Fall 2012

The Implications of Privileged Gay Politics on Queer Aberrations: Interrogating South Africa's Nongovernmental Industrial Complex

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Acknowledgments

I first and foremost want to thank SIT, the program staff, and Director for providing me with an otherwise unattainable opportunity to explore the various pockets of communities that exist in South Africa. My time abroad has contributed to my transnational understanding of racial and, more generally, identity constructions. In addition, being here has reified the idea of a global, homogenized economy and has centralized my awareness of the ethnocentric ideologies I have grasped onto by being an American. Of course I want to thank my dad for funding this trip. His support for my endeavor to explore various fields in the realm of academia and outside of it provides me with the confidence to stay true to my passions. I'd also like to thank my dearest friends back in the States for staying in touch given the time difference and providing me with a stable support system when times got tough. In addition, without the friends that I have made on this trip, all of the great adventures that fulfill my need to explore would have been absent and would have radically changed the enjoyment I have had while in South Africa. Furthermore, I wish to give a shout out the acts of solidarity against political repression and Grand Jury resisters in the US's Pacific Northwest. Anarchist movements and acts of solidarity restore my mission to reject the oppressive systems of the State.

Abstract

The phenomena to address and confront social issues as a career path has shifted the way communities experience the realm of activism. This research addresses the effort emphasized in gay and lesbian activism on the Nongovernmental Industrial Complex as a platform for social transformation. These structures have notably been co-opted by neo-liberalism and the State. In South Africa, the gay and lesbian movement have its roots dug into legal reform which becomes conservative and relies on the rhetoric of identity politics to gain recognition without addressing redistribution and systems of oppression. Through three case studies culminating in a comparative study of three Cape Town based lgbti NGOs, Triangle Project, Luleki Sizwe, and Intersex South Africa, it becomes apparent that neo-liberalism and the State have reigns over the possibility of social transformation. This brings us closer to understand the systems and hierarchies which exist in lgbti organizations dictating the direction of their political agendas through a professionalized model. This leads to the investigation of the queer bodies that are displaced by the discourse and activism fostered by such organizations. As queer theory has not been developed in a South African context, this study centralizes the use of queer discourse while substantiating and weaving through dominant ideologies of lgbti social transformation. Ultimately, the sphere of possibility and limitations of the NGO Industrial Complex's liberal co-optation of social justice will be highlighted and profoundly understood.

Introduction

        The events of Johannesburg Pride 2012, showed how politically charged black lesbian and gender non-conforming folks are no longer, and perhaps have never been part of the gay rights struggle. This group of activists erupted to project private queer issues into public space appropriated by privileged white politics and the corporatization of a pride. The One in Nine Campaign utilized civil disobedience to occupy the privileged space of pride to commemorate queer black bodies that have been misused, violated, and murdered over the past few years. (Schutte, 2012) There they lied in the street as an act of protest that there is "no cause to celebrate" while asking for a moment of silence in remembrance of the lives lost to homophobic and transphobic violence. (Schutte, 2012) The public's response, however, rendered this type of action inappropriate for the big gay party. So what are the implications when activism becomes privileged and runs along lines of race, class, and gender mirroring the constraints of society?

        The lgbti sector of the Nongovernmental Industrial Complex in South Africa projects claims of diversity and inclusivity to the public through the use of identity politics. This rhetoric highlights recognition and reform while containing revolution.   The Nonprofit/Nongovernmental Industrial Complex has been critically analyzed in a primarily American context as the set of intricate relationships forged between the State, business elites, the owning class, and civil society. (See INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence 2007, *The revolution will not be funded: Beyond the non- profit industrial complex*). The emphasis on the philanthropic model of charity has diluted the possibility of social change. Thus, the activism promoted through these organizations becomes focused on individualism prompted by neo-liberal conceptualization and co-optation of social transformation. The neo-liberal model places a

strong emphasis on individualism while promoting a sense of meritocracy which leads to the deregulation of markets and the privatization of welfare (Harris, 2006). As new queer activists emerge from prestigious institutions and adopt social justice as a career path, the subjugated bodies who are the direct recipients of homophobia, gendered based violence, and comprehensive oppression are displaced by a professionalized model. Subsequently the direction of gay and lesbian activism coincides with these ideologies finding its roots dug into conservative think tanks of legal reform, and what Harris (2006) terms, "structural liberalism."

A notable aspect of gay and lesbian activism has been its claim to encompass the entire queer community which relates to the strong societal link of thinking about sex, gender, sexual orientation, and sexuality as congruent, inseparable descriptors of a 'gay identity.' This study works to reveal forms of oppression which subconsciously exist on an individual and organizational level. Discourse on the South African NGO Industrial Complex has yet to be developed, which has become a central objective of my research. Additionally, this study alludes to several current queer events such as the Johannesburg Pride incident and the continued ascendancy of "corrective" rape, which is becoming increasingly invisible and thought of as inevitable in black townships.

Through my critical analysis, I will be adding to the development of queer theory in a South African context. I will provide a queer of color critique on civil society as I believe such a critique is imperative to understanding the implications of privileged gay and lesbian activism. Throughout this paper I will speak of queer as a political identity which rejects notions of heteronormativity in relation to defined binaries of normal/abnormal, able-bodied/disabled, straight/gay, and the wide array of dichotomies that construct Otherizing ideologies. In addition, the use of the term, 'people of color,' 'queer of color,' or a more general '(noun) of color,' has

been appropriated in the US as a way to divert the use of 'colored,' which holds negative connotations upon black bodies from the era of slavery. I think such a term would service the South African community as well because the 'Coloured' identity has been largely contested over the years as more individuals continue to reject this category constructed through apartheid's vision of stratifying racial groups. Three case studies in Cape Town of Triangle Project, Luleki Sizwe, and Intersex South Africa will ensue and result in a comparative study of factors of origins, political agendas, structures, and funding of the organizations. My research will indicate the way these organizations either remain complicit or actively resist the neo-liberal order and co-optation through the lens of their work within the community of Cape Town and a broader South Africa. Ultimately, an understanding of queer possibilities through the realm of activism and the use of NGOs in Cape Town will be established and interrogated.

Limitations of Study

As aforementioned, due to the ongoing funding crisis, NGOs have been short of staff, and transitively, at an overload with work. Though this provides some barriers to my study, I managed to interview all three directors of each respective organization. The current director of Triangle was unable to meet and was initially reluctant to allow me to come in for research due to the current internal restructuring of the organization. In order to remedy this, I contacted Annie Leatt, former Director of Triangle to set up an interview. By doing so, I was provided comprehensive data to analyze and compare three organizations effectively.

Because this time of year is extremely hectic for people, more specifically those involved in civil society, I was not able to arrange interviews with some activists who would add an interesting piece of personal experience to this study. Zackie Achmat, for instance, would have provided an interesting personal account of radical organizing and grassroots movement building. His critique on the professionalization of NGOs would have tied in nicely to the aims of this study. He, however, would not be able to meet until the end of the Independent Study Project time frame. All three directors I spoke to were deeply involved in political activism especially in the gay and lesbian rights movement. Using their experiences of organizing, I am more able to link the history of gay activism to contemporary issues fostered by rhetoric of the NGO Industrial Complex.

This leads me to discuss one of the most referenced limitation—time. With more time, this study could include participant observation at workshops that NGOs like Triangle hold which were not scheduled for the month of November for whatever reason. I think another interesting piece that could add to this study is a set of interviews at a liberal campus like

University of Cape Town within their social justice organizations. Due to it being the end of the

academic year, there was not an opportune moment to do so.

Literature Review

LGBTI activism in South Africa has close ties to a global struggle towards equality for non-straight people. As stated in numerous discourses, the constitution, which was officially propped up in 1996, is recognized as the most progressive in the world. It tends to make those who live under such a world-renowned document wonder why paper does not easily translate to practice and a lived reality. The history of colonialism, cultural imperialism, and apartheid in South Africa largely contributes to the construction of identity in accordance to race, class, gender, and sexuality. Many scholars have theorized about the implications of South Africa's history on contemporary social issues and individual positionality. In addition, contemporary South Africa paves the path for nongovernmental organizations to flourish since the State has proven to fall short of its promises to regulate social interactions. Discussions on the limitations of such organizations show the politics and implications of contemporary social activism.

Recently there has been rampant discourse around the privileging and increasingly mainstream avenue of the 'gay' identity. Ghaziani (2011) takes the steps to define the political agenda of gay activists in a Post-gay era. The Post-gay paradigm transcends former "us versus them" thinking in efforts to come out of the closet by converging to an assimilationists politics where "us and them" becomes prevalent. This article makes a stark argument that sexual normalization, mostly experienced by gays and lesbians, becomes an important factor in developing a collective identity for gay politics. This often displaces and excludes members of the queer community, which student organizations around the country have taken into consideration. Through a case study researching the transforming titles of gay student groups on Princeton's campus, the author shows that a post-gay ideology on the movement has led to a less marked gayness and a more generalizable "Pride Alliance." This term, in some ways, opens the

door of inclusivity while unmarking sexual orientation. The commitment to neutralizing the name of the organization is also happening nationally in American universities. The effects of a Post-gay era promote an idea of homonormativity and can explain the recent demands for equality in a structured heteronormative society.   The initiative to normalize the 'gay identity' extends transnationally as well to concretize the recent global initiative for human rights. After all, these rights are human not gay.

Whereas Ghaziani shows the normalization of the gay identity, Tucker (2008) shows how the appropriation of homonormativity creates power relations within the gay community along racial lines. Tucker frames the realm of exclusion in Cape Town's gay village through the lens of transnational, national, and local histories which work to normalize difference. Tucker use of Nast's argument of the 'white queer patriarch' shapes the content of his article. He pre-empts his argument with an anecdote of exclusion where a gay couple was actively discriminated against upon door policy at a club in the gay village, De Waterkant, called *Silver*. He utilizes queer men to work through understanding systems of oppression in concordance with the racialized space of Cape Town. With race as a dominant factor informing Cape Townians' identities, Tucker incorporates its intersections of class, gender, and sexuality to conceptualize the way the gay village recreates exclusion based on heteropatriarchal standards and structures. He introduces the controlling binaries centralizing on nationalistic visions of whiteness in South Africa that denotes the colored identity to a subordinate, effeminate position. Tucker explains how white queer bodies reproduce heteronormative constructions to define colored queer folks as second-class citizens both nationally and transnationally. This can justify their exclusions along race, class, and gender lines in the gay village. Ultimately, this informs knowledge on how queer

bodies appropriate their sense of place in a post-apartheid era within a city that is slowly becoming the gay mecca of South Africa.

Queer theorists have recently been critically analyzing exclusive gay spaces in various regions of the world. The models of gay space globally are materialized and fantasized through American models of gay neighborhoods. The first chapter, *Locating the Politics of Difference,* in the book, *Mapping Gay LA,* by Kenney (2001) introduces the theoretical framework of cognitive mapping through the use of critical spatial theory. She takes us to the roots of gay and lesbian activism in the United States, finding its origins in Los Angeles. Kenney describes the political shifts between assimilation and confrontation utilized by gay and lesbian activists since the 1950s. This chapter reimagines gay activism through the lens of place claiming while understanding how marginalized folks' sense of place are shaped through their lived experiences.

Kenney takes us back to the roots of Los Angeles Pride in the 70s primarily used to resist the notion of queer invisibility in public spaces by literally coming out into non-queer spaces. This ultimately became co-opted in the 80s as pride slowly became confined to the boundaries of gay city centers such as West Hollywood while being regulated by state authorities like the police. The mainstreaming of gay activism can be understood through Ghaziani's (2011) conceptualization of the Post-Gay paradigm detailed above. This theoretical framework can translate into the way space is utilized and understood in Cape Town and how activism revolves around the communities that utilize certain spaces. The central objective throughout history of gay activism in America and South Africa has been centered on readdressing ideas of the invisible/visible possibilities of the gay identity.

Kenney's description of place claiming is racially contextualized in a South African context in *Beyond Identity Politics: Homosexuality and gayness in South Africa.* Leatt and

Hendricks (2005) unpack the history and theorization of the gay identity which has been notably male-centric. They show psychological models created on homosexuality and the process of coming out from childhood to adulthood which nevertheless reserves the act of coming out as fairly exclusive to urban spaces in thriving gay cultures. They note that it takes a fair amount of class mobility in order to become integrated into the flashy gay villages such as that in Cape Town which, through globalization, has adopted a very Americanized model of gayness.

Throughout the article there is a central topic on the difference between sexuality and sexual orientation which separates sexual activity from personal identity. This division has serious implications and maintains homophobia projected largely upon people of color. The article culminates in a critical analysis of the challenges of the gay and lesbian movement which has been globalized throughout the years. As a majority of the goals of this movement have been to use legal frameworks through the lens of human rights, identity politics have gained immense momentum. The central focus on identity politics becomes gaining recognition from the State of the gay identity while working against the oppressive nature of the State itself. The implications of this political agenda is stark on queer of color bodies and has sustained the largely white demographic in the gay and lesbian movement in South Africa.

Whereas Leatt and Hendricks explain coming out as a privileged comfort, Potgieter (2005) challenges this in a qualitative study to amplify the voices of black lesbians in townships. With nine interviews and ten focus groups, she provides a piece that adds to the virtually non-existent literature on black lesbians' thought on homosexuality and their lived experience in South Africa. The questions focus primarily on the interpersonal relationships with men, women, family, and society in regards to coming out and being visible in their respective

communities. Unlike Leatt and Hendricks, and many other theorists, Potgieter concludes that the ascendant discourse around increased difficulties of coming out needs to be readdressed.

Her informants show that the black lesbian experience is heterogeneous in contradiction to the way many academics discuss black lesbian issues. Potgieter's claim that, "We might be entrenching a racist stereotype," in regards to assessing coming out as more difficult in "black communities," is very contentious (187). While some black lesbians in the study have experienced supportive, yet forms of denial from their family and community, many in this study have received immense stigmatization and have, in turn, internalized heteronormative ideologies which allude to their portrayal of lesbianism as similar to heterosexuality. Ultimately, it is apparent through this study that black lesbian issues, particularly in regards to violence, are made invisible and pushed to the margins similar as their bodies that have been subjugated by colonialism and the apartheid regime.

Identity construction and transformation, especially relating to race, class, gender, and sexuality, in South Africa has been closely aligned with colonization, an overtly racist regime, and activism. De Vos (2009) creates a piece to argue that the roots of gay and lesbian activism have been honed by elitist conservative think tanks. Referring back to the solidification of the South African constitution, De Vos explores the strategy of the gay and lesbian movement to latch on to anti-apartheid struggles while utilizing anti-discrimination rhetoric to emerge into public. While their efforts could be noted as success on paper, the major driving forces for the constitutional changes, the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE) and the International Gay and Lesbian Association (ILGA) neglected the use of grassroots organizing. Gay activists' emphasis on litigation and utilization of other bureaucratic processes throughout the struggle has promoted a conservative agenda which has serious implications for South

Africa's sexual minorities today. This all culminates in the failure to actively address societal attitudes on nonnormative sexual bodies. The results of this process is stark on those members of the pseudo-community who have been disadvantaged by the intersectionality of race, class, gender, and sexuality (Collins, 2009). The concept of intersectional oppressions have been appropriated by many anti-racist, and feminist scholars to explain the inseparability between the various forms of oppressions (Collins, 2009). This analysis will be useful in examining racial and class hierarchies within the gay and lesbian movement and lgbti organizations.

Alluding to the marriage equality movement, De Vos understands marriage as a patriarchal institution. The benefits extended to same-sex couples in South Africa by the Civil Union Act provides benefits to same-sex couples in regards to pension, tax, and medical aid; however, these benefits can really only be attained by those same-sex couples that maintain educational and class privilege. Ultimately De Vos argues that, while the gay and lesbian movements' achievements have been beneficial to some, underlying forms of oppression can only be addressed through grassroots movement building. This will be the avenue needed for the liberation of sexual minorities in South Africa.

In *Beyond the Constitution: From sexual rights to belonging,* van Zyl (2009) furthers the popular discourse on discrepancies between the legal rights framework and cultural attitudes that have remained stagnant. By narrowing in on sexual rights, van Zyl debunks the concept of citizenship and its close relationship with rights by explaining how claims to citizenship produces possibilities of mobilizing around the law while simultaneously reproducing marginalization by adopting Otherizing critiques. In other words, the concept of citizenship has a history of exclusion injected with patriarchal, gendered, and sexual norms. For this reason, van Zyl focuses on concepts of belonging in order to understand the Otherizing nature of citizenship.

Furthermore, the author translates this idea of 'belonging' into recent 'victories' achieved by queer and feminist activists in South Africa such as the anti-discrimination clause in the constitution, the Civil Unions Act, and the decriminalization of sodomy. She asserts that human rights tend to focus on the individual while implicitly displacing broader societal impacts on marginalized groups.

The author explains that the shift to a "western-style democracy" in South Africa provided a rather opportunistic moment in time for sexual rights to be incorporated in the Bill of Rights in 1996. (364) Though this time frame for gay and feminist activists was noted as a success, the concept of the citizen resurfaces to dictate whom the bearers of these rights are. She explains that in order for 'citizens' to seize their rights, they must actively out themselves (e.g. queer folks, sex workers). The challenge of asserting one's rights in a post-colonial/post-apartheid country is the weight that individual privilege has on opportunities and individual safety. Nevertheless, she concludes that there exists a commonality "between lgbtqi and women's and the adult commercial sex work movement," but acknowledges that coalitions between the three have not yet been formed. (377) Her conclusion is ultimately weak as she professes that same-sex marriage provides a possibility to "rearticulate" or restructure, rather, the gender and power dynamics of marriage, and, thus, of the family. (378) This is a surface level argument which seems to find little to no relation to the strength of the analysis of marriage as a heteropatriarchal construction endorsed by the State.

There are many parallels that can be drawn between the gay legislative work done in the United States and South Africa with minor differences in time. Harris (2006) reifies topics of neo-liberalism and structural liberalism through examining Supreme Court cases in the United States, namely Brown v. Board of Education and Lawrence v. Texas. Popular discourse has

linked racial struggles for anti-discrimination in the past with the gay rights struggle today, and Harris does an excellent job deconstructing the implications of using such legal battles while inadvertently distributing excess power to the State—the source of sexual minority's oppression. Ultimately, she argues that using the legal system to challenge bigotry allows the state to use "preservation- through-transformation" and therefore is nothing more than a game of identity politics (1569).

The ascendance of neo-liberalism and globalization has promoted a universal Americanized market of gay and lesbian desire while promoting a push towards exercising human rights. As Harris states: "To the extent that "local" (i.e., non-European or North American) sexual cultures do not accommodate themselves easily to translation and implementation of this right, they will be perceived as backward and as in the way of universal queer progress." (1575) Thus, the idea of a universal gay rights movement has gained massive momentum and has prompted a global shift to civil rights rhetoric. In this way, Harris' study can be translated in a South African context to investigate the realm of political agendas fostered by civil societies that are notably operating within a neo-liberal model. Her thorough investigation of Lawrence v. Texas, a legal battle which decrimilized sodomy alludes to similar legal activisms endorsed by the Equality Project in South Africa. In addition, Harris' strong emphasis on the construction of US suburbia and whiteness as a symbolic representation of power is pivotal to the understanding of the construction of a white path to suburbia in South Africa.

With the past of overtly racist regimes lingering in our subconscious in a post-racial era, the construction of whiteness in accordance to space becomes increasingly important. Topically, Teppo (2009) produces a piece based on her ethnographic field work in a former area constructed for poor whites to show how the appropriation of a 'good white' identity was created

in South Africa. Teppo introduces the process of constructing a 'good white' identity by explaining the large amount of poor whites (mostly Afrikaners) that existed in South Africa in the 30s and 40s. Epping Garden Village was the area of focus in her study which was spatially allocated to emerging 'good white' folks. This space was markedly representative of white suburban desire and constructed heterosexist notions of being a morally good white person with an abled body and decent hygiene. This was notably done through the regulation of the movement of white bodies in Epping Garden Village enforced by the Citizens' Housing League. Essentially the white male body was targeted as the hard working job-secure member of the family while the female body was designated as the "mothers of the nation" who were maternally responsible for the continuation of these regulations in future generations. This surveillance uplifted notions of the nuclear family which inevitably became linked to be symbolic economic success.

Though this program of white upliftment was a noted success shown through the economic prosperity of former poor white folks, post-apartheid experiences were altered drastically. Post-1994 there were no longer funds allocated to assist white people or the Citizens' Housing League. In addition the deep stigma attached to a poor white body has immense control over who is otherized in the white community today. Ultimately, Teppo makes the argument that it is time to stop thinking of whites as a homogenous population and that understanding the subjugation of poor white bodies is very relevant today yet does not have much stamina. From this it is clear that it is impossible to compartmentalize race, class, gender, and sexuality and rather to look at them as intersecting forms of superiority and oppression. Yet, while there is heterogeneity within white populations—for all intensive purposes of this study— in regards to class, whiteness is symbolic of power and affords individuals systematic privilege

to navigate through space as autonomous, unmarked beings. It thus becomes vital to explore the way the white identity utilizes this privilege—for all intensive purposes of this study—within the NGOs.

Mananzala and Spade (2008) have taken an active role in interrogating the Nonprofit Industrial Complex and it's limitations. They argue that neo-liberalism's co-optation of social change fueled by the nonprofit industrial complex has augmented a liberal reformist agenda which is exclusionary in nature.   Through a case study on the Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP), the authors provide a model of a trans organization that resists the co-optation prompted by neo-liberalism to assist other emerging trans organizations. By working through the literature produced by anti-racist, feminist, and anti-oppression scholars, the authors understand the nonprofit industrial complex as a system that builds relationships between the politics and finances of the state and the elite owning class with civil society organization. They work through the framework of nonprofits which have, for various reasons, divided social services from political action work. This alludes to the avenue of funding allocated to various organizations from corporate and mainstream liberal organizations. These corporations/foundations offer their funding in a cycle lasting from one to five years. This coerces organizations to produce concrete, immediate results in order to keep funders content with their tax deductible donations.

By examining HRC (the largest LGBT litigation organization in the US), the authors reify the ideas of co-opted gay activism. Most LGBT organizations rely on a top-down structure that places power in the hands of staff members who maintain and assert their individual race, class, and educational privileges. (54) Thus, power in such organizations is allocated to white individuals while displacing those who are most subjected to forms of systemic oppression. In

addition, they argue that most of these nonprofits employ one or two trans folks, if any at all, to work on trans specific politics. This exemplifies the further marginalization of trans bodies within LGBT activism. The SRLP takes a different governmental approach by applying base-building principles to amplify the voices of those who are the direct renderers of oppression. Their focus on maintaining anti-racist, anti-oppression, and base-building agendas separates them from mainstream liberal organizations. From their work it becomes evident that addressing the need for radical change for the most subjugated communities will never be a realm of possibility under neo-liberalism's reigns.

A zine on Oakland, California's anti-oppression politics furthers Mananzala's and Spade's critique. Croatoan (2012) discusses topical issues of the non-profit industrial complex, the professionalization of civil society in the US, and identity politics. The authors highlight the most problematic systems in place and the way that government and police departments emphasize cultural diversity within their networks. This "inclusion" of queer folks, women, and people of color into authoritarian positions reaffirms identity while remaining complicit with the current upward distribution of wealth. They argue that the integration of minority groups into positions of power renders little substantial change for the marginalized communities they are noted to represent. In places like California, diverse bodied politicians have contributed to "some of the most racist policies and 'reforms' in recent history." The applause of the inclusion of minority groups into the state is growing while the recognition that these folks are often tokenized and advance the appropriation of diversity in existing oppressive institutions remains in the margins.

The authors argue that the non-profit sector is at large responsible for the centralization of identity politics in contemporary activism. Over the last forty years, they explain, the non-profit

industry has undergone rapid expansion and recognition. These organizations have nonetheless become centers of conservative think tanks which have shifted social justice from base-building work to a professional career path. Subsequently, the voices of these organization on behalf of the communities they represent are people who, as Mananzala and Spade (2008) illustrate, maintain race, educational, and class privileges. CROATOAN explain that these privileged voices notwithstanding homogenize the communities they are speaking for and therefore poses a strong resistance to "white allyship." The pockets of cultural affirmation highlighted by activists in places like Oakland can find strong ties to the cultural diversity emphasized in South Africa.

Since the fall of apartheid, South Africa's NGOs have been growing exponentially. Similar to others, the country is operating on a neo-liberal model in regards to hyper-individualism and a belief in deregulated markets. Robins (2008) conducts a case study of NGOs, People's Dialogue (PD) and its affiliated organizations, Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) to challenge the dominant theories constructed on neo-liberalism's reigns on social change in a post-modern, Post-Cold War context. He explains that the rise of democracy has had serious implications for those who were not incorporated into the small fragmented section of black capitalists who became benefactors to the post-apartheid state. Liberal discourses following 1992 give rise to keywords used in social change models such as 'rights', 'citizenship', and 'democracy'. They have radically reduced the possibility of liberation previously fostered by the ANC. Through explaining these shifts of ideology, Robins peels back the layers of reformist agendas and how NGOs do not all necessarily remain complicit within these agendas. It is argued that a critical examination of bodies reveals that people who may appear as "autonomous rights-bearing citizen in one setting may, in another context, morph into an 'ethnic' subject invoking indigenous values, traditional beliefs, and forms

of sociality and clientelism based on family, clan, neighbourhood and community." (12) This is to say that constituents of NGOs can simultaneously live their lives as both a subject and a citizen.

Robins argues that critiques of NGOs as a civil society structure focused on liberal rights claiming ignore the heterogeneity of NGOs and their constituents. Robins interrogates three dominant propositions in his work: a contemporary apathy towards politics incorporated in the depoliticized nature of NGOs and new social movements; the dichotomies produced by analyses on modern South Africa that segregates human rights rhetoric from community mobilization; and the conceptualization of civil society as an elitist middle-class sector. Through his case studies Robins rejects these notions of liberal reformist ideologies that have co-opted NGO sectors by highlighting the work done between "middle-class leadership and grassroots member of social movements" incorporated within civil society. (15) While it is true that NGOs including their agendas, services, and constituents are heterogeneous, any organization registered as an NGO is subjected to tight regulations and are dependent on non-discretionary funding which many scholars would argue remains complicit within the structure of the State.

With 'Rainbow Nation' jargon on the rise becoming central to the objectives of organizations in Cape Town, it becomes increasingly important to examine NGOs' political agendas and structures. The roots of the gay rights struggle can be found in legal reform, which ultimately is fueled by conservative strategies and becomes an elitist battle. The incorporation of sexual minority identities in the Constitution yields no direct transformation of cultural perceptions on nonnormative, or rather queer, people. The implications on LGBTQI bodies today are uneven based on one's positionality. NGOs have responded to the expanding need for social services and awareness needed by the most subjugated sexual minority groups. However,

within a neo-liberal framework prompted by globalization, it becomes hard for these organizations to actively resist co-optation. This study, therefore, will explore the South African NGO Industrial Complex in Cape Town through a queer of color critique to not only add to the development of queer theory but to also interrogate the neo-liberal model. This will highlight either the resistance or complicity of LGBTQI organizations with the State.

Methodology

The research of this study will be conducted through three case studies lgbti organizations in Cape Town. This leads to a comparative study of fragmented factors of each organization including their origins, political agendas and programs, structure, and funding. Triangle Project is an lgbti organization focused on eradicating homophobia through education, and lobbying while providing necessary social and clinical services to the lgbti community. I chose this NGO particularly because of its prominence as a gay organization in Cape Town and its relationships forged between similar subsector organizations. Luleki Sizwe is a NGO invested in challenging societal patriarchies which enable "corrective rape," and other forms of abuse and subordination. They provide shelter, medical services, and food distribution to lesbian, bisexual, and transsexual women that have been subjected to forms of gender based violence. Their services are located in several black townships, which was a leading reason I chose to highlight their work through my research. Intersex South Africa is a NPO grounded in lobbying efforts, awareness building, and educational programs to make visible Intersex issues. I chose this organization noting it as a caucus group for a very marginalized group throughout history. Doing a study of this organization will allow me to amplify the most relevant issues for the Intersex community while analyzing the way these issues are either incorporated or excluded from the gay rights movement.

In order to obtain extensive information of the organizations at study, I will use both methods of participant observation and guided conversations as opposed to formal interviews with key members. I choose guided conversations as they provide me the flexibility to tailor each interview to the specific organization while making shifts as needed throughout the conversation. The questions alluded to the politics of working at each respective organization.

Generally the questions inquired about history, funding, expenditures, services, employment positions, current work and programs, political activism, and goals of the organization. My main informant in my research at Triangle is Annie Leatt, a former Director of the organization and a current lecturer at the University of Cape Town's Religious Studies department. Due to budget cuts and international funders exiting South Africa, all nonprofits are in a funding crisis which translates to a shortage of staff. Thus, interviewing Annie allows me to deeply confer about the structure, and more specifically the demographics, of the staff. Along with her interview I conducted four interviews with the Health Manager, the Senior Field Worker, the Finance Administrator, and the general Administrator.

Luleki Sizwe, as an emerging organization, similarly has experienced the outcomes of a funding crisis. I was able to meet with the founder, Ndumie Funda, in two sessions in order to gather comprehensive information on the work that the organization has and continues to do. Similarly at Intersex South Africa, I met with the founder and director, Sally Gross. Choosing to speak to the directors was strategic in that they generally have the most knowledge on the internal functions of the organization.

Being that I am an outsider to most of the organizations under study, I chose to be tactful with my individual interviews in order to maintain a positive relationship to the informants without raising tension. Thus, I did not ask explicit questions based on their pay scale. I had to be cognizant of the fact that, with their lack of funding, time is seen as a luxury to them. I had to take this into consideration upon my interviews in order to not distract them from their daily agendas.

Origins of Gay and Lesbian Activism and the Transition to an NGO Model

South Africa's history of activism informs many of the decisions on how to respond to unjust practices today. Gay and lesbian activism from its most prominent years in the 90s has set the bar for possibilities of change through a legal reformist agenda as has other political activist sectors during the end of apartheid and the construction of the most progressive constitution in the world. (De Vos, 2009) NGOs have molded to similar agendas and goals that have been fostered in the past while previous members of organizations such as the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) and the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE) have become incorporated in the highest decision making levels of emerging and grounded lgbti organizations today (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). The most interesting part of this transition from political advocacy organizations to the exponential growth of civil society organizations is that now, rather than purely challenging the nature of the State, NGOs have become incorporated into the State by providing social services along the regulations of being registered as a Nonprofit Organization. Thus the history of the organizations under study is integral to the understanding of the co-optation of NGOs social framework today.

History Revisited

My first case study, and one of the most prominently acknowledged lgbti NGO in Cape Town, Triangle Project, has a history of providing health and psycho social services to the lgbti community. The organization has its roots grounded in the Gay Association of South Africa (GASA) which was founded in 1981 in Johannesburg as a "social meeting place for white, middle-class gay men." (Triangle, 2010; De Vos, 2009: 435) GASA was not aligned with the anti-apartheid struggle and suffered immense criticism which resulted in their expulsion from the International Lesbian and Gay Association by the mid-80s. (De Vos, 2009: 435). The

organization was primarily service based and explicitly non-political to support the community through establishing "a counseling and medical service as well as a telephone helpline." (De Vos, 2009; Triangle Project, 2010).

By 1984, GASA incorporated HIV/AIDS services into their agenda. By 1994, the fundraising program, AIDS Support and Education Trust (ASET) and the original counseling services linked up to became independent of GASA (Triangle Project, 2010). In 1995, it was established that this coalition would focus on "empowering the gay and lesbian communities through health and development programmes" (Triangle Project, 2010). One year after this stated objective, the organization established and appropriated the name, Triangle Project, to exemplify the broad array of services they provided. (Triangle Project, 2010) The historical perspective of this thriving organization in the lgbti sector today shows how an organization's roots set up a threshold for the work possible in the future.

An emerging, yet exceptionally renowned Nonprofit NGO, Luleki Sizwe, was established after the death of Founder, Ndumie Funda's, past fiancé, Nosizwe (N Funda 2012, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Ndumie has been a community organizer and activist throughout her life. She took a major roll in establishing the township student movement and organizing the first two township prides in Gugulethu (N Funda 2012, pers. Comm., 19 Nov.). She was born in Gugulethu where she has been working alongside and mobilizing community members including nine other black townships in Cape Town (N Funda 2012, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). She additionally volunteered for Triangle Project for twelve years where she assisted them in forging a relationship with people of Paarl, a black township (N Funda 2012, pers. Comm., 19 Nov.).

In commemoration of two names, Luleka and Nosizwe, dear to the founders' heart who have lost their lives due to "corrective rape," Luleki Sizwe made its entrance into black

townships in 2008 because, as Ndumie notes, "There were no lesbian organizations," and she was unable to be apathetic after the deep tragedies these deaths caused her. Ndumie further substantiates the name during our interview: "That's when we established Luleki Sizwe. It means to Discipline the nation. When a child has been given a name and when the child is expected to live according to the name. Luleki means discipline and Sizwe means nation." This description shows the personal connection and relationship fostered between founder and organization. It is important to remember this connection when assessing the reason for the establishment of an organization. On numerous occasions, Ndumie referred to Luleki Sizwe as her "brain child," in which case she was the primary driving factor for its establishment with very limited funding. Ultimately this NGO was established to challenge negative existing perceptions against lbt people that justifies their victimization.

Similar to Luleki Sizwe, Intersex South Africa is an emerging organization focused on eradicating the stigmatization of Intersex bodies. This organization was established primarily through personal effort. Sally Gross, Founder and Director of the organization, was an anti-apartheid activist who was in exile in the United Kingdom and managed to come back to South Africa to mark the creation of Interesex SA in 1999 (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). In the process of creating the organization, Sally utilized the media as a tool for establishment and awareness (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). She persuaded the *Mail and Guardian* to publish a story on intersex awareness in South Africa in which case she ended up providing most of the information to the journalist assigned (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). This article officially announced the establishment of Intersex SA with a total membership of one (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). She also went on a show called the Felicia Show, which claimed to be about someone who was Intersex but was actually not (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Sally mentions

that the show was more trans related, so when she went on the show she incorporated more relevant intersex material. The organization was originally dependent under her friend's "kitchen NGO," Engender (S Gross, pers. Comm., 19 Nov.). Intersex SA became fully independent by 2010 as Sally made individual funding requests. This will be discussed in the funding portion of this paper.

Relative to their respective histories, the possibility of the work attainable by NGOs is contingent upon the spaces they operate out of. Triangle's current office is located in Observatory in a semi-discreet location. Their office is accessible through a gate lined with barbed wire operated by a security unit. Upon entrance, their unit reads "Rainbow Centre." Similarly, Intersex SA's unit is located within a building in Mowbray with the title SWEAT (Sex Worker's Education and Advocacy Taskforce) placed on the front. Along with the concealed organizational titles within the building they occupy, it is important to understand the space of these two closely aligned neighborhoods and their level of accessibility to people within township areas. Triangle Project established a branch in Gugulethu, which is contentious in terms of funding which will be discussed later in this paper. Luleki Sizwe, on the other hand, is an organization specifically based in township spaces in order to contribute to grassroots movement building needed within the framework of lbt activism by focusing on base-building while providing what is termed "survival services" (Mananzala and Spade, 2008) for the community which needs them most. (N Funda, pers. comm., 19 Nov.).

Mission and Objectives: Theories of Social Change

Because this research is interested in examining the way existing lgbti organizations conceptualize social transformation, stating their defined objectives and missions will be beneficial to this understanding. As Mananzala and Spade (2008) explain:

> Whether stated or not, all organizations have a theory of how social change happens that determines what work they deem politically viable, whom they involve in their work, and which strategies and structures they employ to carry out this work. As explained previously, an organization's ideology will drive the strategies it uses to address a problem (63).

This statement ties into the argument that the history of an organization by and large dictates the political direction possible in its future. All three of the examined organizations have their own agendas which are dictated from a history and can be found within their objectives and mission statements. Thus it becomes important to tie their objectives into the rhetoric produced by gay and lesbian activism in history and the State on such issues.

As stated by organizational literature, Triangle's mission is, "To contribute towards eradicating discrimination against and within the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community, and to provide defined services to the LGBT community until they are no longer required" (Triangle Project, 2010). The stated mission both recognizes the lingering effects of discrimination while, for whatever reason, leaving out Intersex from their acronym. Their objectives differ as the first point states their effort in "educating, lobbying and advocating against harmful stereotypes, attitudes and behaviours towards Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) people" (Triangle Project, 2010). A discussion of the effort to produce a sanctified community of sexual and gender minorities will ensue through the progression of this study. Nonetheless, their primary objective relies on the rhetoric developed throughout the 90s culminating in the addition of the anti-discrimination clause of the Constitution which was the first in the world to include this on the basis of sexual orientation (De Vos, 2009, 439). The discourse enveloped in the progression of the organization paves the path for a similarly legal and mainstream framework towards human rights and equality.

Similar to Triangle, there exists discrepancies between the stated mission on inclusion of identities and practice in Luleki Sizwe. These divisions highlight the idea of diversity while maintaining it as a simple claim to inclusivity without much weight on the action the organization takes. The organizational literature vows to "change the existing negative perception about lesbian, bisexual, and transsexual women in our society," yet the objectives of their direct services follow along the lines to "educate and empower lesbians about issues such as safe sex, healthy living, health programmes, sport, media, arts/culture, and human rights" (Luleki Sizwe). The stories that were amplified during our interview regarded lesbian folks who needed established support groups and services to be rehabilitated from the traumas that come with "corrective rape." (N Funda, pers. comm. 19 Nov.). Though focusing directly on services related to Lesbians is an undeniable need, one must consider the outstanding sources that push organization like Luleki Sizwe to procure the inclusion of lbt women in their objectives yet not feel the need to mention transgender women in their listed services.

Intersex South Africa was created to promote Intersex issues more prevalently than they have been by existing organizations and in the past of gay activism. Their mission explicitly states that they are "An organization established to spread knowledge about intersex, to provide the space for the development of an intersexed voice in Southern Africa, and to combat discrimination on grounds of intersex" (Intersex South Africa, 2012). Through lobbying and awareness efforts, Sally has been actively pursuing this mission through holding workshops and educational programs while placing an effort on lobbying to influence policies. In our interview, Sally states that over social services, lobbying and education is most needed. (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Interesting to the topic of this paper is the organization's written beliefs: "Interesexed people are a natural variant and an important part of human diversity; the birth of an

intersexed infant should be celebrated no less than the birth of any other infant; ALL diversity should be valued whether of race, culture, gender, sexual orientation, ability, geography and or socio-economic status."

Though arguably displaced by the mainstream gay and lesbian movement, the objectives of this caucus group echoes the rhetoric of inclusivity while implicitly rendering intersex issues as a human rights issue alluding to the global construction of a sexual minority movement (van Zyl, 2009). As Croatoan (2012) states, however, "'Diversity' alone is a meaningless political ideal which reifies culture, defines agency as inclusion within oppressive systems, and equates identity categories with political beliefs" (19). The projection of diversity ultimately relies on identity politics, which fails to address issues of institutionalized oppression. The result is a hopping number of organizations and reformists who glorify diversity while remaining complicit within oppressive systems that exist. Inclusion of racial, and sexual minorities into existing hierarchies of power ultimately leave no room for radical transformation needed by the most marginalized communities.

Additionally, discourse on human rights, which has gained global attention, is no more than an offshoot of neo-liberalism focused on the individual as a free agent who is formally recognized by the State, and thus has ample opportunities to succeed in a free-market society (Harris 2006). My interview with Annie explains the adoption of the new Constitution and transition to democracy as a statist project where the ANC along with all activists at the time agreed that the State would be the "vehicle for transformation" (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). Rather than eradicating inequalities, however, the State is reproducing them as local government is very weak and national government, although very powerful, does not have jurisdiction to regulate our actions (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). "The education and healthcare system

were supposed to be nationalized and made singular to be nondiscriminatory, but the presumption that they (national government) would have the same degree of power over those sectors as they had control over before is inaccurate" (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.).   As neo-liberalism continues to advocate for and advance a free-market economy, the government continues to lose substantial power and welfare services like health proceed to be privatized (Barlow, 2003).

Why the Acronym? An LGBTI Community or Identity Acknowledgement?

The missions and objectives stated by each respective organization can be looked at through the lens of identity politics. This contentious term promotes the recognition of identities without redistribution. The linking of sexuality, sexual orientation, gender, and sex is not uncommon, as show above, and thus produces the highly recognized lgbti acronym in South Africa. In many ways, it makes sense that individuals within the broadly defined acronym can find community with one another, but it nonetheless becomes increasingly important to identify who holds the most amounts of momentum and power within.

> Emerging trans struggles are often closely associated with struggles against discrimination based on sexual orientation, in part because U.S. culture often conflates sexual orientation and gender expression and in part because of a long history of sexual and gender outsiders finding community together, resisting oppression together, and often understanding their identities through or against each other (Valentine, 2007 cited in Mananzala and Spade, 2008, 53).

Extending from the analysis of US culture, South Africa and many countries globally have reduced trans issues to gay issues in part due to the understanding and homogeneity of the terminology sexuality, gender, sex, and sexual orientation. When asked about the trend to group sex and gender along with sexual orientation, Annie, former director of Triangle states: "It's not something that we set up. In some ways it is a deeply acculturated way of thinking about sexuality that in South Africa have been very closely tied to gender." Because of this, there is an

expectation for gay organizations to include trans and intersex issues into their agendas in order to comply with the inclusive jargon associated with the gay and lesbian movement.

Sally, Director of Intersex South Africa took a similar yet more essentialist stance on the acronym relating to her personal experience as an intersexed woman and her struggle for inclusion:

> We've pushed very hard for the incorporation of the I in the acronym. It's important that people like myself as intersex actually support people who are LGB and T. There are issues of solidarity and the oppression deriving from the same patriarchal system and heteronormative assumptions…there's actually a moral imperative for solidarity, but it's also the case that the LGBTI community as it were is not homogenous… there is more commonality between the T and the I than there is to LGB on the other. That isn't a solidarity breaker if each party respects the other party's concerns and distinctive voice" (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.).

The way she frames the congruence of an lgbti community is in terms of a more radical delineation which has disappeared or rather has been contained post-apartheid due to the strategic shifts to utilizing a bureaucratic system. Sally's subjectivity to the inclusion of I to the acronym portrays the strategic continuation of recognition being central to the role of modern day activism.

> But more pertinent for our argument is the phenomenon of anti-oppression activists – who do advance a structural analysis of oppression and yet consistently align themselves with a praxis that reduces the history of violent and radically unsafe antislavery, anticolonial, antipatriarchal, antihomophobic, and anticiscentric freedom struggles to struggles over individual privilege and state recognition of cultural difference (Croatoan, 2012, 19).

In this metaphysical vision, transformation for intersex issues happens through inclusion into a lgbt community which already utilizes identity politics to promote change. It, therefore, is an inclusion upon inclusions, in which case the ultimate goal is to be recognized through the mainstream lens of the State. While Sally professes the common recognition of solidarity in

response to a hegemonic, patriarchal, and homophobic system, the ultimate goal of gay and lesbian activism has been legal and reformist rather than radical and revolutionary.

Solidarity is a radical act which rejects hierarchy and rather focuses on direct action to stand against social norms and social injustice. Yet solidarity has been mistaken, as in Sally's case, as identity (Croatoan, 2012, 18). To assume that identity recognition within a broad lgbti acronym, and furthermore within governmental institutions, is the most pressing issue for queer folks homogenizes the political beliefs of communities and eliminates any autonomy held by these communities in a struggle against patriarchy, homophobia, and heteronormativity (Croatoan, 2012). Thus, the structural analysis of institutionalized racism and economic strife by and large experienced by communities of color become reduced to cultural affirmation within existing hierarchies of oppression. This has little to do with solidarity and more to do, once again, with identity politics.

Accomplishments for whom? The Trajectory of LGBTI Transformation

The sometimes very abstract nature of radical, queer discourse can be reified through an examination of the work and achievements of the individual organizations at study. Their field of work ties into what Mananzala and Spade (2008) term, a model for social change, which every organization ultimately has. By examining their current work, noted achievements, and goals for the communities they represent, we can further draw conclusions upon how this relates to their stated objectives and the possibilities and constraints of their future trajectories. In addition, the NGO Industrial Complex permits a space where political work is separated from service based work (Mananzala and Spade, 2008). This is largely representative of the philanthropic model of change, which will be more thoroughly examined in the funding section of this paper. This stark division depoliticizes the bodies that utilize the service-oriented work prohibiting them from building networks and critiques on the oppressive systems they live in (Mananzala and Spade, 2008).

Triangle Project: Standing Against a "Homoprejudiced" Society

When asked about the most pressing issue for the lgbti community, the Health Manager of Triangle prescribed that bullying and hate crimes needed to be addressed most of all. Her efforts within the organization to remedy the ascendancy of this discrimination include educational programs in which many schools, namely those with children from grade r (kindergarten) to twelve years old, contact Triangle to hold workshops. (Health Manager, pers. comm., 8 Nov.). These are mostly, as the Health Manager states, within the sexual health department of educational institutions. She explained that as a result of one of the workshops in an elementary school, a seven year old girl came out as lesbian. She responded by saying "We don't want every girl identifying as a lesbian or to put a label on a child." One can see how

workshops such as those fostered by Triangle Project recognize their need to teach through the use of neutral and normative language. Especially for the younger kids, the Health Manager states that they must find divisive strategies to discuss topics of sexual difference without using terms that are too out of the reach for children. For example she says that they talk about gender fluidity in terms of dress and dismantling the existing notions in children that boys and girls have to dress in specific ways.

The fact that I noted the adult-centric ideology surfacing through this reasoning is beside the point. I noted the implicit rendering of an explicit mention of sexual orientation as inappropriate for young children out of fear that they will all want to come out. This in many ways is prompted by the stigma of sexual deviancy and its misplacement within institutions such as education especially within the descriptive purity of childhood. Furthermore, throughout the interview, she emphasized the need for schools to recognize sexual minorities in efforts to eradicate forms of homophobia from a young age. She discussed the policy against bullying being placed in schools by the Department of Education as a major stepping-stone in doing so. The belief that a reliance on governmental sectors and school policies will prevent discrimination between social interactions is a fallacy on its own.

The Health Manager's critique of discrimination centralizes a concept of "homoprejudiced" from the reasoning that "They aren't afraid of us. The concept of homophobia implies that there is a deeply instilled fear. It is an attitude, not a fear." Though Triangles stated goal to eradicate homophobia and patriarchy on a societal level glitters with generality, doing so through policy work alone will never break down the cultural engraining of oppressive systems. The continued effort to place policy and lobbying strategies at the fore nonetheless ignores the fact that these past strategies to reconstruct the Constitution in regards to

racial discrimination have had little effect on the continuation of racially segregated space, schools, and the majority of wealth being held in the hands of whites with the exceptions of the small portion of racially marginalized groups that have maintained class, and educational privilege (namely black capitalists) (Robins, 2008).

Triangle's reformist agenda and connections to the limitations of the NGO Industrial Complex can be further examined through the interview held with former Director, Annie. When I asked her if there existed a division between service-based and political-based work in Triangle she responded:

> Triangle project was and is the biggest of the service providing organizations, so I think it had more of an extreme version of its own identity. Most places don't have the space to differentiate them (political-based, and service-based work) as much. Often you had people who were part of the NCGLE on the board who were constitutional lawyers, and then you had services, and then you had people dealing with police and harassment. I think that division is stark just because the sector isn't as well resourced, but I think Triangle is the exception to that.

While it is true that Triangle may have provided legal services and created political agendas during Annie's time working there, the direction of these decisions are held at the hands of the top tiers of the organization. This highly alludes to the professionalization of nonprofits which will be examined in the structure portion of this paper. Thus, while Triangle may technically incorporate both political and service based work in their agendas, the political becomes more representative of the lawyers who sit on the board and less focused on grassroots organizing which, as De Vos (2009) and Mananzala and Spade (2008) explain, is most needed by the most oppressed groups.

Luleki Sizwe: We must "Think Human"

Luleki Sizwe, provides services for victims of corrective rape while upholding an effort to change societal confinements and suppression of women and sexual minorities. As Ndumie

points out, their services include providing safe shelter, creating access to medical services, distributing food, and providing support groups to victims of "corrective rape." During my visit to Nyanga, I was able to see the vibrant purple house that was first bought in 2010 in the area called 'Black City.' Ndumie and her wife inhabited the house while they housed victims in shelter in the back (N Funda, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Through donations, they have bought Wendy houses for victims while providing support through established soccer leagues that were requested by constituents of the organization. She annunciated the fact that this vibrant purple house was a safe space where all people were provided with the assurance that no harm was to happen there.

Throughout our interview, Ndumie professed her ongoing effort to reach out to the community in order to see change.

> When you're part of the community you don't sideline yourself. Lobbying and advocacy to change negative perceptions are objectives of the organization. How do you do that based in a township? What we're trying to show people is that we've been known as people who like to protest in front of the magistrates, and we do have what we call solidarity, but you cannot preach solidarity on an empty stomach. There are young kids evicted from their homes because of their sexuality, there are kids that are dropouts at school because they are discriminated by their teachers themselves. So this is what we're working on as an organization. Hence we need to have community engagement; We need to work closely with them. I need to be part of the community; I need to be visible within the community meetings; I need to make my voice heard and my presence acknowledged while not forcing it down peoples' throats.

What her statement alludes to is a long line of frustration from invisibility. Her endeavor to promote sexual minority issues, thus, needs to be driven with a focus. Rather than being framed as non-directive protests, Ndumie wants her organization to be known as having a focus. Claims to solidarity have been appropriated, as we have seen in Intersex South Africa, by the rhetoric projected by NGOs. This surface level discussion and preaching hardly does justice for what acts of solidarity can actually produce to stand in opposition to the State. Ndumie proceeded to

talk about the achievement of "establishing a network within churches which is a very good sign that churches want to be involved with our work to form an alliance. The Western Cape counsel of churches visited us last year to further the alliance."

Luleki Sizwe's conceptualization of shifting societal attitudes is increasingly dependent upon reform within social institutions exemplified with the noted achievement of recognition from the church. What's missing here is a structural analysis of religion, namely Christianity, as an oppressive system that has been projected upon bodies via colonization and has had a central role in shaping existing gender norms, patriarchy, heteronormativity. Their up and coming pilot project called 'We are One' includes the training of ten church members on three topics: HIV and prevention, gender based violence, and homosexuality (N Funda, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). This will culminate in phase two of the project where the prior ten church members become facilitators and recruit thirty church members to be trained in these three areas (N Funda, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Additionally, Ndumie notes that a major current endeavor is to get the Premiere of the Western Cape, Helen Zille, to visit Luleki Sizwe. The prospect of Helen Zile's visit as an achievement further shows how visibility and recognition within existing hierarchies becomes a top priority for this organization. The ongoing phrase used by Ndumie in our interview to legitimize the work done by Luleki Sizwe is, "Think human." This phrase is used to explain lesbian issues as a human issue and to profess the need to exclaim that "we are human too." (N Funda, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). This is not far off from the normalization of the black lesbian identity in townships exemplified in the study conducted by Potgieter (2005) on black lesbian voices.

Because Luleki Sizwe specifically deals with the victims of "corrective rape," it is important to understand the way this organization relies on police authorities, the criminal justice

system, and ultimately the State to eradicate this form of sexual violence. Ndumie notes that, prior to the creation of Luleki Sizwe, a young girl who was raped at gunpoint, and with the help of her friends, opened a court case on her own. "And I'm proud of those girls because without any help of the lgbti sector, they managed to get the guy behind bars" (N Funda, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Ndumie has suffered many losses throughout her lives as the women who are dear to her continue to be misused and beaten. The accumulation of these losses results in her, and many others', need for revenge. On the same day I visited Nyanga to meet with Ndumie on 9 Nov., a young lesbian woman, Sihle, was raped and murdered. Sihle was a member of Luleki Sizwe, and her passing caused Ndumie a lot of pain.

Through lobbying power, Ndumie projected "corrective rape" issues on a website called change.org in which case 100,000 people globally came together to call upon the Minister of Justice and the South African government to get "corrective rape" classified as a hate crime punishable of twenty-five years to life while providing "resources for better policing and enforcement of existing law, and development of tougher laws to combat corrective rape" (Luleki Sizwe, 2010). The lists of demands listed on this website work to place responsibility, yet again, in the power of the State, which has proven to be faulty. Furthermore, the call to increase police activity, law enforcement, and to prolong prison sentences gives power to a system which disproportionately locks up people of color and is punitive in nature.

> The shift in focus from police accountability to partnering with the criminal justice system and aiming for increased penalties represents a significant move away from the concerns of low-income queers and queers of color, who are the most frequent targets of police and prisons, toward the perspective of White and economically privileged queers who may feel protected by the police and the criminal justice system and more interested in retribution than in finding alternatives to a crime-and- punishment model. Increased police activity and power translates into more violence against communities of color and more surveillance. Through on their list of demands they call for Anti-Homophobia police training, they continue to ignore the oppressive nature held at the hands of

the police state that represents the majority of subjugation of communities of
color (Mananzala and Spade, 2008, 59)

The politics of calling upon the criminal justice system and the police state to regulate homophobic acts of violence is very white. It brings about a question on why women of color living in a township would advocate for the increased policing of their areas. A global gay rights movement, as Mananzala and Spade (2008) profess, has used this rhetoric and further shows that gay rights are privileged rights.

Luleki Sizwe adds an interesting piece to this critique of the NGO Industrial Complex, however. Their effort to directly reach out to the community through base-building strategies provides much more of a bottom-up approach than the other two investigated NGOs . Furthermore, Ndumie herself was born and raised in a township and speaks from personal experience. There is an increasing phenomenon for white, top tier, elitists in NGOs to dictate the work and strategies taken in debilitated communities, such as Triangle with their branch in Gugulethu (Mananzala and Spade, 2008). More often, this type of strategy is ineffective as decisions are made on behalf of communities by people who have no direct relation to the bodies inhabiting said community which ends up homogenizing the needs of those bodies (Croatoan, 2012). Luleki Sizwe, on the other hand, is an organization created by the community for the community, and while they remain complicit within the neo-liberal, reformist model of change, they remain grounded on a base-building premise. Thus, the potential of this organization is enormous.

Intersex South Africa: Striving for Recognition and Awareness

Dissimilar to the base-building, service oriented approach fostered by Luleki Sizwe, Intersex South Africa exists on a framework of primarily lobbying and awareness building. Their relationship with the Department for Social Development requires that they do a majority of their

workshops in the Cape metro area (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Educational institutions, and

individual organizations request their workshops. Out of the various workshops they put on,

they have done so for refugee associations, lesbian and gay groups, men's groups, and the

women's legal center. They have worked to include intersex awareness into some of their

workshops such as their HIV and AIDS education for children as young as ten. Sally says a goal

of the organization is to "get their foot into schools and syllabi" (S Gross, pers. comm. 19 Nov.).

Framing education as the end-all is not specific to this organization. Through policy reform,

various organizations globally are reliant on governmental structures to enforce education. For

example, in California a move has been made to require lesbian and gay history to be mandatory

within public education. The major concern about this is that it will translate into a regurgitation

of dominant narratives which highlight gay political figures and ignores the radical roots of the

Gay Rights Movement in the US. Additionally, organizations that conceptualize education as

the end to ignorance ignore the uneven quality of schools based on their location and subsidies.

This is to say that, if a proper awareness of intersex issues is to be brought about through

education, it will disproportionately reach those with enough class mobility to attain a decent

education. This then displaces the outreach to communities of color at large.

The understanding of Sally's set of relationships with other activists and organizations

forms the substantial depth of the work Intersex SA currently does. In our interview, Sally Gross

spoke on behalf of her effort to eradicate a proposed bill, The Alteration of Sex Description Act

which was more aimed at trans folks, but had dire implications for intersexed folks. The bill

provided that, in order to alter one's sex description with the Department of Home Services, they

must have gender conforming genetalia. (S Gross, pers. comm. 19 Nov.). This ties into the

stigmatization of intersexed bodies where South Africa looks at the birth of an intersexed child

as "a form of bewitchment" and therefore prompts doctors to instill this fear within the parents of the intersexed child. Often times this means the persuasion to have one's child undergo genitalia at a very young age. Sally saw an opportunity to provide comments to this bill and first linked up with the Equality Project—formerly known as NCGLE (De Vos, 2009)—to make these submissions in alliance with them. As Sally states, "They went and did their own submission which was notably lousy. They left the issue of intersex and pissed off trans activists." From here Sally formed an alliance with member of a transgender support group, Estian Smit, to culminate in a presentation before parliament to criticize this bill in regards to transgender and intersex rights.

At the same time, Sally had already been working on lobbying definitions into South Africa's major Human Rights Act called the promotion of equality and prevention of unfair discrimination act (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). During the process, she drafted definitions which brought the intersex identity into law. After a lengthy waiting period, these definitions were signed into law. Sally professed that recognition has been a large accomplishment for the intersex community:

> People now know the word—don't exactly know what it means, but they know the word. It actually crops up sometimes even in government documents. We've given it a bit of a profile which is a start and it's recognized that it is a human rights issue. That has taken a hell of a lot of work (S. Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.).

So what is the significance of highlighting these noted achievements of Intersex South Africa? The legal expose of the intersex identity concretized by Sally Gross shows the single level avenue taken to procure recognition. As Mananzala and Spade (2008) note:

> Instead, service and policy reform organizations typically engage in change where those directly affected are clients but educated elites (e.g., lawyers, administrators, social workers, public health experts) create and implement reform agendas. Overall, the aims of these organizations, and the breadth of their

political demands, are far narrower and less radical due to the incentives provided by philanthropy to pursue service and policy reform goals. (57)

This excerpt from their brilliant article on the nonprofit industrial complex shows how political agendas and services have been co-opted to echo the rhetoric of human rights while maintaining a social order of top-down management where decisions on behalf of an entire community are made through the jurisdiction of the "most qualified" professionals, namely the directors and board members.

> To say that poor people of color, queers, or immigrants are not interested or not profoundly impacted by the economy, and instead interested only in reaffirming their identities within existing hierarchies of power, is to work within a rigged zero-sum game for the liberation of a particular oppressed identity at the expense of all the others (Croatoan, 2012, 12).

For members of NGOs who maintain racial, class, and educational privilege, legal reform and identity politics is the ultimate stepping-stone towards inclusion. These analyses to uplift the community ignore the fact that racial and class stratification, as well as material disadvantages is central to the lived experience of poor queer folks of color. (Collins, 2009; Croatoan, 2012).

Structure is not Queer

The discussions and arguments throughout this paper surrounding topics of organizational decisions, political agendas, and services can be better understood through the critique of NGO structures, particularly in regards to employment positions. These positions tend to be hierarchal and representative of for-profit organizations. Shooting off of this becomes the increasingly professionalized model of NGOs relying on educational qualifications as prerequisites for occupying top-level positions. This subsequently reproduces racialized positions that become normalized within these organizational structures. So how do the organizations at hand working to eradicate society's negative perception of sexual and gender variants either reproduce hierarchies reliant on race, class, and education or resist this model?

The Professionalization of Activism: Creating a Third Space to Homogenize Academic and Activist Endeavors

A major shift has occurred to view social justice as a career path by emerging "activists" from prestigious universities (Croatoan, 2012; Mananzala and Spade, 2008). This has increasingly contributed to the for-profit model being utilized within non-profits which drastically affect the type of work they do. Those who maintain structural privileges occupy the top tier positions and therefore hold the power to dictate the direction of activism within the organization. (Hawk, 2007 cited in Mananzala and Spade, 2008, 58). In our interview, Annie insightfully explained that there were two spaces—one occupied by activists, and the other occupied by academics, so a third space was created culminating in the NGO Industrial Complex (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.).

Mananzala and Spade (2008) draw an interesting parallel between these governing systems and colonialism (57). This becomes increasingly apparent when organizations governed

by white elitists service poor communities of color where, rather than delegating decision making power to the communities who are the direct bearers of oppression, decisions are placed in the hands of educational elites in management positions of these organizations (Mananzala and Spade, 2008). In the cases of lgbti NGOs, this displaces a queer critique on systemic oppression and rather develops a mainstream vision that can be sold to the public as charitable, progressive actions.

> Business models of management that focus on top-down decision making, coupled with organizational structures in which educational, race, and class privilege often correspond to high positions in the hierarchy, mean that not only decision making but also compensation and quality of life at work are concentrated in the hands of White people with graduate educations (Mananzala and Spade, 2008, 58).

This model promotes internal competition as employees, like in capitalist investments, work to climb up the existing position hierarchies. This serves as another example of how the work of NGOs have been co-opted by corporate and neo-liberal grounded politics.

In our interview, Annie explained that the rapid professionalization occurred between 1991 and 1992. What had previously been civic NPOs filled with "voluntary activist bodies," had now turned into a career where the well-being of workers became more of a concern (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). By 2006, the NGO sector was bigger than mining in South Africa (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). To get a rough estimate of income becoming central to the work done in this new form of activism, Annie roughly explains that, while she was a member of the Network on Violence Against Women as the treasurer in 1997, the director received R3500 per month. Within five years following, the salary increased to R18021 per month (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). In accordance to Mananzala and Spade's (2008) argument, the focus on workers well-being is part of a rift where the indicators of good quality work is held at the hands of management who, again, tend to be those who maintain structural privilege.

Annie provides an interesting critique of the professional model adopted by Triangle Project in relation to their internal power dynamic struggles especially dealing with their services in Khayelitsha—a black township in the Cape Flats:

> So the most professionalized were the whitest, the malest, and the most qualified. The least professionalized were in the township office and had, which were according to professional models, quite amorphous programs that combined more socializing and professional interaction and began bleeding into one another over time (A Leatt, pers. comm. 13 Nov.).

She explains that board members and managerial staff were reconstituting the work of the field workers, who at the time lived and worked in Khayelitsha, because the part of their work that was actual work and the part that was a piece of their daily lives was blurred. This restructuring renders socializing and work as compartmentalized factors in which case pleasure does not constitute work and ties into the increased importance of wages in NGOs. When Zackie Achmat created TAC, his critique on the professional model of the service sector was that it stood directly against solidarity in that there existed a stark division between those who were working and those who were receiving (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov).

Privileged Theory: Racialized, Hierarchal Positions

Discourse on topics of privilege have reduced its meaning to a psychological state of mind that can be recognized and overthrown (Croatoan, 2012). The implications render individual privileges as a state of mind rather than systems of advantages that have been institutionalized and, therefore, promote identity politics as explored above. A description of employment positions and the identities and qualifications that occupy said position will reify the meta-physical nature of this discussion on the NGO Industrial Complex.

Triangle has a history of utilizing a professionalized model which substantiates the use of hierarchies to lead their search for new Directors, Administrators, and Field Workers. During

Annie's time working with the organization, she admits that the positions were quite racialized and qualified in relation to educational experience (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). Though the positions in place during her time working at Triangle in 1998 have changed a bit, the general qualifiers of the type of positions are sustained today. The field workers were "black African Xhosa speakers", the clinical services professionals were "couloured," and the three managerial positions including the Clinic Services Manager, the Community Development Manager, and the Director, Annie, were all white and professionals (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). Interestingly, members on the board during her time were mostly "coloured" and professional while the "black Africans on the board weren't so African—they were African American, from Kenya, or had been exiled and come back to South Africa." (A Leatt, pers. comm. 13 Nov.).

Except for volunteers during Annie's time working there, there was no trans staff, and only one closeted intersex person (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). As prescribed by the constitution at the time, however, the Director must be either lesbian, gay, or bisexual (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). As Annie notes, though there were support groups for trans people and a lot of trans people came to triangle for services, there was not a problematic focus on trans issues. She additionally explains that an intersex focus was not present until around 2003 when Sally Gross got involved and began advancing a stronger identity for the intersex community. Too often organizations that claim to promote trans issues employ, at most, one trans employee to work on trans specific work (Mananzala and Spade, 2008). Given the professionalized model at hand, those trans people employed tend to be individuals who obtain class mobility. One must keep in mind that the majority of queer people are poor and have had the least articulation within the gay and lesbian movement of South Africa (De Vos, 2009).

> So you had this compounding of socio-economic, language, and professionalism, and it's a really interesting question—how is it possible to transform a sector, a

set of services, or an organization that itself replicates exactly the problem that you're trying to work with. There's no simple answer to that question. The only thing you can do is attempt to take some power away from those sections that are overpowered and give increasing resources, training, visibility, and spaces for articulation by the part of the organization that has been less visible and less articulate. That's a power struggle amongst other things (A Leatt. pers. comm. 13 Nov.).

Annie's analysis of power redistribution does not fit within a neo-liberal framework where autonomous bodies act as free agents. This analysis also transcends identity politics which has been central to the framework of gay and lesbian activism. Additionally, this power redistribution requires a collective understanding of privilege as systemic and not as a psychological state (Croatoan, 2012). Though this strategy would provide a potential for base-building efforts in the hands of the bearers of oppression, one must not forget the barriers to doing so in an NGO model of social change.

A quick rundown of Triangle's current positions and duties include: the Director who is responsible for overseeing the work done with decision making power to offer strategic direction and leadership; the Health Manager who holds decision making power for the health services program areas and oversees its operation; the Health Coordinator is responsible for setting up various health and service activities; two Fieldworkers work in the community development division to establish safe spaces in various communities including townships; the Finance Administrator is responsible for managing the organization's funding and finances; an overall Administrator and Librarian is responsible for maintaining the organization's library along with general administrative duties (Triangle Project, 2010). From what my observations afforded me, these relatively similar positions to Annie's time at Triangle resemble similar racial and professional hierarchies of the organization.

Luleki Sizwe, an extremely underfunded organization, does have an employment structure in place, yet Founder, Ndumie Funda, seems to have most executive decisions and has become the face of the organization. Their charitable services operate with the help of four volunteers an Organizer, a Treasurer, and a Chairperson (N Funda, pers. comm. 19 Nov.). Ndumie notes that without funding there is no flexibility to create extensive positions (N Funda, pers. comm. 19 Nov.). They are able to, however, allocate their workers minimal funds from the funding they used to receive from Hivos (N Funda, pers. comm. 19 Nov.). It becomes apparent from our interview that by not utilizing a formal structure of employment, Luleki Sizwe rejects the professionalized, hierarchal model of the NGO Industrial Complex. Her efforts to involve the community she works in solidarity with involves more of a voice of bearers of oppression, including herself as a black, lesbian living in a black township. This base-building technique may change as they have a new personnel working on drafting reports to send to funders. Funders often require a professional model within individual organizations in order to sustain their donations.

Similar to Triangle Project, Intersex South Africa adopts a similar hierarchal employment structure with racial undercurrents surfacing. As already noted, Sally is the Director. Additionally there is a Fundraiser who is responsible for remaining up to date with potential funders and managing time frames for proposals to be sent to current and future funders, an Administrator, and an Outreach Coordinator who organizes workshops (Intersex South Africa, 2012). Sally is a white intersexed woman and holds a Master's degree from Oxford University (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). The Fundraiser is a white man holding a Civil Engineering degree from University of Cape Town (Intersex South Africa, 2012). The Administrator is a white trans woman born in Zambia who holds a Bachelor's degree in Theology (Intersex South

Africa, 2012). The Outreach Organizer is a black man from Uganda. In terms of their formal

qualifications, Sally holds a Masters degree from Oxford University and has primarily worked

within Public Service until she retired in 2011 to devote more time to Intersex SA. The

Fundraiser holds a Civil Engineering degree from University of Cape Town (Intersex South

Africa, 2012). The Administrator holds a Bachelor's degree in Theology. The Outreach

Coordinator holds a development studies diploma from Nsamizi Institute of Social Development

located in Uganda (Intersex South Africa).

Philanthropic Models of Change: Containing Revolution Through Corporate Idealism

A key proponent of the Nongovernmental Industrial Complex is the set of relationships forged between NGOs and corporations, the State, and the owning class (See INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence 2007, *The revolution will not be funded: Beyond the non- profit industrial complex*). These relationships are primarily established through funding in which NGOs enter convoluted contracts with philanthropic organization, or governmental sectors. The process of applying for cycles of funding, thus, link nicely with the professionalization of NGOs as legal and economic jargon must be a skill honed by those defending their organization in order to receive funds. More importantly, the implications of entering into these contracts shifts organizational goals into conformity to the immediate results philanthropists require in order to maintain their funding (Mananzala and Spade 2008). Moreover, donors are generally not looking to fund base-building work which directs NGOs to focus more on a top-down approach while containing revolution that will never be funded by corporate idealism. By reviewing the funding structures of each NGO at hand, the limitation of philanthropic models of change will be examined and will assist in shaping a model to resist corporate and neo-liberal co-optation.

The Philanthropic Model Promotes Competition and Mirrors Capitalism.

Triangle's funding model operates on the desire to develop strategic direction in order to maximize funding from various organizations. At the time when she was Director, Annie says that half of the organization's funding came from gay and lesbian funding support such as the Elton John Foundation, One Africa, and Novib. The rest came from organizations that wanted to fund around HIV services and prevention work as it was becoming a much greater problem at the time (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). In addition, the Department of Health has been allocating funds to Triangle since the 1990s and still provides these funds for condom distribution (Annie

Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.; Health Manager, pers. comm., 8 Nov.). This is the only form of governmental funding Triangle receives (Finance Administrator, pers. comm., 7 Nov.). Up until recently, all of Triangle's donors had been involved long term. (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). Philanthropic donors such as Atlantic Philanthropies and other international foundations have begun to pull out of South Africa (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). In our interview, Triangle's Finance Administrator noted that Atlantic Philanthropies cut two thirds of their funding from the organization in June 2012.

Every couple of years, the organization, at board level, would work to identify networks to draft applications to receive additional funding (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). Thus, at one point they had Levi Strauss and a donor (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). The emphasis placed on seeking out potential donors further substantiates a professionalized undertone for the NGOs operating under philanthropic models: "This funder-driven elitism has also included a professionalization of social justice organizations such that corporate business models are increasingly used to manage these organizations" (Mananzala and Spade, 2008, 58). In order to remain appealing to potential corporations and donors, organizations are essentially coerced to mirror their structures. These structures, as has been examined, concentrate power upwards and produce a privileged theory around models of social change.

Luleki Sizwe is an interesting case in that their external funding is virtually nonexistent. The purple house that served as an immediate shelter for rape victims was bought through donations from Lush, a cosmetic company in the UK that provides charities with funding (N Funda, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). They also receive funding from Uthando South Africa (an organization that raises funds for community development projects) and used to receive funding from Hivos (a philanthropic foundation working to reveal poverty, building civil society, and

improving women's rights) (Uthando South Africa; Hivos). Though she notes a limitation out of

not receiving extensive funding, Ndumie notes, "We are an independent organization. I hate

to be dependent on a big organization who then claims the credit that I sweated for.

Funding was the problem in the past but it didn't stop us from working." Ndumie's

comment on the prospect of seeking out potential donors shows her mission to retain

organizational goals as organizational without external influence and dilution. Additionally

it serves as a reminder that organizations are not as dependent on the grants they receive

as they have been told to believe.

The ongoing discussion of a funding crisis places power in corporate interests of

funding. Perhaps in their line of work, Luleki Sizwe will create more independent

fundraising events to continue to reject foundational grants. INCITE!, for instance, is a

national grassroots collective that actively challenges the non-profit model to end violence

against women of color (INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence). Instead of relying on

grants from corporations, INCITE! has switched to a method of "grassroots fundraising"

through selling merchandise, throwing house parties, and through private philanthropy

(INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence).   Thus, this collective resists co-optation

through self-development and direct action.

In addition, the new dilemma to address the "funding crisis," has morphed

organizations working for similar trajectories of change into standing battles with one

another (Mananzala and Spade, 2008). By competing for the same resources, their

strategies become more corporately idealistic. Intersex South Africa was originally created

under the direction of Sally's friend's NGO, Engender (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Sally

suggested that the two of them would go to Atlantic Philanthropies to receive funding for

Intersex South Africa as a dependent organization under Engender (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Behind her back, however, her friend went to Atlantic and received the funding without her (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). This placed Sally in a peripheral position with the project and caused her to pull out of Engender. After the original Atlantic Philanthropies funding was expired, she applied for renewed funding as an independent organization in 2010 (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). The organization's primary source of funding was funneled through both Atlantic Philanthropies and the AIDS Foundation of South Africa, which are both eliminated sources as they have pulled out due to the global economic crisis (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). Today, the only two sources of funding comes from Hivos and the Department of Social Development. The overlapping of reliance on similar foundations shows the inherent competition instilled in the nonprofit model where similar bodies are essentially fighting for the same resource in a very professionalized setting.

The Process: Drafting Applications, Retaining Funds, and Opportunity Costs

In order to qualify for foundation grants, NGOs must utilize academic jargon to convey their overall goals in a tailored fashion to each individual foundation. This is included in primary applications as well as the drafting process for proposals (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). This becomes the language of economics and law reserved for those with academic privilege which puts further emphasis on the professionalization of NGOs and hierarchal structures of employment. Annie notes that the Xhosa speaking, black field workers at Triangle were the least qualified which raised issues about communicating in English in a formal matter to speak the language of corporate incentives.

The legal and economic jargon used along with the intricate proposal process further solidifies this professionalization aspect of the structure. In order for Intersex SA to receive funding from Atlantic Philanthropies, Sally had to produce a concept paper and an outline program that culminated in a formal presentation. The proposal process for the AIDS Foundation of South Africa (AFSA) was a bit more complex as the foundation was involved with a number of other potential grantees (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). She thus used her concept paper for Atlantic Philanthropies while tailoring it to AFSA culture of health by highlighting key performance areas in the realm of health education.

When a donor relationship is established, organizations enter into contracts that require regular reports on the work that has been done. Sally explains that some organizations, such as AFSA, whose funding comes from the European community tends to like a lot of complexity meaning the report protocol was very demanding and used a lot of the organization's time. The contracts come with different types of requirements that sometimes require reporting twice a year, quarterly, or sometimes monthly (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). In these reports, the organization must describe what work they have done in respect to each contract. For instance, their relationship with the Department of Social Development of the Western Cape require that they do more workshops in the Cape metro area, so this is the type of work they would highlight in that report (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). As Annie stated in our interview, it is difficult to frame social processes in a neo-liberal context: "It is not clear what anyone is actually doing because they're social processes, and nobody really funds social processes" (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). Thus the work of NGOs have succumbed to fulfilling donor requirements instead of placing those decisions in the communities that are the direct bearers of oppression (Mananzala and Spade, 2008).

The demanding protocols for reporting advanced by individual foundations block the possibility of grassroots organizing and base-building movements. For example, Triangle emphasized their psycho social services when presenting themselves to donors (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). At the time Annie was there, HIV funding was focused on target groups oriented towards gay men and thus funding was going toward that specific category (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). It was only later on that a more generalized sexual health came about. A large inner conflict during her time as Director was the question of how to get HIV funding—the largest grant coming in at the time—to benefit lesbian services in Khayelitsha (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). To sum it up, there was a difficulty in shuffling between client demands, funder demands, and the internal power dynamics of the organization of professionalized versus non-professionalized services (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.).

The implications of a demanding donor group creates limitations to the total work they are able to do. Most funding from foundations exist in cyclical periods lasting from one to five years in which case organizations only qualify for a maximum of two cycles. Annie explains that Atlantic has a limit of terms of up to five years in which organizations could only get two cycles. She explains that she used to produce monthly reports and send the same report to all donors. Sally managed to secure a funding period of two years from Atlantic prior to their decision to pull out of South Africa (S Gross, pers. comm., 19 Nov.). When asked about the limitations of relying on foundational grants and complying with their regulation Sally explains the inevitability of these limitations:

> Anything you do comes with an opportunity cost. You're doing A while you might have been doing B. So committing to one project means that there are other projects you can't actually do. There isn't enough resources or time. If you have a contract with the funder, you must do so many workshops which reach so and so many people in such and such an area in such and such a

time frame. Yes of course there are opportunity costs, but I mean what's the big deal? That's the way the world works.

Sally's commentary while using the principles of micro-economics remains complicit within a system that co-opts social justice and normalizes the idea that doing some work within a narrow avenue is better than doing no work at all. Thus, she regards the philanthropic model as inevitable and a part of living in a capitalist system.

The demanding protocols for reporting require short-term goals to be fulfilled by having concrete examples of the work that has been done for underprivileged communities. This model erases the possibility of sustaining a long-term movement towards a demolition of the oppressive structures of the State (Mananzala and Spade, 2008). This is what INCITE! means when they say, "The revolution will not be funded" (INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence). Rather than remaining complicit within the Nongovernmental Industrial Complex, organizations need to actively resist this model by reaching out to communities and highlighting a bottom-up approach for decision making to highlight subjugated voices (Mananzala and Spade, 2008). Foundational grants are not the only angle to take to receive the funding and needs to be addressed in South Africa where a statist project has been undermined by neo-liberalism and the privatization of welfare (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.).

Conclusion

The gay and lesbian movement in South Africa set the bar for activism to follow the rigid line of legal discourse. The result is a movement that has largely gained momentum through identity category recognition by the State otherwise known as identity politics. The assumption that this avenue of legal action will impact the lives of the majority of queers lies in the oblivion that solidarity and identity are congruently aligned (Croatoan, 2012). While those lgbti folks continue to lobby parliamentarians for inclusion, they implicitly place more power in the hands of the State meanwhile refusing to recognize the statist project of South Africa paved during the adoption of the new Constitution as a failed attempt to eradicate homophobia, patriarchy, and heteronormativity (A Leatt, pers. comm., 13 Nov.). With all responsibility to regulate social injustice placed at the hands of the State, it is apparent why shifting cultural attitudes towards sexual minorities has not occurred. This is because the State and governmental figures have very little jurisdiction over the regulation of social interactions, hence why so many lgbti organizations make it their mission to eradicate existing forms of prejudice on the sexual minority community. They, nonetheless, continue to utilize policy reform in social institutions such as government, and education, to see the change they need. While identity politics is beneficial to those who hold a fair amount of class mobility and racial privilege, narrow avenues of legal activism fail to acknowledge the structural disadvantages that have not been terminated by the ANC in a post-apartheid context. Relying on the Police State and Criminal Justice System is problematic for poor queer folks of color, yet provides an illusion of safety which has been appropriated by the global gay and lesbian movement. Thus, the gay and lesbian movement is shown to be white in the color of their politics meaning stark implications of queer of color bodies.

Existing and emerging NGOs are faced with the constant barrier to exist within a neo-liberal change model. This model along with corporatization has co-opted the NGO sector to produce professionalized, hierarchal models within while externally dictating the trajectories of the organizations that remain complicit within this system. Once again, the construction of NGOs has become an increasingly academic and privileged space where the communities who are the direct bearers of oppression have little to no voice and rather utilize these organizations for their services alone. This eliminates the possibility of these communities to forge relationships and networks to develop a structural analysis of the various forms of oppression that systematically exist on a societal level. In order to build a true base-building, grassroots movement, the rejection of the Nongovernmental Industrial Complex as the platform for queer transformation needs is imperative.

Recommendations for further study

  In order to add to the critique and study of the Nongovernmental Industrial Complex in South Africa I would suggest the examination of sectors other than the lgbti sector. Provided with a lengthier time frame, one could also gather more information on the perspectives of members who utilize various NGO services. One could also build a relationship to gain extensive understanding of employee interactions within these structures and the logistics of pay scale, and worker's benefits within NGOs.

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