A review of the data reveals a growing trend from 2001 onwards in which gay and lesbian celebrities’ sexuality was increasingly topicalised, with 79% of the *City Press’s* celebrity discourse frames being implemented between 2001 and 2006. The data further shows that this trend was non-existent until 1990 (0.04%), and rarely used between 1990 and 2001 (16%). Interestingly, celebrity discourse frames were not found in a non-master frame position, meaning that celebrity discourse was either the focus of the publication, or it was not present.

Celebrity discourse frames were implemented significantly less in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus, making up 10% of the master frames utilised in *Mail & Guardian* discourses, showing that the trend of topicalising celebrities’ sexuality did not develop in the *Mail & Guardian* data in the same way as it did in the *City Press* data. Further, as was the case with the *City Press* data, celebrity discourse frames were not found in a non-master frame position, meaning that celebrity discourse was either the focus of the publication, or it was not present.

7.5.6 Entertainment and leisure framing

As mentioned above in section 7.4.4, *Mail & Guardian* is unique in its focus on gay and lesbian entertainment and leisure, with “entertainment” as the most commonly implemented frame in the corpus. Such items would typically belong to other than the reporting or letterwriting genres, and

would feature non-political issues such as book reviews, film festivals and discussions of the annual pride parade. Nevertheless, they are interspersed with important social and political messages, and create a platform in which various aspects of queer theory can be introduced. Such aspects include frequent references to the language used to address and discuss gays and lesbians, the (re)enforcement and challenging of stereotypes, and the social and political effects of the annual pride parade.

7.5.7 Religion framing

Another marked feature of the gay liberation Discourse in the two newspapers can be identified in the statistical dependence between intolerance and religion, as is discussed in section 5.2.5. In the *City Press* 47% of the publications in which religious frames are implemented express intolerant sentiments, while 39% express tolerant sentiments. This means that in the *City Press* data, an article that frames homosexuality in terms of religion is more likely to be intolerant than any other item in the corpus. In contrast, 74% of the *Mail & Guardian* publications in which religious frames are implemented express tolerant sentiments, while 12% express intolerant sentiments. This reflects a pattern in which the *Mail & Guardian* tends to frame religious arguments pertaining to homosexuality in terms of the church's failure to embrace gay and lesbian leaders and congregants rather than in terms of sin.

7.6 Summary of key findings

This study started out with a particular interest in the characterising features of arguments for and against gay rights. As has been demonstrated in chapter 6, authors typically use certain words, phrases, and indirect forms of making meaning (such as implication and presupposition) in reproducing the ideologies they have internalised. Additionally they present their position by selecting one or more frames in which they topicalise homosexuality. How these frames are selected and implemented become evident in author's selection of the individual lexical items and modified phrases that typically carry connotative meanings that support the author's characterisation of the topic. The author's use of further textual devices such as metaphor or rhetorical instruments such as questions or repetitions appears to be equally influenced by the selection of the master frame(s). These textual realisations of the author's ideological stance

enable the author to implement the framing tasks and frame alignment processes that promote the goals of the social movement, and intend to affect readers by bringing about either confirmation of, or attitude changes towards the author's expressed perspective.

An examination of the process described above revealed the extent to which sociological framing theory provides a useful extension to the theoretical and analytical framework outlined by Van Dijk. The amalgamation of these two frameworks was motivated by the fact that Van Dijk's theoretical and analytical framework largely focuses on the process through which text is produced by writers and internalised by readers, while the collective action framing theory discussed in chapter 3.6 focuses on the process that follows the internalisation of such ideology, namely the reproduction of internalised ideologies with the intention of contributing to public discourses and/or effecting social change.

A review of the quantitative and qualitative data discussed above in chapters 5 and 6 reveals that the most commonly implemented anti-gay rights frames were arguments in which homosexuality was framed in terms of religion and morality. Interestingly, and contrary to expectations, the data analysis revealed that neither unAfrican frames nor AIDS frames were consistently associated with anti-gay rights arguments. Further, the analyses given in chapters 5 and 6 reveal that the most commonly implemented frames supportive of extending gay rights were arguments in which homosexuality was framed in terms of South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle, human rights, equality and homophobic victimisation. It was interesting to note that the same frame could be used in support of or to counter arguments for recognising gay rights, such as frames of morality or of religion. Nonetheless, the frequency at which particular frames are implemented to express particular sentiments allow these findings to disclose which ideological stances underlie arguments for and against gay rights. Such findings allow one to categorise such arguments in terms of the likelihood of them being used by particular religious and political in-groups and out-groups.

A third key finding relates to the extent to which authors supportive of the gay liberation movement framed their arguments in similar terms as those used in South Africa's broader liberation struggle Discourse. Figure 53 above shows how articles and letters published in both *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* implemented liberation discourse throughout the data collection period (1982-2006), and that the highest frequency of such implementation took place in the last

five years of the data collection period. This indicates an intensified use of liberation struggle discourse features almost 10 years after introduction of the new Constitution, specifically in the times during which the legalisation of gay marriage was on the public agenda. Further, the fact that 32% of the *City Press* items and 29% of the *Mail & Guardian* items in the corpora framed their pro-gay rights arguments in anti-apartheid discourse, lends strong support to the hypothesis that the gay liberation movement was facilitated by the country's broader liberation movement. Thus, in terms of the interest in a correlation between the two Discourses, the finding is positive.

As discussed in 7.5.1 above, the extent to which the different newspapers positioned themselves ideologically is a further interesting finding of the study. Although this was not primarily a comparative study, it was interesting to note that the two newspapers that were investigated have different readerships, and that their selection of articles and letters for publication did respond to the positions they assumed and had gauged to be most prevalent among their readers. *City Press* was shown to have more of the counter-discourse that would deny gay rights, while the *Mail & Guardian* was shown to be quite explicitly in favour of extending gay rights both constitutionally and in societal attitudes that are accommodating of differences in sexual orientation.

A review of the data discussed in chapters 5 and 6 discloses that *City Press* presented a more balanced view of South Africa's gay liberation discourse than did *Mail & Guardian*. *City Press* contained a relatively even number of gay-supportive and gay-intolerant items. In contrast, *Mail & Guardian* occupied an explicitly pro-gay rights stance throughout the data collection period, which is reflected in the extent to which items supportive of gay activism outweigh items with a gay-intolerant position. Frequent and explicit editorial commentary on this stance of advocacy for gay liberation adds evidence to this finding.

A fifth interesting finding of this study relates to the ways in which the ideologies found in the news reports were attributed to different sources. The news items analysed in chapter 6 demonstrated three types of attribution. The first type relates to the strategies discussed by Scollon (1998, cf. section 4.7.2.9), in which the newspaper attributes the report or letter to an author specifically named, such as Elias Maluleke (see 6.3.7). The author, in addition to his/her own voice, often delegates either authorship or principalship (or both) to an external source that is characterised in a way that only implicitly reveals the author's own evaluation of the attributed

content, such as citing Nkoli. The second type of attribution relates to agency, in which authors make use of explicit strategies such as naming (e.g. “the Church” in 6.2.3), and implicit strategies such as thematic roles and active/passive voice in order to attribute various degrees of agency to actors. The third type of attribution is a strategy in which authors refer to various authoritative sources either without citing the source as in 6.2.5 where (e.g.) reference is made to “most studies”, or e.g. in explicitly relying on the views of elites such as Cameron, Mandela or Brenda Fassie.

A further interesting finding of this study is the fact that neither the *City Press* nor the *Mail & Guardian* discourses showed a positive correlation between the expression of intolerant sentiments and the use of AIDS frames, as predicted in the literature. In fact, an inverse pattern was found in which both corpora expressed used AIDS frames to express tolerant sentiments more often than intolerant sentiments, with 56% of the *City Press*- and 80% of the *Mail & Guardian* AIDS frames expressing tolerant sentiments.

A final interesting finding of this study is the extent to which both *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* articulated arguments for and against the gay liberation movement in terms of male homosexuality. As discussed above in section 7.5.4, both *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* demonstrated a pattern in which male homosexuality is topicalised more often than female homosexuality, with a discrepancy of 17% in the *City Press* corpus and a discrepancy of 33% in the *Mail & Guardian* corpus. While the *City Press* data shows an increase in the frequency with which lesbian issues are articulated, the *Mail & Guardian* data indicates relative stability.

Overall, in identifying discursive features typical of the gay liberation discourse in the reporting of two prominent weekly newspapers, it is important to note that both presented a view of homosexuality that allowed airing of the full range of arguments for and against extension of gay rights, inscribed in the Constitution as well as accepted into community practices. This study did not set out to test how the various frames were received and interpreted by readers. Therefore, it is not possible to judge which frames would have had an attitude-changing effect and in which cases readers would defend their existing mental models of the individuals, events and phenomena topicalised in the items identified as carriers of the gay liberation discourse in these newspapers.

7.7 Limitations

What significantly limited this study was the lack of electronic archives of South African newspapers dating further back than 2000. This increased the time and cost associated with the data collection process, which limited the amount of material that could be included in the corpus, as well as the types of analyses that could be conducted on the manually archived material. Although data was collected from two further publications, popular weekly magazines that have considerably less sophisticated readerships than *City Press* and the *Mail & Guardian*, the data could (for reasons of time and space) not be included here. Most probably the discursive features of such publications would differ from the ones found in this study. It is also likely that they would more closely reiterate the findings of the HSRC studies on attitudes to homosexuality, than was the case in my corpora.

7.8 Suggestions for further research

There are several ways in which a study of this nature could be broadened and taken further. My primary recommendation would be that the project be extended to include different types of news items, such as mainstream, gay and religious magazines and pamphlets. Such a comparison would allow the researcher to gauge the extent to which different types of publications engage in the Discourse in different ways.

A second recommendation is that with improved electronic data built into properly coded corpora, the study could cover a longer period of time in order to determine the time period during which liberation discourse was first implemented in pro-gay rights arguments. Such an extension would allow the researcher to identify ways in which homosexuality was historically framed in South Africa.

A third recommendation is that the study investigates the nature of gay liberation discourse in media published in other South African languages. Admittedly, such printed publications are few and have low circulation figures (for reasons outside the scope of the investigation here). Nevertheless, such an investigation would allow access and insight into perspectives that are

prevalent in an alternative readership, possibly representative of sentiments among a larger part of the South African population than those who use English in accessing the printed media.

A final recommendation, in line with references made in the analyses above is that the study be extended to include a multimodal image analysis. There is a growing and enduring interest in the ways in which the images that accompany articles contribute to the meanings expressed in the articles, and the placement of images of crossdressing with text in which no mention is made of transgenderism (as was often the case in the *Mail & Guardian* news items) gives an indication that such multimodal image analysis is warranted in the case of news items topicalising homosexuality.

7.9 Recommendations

As I mentioned at the outset, in chapter 1, there are a number of studies that have shown South African gays and lesbians to be dissatisfied with the ways in which the South African media portray homosexuality (cf. Ndlovu 2006). Their objection is to publications that frequently circulate sensationalist and stereotypical content in their identification of gay people. This reported practice is borne out by the ways in which both *City Press* and *Mail & Guardian* often used images of drag queens to illustrate letters or articles which do not refer to cross-dressing or transgenderism. Similar to the Ndlovu study cited in section 1.5.2.5, the findings of the present study point to the need for more responsible and representative reporting on South African gay and lesbian issues, which should include reports of homophobic victimisation, profiles of gay and lesbian role models, and material in which the gap between constitutional attitudes and personal attitudes is addressed.

The theoretical frameworks explored in this study suggest that a more representative media portrayal of gay and lesbian South Africans will help to bridge the immense gap between our country's Constitutional values and the attitudes of the members of our civil society. Until the freedoms and protections afforded to gay and lesbian South Africans are internalised into individual ideologies and behaviours, they remain a utopian ideal.

7.10 Conclusion

I wrote the last pages of this thesis on the 16th of June 2013, thirty seven years after members of the South African police service shot and killed 176 young people, my fellow citizens, for protesting against violations of their basic human rights. In spite of the inspiring ways in which our country has changed in 19 years of democracy, the violence and prevalence of homophobic hate crimes testifies to the fact that our struggle is far from over. The changes that need to take place before South Africa will truly be free of discrimination in terms that I ascribe to, are more and different to the ones that have taken place up till now, as they centre on personal attitudes rather than laws. While many South Africans seem to hold on to unreasonable prejudices based on unfounded ideas and often irrelevant ideological systems, others seem to have internalised Simon Nkoli's mantra of "none can be free until all are free" and continue the fight for freedom in a variety of different ways.

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Appendix A

1 **'It's OK to be gay' (2 September 1984)**

2 **Homosexuals don't need a cure, say the experts.**

3 Amanda is a young woman who is unsure of her feelings. She has had sexual and emotional
4 relationships with men and they have left her feeling unfulfilled.

5

6 She is not afraid of men but feels she is more attracted to women. She wonders whether she is
7 homosexual and she fears what this means for her.

8 She is likely to be treated as an outcast. She will have to face the fact that people are only
9 regarded as important if they bear children and get married. Whatever she chooses, it will
10 cause difficulties.

11 If she chooses to live a homosexual life, she risks being rejected by the community. But she
12 also needs a close relationship. She feels stuck and is scared that she may not be normal
13 and that she needs help.

14 **WHAT IS HOMOSEXUALITY?**

15 Homosexuality (or being "gay") is when a person feels emotionally and sexually attracted
16 towards someone of their own sex.

17 This is seen by some to be abnormal, immature, immoral or sick. Because of this, people feel
18 it is a disease which needs to be, and can be, cured.

19 But most studies have found there is no difference in the mental health of people who are
20 homosexual and people who are heterosexual. People who are happy with their homosexual
21 choice and are able to cope socially cannot be regarded as mentally ill.

22 Nearly, ten years ago, the American Psychological Association said homosexuality is not a
23 mental disease. They said homosexuality as such does not affect a person's ability to cope
24 with life, hold down a job and have good relationships. It must be seen as another choice that
25 people have rather than a sick one.

26 In a study of 76 countries, in 2 out of 3 of them, homosexuality was considered socially
27 acceptable. Homosexuality has been present in all societies ever since people can remember.

28 While homosexual practice is illegal in South Africa, there are many countries where people
29 are allowed to perform any sexual acts that do not harm themselves or others.

30 Homosexual people may suffer a wide variety of psychological, social and mental problems,
31 but these are not necessarily because of homosexuality.

32 It can happen that the individual who is homosexual believes society's judgement and comes
33 to believe he is immoral, bad, abnormal or sick.

34 However homosexuality only becomes a problem if the person thinks it is a problem for
35 themselves and not because someone else says so.

36 WHAT TO DO ABOUT BEING HOMOSEXUAL?

37 Many people have had times when they feel attracted to somebody of their own sex, and
38 some of these people have had homosexual experiences.

39 For example, people living in prison or hostels may have had a homosexual experience, even
40 though they are not actually homosexuals.

41 Some of the ways of knowing that you are homosexual is if you form romantic links with
42 people of your own sex; you have dreams or daydreams about sexual contact with them and
43 you are sexually aroused and enjoy sex with them.

44 Once you have decided that you prefer homosexuality then you need to choose whether you
45 want to live that life or live according to society's values.

46 This is not an easy choice and can never be taken lightly. If it is important for you to declare
47 publicly your homosexuality as well, then this too is something you must consider very
48 seriously. This may cause problems with your family, friends and your community and in
49 your job. You must be sure that it is what YOU want to do.

50 Being homosexual can be very lonely and many have found it very important to get support
51 and belong to a group where they will be accepted.

52 GASA (Gay Association of South Africa) is such a group and can provide not only friendship
53 and support, but also legal and psychological help if you need it. You can contact them at:
54 Gay Advice Bureau from 7-10 pm at (JHB) 725-4703.

55 *-Home Press Doctor*

Appendix B

1 **GAY and PROUD! (14 October 1990)**

2 By Elias Maluleke

3 “Mama, I am gay.” said Simon Nkoli, 30, when in 1977 he no longer wanted to hide his
4 preference for male friends.

5 At the time, the former Delmas Treason Trinlist was a high school student in the Vaal
6 Triangle and a leading member of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

7 He said his parents were shocked at his revelation and immediately sent him to a psychologist
8 for treatment.

9 “They brought me up straight. I had anything I wanted and a Catholic religion to mould my
10 future- and there was confusion when I told them. They thought I was crazy or something
11 like that,” he said.

12 Nkoli said after going for treatment for six months he saw no difference in his preference for
13 relationships with men and although his father accepted it, his mother was “depressed”.

14 “Fortunately she now understands and accepts I have the right to be what I want to be-
15 something which is still lacking in other parents.”

16 He is now a member of the ANC and leader of the non-racial Gay and Lesbian Organisation
17 of the Witwatersrand (Glow), which organised yesterday’s Johannesburg “Pride March”.

18 Hundreds of gays, lesbians and their supporters from as far as Swaziland, Zimbabwe,
19 Botswana and other parts of Africa gave their support to the march.

20 Nkoli has travelled extensively in the country and overseas as an anti-apartheid activist and
21 gay and lesbian rights campaigner. He has also been acknowledged, honoured with
22 meritorious awards and feted by gay movement and leading politicians worldwide.

23 He was honoured in the United States by New York mayor David Dinkins, who gave him the
24 keys and the freedom of the borough of Manhattan last year.

25 He has also been given citations by mayors of other US cities, including Marion Barry of
26 Columbia and Art Agnes of San Francisco.

27 In South Africa, Nkoli is also widely known in the gay and lesbian society and his name is
28 held in high esteem by civic and political movements.

29 “But it was not easy at first because of the stigma attached to people who love people of the
30 same sex,” he said. He was shunned by others at first, but accepted in some circles.

31 “After I left school I worked for the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg, but left
32 because I felt out of place as a gay-because I could not express myself and be understood by
33 others.”

34 The eldest of four children, Nkoli was born in Soweto and grew up at the Vaal where he
35 participated in a number of committees before his arrest with other UDF members.

36 He started to fancy men in Std Nine and struggled to come to grips with this. After he left
37 school and worked for the Institution, he spent most of his time in Johannesburg.

38 **Ordinary guys and girls go on a hugs-and kisses march to rid SA of bias**

39 “I lived with gays, moving from one club to another and retiring to a flat in Hillbrow when I
40 wanted to rest.

41 “I joined a Johannesburg gay club in 1983, but felt unhappy because it was dominated by
42 whites. Blacks and lesbians had no say at all. Other members also felt unhappy about my
43 political activities.”

44 As a prominent black homosexual in apartheid South Africa, he was invited to several
45 overseas countries where he spoke out against apartheid and the discrimination against
46 homosexuals and lesbians here.

47 However, when he was arrested for treason with the UDF leadership, he says the gay club
48 turned its back on him because he was not arrested for homosexual activities. Support came
49 from individuals and gay movements overseas.

50 Nkoli also found it difficult in the cells among his co-trialists because most of them were
51 shocked to learn he was gay.

52 “I was with 22 people in a cell who found it difficult to relate to me-until I showed them I
53 was not different from them.”

54 He said it changed their belief and they started to relate to him as a person.

55 On his release in 1988 he founded Glow with other gays and started on his overseas trips to
56 seek support for the gay and lesbian movements in South Africa. He has been to Holland,
57 Canada, the UK, Greece and several other countries.

58 The support he had been receiving overseas from gay, anti-apartheid and human rights
59 organisations made him feel comfortable as a “comrade” back home.

60 A member of the Anglican Church today, Nkoli says attitudes against gays and lesbians are
61 changing for the better in South Africa and the new generation was more enlightened and
62 better equipped to accept gays and lesbians into their fold.

63 “Many parents were made to chase their gay and lesbian children away from their homes and
64 many of these people committed suicide to escape harassment.”

65 Nkoli would like to see gays and lesbians treated equally before the law and victimisation
66 stopped.

67 “Gays and lesbians are being blackmailed by other people and fear to report to the police
68 because the harassment and victimisation would continue right in the charge office.

69 “For instance, when a man is robbed and goods stolen in his house he reports to the police
70 and action is taken. But when he is gay they are reluctant to act.

71 “Hopefully it will all change because we now have gay attorneys, doctors and other
72 professional people who are coming out in the open to declare their sexual affiliations.”

73 He said black teachers who were gay suffered the most victimisation as they feared they
74 would be sacked.

75 Nkoli said that the march aimed to demonstrate to all South Africans that gays are just
76 ordinary people

77 Nkoli said the march was intended to dispel the myth surrounding black gays and lesbians in
78 the community and to make people aware that being gay or lesbian was not a sin but the
79 right of the individual to choose sexual partners.

80 “Black people are still looking at gay and lesbian activities with scorn because for them it is
81 taboo for a man or a woman to love a person of the same sex,” Nkoli said

82 The “Pride March” is the first of its kind organised in southern Africa.

83 Apart from gay and lesbian couples hugging and kissing in the streets in a “massive public
84 display which will affirm the right of gays and lesbians to be physically affectionate in
85 public”, members of the public, liberal churches, human rights and political organisations
86 joined in solidarity.

87 Among other organisations the ANC, Community Health Centre and People Opposing
88 Women Abuse (Powa) backed the march. Invited speakers included Ron Nerio, a visiting
89 political scientist from the United States who is an authority on “gay politics”.

90 Others were outspoken homosexual NGK dominee Hendrik Pretorius, author of the book
91 *Being gay- Punishment or Blessing?*, lawyer Edwin Cameron who is a specialist in gay rights
92 and the law, Nkoli and his Glow co-chair, Donne Rundle.

93 ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs said in a message of support to Glow that the ANC
94 would like to see a new constitution that guaranteed gay and lesbian community full
95 protection against any form of discrimination, harassment or abuse because of their “sexual
96 orientation”.

97 The Rev Peter Jackson of St George's United Church in Hillbrow also sent a message of
98 support to Glow and said the Church should re-evaluate its "unqualified condemnation of
99 people with homosexual orientation".

100 Rundle said: "We are not just marching to protest, we are also marching to celebrate our own
101 identities and to build a storm and visible unity among gay and lesbian people and their
102 supporters.

103 "Only with such unity can we join the coalition of all progressive organisations calling for
104 human rights in a new South Africa.

105 "Sadly acceptance is still not offered to gay and lesbian people and as a result many people
106 were not able to participate openly in the march

Appendix C

1 ‘Gays’ need help, not rights (27 August 1995)

2 I am commenting on homosexuals-or so-called “gays”- and their rights, following President
3 Robert Mugabe’s condemnation of them.

4 What is the African viewpoint on homosexuals?

5 Can any African man or woman go to an African village or squatter camp and proudly
6 announce that he or she is a homosexual?

7 As far as I know African culture has always regarded homosexuality as a deviation from what
8 is morally normal, or as a mental lapse.

9 In African societies traditional doctors have often been quietly consulted to cure the victims
10 of homosexuality. A ceremony is usually performed between the dead and the living.

11 **PRESIDENT MUGABE...Sees no place for homosexuality in an African**
12 **context**

13 Droughts and other natural disasters and natural misfortunes have often been believed to be
14 caused by such unnatural behaviour. Homosexuality has always been classed with incest and
15 sex with animals.

16 It seems fair to sympathise with homosexuals on the ground that their behaviour may be
17 caused by some psychological abnormality, and perhaps the explanation of psychiatrists and
18 psychologists should be solicited to help us understand the causes of this behavioural
19 problem.

20 Homosexuals are definitely acting against the laws of nature. Surely even dogs and pigs do
21 not practice homosexuality?

22 Is President Mugabe wrong when he says, “if dogs and pigs do not do it, why should human
23 beings? We have our own culture, and we must rededicate ourselves to our traditional values
24 that make us human beings”?

25 What do theologians say about homosexuality? What is the church’s pronouncement on the
26 subject?

27 The Bible is harsher on homosexuals than President Mugabe.

28 The Bible says, “if a man lieth with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have
29 committed an abomination. They shall surely be put to death...And if a man lie with beast, he
30 shall surely be put to death and ye shall slay the beast” (Leviticus 20:13 & 15).

- 31 The law of the Old Testament Bible has some affinity with the norms of African traditional
32 culture before it was tainted by the decadent European culture.
- 33 The Eurocentric viewpoint on homosexuality may be “unquestionably right”, but the
34 Afrocentric viewpoint which President Mugabe expressed leaves a question mark on the
35 question of homosexuality, which the Bible describes as an abomination.
- 36 -Dr Matsoko Pheko, Johannesburg

Appendix D

1 **‘Gay-ness’ isn’t like the flu (17 September 1995)**

2 I would like to comment on the letter by Dr Matsoko Pheko of Johannesburg which you
3 printed on the 27th August ’95 with a bold headline saying “Gays” need help not rights.

4 At a glance the article seemed legitimate. Just a person- expressing his views and exercising
5 his freedom of speech. But when one looks at it carefully it is blatant judgement-
6 condemnation and discrimination against people that he doesn’t even understand.

7 **HOMOSEXUALITY IS NOT ON...Dr Matsoko Pheko says homosexuality is**
8 **‘unbiblical’, but feels that**
9 **‘gays’ need help.**

10 I am not a lesbian, but I respect all homosexuals because, just like Peko and myself, they are
11 human beings.

12 I understand that people have the right to express their thoughts, but I don’t think it’s fair for
13 them to express their ill feelings and intentionally hurt other people.

14 I personally do not understand how one woman finds herself attracted to another woman, but
15 I respect that as it is not my duty to judge.

16 Pheko and President Mugabe speak about homosexuality in an African context, which I do
17 not understand. Why do they feel the need to separate gays? Do we talk of stealing or
18 killing in an African context? No, killing is killing and it is wrong in whichever context.

19 Dr Pheko started by saying homosexuals are morally abnormal and then he said they need
20 sympathy.

21 Homosexuals do not need anyone’s sympathy or understanding. They want their rights as
22 human beings. I have watched many documentaries and shows on TV concerning gays and
23 I’ll tell you something: They are not the savages they have been made out to be by
24 Mugabe.

25 Both these men have no clear understanding of these people and neither do I-nor a lot of
26 people for that matter-but they took it upon themselves to judge them, saying they are
27 morally wrong.

28 What, I ask, are morals? My morals are not your morals.

29 Dr Pheko refers to homosexuals as though they are these things from outer space that need to
30 be kept out of our “precious society”.

31 Dr Pheko, our society is hell on earth. We live in fear of our lives all the time. But you see fit
32 to criticize homosexuals – who do not threaten mankind in any way. If they were the Klu
33 Klux Klan, maybe I would be against them. But they are not.

34 Dr Pheko's thoughts show a kind of naivety that I cannot understand for a man of his stature.
35 You see! I am attacking his thoughts and his utterances, not him, because I do not know him.
36 But he did not think twice about judging people that he doesn't even know.

37 His naivety is also somewhat surprising because he sees homosexuality as a problem-as
38 though it were the flu that one can cure with medicine. But it is not. Homosexuals are here to
39 stay. It's not a South African problem or a world problem, but it's a fact.

40 Several surveys have shown that gay people may actually be born gay so although there
41 might be those who go through a gay phase, for most it was not so.

42 Dr Pheko also makes references to the Bible, but did he even stop to think about people who
43 do not follow any kind of religion, of people who do not believe in God? He wrote that article
44 with a holier-than-thou attitude and I don't think that it was fair of him.

45 I think it's time we started questioning our society. Who gives the next person the right to
46 judge whether or not what you are doing is morally right or wrong? I think it's time we
47 started living our lives according to our individual beliefs and not according to what society
48 deems fit and unfit.

49 I am 18 years old, young and impressionable. I don't want to be gay, but I respect all
50 homosexuals for daring to come out in the open in a society in which most people are narrow
51 minded. I may not be part of them but I understand their plight and I support their
52 struggle.

53 Makhosazana Khosi

54 Khanyile, Chiawelo

Appendix E

1 **Homosexuality is all in the individual's mind (22 September 1996)**

2 **HOMOSEXUALITY should be seen as a curable psychological state, says Rev**

3 **LEBAMANG SEBIDI (below), executive director of the Trust for Educational**
4 **Advancement in South Africa.**

5 The constitution bans all discrimination against people, including discrimination on the basis
6 of sexual orientation.

7 But this ban does not exempt churches from continually trying to clarify their understanding
8 of the ethical intricacies concerning homosexuality.

9 The abrasiveness with which President Robert Mugabe and his Zimbabwean supporters
10 handle this question indicates the wild emotions the issue evokes.

11 When one listens carefully to the debate raging around this issue, one can discern two major
12 positions that can be labelled the Conservative Christian Stand and the Liberal Stand.

13 The Conservative Christian Stance is unambiguous: homosexuality is sinful for two reasons.
14 It is a distortion of God's creative intent and all you have to do to realise this is to look at the
15 physical structure of human genitalia. Secondly, homosexuality is wilfully embraced for
16 selfish reasons. It is not an innate tendency. It is acquired and can therefore be cured-
17 especially through a spiritual conversion.

18 Biblical texts just about clinch the argument against homosexuality, say the Conservative
19 Christian Stance, quoting verses such as:

20 "You shall not lie with a male as with a woman. It is an abomination" (Lev 18:22).

21 "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor homosexuals, nor sodomites (will inherit the kingdom
22 of God)" (1 Cor 6:9).

23 The Liberal Stance is also quite simple: a homosexual orientation is not acquired- it is innate,
24 a biological given about which nothing can be done. And if God is the creator of
25 everything, that should include this sexual tendency.

26 Nobody would choose to be a homosexual in the midst of such intolerance, animosity and
27 inhumane isolation.

28 This stance appeals to society to let true homosexuals be as they are also normal human
29 beings.

30 I have no reason to believe that genuine homosexuals have freely chosen their sexual
31 orientation. And if this is true, their sexual orientation cannot be described as sinful or

32 immoral. But we must distinguish the inclination from homosexual acts, which are often
33 voluntary.

34 It is also a mistake to argue that society ought to regard homosexual acts as just as normal as
35 heterosexual acts.

36 While homosexuals ought to be treated with love and be given the full protection under the
37 law, I do not accept that homosexual acts are normal. The norm is obviously heterosexuality.

38 I am not speaking about sin, but about the standard of sexual acts which seems to be indicated
39 by the physical nature of men and women.

40 What should homosexuals do, given that they are not responsible for this inclination?

41 God did not create this inclination. The homosexual inclination is not innate. It is more like
42 most psychopathologies acquired during the process of nurture and growth. The

43 subconscious mind- the so-called unperceived source of our conscious feelings, desires

44 and actions- lies at the bottom of most of these perplexing inclinations. And society, in many
45 subtle ways of socialisation-gives us these unconsciously acquired psychopathologies.

46 If homosexuality is acquired, it can be cured through psychotherapy. The homosexual
47 orientation is unlikely to be found in the genes, it is certainly in the mind.

48 Homosexuality falls in the same category as abnormal states of mind such as paedophilia,

49 kleptomania, nymphomania, etc. Nobody rewards these psychological states or aberrations as
50 normal or irreversible. These states may be extremely difficult to treat-but they are treatable.

Appendix F

1 **Time for the church to speak up for gays (18 July 1999)**

2 **The Gospel Truth**

3 **Rev. Mdheela**

4 I wrote last week that the homophobia in the household of the Lord was uncalled for, and that
5 we have no business as a Church, or as a religious movement for that matter, to sit on the
6 judgement seat and pontificate against gay and lesbian people. To do so would be to deify our
7 opinions.

8 To close the subject, I felt it proper to share with you what I regard as a wonderful and
9 compassionate ministry and sermon delivered by the Right Reverend Larry Maze at St Mark
10 Episcopal Church at Arkansas in the United States last September.

11 Taking a stand for the gay and lesbian people, the Bishop of Arkansas preached in part as
12 follows: “And yet, today there are those who speak as though they know the mind of God,
13 with startling clarity, they tell us what pleased God and what displeased God. They speak
14 of certainty as the hallmark of faithful people. Yet, some of us continue to experience
15 God as the one who chose to live in the midst of our tensions, in the midst of ambiguities, in
16 the midst of our life and yet always more than life. Always drawing us to truth
17 greater than the truth of a given moment.”

18 The good bishop went on to express sadness that it had been experienced that “the
19 marginalised people in any society are kept at the margins because of the opinions of the
20 majority of those in power.”

21 Is it not the case that the majority of our people, the heterosexuals or the so-called straight
22 people, have this wonderful opinion about themselves as perfected people?

23 Is it not that even the priests in churches and parishes are not prepared to raise a finger in
24 solidarity with the gay and lesbian community because if they did they would be seen as
25 imperfect people? The same priests who preached long and angry sermons about the evils of
26 apartheid and discrimination now speak tentatively, if at all, about gay and lesbian issues.

27 In many ways the Church has failed to speak up for the gay and lesbian community,
28 preferring instead to condemn them as a sinning community not worthy of God’s love.

29 Is it not perhaps time that the Church was reminded of the days of Lemuel, King of Massa,
30 who was taught by his mother to “open your mouth, pronounce just sentences, and defend
31 the needy and the poor”.

32 In this context, I suggest the Church must begin to warm up and be ready to defend the gay
33 and lesbian community from the ridicule and pain this community endures.

34 If the liberation movement and the progressive groups-both inside and outside the country-
35 had not challenged and put apartheid on their agenda, it is possible that we would still have
36 black people living under apartheid tyranny.

37 God gave us in this world stalwarts like Steve Biko, Chris Hani, Nelson Mandela, Albert
38 Luthuli, Desmond Tutu and Trevor Huddleston to challenge the iniquities of injustice and
39 apartheid.

40 And what about the church?

41 And so the bishop goes on: “It occurs to me that the marginalised people in any society are
42 kept at the margins because of the opinions of the majority of those in power- opinions that
43 have been allowed to remain as unchallenged conclusions. But the opinion is not the
44 search- nor is it the truth.”

45 Opinions have been passed on as facts that have dangerously marginalised the people God
46 created in his own image.

47 It might be that we see gay and lesbian people as behaving in an “abominable and ungodly
48 way”.

49 But that largely remains our subjective view about them.

50 And as the bishop has correctly put it, gay and lesbian people are demanding that they join
51 the search for truth and that all opinions “that have for generations been layered in sanctified
52 language” are nothing but subjective opinions that really need to be thrown out of the
53 window as counting for nothing.

54 The search for truth goes on and at any given time it would be a mistake to deify our
55 opinions.

Appendix G

1 **Black gays fight for self-determination (22 September 2002)**

2 **There is a growing trend among black youth to adopt a gay lifestyle.**

3 **NAHIMA AHMED went out to capture their struggle for identity and self-**
4 **determination**

5 No factor is more noticeable in family and community relations in the African society than
6 the condemnation and marginalisation of homosexuality.

7 Despite the fact that the progressive constitution of the country recognises their “human
8 rights”, homosexuals and lesbians continue to be subjected to humiliation in the name of
9 religion and the so-called African culture.

10 However, over the last 20 years gays and lesbians have plucked up enough courage to assert
11 not only their rights but their freedom to live with respect and dignity.

12 Observations reveal that behind the scenes families have not only been torn apart but forced
13 to confront the issue in a manner that has left some members scarred for life.

14 Unfortunately, it would seem the majority of Africans have for centuries believed that
15 homosexuality was imported into their communities by whites.

16 However, the people who are directly affected have dismissed this with contempt and have
17 asserted their rights and educated their families and communities.

18 Thulani Mhlongo, a gay activist and director for Sohaco, a centre in Soweto that counsels
19 people with HIV and helps the youth deal with their sexuality, said he faced difficulties in
20 coming out with his sexuality because of his parents’ role in society.

21 “My parents are very strict Christians and traditionalists. They just couldn’t accept it when I
22 said I was gay,” recalled Mhlongo.

23 This 35-year-old man got no support from his parents after confiding in them about his love
24 for the same sex.

25 To make matters worse, Mhlongo was “disowned” as soon as he matriculated.

26 “In fact, they blatantly refused to pay my fees and just gave up on caring for me.

27 “My sister stood by me and my father, mother and grandparents sidelined me because they
28 claimed being gay is against the African culture.”

29 Although there are no statistics to prove it, trends indicate homosexuality among our black
30 African youth is on the increase.

31 This has seen some enlightened families embracing their gay offspring with love and
32 understanding. Some of them are even allowed to bring their male lovers home for the
33 weekend.

34 Twenty-one-year-old Mafika Mogomotsi said his parents were understanding and supportive
35 when he told them about his sexuality.

36 “They told me they knew I was gay and they accepted me for the gay son I turned out to be,”
37 said Mogomotsi.

38 “Society is brutal towards gays and lesbians from the day they discover their sexuality and
39 label them *izitabani* and go on a gay bashing spree.

40 “My teacher beat me up for being gay in front of the class,” said Mogomotsi.

41 Emotional and physical abuse is something most homosexuals came across in their societies.

42 Jacky Mukwevho is a proud lesbian, despite the hard moments she encountered at the hands
43 of her family and school teachers.

44 Unfortunately her parents frequently beat her up and gave her the cold shoulder when her
45 lovers came to her home.

46 “My parents would call me *istabani* and threaten to throw me out every time they were
47 reminded of my lesbianism,” a sad Mukwevho recalled.

48 She said the worst experience was at school, as in the case of Mogomotsi.

49 Caught kissing another girl in the school toilet, Mukwevho was beaten up by her teacher,
50 leaving her with both emotional and physical scars.

51 “I had to go for counselling after that day because she (the teacher) really traumatised me. I
52 didn’t choose to be gay; I was born that way and I really don’t see why I have to be punished
53 for my sexuality,” this bright young woman said.

54 Mpumi Mashawu, another proud African lesbian, said she condemns society for
55 discriminating against homosexuals, particularly lesbians.

56 “The sad thing is some men have this idea that a lesbian can be converted back to being a
57 straight person by raping her and it doesn’t work like that.

58 “We are lesbian by nature. We did not choose this type of life.

59 “Homosexuality is not something you practise because you want to. The truth is not every
60 woman was meant for a man and people should accept that,” said Mashawu.

61 For this 21-year-old lesbian, her parents heard about her sexuality through a close friend.

62 “My mother didn’t understand what homosexuality was all about.

63 “She was ignorant about the whole thing, unlike my brother, who knew and asked me if I
64 was lesbian. I told him up-front I was lesbian and he didn’t have a problem with that,” said
65 Mashawu.

66 African parents who have a clear picture of homosexuality and understand its biological roots
67 handle their gay sons in a warm, parental manner.

68 Unlike many other gays, Mhlongo had it the easy way because his parents accepted his
69 gayness without causing him grief.

70 **GAY AND PROUD...**

71 **More and more young Africans are coming out of the closet with their sexuality**
72 **despite society sidelining them. The couples pictured here are not shy to tell the**
73 **world they are gay and lesbian. From far left Sipho Mhlongo, Mpumi Mashawu,**
74 **Mafika Mogomotsi and Jacky Mukwevho. Picture: Panyaza Mcineka.**

75 “My parents are very supportive and they love me for who I am. I really appreciate their
76 approach towards my sexuality,” said Mhlongo.

77 Homosexuals say they hate the kind of men they call “George by day and Georgina by
78 night”.

79 “These people disgrace the gay world because they hate our sexuality, only to join us and
80 seek gay pleasures at night,” added Mhlongo.

81 Africans, unlike other societies, do not accept homosexuality and view the whole thing as an
82 immoral, unAfrican practice that came with the westerners that came to settle in Africa.

83 On the other hand, homosexuals have a positive attitude in their mission to defeat the
84 negative criticism that comes from homophobic individuals.

85 “What society thinks doesn’t concern me. What I do behind closed doors is nobody’s
86 business but mine,” Mashawu said.

87 We have so many little “Mugabes” in our African societies who we have to educate about our
88 homosexuality,” said Mhlongo.

Appendix H

1 **The myth of homosexuality (29 May 2005)**

2 I am responding to the City Press article of May 22 by Alex Doniach- “South Africa may
3 become one of the few countries in the world to legalise gay marriage, depending on the
4 decision of the Constitutional Court”.

5 First of all, there are no four million homosexuals in South Africa. This is a desperate attempt
6 by advocates of the “same-sex marriage” to have this aberration legalised. They are
7 determined to import European values to Africa. This colonisation is planned to start in
8 South Africa which already has the most Eurocentric Constitution in Africa.

9 In pursuit of their propaganda, homosexuals have inflated their numbers. In America leaders
10 of homosexuals claimed that they were 10 percent of the population. But research found
11 that there were only 2 percent male and 0.9 percent female who are homosexuals. This was
12 an attempt to make the public believe that homosexuals are fighting against discrimination
13 and violation of their minority rights.

14 In fact, in South Africa the rights of homosexuals are better stated in the Constitution Section
15 9(3) than those of African Traditional Leaders in Sections 211 and 212 of the Constitution.
16 Homosexuals also have more rights than former freedom fighters who are languishing in
17 South African prisons for fighting against apartheid. Homosexuals have more rights than the
18 poor, the unemployed, the victims of HIV/AIDS, the landless and those who cannot afford
19 education.

20 The paradox is that homosexuals could not be found anywhere in this country during the
21 liberation struggle against apartheid and colonialism.

22 But today in the midst of African’s poverty, their continued land dispossession and economic
23 servitude; homosexuals have huge amounts of money to go to the highest courts of this land
24 to fight for the legalisation of “same sex marriages”. The poor in this country cannot even
25 fight against land evictions because they cannot afford lawyers’ fees.

26 In order to win the sympathy of the media, the academics, the corporate world and even the
27 church, homosexuals have spread lies such as that their sexual orientation is inborn,
28 unchangeable and “a gift from God”.

29 They have spread the propaganda that homosexuality is “normal and natural”.

30 Many people in America have bought into these rights which are contradicted by scientific
31 research. South African people, including church leaders, are beginning to defend the myth of
32 homosexuality.

33 **UP IN ARMS...All dressed up for last year's Gay Pride March in Johannesburg.**
34 **The idea of legalising gay marriages is a major bone of contention.**

35 *Picture: Antoine de Ras*

36 There is, however no scientific proof that people are born homosexual.

37 Anthropology shows that all the cultures of the world have been heterosexual in sex and
38 marriage.

39 Some societies have practiced polygamy-marriage of one husband to more than one wife. Or
40 polyandry-marriage of one wife with more than one husband-but never same-sex marriage.

41 Homosexuality has always been frowned upon by all religions and cultures. Marriage is
42 designed for males and females with their profound sexual different constitutions.

43 Together they create something larger than themselves.

44 The polarity of the two genders is inextricably locked into the meaning and practice of
45 marriage.

46 -DR MOTSOKO PHEKO

47 MP Pan Africanist Congress

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Appendix I

1 **“Olga” Meets Albie to talk of a post-apartheid gay future (18 May 1990)**

2 *Prejudice against gays is not unknown in the anti-apartheid movement, which is why gay*
3 *activists met with Albie Sachs last week to hear an ANC view about their future GAYE*
4 *DAVIS reports*

5 Draft constitutional proposals geared to protect lesbian and gay rights are to be submitted to
6 the African National Congress.

7 In a move spearheaded by the Cape Town-based Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists
8 (Olga), country wide canvassing will take place before the proposals are put forward.

9 Formed in 1987 by lesbian and gay activists involved in the mass democratic movement,
10 Olga’s aims go beyond working towards the goal of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and
11 democratic South Africa. A major aim is to situate the lesbian and gay struggle firmly within
12 the context of the total liberation movement.

13 At an Olga meeting in Mowbray this week, ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs described
14 the ANC’s response to queries regarding its position on gay and lesbian issues as one of:

15 “We want to hear what people feel.”

16 “The question of homosexuality has never been treated in any open and honest way in South
17 Africa. The first thing to be done is to get the question out into the open and for people who
18 stand to be affected to say for themselves what they’d like to see (in a new constitution)”

19 “The constitution isn’t the product of a few enlightened – or not so enlightened – lawyers,
20 ”Sachs added.

21 “People must make their own inputs”

22 The issue had a “special pertinence in this phase (of overcoming apartheid). The essence of
23 apartheid was that it tried to tell people who they were, how to behave, what their rights were.

24 “The essence of democracy is that people should feel free to be who they are,” Sachs said.

25 Whatever emerged in the final constitution depended “on all sorts of factors – but democracy
26 demands there be full consultation with everyone who stands to be affected.

27 “There is too much fear in South Africa in general,” Sachs went on. “We want people to be
28 and feel free. This is just one more area where there appears to be oppression – it’s part of our
29 programme against discrimination and marginalisation.”

30 Homophobia is not unknown with the ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement itself – and
31 in fact was one of the motives for starting Olga in the first place, a representative said.

32 A 31-year old lawyer with a 10-year history of activism, he added: “It’s a reality that people
33 are afraid of being open about their sexual orientation with comrades within organisations.
34 “It can affect your commitment in the sense that one gets close to people politically but not
35 on the personal level – and thus not as a whole person.

36 “On the positive side, it makes a huge difference when you do come out: you think it’s a
37 barrier you can never cross but when you do, you find you can be much more relaxed and at
38 the same time, it opens other people’s eyes,”

39 Fear was the biggest obstacle to “coming out” – “the fear of being regarded as suddenly
40 something different and strange”, of exposing oneself to people for whom homosexuality was
41 “completely beyond the pale”, he said.

42 The reality of homophobic attacks and discrimination means people remain in the closet but it
43 also presents difficulties in terms of property rights and the law of succession. “Who we
44 choose to make love with is just a small part,” he said

45 Another major inhibiting factor was the fear of careers foundering on entrenched attitudes in
46 the workplace. “While I don’t think I’d be dismissed, I feel I’d be dismissed, I feel I’d risk
47 any chances of promotion if I came out at work,” said a 33-year old librarian. “It sounds
48 paranoid, but it’s the reality.”

49 As a member of Olga, she no longer felt self-conscious “about who I am”. It was also a
50 “refreshing” change to mix with men without a heterosexual agenda, she said.

51 Like other gay and lesbian groups, Olga is fighting the dominant impression that gay people
52 are all moneyed whites. “The issue cuts across all class and race lines,” said a representative.

53 In fact, gay and lesbian activists in townships face an extra layer of oppression, largely
54 because of prevailing cultural and traditional norms.

55 Tseko Simon Nkoli, writing in the latest issue of Olga News, discussed attitudes towards gays
56 and lesbians in black communities, where homosexuality “is often not discussed. If anything
57 is mentioned, it is only condemnation or denial.”

58 Nkoli, who chairs the Gay and Lesbian Association of the Witwatersrand (Glow) wrote:

59 “Some say that we are perverts, others that gay men are afraid of women. We are mad, sick
60 or “influenced by the whites” to be gay. Others say that we are “middle class” people and
61 therefore to be detested.

62 “I deny all these statements against us ... all we want is to be accepted as normal people.”

63 Since its affiliation, at the end of March, to the United Democratic Front, Olga has had
64 requests from various organisations for workshops on gay and lesbian issues, “People want to

65 know more,” a representative said. “For our part, we realise the need to change the attitudes
66 of people on the ground. It isn’t enough just to have the leadership enlightened.”
67 The organisation has been working for some time on draft constitutional proposals in
68 response to the ANC’s calls for feedback on the guidelines it published in 1988.
69 Consultation with other lesbian and gay groups will not be limited to those falling within the
70 fold of the MDM, however.
71 Based on the premise that lesbians and gays are not only a minority group, but one with a
72 history of oppression, Olga would like to see gay and lesbian rights given explicit expression
73 rather than be covered by broad statements about non-discrimination and equal individual
74 rights.
75 A long-term project is a Charter of Lesbian and Gay Rights, similar to a Women’s or
76 Workers’ charter, to be appended to the constitution.
77 Among other things, the charter will call for the revision of all current legislation
78 discriminating against lesbians and gays.
79 The draft proposals will be submitted to the ANC together with a detailed document
80 motivating the need for their inclusion.

Appendix J

1 **Making it legal to be Men at a party (11 December 1992)**

2 South Africa's budding gay rights movement is lobbying hard to have homosexual rights
3 entrenched in a new constitution. Mark **Gevisser** looks at legal discrimination.

4 It was 1967. Police had just raided a gay party in Johannesburg's northern suburbs and
5 discovered 300 men committing "the most indecent acts imaginable". That these "deeds" are
6 consensual and took place in a private home made no difference to the then law-keepers and
7 law-makers, who decided forthwith that action had to be taken.

8 We should not be allowed, "raged then minister of justice, PC Pelsler, in parliament, "to be
9 deceived into asking that we may casually dispose of this viper in our midst by regarding it
10 innocent fun ... Sooner or later homosexual instincts make their effects on a community if
11 they are permitted to run riot."

12 Homosexuality was perceived - like communism or black liberation - pose a threat to white
13 civilization. In no time at all, parliament had trumped up one of its most absurd statutes: the
14 men at a party" Act, which makes it illegal for any man to touch another man "at a party" if
15 the act is "calculated to stimulate sexual passion or to give sexual gratification". Most absurd
16 was the definition of a party - "any occasion where more than two persons are present".

17 The "Men at a Party" act is still on the books. And anal intercourse and mutual masturbation
18 between two men is still punishable as an "unnatural offence". Added to this, gay men and
19 women are discriminated against by mandates that put the age of consent for homosexuals at
20 19 - three years above the age of consent for heterosexuals.

21 Homosexuality remains criminal in South Africa and, according to an inaugural lecture by
22 Wits University law Professor Edwin Cameron last month, the situation should be rectified in
23 a new constitution. Even when the anti-homosexuality laws are not enforced, he says, they
24 "have a severely negative impact" on the lives of gay men and women, for they reduce them
25 to the status of "unapprehended felons".

26 "Apart from misery and fear," he continues, a few of the more obvious consequences of such
27 ... is to legitimate or encourage blackmail, entrapment, violence ('queer -bashing') and
28 peripheral discrimination such as refusal of facilities, accommodation and opportunities.

29 The cornerstone of Cameron's argument is that gays are "a uniquely vulnerable category ...
30 More than any other group, (they) are regarded and often treated with distaste and rejection.

31 The irrationality and unacceptability of racism and sexism has become widely acknowledged.

32 But the history of opprobrium towards gays is not only true, as a social phenomenon it is
33 visible everywhere ... in the media, in employment and in social attitudes.”
34 As evidence, Cameron presents arguments from a South African court cases, in which
35 learned members of the bench use language like “filthy”, “disgusting”, “unacceptable and
36 reprehensible” and “mental disease”. In the face of this judicial opinion, Cameron argues that
37 because gay people have no choice over an identity that is now widely accepted as “natural”
38 and “immutable” rather than “pathological” and “voluntary”, they are entitled to explicit
39 constitutional protection – just as blacks and women are.
40 Put simply, the right of a homosexual to dignity and equal protection under the law is an
41 inalienable human right. But in a country obsessed with racial discrimination, most do not see
42 the importance of prioritizing gay rights.
43 But Cameron notes, quite correctly, that a constitution does not establish a hierarchy of rights
44 – it presents all rights as equally inalienable. And perhaps the reason why constitutionally
45 entrenched gay rights remain unacceptable has more to do with the homophobia – or intense
46 social antipathy towards homosexuals – of Judeo-Christian and African nationalist traditions
47 than with arguments of comparative oppression.
48 Nevertheless, both the government-appointed Law Commission and the African National
49 Congress have accepted that gays and lesbians require some measure of constitutional
50 protection. Cameron, however, finds both proposals inadequate.
51 The Law Commission, for example, proposes that a constitution should entrench “no
52 discrimination on the ground of race, colour, language, sex, religion ethnic origin, social
53 class, birth, political or other views or any disability or other natural characteristic”. In its
54 notes, the commission makes clear that “natural characteristics” is. “Given the level of
55 aversion our judicial interpretation will encompass gays in the formulation.”
56 Far better, Cameron feels, is the ANC’s proposed Bill of Rights, which explicitly outlaws
57 discrimination on the grounds of “gender, single parenthood, legitimacy of birth or sexual
58 orientation”. This clause is the result of intense lobbying by South Africa’s budding gay
59 rights movement, and was strongly supported by enlightened ANC constitutional experts,
60 most notable Albie Sachs and Kadar Asmal.
61 The gay rights movement takes this inclusion to be a major victory, but, cautious Cameron,
62 the ANC approach has its problems, in that it buries the gay rights provision deep in its Bill
63 of Rights, in the “Gender” section. Why, he asks, is sexual orientation mentioned only once
64 in Article 7(2) and not up there in Article 1 with the big ones like “race”, “gender” and
65 “religion”?

66 Cameron supplies the most obvious answer: “It might be that the drafters of the ANC draft
67 Bill were sensitive to the possible controversy which including gay rights could evoke.
68 Perhaps for this reason they felt it wiser to mention it in the gender clause but not elsewhere.”
69 The inclusion of sexual orientation, in other words, might well be a sop to the gay rights
70 constituency not intended be take seriously – or quietly dropped off the negotiating table
71 when no one is looking.
72 Adequate constitutional protection, concludes Cameron, must entail the following: the
73 decriminalization of homosexual activity in all common and statutory law; the establishment
74 of legislative enforcement to prevent discrimination in employment, housing and insurance;
75 the entrenchment of gay people’s right to free speech, association and conduct; and most
76 controversially, the legal recognition of gay permanent domestic partnerships with respect to
77 wills and inheritance, partner benefits and adoption rights.
78 Perhaps Sachs, in his folksy way, puts it best: “What has happened to gay people is the
79 essence of apartheid – it tried to tell people who they were, how they should behave, what
80 their rights were. The essence of democracy is that people should be free to be what they
81 are.”
82 KwaZulu’s draft constitution was issued too late to be included in this analysis. It, too, makes
83 a single reference to gay rights. This is the equality clause 10a: “All citizens of the State of
84 kwaZulu/Natal have equal right of access to political, social and economic opportunities
85 irrespective of sex, race, colour, sexual orientation, language, traditions...”

Appendix K

(12 August 1994)

- 1 We would like to express our deepest concern about the Weekly Mail Gay and Lesbian Film
- 2 Festival running at the Monte Carlo.
- 3 Besides the fact that this type of perverted lifestyle is strictly forbidden in the Bible, one must
- 4 consider the effect on general health as well as the economic complications.
- 5 It is no accident that “Gay Related Immune Deficiency Syndrome” (Grid) had its name changed
- 6 to “Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome” (Aids).
- 7 This is a deliberate cover-up for what it really is. According to the medical experts, Aids has
- 8 been caused and multiplied directly by this type of perversion and is now reaching epidemic
- 9 proportions and affecting not only the guilty, but also the innocent.
- 10 Your organization has actually allowed the promotion of this disaster. – **Graham Shortridge,**
- 11 **Africa Christian Action, Glosderry.**

Appendix L

1 **Homosexuality is against the ‘Afro-renaissance’ (13 November 1998)**

2 Homosexuality is a deviation from “African renaissance” thought as it makes the person evaluate
3 his own physical needs above the teachings of national consciousness. An outburst of
4 homosexuality among black men, fed by the prison breeding system, threatens to distort the
5 relationship between friends.

6 Black gays are often put in front of white gays or an integrated organization to a show the
7 liberalism of the group here in South Africa. These gays tend to live in the make-believe world
8 of white gays.

9 Our task in the “African renaissance” vein is to give our brothers and sisters healthy self-
10 concepts. A male child needs encouragement in his activities. The child must feel that his
11 manhood is attached to a mind working on important questions.

12 The rise of homosexuality in the black male’s psyche is real and complicated. An “African
13 renaissance” perspective recognizes its existence, but homosexuality cannot be condoned or
14 accepted as good for the national development of a strong people. It must be tolerated until such
15 time as our families and schools are engaged in “Afro-renaissance” instructions for males. White
16 racism claws at the soul of black womanhood. “African renaissance” relationships are based
17 upon sensitive sharing in the context of what is best for the collective imperative of the people.
18 We can no longer allow our social lives to be controlled by European decadence. The time has
19 come for us to redeem our manhood through planned “Afro-renaissance” action. All brothers
20 who are homosexuals should know that they too become committed to the collective will. It
21 means the submergence of their wills into the collective will of our people. Guard your minds
22 and you shall save your bodies. An ideology of “Afro-renaissance” is derived from our history
23 and provides the guidelines for action. The homosexual shall find the redemptive power of
24 “Afro-renaissance” to be the magnet which pulls him back to his centre. – *Sipho Fafa Ntuli,*
25 *Durban.*

Appendix M

1 **God help the homosexuals (7 November 2003)**

2 The perceived 'horror' of the gay debate splitting the church could not be feared, writes **Cedric**
3 **Mayson.**

4 A gay friend of mine was born intersexed. This rare condition affects people both
5 psychologically and emotionally. They are born with both male and female organs, so have
6 difficulty deciding whether to live as a man or woman. Perhaps one in a thousand South Africans
7 like my friend, lives with this condition, whether they like it or not. Its the way they are. Fact of
8 life.

9 Homosexuals do not have unusual organs, but they do have a different sexual orientation. They
10 are born with a psychological and emotional orientation towards people of the same sex. One
11 woman states: "I find myself deeply attracted at a very physical level to some woman. I yearn to
12 share my life with another woman and sometimes I ache... because there is a part of me that is
13 not filled." Some men feel the same way towards other men. People need to understand that
14 being homosexual is neither an illness nor a disorder," says Nonhlanhla Ndhize of the Durban
15 Gay and Lesbian Community and Health Centre. It's the way they are. Fact of life. It is not rare.
16 About a 10th of the population is gay or lesbian: three in a class of 30; 20 dancers at a disco of
17 200, 200 in a church congregation of 2000 on Sunday mornings. But because the rules are made
18 by the great majority, who are not homosexual and do not understand sexual orientation, God
19 help the homosexuals.

20 But does God help? Many religious people have attacked homosexuality as a heinous sin, an evil
21 to be cast out and a devilish distortion. Some, from cardinals to bush Baptists, have condemned
22 homosexuality as unnatural and something to be rejected.

23 Others disagree. "Same-sex orientation is not in itself a sin and not in itself contradictory to
24 Christian faith and life," says the Methodist Church.

25 Anglican Archbishop Winston Njongonkulu Ndungane says the debate about homosexuality is
26 not going to go away, but should continue in a spirit of tolerance. Throughout the world the
27 church is being challenged on its basic attitudes.

28 Those who claim that “the Bible condemns homosexuality” need to be careful. Scripture
29 certainly condemns lust, but that applies to the misuse of all sexual activity. Only three texts
30 appear to specifically denounce homosexuality. Two, from Leviticus 18.22 and 20.13, see it as
31 an abomination that should be penalised by death. But few people who use these texts to
32 condemn gays and lesbians would have them killed as scripture commands. They recognize that,
33 just as Jesus moved beyond the law of Moses, so God has guided us to progress beyond the need
34 for the death penalty. They believe that humanity has evolved since the days of Leviticus, in this
35 and many other ways. Why is it they feel they know better than Leviticus with regard to killing,
36 but not with regard to homosexuality?

37 Paul’s condemnation of those who indulge in “shameful acts” (Romans 1.26-27) is also
38 instructive. Walter Wink, a professor of religious studies, points out that Paul had no concept of
39 homosexual orientation. (The word was only coined in 1969.) Paul had no idea that
40 homosexuality was natural to many people. Neither did Paul make the distinction between sexual
41 orientation – over which we have little choice – and sexual behaviour, where we make moral
42 choices about responsibility, love, promiscuity and lust, whoever our partners are.

43 Recent advances in biology and psychology have removed many of the uncertainties that
44 induced such phobias about many sexual attitudes in the past.

45 Behind the debate on homosexuality is the dispute between fundamentalists, who see faith in
46 terms of obedience to the dictates of religious institutions that lay down the laws, and those who
47 see faith as a response to the living spirit of God.

48 “Churches... often believe they can impose their values on the world,” writes theological author
49 Ronald Nicholson. “But the world, in the form of human society, imposes values on the church
50 too.”

51 The Bible sets out an unfolding and developmental view of human awareness that constantly
52 challenges inherited concepts with the spiritual progress of the human community. Human
53 sacrifice and ritualism were replaced during the Old Testament period and attitudes to gentiles,
54 women and the poor changed in the time of the New Testament. Jesus was killed precisely for
55 questioning the religious traditions of his time.

56 There have been constant developments in the 2000 years of Christian history. Slavery, the
57 oppression of women, the divine right of kings and men, the deification of wealth and the
58 glorification of race have all been defended by religious institutions on the grounds of scripture;
59 and defeated on the grounds of obedience to the Spirit.

60 In South Africa our reluctant acceptance that Church institutions ... that supported apartheid
61 were heretical and the shift to major identification with the struggle, demonstrates how it works.

62 Many “straight” Christians will identify with the words of the Methodist statement that “repents
63 of any attitudes or actions of the church that may have resulted in the stigmatization of
64 homosexual people and in their alienation from the mainstream of church life, and humbly seeks
65 their forgiveness wherever this may have happened.”

66 This is a far more godly approach than that of people who insist their God-given duty as
67 Christians is to impose their beliefs on everyone else. They are sincere, but sincerely wrong.
68 Churches have done this in many spheres, often denying that God can speak through Jews,
69 Muslims Hindus, traditional African spirituality, or agnostics.

70 Some say that we live in a post-religious age, because millions find inherited religious traditions
71 and attitudes irrelevant or misleading. But that is only half the story.

72 Spirituality is alive and well. It is the consciousness of caring for people as they actually are and
73 the recognition of their huge positive influences in our communities. It rejects the caricature of
74 religion, politics and economics, which supports the violent imposition by West of the globalised
75 worship of Mammon.

76 The perceived “horror” of the homosexual debate splitting the church should be welcomed, not
77 feared. Such self-examination has been the sign of progress throughout history – thank God it is
78 happening again now and that our country is being shaken by it.

79 God is helping not only the homosexuals and the intersexed, but all who are determined to
80 liberate religion and rediscover the power of spirituality in the secular process of becoming
81 human.

Appendix N

1 **Christian churches are resisting the idea of gay marriage. But they should realise such**
2 **prejudices are offensive to God**

3 **It is time for repentance (18 November 2005)**

4 Comment: Bishop David Russell

5 The Constitutional Court is expected to give its decisive verdict soon on the emotive issue of
6 same-gender marriages. It will be announcing whether the Supreme Court of Appeal was correct
7 in its judgement that such marriages should be allowed in accordance with our Bill of Rights.

8 The churches, in the meantime, are still deeply divided, with majorities in virtually all
9 denominations arguing adamantly against such a proposal on biblical and traditional grounds. I
10 want to suggest that, in spite of all the long-held conservative arguments in the final analysis,
11 perhaps the main reason why the majority of church members and leaders are against change is
12 one of attitude – a generally negative attitude towards homosexual people and to same-sex
13 orientation. Change attitudes, and I believe the arguments will change.

14 Let us start with an example from within the Christian faith, since it is churches' attitudes that
15 are being addressed here. We know now, thank God, that slavery is offensive to God, and to the
16 conscience of enlightened humanity and the teaching of the Church. We also know that for most
17 of its history the church thought that slavery was basically fine with God. It was assumed by all
18 (generally speaking, by the dominant cultures within societies) to be a God-given fact of human
19 life – part of God's order of creation. This is what the church taught for most of its history
20 We also now know (many are still coming to know) that the way the church has treated
21 homosexuals – rejecting them, demonising them, killing them, effectively denying there
22 humanity – that such treatment is offensive to God. A great questioning is going on; and a great
23 defending is going on.

24 Yet no one can now respectably defend the cruel treatment of homosexuals by the churches and
25 their members. It is a time for repentance. This much is being acknowledged. Whatever one's
26 interpretation of biblical texts may be, we can no longer deny that such treatment is morally,
27 humanly shocking. We should therefore thank God also for our Bill of Rights, which provides
28 strong support to this process of healing destructive attitudes and behaviour.

29 The acknowledgement of the sinfully rejecting treatment of homosexuals represents a profound
30 shift from the past, even if many Christians have still to catch up with it. The shift in recognising
31 the fundamental humanity, dignity and equal worth of homosexual persons is bound to have its
32 effect on the way we approach and revisit the great biblical themes and texts.

33 When you really do respect someone as an equal child of God and human being – as a fellow
34 Christian – then you really begin to listen to them and appreciate their faith with humility. You
35 begin to recognise that you may just have “got God wrong” about what you think God really
36 finds offensive. On the other hand, even if you continue to disagree on the issue, the tone and
37 quality of your disagreement will be different, and the way you relate will be transforming for all
38 concerned.

39 The letter of Paul to the slave-owner Philemon has much to teach us here. Some people who
40 continue to defend the traditional teaching on homosexuality read this letter as an example within
41 scripture and a teaching and attitude which was eventually to lead the church to recognise that
42 “scripture taken as a whole” is “against slavery” after all. Paul encourages Philemon to take
43 back his runaway slave Onesimus “for all time ... now not just as a slave, but more than a slave:
44 he is your dear brother in Christ”.

45 Here we have the roots of the eventual undermining of the institution of slavery. I think that this
46 interpretation is right. But traditionalists then go on to argue that this is precisely not the case
47 with homosexuality and scripture. I think that they miss the deeper meaning of this letter (let
48 alone other epistles) and of the “scriptures taken as a whole”.

49 Why did it take the church all those centuries to reread this letter of Paul (let alone other New
50 Testament writings) in a way that finally recognised slavery is offensive to God? The truth is
51 that these verses in question could equally plausibly be read as a clear endorsement by Paul of
52 the institution of slavery, depending on your attitude and assumptions about the practice in the
53 first place. It could well be argued that the “endorsement interpretation” is the stronger “plain
54 reading” of the text, particularly when taken with what Paul says about slavery in other letters.
55 He is not criticising the institution of slavery. The question does not even arise for him.

56 Thus, Paul and the early Church continued to flow with the religious traditions and cultural
57 assumptions of their faith, and with the social world view of their time. We read this from the
58 familiar texts in the epistles firmly endorsing the practice: “Bid slaves be submissive to their
59 masters and to give satisfaction in every respect; they are not to be refractory – but show entire

60 and true fidelity, so that in everything they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour” (Titus
61 2:9), “Slaves, be obedient to those who are your earthy masters, with fear and trembling, in
62 singleness of heart, as to Christ” (Ephesians 6:5 – and see also Colossians 3:22, 1 Timothy 6:1
63 onwards; 1 Peter 2:18 onwards)

64 We should not be surprised at this. To have expected different teaching at that time would be
65 anachronistic. I believe that the same can be said of beliefs about homosexuality and attitudes
66 around the issue. It took a long time for the Christian community to realise that slavery is
67 offensive to God. It has also been taking a long time for the Christian community to realise how
68 offensive to God are people’s rejecting attitudes towards homosexuals.

69 It is only as new *attitudes* emerge that different understandings are recognised and discovered in
70 the scriptures. To express it in the language of faith: it is our conviction that the Holy Spirit
71 brought us to the recognition that, in spite of the fact that Paul and the early church upheld the
72 institution of slavery, the deeper meaning of scripture nevertheless teaches us that slavery is
73 offensive to God.

74 Likewise, concerning issues of human sexuality, an increasing proportion (albeit still a minority
75 of committed church members – parents, youth, theologians, clergy, laity, whether gay, lesbian
76 or heterosexual – have come to believe that God is not condemning of faithful, committed
77 partnerships, whatever orientation. They believe in fact, that exactly the same Christian ethical
78 criteria and standard should be applied to homosexual practice as to heterosexual practice
79 What is offensive to God is the way homosexuals have been treated and are, alas, still too often
80 being treated and regarded. This is now acknowledged on all sides of the debate (perhaps
81 reluctantly in some places). Let us work on our attitudes.

82 David Russell is the former Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown, now retired.

Appendix O

1 **Gays and lesbians now ‘separate but equal’ (15 September 2006)**

2 Comment – Pierre de Vos

3 One of the most popular, and ridiculous, arguments put forward to justify apartheid, was that it
4 provided “for separate but equal” opportunities and was therefore fair and just.

5 We know, of course, that this was never the case. Not only were opportunities and amenities
6 unequal, but the policy was based on the assumption that black people were “inferior”, “impure”
7 or “dirty” and that segregation was necessary to “protect” whites from being “contaminated” by
8 them.

9 So it is sad and surprising that an ANC Cabinet has approved legislative proposals providing for
10 “civil unions” between same-sex partners that replicate this bankrupt logic. The Civil Union Bill
11 purports to give effect to a decision by the Constitutional Court ordering an extension of
12 marriage to same-sex couples; in effect it denies them that right.

13 In *The Minister of Home Affairs v Fourie*, the court was asked to decide on the constitutionality
14 of South Africa’s marriage laws. In his judgement, Judge Albie Sachs refer to the 1960 case of
15 the *State v Pitje*, where the appellant, a black candidate attorney, occupied a place at a table in
16 court that was reserved for “European practitioners”. The Appeal Court upheld Pitje’s conviction
17 for contempt of court as it was “... clear that a practitioners would in every way be as well seated
18 at the one table as at the other, and that he could not possibly be hampered in the one table as at
19 the other, and that he could not possibly be hampered in the slightest in the conduct of his case
20 by having to use a particular table”. This approach, Sachs said, “is unthinkable in our
21 constitutional democracy”.

22 But it is exactly the approach Cabinet has endorsed.

23 The Bill creates a separate institution for same-sex couples – a civil partnership – which purports
24 to bestow the same legal rights on same-sex civil partners as on heterosexual married couples.

25 There are, however, three ways in which the civil partnership will differ from traditional
26 marriage: it will not be called a marriage (except at the ceremony if the partners so choose);
27 marriage officers will have the right to refuse to solemnize it; and it will only be open to same-
28 sex couples.

29 Mindful of the prejudice that many voters feel against gay men and lesbians, the drafters of the
30 Bill attempted to create a ‘separate but equal’ marriage regime that would protect “real
31 marriage” from “contamination” and “defilement” by homosexuals, while pretending to provide
32 us with equal marriage rights. This move not only fails to respect the dignity of gay men and
33 lesbians, it contradicts the instructions of the Constitutional Court.

34 In his judgement Sachs emphasized the fact that both tangible legal consequences and intangible
35 benefits flow from the act of entering a marriage and confirmed that it would “not be sufficient
36 for Parliament merely to deal with the practical consequences” of the exclusion of same-sex
37 couples from marriage. Such a law, said Sachs “would also have to accord to same-sex couples a
38 public and private status equal to that which heterosexual couples achieve from being married.”
39 Separate but equal was not good enough because it “served as a threadbare cloak for covering
40 distaste for or repudiation by those in power of the group subjected to discrimination

41 The Bill does not heed these words.

42 By calling the union of same-sex couples a “civil partnership”, the Bill creates a second-class
43 form of legal recognition for these relationships.

44 The concept of marriage has symbolic, emotional and political power in our culture that gives it
45 a special status. By refusing same-sex couples the right to access the status associated with the
46 term “marriage”

47 It is also problematic that civil partnerships are created exclusively for same-sex couples. This is
48 insulting for those of us who might want to marry a member of our own sex. The Constitutional
49 Court warned that creating a special institution for same-sex couples would send the signal that
50 bringing same-sex couples under the umbrella of marriage law would taint those already within
51 its protection. The Bill effectively endorses the view that homosexuals are somehow deprived,
52 impure and tainted and that “pure” heterosexual marriage must be protected from this
53 abomination.

54 Gay men and lesbians still experience tremendous oppression, marginalization and vilification in
55 our society. Some are still raped, assaulted or killed because of their sexual orientation. In this
56 context, the creation of apartheid-style, separate civil partnerships for same-sex couples merely
57 confirms that the state does not consider their relationship worthy of equal concern and respect.
58 The ultimate test of this truth is to ask: If the Bill is passed how many heterosexual couples
59 would jealously yearn to enter into civil partnerships rather than to get married.

60 In short, a doctrine of “separate but equal” was deeply humiliating and insulting when applied to
61 black South Africans. It remains humiliating and insulting (and now also unconstitutional) when
62 applied to homosexuals.

63 The draft Bill is not scrapped or amended by Parliament, its passing will constitute a direct
64 challenge to the Constitutional Court. It will also send a signal that despite the provisions of the
65 Constitution Parliament views homosexuals as less worthy of respect and dignity than other
66 members of society. Hopefully, when Parliament is provided with the facts MPs will do the right
67 thing and will refuse to pass this homophobic piece of legislation in its current form.

Appendix P

1 **No prisoner to prejudice (17 November 2006)**

2 After protracted court battles SA becomes fifth country to legalise same-sex marriages. **Pearlie**
3 **Joubert.**

4 Tuesday was a historic day in Parliament, with South Africa becoming the first African country
5 to allow same-sex couples to get married. South Africa is only the fifth country in the world to
6 remove legal barriers for same-sex couples to marry.

7 The civil Unions Bill has caused major divisions and conflicts since last year when the
8 Constitutional Court set a December 1 deadline for the recognition of same-sex marriages in line
9 with the right to equality. As a concession to those opposing the Bill, the law will allow civil
10 officers to refuse to marry same-sex couples if such marriages conflict with their conscience.

11 Within the ruling party it was far from plain sailing, as individual members openly disagreed on
12 whether to vote for or against the Bill. Last Thursday top party officials made impassioned
13 speeches at the ANC's parliamentary caucus meeting in an attempt to align party members.

14 Inside sources said Finance Minister Trevor Manuel and Minister of Transport Jeff Radebe made
15 "unusually strong appeals for ANC members to vote in favour of the Bill". Until this caucus
16 meeting ANC members believed that the party would allow individuals to vote according to their
17 own beliefs rather than the party line.

18 But the ANC did not take any chances and ordered a three-line whip, meaning that members had
19 to be present for the vote in favour of the Bill. A three-line whip is the strictest disciplinary
20 command the party can give its MPs. Party insiders said that the ANC didn't want a repeat of the
21 vote on the Choice of Termination of Pregnancy Act when conservative MPs refused to vote and
22 conveniently left the House to have tea when voting took place. "This time they pulled in the
23 heavyweights and left nothing to chance," said an ANC MP.

24 Parliament's second House, the National Council of Provinces, must now approve the Bill. Then
25 President Thabo Mbeki will have to sign it into law within the next two weeks.

26 In Parliament this week Defence Minister Mosiuoa Lekota made a passionate speech to loud
27 applause from the public gallery: "The roots of this Bill," he said, "lie in the pronouncements of
28 our people over very many years and decades of struggle.

29 “The Constitutional Court drew our attention to the fact that we have granted the right to all
30 South African citizens to choose who to marry or take as a life partner. The Constitutional Court
31 reminded us that we have not as yet delivered in relation to those who prefer same-sex partners
32 for life.

33 “The question before us is not whether same-sex marriages or civil unions are right or not. The
34 question is whether we suppress those in our society who prefer same-sex partners.

35 “At this time we are bound to fulfil the promises of democracy which we made to the people of
36 our country. Are we going to suppress this so-called minority, or are we going to let these people
37 enjoy the privilege of choosing who will be their life partners?

38 “Voting for this Bill is not advocating. We are not being asked to advocate same-sex marriages.
39 You will continue to live your life as you choose, but let’s grant the right to those who also must
40 exercise the same right.

41 “We need to have no need to preserve for ourselves, purely because of the majority of our
42 numbers, the exclusive right of marriage while we deny others the same right.

43 “I take this opportunity to remind the House that in the long and arduous struggle for democracy
44 very many men and women of homosexual and lesbian orientation joined the ranks of the
45 liberation and democratic forces.

46 “How then can we live with the reality that we should enjoy rights that together we fought for
47 side-by-side, and deny them that? Today, as we reap the fruits of democracy, it is only right that
48 they must be afforded similar space in the sunshine of our democracy. We do them no favour,
49 but reward their efforts in the same way that our own efforts are being rewarded. This country
50 cannot afford to continue to be a prisoner of the backward, timeworn prejudices that have no
51 basis. The time has come that we as this society, as this Parliament, on behalf of our nation, must
52 lead.”